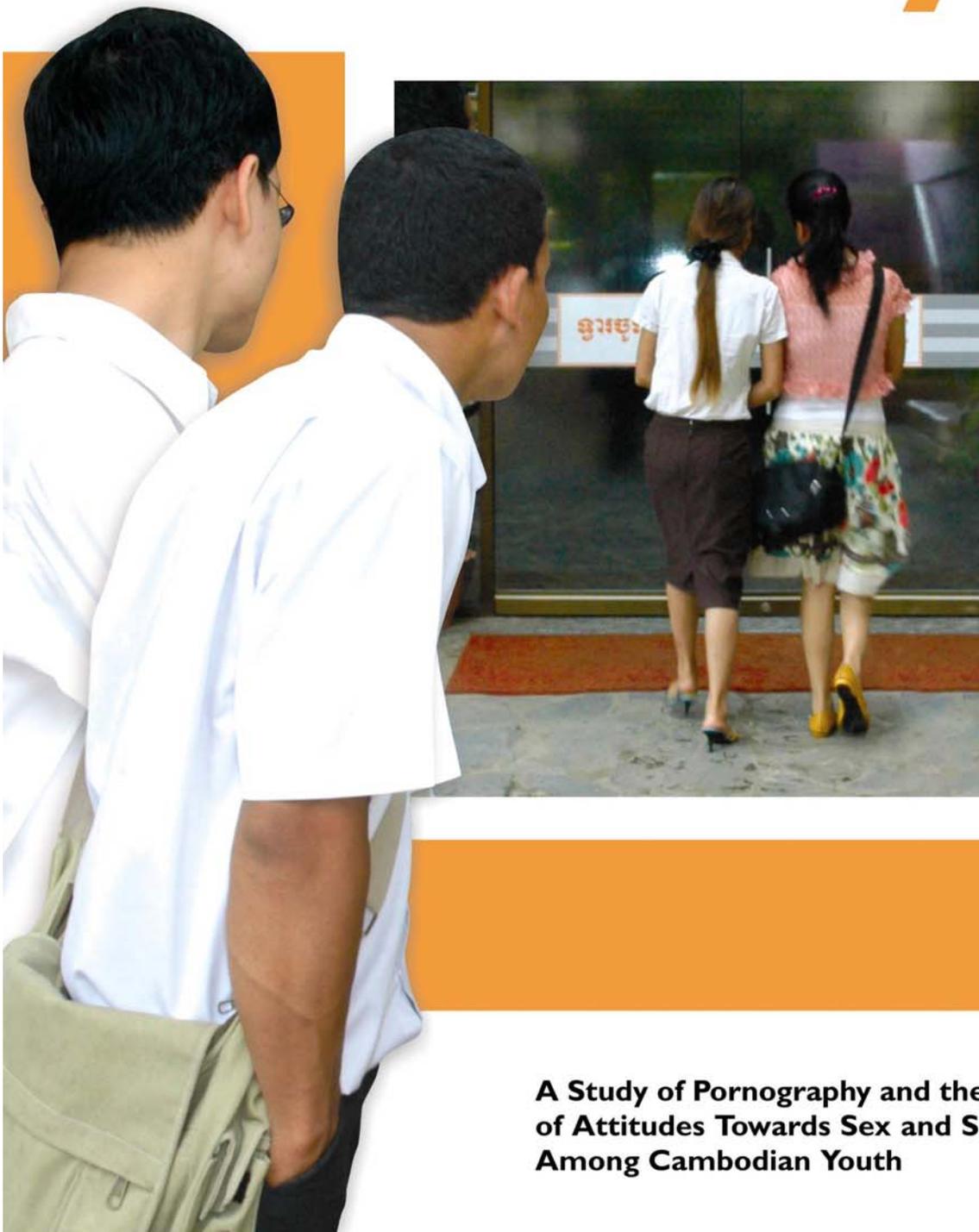


World Vision

Cambodia

“As if they were
watching
my **body**”



**A Study of Pornography and the Development
of Attitudes Towards Sex and Sexual Behaviour
Among Cambodian Youth**

“AS IF THEY WERE WATCHING MY BODY”

**PORNOGRAPHY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF
ATTITUDES TOWARDS SEX AND SEXUAL
BEHAVIOUR AMONG CAMBODIAN YOUTH**

**RESEARCH REPORT PRESENTED TO WORLD VISION
CAMBODIA**

by

Dr. Graham Fordham

Phnom Penh

May 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements		3
List of Tables		4
List of Graphs		5
List of Acronyms		6
Executive Summary and Conclusion in Khmer		7
Preface		22
Executive Summary		24
Chapter 1	Introduction	30
Chapter 2	Pornography Research and the Politics of Pornography	42
Chapter 3	Pornography in Three Districts of Cambodia: The Facts	53
Chapter 4	Pornography in Three Districts of Cambodia: The Effects	69
Chapter 5	Alcohol Use Among Cambodian Children	82
Chapter 6	Conclusion	89
Appendix 1	The Survey Instrument	95
Appendix 2	List of Questions Used to Guide Interviews	100
Appendix 3	What Children see in Hard Core Pornography (Explicit!)	103
Bibliography		105

Acknowledgements

The consultant wishes (once again) to give grateful thanks to Mr Bill Forbes, senior programme manager for the Peace and Justice Programme, World Vision Cambodia, for his unfailing good humour and for his willingness to allow the consultant to “get on with the job”—personal qualities and attitudes which made researching the difficult and confronting topic of pornography a little easier. Thanks are also due to Ms Hang Dariya and Ms Yich Cheanavy, who assisted him in his navigation of the World Vision Cambodia bureaucracy and whose efforts allowed the smooth implementation of the research.

Special thanks are due to my research assistant and translator, Mr Hout Vimean, for his extremely hard work in project organisation, assisting with conducting surveys and interviews with boys, and for his data entry work. My thanks also to Ms Touch Sophea for her assistance with interviewing girls. Thanks are due to the Area Development Programme managers in the districts where research was carried out—at Chulkiri ADP, Ms Kong Tosoth; at Stung Meanchey ADP, Mr Chum Saem; at Luek Daek ADP, Mr Uot Dara—and to the various ADP staff members who assisted with research activities as required. The research was conducted to a very tight timetable, and the willingness of ADP staff to fit in with this timetable, at what was sometimes fairly short notice, was greatly appreciated.

Thanks are also due to local authorities for their support. Most of all, thanks are due to the children and young people in Chulkiri, Stung Meanchey and Luek Daek who agreed to participate in surveys and in what sometimes turned out to be long and arduous interviews. Both the survey and subsequent interviews were hard as they required deep thought about concepts and emotions that are normally taken for granted and are often difficult to vocalise. The consultant was continually impressed by the cheerfulness with which informants undertook these tasks, by the amount of effort they put into thinking how to answer complex “why?” and “how?” questions, and by the honest and forthright manner in which they answered what were often highly personal questions. It is their information about the role pornography plays in their lives and their explanations of what pornography represents to them, as recorded and analysed during the research, that form the body of this report. Thus, it is solely through their efforts that this report has been produced, as a first step on the path towards understanding what forms of intervention will be most efficacious in countering the pernicious influence of pornography on both these children and all children throughout Cambodia.

Finally, thanks is due to the generous support of AusAID.

List of Tables

Table 1: The sample according to sex and district	32
Table 2: Percentage of children who have seen a pornographic book or film	57
Table 3: Children who have seen a pornographic book or film, according to sex	57
Table 4: Children who have seen a pornographic book or film, by sex and district	59
Table 5: Is pornography of most interest to boys or girls?	60
Table 6: Do you look at pornography alone or with a friend?	63
Table 7: Is pornography available in your community?	66
Table 8: Is pornography available in your community? by research site	67
Table 9: Which word best describes pornography?	72
Table 10: Can a good man read/watch pornography?	73
Table 11: Can a good woman read/watch pornography?	73
Table 12: Could you accept your boyfriend/husband using pornography?	74
Table 13: Could you accept your girlfriend/wife using pornography?	74
Table 14: Could you accept your children using pornography?	75
Table 15: Is pornography good or bad for people?	76
Table 16: Is pornography good or bad for Cambodian society?	77
Table 17: Percentage of children who drink alcohol	82
Table 18: Percentage of children who drink alcohol, by research site	83
Table 19: Do your parents know you drink alcohol?	84
Table 20: Frequency of drinking	84
Table 21: Type of alcohol consumed	85

List of Graphs

Graph 1: Age of survey respondents	55
Graph 2: Current grade in school	55
Graph 3: Age when first saw pornography	61
Graph 4: Age when first drank alcohol	83

List of Acronyms

ADP	Area development programme
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CWCC	Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre
DV	Domestic violence
GBV	Gender-based violence
HIV	Human Immuno Deficiency Virus
IO	International organisation
LICADHO	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights
PADV	Project Against Domestic Violence
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VCD	Video cassette disk
VDC	Village development committee
WVC	World Vision Cambodia

**រូបភាពអាសអាភាស និងការលូតលាស់ឥរិយាបថចំពោះបញ្ហាគេង
និងការប្រព្រឹត្តិផ្លូវគេងក្នុងចំណោមយុវជនកម្ពុជា**

“ហាក់ដូចជាពួកគេកំពុងសម្លឹងមើលខ្លួនប្រាណរបស់ខ្ញុំ”

របាយការណ៍ស្រាវជ្រាវប្រគល់ជូនអង្គការទស្សនៈពិភពលោក កម្ពុជា

ដោយ

បណ្ឌិត ហ្គ្រាហាម ហ្វ័រដាម (Dr. Graham Fordham)

ភ្នំពេញ

ខែឧសភា ឆ្នាំ២០០៦

ខាងក្រោមនេះគឺជាសម្រង់សម្តីមួយចំនួន ដែលបានបកប្រែពីរបាយការណ៍ស្រាវជ្រាវដែលមានចំណងជើងថា "ហាក់ដូចជាពួកគេកំពុងសម្លឹងមើលខ្លួនប្រាណរបស់ខ្ញុំ" ។ របាយការណ៍ទាំងមូលត្រូវបានសរសេរជាភាសាអង់គ្លេស ហើយសេចក្តីខាងក្រោមនេះ ជាផ្នែកដែលបានប្រែសម្រួលជាភាសាខ្មែរ ។

បុព្វកថា

ចំណងជើងនៃរបាយការណ៍នេះគឺ "ហាក់ដូចជាពួកគេកំពុងសម្លឹងមើលខ្លួនប្រាណរបស់ខ្ញុំ" ។ ចំណងជើងនេះដកស្រង់ពីសម្តីរបស់កុមារីអាយុ១៤ឆ្នាំម្នាក់ ដែលរស់នៅក្នុងភូមិដាច់ស្រយាលមួយនៅស្រុកជលគិរី ខេត្តកំពង់ឆ្នាំង^១ ។ នៅពេលពិភាក្សាតើនាងមានអារម្មណ៍យ៉ាងណានៅពេលក្រុមកុមារាដែលបានមើលវីដេអូអាសអាភាស ហើយនិយាយអូតក្មេងក្មាងក្នុងចំណោមពួកគេអំពីអ្វីៗដែលគេបានឃើញនៅក្នុងភាពយន្តដោយមានចេតនាចង់អោយក្រុមកុមារីពិសេសក្តីដែលពួកគេបាននិយាយនោះ ។ នាងបាននិយាយថាគួរអង្គុយស្រីៗម្តងនៅក្នុងវីដេអូទាំងនោះ គឺដូចជារូបខ្ញុំដែរ ដូច្នេះ "ហាក់ដូចជាពួកគេ (កុមារ) កំពុងសម្លឹងមើលខ្លួនប្រាណរបស់ខ្ញុំ" ។ សម្តីនេះមិនមែនបង្ហាញតែភាពមិនស្រួលក្នុងចិត្ត ដែលកុមារីជួបប្រទះនូវការប្រមាថបែបនេះប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ ប៉ុន្តែក៏បង្ហាញផងដែរថា នៅពេលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសចូលមកក្នុងសហគមន៍មួយហើយទំនាក់ទំនងយេនឌ័រស្នូម្យីតែក្នុងចំណោមកុមារក៏ធ្វើអោយមានការកើនលក្ខណៈផ្លូវភេទជាខ្លាំង ។ ទោះបីសមាជិកសហគមន៍ជាច្រើនមិនបានប្រឈមដោយផ្ទាល់ក៏ដោយ ក៏ពួកគេទទួលរងឥទ្ធិពលពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនោះដែរ ។

ការស្រាវជ្រាវអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាសគឺជាបញ្ហាសើបយ៉ាងខ្លាំង ហើយជាពិសេសនៅពេលប្រធានបទនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនោះ ទាក់ទងនឹងការមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសរបស់កុមារ ។ ដូច្នេះហើយត្រូវមានការគិតពិចារណាយ៉ាងខ្លាំងបំផុតដើម្បីធានាអោយមានការគោរពយ៉ាងខ្ពស់ នូវក្រមសីលធម៌ក្នុងគ្រប់ដំណាក់កាលនីមួយៗនៃគំរោង ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណារបកគំហើញនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះបានបង្ហាញថា មានកុមារមួយភាគធំដែលជាកុមារក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវឆ្លាប់មើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសតាមបែបផ្សេងៗគ្នា ។ កុមារទាំងនោះបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសតាំងពីក្មេង ។ មានមនុស្សជាច្រើនទោះនៅក្នុងអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល/អង្គការអន្តរជាតិ ឬនៅក្នុងរាជរដ្ឋាភិបាលកម្ពុជា ក៏សង្ឃឹមថាលទ្ធផលនេះគ្រាន់តែជាតំណាងស្ថានភាពកុមារមួយចំនួនតូចប៉ុណ្ណោះ មិនមែនតំណាងអោយកុមារកម្ពុជាទាំងមូលឡើយ ។ ជាការពិតណាស់ថាមានតែគំរោងស្រាវជ្រាវដែលមានលក្ខណៈស៊ីជម្រៅជាងនេះ (ត្រូវការពេលវេលានិងចំណាយច្រើនជាងនេះ) ទើបអាចផ្តល់ជាស្ថិតិព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ទាក់ទងនឹងកិរិយា ដែលកុមារកម្ពុជាតាមខេត្តនីមួយៗបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទាំងនោះ ។

ដោយផ្អែកតាមបទពិសោធន៍ស្រាវជ្រាវជាង២០ឆ្នាំនៅក្នុងតំបន់ និងបានឃើញផ្ទាល់នូវផលប៉ះពាល់នៃរូបភាពអាសអាភាស នៅតាមភូមិនានានាភាគខាងជើងនៃប្រទេសថៃ ក្នុងអំឡុងទសវត្សឆ្នាំ១៩៩០ អ្នកប្រឹក្សាជំរុញអោយមានការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ជាទីបំផុតចំពោះរបាយការណ៍នេះ ។ នេះជាគំរោងស្រាវជ្រាវលើកទីបីហើយដែលលើកឡើងអំពីការឆ្លាប់មើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសរបស់កុមារកម្ពុជា ។ ទិន្នន័យដែលបានពិគ្រោះនិមួយៗបានបង្ហាញថា កុមារ កុមារីកម្ពុជាមួយភាគ

^១ សម្តីស្ទើរតែដូចគ្នានេះ ក៏បានពោលដោយកុមារីជាច្រើនទៀតដែរ ។ ឧទាហរណ៍ មានកុមារីអាយុ១៦ឆ្នាំម្នាក់ បានធ្វើការកត់សំគាល់ថា ការមើលសៀវភៅរូបភាពអាសអាភាសធ្វើអោយនាងមានអារម្មណ៍ "ភ័យខ្លាច" ពីព្រោះនាងមានអារម្មណ៍ថា នៅពេលកុមារាមើលរូបភាពទាំងនោះ ហើយឃើញប្រព្រឹត្តិការណ៍ គឺហាក់ដូចជាពួកគេកំពុងតែសម្លឹងមើលមកនាងអញ្ចឹងដែរ ។

ធំធ្លាប់មើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទាំងនោះ ហើយទិន្នន័យនោះបញ្ជាក់ទៀតថា រូបភាពអាសអាភាសដែលមានពេលនៅក្នុង របាយការណ៍នេះ គឺជារូបភាពអាសអាភាសដ៏អាក្រក់ជាទីបំផុត។ ជាងនេះទៅទៀត បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះការមើលរូបភាព អាសអាភាសកាន់តែច្រើនជាងមុនទៅទៀត។ ភាពជឿនលឿនផ្នែកបច្ចេកវិទ្យាបានបង្កអោយកាន់តែមានភាពងាយស្រួល ដល់ការចែកចាយ និងថតចម្លងរូបភាពអាសអាភាសកាន់តែខ្លាំងឡើង។ ភាពជឿនលឿននេះទៀតសោតក៏បានកាត់បន្ថយ ទាំងតម្លៃសម្ភារៈផ្សព្វផ្សាយរូបថតអាសអាភាស ព្រមទាំងម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់មើលរូបភាពទាំងនោះផង។ របាយការណ៍នេះនឹង និយាយលំអិតអំពីទីផ្សារជួលថាសវីដេអូ (វីស៊ីឌី) អាសអាភាសនៅពេលយប់ និងការបញ្ចាំងរូបភាពអាសអាភាសជា សាធារណៈ និងនៅតាមផ្ទះជាឯកជន ដែលបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះគឺជាអាជីវកម្មលាក់បំពួនមួយសំរាប់អ្នករកស៊ីតូចតាចនៅតាមភូមិ ។

រូបភាពអាសអាភាសមានទំនាក់ទំនងដោយផ្ទាល់នៅក្នុងបញ្ហានានា ដូចជាអំពើហិង្សាផ្នែកយេនឌ័រ ការធ្វើអាជីវកម្ម របស់អ្នករកស៊ីផ្លូវភេទ និងការរីករាលដាលនៃមេរោគអេដស៍ & ជំងឺអេដស៍ ព្រមទាំងការរំលោភសេពសន្ថវៈលើកុមារដែល ជារឿយៗ ឧក្រិដ្ឋជនទាំងនោះជាអនិតិជនតែម្តង។ ម្យ៉ាងទៀតបញ្ហានេះក៏អាចជំរុញអោយយុវតិក្មេងៗធ្លាក់ទៅក្នុងការជួញដូរ និងត្រូវគេទាក់ទាញអោយចូលទៅក្នុងឧស្សាហកម្មផ្លូវភេទទៀតផង។ សំខាន់បំផុតនោះ វាអាចជាកត្តាមិនល្អដែលជះឥទ្ធិពល ដល់ការលូតលាស់ជាធម្មតាផ្នែកផ្លូវភេទរបស់យុវជនកម្ពុជា ទាំងអនាគត និងប្រទេសជាតិរបស់ពួកគេផងដែរ។ បញ្ហានេះ មានសារៈសំខាន់បំផុតដែលត្រូវយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ និងដោះស្រាយអោយបានឆាប់រហ័ស ។

ris

សេចក្តីសង្ខេប

ទិដ្ឋភាពទូទៅ

- របាយការណ៍នេះបង្ហាញពីលទ្ធផលនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវអំពីយុវជនកម្ពុជាដែលធ្លាប់មើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ។ ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះធ្វើឡើងរវាងខែមីនា ដល់ខែឧសភា ឆ្នាំ២០០៦ នៅតំបន់មួយចំនួននៃប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ក្នុងនោះមានស្រុកជនបទចំនួនពីរ និងឃុំមួយក្នុងតំបន់ជ្វាយក្រុង ដោយរួមបញ្ចូលគ្នានូវវិធីសាស្ត្របែបបរិមាណ និងគុណភាព។ កន្លងមកនេះការស្រាវជ្រាវភាគច្រើនអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ ផ្តោតទៅលើកុមារ និងស្ត្រី ជាតួអង្គនៃការបង្ហាញអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ។ ដូច្នេះនៅកម្ពុជា បញ្ហាប្រព្រឹត្តិកាមគុណជាមួយកុមារ និងអំពើអនាថារលើកុមារ គឺជាកង្វល់ដ៏ធំនៅប៉ុន្មានឆ្នាំនេះ ។ ទោះយ៉ាងណា តំរោងនេះ (ព្រមទាំងតំរោងមុនពីរទៀត បានបង្កើតអោយមានជាមូលដ្ឋាននៃការរៀបចំតំរោងនេះ) បង្ហាញអំពីវិធីសាស្ត្រថ្មីមួយដោយសារតំរោងបានបោះជំហានចេញពីការចាត់ទុកកុមារកម្ពុជាជាជនរងគ្រោះ ទៅដល់ការអង្កេតមួយដែលបង្ហាញអំពីរបៀបនៃការប្រព្រឹត្តិផ្លូវភេទរបស់អ្នកដទៃ ដូចដែលបានពណ៌នានៅក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធផ្សព្វផ្សាយរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ដែលជះឥទ្ធិពលដល់កុមារកម្ពុជា និងការលូតលាស់នៃអត្តសញ្ញាណផ្នែកយេនឌ័ររបស់កុមារ ។

លទ្ធផល

- ជាលទ្ធផលនៃភាពជឿនលឿនផ្នែកបច្ចេកវិទ្យា និងការរីកចម្រើនផ្នែកសេដ្ឋកិច្ចនៅកម្ពុជា ថាសវីដេអូ(វីស៊ីឌី) អាសអាភាស និងឧបករណ៍ចាក់មើលអាចរកបានយ៉ាងងាយនៅតាមបណ្តាស្រុកជាច្រើននៅកម្ពុជា គឺនៅក្នុងភូមិមួយមានផ្ទះមួយ ឬពីរមានម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់ថាសដែលអាចអោយអ្នកភូមិអាចប្រើប្រាស់បាន ។ ជាលទ្ធផលឃើញថាកុមារកម្ពុជាភាគច្រើនបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសដែលមានកិត្តិយស ហើយកុមារនៅទីក្រុង ក៏ដូចជាកុមារនៅតំបន់ដាច់ស្រយាល កំពុងស្ថិតក្នុងភាពគ្រោះថ្នាក់ ។
- រូបភាពអាសអាភាសដែលកុមារកម្ពុជាបានមើល គឺជារូបភាពអាសអាភាសដែលស្ថិតក្នុងកិត្តិយសច្រើនបំផុត ។ គ្មានរូបភាពអាសអាភាសកំរិតស្រាលណាមួយដែលកុមារបានលើកយកមកពិភាក្សានៅក្នុងរបាយការណ៍នេះទេ ។ ជាងនេះទៅទៀតកុមារដែលត្រូវបានសំភាសន៍បាននិយាយដោយចំហរអំពីវីស៊ីឌីអាសអាភាស ដែលសំដែងដោយដៃគូកំពុងរួមភេទ ការរួមភេទជាក្រុម ការរួមភេទដោយផ្លាស់ប្តូរឥរិយាបថសព្វបែបយ៉ាង និងការរួមភេទជាមួយសត្វការរំលោភដោយប្រើអំពើហិង្សា ការរំលោភកុមារដោយការដាក់ថ្នាំ និងការរំលោភរួមម្ខាងម្ខាងជនរងគ្រោះចោលជាដើម ។ នៅក្នុងដំណើរស្រាវជ្រាវ មានកុមារដែលត្រូវបានសំភាសន៍ជាច្រើនបានអះអាងថា ការទស្សនាភាពយន្តដូច្នេះគឺជារឿងធម្មតា ។
- ទោះបីកុមារខ្លះបានមើលត្រឹមតែរូបភាពអាសអាភាសបោះពុម្ពក៏ដោយ ក៏កុមារភាគច្រើនបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសតាមរយៈវីស៊ីឌីដែលកុមារទាំងអស់ចូលចិត្តជាង ដោយសារវាបង្ហាញអំពីការរួមភេទជាក់ស្តែង ។

ទៀតសោតវិស៊ីឌីអាចជួលបានហើយមានតំលៃថោកជាងសៀវភៅអាសអាភាស ។ ដូចនេះនៅពេលពួកគេមានប្រាក់៥០០រៀល ហើយចូលក្នុងចំណោម៤ ឬ៥នាក់ នោះគេអាចជួលវិស៊ីឌី និងអាចមានលទ្ធភាពអាចមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសបានដោយគ្រាន់តែចំណាយបន្តិចបន្តួចប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។

- ការបញ្ចាំងភាពយន្តអាសអាភាសមិនត្រូវបានហាមឃាត់យ៉ាងតឹងរ៉ឹងនៅតាមហាងកាហ្វេ ឬផ្ទះសំណាក់នៅក្នុងភ្នំពេញ និងទីរួមខេត្ត ។ ដោយសារតែម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់វីស៊ីឌី និងទូរទស្សន៍មានតំលៃថោក (ទាំងម៉ាស៊ីនថ្មី ទាំងម៉ាស៊ីនជំនុំ) រូបភាពអាសអាភាសសព្វថ្ងៃនេះត្រូវបានគេទស្សនានៅតាមផ្ទះទាំងក្មេង ទាំងចាស់ ។ សព្វថ្ងៃនេះសូម្បីតែកុមារនៅតំបន់ដាច់ស្រយាលជាច្រើនក៏អាចទៅមើលដែរ មិនថានៅផ្ទះរបស់ខ្លួន ឬក៏នៅផ្ទះមិត្តភក្តិរបស់ពួកគេឡើយ ។ ឧបករណ៍អេឡិចត្រូនិចដែលប្រើអាកុយ ហើយអាចបញ្ចូលថាមពលវិទ្យុបាននៅតាមភូមិនោះអ្នកមើលជាទូទៅគ្រាន់តែរួមគ្នាចេញម្នាក់មួយរយ ឬពីររយរៀលសំរាប់ថ្លៃបញ្ចូលអាកុយប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។ គេអាចនឹងគិតថាអ្នកភូមិភាគច្រើនជាអ្នកក្រមិនអាចនឹងមានលុយគ្រប់គ្រាន់សំរាប់ទិញរូបភាពអាសអាភាសបាន ប៉ុន្តែតាមការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះរកឃើញថា ផ្ទះខ្លះហាក់ដូចជាក្រីក្រខ្លាំងណាស់បើមើលពីក្រៅ ប៉ុន្តែនៅខាងក្នុងមានរបស់ "មានតម្លៃ" ដូចជា ទូរទស្សន៍ទំនើប វិទ្យុ ម៉ាញ៉េ អ័ភ្លី ឬក៏ម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់វីស៊ីឌីជាដើម ។
- ការចែកចាយរូបភាពអាសអាភាស មិនមែនមានតែនៅតាមតូបលក់កាសែត ឬហាងលក់ថាសវីដេអូ និងថាសចំរៀងនោះទេ ។ ដូចរៀបរាប់ខាងលើរួចមកហើយ អ្នករកស៊ីតូចតាចនៅតាមភូមិក៏ចាប់ផ្តើមជួលវីស៊ីឌីអាសអាភាសដែរ ហើយមានតម្លៃទាបត្រឹមតែ៥០០រៀលក្នុងមួយយប់ ព្រមទាំងមានភស្តុតាងបញ្ជាក់ថាមានបណ្តាញចែកចាយពីភូមិមួយទៅភូមិទៀតផង ។ អ្នករកស៊ីតូចតាចខ្លះទៀតមានបញ្ជាំងវីដេអូអាសអាភាសនៅក្នុងផ្ទះឯកជនដោយយកថ្លៃថែបន្តិចបន្តួចប៉ុណ្ណោះសំរាប់មនុស្សម្នាក់ ។
- យុទ្ធនាការលើកកំពស់សីលធម៌ ដែលបានចាប់ផ្តើមធ្វើនៅចុងឆ្នាំ២០០៥ថ្មីនេះ បានធ្វើការ"បង្ក្រាប" ការលក់ដូររូបភាពអាសអាភាសនោះ មានប្រសិទ្ធភាពតែមួយចំណែកប៉ុណ្ណោះ គឺផ្នែកការត្រួតពិនិត្យការលក់ និងចែកចាយសម្ភារៈអាសអាភាសទាំងនោះ ។ យុទ្ធនាការទាំងនេះមានប្រសិទ្ធភាពក្នុងការលុបបំបាត់វីស៊ីឌី និងសៀវភៅអាសអាភាសចេញពីការដាក់បង្ហាញនៅទីសាធារណៈ ចំណែកឯកសារស្រាវជ្រាវបញ្ជាក់ថា ដោយមានការអនុវត្តន៍នូវសកម្មភាពរបស់ប៉ូលីស ការបញ្ជាំងវីដេអូអាសអាភាសជាសាធារណៈបានថយចុះ ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ វីដេអូអាសអាភាសនៅតែមានបញ្ចាំងនៅតាមផ្ទះសំណាក់ ហើយបើទោះជាសម្ភារៈទាំងនោះ ពុំបានដាក់លក់នៅតាមទីសាធារណៈក៏ដោយ ក៏នៅតែអាចរកទិញបានដែរ ។
- មនុស្សពេញវ័យមួយចំនួនបានអោយដឹងថាពួកគេមើលវីដេអូអាសអាភាសជាមួយកុមារតែម្តង ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ ឪពុកម្តាយភាគច្រើនមិនចង់អោយកូនរបស់ខ្លួនមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសឡើយ ។ ក្នុងករណីជាច្រើនឪពុកម្តាយពុំបានដឹងថាកូនរបស់ខ្លួន ជាពិសេសកូនស្រី បានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទេ ។ ឪពុកម្តាយអាចស្តីប្រដៅកូនទាក់ទងនឹងការប៉ះពាល់រូបភាពអាសអាភាស ឬទាក់ទងជាមួយនឹងមនុស្សដែលមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាស

បាន ហើយការស្តីប្រដៅនេះមានប្រសិទ្ធភាពខ្ពស់ក្នុងការទប់ស្កាត់ ឬដាក់កំហិតកុំអោយក្មេងស្រី មើលរូបភាព អាសអាភាសដោយសារពួកគេខ្លាចម្តាយរបស់ពួកគេដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្ម រីឯកុមារាពុំសូវយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ចំពោះការស្តី ប្រដៅរបស់ឪពុកម្តាយឡើយ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណា នៅពេលឪពុកម្តាយត្រួតពិនិត្យសកម្មភាពរបស់កូនប្រុស ក្មេង ប្រុសទាំងនោះពុំសូវប៉ះពាល់នឹងរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទេ។ តាមការស្រាវជ្រាវរកឃើញថាកុមារដែលមិនបានមើល រូបភាពអាសអាភាសគឺជាកុមារដែលពុំត្រូវបានបណ្តោយអោយដើរលេងនៅគ្រប់ច្រកច្រក (ដោយគ្មានការគ្រប់គ្រង ពីអាណាព្យាបាល) ជាមួយមិត្តភក្តិ។

- ទាំងកុមារ និងកុមារីសុទ្ធតែមានលទ្ធភាពរកមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសបាន។ ជាទូទៅកុមារមើលរូបភាពអាស អាភាសនៅផ្ទះរបស់ខ្លួន ឬផ្ទះមិត្តភក្តិ របាយការណ៍បានបញ្ជាក់ថាកុមារមានទំនោរមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសច្រើន ដងសំរាប់ការសប្បាយ រីឯកុមារីខ្លះមានចំណាប់អារម្មណ៍ដោយចេតនាចំពោះរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ហើយព្យាយាម មើលរូបភាពបែបនេះនៅពេលមានលទ្ធភាព កុមារភាគច្រើនបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសតែពីរបីដង ប៉ុន្តែ ដោយសារការចង់ដឹង ឬបានមើលដោយការចែងឱ្យប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។

- ស្ថិតិអំពីចំនួនកុមារដែលបានមើល ឬមិនបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាស បានធ្វើអោយមានការស្រងាកចិត្តយ៉ាងខ្លាំង។ ទោះបីមានកុមារតែមួយភាគនៅក្នុងសហគមន៍បានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសក៏ដោយ ក៏រូបភាពអាសអាភាស ទាំងអស់នោះមានឥទ្ធិពលទៅលើកុមារទាំងអស់ ភាគច្រើនអាកប្បកិរិយារបស់កុមារដែលបានទស្សនា (ឬអាន) រូបភាពអាសអាភាសមានការផ្លាស់ប្តូរ ហើយអាកប្បកិរិយានេះជះឥទ្ធិពលទៅលើកុមារដទៃទៀតនៅក្នុងសហគមន៍។ រូបភាពអាសអាភាសបង្រៀនកុមារអោយចេះប្រើអំពើហិង្សា និងរំលោភបំពានផ្លូវភេទ ហើយក៏បង្រៀនពួកគេ ផងដែរថា នេះជារឿងធម្មតារបស់បុរសភេទ និងបង្រៀនអំពីរបៀបទាក់ទងផ្លូវភេទជាមួយស្ត្រី។ កុមារភាគច្រើន ប្រើប្រាស់រូបភាពអាសអាភាសជាឧបករណ៍ដើម្បីបញ្ជាក់ពីភាពជាបុរសរបស់ពួកគេដោយអួតអាងខ្លាំងៗក្នុងចំណោម ពួកខ្លួនអំពីអ្វីដែលខ្លួនបានឃើញ ហើយមានចេតនាអោយកុមារីឮដោយនិយាយពាក្យសម្តីមិនសមរម្យទៅកាន់ ក្មេងស្រី និងប្រើពាក្យពេចន៍គ្មានការគួរសម និងមិនពិរោះដោយមានការប៉ះពាល់ខ្លួនប្រាណក្មេងស្រី និងព្រលយ ពាក្យអោយក្មេងស្រីដឹងថាពួកគេចង់ប្រព្រឹត្ត (ការរួមភេទ) ជាមួយក្មេងស្រី។ កុមារីក៏មានការផ្លាស់ប្តូរដែរ ហើយ រូបភាពអាសអាភាសអាចនឹងមានផលប៉ះពាល់អាក្រក់ទាំងទៅលើរូបរាង និងអាកប្បកិរិយារបស់ពួកគេ។ ដូចដែល កុមារីម្នាក់បាននិយាយអំពីមិត្តភក្តិរបស់នាងថា នៅពេលពួកគេបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាស "ពួកគេដែលមាន ការអៀនខ្មាស់ទៀតហើយ" ។

- នៅពេលពិភាក្សាអំពីបញ្ហាអាសអាភាសជាមួយកុមារ កុមារី ក្រុមស្រាវជ្រាវបានរកឃើញថា មានកុមារមួយចំនួន បានចាត់ទុកការអប់រំជាសាធារណៈអំពីបញ្ហាសុខភាពបន្តពូជ កម្មវិធីប្រយុទ្ធនឹងមេរោគអេដស៍&ជីអេដស៍ ការផ្សព្វផ្សាយស្រោមអនាម័យ និងឈ្មុតផ្សព្វផ្សាយប្រឆាំងនឹងការដួញដូរមនុស្សថាជារឿងអាសអាភាស។ ការនេះ បង្ហាញថា ការពណ៌នាខ្លឹមសារក្នុងបណ្តាញផ្សព្វផ្សាយសាធារណៈ ទាំងឈ្មុតផ្សព្វផ្សាយ និងការបោះពុម្ពគួរមាន

តុល្យភាពទៅនឹងការពិតដែលកុមារអាចនឹងគិតថាជារូបភាពអាសអាភាស ហើយក្នុងករណីនេះអាចនាំអោយខ្លឹមសារដែលចង់ផ្តល់ជូនពិតប្រាកដនោះ បែរជាត្រូវបាត់បង់ទៅវិញ ។

- នៅក្នុងចំណោមកុមារ រូបភាពអាសអាភាសរួមជាមួយនឹងការប្រើប្រាស់គ្រឿងស្រវឹង អាចធ្វើអោយកុមារប្រមូលគ្នាជាក្រុមជនពាលបាន ។ ហើយភាពយន្តអាសអាភាសដែលមានលុតរំលោភសេពសន្ទវៈដោយហិង្សា ដែលភាគច្រើនបង្ហាញពីស្ត្រីម្តងប្រហាក់ប្រហែលនឹងខ្មែរ និងហាក់ដូចជាថតនៅស្រុកខ្មែរនាំអោយមានការប្រព្រឹត្តអំពើផ្សេងៗទៅតាមលំនាំសកម្មភាពភាពយន្តទាំងនោះ ដូចជាការរំលោភសេពសន្ទវៈរបស់ក្រុមពាល និងការរំលោភសេពសន្ទវៈលើកុមារជាដើម ។

អនុសាសន៍

- ដោយសារផលប៉ះពាល់ដ៏ធ្ងន់ធ្ងរនៃរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទៅលើជីវិត និងការលូតលាស់ជាធម្មតារបស់យុវជននោះ បញ្ហានេះត្រូវតែដោះស្រាយជាបន្ទាន់ដោយអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល/អង្គការអន្តរជាតិ ដែលកំពុងធ្វើការនៅក្នុងវិស័យអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ។ សំណួរដែលបានប្រើនៅពេលសម្ភាសន៍នៅក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ (មានផ្តល់ជូននៅក្នុងឧបសម្ព័ន្ធទី៣) មានលើកឡើងអំពីបញ្ហាមួយចំនួនដែលអាចរៀបចំជាកម្មវិធីណែនាំអោយយល់ដឹងអំពី "ការប្រឆាំងនឹងរូបភាពអាសអាភាស" ដែលរួមទាំងគំរោងកម្មវិធីមួយដែលរៀបចំឡើងដើម្បីណែនាំឱ្យពុកម្តាយអំពីបញ្ហារូបភាពអាសអាភាសដែលអាចបង្កអោយមានការខូចខាតដល់សហគមន៍ និងអំពីរបៀបដែលឪពុកម្តាយអាចការពារកូនប្រុស-កូនស្រីរបស់ខ្លួនតាមរយៈការអប់រំ និងការតាមដានកូន ។

កម្មវិធីកាន់តែ "ស៊ីជម្រៅ" មួយទៀតគួរនឹងត្រូវរៀបចំសំរាប់យុវជន កម្មវិធីនេះមិនគួរគ្រាន់តែផ្តល់ព័ត៌មានតែមួយមុខនោះទេ ប៉ុន្តែគួរផ្តល់ឱកាសអោយកុមារិ និងកុមារាភិក្សា (មានទាំងក្រុមកុមារិ/កុមារាសុទ្ធ និងក្រុមចម្រុះភេទ) អំពីបញ្ហាអាសអាភាសនេះ ។ អ្នកប្រឹក្សាបានដឹងអំពីឯកសារជាភាសាថៃមួយចំនួន ដែលនិយាយអំពីកុមារិជនជាតិថៃម្នាក់ដែលជាភាពយន្តអាសអាភាស ។ នាងបាននិយាយអំពីអារម្មណ៍របស់នាងចំពោះការបាត់បង់កិត្តិយស និងឈឺចាប់នៅពេលនាងសម្តែងរឿង ហើយការងាររបស់នាងគឺមានភាពផ្ទុយស្រឡះរវាងរូបភាពលុតស្នេហាដែលបញ្ចាំងលើកញ្ចក់ទូរទស្សន៍ និងធាតុពិតនៃអំពើកេងប្រវ័ញ្ចការឈឺចាប់ និងការរំលោភបំពានដែលនៅពីក្រោយឆាកសម្តែង ។

គេក៏អាចប្រើប្រាស់ប្រព័ន្ធផ្សព្វផ្សាយដូចជាវិទ្យុ និងកម្មវិធីបែប "ពិភាក្សា" ដើម្បីលាតត្រដាងបញ្ហាអាសអាភាសនៅក្នុងសហគមន៍កម្ពុជា ។ ទាំងកុមារ និងមនុស្សពេញវ័យត្រូវយល់ដឹងថា រូបភាពអាសអាភាសទាំងនោះមិនមែនគ្រាន់តែភាពយន្តធម្មតានោះទេ ប៉ុន្តែខ្លឹមសាររបស់ភាពយន្តទាំងនោះអាចមានផលប៉ះពាល់យូរអង្វែងចំពោះបុគ្គលដែលបានទស្សនាភាពយន្តនោះ ទាំងទៅលើសហគមន៍ និងវប្បធម៌កម្ពុជាតែម្តង ។ គោលបំណងនៃកម្មវិធីនេះគឺដើម្បីកាត់បន្ថយការប៉ះពាល់របស់កុមារទៅនឹងរូបភាពអាសអាភាស និងកាត់បន្ថយផលប៉ះពាល់នៃការមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសអោយនៅតិចបំផុត ។

- ជាប្រយោជន៍សំរាប់អង្គការទស្សនៈពិភពលោកកម្ពុជា និងអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលដទៃទៀតក្នុងការពិនិត្យមើល បញ្ហាផ្សេងៗដែលខ្លួនកំពុងតែធ្វើការបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ រួចហើយវាយតម្លៃដើម្បីពង្រីកកម្មវិធីរបស់ខ្លួនដែលរួមបញ្ចូល ទាំងបញ្ហារូបភាពអាសអាភាស និងការប្រើប្រាស់គ្រឿងស្រវឹងដែលជាបញ្ហាធ្ងន់ធ្ងរនៅក្នុងតំបន់ការងាររបស់ខ្លួន ។ បើមើលទៅតាមទស្សនៈនៃកម្មវិធី បើអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលនានាធ្វើការតែមួយផ្នែកទៅលើការកាត់បន្ថយអំពើ ហិង្សាផ្នែកយេនឌ័រ ប្រសិនបើការងារនោះជានិច្ចជាកាលសារនោះមិនត្រូវបានកំណត់ច្បាស់លាស់អំពីផលប៉ះពាល់ នៃរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ឬអំពីផលវិបាកនៃការប្រើប្រាស់គ្រឿងស្រវឹងនោះ កម្មវិធីនឹងមិនមានប្រសិទ្ធភាពទេ ។ ក្នុងករណីខ្លះ កិច្ចការនេះអាចតម្រូវអោយមានការស្រាវជ្រាវបន្ថែម (សូមមើលផ្នែកបន្ទាប់) ទោះជាយ៉ាងណា ក៏ដោយ ក្នុងករណីផ្សេងទៀត គឺតម្រូវត្រឹមតែការដាក់បញ្ចូលកត្តាទាំងនោះទៅក្នុងផែនការនៃកម្មវិធីប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។
- អង្គការទស្សនៈពិភពលោកកម្ពុជា និងអង្គការដទៃទៀតដែលកំពុងធ្វើការនៅថ្នាក់ភូមិ និងថ្នាក់ស្រុកគួរតែអោយ បុគ្គលិករបស់ខ្លួនយល់ដឹងអំពីបញ្ហាអាសអាភាស និងអំពីរបៀបដែលបញ្ហានេះមានទំនាក់ទំនងទៅនឹងបញ្ហាសង្គម ដូចជាមេរោគអេដស៍&ជំងឺអេដស៍ ការបំពានផ្លូវភេទ និងអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងគ្រួសារ ។ បុគ្គលិកគួរព្យាយាមត្រួតពិនិត្យ នូវរាល់បញ្ហានេះ ទោះបីជាការងាររបស់ពួកគេមិនមានពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងកម្មវិធីដែលពួកគេកំពុងធ្វើក៏ដោយ ។ ហើយគួរ រៀបចំជាវគ្គបណ្តុះបណ្តាលខ្លីមួយសំរាប់បុគ្គលិកគំរោង និងសមាជិកគណៈកម្មាធិការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ភូមិអោយយល់ដឹង កាន់តែច្បាស់ពីបញ្ហានេះ ។
- នៅថ្នាក់សហគមន៍គួរខិតខំជំរុញលើកទឹកចិត្តទាំងប្តីស្រី ប្រធានភូមិ និងមេឃុំ ជាពិសេសប្រធានភូមិ និងមេឃុំ មានតួនាទីយ៉ាងសំខាន់ ដែលត្រូវដឹងថាតើនរណាខ្លះមានជួលវីដេអូអាសអាភាស ហើយពួកគាត់មានអ្វីយកមកសិទ្ធិ ដើម្បីធ្វើការស៊ើបអង្កេតអំពីបណ្តាញជួលវីស៊ីឌីភូមិមួយទៅភូមិមួយ ។ ទោះបីជាពួកគាត់មិនអាចដឹងអំពីអ្វី ដែលកំពុងតែកើតមានឡើងនៅក្នុងកន្លែងលាក់កំបាំងក៏ដោយ យ៉ាងហោចណាស់ក៏ពួកគាត់មានលទ្ធភាពក្នុងការ ទប់ស្កាត់ការបញ្ចាំងវីដេអូអាសអាភាសជាសាធារណៈបានដែរ ។
- ទោះបីជាសកម្មភាពរបស់បុគ្គល និងបណ្តាញរបស់គេក្នុងការចែកចាយវីស៊ីឌីអាសអាភាសទាំងនោះមានឥទ្ធិពល ជាអវិជ្ជមានក្តី ក៏ប៉ុន្តែតាមពិតការនេះបញ្ជាក់អោយឃើញថាពួកគេមានគំនិតខ្ពស់ក្នុងការរកស៊ី ។ ជំនួសដោយការ ប្រើវិធីដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្មទៅលើពួកគេទៅលើសកម្មភាពរកស៊ីលួចលាក់មុខរបរនេះ យើងគួរតែពិចារណាថាធ្វើរបៀប ណាដើម្បីបង្វែរពួកគាត់មកប្រកបអាជីវកម្មផ្សេងវិញដោយផ្អែកលើកំលាំង និងគំនិតច្នៃប្រឌិតរបស់ពួកគាត់ ។ ប្រហែលជាយើងអាចបញ្ចូលពួកគាត់ទៅក្នុងសកម្មភាពអាជីវកម្មហិរញ្ញវត្ថុខ្នាតតូច ដែលមានស្រាប់ ឬសកម្មភាព ស្រដៀងគ្នាដទៃទៀត ដែលមាននៅក្នុងស្រុករបស់ពួកគាត់ ។

អនុសាសន៍សំរាប់ការស្រាវជ្រាវនាពេលអនាគត

- ប្រសិនបើមានថវិការគ្រប់គ្រាន់ គេអាចធ្វើអង្កេតទ្រង់ទ្រាយធំទូទាំងប្រទេស ដើម្បីកំណត់អំពីចំណុចដ៏ក្តៅគគុក ដែលទាក់ទងនឹងរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ហើយអាចកំណត់ចំណុចដែលត្រូវធ្វើការកាត់បន្ថយអំពើអាសអាភាស

ទាំងនោះ ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ អ្នកប្រឹក្សាយល់ឃើញថា ការស្រាវជ្រាវទ្រង់ទ្រាយធំនេះមិនមែនជា អាទិភាពទេ តែគំរោងសង្ខេបទាំងពីរខាងក្រោមនេះទើបជាអាទិភាពជាង ។

- ការរំលោភសេពសន្ថវៈលើកុមារិដោយកុមារដែលពួកគេជាអនិទិជន និងការរំលោភសេពសន្ថវៈលើយុវតីដោយ យុវជនដែលស្ថិតក្នុងអាយុក្មេងៗម្តងៗត្រូវតែជាបញ្ហាដ៏ធំនៅក្នុងសង្គមកម្ពុជា ។ របាយការណ៍ព័ត៌មានទាំងនៅកម្ពុជា ក៏ដូចជាប្រទេសថៃបង្ហាញថាភាគច្រើននៃជនល្មើសអះអាងថា ខ្លួនគ្រាន់តែធ្វើតាមលំនាំដែលខ្លួនបានឃើញនៅក្នុង វីដេអូប៉ុណ្ណោះ ។ ការស្រាវជ្រាវថ្មីៗនេះ នៅប្រទេសថៃក៏បានរកឃើញថា មានការប្រើប្រាស់រូបភាពអាសអាភាស ក្នុងកិច្ចខ្ពស់ក្នុងចំណោមបុរសដែលត្រូវជាប់ទោសពីបទស្នេការជាមួយសាច់ញាតិខ្លួនឯង ។ ការនេះបញ្ជាក់ថាត្រូវ មានគំរោងស្រាវជ្រាវប្រកបដោយគុណភាពនៅកម្ពុជាក្នុងចំណោមជនល្មើសផ្លូវភេទដែលជាប់ឃុំឃាំងនៅក្នុងវ័យ ក្រោមម្ភៃឆ្នាំ និងក្មេងៗម្ភៃឆ្នាំ ដើម្បីអង្កេតអំពីកិច្ចដែលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសមានការពាក់ព័ន្ធនាំអោយពួកគេ ប្រព្រឹត្តិបទល្មើស ។ លទ្ធផលនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះអាចនឹងជួយអោយមាននូវអន្តរាគមន៍នៅថ្នាក់ភូមិ ដើម្បី ទប់ស្កាត់ការរំលោភសេពសន្ថវៈលើកុមារ ហើយក៏អាចនឹងផ្តល់ជាកស្តុតាង និងព័ត៌មានបន្ថែមដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធ ដល់ការពិភាក្សារៀបចំគោលនយោបាយនៅគ្រប់ជាន់ថ្នាក់ផងដែរ ។ ជាងនេះទៅទៀតអាចជាព័ត៌មានដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធ យ៉ាងជិតស្និទ្ធចំពោះការស្តារនីតិសម្បទារបស់ជនល្មើស ។
- ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះបានបង្ហាញអោយឃើញថា មានការប្រើប្រាស់គ្រឿងស្រវឹងក្នុងបរិមាណយ៉ាងច្រើនក្នុងចំណោម ក្រុមដែលបានស្រាវជ្រាវ និងបង្ហាញថាគ្រឿងស្រវឹងជាធាតុរឹបរយៗត្រូវគេប្រើប្រាស់នៅមុន ឬក្នុងអំឡុងពេលមើល រូបភាពអាសអាភាស ។ នៅពេលដែលកំណើនសេដ្ឋកិច្ច និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ចេះតែបន្តដំណើរទៅមុខនោះលទ្ធភាព នៃការប្រើប្រាស់គ្រឿងស្រវឹងក៏អាចនឹងកើនឡើងដែរ ។ កម្ពុជាកាន់តែក្លាយជាមុខសញ្ញារបស់ក្រុមហ៊ុនភេសជ្ជៈ ទាំងក្នុងតំបន់ និងអន្តរជាតិ ។ ដូច្នេះហើយបញ្ហាទាក់ទងនឹងគ្រឿងស្រវឹងនឹងបន្តកើនឡើងទៀតរួមទាំងបញ្ហា ទាក់ទងនឹងការបំពានផ្លូវភេទផងដែរ ។ គំរោងស្រាវជ្រាវមានលក្ខណៈទូលំទូលាយជាងនេះ ហើយផ្តោតទៅ លើការផឹកគ្រឿងស្រវឹងក្នុងចំណោមកុមារ និងយុវជន អាចជួយយើងអោយបានយល់អំពីបញ្ហានេះ ។ គំរោងដូចនេះ គួរប្រើប្រាស់បច្ចេកទេសផ្នែកលើបរិមាណ និងគុណភាពចំរុះគ្នា ហើយគួរផ្តោតជាពិសេសអំពីទំនាក់ទំនងរវាង ការប្រើប្រាស់គ្រឿងស្រវឹង និងសញ្ញាណអំពីភាពជាបុរស និងភាពទំនើបក្នុងចំណោមមនុស្សជំនាន់ថ្មីនេះ ។

សេចក្តីសន្និដ្ឋាន : សង្ខេបលទ្ធផល និងវិធីសាស្ត្រឆ្ពោះទៅមុខ

សេចក្តីផ្តើម

ក្រោយពីបានពិភាក្សាជាបឋមអំពីគោលបំណងរួម វិធីសាស្ត្រ និងរបៀបអនុវត្ត នៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ របាយការណ៍នេះបានពិភាក្សាអំពីការស្រាវជ្រាវបែបសិក្សាអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាស និងវិធីសាស្ត្របែបទ្រឹស្តីផ្សេងៗដើម្បីដោះស្រាយបញ្ហាអាសអាភាស ។ វាជាការសំខាន់ដែលត្រូវធ្វើបែបដូច្នោះ ដោយសារវិធីសាស្ត្រដោះស្រាយបញ្ហារូបភាពអាសអាភាសមានទំនោរទាក់ទងនឹងនយោបាយផង និងជារឿងគួរអោយរំជួលចិត្តផង ។ យើងសង្ឃឹមថាតាមរយៈជំពូកនេះអ្នកអានរបាយការណ៍ នឹងបានយល់កាន់តែច្រើនថែមទៀតអំពីការឆ្លើយតបរបស់ខ្លួនផ្ទាល់ដែលជារឿយៗកើតមានឡើងជាស្វ័យប្រវត្តិចំពោះខ្លឹមសារនៅក្នុងរបាយការណ៍ ។ សារៈសំខាន់មួយទៀត អ្នកអាននឹងបានយល់អំពីការឆ្លើយតបរបស់អ្នកដទៃ ហើយការធ្វើបែបនេះនឹងអាចផ្តួចផ្តើមកិច្ចពិភាក្សា រកវិធីសាស្ត្រដើម្បីឆ្លើយតបចំពោះបញ្ហាដ៏សំខាន់ ហើយខុសប្លែកពីបញ្ហាដទៃទៀត ។

ការអនុវត្តន៍គំរោងស្រាវជ្រាវនេះបានបង្ហាញអោយឃើញអំពីបទពិសោធន៍ កុមារកម្ពុជាធ្លាប់ជួបប្រទះរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ហើយប្រហែលដោយសារលក្ខណៈខុសប្លែកគ្នានេះឯងដែលបានបិទបាំងការពិតថា បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះមានកុមារកម្ពុជាមួយភាគធំធ្លាប់បានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសកំរិតធ្ងន់ធ្ងរ ។ យើងបានដឹងពីចំណុចខុសគ្នាពីរបទពិសោធន៍របស់កុមារដែលក្នុងកំរិតម្ខាងនោះ គឺកុមារមានលក្ខណៈ "ស្ងួតត្រង់" ។ ចំណុចនេះកត់សំគាល់ដោយកុមារីម្នាក់អាយុ១៣ឆ្នាំ នៅស្រុកលើកដែកនៅពេលកំពុងបំពេញកំរងសំណួរអង្កេតរបស់នាង នាងបានមកជួបក្រុមស្រាវជ្រាវអោយជួយ ។ នាងសួរថា "តើគេសរសេរពាក្យថា "ទើប" យ៉ាងម៉េចទៅ?" ។ នាងធ្លាប់បានឃើញប្រុស និងស្រីទើបគ្នានៅក្នុងទូរទស្សន៍ ហើយចាត់ទុកថាការទើបគ្នាគឺជារឿងអាសអាភាសដែរ ។ ក្នុងកំរិតម្ខាងទៀតមានកុមារីជាច្រើន (ចម្លើយចំពោះកំរងសំណួរ និងបទពិសោធន៍ ពួកគេបានត្រួតពិនិត្យ និង ផ្ទៀងផ្ទាត់យ៉ាងហ្មត់ចត់នៅពេលសម្ភាសន៍) ដែលបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសកំរិតធ្ងន់ធ្ងរបំផុត ដូចជាសកម្មភាពរួមភេទរវាងមនុស្សនឹងមនុស្ស និងរវាងមនុស្ស និងសត្វជាដើម ^២ ។

ទិន្នន័យ

ទិន្នន័យដែលទទួលបាននៅក្នុងគំរោងស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ និងការវិភាគខាងលើនេះបញ្ជាក់ថា ទិន្នន័យដែលប្រមូលនៅក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង កាលពីឆ្នាំ២០០៥ របស់អង្គការទស្សនៈពិភពលោកកម្ពុជា និងការស្រាវជ្រាវអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាសកន្លងមកដោយក្រុមសុខុមាលភាពកុមារ (Child Welfare Group) ពិតជាត្រឹមត្រូវ ។ មានភាពខុសគ្នាបន្តិចបន្តួចចំពោះស្ថិតិដែលបានរកឃើញតាមរយៈការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះនៅក្នុងស្រុកផ្សេងៗនៃប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណា សូមបញ្ជាក់ថាស្ថិតិដែលខុសគ្នាតែបន្តិចបន្តួចនេះ មិនផ្លាស់ប្តូរការពិតដែលថា បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះយុវជនកម្ពុជាមួយភាគធំកំពុងតែមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសកំរិតធ្ងន់ធ្ងរនោះទេ ។ ជាងនេះទៅទៀតគ្មានហេតុផលណាដែលមានលក្ខណៈស្រដៀងគ្នារវាងស្ថិតិនៃការមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសរបស់កុមារនៅតាមស្រុក ភូមិផ្សេងៗនៃប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ឬក្នុងរយៈពេលខុសគ្នា

^២ សូមមើលឧបសម្ព័ន្ធនិយាយលំអិតអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាសស៊ីដេរ៉ាមួយចំនួន ដែលសព្វថ្ងៃនេះអាចរកបាននៅកម្ពុជា ដែលរូបភាពទាំងអស់នេះត្រូវបានអះអាងថាមានតាមរយៈការទិញនៅពេលស្រាវជ្រាវនៅតាមស្រុកនានា ។

ឡើយ ។ នៅក្នុងពិភពសកលភារូបនីយកម្មនេះ កម្ពុជាកំពុងតែអភិវឌ្ឍយ៉ាងឆាប់រហ័ស ។ ស្ថានភាពសង្គម និងសេដ្ឋកិច្ចកំពុងតែប្រសើរឡើង សូម្បីតែនៅតំបន់ដាច់ស្រយាលក៏មានភាពប្រសើរដែរ ។ បច្ចេកវិទ្យា ទូរទស្សន៍ អាចប្រើបានដោយអាកុយឧបករណ៍បំបែងអគ្គិសនីចេញពីអាកុយដែលអាចបង្កើតថាមពល ២៤០ វ៉ុល និងម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់វីស៊ីឌីនេះ មានតម្លៃថោកទោះបីវាជាម៉ាស៊ីនថ្មី សម្ភារៈទាំងនេះមានតម្លៃថោកណាស់នៅលើទីផ្សារជុំវិញដូចដែលអ្នកផ្តល់ព័ត៌មានបានបង្ហាញ ។ ជាមួយគ្នានេះដែរ ដូចបានចង្អុលបង្ហាញខាងលើរួចមកហើយ “ឥទ្ធិពលតូចតាច” អាចនាំអោយមានបញ្ហាសង្គមធំដុំបាន ហើយការណែនាំនូវម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់វីស៊ីឌីមួយចំនួនតូចចូលទៅក្នុងភូមិមួយ អាចបង្កអោយមានផលប៉ះពាល់យ៉ាងធ្ងន់ធ្ងរទៅលើជីវិតប្រជាជនយ៉ាងឆាប់រហ័ស ។

ខណៈដែលសកលភារូបនីយកម្មបាននាំអោយប្រទេសកម្ពុជាក្លាយជាប្រទេសផ្តល់ផ្តល់សម្លៀកបំពាក់ដ៏ធំដ៏លំដាប់ទីផ្សារពិភពលោកនោះ វាក៏បណ្តាលអោយកម្ពុជា និងយុវជនកម្ពុជា (គួរបញ្ជាក់ផងដែរថា ការណ៍នេះក៏រួមបញ្ចូលទាំងមនុស្សពេញវ័យ) ងាយនឹងរងគ្រោះថ្នាក់ពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាសដែលមានផលិតគ្រប់ច្រកច្រកនៃពិភពលោក ។ ចំពោះប្រការនេះជាការចាំបាច់បំផុតនោះ គឺគេត្រូវដោះស្រាយបញ្ហារូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅកម្ពុជា ជាបញ្ហាដែលមានលក្ខណៈជានិរន្តរ៍ ។ ការធ្វើផ្ទុយពីនេះអាចចាត់ទុកជាការយល់ច្រឡំអំពីបុព្វហេតុដែលបណ្តាលអោយ “ផ្ទះ” នូវរូបភាពអាសអាភាសដែលកុមារកម្ពុជាមួយភាគធំកំពុងតែរងការប៉ះពាល់បច្ចុប្បន្ន ដូចដែលមានបង្ហាញស្រាប់នៅក្នុងរបាយការណ៍នេះ ។ ទស្សនៈដែលទំលាក់កំហុសការប្រើប្រាស់រូបភាពអាសអាភាសទៅលើបុគ្គលថា “អាក្រក់” កុមារត្រូវទទួល “ការអប់រំ” ឬ “កែលម្អឡើងវិញ” នោះមិនមែនគ្រាន់តែខកខានមិនបានមើលឃើញពីកំរិតដែលកុមារបានពាក់ព័ន្ធក្នុងលក្ខណៈជានិរន្តរ៍គ្រោះដោយផ្ទាល់ ឬដោយប្រយោលប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ ប៉ុន្តែក៏អាចនាំអោយមានការប្រថុយប្រថានក្នុងការប្រើប្រាស់អន្តរាគមន៍ ដោយផ្អែកតាមការទំលាក់កំហុស និងការដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្មផងដែរ^៧ ។ ហើយប្រសិនបើត្រូវបានជៀសវាងវិធីដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្ម ហើយអន្តរាគមន៍ ផ្តោតតែទៅលើបុគ្គល ជាជាងបញ្ហាផ្តោតទៅលើការចូលរួមជាលក្ខណៈជានិរន្តរ៍ នោះអាចនឹងមានគ្រោះថ្នាក់ដោយធ្វើអោយអន្តរាគមន៍ នោះមិនមានប្រសិទ្ធភាព^៨ ។

គឺបណ្តាលមកពីកត្តាខាងលើនេះហើយពោលគឺការផ្លាស់ប្តូរផ្នែកបច្ចេកវិទ្យា និងសង្គមលឿនខ្លាំងពេក រួមជាមួយនឹងផលប៉ះពាល់នៃ “ឥទ្ធិពលបន្តិចបន្តួច” ទាំងនោះហើយ ដែលបាននាំអោយមានការផ្ទុះឡើងនូវបញ្ហារូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅកម្ពុជា ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយបញ្ហាកុមារ (មនុស្សពេញវ័យ) ដែលបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសហាក់ដូចជាកំពុងតែរីកសាយបន្តិចម្តងៗក្លាយជាបញ្ហាសង្គមនៅក្នុងទម្រង់វត្សរ៍ក្រោយ និងច្រើនទសវត្សរ៍ខាងមុខទៀត ។ នៅអំឡុងពេលនេះការផ្តោតសំខាន់របស់រដ្ឋាភិបាល និងអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល គឺទៅលើបញ្ហាដូចជាការជួញដូរមនុស្ស ការរំលោភបំពានកុមារ

^៧ McCocoy លើកចំណុចស្រដៀងនេះទាក់ទងនឹងយុវនារីដែលលក់ភេទនៅអាស៊ីអាគ្នេយ៍ និងខាងកើត ។ A. McCocoy “ការបន្ថោសកុមារចំពោះការកេងប្រវ័ញ្ច ខ្លួនឯង : ស្ថានភាពនៅអាស៊ីខាងកើត ។” របាយការណ៍លើកទី ៧ ស្តីពីការអនុវត្តរបៀបវារៈសំរាប់សកម្មភាពប្រឆាំងនឹងការកេងប្រវ័ញ្ចផ្លូវភេទលើកុមាររបស់ ECPAT ។ ភ្នំពេញ ឆ្នាំ២០០៣ ។

^៨ សំរាប់ការពិភាក្សាអំពីបញ្ហាជានិរន្តរ៍ដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធ សូមមើលការងាររបស់អង្គការទស្សនៈពិភពលោកឆ្នាំ២០០៥ លើផ្នែកអំពីហិរញ្ញវាយន្សំ និងរូបភាពអនាថារ ។ Graham Fordham ។ “ត្រូវឈ្លាសវៃ” មុននឹងដល់ពេល : យុវជន អំពើហិង្សាយេនឌ័រ និងរូបភាពអនាថារនៅស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង ។ (ភ្នំពេញ : អង្គការទស្សនៈពិភព លោកកម្ពុជា ឆ្នាំ២០០៥) ។

និងការប្រព្រឹត្តិអំពើអនាចារជាមួយកុមារ ព្រមទាំងតួនាទីរបស់បណ្តាញអ៊ិនធឺណិត នៅក្នុងសកម្មភាពទាំងនេះ^៥ ។ ដូច្នេះការភ័យភ័យភ័យផ្នែកសីលធម៌ អំពីបញ្ហាទាំងនេះកំពុងគ្របដណ្តប់ការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ទាំងរដ្ឋាភិបាល អង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាល/អង្គការអន្តរជាតិនានា ហើយបានបង្វែរការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់នោះចេញអំពីបញ្ហានៃការមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសរបស់កុមារកម្ពុជាទៅជាទម្រង់ថ្មីនៃការរំលោភបំពានកុមារ^៦ ។

លទ្ធផលនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវ

ផ្ទុយពីការយល់ដឹងរបស់យើងអំពីការមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសរបស់កុមារកម្ពុជាដែលទទួលបាននៅអំឡុងតំរោងស្រាវជ្រាវកន្លងមក គំរោងឆ្នាំ២០០៦នេះបានបង្កើនការយល់ដឹងរបស់យើងយ៉ាងច្រើនអំពីបញ្ហា និងរបៀបដែលកុមារកំពុងតែមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនាពេលបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ។ ដោយគ្រាន់តែធ្វើឡើងជាផ្នែកតូចនៃគំរោងដ៏ធំមួយ ផ្តោតទៅលើអំពើហិង្សាផ្នែកយេនឌ័រនោះ ការស្រាវជ្រាវឆ្នាំ២០០៥របស់អង្គការទស្សនៈពិភពលោកអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាស បានទទួលយកការពិតជាច្រើនដែលគេមិនយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ថាមានមនុស្សនៅក្នុងមជ្ឈដ្ឋានអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ “បានដឹង” អំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាស។ ទោះបីការស្រាវជ្រាវអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាសរបស់គំរោងបានបញ្ជាក់ថា បញ្ហាកុមារមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាស គឺជាហេតុបង្កបញ្ហាសង្គមអោយកាន់តែរីកចម្រើនក៏ដោយក៏វាពុំទាន់មានលក្ខណៈទូលំទូលាយគ្រប់គ្រាន់ដើម្បីទប់ទល់នឹងបញ្ហាមួយចំនួនដែលគ្រប់គ្នា “បានដឹង” រួចហើយនោះដែរ។ ដូច្នេះហើយគេបានសន្មត់ក្រោយពីការស្រាវជ្រាវខាងដើមថា កន្លែងដែលកុមារបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសមាននៅតែតាមកន្លែងសាធារណៈ ដូចជាហាងកាហ្វេ បារ ខាវ៉ាអូខេ ដែលបញ្ចាំងកុនអាសអាភាសដើម្បីទាក់ទាញអតិថិជនប៉ុណ្ណោះដោយពុំបានយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ស៊ើបអង្កេតអំពីកំរិតដែលអ្នកភូមិចាប់ផ្តើមទិញឧបករណ៍ដើម្បីចាក់វីដេអូនោះឡើយ។

របកគំហើញពីរនៃគំរោងស្រាវជ្រាវឆ្នាំ២០០៦ បានផ្តល់ប្តូរការយល់ដឹងរបស់យើង អំពីលទ្ធភាពស្វែងរករូបភាពអាសអាភាសរបស់កុមារកម្ពុជា។ របកគំហើញទីមួយគឺអ្នកភូមិកំពុងតែចាប់ផ្តើមទិញម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់វីដេអូដើម្បីបន្ថែមឧបករណ៍អេឡិចត្រូនិចដែលខ្លួនមានស្រាប់ ជាលទ្ធផល បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះជារឿយៗកុមារអាចមើលកុនអាសអាភាសស៊ីជីវេនៅក្នុងផ្ទះរបស់ខ្លួន និងផ្ទះអ្នកជិតខាងបាន ហើយឪពុកម្តាយរបស់ពួកគេពុំបានដឹងឡើយ។ របកគំហើញទីពីរគឺ អ្នករកស៊ីនៅតាមភូមិកំពុងតែចាប់ផ្តើមជួលវីដេអូអាសអាភាសក្នុងតម្លៃថោក ហើយអ្នករកស៊ីទាំងនោះដោះដូរតាមរយៈបណ្តាញពិភូមិមួយទៅភូមិមួយ។ ការផ្លាស់ប្តូរលំនាំនៃលទ្ធភាពស្វែងរកមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាស មានន័យថាបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះកុមារមានលទ្ធភាព (មិនចាំបាច់ខ្លាំង) ងាយជាងមុនក្នុងការរកមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសក្នុងកំរិតធ្ងន់ធ្ងរ ដូច្នេះហើយបញ្ហាដែលកុមារបានមើល

^៥ Hughes, D.M. “ការស្នាគមន៍ចំពោះការបោះជំរុំពិភាក្សាអំពីការរំលោភសេពសន្ថវៈ “ការជួញដូរផ្លូវភេទតាមបណ្តាញអ៊ិនធឺណិតនៅកម្ពុជា” ។ ទស្សនាវដ្តីរំលោភ ផ្លូវភេទ” វ៉ុល ៦/១-២ (២០០០) ទំព័រ ១-២៣ ។

^៦ សំរាប់អ្នកវិទ្យាសាស្ត្រសង្គម ការភ័យភ័យផ្នែកសីលធម៌ គឺជាស្ថានភាពមួយដែលកើតឡើងយូរម្តងៗ នៅគ្រប់សង្គមជាតិទាំងអស់ នៅពេលដែលកូខណូ យុគសម័យ បុគ្គល ឬក្រុមមនុស្សត្រូវបានគេកំណត់ថាជាការគំរាមកំហែងចំពោះតម្លៃ ឬផលប្រយោជន៍សង្គម ហើយបានឆានសង្គមត្រូវគេចលនាដើម្បីដោះស្រាយការគំរាមកំហែងនេះ ។ សូមមើល ឯកសារដោយ S. Cohen, S. មានចំណងជើងថា *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers.* (St Albans, Herts: Paladin, 1973). ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ បើតាមការពន្យល់របស់លោក Jenkins បញ្ហាការភ័យភ័យផ្នែកសីលធម៌ និងការឆ្លើយតបរបស់សង្គមដែលគេប្រាថ្នាចង់ពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹង “នយោបាយជំនួស” និងការបង្វែរការ យកចិត្តទុកដាក់ទៅរកបញ្ហាផ្សេងទៀត ។ សូមមើលស្នាដៃរបស់លោក Jenkins, P. មាន ចំណងជើងថា *សត្រូវជិតស្និទ្ធ - ការភ័យភ័យផ្នែកសីលធម៌នៅក្រុងអង់គ្លេសបច្ចុប្បន្ន* (*Intimate Enemies - Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1992) ។

រូបភាពអាសអាភាសកំពុងតែក្លាយជាបញ្ហាកាន់តែធ្ងន់ធ្ងរឡើង ។ សព្វថ្ងៃនេះគេមិនត្រូវគ្រាន់តែតាមដានកុមារដែលមានលទ្ធភាពប្រើប្រាស់កុំព្យូទ័រនៅតាមផ្ទះ ឬនៅតាមហាងអ៊ិនធឺណិតនោះឡើយ ។

ចំណុចសំខាន់ដែលត្រូវធ្វើការកត់សំគាល់ផងដែរនោះគឺកុមារ និងមនុស្សពេញវ័យមានលទ្ធភាពអាចរករូបភាពអាសអាភាសបាន នៅពេលបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ ភាគច្រើនគឺនៅតាមកន្លែងឯកជនដែលបណ្តាលអោយការគ្រប់គ្រងសកម្មភាពនេះកាន់តែលំបាកជាងរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅតាមទីសាធារណៈ ។ កន្លងមកការបញ្ចាំងរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅកន្លែងសាធារណៈដូចជាហាងកាហ្វេដើម គឺម្ចាស់ហាងបានប្រើប្រាស់ "ល្បិច" ផ្សេងៗ ដោយម្ចាស់ហាងប្រើទូរទស្សន៍ពីរគ្រឿង ឬម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់វីដេអូពីរគ្រឿង (មួយគ្រឿងបញ្ចាំងរឿងធម្មតា ឯមួយគ្រឿងទៀតបញ្ចាំងរឿងអាសអាភាស) រួចហើយប្តូរទៅជាវឿងធម្មតាដើម្បីគេពិការតាមដានរបស់ប៉ូលីស ។ អ្នកផ្តល់ព័ត៌មាននៅអង្គការក្រៅរដ្ឋាភិបាលម្នាក់នៅក្រុងភ្នំពេញបានពន្យល់ថា បច្ចុប្បន្ននេះមានកន្លែងខ្លះឈានដល់បញ្ជូនរូបភាពអាសអាភាសដល់ទូរទស្សន៍នៅកន្លែងផ្សេងៗតាមរយៈម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់វីដេអូចេញពីអាគារដាច់ដោយឡែកដើម្បីគេពិការតាមដានរបស់ប៉ូលីសទៀតផង ។ លំនាំថ្មីនៃការទស្សនារូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅតាមផ្ទះ មិនមែនគ្រាន់តែផ្លាស់ប្តូរការគ្រប់គ្រងរូបភាពអាសអាភាសដោយប៉ូលីសប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ គឺអាចផ្លាស់ប្តូរទាំងបញ្ហាផ្លូវច្បាប់ទាក់ទងនឹងការបង្ក្រាបផងដែរ ។ ចំណុចដែលមានសារៈសំខាន់នោះគឺបកគំហើញទាំងនេះអាចពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងការរៀបចំកម្មវិធីអន្តរាគមន៍ដើម្បីសម្រាលឧបត្តិហេតុ និងផលប៉ះពាល់នៃការមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសរបស់កុមារ ។

បកគំហើញអំពីរបៀបដែលកុមារប៉ះពាល់បណ្តាញព័ត៌មានរូបភាពអាសអាភាសបច្ចុប្បន្ននេះ គឺជារបកគំហើញស្នូលនៃគំរោងនេះ ។ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ ចំណុចដែលមានសារៈសំខាន់ដូចគ្នាដែរនោះគឺតាមរយៈការសម្ភាសន៍យ៉ាងទូលំទូលាយជាមួយកុមារ គេអាចកំណត់បានជារួមថា យុវជនកម្ពុជាមួយភាគធំ (ទាំងប្រុសទាំងស្រី) បានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ហើយរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនោះ គឺជារូបភាពអាសអាភាសដែលមានកិរិតធ្ងន់ធ្ងរទៀតផង ហើយវាពិតជាមានផលប៉ះពាល់យ៉ាងពិតប្រាកដទៅលើជីវិតរស់នៅរបស់ពួកគេ ទោះបីយុវជនទាំងនោះបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសដោយផ្ទាល់ក្តី ឬដោយមិនផ្ទាល់ក្តី ។

តើត្រូវធ្វើដំណើរតាមដូចណា ? ការចង្អុលទិសសំរាប់អន្តរាគមន៍

យើងសូមស្នើអោយប្រើអន្តរាគមន៍ជាទម្រង់ផ្សេងៗ ក្នុងគោលបំណងកាត់បន្ថយការមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាស និងផលប៉ះពាល់របស់វា ដោយសំដៅទៅរកឪពុកម្តាយ និងកូនរបស់ពួកគេ ។ កម្មវិធីអាចផ្តល់ជាក្រុមនៅថ្នាក់ភូមិ ទោះជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយត្រូវពិចារណាការប្រើប្រាស់បណ្តាញព័ត៌មានអេឡិចត្រូនិកដូចជាវីទេអូជាដើមផងដែរ ដើម្បីអោយមានការពិភាក្សាដោយបើកចំហនៅទូទាំងប្រទេសអំពីបញ្ហារូបភាពអាសអាភាសក្នុងកិរិតធ្ងន់ធ្ងរ និងការប្រើប្រាស់រូបភាពទាំងនោះក្នុងសង្គម និងផលប៉ះពាល់របស់វាទៅលើសង្គមកម្ពុជាទាំងមូល ។

ឪពុកម្តាយ : ទោះបីពួកគេមើល ឬមិនមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសក៏ដោយ ក៏ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះបានរកឃើញថា ឪពុកម្តាយភាគច្រើនមិនចង់អោយកូនរបស់ពួកគេមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនោះឡើយ កុមារតូចៗអាចអនុគ្រោះអោយចូលទៅក្នុងក្រុមមនុស្សធំដែលកំពុងមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ប៉ុន្តែឪពុកម្តាយមិនអនុញ្ញាតអោយកុមារជំទង់មើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទេ ។

គេតែងប្រាប់អោយកុមារជំទង់អោយចាកចេញពីបន្ទប់ ឬមិនអនុញ្ញាតអោយចូល ចំណែកឯកុមារីត្រូវម្តាយឪពុកហាមមិនអោយមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសឡើយ ។ ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះក៏បានរកឃើញផងដែរថា ឪពុកម្តាយភាគច្រើនមិនដឹងថាកូនៗរបស់ខ្លួនបានមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទេ ដោយសារកូនៗទាំងនោះមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅពេលដែលឪពុកម្តាយមិននៅផ្ទះ (ជូនកាលពេលឪពុកម្តាយទៅនិយាយលេងជាមួយអ្នកជិតខាង) ឬពួកគេមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅផ្ទះរបស់មិត្តភក្តិដែលឪពុកម្តាយរបស់ពួកគេមិននៅផ្ទះ ។ ជាមួយគ្នានេះដូចដែលមានបង្ហាញជូននៅក្នុងជំពូក៤ ទោះបីមនុស្សពេញវ័យមួយភាគធំមិនចង់អោយកូនៗរបស់ខ្លួនមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសក៏ដោយ ពួកគេមិនសូវតឹងរឹងក្នុងការហាមឃាត់មិនអោយកូនៗរបស់អ្នកដទៃមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទេ ជាពិសេសប្រសិនបើកុមារទាំងនោះនៅតូចៗ និងជាកុមារា ។ ចំណុចនេះបង្ហាញថាត្រូវធ្វើអោយឪពុកម្តាយយល់អំពីការទទួលខុសត្រូវចំពោះកុមារទាំងអស់ មិនមែនទទួលខុសត្រូវចំពោះតែកូនរបស់ខ្លួនផ្ទាល់ឡើយ ។

កម្មវិធីសំរាប់ឪពុកម្តាយគួរធ្វើឡើងក្នុងគោលបំណងដើម្បីផ្តល់ព័ត៌មានដល់ពួកគេអំពីកំរិតនៃរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅក្នុង សហគមន៍របស់ខ្លួន និងអំពីលក្ខណៈនៃរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនោះផងដែរ ។ កម្មវិធីក៏គួរសំដៅបង្កើនការយល់ដឹងរបស់ឪពុកម្តាយអំពីលទ្ធផលអាក្រក់របស់រូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅក្នុងជីវិតបុគ្គល និងសហគមន៍ ។ មានរបកគំហើញអវិជ្ជមានមួយចំនួនដែលបានកត់សំគាល់នៅក្នុងឯកសារសិក្សានៅក្នុងជំពូក២ ។ ឪពុកម្តាយគួរមានឱកាសដើម្បីពិភាក្សាថា តើកម្ពុជាប្រភេទនេះឬដែលគេចង់បាននៅពេលអនាគត និងពិភាក្សាអំពីរបៀបដែលពួកគេអាចឆ្លើយតបចំពោះការគំរាមកំហែងរបស់រូបភាពអាសអាភាសចំពោះកូនៗរបស់ពួកគេ និងសហគមន៍កម្ពុជាទាំងមូល ។ ការឆ្លើយតបរបស់ពួកគេគួរសំដៅទៅរកការជំរុញប្រធានភូមិ និងប្រធានឃុំអោយធ្វើសកម្មភាពបង្រៀមរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ហើយចាត់វិធានការចំពោះអ្នកដែលពាក់ព័ន្ធ នឹងការចែកចាយ ឬបញ្ជាំងរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនៅទីសាធារណៈ ឬអាចសំដៅទៅរកការពិភាក្សាជាមួយកូនៗរបស់ខ្លួនអំពីគ្រោះថ្នាក់នៃរូបភាពអាសអាភាស ។ ការឆ្លើយតបជាក់ស្តែងមួយនោះគឺឪពុកម្តាយ អាចគិតគូរអំពីមធ្យោបាយធ្វើកុំអោយម៉ាស៊ីនចាក់វីដេអូអាចដំណើរការកើតនៅពេលខ្លួនមិននៅផ្ទះ ។ ចុងក្រោយឪពុកម្តាយគួរទទួលបានសិទ្ធិអំណាចដើម្បីកុំអោយមានអារម្មណ៍ថាខ្លួនជាមនុស្សហួសសម័យ ឬជាមនុស្សប្រតិកិរិយានៅពេលប្រាប់កូនៗរបស់ខ្លួនមិនអោយមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសនោះ ។

កុមារ : ជាការគួរអោយកត់សំគាល់នៅអំឡុងពេលសម្ភាសន៍នោះគឺ ទោះបីអ្នកផ្តល់ព័ត៌មាននិយាយអំពីរូបភាពអាសអាភាសក្នុងន័យ "អស្ចារ្យ" មានលក្ខណៈគួរអោយចង់ដឹងចង់ឮ និងមានលក្ខណៈទាក់ទាញខាងរូបកាយ និងខាងអារម្មណ៍ក៏ដោយក៏កុមារមួយភាគធំបានចាត់ទុករូបភាពអាសអាភាសថា "អាក្រក់" ចំពោះអ្នកដែលបានមើល និងចំពោះប្រទេសកម្ពុជាទាំងមូល ។ មួយភាគធំនៃកុមារា និងកុមារីមិនចង់រៀបការជាមួយអ្នកដែលមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទេ ហើយពួកគេក៏មិនចង់អោយអនាគតកូនរបស់ខ្លួនប៉ះពាល់រូបភាពអាសអាភាសដែរ ។ ផ្នត់គំនិតទាំងអស់នេះចំពោះរូបភាពអាសអាភាសផ្តល់ជាមូលដ្ឋានដ៏រឹងមាំសំរាប់ស្វែងរកយុទ្ធនាការអន្តរាគមន៍ សំរាប់ កុមារ ។

យើងសូមស្នើថាទិដ្ឋភាព "ពិត" នៃវីដេអូអាសអាភាសគួរតែបង្ហាញផងដែរ ។ អាចប្រើជាឧបករណ៍ (ដោយមានការបកប្រែ) នូវឯកសារមួយចំនួនជាភាសាថៃដែលមានកត់សំគាល់នៅក្នុងជំពូក៤ ។ ដើម្បីបង្ហាញរឿងពិតនៃការកេងប្រវ័ញ្ច ការឈឺចាប់ និងការរំលោភបំពាននៅពិក្រាយល្បែងស្នេហាបំភ័ន្តភ្នែកនៃរូបភាពអាសអាភាសដូចមាន

បង្ហាញជូននៅក្នុងជំពូក៤ស្រាប់ ជាពិសេសកុមារាបានបង្ហាញនូវកង្វះការយល់ចិត្តយ៉ាងខ្លាំងចំពោះកុមារីដែលខ្លួនបានឃើញ នៅក្នុងវីដេអូអាសអាភាសទាំងនោះ ។ នេះជាប្រធានបទមួយដែលត្រូវដោះស្រាយ ។ ការពិតណាស់ដែលថាមនុស្សម្នាក់ ត្រូវគេកេងប្រវ័ញ្ច (ហើយកំពុងតែកេងប្រវ័ញ្ចខ្លួនឯង) ប្រសិនបើគេចាញ់បោករូបភាពក្លែងក្លាយ អាចជាប្រធានបទមួយ ទៀតដ៏សំខាន់ផងដែរ ។

ជួនកាលហាក់ដូចជាបង្ហាញថាការរឿងឆ្លងចង់ដឹងចង់អំពីខ្លួនប្រាណ និងរឿងភេទ ជាពិសេសករណីកុមារី ជាកត្តាដែលជំរុញអោយយុវជនប្រើប្រាស់រូបភាពអាសអាភាសផងដែរ ។ នេះជាករណីកើតឡើងយ៉ាងពិតប្រាកដ ហើយការ អប់រំអំពីរឿងភេទអោយបានត្រឹមត្រូវអាចនឹងជួយកាត់បន្ថយការរឿងឆ្លងបាន ។ គេមិនប្រាកដថាកម្មវិធីដូចពេលនេះមាន ភាពសមស្របចំពោះអំពើអនាថារប្រាសចាកសីលធម៌ដ៏ស៊ីជម្រៅដែលអាចនឹងកើតមានឡើងឬយ៉ាងណានោះទេ តែទោះជា យ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ គេអាចប្រើកម្មវិធីនេះដើម្បីបើកឱកាសអោយមានការពិភាក្សាអំពីបញ្ហានេះដែរ ។

ជាទីបញ្ចប់ តាមសេចក្តីសន្និដ្ឋានយើងសូមសង្កត់ធ្ងន់ថា នៅពេលគិតគូរអំពីឥទ្ធិពលអាក្រក់នៃរូបភាពអាសអាភាស គេមិនគួរកាត់បន្ថយឥទ្ធិពលទាំងនេះត្រឹមតែបញ្ហាសីលធម៌ និងផលប៉ះពាល់នៃរូបភាពអាសអាភាសទៅលើការប្រព្រឹត្តិ និង វប្បធម៌កម្ពុជាប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ ។ ការបង្កើនកាមតុណ្ណនៅក្នុងជីវិតកុមារមុនពេលវេលាសមស្រប និងខុសបរិបទទំនាក់ទំនង ជាបុព្វហេតុនាំអោយមានបញ្ហាផ្សេងៗដូចជាបញ្ហាអាជីវកម្មផ្លូវភេទ ការឆ្លងរាលដាលមេរោគអេដស៍ ការរំលោភ (រួមទាំង ការរំលោភលើអនីតិជន) ការកើនឡើងនៃម្តាយដែលមិនបានរៀបការ និងការមានកូនដែលគេមិនចង់បានជាដើម (រហូតការណ៍ អំពីរឿងនេះមានព្រឹត្តិការណ៍នៅអំឡុងពេលស្រាវជ្រាវ) ចំណែកនៅក្នុងជីវិតអាពាហ៍ពិពាហ៍វិញក៏រឹតតែអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងគ្រួសារ បានកើនឡើង ។ ដូចគ្នាដែរការធ្វើអោយមានកាមតុណ្ណនៅក្នុងជីវិតកុមារតាំងពីវ័យក្មេង នឹងរួមចំណែកធ្វើអោយមានភាព ងាយស្រួលក្នុងការអូសទាញកុមារីអោយធ្លាក់ទៅក្នុងការជួញដូរ ឬឧស្សាហកម្មជួញដូរផ្លូវភេទផងដែរ ។ ដូច្នេះក៏រឹតតែកើនឡើង នៃការមើលរូបភាពអាសអាភាសរបស់កុមារ (និងមនុស្សពេញវ័យ) គឺជាបញ្ហាសុខភាពសាធារណៈផង និងបញ្ហាសណ្តាប់ធ្នាប់ សង្គមផង ហើយដូចគ្នានឹងបញ្ហាសុខភាពសាធារណៈ ឬបញ្ហាវេជ្ជសាស្ត្រផ្លូវភេទដទៃទៀតដែរ គឺត្រូវតែមានដំណោះស្រាយ ដែលមានលក្ខណៈជារួមសម្រាប់ត្រឹមត្រូវ ។^៧

នៅពេលបញ្ហាមនោសញ្ចេតនារ៉ូត៍ដោយបញ្ហារូបភាពអាសអាភាស និងការប៉ះពាល់របស់កុមារនឹងរូបភាព អាសអាភាសត្រូវបានដោះស្រាយហើយនោះ បញ្ហាសំខាន់គឺការកាត់បន្ថយគ្រោះថ្នាក់ផ្នែកបរិស្ថានដើម្បីបង្កើតអោយមាន បរិយាកាសប្រកបដោយ សុវត្ថិភាពសំរាប់យុវជនកម្ពុជា ។

^៧ K.M. Blankenship, S.J. Bray and M.H. Merson. (អន្តរាគមន៍ដែលមានរចនាសម្ព័ន្ធត្រឹមត្រូវនៅក្នុងសុខភាពសាធារណៈ" ។ *AIDS*. Vol. 14 (Supp 1). (2000). pp. S11 S21 ។ ចំពោះវិស័យជាច្រើនដែលរូបភាពអនាថារបង្កអោយមានឥទ្ធិពលអវិជ្ជមាន គំរោងផ្តោតការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់លើកង្វះក្នុងការកាត់បន្ថយផល ប៉ះពាល់នៃរូបភាពអនាថារអាចនឹងបង្កើតអោយមាន "ចុងមុតស្រួច" ឬ "ឥទ្ធិពលកាន់តែច្រើន" នៅក្នុងវិស័យជាច្រើនទៀត ដូច្នេះហើយការកាត់បន្ថយការប៉ះពាល់ របស់ កុមារទៅនឹងរូបភាពអនាថារ និងការកាត់បន្ថយផលប៉ះពាល់របស់វា អាចនឹងមានប្រសិទ្ធភាពចំណាយខ្ពស់ បើប្រៀបធៀបជាមួយនឹងគំរោងដែលផ្តោតតែទៅលើបញ្ហា តែមួយ ។

Preface

The title of this report, “As if they were watching *my* body” is taken from the comments of a 14-year-old girl living in a remote rural village in Chulkiri district, Kampong Chhnang province.⁸ Discussing how she feels when boys who have been watching hard-core pornography talk loudly about the things they have seen in films—with the intention that girls will hear them—she said of the female performers on the videos, “Those girls are like me, it’s as if they [the boys] were watching *my* body.” This comment illustrates not only the discomfort young women feel when they encounter such harassment, but also the fact that when hard-core pornography enters a community, gender relations, even amongst children, are increasingly sexualised—and that even though many members of the community may not be directly exposed to pornography, they are nevertheless affected by it.

Pornography research is highly sensitive, and especially so when the topic concerns the exposure of children to pornography. Accordingly, considerable effort was expended to ensure the highest level of ethical practice at each stage of the project. However, given the findings of this research, that a substantial portion of the children surveyed have been exposed to various forms of hard-core pornography and often at an early age, this report is likely to be controversial. Many, whether in the NGO/IO sectors or in government, may hope that the results represent only small groups of children and not the situation of Cambodian children as a whole. It is true that only a much more ambitious research project could provide an accurate statistical portrait of the degree to which Cambodian children in each province are exposed to pornography.

Yet, on the basis of more than 20 years of research in the region and study of pornography’s effects on remote northern Thai villages during the 1990s, the consultant would urge that this report be taken with the utmost seriousness. This is now the third research project to address the exposure of Cambodian children to pornography. The data from each project have shown that a significant percentage of Cambodian boys and girls are exposed to hard-core pornography—and it must be stressed that the pornography with which this report is concerned is *extremely* hard-core. Moreover, there are now more avenues of exposure than in the past. Technological advances have made the distribution and copying of pornographic materials increasingly easy. There has been a reduction in the cost of both pornographic films and the machines on which they are played. And, as this report details, the overnight rental of pornographic VCDs and the public showing of pornography under or behind private homes is now a new business niche for village-level entrepreneurs.

8. Almost identical comments were made by several other girls. A 16-year-old, for example, noted that looking at pornographic books made her feel afraid, because she felt that when boys looked at the pictures of naked women, it was as if they were looking at her.

Pornography is directly implicated in issues such as gender-based violence, the use of commercial sex workers and the spread of HIV/AIDS and the rape of children by perpetrators who are themselves often minors. It may also predispose young women to being trafficked or being lured into the sex industry. Most importantly, it has the potential to exert a malign influence on the normative sexual development of Cambodia's young people, on their future and that of their country. The problem is too important not to be taken seriously and addressed with all possible speed.

Executive Summary

Overview

This report presents research about young Cambodians' exposure to pornography. The research was conducted between March and May 2006, in two rural districts and one urban commune, using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research techniques. Previously, most research on pornography in south-east Asia has focused on children and women as the objects of pornographic representation. Thus, in Cambodia paedophilia and child pornography have been issues of extreme concern over recent years. However, this project (and two earlier projects that formed the basis of this project) represents a new approach because it moves from treating Cambodians as victims of other's representations to an investigation of how representation of the sexual practices of others, as depicted in pornographic media, affect Cambodian children and their developing gender identities.

Research Outcomes

- As a result of technological advancement and economic growth in Cambodia, pornographic video disks and the equipment to play them are now available in many districts, as single villages often have one or two homes with a vcd machine which other villagers can sometimes utilize. As a result, there appears to be a significant level of exposure of Cambodian children to hard-core pornography, and children in both urban areas and remote rural areas are at risk.
- Cambodian children are exposed to hard-core pornography of the most extreme kind. None of the pornography discussed in this report could be labelled soft-core or erotica. Rather, the children interviewed talked openly about pornographic VCDs that featured couples having sex, group sex, sex in every possible permutation, including bestiality (humans having sex with animals), violent rape, the rape of drugged girls and the rape and subsequent killing of the rape victim. In this research process, many interviewed children claimed that the watching of such movies was normal (*tommodar*).
- Although some children are exposed to print pornography, most are exposed to pornography via VCDs, which they prefer because of their appearance of reality. Because VCDs are usually hired/rented from local village-level suppliers, the cost of watching VCDs is

cheaper than books. When the 500 riels cost of VCD rental is shared between four or five children, the cost of accessing pornography is negligible.

- The playing of pornographic movies is no longer restricted to coffee shops or guest-houses in Phnom Penh and the provinces. Because the prices of VCD players and television sets (both new and second hand) have fallen, pornography is now watched in private homes by adults and children. Even many rural children now have access to VCD players, either at their own house or at friends' houses. The electronic equipment is powered by batteries recharged locally, and those watching the videos generally contribute one or two hundred riels each towards the cost of recharging the battery. It might be thought that because most villagers are poor they would not have enough money to purchase and use pornography, but the research found that even though some houses appeared to be extremely poor from the outside, inside were found prized possessions such as televisions, radio cassette players, amplifiers or VCD players.
- Pornography is no longer distributed solely through newspaper stalls or small shops selling video and music CDs. As mentioned above, in the village, entrepreneurs have started hiring out pornographic VCDs, usually at a cost of 500 riels per night, and the evidence suggests inter-village distribution networks. Other small-scale entrepreneurs conduct public screenings of pornography under or behind private homes for a small fee per viewer.
- State-led morality campaigns to crack down on the sale of pornography, the most recent of which began in the latter part of 2005, are only partially effective in controlling the distribution and sale of pornographic materials. These campaigns have been effective in removing pornographic VCDs and books from public display, and the research indicated that, as a result of police activity, the showing of pornography in public venues such as coffee shops has decreased. Nevertheless, pornographic videos are still shown in guest-houses, and although pornographic materials are not on public display, they are still available for sale.
- Some adults reportedly watch pornographic VCDs together with children. However, the majority of parents do not want their own children exposed to pornography. In most cases, parents were not aware that their own children—particularly their daughters—are being exposed to pornography. Parents may admonish their children regarding contact with pornography or with people who watch pornography. Such admonitions are highly effective in preventing or limiting the exposure of young women to pornography because they fear punishment by their mothers. Boys pay less attention to parental admonitions. However,

when parents monitor their sons' activities, those boys are less likely to be exposed to pornography. The research found that the boys who had not been exposed were those who were not allowed to *dar leng*, to wander about unsupervised with their friends.

- Both boys and girls have access to pornography. However, boys usually watch pornography at their houses or the houses of friends, and report that boys tend to view pornography multiple times as a form of entertainment. By contrast, although some girls develop an intense interest in pornography and attempt to view films whenever possible, most view pornography only a few times out of curiosity or are exposed to it by accident.
- Statistics about how many children have or have not been exposed to pornography are highly misleading. Even though only a proportion of the children in a community may be directly exposed to hard-core pornography, that pornography affects all children in as much as the behaviour of children who have watched (or read) pornography changes—and this behaviour affects the other children in the community. Pornography is teaching male children violent and abusive sexual scripts, and teaching them that these are normative ways of being male and of relating sexually to women. Boys use pornography as a tool to assert masculine dominance by boasting loudly among themselves of the things they have seen with the intention that girls will hear them, by speaking roughly to girls and using impolite and rude words to them, by touching girls and by suggesting what they would like to do (sexually) with them. Girls also change, and pornography is likely to be having a detrimental impact on their self-image and on their behaviour. As one girl said about her peers, when they have watched pornography, *they are not shy any more*.
- Discussing the issue of pornography with both boys and girls, the research team found a number of children who considered public service messages like reproductive health, HIV/AIDS and condom promotion and anti-trafficking “spots” to be pornographic. This suggests that the desire to depict reality in public service messages in broadcast and print media needs to be balanced with the fact that they may be interpreted as pornographic, and that much of their intended message is being lost.
- It is likely that among boys pornography, along with the consumption of alcohol, plays a role in male bonding in gangs. It is also likely that pornographic films based on violent rape scenarios, many of which feature Cambodian actors and appear to have been filmed in Cambodia, contribute to acts such as gang rape and the rape of children.

Recommendations

- Given the extreme adverse effects that pornography has on the lives and development of young people, this issue must be addressed as a matter of some urgency by NGOs and IOs working in development. The questions used in the research (see Appendix 3) address a number of ideas that might be useful in an anti-pornography programmes—which could include a project to alert parents to hard-core pornography, the manner in which it can cause damage to their community and how they can protect their children through education and vigilance.

A more in-depth programme could be developed for young people. It is suggested that such a programme should not just provide information, but should provide a space for girls and boys (both as same-sex and mixed groups) to talk about the issues. The consultant is aware of some Thai-language material in which a Thai pornographic-movie star talks about her feelings of degradation and pain as she performed, which makes a powerful contrast between the erotic images and the reality of exploitation, pain and abuse that lie behind the screen.

It may also be possible to utilise media such as radio and discussion-style programmes to open up the issue of pornography in the Cambodian community. Both children and adults need to be aware that these are not just movies, but will likely have long-term effects on the individuals who watch them, on the community and on Cambodian culture. The aim of such programmes should be minimising children's exposure to pornography and also minimising the impact of that exposure.

- It would be useful for World Vision Cambodia and other NGOs to examine the various issues on which they are working and assess the extent to which pornography and alcohol use might be exacerbating problems in their areas. From a programme perspective, it is not effective if NGOs are working to reduce gender-based violence if that work is constantly being undermined by the messages implicit in pornography or by the effects of alcohol. In some cases this might require further research (see following section); however, in other cases it would require no more than taking account of these factors in programme plans.
- World Vision Cambodia and other organisations working at district and village levels should make staff aware of pornography and how it is linked to social problems such as HIV/AIDS, sexual assault and domestic violence. Staff should endeavour to monitor the issue even though it may not fit directly into existing programmes. A short training package should be developed for project staff and for village development committee members.

- At the community level, efforts should be made to motivate police and village and commune chiefs. Village and commune chiefs, in particular, are well placed to know who is renting pornographic videos, and they have the authority to investigate inter-village VCD rental networks. Even if they cannot know what is taking place behind closed doors, they should be able to prevent the public showing of pornographic VCDs.
- Even though the influence of their activities is negative, in reality those distributing pornographic VCDs in rural villages show a high level of entrepreneurial acumen. Instead of driving their activities further underground by adopting a punitive approach, consideration should be given to how their energies might be diverted into other entrepreneurial efforts. Perhaps they might be included in existing micro-finance or other activities in their districts.

Recommendations for Future Research

- If sufficient funding is available, a country-wide survey could be conducted to identify pornography hot spots that could be targeted with pornography reduction programmes. However, the consultant believes that a country-wide survey is less a priority than the two projects outlined below.
- The rape of girl children by boys who are themselves minors, and the rape of teenage girls by men in their early 20s is a significant problem in Cambodian society. Media reports both in Cambodia and Thailand suggest that pornography is implicated in these rapes, because some offenders claim that they were copying what they had seen on videos. Recent research in Thailand has also identified a high rate of pornography use among men convicted for incest. It is suggested that a qualitative research project be carried out in Cambodia among incarcerated sexual offenders in their teenage years and early 20s, to investigate the extent to which pornography is implicated their offences. The results of this research would help with village interventions to prevent further child rapes. It would also provide further evidence and information relevant to policy discussions at all levels. Additionally, it would provide information highly relevant to the rehabilitation of offenders.
- The research revealed a significant level of alcohol use among the research group and revealed that alcohol is sometimes consumed prior to or during watching pornography. As economic growth and development proceed, it is likely that alcohol consumption will rise.

Cambodia is increasingly being targeted by regional and international beverage companies. Accordingly, alcohol-related problems will increase, including those related to sexual assault. A more extensive research project focusing on drinking among children and teenagers would help address the problem. Such a project should use an appropriate mix of quantitative and qualitative research techniques, and should focus in particular on the link between alcohol consumption and notions of masculinity and modernity amongst the new generation.

Chapter One

Introduction

This chapter discusses the scope of the research project, the focus of the research and the research methodologies. Chapter Two addresses scholarly approaches to pornography research and the political context in which these approaches have developed. Chapters Three and Four discuss the research findings about Cambodian children's exposure to pornography and the effects of that exposure. Chapter Five addresses alcohol use among Cambodian children and the relationship between alcohol use and pornography.

The Research Project

The research project aimed at examining the effects of exposure to pornography on youth in Cambodia, and how this has influenced the development of the sexual attitudes and behaviours of both boys and girls.

The consultant engaged for the project is a specialist in Thai society, with 20 years' experience in Thailand and six years' research experience in Cambodia, as well as experience in a range of culture areas. He specialises in the study of masculinity, alcohol use and pornography, and has worked with children and teenagers in the north of Thailand for over a decade. He speaks, reads and writes some Khmer, but prefers to work with a research assistant cum translator to facilitate complex conversations.

The research project was developed on the basis of research conducted by the consultant for World Vision Cambodia in 2005, the results of which suggested that Cambodian youth had a significant exposure to hard-core pornography, and that such exposure often began during prepubescent years.⁹ Drawing on a wide body of social research in Cambodia by non-governmental organisations, as well as research reports produced by respected Cambodian women's organisations, World Vision's 2005 research suggested that pornography was implicated in a wide range of social problems, including gender-based violence, rape and, more generally, men developing callous attitudes and violent sexual practices with women.

The 2005 project, however, focused on gender-based violence, and the issue of pornography formed only a small part of the project. It was designed only to give an indication of the extent to which

9. Fordham (2005a). This project was designed to further advance an earlier pornography research project, reported in Child Welfare Group/World Hope (2003).

pornography is a problem at village level in respect to issues such as masculinity, the development of alternative sexual scripts copied from pornographic videos and gender-based violence. This 2006 research project was designed to focus directly on children's exposure to pornography, and aims to provide a much more comprehensive understanding.

The project was developed by the consultant in concert with World Vision Cambodia staff and representatives of the donor (AusAID). It was primarily designed as qualitative research into Cambodian youths' experience of and understandings about pornography. It also aimed to collect quantitative data about the percentage of Cambodian youth in the research districts exposed to pornography. Although the 2005 project suggested that children are often exposed to pornography before 12 years of age, given the sensitivity of the issue, it was decided to work with children between the ages of 13 and 17.

The Project Aims

1. To develop understanding of the factors which predispose Cambodian youth to exposure to pornography.
2. To understand more about how Cambodian youth understand pornography.
3. To develop a greater understanding of the impact of pornography on the sexual attitudes and behaviour of Cambodian youth.
4. To gain an understanding of gender differences in boys' and girls' exposure to and use of pornography.
5. To identify directions for future research about the effects of pornography in Cambodia.
6. To make preliminary suggestions for intervention programmes aimed at reducing the influence of pornography on young people's behaviour.

The Research Sites

The project initially involved research in two rural sites, Chulkiri district in Kampong Chhnang (about two and a half hours north of Phnom Penh), and Luek Daek district in Kandal (about two and a half hours south of Phnom Penh). Later it was expanded to include an urban site, for urban-rural comparison purposes, and Stung Meanchey district in Phnom Penh (on the outskirts of Phnom Penh) was added. All three sites were chosen because World Vision Cambodia has long-term community-based area development programmes (ADP) located there, allowing the consultant to draw on the local knowledge and assistance of ADP staff and village development committee (VDC) members during the research.

In both Chulkiri and Luek Daek, survey respondents were drawn from three villages, and in urban Stung Meanchey they were drawn from seven (urban) villages.¹⁰ It was initially intended to have an approximately equal sample in each district. However, as Table I indicates, the number of survey returns varied slightly from this because some children selected for surveying were later found not to meet the age criteria for the research (see below for a more comprehensive discussion).

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Site	Chulkiri	58	85	143
	Stung Meanchey	102	78	180
	Luek Daek	50	85	135
Total		210	248	458

Table I: The survey according to sex and district

Ethical Issues in the Conduct of the Research

Because of the age of the children involved in this and other World Vision Cambodia research projects, at the suggestion of AusAID, prior to the beginning of the research a joint ethics review panel was established between World Vision Cambodia and Save the Children Australia. The panel seeks to guide the ethical implementation of this and other similar projects. Panel members comprised both local and international specialists on research involving children and on research in Cambodia. The research protocol was discussed with the panel, and specific problems, potential problems and ways these might best be resolved were addressed.

Specific issues of concern to the donor (AusAID) were: consent, confidentiality, the use of a female research assistant when working with girls and fears that talking to children about pornography might lead them to view pornography.¹¹ The ethics review panel suggested that a special effort be made to monitor the age of respondents—and this proved to be good advice. A great deal of effort was put into addressing these issues, and a more detailed explanation of the methods used to do so follows. At the conclusion of the project, the consultant was extremely satisfied with the overall ethical standard of the project.

Consent: Ensuring that children and parents understood consent issues was addressed with a multi-level approach. When the research team first visited the research district, they discussed consent with ADP staff. They then talked with commune and village chiefs in the areas from which the

10. In each research site, a purposive sample was drawn from district schools utilising the entire available age cohort of children.

samples would be drawn so they could explain the aims of the research to parents at village meetings, and could ensure that parents knew that their children's participation in the research was absolutely voluntary. ADP staff also spoke with school principals, emphasising the voluntary nature of participation, and in one case the researchers reinforced this by discussing the research and related ethical issues in more detail with the principal of the local school.

Then, prior to children completing their survey forms (see below), it was again explained to them that World Vision would value their participation in the research (because this would help the organisation to understand more about pornography in their district), but if they did not want to participate in the survey, they were not obliged to do so. Children were also told that they could change their minds during the completion of the survey if they did not like the questions they were being asked. In total, four children declined to participate in the survey, leaving before beginning it. They said they felt shy about doing the survey, and it was the researchers' opinion that they felt shy about participating in the survey rather than its content.

Because the majority of interviews were carried out at the respondents' homes, in many cases the researchers had the opportunity to talk with one or both parents and to ensure they were comfortable with consent issues. No parent raised any objection to their child's participation in the research. Children being interviewed were also told that their participation was voluntary and that if for any reason they did not want to participate, or wished to cease participation during the course of the interview, then this was their right. The researchers were pleased that on several occasions during the interviews, respondents felt confident enough to ask what would be done with the data collected. Two girls and one boy declined to be interviewed, but no participants asked that an interview be terminated, probably because the principal researcher and his research assistant are both highly experienced and well aware of the signs of incipient stress, embarrassment or boredom, and conducted the interviews as appropriate for each child.

Confidentiality: Given the age of the respondents and the sensitivity of the issue of pornography, confidentiality was considered paramount. Prior to completing survey forms and prior to interviews, respondents were assured that their responses were confidential and that their answers would not be revealed to parents or teachers or any other person beyond those directly involved in the research. They were also told that the report based on the research would not identify any respondent by name. Indeed, the survey instrument did not identify respondents by name or address. The survey was, however, used to recruit respondents for interviews, and individuals who indicated

11. The consultant had requested that issues of gender balance be set aside for this project because the 2005 research project had shown that the heaviest consumers of pornography were boys and suggested that for this reason a male research assistant should be the primary assistant for the majority of the the research period.

that they were willing to be interviewed were asked to give their name and address so that they could be contacted later.

During interviews, the confidentiality of the information was given particular stress. This was found to be important when discussing pornography with girls who had been watching VCDs without the knowledge of their parents and were fearful that their activities would be discovered.

Attracting Children to View Pornography: It was decided that, given the ease of access to pornography suggested in previous research, this was unlikely to be a problem. The ubiquity of pornography in both public and private spaces means most children at some stage make a decision to allow themselves to be exposed to pornography or to avoid it as far as possible. However, with this issue in mind, during interviews no leading questions were asked when discussing the pornography to which children had been exposed.

Female Interviewer for Girls: Interviews with girls were carried out with the assistance of a Cambodian woman in her early 20s. Grown up, but not a lot older than many interviewees, she had interpersonal skills that allowed her to produce a comfortable environment for interviewees.

Age of Respondents: Given the sensitivity of the research topic, the age of respondents was considered highly important. Although the World Vision Cambodia ADP facilitators and schools aimed to provide children between 13 and 17, when ages were checked prior to surveying, it was found that more than 30 children who were younger than 13 or older than 17 had come along to accompany friends. They were thanked for their willingness to participate in the research, but advised that, due to their age, they could not do so.

Research Methods

Quantitative Research

The quantitative component of this project aimed to survey a total sample of 500 children over the three sites. When it came to administering the survey, it was found that in each case some children were below 13 years of age and had to be excluded from the survey. They were not replaced because we were already working with the total available age cohort in the survey village. After a handful of children were excluded from each survey round, the total sample was 458 people.

World Vision Cambodia ADP staff and VDC members assisted with the survey by marshalling respondents to the survey locations and directing them to the researchers if they had questions. Surveying was conducted in temple *salas* (roofed but usually open-sided structures) in temple grounds in each district. Children were surveyed in two rounds, morning and afternoon, of approximately 70 children each round. In one case (Chulkiri), one morning and two smaller afternoon rounds were used. Prior to the survey, the respondents were advised of the aims and of their rights in regard to consent and confidentiality. Much effort was spent to ensure privacy for respondents as they filled in their surveys. This entailed moving friends away so that each child had enough space, asking them not to discuss their thoughts with friends and moving younger village children and village seniors out of the immediate area while the respondents were writing.¹²

The survey instrument was based on the survey used in WVC's 2005 research about children's exposure to pornography, itself based on an earlier survey on the incidence and understandings of violence among Cambodian youth.¹³ Because some of the current survey questions are compatible with both earlier surveys, it is possible to make meaningful comparisons between them. This is particularly valuable when, as seen in Chapter Three, the outcomes of this research support the findings of earlier projects.

The survey comprised tick-the-box questions aimed at collecting gross data about exposure to pornography, and open-ended questions about respondents' attitudes towards and perceptions of pornography. The final survey was drawn up in English and then, after discussion about terminology, was translated into Khmer by an experienced translator, then shown to the consultant and other World Vision Cambodia translators for comment. Before the main survey began, the survey instrument was given a one-day pilot evaluation in Stung Meanchey district to check completion time and usefulness; as a result, some of the questions that respondents found difficult to understand were modified.

12. Temples and temple *salas* are public spaces, and individuals and groups continually wander through. Thus, as we conducted the survey, villagers were interested in what was taking place and wandered in for a chat.

13. See note 1.

Compared with earlier surveys about children's exposure to pornography, the survey instrument is much more detailed, because it was designed to collect data about children's exposure and their understanding of the material to which they had been exposed and, in concert with the interviews, to provide some guidance as to how interventions might be developed. Because of the complexity of the survey questions, it was decided that the survey form should be simple, and the children were asked to tell the researchers if they had any difficulties as they completed the form. Many children did so, and this provided an opportunity both to guide their next questions and to make a quick spot check to see that they had given complete answers to earlier questions. When children had provided tautological answers—for instance, by saying that pornography was bad for Cambodian society because it is pornographic—we were able to ask them to try to give a little more detail.

The survey generally took a little over one hour to complete. The first students to complete it usually finished in about 45 minutes; however, when their survey form was checked, it invariably revealed that they had omitted one or more questions and they were asked to complete these prior to leaving. The trajectory that the children's completion of the survey followed was interesting in as much as it was very similar in each round and in each district. The children were, naturally, excited about participating in the survey. During the first 15 minutes, as they completed the personal data section on page one, they often had questions about how to record their data. Then, for the next half hour or so, the area was noticeably quiet as they filled in the complex body of the survey, which required them to think about their responses. Then, the remaining 20 minutes were invariably noisy while they completed final questions, had them checked by the research team and left the site. All respondents appeared to take the filling in of their forms very seriously indeed, and this impression was reinforced when helping them answer their questions and checking their surveys for completeness.

Surveying took a day in each location, and, following the design of a database, data entry took approximately two weeks.

Qualitative Research:

The primary qualitative research method constituted long open-ended interviews. Because the consultant's Khmer language level was adequate for catching the gist of conversations but not up to following complex conversations, interviews were conducted with an experienced translator cum research assistant. Notes were taken down verbatim in a combination of English and Pitman-script shorthand, Khmer and Central Thai. Key concepts and key words were taken down in Khmer.

Thanks to their long-term presence in the district and personal relationships with village and commune chiefs, as well as with some of the children in each district, World Vision Cambodia ADP staff were able to help organise the interviews. In line with best practice, participants were not paid for participation in the surveys or interviews, but children who responded to the surveys were allowed to keep the pencils we provided, and in one case (Stung Meanchey), in accord with local project practice, after completing their survey forms, children were presented with a small gift pack containing soap, toothpaste and a toothbrush.

In addition to the interviews with the children, more general interviews concerning pornography in their district were held with the staff of one ADP and with a range of local level leaders: a school principal, three commune council chiefs, a commune council committee and a Village Development Committee, and two village chiefs. The interviews with commune chiefs and village chiefs were particularly interesting and useful. In the opinion of the consultant, they all seemed to take the research topic and the problem of pornography more seriously than other research topics he had discussed with such leaders on earlier occasions. All of them considered pornography to be a problem in their district and, following discussions with the children, it became clear that when commune and village chiefs crack down on pornography, they significantly reduce its use in public venues such as coffee shops and at funerals and other ritual or festive occasions.

The interviews were conducted two weeks after the survey, the time being used to recruit and locate children for interviews. The final survey questions asked if respondents would be willing to undertake an interview and, if they were willing, asked them to give their name and address. Just over one-third of respondents (36.4%) indicated that they would be willing to be interviewed. Interestingly, the percentages of boys (36.5%) and girls (36.3%) who agreed to be interviewed was very similar.¹⁴ World Vision Cambodia ADP staff, sometimes working in concert with a VDC member, assisted in locating interviewees and scheduling interviews. The bulk of the interviews were conducted with children who had been exposed to pornography. However, a small group who had not been exposed were interviewed, and a small proportion of children who indicated that they had been exposed to pornography had in fact not been. Rather, they had seen HIV/AIDS educational material, reproductive health films, anti-trafficking TV spots or explicit, but certainly not pornographic, films on television.

14. Of the respondents who indicated they were available for interview, those interviewed were a selection of those whose survey responses suggested that they would be useful informants. However, of this group, those who were actually interviewed were those children whose name and address were clear enough to be read, whose address was detailed enough to find them and, finally, who were actually in the village or near vicinity on the days allocated for interview.

Initially, we intended to conduct 20 interviews over all three research sites, however, given the extraordinarily rich nature of the data provided by interviewees, we decided to use all available time to conduct additional interviews. Ultimately, 33 interviews were conducted, 17 with boys and 16 with girls. Of these, two boys and two girls had not been exposed to pornography. They were interviewed to ascertain if their experiences and perspectives were different from those who had been exposed, and also to ascertain to what extent they were aware of their peers' exposure. The other 15 boys and 14 girls claimed in their surveys that they had been exposed to pornography.¹⁵ The large number of interviews to supplement and substantiate the survey data, and the detail provided by the children interviewed, allow a high degree of confidence in the results of the research.

The researcher has long experience working in gender and sexuality and with young people and, together with the female research assistant, had conducted the 2005 World Vision Cambodia research that also addressed pornography. That research proved that pornography and access to and use of pornography could be easily discussed with Cambodian children with few problems. This again proved to be the case during the 2006 research. Both the consultant and his research assistants were impressed with the seriousness with which informants addressed the issue. Neither boys nor girls proved to be better informants. Some boys were a little shy and, similarly, some of the girls were shy. In the majority of cases, both had had a significant degree of exposure to pornography. However, as discussed in Chapter Three, the nature and depth of that exposure differed.

Mindful of the ages of the children involved, questions were asked in an open-ended fashion. The children were asked, "What did you see?", rather than, "Have you seen xx?". At least two-thirds of the interviewees who had been exposed to pornography immediately gave explicit answers about what they had seen—sex acts and the style of sex acts. In the case of rape movies, they related the story line. With the other third, who provided less explicit detail (such as, "I saw a man and a woman on a bed holding each other"), it was not always clear that the children had indeed been exposed to pornography and the question required further probing. We developed what we called the action movie test, asking questions like, "Was there shooting or fighting or a car chase?"; the underwear test, "Were they wearing underwear?"; and, finally, the objective test, "What were they doing there?". Ultimately, in the case of all the interviews with children who had indicated they had been exposed to hard-core pornography, both the consultant and his assistants were satisfied that the children had indeed been exposed to such material. Two or three girls initially claimed that they had

15. During the survey, and even more so during the interviews, it became apparent that a great many of these children (the rural ones in particular) even though aged 15 or 16, were prepubescent, and were physically very underdeveloped. Their age and size seemed very out of step with the graphic portraits they related of hard-core

seen no pornography (a claim that contradicted their survey forms), and then proceeded to relate highly explicit details of a pornographic VCD to which “a friend” had been exposed. However, in all but one case, as our relationship developed during the course of the interview (and as they became confident we would not tell their mothers about their activities), they admitted it was actually they who had watched the movie(s), and that the movie(s) were hard-core pornography.

Given the sensitivity of the data, it was considered that interviews should be carried out at or near children’s homes, where, it was felt, they would be most comfortable. This also allowed the researchers to ensure that respondents’ parents had indeed been informed about the research and related consent and confidentiality issues. Initial interviews were conducted in or under the house. However, as neighbours and siblings invariably attempted to join in, subsequent interviews were carried out in quiet shady spots beside rice fields. One interview was also conducted deep in the fields where the respondent was threshing rice. In urban Stung Meanchey, interviews were carried out in a borrowed room or while sitting in quiet spots on vacant blocks close to interviewees’ homes. No parent raised any objection to the team interviewing their children. However, two boys in Chulkiri declined to be interviewed because they said they were shy, and one girl in Stung Meanchey declined to be interviewed because, as she put it, “I don’t trust you”.¹⁶ One interview with a Luek Daek boy was terminated early because the interview was disrupted by a host of younger children from the neighbourhood and an alternative location could not be organised.

Interviews ranged from about 15 minutes with children who had had no exposure to pornography and who generally knew very little about the topic, to an hour and a half with children who had had significant exposure and provided a great deal of information. Most interviews took more than one hour. However, it was found that after about an hour and a half, both the interviewers and interviewees were losing concentration, and most interviews started to wind down at this point. The richness of data available from informants suggests that future research should allow time to interview children two or even three times. This would allow the researchers to build a deeper relationship with the children and to explore their world and how pornography fits into that world in more depth.

pornography from all corners of the world. In the words of the title of WVC’s 2005 gender-based violence/pornography research, they were indeed “‘Wise’ Before Their Time”.

16. This particular individual had already been identified by other girls in the district as one whose family possessed good VCD playing equipment and who was not only a core person in a group of girls who had clubbed together to purchase and watch a pornographic video, but whose brother also watched pornographic videos and who had engineered what, to the researchers, seemed like a plot to entrap a naïve younger girl into the watching of pornography together with groups of boys and the possibility of later sexual assault. This incident is discussed in more detail in the Chapter 3.

An important additional outcome of the interviews was that they revealed the limitations of survey research when dealing with such a complex issue as pornography. Even though the survey instrument provided ample opportunity for respondents to answer at length, including open-ended questions, it was not able to encompass either the complexity or diversity of the ways in which children were exposed to pornography. Neither could it record the depth of their exposure and the effect on their behaviour. It is the consultant's opinion that the survey data have provided an accurate indication of the percentage of children exposed to pornography and at least one of the avenues of exposure. However, in the light of the interviews, it understated the degree of their exposure, because many children are repeatedly exposed over a long period of time and their exposure may be via multiple avenues.

In this respect, although many children had indicated in response to survey question 11 that they had been exposed to print pornography, during their interview they indicated that they had in fact been exposed to both print and video pornography and that their exposure to video pornography had been more significant in terms of frequency and vividness of images. This may have occurred because the question came near the beginning of the survey, and respondents, not yet accustomed to filling in the form, ticked only the initial box (print pornography), not realising that they could also tick the second box (film pornography).

Difficulties Encountered During the Research

Overall, within the context of the conditions noted below, the research proceeded very smoothly.

Time Limitations: The period allocated for the project was 10 weeks. Because the research was conducted in three sites, it was impractical for the research team to live at any of the research sites. For example, following the initial visit to Chulkiri to plan the project with WVC representatives and local officials, the team had to move immediately to Luek Daek and then to Stung Meanchey. The same process was then repeated in the survey and interview phases of the research. This meant at least five hours a day (and in wet weather even more) spent travelling, on top of the time spent on data collection at each site. Slightly more time would have allowed more flexibility and additional follow-up interviews with children who had particularly rich information to offer.

The Limitations of the Hot Season: Two of the difficulties of field research in Cambodia, as in many other parts of south-east Asia, are the weather and the roads. This research was conducted at the peak of the hot season, when the temperature rarely fell below 36 degrees Celsius and on several days was as high as 40. Working in the villages, there is literally no escape from the heat, and energy levels and concentration spans are reduced. Under these conditions, respondents tend to be less

voluble, a fact that is evident when comparing morning interviews with those conducted in mid-afternoon.

Rain: In Cambodia, when it rains the dusty rural roads of the hot season are turned into impassable quagmires of deep mud. On one occasion while working in Luek Daek district, the research team was caught in a light rain storm; the consultant dismissed this as a passing shower and chose to complete a full day of interviews rather than return to Phnom Penh. However, on our return journey we found that the passing shower had turned a section of unsealed road into deep sticky mud that took almost two hours to traverse in first gear. Similarly, while we were working in a remote village, a few minutes of heavy rain turned the access road into a quagmire from which the research vehicle was extracted only with the assistance of a group of muscular villagers.

Sensitivity about Pornography: In late 2005, the government implemented a crackdown on the sale and display of pornographic materials of all kinds, which was accompanied by an anti-pornography media campaign. Children's statements to the effect that pornography is bad because it is bad for Cambodia likely reflect the messages of the anti-pornography campaign more than their own sentiments. Additionally, to some extent, the anti-pornography campaign may have made some children more shy about discussing the issue, and may have limited the data given by those involved in the networks through which pornographic VCDs are distributed and rented.

The issues concerning the research timing and weather were anticipated, but are noted here as a reminder of the pressure they can put on field research. Research timetables should not be too ambitious and should have some flexibility to allow for the effects of high temperatures and unseasonable rain. It is good research practice, too, to allow time for gathering serendipitous data that come to light when there is time for casual conversations with villagers. The anti-pornography campaign was not anticipated at the time the research project was developed, and it is not yet possible to quantify its effect on informants. However, it community members contacted in this research claimed it has affected the open sale and display of pornographic media in the research districts, which was confirmed through the observations of the researcher.

Chapter Two

Pornography Research and the Politics of Pornography

This chapter addresses the scholarly approaches to pornography research and the political context in which these approaches have developed. It is hoped that this chapter will put readers in a better position to understand their own and others' response to the material contained in this report, and in doing so will equip them for dialogue about how to respond to the findings.

The Business of Pornography

The seedy reputation that surrounds pornography, and the publicity this business has experienced over the past decade as a result of technological developments (in particular the internet and VCDs), have obscured the fact that the production and distribution of pornography are now one of the biggest businesses in the world. *Forbes Magazine* recently pointed out that, globally, pornography is a US\$56 billion industry—and that some internet pornography companies are now listed on the NASDAQ stock exchange.¹⁷ Moreover, in addition to the companies which produce pornography and the many businesses which have internet web sites, many other commercial organisations also benefit. These range from major hotel chains that receive a profit percentage by offering in-room x-rated movies, to satellite and cable companies,¹⁸ to the Cambodian coffee shops that play pornography to attract customers, to the small internet shops and CD and VCD shops for which the copying and distribution of pornography is a lucrative sideline.¹⁹ As far as the internet itself is concerned, as Parker and Wampler point out, “adult orientated web sites account for the majority of web commerce”.²⁰ Pornography is very big business indeed.

There is, then, a great deal at stake when criticising the production and distribution of pornography, and there are some very powerful pressure groups involved.²¹ There are strong pressures not only towards the justification of its use on the grounds of individual rights, but also towards “definition creep”—a slow blending of the boundaries between what is considered mere erotica or sexually explicit material and hard-core pornography. Some contemporary researchers in the area of pornography, particularly those influenced by the discipline of cultural studies and the idea that all meaning is subjective, also adopt this approach and abandon all distinction between soft-core and hard-core pornography and the question of harm that pornography might cause. They view pornography as merely one aspect of children's sexual education. As Hardy puts it, “We need to

17. Morais (1999).

18. Jenkins (2001).

19. Jacobs (2004). See also Lane (2000).

20. Parker & Wampler (2003), p. 415.

21. These pressures are both national in every country and also global.

view pornography as one more significant factor in the life-long sexual socialization of individuals in modern society”.²²

Pressure towards the acceptance of pornography comes not just from big business, but also from those in the academy who have not only abandoned the question of harm entirely, but (in the opinion of this writer) have also abandoned scholarly and personal responsibility to address this and related questions. Pressure also comes from people in the community who have a concern about hard-core pornography but who are unwilling to voice their concerns for fear of appearing old-fashioned. Shaw writes about women who feel uncomfortable with pornography and feel pressured by male partners to participate in particular sex acts their partners have learned from watching pornography. Shaw says that these women feel reluctant to oppose both their partner’s use of pornography and the sexual acts in which they are pressured to participate because of the cultural climate of the past 30 years and their acceptance of what Shaw calls a, “dominant ideology of individualism, freedom of choice, and freedom of expression”.²³ A similar point is made by Flood and Hamilton in a discussion of pornography in Australia. They argue that there is a new taboo “that forbids serious discussions of the implications of pornography for our society, especially our children”, and attribute this taboo to the fact that “Australians who share the broad liberal outlook that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s are hesitant to be associated with the out-dated and, in some cases, extreme views of the anti-porn lobby”.²⁴

What is Pornography?

The Child Welfare Group’s 2003 report on pornography in Cambodia defined it as, “Any form of communication that portrays sexual behaviour in a manner that only intends to cause sexual excitement”.²⁵ Like many others working in this area, the author of this report makes a distinction between hard-core pornography and soft-core pornography or, as it is sometimes termed, erotica. The author considers that hard-core pornography involves the depiction of nude figures involved in explicit sex acts while soft-core pornography involves the non-explicit depiction of nude or semi-nude figures to cause sexual excitement. Outside of the Cambodian context, some researchers such

22. Hardy (2004). The writer considers that post-modernist subjectivist approaches (where, crudely, but not inaccurately, meaning is what you make of it) are absolutely untenable in the Cambodian cultural context. When Cambodian children, particularly those in remote rural villages, are bombarded with hard-core pornographic images from all corners of the world, they interpret them in terms of their own cultural system—and in terms of Cambodian values about sexuality these images are highly transgressive. If they are encoded into children’s scripts for sexual behaviour, they are likely to be damaging both for themselves and others. See Witt (1997). For a comprehensive summary of the spectacularly morally bankrupt and extraordinarily elitist current approaches to pornography in disciplines such as cultural studies and media studies, see Attwood (2002).

23. Shaw (1999), p. 210.

24. Flood & Hamilton (2003), p. ix.

25. p. 3.

as Senn and Radtke make more detailed distinctions, differentiating between erotica, non-violent pornography and violent pornography.²⁶ However, as Malamuth, Addison and Koss point out, such distinctions are difficult to maintain in the real world because, for example, most pornographic magazines include sexually violent and non-violent content, and consumers of pornography typically consume a range of both hard-core-porn and soft-core pornography.²⁷

The Study of Pornography: Methodology

Methodologically, most studies of pornography have used one of two approaches. One has used aggregate studies to examine the relationship between the availability of pornography and rape rates in defined areas.²⁸ The other has examined the link between exposure to pornography and men's development of aggressive attitudes and behaviour towards women. This approach has focused primarily on men,²⁹ has been laboratory based, and measured the physiological and emotional responses of participants (often university students) when exposed to various pornographic media.³⁰

The Study of Pornography: Theoretical Approaches

Given its practical focus and short time frame, this project was not intended to deal much with theories or definitions. However, it is important to note that definitions of pornography are significant because they are closely related to at least three identifiable approaches to pornography, which have directed differing strands of scholarly research on pornography and its social effects. Those adhering to the three different approaches to pornography also hold differing positions on how pornography should be dealt with in society. Often, how societies choose to approach pornography is the outcome of alliances or confrontations between groups driven by different political ideologies,³¹ and it is important to point out that social policy has often been driven by highly emotive arguments wielded by pressure groups rather than being evidence-driven. Thus, for example, pro-pornography groups, or at least those favouring a soft approach, have often rejected restrictions on pornography not so much because they are in favour of it, but because they fear the power of the conservative right and increased levels of public supervision and censorship.

The three approaches towards pornography are: the moral conservative, the liberal and the feminist.³² The moral conservative approach opposes pornography on the grounds that it has a

26. Senn & Radtke (1990).

27. Malamuth *et al.* (2004), p. 27.

28. The work of Kutchinsky is a good example of this approach. Kutchinsky (1991) and Kutchinsky (1992).

29. Shaw, *op. cit.*

30. A common way of measuring male arousal by pornographic media is through measuring penile expansion through the use of the penis plethysmograph, which measures changes in penile tumescence.

31. Childress (1991).

32. For more detail on the approaches discussed here, see Linz & Malamuth (1993). See also Malamuth *et al.*, *op. cit.*

negative influence on people's values and on institutions such as the family, and seeks the control and censure of pornography. Researchers taking this approach have often focused on the study of changes in people's attitudes and values following their exposure to pornography. By contrast, the liberal approach views pornography as largely innocuous, and considers that people's rights should be respected unless their activities in making or using pornography cause actual harm or contravene the law. This approach seeks to minimise public surveillance and censorship of sexual material, viewing personal, consensual consumption of pornography as a private issue. Research from this perspective has generally concentrated on studying the extent to which, if at all, exposure to pornography causes criminal activity such as sexual assault and rape. Due in part to the difficulties involved, very little research from the liberal approach has been conducted in real, everyday settings, a fact that many academics say may compromise the accuracy of such research.

The third approach, one that draws on feminist perspectives, is rather more complex than either of the others. This is because feminist perspectives on pornography are divided, with feminists, depending on their orientation, being both pro- and anti-pornography, and there is a massive body of scholarly research to support both positions. There is much less work that seeks to balance these positions; and, as Cowen, Chase and Stahly point out, there are, "deep and often emotionally charged differences of opinion among women" that make more nuanced approaches difficult to achieve.³³

The feminist pro-pornography approach stems from an early celebration of female sexuality, which feminists strove to separate from male-centred discourses and practices, and a feminist celebration of women's freedom to explore and express their sexual selves. For those subscribing to this position, women's viewing of pornography is not just good for them in terms of the contribution it makes to the fulfilment of their own sexual selves, but is also a political act in claiming gender and sexual equality. The feminist pro-pornography perspective argues against sexual repression and sexual censorship and is opposed to government control of pornography because it could lead to the erosion of individual rights and freedoms—such as access to abortion or gay and lesbian relationships. To some extent, the feminist pro-pornography position has entered (some might say, been captured by) the mainstream through magazines, such as *Cosmopolitan*, that pay lip-service to a celebration of liberated femininity. However, there are much more extreme expressions of this position, such as the work of ex-porn star turned pornographic performance artist Annie Sprinkle³⁴ and, more recently, the many feminist pornographic sites that have proliferated on the web, where

33. Cowan *et al.* (1989), p. 97.

34. Through her "alternative" works, Annie Sprinkle challenges the (male centered) conventions of pornography.

women pornographers create realist pornography and provide venues for women to discuss and explore their sexuality.³⁵

An alternative, and perhaps more well-known, feminist approach takes an anti-pornography perspective. It holds that sexuality is the dominant arena of women's oppression, and that pornography should be controlled because it debases, objectifies and dehumanises women, and its portrayals of violence and rape foster and reinforce gender inequality. For those who adhere to this position, pornography is not only sexist and offensive, but literally harms women. As MacKinnon puts it, "Pornography sexualises rape, battery, sexual harassment, prostitution and child sexual abuse, it thereby celebrates, promotes, authorizes and legitimates them".³⁶ Elsewhere she puts this position even more forthrightly when she writes, "Pornography, in the feminist view, is a form of forced sex, a practice of sexual politics, an institution of gender inequality".³⁷

The two feminist approaches are important because, as Segal points out, "From the close of the 1970s, it has been impossible to write about sexuality or take sexual politics (as a feminist) without being hi-jacked by, and forced to take a stand upon, the issue of pornography".³⁸ They will influence how this report is received by its audience, and it is highly likely these approaches have informed people (especially foreigners) working in Cambodia's NGO/IO sector. Most will have been raised in societies profoundly influenced by the feminist revolution of the 1960s and 1970s and the political and social transformations this brought. Thus, for them it is likely that feminist approaches to pornography, rather than earlier and perhaps more clear-cut approaches (particularly those based on ideas of moral harm), have been the most important influences on their ways of thinking about pornography—even though most may not be conscious of this fact. For example, many will be more concerned about the issue of individual rights and freedoms than the issue of harm.³⁹

Indeed, feminist discourse on pornography in the west has become so enmeshed in freedom-related issues that it is now quite commonly argued that it is the right of individuals to view, or as it is more commonly put, to "use", pornography if they wish to do so. Such approaches are often found in the popular press, such as a recent article in the *Sydney Morning Herald* entitled, "Curious Teenagers Need to Be Informed About Sex, Not Controlled",⁴⁰ in which the author noted, "in my research into pornography in Australia, I've been impressed by the sheer diversity of images of unconventional

35. Jacobs, *op. cit.*

36. MacKinnon (1985).

37. MacKinnon (1986), p. 65.

38. Segal (1998).

39. Yet, as Shaw (*op. cit.*, p. 200) points out, a focus solely on individual freedoms may mean that other issues such as the question of harm to specific individuals or groups will be overlooked.

40. Albury (2003).

sexual beauty and sexual pleasure that goes far beyond the limits of the *Playboy* ideal”. Such approaches view children’s lack of knowledge about sexuality and lack of autonomy in this area as being of more danger than prematurely sexualised lives.⁴¹

Effects of Pornography: A Brief Summary

Although there is very little research on the effects of pornography in south-east Asian societies, there is a significant body of scientific literature addressing the impacts of pornography in western societies. As described above, this work uses a variety of methodologies and stems from a range of theoretical perspectives. This section makes a brief summary of the existing scholarly literature on pornography. As will become apparent, it is the opinion of this writer that, overall, pornography is harmful,⁴² and that this is true for the case in question—the exposure of Cambodian children to hard-core pornography.⁴³

Senn, in a summary of laboratory studies on the effects of pornography, notes that exposure to violent pornography alters the attitudes and beliefs of men by increasing their violent rape fantasies, by lessening their sensitivity to rape and rape victims and by increasing their self-reported likelihood of committing rape. She claims that the studies also show that aggression towards women may be “facilitated” by exposure to violent pornography, and also that “repeated exposure to non-violent but sexist and dehumanising pornography can decrease men’s satisfaction with their female partner, and decrease their respect for female autonomy.”⁴⁴ In a similar summary, Norris also points out that when men are exposed to pornography, they develop callous attitudes about rape, exhibit an increased level of rape myth acceptance and (in laboratory-based research) evidence increased levels of aggression towards women.⁴⁵ Similarly, Allen, D’Alessio and Brezgel in a meta analysis of the scholarly literature on pornography also conclude that exposure to pornography increases men’s levels of behavioural aggression towards women.⁴⁶ Perhaps the best and most comprehensive recent review of the scholarly literature on pornography and its effects is that by Malamuth, Addison and Koss, who summarise the effects of pornography by saying that they find, “reliable associations between frequent pornography use and sexually aggressive behaviours, particularly for violent pornography and/or for men at high risk for sexual aggression”.⁴⁷ Or, as they put it elsewhere: “Put simply, if a person has relatively aggressive sexual inclinations resulting from various personal and/or

41. See Levine’s (2002) recent and highly controversial work.

42. In regard to the issue of pornography and harm, Childress *op. cit.*, p. 179) distinguishes four specific forms of harm: moral harm, general utilitarian harm, specific harm to victimised women and general harm to all women and possibly men.

43. Here I draw particularly on the work of Malamuth (1996) and Malamuth *et al.* (2004).

44. Senn, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

45. Norris (1991).

46. Allen *et al.* (1995), p. 274.

47. *op. cit.*, p. 55.

cultural factors, some pornography exposure may activate and reinforce associated coercive tendencies and behaviours”.⁴⁸

There is much other evidence for the harmful effects of pornography on adults, particularly in respect to sexual offences committed against children. Marshall found that child molesters, both homosexual and heterosexual, and rapists had more exposure to hard-core pornography during pubescence than did non-offenders. He also notes that more than a third of child molesters and rapists claimed that they had sometimes been moved to commit offences by exposure to hard-core pornography. Critically, he found that 53% of child molesters deliberately used hard-core pornography as stimuli in their preparations for offending.⁴⁹ Ciclitira also notes that interviews with convicted offenders have suggested that pornography *may* be a factor in their sexually abusive acts.⁵⁰ Recently published Thai language research also indicates that incest offenders make a similar use of pornography, often in association with the consumption of alcohol, prior to offending.⁵¹

Apart from sexual assault issues, there are also a range of other personal effects that arise in men’s lives as a result of exposure to hard-core pornography. An important one is that pornography desensitises. Hardy suggests that when men are exposed to pornography, due to the vivid, “discursive definition and elaboration of the erotic in pornography”, their everyday sexual relations are unable to compete—in comparison with pornography, their everyday relationships are de-eroticised and disappointing.⁵² Cline makes a similar argument in respect to boys—that if a boy’s early sexual stimulus is pornographic photographs, he may be conditioned to becoming aroused solely through such images and this conditioning will make it difficult for him to experience normal sexual satisfaction in later life without pornographic images.⁵³ Paul also makes a similar argument when she argues that pornography does not liberate people, but rather shapes their expectations—often in directions that lead not to fulfilment but to dissatisfaction. It leads men to imagine endless variety and perfect female bodies in a world in which women are ever-ready to please men, and are willing to emulate any pornographic script.⁵⁴

48. *ibid.*, p. 81.

49. Marshall (1988).

50. Ciclitira (2002), p. 193.

51. Jan Panchupet (2005).

52. Hardy (1998).

53. Cline (1990), p. 11.

54. Paul (2003).

In respect to the effects of pornography on women, Norris reports that when women are exposed to pornography that promotes the rape myth, they experience a significant decrease in self-esteem.⁵⁵ More generally, pornography is frequently reported as leading women to develop poor self-images as they compare themselves to the “perfect” bodies portrayed on film. The feminist pornography discussed earlier in this chapter is an attempt by some women to counter this through the use of “real” or “average” bodies in pornography for women.

Regardless of the evidence regarding the harmful effects of exposure to pornography, it is clear that not everyone who is exposed to pornography will commit crimes of sexual assault or rape. However, it does seem to act upon those most susceptible to committing such crimes. As Malamuth, Addison and Koss put it, “Men who are relatively high in risk for sexual aggression are more likely to be attracted to and aroused by sexually violent media...and may be more likely to be influenced by them”. They point out that “moderators” of men’s response to pornographic media are cultural background, home background and individual personality characteristics and dispositions.⁵⁶ However, it is not surprising that some men do respond to pornography with sexual violence. Jenkins points out that unlike shoot-’em-up movies, sexual images are real,⁵⁷ and they are processed differently.⁵⁸ Regardless of the social restraints internalised when children learn their culture, there are, nevertheless, strong biological evolutionary factors that prompt men to react violently to certain sexual stimuli (and, of course, prompt women to react in other ways).⁵⁹

It is apparent, then, that exposure to pornography may have a range of harmful effects on adults. There has been comparatively little research on the effects of pornography on children. However, it is likely that for children, whose sexual identities are still in the process of being formed, the effects of pornography will be even more significant than with adults. Indeed, even the proponents of pornography who argue for its innocuous nature agree that, when pornography is viewed by children

55. Norris, *op. cit.* Indeed, the author claims studies show that pornography has a greater negative effect on women than on men. However, other researchers point out that the unrealistic depictions of bodies in pornography also have implications for men’s self-image. See Morrison *et al.* (2004).

56. *op. cit.*, p. 55.

57. I take up this issue in Chapter Four, as the “reality” aspect of pornographic movies was addressed extensively during interviews.

58. Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 4

59. Biological explanations in relation to gender issues and pornography have not been popular over the past 30 years, since the early years of second wave feminist theory, when it was realised that “soft” biological explanations for gender difference (or in this case men’s response to pornography) were easily transformed by conservatives into “hard” deterministic biologically based justifications for gender inequality. However, particularly when discussing responses to pornography, it makes no sense to ignore biology totally. The reality is that human behaviour is a complex outcome of biological and social factors. While the culture we are born into teaches us how to become male and female, and the appropriate values and actions, we are simultaneously “biologically primed” over millennia of evolutionary development to make automatic response in many areas—arousal responses in the areas of sex and aggression being two areas that owe much to biology. See Malamuth (1996).

and adolescents it substantially affects them, in as much as it teaches them sexual scripts—hence their support for pornography as part of children’s sex education.

Of children’s learning about sex in adolescence from their exposure to pornography, Hardy notes, “This learning takes the form of sexual scripts, which contain erotic meaning, practical guidance and conventions about behaviour. For example, scripts prescribe a certain sequence of action within a sexual scenario”, and, he argues, “scripts do not limit so much as enable”.⁶⁰ However, the scripts of hard-core pornography, the pornography to which Cambodian children are exposed, are in no way enabling scripts that teach them good things about sex and relationships with the opposite sex. Just the opposite. Indeed, as the WVC 2005 report on gender-based violence and pornography put it:

Overall, perhaps the “ethos” of the several examples of pornography assessed by the consultant could be summarised by saying that they feature sex as an arena in which male sexual aggression is directed against female bodies. None of the normal human emotions that characterise sex, such as love, caring, tenderness and so on are depicted.⁶¹ Instead, in this arena the male sex organ and a range of oversized sex “toys” are used as weapons to be directed against the female body.⁶²

Exposure to pornography has been found to have a range of other effects on children. Recent evidence shows a relationship between adolescents’ exposure to pornography and their later actions such as sexual assault and rape. Research conducted in 2002 showed a high level of exposure of French teenagers to hard-core pornography, and it has been argued by the researcher Claude Rozier, “Hardcore porn [sic] has become the principal vehicle for quite young children’s understanding of everything to do with love and sexuality, sometimes their only reference”. Referring to the research results, French philosopher and psychologist Michela Marzano points out that many teenagers believe that the world constructed in pornographic movies is a real world.⁶³ As she puts it, “Pornography is supposed to be reality, it imposes a norm that will lead many young consumers to construct a world where sexual relations are those of films”. Critically, she notes that it is not solely that adolescents are deluded and believe that real-world sexual relations are the same as those portrayed in pornographic films. Rather, she points out that when adolescents “discover the real world, some of them will inevitably be disappointed and decide to stick with porn. Some will accept reality. And some will refuse the real and react the way pornography has taught them: with sexual violence [my emphasis]”.⁶⁴

60. Hardy (2004), p. 8.

61. Bolton (1995), cited in Fordham (2005a), p. 83.

62. Fordham (2005a), p. 83.

63. The research results of Claude Rozier and the interview with Michela Marzano were reported in the *Guardian*, “Pornography Forms French Children’s Views on Sex”, 25 May 2002, p. 12.

64. This is a critical point. Post-modernist proponents of pornography such as Hardy argue that this will not occur given the “reality checks” provided by our day-to-day life in society. Thus, Hardy argues, “However limited the experience of some consumers of pornography, everyone has *some* [original emphasis] other sources

There is sound, albeit anecdotal, evidence that a similar confusion between reality and pornographic film scripts might be the case in both Cambodia and Thailand. In September 2005, an article in *The Cambodia Daily* reporting the rape of a five-year-old girl by a 15-year-old boy quotes him as saying that he was not aware it was rape because he had just “copied such activities of sexual intercourse from pornographic movies he had seen in a coffee shop”.⁶⁵ A similar article from November of the same year was published in Thailand’s *Kom Chad Luek* newspaper.⁶⁶ This reports the rape of a three-year-old girl by a 12-year-old boy. The boy explained his actions by saying that he was returning home from playing football at school when he saw the little girl playing in front of her house and stopped to play with her—then he began to think of the things he had seen in the pornographic movies he had watched and, overcome with a sudden burst of lust, he took her to a nearby quiet place and raped her.⁶⁷

Some have argued that pornography also prematurely introduces children to sexual sensations that they are developmentally unprepared to contend with. They claim that this has the potential to distort normal personality development processes by supplying misinformation about sexuality, sense of self and body, leaving the child confused, changed and damaged.⁶⁸ Also, Cline, as noted above, argues that boys who receive early sexual stimulation from pornographic photographs may be conditioned to such photographs and will find it difficult to experience normal sexual satisfaction in later life.⁶⁹

The clearest outcomes of research on the effects of pornography on children and young people concern the relationship between exposure and early sexual activity, and the imitation of sex acts viewed in pornographic films. Research by Morrison *et al.*, conducted among Canadian university students, revealed that those exposed to pornography were more likely to be sexually active than those without exposure, and that females exposed to pornography had a higher rate of sexual activity than females without exposure.⁷⁰ Similar results are shown by other researchers. Ven-hwei Lo and Ran Wei show that Taiwanese adolescents exposed to internet pornography are more likely to develop what they call “sexually permissive attitudes and behaviour”.⁷¹

of information against which to set a given portrayal of women’s sexuality”. Hardy (2004), pp. 17–18. Yet, in the case of children, life experience is severely limited.

65. “Teen Charged With Rape of 5-Year-Old Girl”, *Cambodia Daily*, 9 August 2005, p. 12.

66. “Twelve Year Old Child Caught: Deceives Three Year Old: Imitates Pornographic VCD.” *Kom Chad Luek*, 11 March 2005, pp. 1, 14.

67. Other recent Thai research shows a close relationship between the use of pornographic materials and incest behaviour. See Jan Panchupet, *op. cit.*

68. Kavanagh (1997), pp. 58–59.

69. Cline, *op. cit.*,

70. Morrison *et al.* (2004)

71. Ven-hwei Lo & Ran Wei (2005), p. 221.

In respect to the influence of pornography on the types of sexual activities children and young people practice, Haggstrom-Nordin, Hanson and Tyden's research amongst adolescents (mean age 18 years) in Sweden not only showed high rates of intercourse among those exposed to pornography, but also found that there was an association between exposure to pornography and anal sex and group sex, both practices commonly portrayed in pornographic material.⁷² A similar influence on young women's behaviour is documented in research among young Swedish women (median age 22). In a survey of one thousand women, Rogala and Tyden found a relationship between exposure to pornography and higher rates of anal intercourse.⁷³

Another study of particular relevance to Cambodia looked into the rape of young children by boys who are themselves minors—examples of which are given above. Research by Hegna, Mossige and Wichstrom among Norwegian 18- and 19-year-olds investigated the influence of pornography on their attitudes towards younger children as sexual partners. The research found that a significant minority of the sample (19.1%) of males who indicated a likelihood of their having sex with a 13–14-year-old reported more frequent exposure to pornography and having friends with an interest in child pornography and violent pornography.⁷⁴

This chapter has reviewed different approaches to scholarly research on pornography, and some of the historical influences on these approaches. These influences include the business interests of pornography, the various definitions of pornography, and the three theoretical approaches toward pornography: moral conservative, liberal and feminist. The political trends which have emerged from these influences have directed differing strands of scholarly research on pornography and its social effects. It is hoped that this chapter will enable readers to evaluate their own potential biases and frameworks, in order to objectively engage with the findings of this research report.

72. Haggstrom-Nordin *et al.* (2005).

73. Rogala & Tyden (2003).

74. Hegna *et al.* (2004).

Chapter Three

Pornography in Three Districts of Cambodia: The Facts

The Effects of Pornography on Cambodian Children in Context

In light of the discussion in Chapter Two regarding the impact of pornography, this World Vision Cambodia project represents a unique achievement in the field of pornography research for two reasons. First, it contains qualitative research, conducted from an anthropological perspective with the majority of the data gathered in long interviews with children. The quantitative survey component was used to provide a general portrait of the research sites and as an avenue of making contact with the children who would later participate in the interviews. This is very different from the bulk of pornography research, which, as noted above, has been laboratory-based and which has only a tenuous relationship to everyday processes. This project has utilised the form of research that other recent works suggest is most suited to understanding the impact of pornography in complex real-world socio-cultural contexts.⁷⁵

The second reason this project is both unique and cutting-edge is that it is conducted in Cambodia among Cambodian children. The bulk of scholarly research about pornography is western-based, the majority of it being conducted in the United States, Europe and Australia. There is almost no scholarly research on exposure to pornography in south Asia, south-east Asia or east Asia. Two relevant publications deal with the relationship between pornography, rape and other sex crimes in Japan, and how exposure to internet pornography impacts on Taiwanese adolescents' sexual attitudes and behaviour.⁷⁶ But generally, work dealing with pornography in Asia has focused on children as largely passive objects—victims of the makers, distributors and consumers of child pornography.⁷⁷

What Sort of Pornography Are We Talking About?

In Cambodia there is certainly plenty of what many might classify as soft-core pornography available, ranging from glossy magazines aimed at the middle class, which increasingly show people in various stages of undress and suggestive poses, to karaoke VCDs featuring scantily clad dancers dancing in a highly provocative manner. However, it must be stressed that this is *not* the form of pornography

75. See Attwood (2005), Ciclitira, *op. cit.*, and Hardy (2004).

76. Diamond and Ayako Uchiyama (1999), Ven-hwei Lo *et al.* (2003) and Ven-hwei Lo & Ran Wei, *op. cit.*

77. It is interesting to speculate how orientalist attitudes towards Asia underpin so much of our taken for granted approaches. Thus, for example, research on pornography has been conducted in the developed nations of Japan, Hong Kong and Taiwan, but the peasantry of Thailand or Vietnam or Cambodia have always been assumed to be passive objects of the pornography makers—never acting subjects who themselves are makers of pornography, or whose children might be exposed to the pornography of both Asia and the west. See Said (1985).

with which this report is concerned.⁷⁸ While this research reveals a diversity of understandings of pornography among children, it clearly establishes that an alarming percentage of Cambodian children, from a variety of community contexts, are currently being exposed to hard-core pornography. The child participants in this research independently and repeatedly described pornography that depicts extreme and violent forms of sexual activity (including rape) between men and women, between women and between women and animals.⁷⁹ Please See Appendix 3 for a more specific description of the types of pornography this research encountered in Cambodian villages.

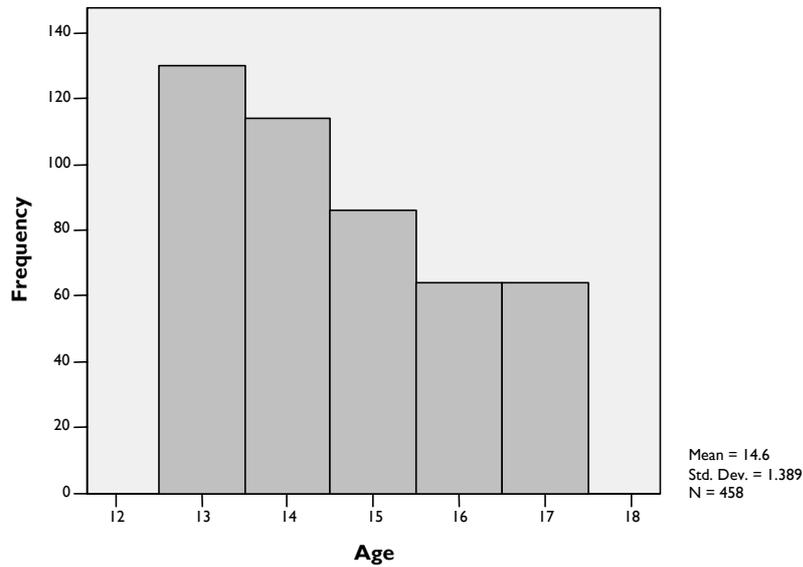
The Sample

As noted earlier, survey respondents were between the ages of 13 and 17 (See Graph 1). The mean age was 14.6 years, slightly younger than the mean of 15.59 of the 2005 WVC Kandal Stung research. The sample also differed from this earlier research project, which included a small number of 12-year-olds and 18-year-olds, by maintaining strict age limits. The modal age in this project was 13 years, while that of the earlier project was 15 years.

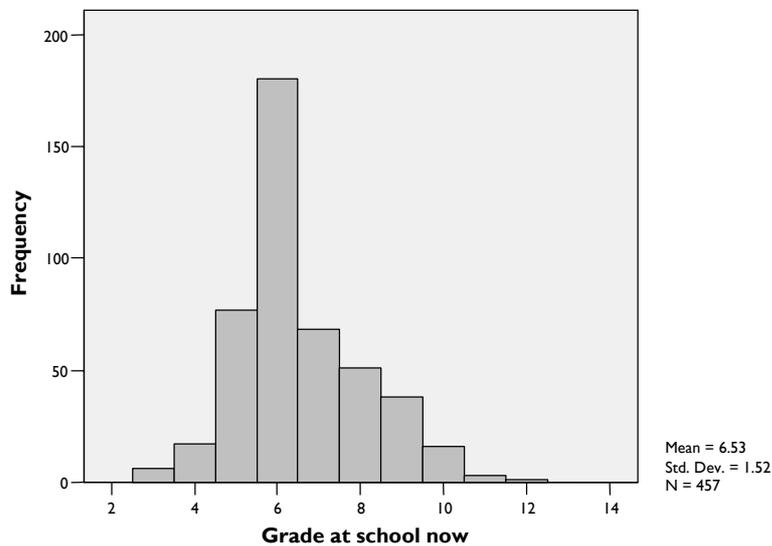
With the exception of one female, all survey respondents reported that they were still at school, although some had part-time jobs. The grades of the students are recorded in Graph 2. One reason for the absence of children not attending school in the survey age cohort was pointed out by chiefs, who in all three districts reported that many local young people were working in Phnom Penh.

78. Proponents of pornography such as Segal have argued that “surveys of what is packaged as pornography show that violent imagery is rare, rather than definitive, of the genre”. See L. Segal (1998), p. 51. However, this is just not the case in Cambodia. Informants during World Vision Cambodia’s 2005 research on gender-based violence and pornography claimed that purchasers of pornography seek the “most exciting” (hard-core) pornography. Similarly, the pornography independently described by child informants during the conduct of this research project and the sample set of rental VCDs that the research team purchased in the village were certainly hard-core pornography, not erotica. As is discussed at greater length below, the research team had the opportunity to peruse about 25 rental VCDs in the research village and about another 15 disks at a small VCD store in Chulkiri town, and from their covers all appeared to be hard-core pornography—an appearance verified 100% by those disks actually purchased.

79. It is notable that no pornography was encountered (either during interviews or on the pornographic VCDs purchased in the research district) that portrayed male homosexuality.



Graph 1: Age of survey respondents



Graph 2: Current grade in school

Indeed, one Chulkiri respondent reported that due to the high percentage of local girls working in city factories and boys working in the construction industry, at the time of the rice harvest, hired labour had to be imported from adjoining districts to cover the shortfall. She noted that visiting labourers bring stories of the pornography they have watched in their district. However, in response

to questions, she claimed that because VCDs are normally hired rather than purchased, visiting labourers do not actually bring pornographic material with them to exchange.

The gender breakdown of the sample of 458 respondents was 45.9% (n=210) males and 54.1% (n=248) females. The figures varied slightly from site to site, with Chulkiri and Luek Daek having a slight predominance of female respondents, and Stung Meanchey a slight predominance of male respondents.

A total of 95.9% of respondents identified as Buddhists, one respondent each at Luek Daek and Chulkiri identifying as Christian, and 17 respondents at Stung Meanchey identifying as Christian. Due to the extremely small number of respondents identifying as Christian, no attempt was made to correlate religion and exposure to pornography.

Exposure to Pornography⁸⁰

Asked if they had been exposed to either print or film pornography, 37.8% of respondents reported that they had been exposed to either pornographic books or to films (on VCDs). The remaining 62.2% claimed they had no such exposure (Table 2). As pointed out in Chapter One, it is likely that the survey design influenced children in their answer to this question because, when interviewed, those who had indicated on their survey form that they had been exposed solely to pornographic books routinely revealed that in fact their main exposure to pornography was via VCDs.

The design of this section of the survey was the same as for the 2005 WVC pornography survey, in which a percentage of respondents ticked both the book and film boxes, indicating exposure to both media. However, curiously, in this 2006 survey no respondent indicated exposure to both book and film pornography—regardless of what they later revealed during interviews. Perhaps this was because the question appeared on page one of the survey, before respondents had become familiar with the forms and how they should be completed. By contrast, in the 2005 gender-based violence and pornography survey, this question appeared on the final page.

Table 2 shows that, as expected because of their urban location, children living in Stung Meanchey claimed a higher rate of exposure to pornographic media than rural children. However, the Chulkiri district interviews suggested a much higher rate of exposure to pornographic VCDs than the survey figures suggest. Both boys and girls estimated that a substantial proportion of their same-sex friends watched pornographic films.

80. This research project, like the World Vision Cambodia 2005 research on gender-based violence and pornography, used the term *arapea* for pornography (the same as that used by the Tearfund survey), thus *seopaurooparapea* for pornographic book. Survey participants found no problems understanding this term.

		Have you ever seen a pornographic book or film?		
		Seen Book	Seen Film	No
Site	Chulkiri	24.5%	10.5%	65.0%
	Stung Meanchey	26.7%	23.9%	49.4%
	Luek Daek	14.8%	8.9%	76.3%
Total		22.5%	15.3%	62.2%

Table 2: Percentage of children who have seen a pornographic book or film

It is interesting that girls seemed to be more aware of boys' exposure to pornographic media, particularly VCDs, than boys were of girls' exposure. This is likely related to two factors: different patterns of watching pornography, and different behavioural patterns following exposure. Boys watch VCDs fairly openly, in groups of friends that have organised the playing of a pornographic movie, or as individuals who have visited the house of someone who is playing one. By contrast, girls often watch VCDs in groups surreptitiously, or by looking through the doors or windows of a house, or even by looking through the gaps in thatched house walls. Boys' exposure to pornographic material is more public than that of girls. Similarly, after watching a pornographic VCD, boys talk about their experiences with their male friends, discussing the various sex acts they have seen in a loud boasting manner with the aim that girls will overhear. They are not concerned that others will know about their activities. By contrast, after girls have watched a VCD, they also talk about their experience with same-sex friends, but they talk quietly out of fear that their mothers or other adults will become aware of their activities and will hit or scold them. Both of these factors are discussed at greater length later in this chapter and in Chapter Four.

When figures concerning children's exposure to pornography are broken down according to sex, as in Table 3 (below), 46.6% of boys and 30.3% of girls reported being exposed to pornography. These are lower figures than found in the 2005 Kandal Stung pornography research, where only 17.8% of males and 15.5% of females *had not* been exposed to pornography. It is also lower than the Child Welfare Group pornography study, which found that 61.7% of boys and 38.5% of girls had been exposed to pornography.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Have you ever seen a pornographic book or film?	Seen book	23.3%	21.8%	22.5%
	Seen film	23.3%	8.5%	15.3%
	No	53.3%	69.8%	62.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3: Children who have seen a pornographic book or film, according to sex

This project’s lower figure for children’s exposure to pornography is likely attributable to two points. First, the anti-pornography and public morals campaign implemented by the government has possibly made children reluctant to reveal their exposure to pornography to outsiders. The research interviews provided significant evidence that children were aware that in many people’s eyes pornography was not good and that there were state sanctions on its use. In both Chulkiri and Luek Daek districts, coffee shops and karaoke bars had either closed or ceased to show pornography due to police attention, reinforcing the message that pornography is bad. Also, as noted elsewhere in this report, when asked about the impact of pornography on Cambodian society, children almost uniformly said that it was bad (*argrok*), but when this question was pursued, they were generally unable to specify why they thought it bad. Second, and more important, there is no reason to expect similarity between statistics on children’s exposure to pornography in different districts of Cambodia or over different periods.

Another important point, which Rosenthal makes, is that what appear to be “small effects” may have substantial social outcomes.⁸¹ Small changes, such as the introduction of a handful of VCD players to a village (perhaps through a daughter working in a Phnom Penh factory) or a small VCD rental business augmenting its karaoke and movie disks with pornographic VCDs, can very quickly exert substantial influence on many people’s lives and on the sexual climate of the district.

The data for exposure to pornography according to sex are given in more detail in Table 4. This gives details of children’s exposure to pornographic media by sex and research district. The data show that in most cases boys have a higher level of exposure to pornography than do girls. However, in Chulkiri, girls show a higher level of exposure to pornographic books (27.1%) than boys (20.7%), as well as to VCD films (14.1% compared with 5.2%). A similar pattern was observed in the Kandal Stung research in 2005, where girls claimed a higher rate of exposure to pornographic films than did boys (25.5% for girls, 24.4% exposure for boys). It was thought at that time that this result was likely due to girls having a broader definition of pornographic materials than did boys. Possibly some girls (but certainly not all) may have been thinking of risqué television and VCD movies and images of partial or air-brushed nudity that sometimes illustrate popular magazines when they claimed such a high level of exposure to pornography.

Sex		Have you ever seen a pornographic book or film?
-----	--	---

81. Rosenthal. (1986). Gladwell (2000) makes a similar argument for a more popularist audience.

			Seen book	Seen film	No
Male	Site	Chulkiri	20.7%	5.2%	74.1%
		Stung Meanchey	27.5%	37.3%	35.3%
		Luek Daek	18.0%	16.0%	66.0%
Total			23.3%	23.3%	53.3%
Female	Site	Chulkiri	27.1%	14.1%	58.8%
		Stung Meanchey	25.6%	6.4%	67.9%
		Luek Daek	12.9%	4.7%	82.4%
	Total			21.8%	8.5%

Table 4: Children who have seen a pornographic book or film by sex and district

Accordingly, a specific aim of this project was to ascertain with a high level of certainty just what girls meant when they claimed exposure to pornography. Working sensitively, using the action movie, underwear and objective tests discussed in Chapter One, it was conclusively established whether or not these girls had been exposed to hard-core pornography. Of the 14 girls interviewed who had claimed exposure in their survey responses, two were judged not to have been exposed to pornography. What they had called pornography were explicit male-female portraits of the type common in contemporary Cambodian newspapers and magazines such as *Popular Magazine*, which are not really pornographic.⁸² So it is likely that in cases when girls claim extremely high rates of exposure to pornography that a small percentage have not actually been exposed. However, the other 12 girls interviewed had definitely been exposed to hard-core pornography. Six had been exposed to both VCD and print pornography, four had been exposed to VCDs only, and two had been exposed solely to print pornography.

Of the boys interviewed who had claimed exposure to pornography, two were judged to have viewed explicit, but not pornographic, material.⁸³ However, of the 15 other boys, 14 were judged to have been exposed to hard-core pornography. Thirteen had been exposed via VCDs and one via print. As with the girls, a number of those who had exposure to pornographic VCDs had also seen print pornography. One other case presented something of a problem. This was a small and nervous-looking 14-year-old from Luek Daek who had indicated substantial exposure to pornography in his survey return. However, at the time of the interview, he claimed “confusion” at the time he filled in his survey, and that in reality he had not been exposed to pornography. It seemed likely that that in the light of police suppression of pornography in the Luek Daek district, he was concerned about the

82. In one case, a 17-year-old girl had seen a side-on photograph of a naked man and woman standing touching each other.

83. One boy had viewed what was most likely an extremely realistic anti-trafficking “public service” spot on television. However, for him, it was indistinguishable from a pornographic trafficking/rape film.

consequences of admitting to having seen pornography. Because he was clearly not comfortable about being interviewed, and the interview site soon became filled with a group of curious younger children, the interview was terminated early.

That fact that both boys and girls are exposed to pornography was further supported by survey responses to the question, “Is pornography of most interest to boys or girls?” (Table 5). Overall, 51.4% of respondents indicated that pornography was of most interest to boys, with 38.5% of respondents indicating that pornography was of most interest to girls. Interestingly, there was a high level of agreement between boys and girls regarding which sex was most interested in pornography, with 53.3% of boys and 49.8% of girls indicating that pornography was of most interest to boys, and 38.1% of boys and 38.8% of girls indicating that pornography was of most interest to girls.

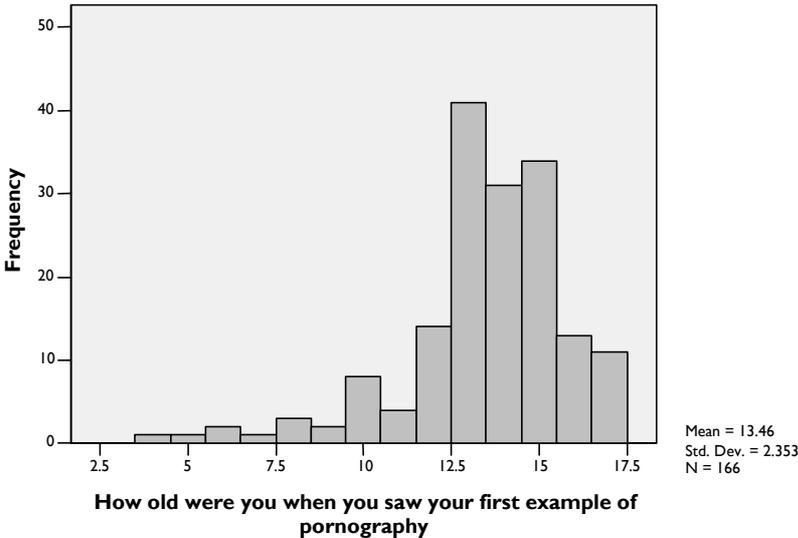
		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Is pornography of most interest to boys or girls?	Boys	53.3%	49.8%	51.4%
	Girls	38.1%	38.8%	38.5%
	Both	8.1%	6.1%	7.0%
	No interest	.5%	5.3%	3.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 5: Is pornography of most interest to boys or girls?

These results are very different from those obtained in the 2005 Kandal Stung research. There, the overwhelming majority of respondents (94.2%) indicated that pornography was of most interest to boys, while only 5.8% claimed that it was of most interest to girls. Interestingly, in Kandal Stung those who claimed that pornography was of most interest to girls represented only 10.3% of female respondents—a vastly different response from that obtained in this research. This different response likely stems from the new pattern of watching pornography in private spaces. Coffee shops and karaoke bars are male-dominated spaces where “good girls” should not go, so girls previously had little opportunity to watch pornography in these venues. However, the watching of pornography in private spaces is a different issue. Although much pornography is viewed by all-male groups, there are also mixed boy-girl groups which watch pornography. Girls are also exposed to pornography through open doors, through windows and, in some cases, in all-girl viewing groups. Regardless of the fact that most boys say girls should not watch pornography, and that girls themselves say they find pornography disgusting and feel they have to be careful lest their mothers discover that they have been watching it, girls *do* watch pornography. Importantly, girls now have much easier access to hard-core pornography than they did when exposure to pornography mostly took place in public venues.

First Exposure

Graph 3 shows the ages at which children claimed they first encountered pornography. The mean age for all children is 13.46 years, very close to the figure of 13.2 years for the Kandal Stung sample of 2005. The mean age for boys is 13.8 years and for girls, 13.0 years. As the graph shows, some respondents claimed to have been exposed to pornographic materials at a much earlier age, a pattern also found in the Kandal Stung research. For example, 10.8% of respondents indicated that they had already been exposed to pornography by the time they were 10 years old.



Graph 3: Age when first saw pornography

It is likely that such early exposure does indeed occur since, as noted elsewhere in this report, respondents said that small children are rarely prevented from being in the vicinity of pornographic movies. Also, as the 2005 research established, it is relatively common for young children to have contact with pornographic books belonging to older siblings or parents. However, it is between 12 and 14 years of age that the percentage of children exposed to pornography climbs rapidly. Respondents who had been exposed to pornography indicated that by age twelve, 21.7% had already been exposed, by age thirteen, 46.4% and by age fourteen, 65.1%.

Of those exposed to pornography, 49.1% indicated an initial exposure to pornographic books, 38.5% to VCDs, and 15% to both at approximately the same time. What the interviews revealed, however, was that many respondents had a complex history of exposure to pornography, via multiple paths over a period of years. They also revealed a difference between boys' and girls' exposure. Boys were more likely to have had repeated exposure to pornography due to a desire to watch pornographic films. In contrast with girls, their watching of these films was less likely to incur the censure of parents or other adults. In the case of both boys and girls, initial exposure to pornography was often

inadvertent. One boy related the story of his mother's rental of what she thought was a kung fu movie that turned out to be pornographic. Others told of pornographic print media inadvertently acquired. However, in many cases exposure was due to curiosity. Several informants told of watching pornographic movies through the cracks in the thatched walls of a neighbour's house or through partially open doors. One girl admitted to watching a pornographic VCD purchased together with friends and played at the home of one of the group. Indeed, there seems to be a high degree of general knowledge about pornography among children, which is likely to stimulate such curiosity. Of the children interviewed who had not themselves been exposed to pornography, only one claimed to know nothing of other children's exposure.

Patterns of Exposure: Where Does Exposure Take Place and Who is Exposed?

Of the children who had viewed pornographic videos, the overwhelming majority indicated they watched them at their own home or at the homes of friends. A few of the urban respondents noted that they also viewed pornography via the internet. Only a handful of respondents indicated that places such as coffee shops, karaoke bars or brothels were the main venues where they watched pornography. However, when asked (in their survey return) where pornography was available in their village/district, many respondents noted that it was still available in those traditional venues. It may be that there is a generational shift, with the younger generation adopting new technology that allows more immediate, private and personalised ways of accessing pornography.

The pattern of exposure to pornography the research has revealed must be considered one of the important outcomes of the project, one that has implications for how anti-pornography campaigns might be mounted. The new ways of accessing pornography, particularly watching it in private homes (either in the house or behind the house on the edge of the fields) are much less easy to monitor and control than are the public venues of coffee shops, karaoke bars and brothels. Previously, research on children's exposure to pornography in Cambodia had focused primarily on exposure in public spaces such as brothels, guest-houses and hotels, coffee shops and karaoke bars. The Child Welfare Group's 2003 research noted that 41.9% of respondents were watching pornography in coffee shops and that only a minority of children (22.9%) were watching it in private homes. Conducted in rural Kandal Stung, World Vision Cambodia's 2005 initial research on pornography found that 50.5% of children had been exposed to print pornography (at school and at home) while only 22.5% had been exposed to pornographic VCDs. Importantly, children in Kandal Stung indicated that their exposure to VCDs was in the traditional public spaces of coffee shops and karaoke bars.

In the new patterns of exposure to pornographic VCDs, children may watch them after they have procured (purchased or rented) the disks themselves and played them when their parents were not

at home (or were relaxing under the house), or they have watched them when they were being played by adults who, in most cases, are not their parents. Due to the extremely low cost (500 riels, approximately US\$0.12), children usually hire VCDs rather than buying them. Sometimes they hire the disks themselves and then invite friends to watch, and sometimes they come together as a group first, then pool their resources to hire a disk. In both cases, the initial group is often joined by other children who are invited or who by chance visit the home in which the VCD is being played. These viewings are usually organised by boys, although in Stung Meanchey one case was found where a group of girls purchased a pornographic VCD to watch at one girl’s home. However, the gender composition of the groups watching the movie varies from all-boy groups to mixed boy-girl groups. Sometimes pornography may be watched openly with the sound turned up loudly. This is often the case when adults watch pornography, but the majority of the children said that their parents did not know of their exposure to pornography, and it seems they watch it somewhat secretly. Informants told us about a number of strategies for watching pornography secretly, including leaving the door to the house open or only partially closing it, because a closed door might make other villagers suspect they are hiding something.

Interestingly, watching pornography and looking at pornographic print media are highly social activities, with the majority of both male and female respondents (see Table 6) saying that they consume pornography together with others. Sixty-six percent of boys indicated that they consume pornography with others, compared with 54.5% of girls, suggesting not only that it is a significant male bonding activity, but also the greater acceptability of male use of pornography.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
	Alone	34.0%	45.5%	39.1%
	With Friend	66.0%	54.5%	60.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 6: Do you look at pornography alone or with a friend?

It became clear during the interviews that whether or not they watch pornographic VCDs, the majority of parents do not want their own children looking at pornography and will scold or hit them (this especially applies to girls) if they are found doing so. Very young children, say up to six or seven years old, may be exposed to pornography while their parents or other adults are watching a VCD, because they are considered too young to understand. Older, prepubescent or pubescent children, particularly girl children, are often told to leave the room when adults play a pornographic VCD. Yet informants explained that such children often creep back to watch while the adults are engrossed in the film. As one put it, “The adults say that they do not want the children to watch, but they (the children) are stubborn so they stay there”.

Children of both sexes are exposed to pornography through hearing the sound of the movie. In many cases this is an hour or so of fake panting, moaning and screaming that simulates female ecstasy, and which is indistinguishable from sounds of extreme pain and discomfort,⁸⁴ and these sounds may lure them into trying to secretly view the movie through a partially open door or window or through gaps in a wall. Girls emphasised that although they were shy about their parents knowing they had watched pornographic VCDs because of the explicit sexual activity they had witnessed and because they feared punishment for breaking family rules, the fact that they had watched pornographic movies would have no effect on their reputation in the village. As one 14-year-old girl pointed out, “It’s *normal*”. “Relatives and friends do not say anything about it.” Yet, the same informant noted, “Girls who like watching pornography are my age, 14 or 15. Older girls watch too, 17 to 18, but they don’t want to watch as much as younger girls”. Perhaps this suggests that although young girls may watch out of curiosity or a desire to be modern, older girls, approaching marriageable age, have to manage their reputations more carefully.

Participants in the research indicated that many parents seem to care about the exposure of their own children to pornography, but have less concern about the exposure of other people’s children. One 14-year-old Chulkiri girl noted that she had watched a pornographic video at the home of her married female neighbour. However, when asked if she was concerned about her mother finding out, she said that she was unconcerned because she knew the neighbour would not tell her mother because it would involve her admitting that she had been watching pornography. Similarly, another Chulkiri girl of 17 related how a married woman in her 30s with two children, who visited the village to assist with the rice harvest, had told her about a pornographic VCD she had watched that showed a woman having sex with a dog.⁸⁵ She said that in the married woman’s home village, “Nearly every house in that village has pornography”. She also noted that the visiting woman found the village’s rental supply of pornography boring because she had already seen it all.

It became abundantly clear during interviews that the children who had not been exposed to pornography were those whose parents were concerned about their behaviour and who monitored where they were. Many girls who knew that their parents had prohibited them from watching pornography, or would not like them watching pornography, had had little or no exposure to it. Similarly, boys whose parents allowed them only limited freedoms and who did not *dar leng* (walk for pleasure) with friends were those who had no exposure to pornography. However, the children who had not been exposed to pornography and knew nothing about issues such as where to access

84. Johnson (1993).

85. The context in which this discussion took place was not clear. However, my research assistant found it particularly inappropriate that a married woman should cross generational boundaries to discuss such intimate and transgressive sex acts with a young unmarried girl.

pornographic VCDs or books still possessed a high level of general knowledge about the use of pornography in their village, such as which houses regularly played pornographic VCDs. Informants routinely identified particular houses as places that currently or previously played pornography. Others pointed to a house “down that way” or to less public spaces at the rear of people’s houses, abutting the fields. In the majority of cases, the children with no direct exposure to pornography, both boys and girls, could also relate details of the pornographic VCDs their friends had watched. As has been pointed out elsewhere in this report, pornography clearly affects more than just those directly exposed to it.

Where Do Pornographic Movies Come From?

Identification of a new mode by which Cambodian children (and adults) access pornography is another major outcome of this project. Until now it was taken for granted that, apart from exchanging VCDs with friends and purchasing them from the itinerant sellers who pass through restaurants, beer gardens and similar venues, the most common sources of pornography were stallholders in markets and video shops. The 2003 Child Welfare Group research reported that 29.8% of children acquired pornography from markets, and a further 16.3% from video shops. In addition, World Vision Cambodia’s 2005 research on gender-based violence and pornography revealed that in Kandal Stung district it was common for villagers visiting Phnom Penh for work or pleasure to purchase print or video pornography and take these back to their village, where they entered local exchange networks.

However, this project has revealed that pornography is now also distributed by village entrepreneurs who hire out VCDs, usually at the extremely low cost of 500 riels per night. In Chulkiri district, such entrepreneurs were located in two villages, and the evidence suggests inter-village distribution networks. For example, one businessman in a Chulkiri village not only hires out pornographic VCDs and holds public showings (see below) for paying guests, but also takes orders for pornographic films and fills the orders from another (unvisited) village. Another (female) vendor of pornography was mentioned by many Chulkiri respondents—a woman who travelled from the far side of the river to rent out VCD disks from a stall in the local village market each morning.⁸⁶

86. During the course of this research, one such vendor was visited. She was located merely by visiting a vendor of non-pornographic disks at a small shop in the village and, on finding that she had only “normal” karaoke and movie disks for sale, asking where we might locate some “good movies”, some “sexy movies”. She gave instructions regarding the location of a house further along in the village. Visiting this house, we asked for some disks and the woman initially bought out a stock of rental karaoke disks. However, when we asked for “good” movies, she went upstairs and returned a short time later (the time taken suggesting, perhaps, that the disks had been hidden in a secret location in the house) with a small plastic bag of some 20 to 25 disks. The cost of rental was 500 riels per night or 2000 riels to purchase them. Several disks were purchased in the district over this and a subsequent visit. The disks were in particularly poor condition. This, together with the fact that their lurid covers of naked women and couples engaged in sex were extremely crumpled, suggested that they had found an enthusiastic reception amongst village renters. A random selection of five disks purchased in the village included every possible form of sexual activity, including rape and bestiality, and two disks with similar

It is interesting that other small-scale entrepreneurs conduct public showings of pornography under or behind private homes for a very small fee per person. Also, night-time guests at events such as mortuary rituals may now be entertained by pornographic films played on equipment hired out by these entrepreneurs.⁸⁷

Table 7 indicates that 44.6% of respondents indicated that pornography was available in their communities. This is much higher than the 28.2% of respondents in the Kandal Stung survey who indicated pornography was available in their communities. Interestingly, the percentage of boys and girls that said pornography was available in their community was almost identical, with 44.8% of boys and 44.5% of girls giving this response.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Is pornography available in your community?	Yes	44.8%	44.5%	44.6%
	No	55.2%	54.7%	54.9%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7: Is pornography available in your community?

Sites where children indicated they could access pornography in their communities included the traditional coffee shops, book stands and brothels, as well as at home and at a friend’s home. Several respondents noted that pornography was available at “secret” or “hidden” places, indicating perhaps the underground pornography lending businesses discussed above.

themes were also purchased from a small shop selling music CDs and movie VCDs in nearby Chulkiri town. From an HIV/AIDS prevention perspective, it should be noted that in no case of intercourse viewed on these VCDs were condoms used. Thus the implicit message is that there is no need to take precautions when engaging in sexual activity, a message directly opposite to the AIDS prevention messages promoted in Cambodia by the various government ministries and NGOs/IOs working on AIDS prevention.

It was notable that in two cases the request to purchase pornographic media from vendors, and the selection of VCDs with lurid covers of the most graphic kind met with no apparent concern at the illegality of the act (in the current context of a crackdown on pornography) and no apparent embarrassment. Interestingly, the lack of shyness shown by the purchasers of pornography was also noted by WVC’s 2005 research on pornography. For vendors, it was clearly just another commercial transaction. As respondents pointed out many times over the research period, pornography is *tommodar* (normal). However, by contrast, in a third case, that of the man in a Chulkiri village who was renting out pornography and showing pornography to others for a fee, it was found that when approached by the research team he was very wary, and not only denied he had any pornography for sale or rental, but also declined to give specific details of his activities. He was only later approached successfully via the driver of our car—no doubt less fearsome than a hot and weary western researcher and his Cambodian research assistant—who was able to elicit the facts that the man was both supplying rental disks to order and showing presentations of pornography to groups of paying customers.

87. This echoes a pattern familiar to the consultant from at least 20 years ago in rural Thailand. Here, even in the pre-video cassette days, it was not unknown for households holding funeral rituals to entertain guests with pornographic or semi-pornographic films played on (even then) antiquated reel to reel film equipment.

When the data are broken down according to research site (Table 8), probably the most significant point is that there is much easier access to pornography in urban areas compared with rural areas. In Stung Meanchey, 60.1% of respondents said that pornography was available in their community, compared with only 30.1% of respondents in Chulkiri, and 38.1% of respondents in Luek Daek.

Is pornography available in your community?

% within sex

Site			Sex		Total
			Male	Female	
Chulkiri	Is pornography available in your Community?	Yes	27.6%	31.8%	30.1%
		No	72.4%	68.2%	69.9%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Stung Meanchey	Is pornography available in your Community?	Yes	60.8%	61.5%	61.1%
		No	39.2%	38.5%	38.9%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Luek Daek	Is pornography available in your Community?	Yes	32.0%	41.7%	38.1%
		No	68.0%	56.0%	60.4%
	Total	3.00	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 8: Is pornography available in your community? by research site

In terms of country of origin, during the interviews the children noted that they had viewed pornographic VCDs from Thailand, China, the US, Japan, and Cambodia—recognised by factors such as the appearance of the actors, the settings, the spoken language and the written title of the film and production details. In the case of books, one boy identified the origin of a pornographic book he read by the names of the people in the stories, which he said sounded Chinese. While respondents were particularly adept at distinguishing between south-east Asian and east Asian actors, they made fewer distinctions with pornography from western countries. Western pornography was almost uniformly described as American or *barang* (French or white). One exception stood out, a boy who claimed that a pornographic film he had viewed was French because he recognised one of the actors and knew him to be French. It should be noted that some VCDs viewed by respondents were dubbed in Khmer, while others retained their original language. As is pointed out above, for many movies the sound track is little more than the simulated sounds of female sexual excitement. Sometimes, in what are clearly cheaper productions or those involving sexual acts with animals, the soundtrack is merely music overlaid with panting.

Asked which films they prefer, the children’s opinions were divided. Some (mostly boys) claimed that Chinese films were the best because of the beauty of the women. Others claimed that they preferred western films because they liked to see white bodies and bodies and genitals that are large compared with those of Cambodians. Some boys also claimed that the acts performed on western films had a greater aura of authenticity. As one Chulkiri boy put it, “The sex is real, sex in the room, sex beside the car ...”. Another boy in Stung Meanchey claimed that Thai movies had a greater aura of

authenticity because “they show real life, places of amusement, resorts and so on”. This is true, and his comment suggests a significant degree of exposure to pornographic material. Thai pornography makers do indeed have a penchant for filming in idyllic contexts such as rural or seaside resorts, and a Thai porn star’s recent account of her time making pornographic films draws an ironic contrast between the beauty of the venues she worked in and the sordid reality of her activities, her physical pain and exhaustion from filming.

It should be noted that sometimes the subject matter of pornographic VCDs is portrayed on the disks’ paper covers—photographs of people and, sometimes, animals, engaged in sexual activity—and the VCD is labelled as a sex movie so those who wish to hire pornography are able to make a choice about what they watch. However, in other cases, particularly in Phnom Penh at times of state crackdowns on pornography, pornographic VCDs may well be packaged as kung fu or another type of popular movie, and the VCD itself will have a similar designation. Indeed, one informant mentioned earlier said that his first exposure to pornography happened when his mother brought home a VCD which was labelled as a kung fu movie for her children to watch because she knew they liked that kind of movie. She put it on to play for the children before going to have her evening shower. She came back to find the family and some friends watching a hard-core pornographic film, which she immediately switched off.

The research did not aim to investigate how these movies enter Cambodia, where they are duplicated in bulk, or how they enter village distribution networks. However, some of this information was gained during the research. A village chief claimed that some come in trucks from Thailand, packed amongst other goods, and that they are distributed throughout Cambodia in the same fashion. Village-level distribution is on a much smaller scale. In Chulkiri, for instance, those who rent or sell pornographic videos (in addition to other movies and karaoke VCDs) claim that they purchase their VCDs in Phnom Penh and Kampong Chhnang. Some duplication is certainly taking place in Cambodia, and, given the Cambodian settings and themes of some VCDs, it is likely that production is also taking place in Cambodia. One female Stung Meanchey informant who makes paper bags from recycled paper told us she had purchased a large pack of paper from a Phnom Penh garbage collector in order to make paper bags. A portion of the pack was A3 sheets of paper, each printed with 12 highly explicit photos of men and young women engaged in various sexual acts. Designed as cover illustrations for pornographic VCDs, they were discarded test sheets from a commercial printing press. They were printed in Khmer, dated 21 March 2006, with the captions, “Thai Girls”, “Japanese Girls 2006” and the like.

Chapter Four

Pornography in Three Districts of Cambodia: The Effects

Chapter Three dealt with the most important facts about how Cambodian children in the research districts have been exposed to pornography. This chapter discusses some of the effects that pornography has on the lives of these young people and makes a deeper analysis of the ways in which they understand pornography. Drawing on this data, it makes some suggestions regarding potential avenues of intervention.

The Immediate Impact of Pornography on Boys and Girls

In the survey and, still more clearly, during interviews with both boys and girls, it became clear that the most immediate effect of exposure to hard-core pornographic films was that, after watching pornographic VCDs, boys wanted sex (*ruam phet*) or, as some put it, they wanted to imitate what they saw in the film. Girls too were clearly aware that this was the effect of pornography on boys. Boys also said that their desire for sex was particularly strong when they watched pornography after drinking alcohol or when they drank alcohol while they watched.

Yet, for boys living in rural districts, sex is not an easy option. In Chulkiri, for example, both boys and girls noted that there were no prostitutes in the village, so the opportunities for boys to have sex following watching of pornography were limited—unless they wanted to travel to a nearby village where there was a small brothel with both Cambodian and Vietnamese prostitutes. However, boys suggested that if one had a girlfriend (*songsar*), then one might have sex with her. In urban Stung Meanchey, the situation was slightly different, with seven boys (6.9% of the Stung Meanchey sample of boys) claiming that they regularly have sex after watching pornography, and one boy (1% of the Stung Meanchey sample) claiming that he sometimes has sex after watching pornography. Respondents were clearly aware that the effect of exposure to pornography was the sexualisation of children's lives. As one girl in Chulkiri pointed out, all her peers of 14 and even younger have boyfriends or girlfriends now. When a boy about 11 or 12 years old passed by a short distance away, she pointed to him and said, "Look at him, he's young but he already knows how to flirt".

Discussing their response to watching or reading pornography, girls generally made more circumspect and more nuanced responses than boys. Many said they found the pornography disgusting and frightening, yet simultaneously some also admitted that they were curious about it and that they were sexually aroused by what they saw. As a 15-year-old Stung Meanchey girl put it, "My heart beat so fiercely, I don't know why". Even more graphically, a 16-year-old girl from Luek Daek said, "I don't want to watch any more; it makes me feel bad—as I want to do the same". No girl admitted to having sex following exposure to pornography.

Discussing girls' potential vulnerability to inflamed male (or, indeed, to their own) passions, a number of girls repeated that it was not a problem because the boys their age were not "brave" enough and would not "dare" to do anything. However, they pointed out that it was older boys and men whose passions might well be inflamed beyond control after watching pornography. Also, such occasions can be used by boys and men to try to make girls lose self control and become sexual targets. For example, in one extremely worrying case a Stung Meanchey girl (a small 15-year-old from a poor family, and one with an aura of extreme vulnerability) related the details of an occasion when a girlfriend invited her to watch a movie at her house. She arrived to find the girl's brother and several male friends watching a hard-core pornographic movie (not the normal movie she had expected) and only one or two other invited girls. She and the other girls went home without watching the entire movie because her aunt happened to walk past the house. Her aunt saw the movie and her niece's presence through a partially open door and called out to tell her to leave.

A Chulkiri girl volunteered the disturbing statement, "Some people when they watch pornographic movies, they rape their daughters and sometimes they rape their nieces." Asked if this had happened in her village, she said, "Yes, a long time ago". She claimed she could not remember the specific details of the case.

During interviews, a large number of girls referred to the fact that both boys and girls changed following exposure to pornography. As several girls put it, boys are not "gentle" any more and they speak "rudely" following exposure to pornography. One Chulkiri girl pointed that after they watch pornography and are sexually aroused, boys attempt to touch girls—on the arm, the shoulder, the back of the waist and on their backside. Such comments were repeated by other girls in Chulkiri and in both the other research sites. One girl said that when boys acted like that at school, she didn't worry much, but when it occurred when they were alone or far from home, then she felt "a bit scared." Asked if these changes were temporary immediately following exposure to pornography or if they were permanent, girls said that they were permanent.

This indeed seems to be the case. Girl after girl gave examples of how, subsequent to their exposure to pornography, boys at school would boast loudly (using rude words) to their friends about the sex they had seen the previous evening, about the various sexual positions and about the types of sex. "I saw a dog xxxx a woman" was only one of the many examples given. Asked if this was normal talking or if the boys intended that they be overheard by the girls, all the female informants said that the boasting was in order that others would hear. Girls also reported that boys call out to them and comment on various parts of their bodies and on what they would like to do with them. However,

boys using their knowledge of pornography to harass girls is not confined only to physically grabbing them or verbal harassment. Informants reported that sometimes, when their teachers leave the room, two or three boys sometimes jump up on the desk and perform a sex skit, holding each other closely and acting out sex acts they had viewed the previous evening. As is noted in the preface of this report, again and again during interviews when we discussed the boys' boasting about what they had seen done to girls in films, the respondents would say, "Those girls are like me, it's as if they [the boys] were watching my body".

Girls also talk at school about what they have seen in pornographic films, but they talk quietly among themselves about, for example, a film of a man having sex with a woman, or about a girl who was raped by a man when she did not want to have sex with him—and, as one girl put it, "We say how disgusting it [the film] was and we laugh ... because it is so disgusting". Female informants said that girls also changed, that after they watched pornography they were not shy any more. It seemed as if the curiosity value and, as I discuss below, its transgressive nature—both in respect to pornographic representation and to girls watching such material—were a large part of the attraction of pornography for girls. During interviews many girls commented that once other girls have been exposed to pornography they want to see more and want to know more. Yet there is a lot of tension between the attraction of pornographic films and what girls believe to be good female behaviour. In one informant's words (also quoted above), "I don't want to watch any more, it makes me feel bad—as I want to do the same." Tellingly, in response to the survey question asking, "What effect does pornography have on girls?", while some girls said that it makes girls have boyfriends, a number of girls responded that it makes girls become commercial sex workers. Sex workers are popularly believed to be oversexed—and so it is possible that girls who are exposed to pornography are aware of the stimulation of their own (and others') desires.

Pornography: Good, Bad or Normal? Children's Ambiguous Opinions

The ease of access to pornography and its ubiquity in the experience of many young Cambodians warrant investigation. The survey asked children how they would best describe pornography: disgusting, disturbing, normal, interesting or sexually exciting. Their responses (Table 9) illustrate a high degree of ambiguity towards pornography in contemporary Cambodia.

	Which word best describes pornography?
--	--

		Disgusting	Disturbing	Normal	Interesting	Sexually exciting
Sex	Male	36.8%	17.2%	32.1%	5.7%	8.1%
	Female	57.5%	16.6%	19.8%	4.0%	2.0%
Total		48.0%	16.9%	25.4%	4.8%	4.8%

Table 9: Which word best describes pornography?

Girls (57.5%) were more likely than boys (36.8%) to describe pornography as disgusting. However, a worrying 19.8% of girls and 32.1% of boys said pornography was best described as normal. During interviews, although the word *argrok* (bad) was repeatedly used to refer to pornography, the word normal (*tommodar*) also recurred in discussions with both boys and girls. Often the same children who had only minutes before referred to pornography as *argrok* would say that watching pornography was *tommodar*. When questioned further about pornography being normal, informants referred to its ubiquity, the fact that people could either watch or not watch it as they pleased and the normalness of sex. For many, pornography is, quite simply, part of the contemporary social landscape. The situation could be summed up by saying that there is deep confusion here, because although pornography is considered to be bad, it is commonplace and is watched by a significant proportion of children and adults. Most of it comes from advanced western and Asian countries, so it seems to illustrate how people in those countries have sex and yet, at the same time, it is frowned upon publicly by parents and the government and is labelled bad for Cambodia.

Although only 2.0% of girls and 8.1% of boys indicated that they found pornography sexually exciting, the majority of those respondents who indicated that they found pornography disturbing (16.6% of girls and 17.2% of boys) explained that they were disturbed in their mood (*arom*) and that watching pornography destroyed their ability to concentrate on their school work. Additionally, a number of those who said they found pornography disturbing indicated in their open-ended response to question 13a (What effect does pornography have on you when you see or read it?) that it made them feel like having sex.

Given the highly ambiguous responses to pornography, it is likely that intervention programmes that provide space for young people to discuss and clarify their attitudes and responses to pornography could be highly effective. It could be highly cost-effective if electronic media such as radio could be used to raise the issue of pornography publicly throughout Cambodia. Ways this might be done would be to invite prominent people to talk about the issue, or to have a debate about pornography's effects. The aim of such programmes would be to raise people's awareness that hard-

core pornography is widespread in Cambodia, and to provide both adults and children with the information that it is not just movies, but may have a long-lasting negative influence on individuals and on the community as a whole.

Pornography and 'My' Future

One's reputation is highly important in Cambodian society, so to help assess children's understanding of pornography and to seek a potential point of intervention, both boys and girls were asked in the survey whether or not a good man or woman could watch pornography (Tables 10 and 11). This information could be used in combination with the definitions of what constituted a good man or good woman recorded during WVC's 2005 gender-based violence and pornography research, to design an intervention programme.

		Can a good man read/watch pornography?	
		Yes	No
Sex	Male	17.2%	82.8%
	Female	14.1%	85.9%
Total		15.5%	84.5%

Table 10: Can a good man read/watch pornography?

		Can a good woman read/watch pornography?	
		Yes	No
Sex	Male	8.2%	91.8%
	Female	13.3%	86.7%
Total		11.0%	89.0%

Table 11: Can a good woman read/watch pornography?

The tables show that in both cases the overwhelming majority of respondents claimed that good men and women should not watch pornography. Although the statistics are very close, two things stand out. First, the female responses suggested that girls believe that neither boys nor girls should watch pornography. Secondly, in a reflection of the Cambodian belief that good women should not know too much about sex, 82.8% of males claimed that a good man could not watch pornography, but a higher number (91%) claimed that good women could not watch pornography.

This issue of reputation or relative virtue of a person was pursued in the question that asked if respondents could accept their partner reading/looking at pornography, and they were then asked to explain their answers. The responses to this question are given in Tables 12 and 13. More than 80% of both boys and girls answered that they could not accept their partner using pornography. Asked why not, many girls responded with general answers, saying that pornography is bad or that watching pornography is not acceptable. However, answers from some girls suggested they believe exposure to pornography has a negative effect on boys' and men's sexual behaviour and that it also negatively influences their family relationships.

		If you are a boy can you accept your girlfriend/wife using pornography?		
		Yes	No	Don't care
Sex	Male	6.7%	82.3%	11.0%

Table 12: Could you accept your girlfriend/wife using pornography?

		If you are a girl can you accept your boyfriend/husband using pornography?		
		Yes	No	Don't Care
Sex	Female	7.3%	82.6%	10.1%

Table 13: Could you accept your boyfriend/husband using pornography?

Many boys' answers about how they would feel about their girlfriend or wife using pornography suggested that it was generally unacceptable, that it was bad and would spoil her future. Others were more specific, suggesting that watching pornography would cause them to be unfaithful. Yet others claimed that if their girlfriend or wife watched pornography, it would cause her to become a sex worker. Possibly, the logic of this answer is the fact noted above, that sex workers are popularly considered to be oversexed, and a girl whose lust was provoked by pornography would find an outlet here rather than with her partner. Interestingly, like the girls (see below), a number of boys also indicated that they would not want their girlfriend or wife exposed to pornography because it would cause domestic violence. These responses are significant because they suggest that boys and girls alike are aware that parental arguments over sex lead to domestic violence, and they know that men's watching of pornography and their desire to emulate pornographic scripts at home is at the cause of many such arguments.

One particularly interesting response from several girls was that they could not accept their partners using pornography because it would mean they would have to live with domestic violence. This

verifies World Vision Cambodia’s 2005 research about domestic violence, which identified men watching pornography and then seeking to emulate the film scripts at home as a significant cause of domestic violence. Another interesting and insightful response was the claim, again made by several girls, that they could not marry a man who viewed pornography because his use of pornography would turn him into an unfaithful husband or, as some others put it, it would cause him to want sex with many partners. Many of the female respondents who said they could accept their male partner using pornography failed to specify their reasons. However, some did provide answers that suggested an association between the use of pornography by boys and ideas about masculinity. As one respondent put it, “boys become men”. Others stated that a boyfriend or husband watching pornography was acceptable because it was normal (*tommodar*).

The issue of other people’s use of pornography and what children think about it was addressed in another way. Children were asked to think of their own futures as parents and whether or not they could accept their own children using pornography. As Table 14 shows, the overwhelming majority of both boys and girls answered that they would not accept their children using pornography, with the responses from boys (88%) and girls (85.8%) being almost the same. Responses were fairly general, with many respondents merely indicating that it was not acceptable for children to watch pornography.

		Could you accept your children using pornography?		
		Yes	No	Don't care
Sex	Male	5.3%	88.0%	6.7%
	Female	7.3%	85.8%	6.9%
Total		6.4%	86.8%	6.8%

Table 14: Could you accept your children using pornography?

Those who gave more detail indicated that pornography would affect their children’s studies (many boys and girls indicated that, following exposure to pornography, they found it difficult to concentrate on their studies). A few also indicated that if their children were to watch pornography, it would make them want to have sex. The small group of respondents who indicated they could accept their children’s exposure to pornography did not provide detailed explanations. Some indicated that such exposure was normal, and a couple indicated that it was a way for children to learn about sex and the human body.

The next question in the survey asked if the respondents thought there was any difference between children’s and adults’ exposure to pornography. Overall, 22.4% of respondents (23.1% of boys, and

21.9% of girls) indicated that there was a difference. Some of their answers are both instructive and disturbing. Particularly disturbing was the response of one girl who said, “It makes boys become cheats and rapists”. Another girl claimed that it “leads young people to become lovers”, and yet another said it leads to sexual intercourse. A number of boys’ responses noted that pornography caused children to become sexually active, and one respondent indicated that the difference was that “adults can have sex”—the implication being that adults had an acceptable outlet for their feelings following exposure to pornography but that children did not. One particularly worrying response came from a 15-year-old Stung Meanchey boy who noted that pornography caused children to become sexually active, and in answer to the next pair of questions answered that pornography was not good because “it leads adults to rape girls”.

The final two survey questions (Table 15 and Table 16) asked respondents if they considered pornography to be good or bad for individuals, and if they considered pornography good or bad for Cambodia. Responses to both these questions showed the highest levels of agreement of any questions in the survey. Overall, 94.3% indicated that they considered pornography bad for people. Once again, many gave their reasons in general terms, saying, for instance, that pornography was bad (*argrok*) without further explanation. Others, however, indicated that it affected children’s study, and that it caused people to become sexually active. However, there were four extremely worrying responses, all from boys in Stung Meanchey. Three boys claimed that one reason pornography was bad was that it causes “adults to commit rape” (also as noted above), and one boy claimed it causes “young people to become rapists”.

Participants’ survey responses regarding the impact of pornography on people demonstrate a wide variety of views, particularly in the final group of questions. While the alarming views do not always represent the majority, they are noteworthy and worth further examination.

The small percentage of respondents who claimed that pornography had a positive function in people’s life said that was because it taught people about sex and about their bodies.

		Is pornography good or bad for people?		
		Good	Bad	No impact
Sex	Male	1.9%	95.2%	2.9%
	Female	2.4%	93.5%	4.0%
	Total	2.2%	94.3%	3.5%

Table 15: Is pornography good or bad for people?

In response to the question, “Is pornography good or bad for Cambodian society?” almost all (97.8%) indicated that they considered it bad. The five responses that it was good for society are likely anomalous—possibly children hurrying to tick the last box to finish the survey—because they do not correspond with those individuals’ responses to earlier questions. Many of the reasons given by children for pornography being bad for Cambodian society are the same as those given above: because it is bad, is disgusting and causes young people to have sex. However, there were some responses to this question that indicated serious thought about pornography and its social implications. It was claimed that pornography caused trafficking, that it caused an increase in the number of sex workers (presumably due to the fact that boys and men who watch pornography sometimes visit sex workers), that it will cause an increase in HIV rates and, from yet another respondent, that it motivates rapists (to commit rape).

		Is pornography good or bad for Cambodian society?		
		Good	Bad	No impact
Sex	Male	1.0%	98.1%	1.0%
	Female	1.6%	97.6%	.8%
Total		1.3%	97.8%	.9%

Table 16: Is pornography good or bad for Cambodian society?

The responses to both of these questions (Tables 15 and 16) reflect not only children’s views about pornography and its status as *argrok* (bad) for individuals and for Cambodian society. They also highlight the disjunction between this assessment and the fact that pornography is pervasive in many communities, that it is watched by a significant percentage of their peers (and adults), and the fact that in its vividness and elaboration of the erotic, and its transgression of the sexual scripts of everyday life, hard-core pornography possesses a compelling, even compulsive power for many people.⁸⁸

Video Porn as a Representation of Reality

A major concern of this project is children’s perceptions of the pornographic material to which they were exposed. For interventions to be effective, it is crucial to understand to what extent children understand that pornographic movies are not portrayals of sex that people in other countries actually practise in real life, that they are a genre of action movie no less than car chase or shoot-’em-up action movies. To this end, the children were asked questions in interviews (see Appendix 2) such as “Have you ever thought about the people you see in these movies?”, “What do you think

about them?”, “Do you think the relationships they show are real?”, and “Are these people real people showing us something of their lives, or is it more complex?”. It was clear that until they encountered this question in the interview, most children exposed to pornography had given little thought to the performers. Their answers to these questions spanned the spectrum from naivety to world-weary cynicism. One 14-year-old Luek Daek boy, when asked about a pornographic film he had seen featuring Chinese actors, “Who are those girls, are they having sex with their husbands or with other people?” He said that the movie featured two couples having sex together, so he had naturally assumed that they were married. Asked why married couples would want to have sex in this manner and display their private lives to the world, or why they would want to swap partners, he appeared confused and the issue was not pursued. At the other end of the spectrum, a 17-year-old Luek Daek boy explained, “They’re not real life, they’re just showing sexual intercourse (*ruam phet*), they are doing it for money”.

Yet the issue of reality in pornography is not straightforward. Although pornographic films are not documentaries, the sex acts are real. Part of one interview illustrates this complexity: “Do you think this [film you saw] was real life?”

“Yes.”

“So it is not artificial?”

“No.”

“What sort of things made the film real for you?”

“It was a French film using the Khmer language.”

“But from watching the film how do you know that it was real?”

“He took his xxxxx and put it in her xxxxxx.”

“Is it real because you saw real sex?”

“Yes.”

Another boy explained that a film he saw was real for him because the film showed men going to a Cambodian brothel and buying a girl, then taking her and making a pornographic movie with her. For the boy, the movie was absolutely authenticated by the purchase of the girl from the brothel. When the interviewers raised the possibility that the brothel scene could have simply been one scene of the film and was played by an actress, the boy could make no sense of this scenario even though it was repeated for him several times. One possible reason this scenario made no sense to him was that many of the children interviewed thought that the women in pornographic movies were prostitutes or “bad” people who were just doing it for money. They (both male and female actors) are not shy

88. In most cultural systems, transgression of the rules that define the normative sexual practices of daily life is what Parker calls the “ideology of the erotic” and is often highly eroticised (Parker, 1992). See also Fordham (1995b).

to perform sex in public, we were told, “because they want money”. Boys displayed a lack of compassion for the women they saw in pornographic movies. As a result, when the issue of exploitation was raised, it made little sense to many respondents—the actors were probably prostitutes; they were bad people and had chosen to be there. As one boy put it, “She should get another job”. Thus, in response to the question, “Would a girl working in pornographic movies spoil her reputation?”, one boy answered, “No, if she thought about her reputation, she would not be a sex worker”.

Such people were expected to have both physical and social problems if they wanted to marry subsequent to performing in pornographic movies. Boys said that, if a female porn actress wanted to marry, it would be a problem because she would have damaged and enlarged her vagina, and if her husband found out about her earlier activities, he would be angry with her and he would also be ashamed if others saw his wife in a sex movie. However, in the case of male ex-porn stars whose spouses found out about their past, respondents merely said that his wife would be angry with him for sleeping with other women. As another boy put it, “The man does not think about his reputation as he wants to marry [someone else].” This conforms to the logic of the Cambodian cultural system, in which women are severely stigmatised for participation in commercial sex, but no such stigma appears to attach to men.

What makes pornographic films real? For many, as noted above, the reality was in the sex acts. However, another aspect of the reality in pornographic films was that, as pointed out in Chapter Two, there is an elaboration of the erotic in pornographic movies that gives the sex a sense of reality that transcends the sex of the everyday world. As one boy said, “They don’t do sex as we do it”. Another boy (also referred to in Chapter Three), who told the research team he regularly watches pornographic movies, told of his preference for Thai pornography, because movies from Thailand had a greater sense of reality than movies from other countries due to the beautiful settings in which they are frequently filmed. Indeed, for many of the children interviewed, the sex viewed in the pornographic media to which they had been exposed was the sex of the modern western or Asian exotic “other”. As various informants said, “That’s what they do in the city”, or “That’s what they do in other countries”.

The devices through which pornographic films are made to seem real, such as the soundtracks of groans, screams and panting, so that, as one theorist puts it, “Often the voices seem to emanate from the air, since the women’s mouths are usually preoccupied”,⁸⁹ were not apparent to any of the children interviewed. Neither were they aware, except in the case of rape movies where women

89. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

were often bashed and drugged, that many of the acts they viewed were more likely to inflict pain than the pleasure signified by the soundtrack.

The recently published book by a Thai ex-porn star, already referred to, tells of her entry into the movie business that she claims was due to poverty and family crisis. She tells of the pain, embarrassment and shame she felt while making pornographic movies. Her juxtaposition of these feelings against the fake sexual ecstasy of the finished movies and their exotic resort settings provides a powerful testament that could be used in anti-pornography programmes to help children to gain greater insight into the pornography they see—and the exploitation to which all involved are party (including the audience). There are similar books written in English by western porn stars. However, the close cultural and geographical relationship between Thailand and Cambodia means that for a Cambodian audience this particular work has a relevance that western-based works do not have.

In addition to talking with children about the exploitation of the actors in pornographic movies, a final issue the consultant wished to raise was the fact that by watching these movies we are, in a way, participating in that exploitation. Also, we are exploiting ourselves if we allow ourselves to be deluded by the false images portrayed in the movies. By contrast, when we watch action movies, we suspend disbelief for the duration of the movie, but we do not think that what we see on the screen is real. Unfortunately, it was not possible to discuss these complex issues within the time constraints of the interviews. However, it is suggested that these issues might feature in anti-pornography programmes directed at children. The consultant's impression is that girls were more aware of exploitation issues than were boys, who, as noted above, tended to blame the girls in pornographic movies for their own actions.

Summary

It became very clear during interviews that the exposure of both boys and girls to pornography was not something that affects only those who watch the movies. Others were indirectly exposed to the same material, and the lives of both boys and girls are sexualised to a much greater extent than they were before the introduction of pornography to the various research districts. Additionally, children's lives are being sexualised at an increasingly early age. World Vision Cambodia's 2005 research on gender-based violence and pornography drew attention to two social problems in Cambodia: gang rape or *bauk*,⁹⁰ and the rape of prepubescent girls by boys who are themselves often very young.⁹¹ The report drew a connection between these heinous crimes and the increasing

90. Bearup (2003), Tong Soprach (2000) and Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, *Cambodian National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey 2004*.

91. O'Connell (2001); LICADHO (2005), Briefing Paper (Phnom Penh: LICADHO), p. 6; Hicks (2004), p. 14, notes that of all the rape cases investigated in 2002 and 2003, victims aged between 11 and 15 represented 38.3%

access young Cambodian people have to pornography in a context of limited sex education—leading boys and men to develop unhealthy and erroneous views about sex, women and relationships with women. Pornography creates unreal (and unrealistic) expectations in the minds of both boys and men in regard to their sex lives, frequency of sexual activity, the kinds of acts performed, responsibility and the role of wives in fulfilling men’s expectations.⁹²

To repeat comments made in WVC’s 2005 research report on pornography, the consultant has worked on masculinity issues for many years in Thailand, and has made an intensive long-term study of male sexual scripts in the Thai domestic and commercial sex arenas. During the past 15 years, he has observed the progressive negative effects of pornography on young people as their lives became increasingly sexualised. There is substantial evidence that in Cambodia in recent years, in a manner analogous to the situation in Thailand a few years ago, young people are being affected by pornography in ways which alter their sense of self and gender identity, and cause their lives to be sexualised at increasingly early ages. As has been shown in the previous three chapters, the pornographic material to which young Cambodians are exposed has the potential to cause them substantial harm. It appears to impel young people to become sexually active before the appropriate time, increase the risk that young boys will rape or sexually assault children and girls as a form of sexual experimentation, increase the risk that young men will contract HIV/AIDS from sexual activities with commercial sex workers and, when boys are exposed to pornography at an early age, it may have a long-term influence on their sexual development. The sexualising of young women’s lives at an early age may also make them more vulnerable to trafficking and to becoming victims of the commercial sex industry in the region.

of the total. She notes also that a number of cases were not merely under 11 years old, but that in 2002 and in 2003 in 6.4% and 8.7% of these cases the victims were less than five years old.

92. As WVC’s 2005 research showed, pornography is not only a causative factor in marital violence but, given the emphasis Cambodian men place on sexual performance as an indication of their masculinity, also places men under stress and leads them to place yet more significance on sex. And, in a closing of a vicious circle, yet more pressure is exerted on wives for more sex and more varieties of sex, leading to more instances of marital rape and GBV within marriage. Fordham (2005a).

Chapter Five

Alcohol Use Among Cambodian Children

World Vision Cambodia's 2005 research on gender-based violence and pornography identified alcohol use as crucial to a range of contemporary social problems. Critically, working on a framework for analysing these problems, it noted that although alcohol use and its associated problems (such as gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS) appear as and are often treated as individual problems amenable to individual solutions, in reality these are also fundamentally structural problems. Thus it examined alcohol use in relation to Cambodian cultural values, in particular masculinity, and the contemporary social pressures exerted on "traditional" masculine values.

This 2006 pornography research project aimed to gather baseline data about alcohol usage among children in order to identify when children start drinking alcohol, how they drink and, importantly in the context of examining children's exposure to pornography, to examine the relationship (if any) between the consumption of pornography and the consumption of alcohol.

Children's and Adolescents' Drinking Patterns

Overall, the research found that a total of 24% (n=110) of the sample of children drink alcohol. By sex, 34% of males and 14.9% of female respondents claimed that they drink alcohol (Table 17).

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Do you drink alcohol?	Yes	34.8%	14.9%	24.0%
	No	65.2%	85.1%	76.0%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 17: Percentage of children who drink alcohol

If these data are broken down according to the research sites, the portrait is shown in Table 18. As in the case of Table 8, which gives children's opinions regarding the availability of pornography in their communities, this table very clearly demonstrates the much easier access to alcohol of urban Stung Meanchey children, by comparison with rural children in either Luek Daek or Chulkiri. Thus, while 36.1% of Stung Meanchey respondents indicated that they consume alcohol, only 19.3% of Luek Daek and 13.3% of Chulkiri children consume alcohol. Most likely, the anonymity of urban Stung Meanchey, where children are not likely to be recognised beyond their immediate community, allows them a greater freedom to purchase and consume alcohol.

Do you drink alcohol?

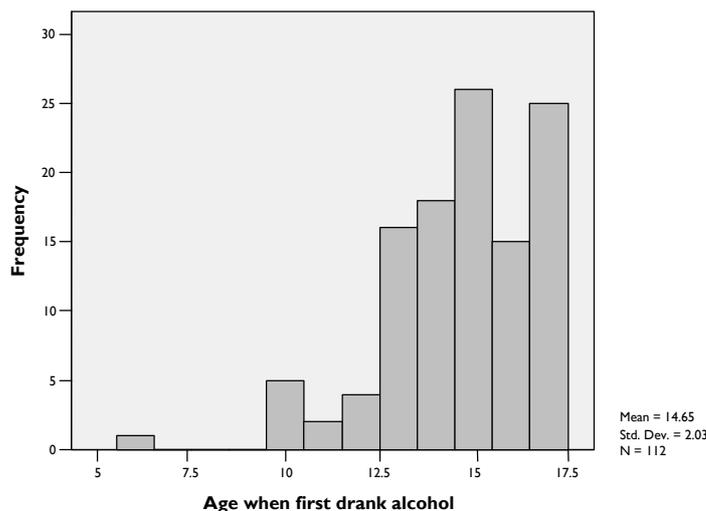
% within sex

Site			Sex		Total
			Male	Female	
Chulkiri	Do you drink alcohol?	Yes	13.8%	12.9%	13.3%
		No	86.2%	87.1%	86.7%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Stung Meanchey	Do you drink alcohol?	Yes	49.0%	19.2%	36.1%
		No	51.0%	80.8%	63.9%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Luek Daek	Do you drink alcohol?	Yes	30.0%	12.9%	19.3%
		No	70.0%	87.1%	80.7%
	Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 18: Percentage of children who drink alcohol, by research site

Interestingly, in both Stung Meanchey and Luek Daek, the data in Table 18 indicate that more than twice as many boys as girls consume alcohol. However, in Chulkiri, while the percentage of drinkers is relatively low, it is notable that almost the same percentage of boys (13.8%) and girls (12.9%) drink alcohol. The reasons for this pattern are not clear.

In relation to when children begin drinking, the overall mean is 14.65 years, as shown in Graph 4. There appeared to be little difference between the ages at which boys and girls begin to use



Graph 4: Age when first drank alcohol

alcohol. The mean age at first drink was found to be 14.8 years for girls and 14.32 years for boys (however, the figure for girls is likely slightly lower due to a relatively small number of female respondents, one of whom claimed a particularly low age for her first drink).

Asked if their parents were aware that they drink alcohol, the overwhelming majority of respondents claimed that their parents were unaware. Overall, 16.8% of respondents (Table 19) claimed that their parents knew that they drank alcohol. As might be expected, a larger percentage of boys (23.8%) claimed their parents knew they drank alcohol, compared with only 10.9% of girl drinkers.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Do your parents know you drink alcohol?	Yes	23.8%	10.9%	16.8%
	No	76.2%	89.1%	83.2%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 19: Do your parents know you drink alcohol?

Table 20 gives data concerning patterns of drinking. The data suggest that alcohol consumption amongst these young people is at present fairly low. However, there is some cause for concern due to the fact that this is a sample of children, and that by age seventeen 36.4% of boys and 16.3% of girls are consuming alcohol. Moreover, as Table 19 indicates, in the overwhelming majority of cases children’s parents are not aware of their use of alcohol. The data also indicate that both boys and girls begin drinking alcohol quite young. Additionally, although the bulk of drinkers indicate that they mainly consume alcohol at festivals and dance parties and the like, this does not necessarily indicate a low rate of alcohol consumption as at village level, since such festivals can be fairly frequent.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Frequency of drinking	Non drinker	63.6%	83.7%	74.5%
	Every day	.5%	.4%	.4%
	More than twice a week	3.8%	1.2%	2.4%
	Less than twice a week	.5%	.4%	.4%
	Twice a month	4.8%	.4%	2.4%
	Festivals	26.8%	13.8%	19.8%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 20: Frequency of drinking

The amount of alcohol drunk by children was not investigated in the survey because it was aimed to keep the survey to a manageable length. However, when this issue was raised during interviews, children’s responses indicated that at least some are drinking to drunkenness, as many boys were

familiar with the pain of hangovers and were able to comment regarding the hangover “potential” of the various alcoholic drinks with which they had experience.

Respondents were asked whether they routinely consumed alcohol while watching pornography, and only 4.8% of males and 3.2% of females indicated that they did so. This figure may reflect a very literal answer to the question (Appendix I) “Do you drink alcohol while watching/reading pornography?”, as interviews with boys revealed that although sometimes boys sit and drink while watching pornographic movies, an equally common pattern is that they drink first and then watch a pornographic movie. If this is the case, then the true figure may be higher than these statistics indicate. Asked if drinking alcohol while watching pornography had any effect on the way they felt, a significant proportion of male drinkers responded that it made them want sex. However, this was the same answer most had already given to the question of how they felt when they watched pornography. A minority of responses said that drinking alcohol while watching pornography caused no changes in their feelings.

In relation to the forms of alcohol consumed (Table 21) it is interesting to note that the most popular alcohol is not the traditional and cheap palm wine but new commercially produced beers. Working in rural areas and visiting a range of eating houses and small local entertainment venues, one is often struck by the many posters with which such venues are typically festooned—posters about a myriad of serious social issues ranging from HIV/AIDS prevention to maternal and child care, hand washing and nutrition.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Type of alcohol you drink most	Don't drink	63.8%	83.9%	74.7%
	Palm wine	16.2%	7.7%	11.6%
	Beer	19.0%	5.6%	11.8%
	Herbal drink	.5%	1.2%	.9%
	Anything	.5%	1.6%	1.1%
Total		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 21: Type of alcohol consumed⁹³

Yet these important health messages are always submerged in a sea of glossy posters and banners advertising a range of relatively expensive commercial beers and other commercial alcohols. Beer posters and the beverages they advertise promise a world of dreams only too attractive to the average rural (or, for that matter, urban) dweller, and they depict a world of modernity, of urban

93. For the purposes of the research I have rendered the Cambodian drink “*sra t'num*”, literally alcohol medicine, a drink made by infusing a mix of herbs in alcohol, as herbal drink.

sophistication, of ease of access to beautiful women and of personal success. These images and the aura of power and success they convey really matter to impressionable and relatively powerless young men (and women), whose closest contact with modernity and the fruits of the globalisation they view on television may be little more than working on a construction project (or in a factory) for a multi-national company. The powerlessness they feel in their day-to-day life was clearly demonstrated in one 17-year-old boy's response to the question why he liked to drink beer in preference to cheaper local brews: "It makes me feel proud when I'm drunk". Another response to this question, again from a 17-year-old male, was, "Because I feel powerful."

Cambodian children are only too well aware of the dangers of excessive alcohol consumption. Asked why they chose to drink their respective drinks, a number of consumers of both beer and palm wine responded "Because you can't become an alcoholic on beer" (or on palm wine, as some respondents put it). Their knowledge is, of course, faulty. However, the power of peer pressure and the glamorous image with which commercially produced alcohols are vested through advertising, ultimately override any concerns about alcohol use in relation to health. Indeed, the consultant's research in northern Thailand in the early to mid-1990s showed this very clearly.⁹⁴ Here, although drinkers could list a range of ailments caused or exacerbated by excessive alcohol consumption, this knowledge did not moderate their drinking.

The Problem with Alcohol: Now and in the Future

World Vision Cambodia's 2005 gender-based violence and pornography research report pointed out that due to globalisation and rapid social change, Cambodian men's position within their families has undergone dramatic change. It demonstrated that what has taken place is a significant reversal of the traditional situation where men could support their family—where they could cope—and that this is exerting significant emotional pressure on them.⁹⁵ It was suggested that men's response to this situation was a range of dysfunctional behaviours in the family and increased levels of alcohol consumption. Such consumption is not, as some psychologically-based explanations might posit, solely a futile attempt at stress reduction, but is an attempt at the construction of strong masculine identities in arenas outside the home.⁹⁶ The report also pointed out the cultural normativity of drinking for Cambodian men, and the fact that young men begin drinking in their teenage years as they begin to go about with friends (*dar leng*), and that for them these increased freedoms and alcohol consumption (often associated with the visiting of prostitutes) are ways through which they

94. Fordham (1995a) and Fordham (1995b)

95. For an analysis of a similar context in northern Thailand in the late 1980s and early 1990s and the pressures it exerted on northern Thai men in the rural and urban underclass, see Fordham (2005b).

96. Fordham (1995b) and Fordham (1999).

signify their transition to a grown-up masculine status. Critically, the report points out that in Cambodian culture there are few sanctions on drinking or drunkenness.⁹⁷

Cambodia already has a problem with alcohol. On the part of adults, WVC's 2005 research noted that in Cambodia drinking and drunkenness are well established as major contributing causes to domestic violence, since the original *Plates in a Basket* domestic violence study of 1994.⁹⁸ Recent work also clearly establishes this relationship, the LICADHO 2004 report on Cambodian women noting that 65% of women cite alcohol as a factor contributing to domestic violence,⁹⁹ and the recent Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport *Cambodian National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey* giving a similar figure of 65% of respondents blaming alcohol for domestic violence.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps a recent PADV report puts the situation most succinctly, when it notes of a group of violent male offenders taking part in a violence reduction project, "Problem drinking was a factor in the lives of every man, within the Project [sic], who had a history of consistent violence within and outside the family."¹⁰¹ Other Cambodian research also shows a direct relationship between alcohol consumption and abuse and violence directed towards women.¹⁰² However, alcohol abuse affects many more than just men's families; it affects all who come into contact with men who have been drinking, from road users to the beer-promotion girls who work in Cambodian entertainment venues. Thus a recent CARE report on the situation of beer girls notes that 54% of beer girls have suffered physical abuse at the hands of drunken male clients, that 60% have been forced or threatened—sometimes at gunpoint—and that 38% have had to perform a coerced sex act in the workplace.¹⁰³

Cambodia is currently viewed as a growing market by alcohol producers, just as Thailand was 15 years ago, and it is currently being targeted by the producers of various new brands of alcoholic beverage.¹⁰⁴ Alcohol consumption in Thailand started increasing in the late 1980s and early 1990s as economic growth led to a massive increase in the number of brands of beers, whiskies and rums available, and to sophisticated advertising campaigns that targeted all sectors of the population. At that time, few in either the government or private sectors considered the negative social consequences that might arise from increased levels of drinking, and it took more than a decade before alcohol came to be recognised as a major problem among both the teenage and adult

97. See also Ramage (2002), p.23.

98. Zimmerman (1994).

99. Hicks (2004).

100. Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport *op. cit.*

101. Giles (2004), p. 86.

102. Not only is there a relationship between alcohol and violent behaviour, but there is also a well-established relationship between alcohol use and participation in commercial sex and in unprotected sex, and thus a higher probability of contracting HIV.

103. Bury (2005).

104. The newspaper *Cambodia Daily* in its edition for 17 August 2005, p. 1., reports that the Danish brewer Carlsberg had entered the Cambodian market and that the company chose "to enter the Cambodian (beer) market because of its great potential".

population.¹⁰⁵ Road accidents, violence of many kinds, sexual assault and increased levels of HIV transmission are only some of the social problems in Thailand that are now recognised as being related to the excessive use of alcohol.¹⁰⁶

As this research has shown, alcohol use among young people in Cambodia is not yet a major problem. However, over the next two decades, as development and economic growth proceed, sophisticated and powerful advertising campaigns will continue to glamorise the use of alcohol by linking drinking with symbols of high status and material and social success. These campaigns will be successful—they have been effective in almost every country in the world where they have been implemented. They will lead to a higher level of alcohol consumption among all social strata, and to the social and health problems invariably associated with such an increase in drinking.¹⁰⁷

Thus, at the present time the Cambodian community, both the government and private sector, is well placed to respond to the alcohol issue—*before* it becomes a major social problem, as it has done elsewhere. Such a proactive response should begin with further research among young people (and also adults) to provide data that can be used as the basis for effective alcohol control policies, in order that such policies might be developed and implemented in a timely fashion.

105. Amara Soonthorndhada *et al.* (2005).

106. As a result, over the past decade the Thai government has progressively implemented restrictions on the sale of alcohol (and cigarettes) to minors and restricted the hours during which alcohol may be purchased. Currently alcohol may be purchased only between 11 a.m. and 2 p.m. and between 5 p.m. and 12 p.m.

107. Tarr & Aggleton (1999), p. 380. See also Crowe & George (1989) and Markos (2005).

Chapter Six

Conclusion: Summary of Results and the Way Forward

Introduction

After initially discussing the overall aims of the research, its methodologies and the mode of implementation, this report discussed scholarly research about pornography and the various theoretical approaches to pornography. It was considered important to do this because approaches to pornography tend to be both highly politicised and highly emotive. It is hoped that this chapter will put readers of this report in a better position to understand their own, often automatic, response to the material contained in it. Equally importantly, readers will be better equipped to understand the responses of others, and in doing so will be more able to initiate dialogue about how to respond to this extraordinarily important issue.

This research has revealed the extraordinary diversity of the experiences that Cambodian children have with pornography. Possibly it is this diversity that until now has obscured the fact that a significant proportion of Cambodian children are indeed exposed to hard-core pornography. Two polar forms of experience come to mind. At one end of the scale was one of relative “innocence”, typified by a very tiny 13-year-old in Luek Daek, who while filling in her survey form came up to the research team for assistance. Her question? “How do you spell kiss?”. She had seen a man and woman kissing in a television movie and considered that it qualified as pornographic. At the other end of the scale were girls (whose survey responses and experiences have been verified through exhaustive interviews), who have been exposed to some of the world’s most explicit hard-core pornography involving sexual activity between humans and between humans and animals.¹⁰⁸

The Data

The data obtained in this project and the analysis above confirm the data gathered in World Vision Cambodia’s 2005 Kandal Stung pornography research, and the earlier pornography research conducted by the Child Welfare Group. There are some minor differences in regard to statistics found through research in different districts of Cambodia. However, it must be stressed that a handful of minor statistical differences do not change the fact that a substantial percentage of Cambodia’s young people are currently exposed to hard-core pornography. Moreover, there is no reason that there should be any similarity between statistics about children’s exposure to pornography in different districts of Cambodia or over different periods. In this globalised world,

Cambodia is developing rapidly. Social and economic conditions are not only improving even in remote rural areas, but they can also change quickly. Technology, in the form of battery-operated television sets, of solid state inverters to run 240 volt equipment from batteries, and VCD players, are all now cheap when new and, as some informants pointed out, extraordinarily cheap on the second-hand market. Also, as is pointed out above, “small effects” may have substantial social outcomes, and the introduction of only a handful of VCD players into a village can very quickly exert large impacts on people’s lives.

Just as globalisation has constituted Cambodia as a significant supplier of clothing to world markets, it has also rendered the country and its young people (and, it must be stressed, adults too) vulnerable to hard-core pornography produced in literally every corner of the world. In this respect, it is vitally important that pornography in Cambodia is approached as a structural issue. To do otherwise would be to misunderstand the causes that have given rise to the “explosion” of pornography to which, as this report has shown, a significant proportion of Cambodian children are currently exposed. A perspective that blamed the use of pornography on individual “bad” children who need to be “educated” or “reformed” would fail to see the extent to which all children directly and indirectly involved with pornography are victims. It would also risk the adoption of interventions based on blame and punishment.¹⁰⁹ And even if punitive approaches were to be avoided, interventions based solely on an individual focus, rather than including structural approaches, risk being far less effective than they might otherwise be.¹¹⁰

Extremely rapid technological and social change, in concert with the impact of “small effects”, has led to what seems like an explosion of pornography in Cambodia. However, it is likely that children’s (and adults’) exposure to pornography has been slowly growing as a potential social problem over the last decade or more. During this time, the focus of both the government and non-governmental sectors has been on issues such as trafficking, child abuse and paedophilia and the role of the internet in these activities.¹¹¹ Thus a moral panic about these issues has dominated the attention of both the state and NGOs/IOs and has diverted, or defocused, attention away from the increasing problem of the exposure of Cambodian children to pornography—a new form of child abuse.¹¹²

108. See Appendix 3 for explicit details of some of the hard-core pornography currently available in Cambodia—all of which was confirmed through purchase in the research districts.

109. McCoy (2003) makes a similar point in relation to young women selling sex in south-east and east Asia.

110. For a discussion of the structural issues involved see Fordham (2005a).

111. Hughes (2000).

112. For social scientists, a moral panic is a situation that arises from time to time in all societies when a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to particular societal values or interests, and where social resources are mobilised to deal with this threat (Cohen, 1973). However,

Research Outcomes

In contrast to our understanding of Cambodian children's exposure to pornography gained during earlier research projects, this 2006 project has dramatically increased our understanding of the issue and of the manner through which children are currently exposed to pornography. Conducted as only a small component of a much larger project focusing on gender-based violence, World Vision Cambodia's 2005 research on pornography accepted many of the taken-for-granted facts that people in the development sphere "knew" about pornography. Although the pornography component of the project indicated that children's exposure to pornography was a growing social problem, it was not extensive enough to challenge conclusively some of the things everybody already "knew". Thus, it assumed, following earlier research, that the main avenue through which children were exposed to pornography was public venues such as coffee shops and karaoke bars that showed pornography to attract clientele, and neglected to investigate the extent to which villagers were beginning to purchase their own equipment to play VCDs.

Two findings of this 2006 research project have, quite literally, revolutionised our understanding about Cambodian children's access to pornography. First is that villagers are beginning to purchase video disk players to supplement their existing electronic equipment, and that as a result children are now exposed to hard-core pornography in their own homes and those of their neighbours—often without their parents' knowledge. Second is that small village entrepreneurs are beginning to rent out pornographic VCDs at very low cost, and that such entrepreneurs trade in inter-village networks. These changes in patterns of access to pornography mean that children now have much easier (and also inadvertent) access to hard-core pornography than in the past—and thus that the issue of children's exposure to pornography is becoming yet more serious. Today, it is not solely a matter of needing to monitor those children who have access to computers at home, or who use internet cafes.

It is also important to note that children and adults now access pornography, for the most part, in private spaces, which means that policing this activity will be much more difficult than when pornography was confined to public venues. Previously, policing the showing of pornography in public spaces such as coffee shops was a matter of knowing the various "tricks" of the owners who used two television sets or two VCD players (one showing a normal movie and one showing a pornographic movie) and switching to the innocuous movie to evade detection by the police. One informant in a Phnom Penh NGO pointed out that some establishments now go so far as to provide the feed to TV sets from video disk players from different buildings in order to escape police detection. The new pattern of viewing pornography at home not only changes issues in regard to the

the problem with moral panics and the social response they invoke is that, as Jenkins (1992) points out, they

policing of pornography, but likely also transforms legal issues in regard to its suppression. Critically, these findings have implications for the development of intervention programmes to reduce the frequency and impact of children's exposure to pornography.

These findings about how children now access pornographic media are core findings of this project. However, of equal significance is the fact that extremely comprehensive interviews with children have conclusively established that a significant proportion of Cambodia's young people (both boys and girls) are exposed to extremely hard-core pornography, and that this has real impacts on their lives—whether they are directly exposed to pornography or whether their exposure is indirect.

Where To Now? Pointers Towards Interventions

It is suggested that different forms of interventions aimed at reducing exposure to pornography and its impact be directed towards parents and their children. Programmes might be delivered in groups at village level; however, the use of electronic media such as radio should be considered so that the issue of hard-core pornography and its use in and impacts on society might be opened for public discussion throughout the country.

Parents: Whether or not they watch pornography themselves, this research has established that most parents do not want their children to be exposed to pornography. Small children may be tolerated in a group of people watching pornography, but parents do not permit adolescent children to watch it. They are told to leave the room or not allowed to enter, and girls are told by their mothers and fathers that they should not watch pornography. This research has also established that most parents are unaware of the exposure of their children to pornography, because children watch it when their parents are absent from the house (sometimes parents are just nearby, chatting with neighbours) or they watch it at the homes of friends whose parents are absent. Also, as was pointed out in Chapter Four, although the overwhelming majority of adults do not want their own children to watch pornography, they are far less strict in preventing other people's children from being exposed—particularly if those children are young boys. This suggests the need for parents to be made aware of the need to be responsible for all children, not just their own.

Programmes for parents should aim at informing them about the level of pornography in their community and the nature of that pornography. Programmes should also aim to develop their awareness of the untoward results of pornography in the lives of the individual and the community—some of the negative findings noted in the survey of the scholarly literature in Chapter Two. Parents should also be given the opportunity to discuss whether this is the kind of Cambodia they want in

often involve “the politics of substitution” and divert attention to other issues.

the future, and to discuss how they might respond to the threat that pornography represents to their children and to the community as a whole. Their responses might be directed towards motivating village and commune chiefs to act in the suppression of pornography, to deal with those engaged in its distribution or showing in public spaces, or it may be directed towards talking with their children about the dangers of pornography. One practical response parents might consider is ways of rendering household VCD players inoperable when they are not at home. Finally, parents should be empowered so that they do not feel old-fashioned or reactionary if they tell their children not to watch pornography.

Children: It was noticeable during interviews that, although informants talked about pornography in terms of its “wow!” factor, curiosity and its physically and emotionally stimulating nature, a very high percentage also labelled it *argrok* (bad) both for individuals exposed to it and for Cambodia as a whole. The overwhelming majority of both boys and girls did not want to marry spouses who watched pornography, and they did not want their future children exposed to pornography. All these attitudes towards pornography provide a strong foundation for intervention campaigns directed towards children.

It is suggested that the “reality” aspect of pornography videos might also be addressed, possibly using as a tool (in translation) some of the Thai-language material noted in Chapter Four, to show the actual reality of exploitation, pain and abuse that lies behind the fake eroticism of pornography. As was pointed out in Chapter Four, boys in particular showed a remarkable lack of empathy for the girls viewed in pornographic movies, and this is a theme to be worked on. The fact that one is exploited (and is exploiting one’s self) if one is deluded by these false images might be an additional useful theme.

It is sometimes suggested that curiosity about their bodies and about sex, particularly in the case of girls, is a factor pushing young people to use pornography. This is certainly the case, and good sex education programmes may help to reduce this curiosity. It is doubtful if such programmes could match the erotic potential of hard-core pornography. However, they may well be utilised in order to open a space for discussions about the issue.

Finally, by way of conclusion, it is emphasised that when considering the harmful effects of pornography, these should not be reduced solely to issues of morality and the impact of pornography on behaviour and culture. The increased sexualising of the lives of children before the appropriate time and in the wrong context has strong causal links to issues such as commercial sex and the spread of HIV, rape (including the rape of minors), the increase of unmarried mothers and unwanted

children (reports of which were heard during the research) and, within marriage, increased levels of domestic violence. It is also likely that the sexualisation of children's lives from an early age will contribute to the ease with which girls may be lured into being trafficked or into the commercial sex industry. Thus an increased level of exposure of children (and adults) to pornography is simultaneously an issue of public health and social good order. Like other public health or socio-structural issues, it is amenable to structural solutions.¹¹³

When all the emotional baggage that surrounds pornography and young children's exposure to it is stripped away, the core issue is that of minimising environmental risks in order to create a safe environment for young people.

113. Blankenship *et al.* (2000). Given the many areas in which pornography exerts a negative influence, it is highly likely that tightly focused projects working on minimising its impact will exert a "tipping point" or "multiplier effect" in many of these areas. Thus work on minimising children's exposure to pornography and on minimising the impact of exposure should prove to be highly cost effective by comparison with projects focusing on a single issue.

Appendix I: The Survey Instrument

The English language version of the survey appended in the following pages was four pages long. Translated into Khmer as set out on the page it comprised four pages. Filling in the survey took approximately one hour.

13a. What effect does pornography have on you when you see or read it?

.....

14. Is pornography of most interest to: a) girls b) boys

14a. Why do you think it is like this?.....

14b. What effect do you think pornography has on: a) girls

.....

14c. What effect do you think pornography has on: b) boys

.....

14d. Where do you normally get access to pornographic books and films.....

15. Is pornography available in your community yes no

15a. Where

16. What sort of pornography do you read/look at most, books or films? Books Films

16a. Why?

17. Do you normally to read/look at pornography most on your own or with a friend.

On own With friend

17a. Explain your answer.....

17b. What sort of things do you read about/look at most (please explain clearly).....

.....

.....

18. Do you ever have sex after watching pornography? yes no sometimes

18a. Please explain.....

19. Who with Wife Girlfriend Prostitute Other

19a. If other, please explain.....

Section 3: Drinking Alcohol

20. Do you drink any form of alcohol? yes no

21. Do your parents know you drink alcohol? yes no

22. How old were you when you first drank alcohol?.....

23. What sort of alcohol do you normally drink: type type type type type

23a. Why.....

24. What alcohol do you like most: type type type type type

24a. Why.....

25. How often do you drink alcohol?

every day more than twice a week less than twice a week twice a month festivals

25a. Where do you like to drink alcohol?.....

25b. How do you feel when you drink alcohol.....

.....

25c. What do you like to do when you drink alcohol?.....

26. Do you sometimes drink alcohol while watching/reading pornographic materials? yes no

27. Do you feel differently when you watch/read pornographic material and you have been drinking alcohol than you do when you are not drinking?..... yes no

27a. Explain more fully.....

.....

Section 4: Pornography, Sexual Abuse and Society

28. Have you seen or heard about girls being raped by boys in your community or in other communities?

yes no

29. Can a good man look at or read pornography? yes no

30. Can a good woman look at or read pornography? yes no

Choose one of the following words to describe pornography (mark **one word** you think is best)

31. disgusting disturbing normal interesting (sexually) exciting

Please explain your answer.....

32. If you are a boy could you accept that your girlfriend/wife was reading/looking at pornography?

yes no don't care

32a. Please explain your answer.....

34. If you are a girl could you accept that your that your boyfriend/husband was reading/looking at pornography?

yes no don't care

34a. Please explain your answer.....

35. When you have your own children could you accept that your children were reading or looking at pornography?

yes no don't care

35a. Please explain your answer.....

36. Is there any difference between youth (like you) looking at or reading pornography and adults looking at or reading pornography? yes no

36a. Please explain your answer.....

37. Do you think pornography is good or bad for individual people? Good Bad no impact

37a. Explain your answer.....

38. Do you think pornography is good or bad for Cambodian society Good Bad no impact

Explain your answer.....

39. Would you be willing to spend a short time talking with the World Vision researchers about the issue of pornography in your community. yes no

If you are willing to talk with us, please give some details how we can contact you:

name

Village.....

Assessment for survey:

Appendix 2: List of Questions Used to Guide Interviews

The questions here were “starter questions” for what were relatively unstructured interviews. Not every question was asked of every child and as interesting avenues were pursued, additional questions were asked of children to clarify the information given.

A. Questions for children who have encountered pornography

1. Have you looked at pornography—either books or movies? Where? How frequently? Is it something you actively look for or do you just look/read when you encounter it?
2. What effect does pornography have on people—boys—girls—give examples. On you?
3. What sort of things have you looked at/read?
4. Approximately how old were you when you first encountered pornography? What sort of pornography was it, and where did you encounter it? What were your thoughts?
5. Do you look for particular types of pornography or do you just read/look at pornography when it is available?
6. What sorts of pornography- detail—do you see most?
7. What sorts of pornography do you/people like most (western, Thai, Japan, Taiwan)? Why?
8. How do people talk about pornography—what sorts of thing do they say about it when they read it/watch it?
9. Is pornography available in your community or nearby—how do you normally get it?
10. Is there much pornography or only a small amount? Can you get as much pornography as you want or is it hard to get?
11. Do you feel shy about watching/looking at pornography?
12. Do you buy pornography? Are you shy?
13. If shy why? If not shy why not?
14. What is it that you like most about pornography?
15. What about alcohol and pornography?
16. Have you tried out any of the things you have seen in films or read about in pornographic books?
17. If so, what have you tried out? What was your experience?
18. What about kids who say they haven't looked at pornography—why do you think they are not interested?

Questions for children who have not encountered pornography

19. You have said that you do not look at pornography. So, do you know that there is pornography? If yes, is it a matter that you have just decided that it's not for you? If this is the case why have you made this decision?
20. Pornographic books seem to be fairly common in markets and on newspaper stalls, have you seen them or vcd's for sale? What do you think when you see them?
21. How do you feel when you see other people looking at pornography?
22. What effect does pornography have on people—boys –girls—? Give examples.
23. How do people talk about pornography?
24. What about you in the future—do you think you might begin to look at pornography or have you just made a decision that it's not for you? If you have made this sort of decision, why have you made it?

Questions for all children—their perceptions regarding the general effect of pornography

25. Have you ever thought about the people in those pictures or movies?
26. What do you think about them?
27. Are they real people showing us something of their lives, or is it something more complex? Explore...
28. Do you think the relationships they show are real? Explore....
29. What do you think about the lives of the people we see in these movies or pictures in books?
30. What about the things they do, the sort of sexual acts they do, have you thought about those? Are they normal? Are they safe?
31. Sometimes pornographic videos show girls being raped. What do you think about this? Are they real?
32. Why do they show us these things?
33. How do you think those people in the movies or in sexy books feel about themselves—showing themselves having sex to anyone anywhere in the world? How might the girls feel, how might the boys feel?
34. How do you think they would feel if their parents or brothers saw them having sex in a movie?
35. How might they feel if later on they married and their husband or wife saw a movie with them having sex with someone else?
36. Where do these movies come from?

37. Why do people make them?

38. Are we, in a way, being exploited when we use this material?

39. What about the people in the movies, are they being exploited?

40. What about AIDS and other sexual diseases in relation to these people and their activities?

Appendix 3: What Children see in Hard Core Pornography (Explicit!)

As part of the research, interviewees were asked where the pornography to which they had been exposed had come from and whether it was available in their own village. An extremely high percentage of informants knew where to access hard-core pornography, and knew that it was available in several local villages, either from various persons who rented VCDs from their houses or in the daily village market. However, it should be noted that no depictions of children engaged in sexual activity with other children or with adults were encountered during this research—neither in the surveys nor interviews, nor on the half dozen rental VCDs purchased in order to verify content and availability.

The local level distribution network was investigated in two Chulkiri villages, and a handful of disks were purchased at prices ranging from 2000 to 2500 riels (around US 50 to 60 cents per disk) in order that their contents might be investigated. In Chulkiri district, new pornographic VCDs were also purchased from a movie/music store in Chulkiri town some 20 minutes distant from the research villages. Those rental disks **purchased in the village** represented pornography from Japan, Thailand, Cambodia, Taiwan and the west—their tattered paper covers and the dirt and scratches embedded in the disks attesting to their popularity on the village rental market.¹¹⁴ Some of the disks featured music sound tracks that accompanied the on-screen activities, while others featured the actors speaking in English, Thai or Khmer, and most featured an assortment of moans, groans, panting and screams.

Much of the pornography to which Cambodian children are exposed is violent and extremely abusive, and these VCDs were highly typical of this material. Scripts include **rape and rape/murder**, a variety of sex acts with an extremely high potential for causing and transmitting various forms of sexually transmitted disease including HIV/AIDS, group sex, an extraordinarily wide variety of heterosexual and lesbian sex acts including the use of various “sex toys”, and sex acts with animals (dogs and horses). In most cases there is little story line beyond the development and completion of the sex act. Disks often feature several different sex performances by different couples/groups, and each sex act characteristically features a variety of positions.¹¹⁵ Both male and female sex organs are graphically displayed through the imaginative use of camera angles.

114. The disks and covers were destroyed at the conclusion of the project.

115. Films demonstrating alternative positions for heterosexual intercourse are highly valued. in Cambodia. Thus Ramage (*op. cit.*) notes the popularity in Cambodia of a film entitled *36 Positions*, and this was mentioned by at least one informant during the research period. It is the consultant's impression that rape films, sometimes featuring Khmer actors and scenes, also enjoy a certain popularity, and if this is the case they may be feeding into contemporary social problems such as gang rape. See Bearup, *op. cit.*, and Tong Soprach, *op. cit.*

The following gives a very brief description of the contents of some of the VCDs purchased by the research team in order to emphasise the fact that **the pornography to which Cambodian children are exposed is extremely hard-core pornography**, vastly different from the pornography of *Playboy* style magazines of past generations or from that pornography currently marketed in the west under the innocuous-sounding title of erotica. The following descriptions of disks purchased by the research team are accompanied by children's descriptions of similar sexual scenarios they have witnessed while watching pornography in their village. These scenarios were volunteered by children—both boys and girls—when asked “What did you see?” No child was asked direct questions such as “Did you see a woman having sex with a dog/horse?”

Rape: A girl goes down to the river and is attacked by a man. Despite her pleas and struggles, she is pushed down into the water and her clothes are partially ripped off. She faints and is carried into a cave, where the attacker removes her remaining clothes, takes off his clothes and rapes her while she is still insensible. Then he looks guiltily around him, grabs up his clothes and runs away, leaving the naked insensible girl. Another rape scenario featured a guest-house with a girl struggling to get free from her assailant before she was raped—such films generally feature a high degree of violence used to subdue the woman and secure her acquiescence. Children noted rape scenarios where housewives were attacked in their house, raped and forced into prostitution by their attacker, and scenarios where bar girls who were unwilling to have sex with male clients were raped. The most graphic story shared by children respondents was of a girl subjected to multiple vaginal and anal rapes by a group of four men, who then killed her to prevent her from speaking out.

Group sex: An office girl is visited by her girlfriend one morning and they play in bed, each using a sex “toy” to stimulate the other. Then, throughout the course of the day each has a “chance” sexual encounter (their first intercourse) with either their boss or his driver, and by evening all four end up in bed together having sex—having swapped their morning partner for a new partner. The film concludes with the girls holding hands and smiling at each other in complicity as their partners continue with the act of intercourse.

Animal sex: A great dane has vaginal sex with two women in a variety of positions and one woman performs oral sex on the dog. Children, both boys and girls, noted exposure to pornography showing girls performing various genital/oral sex acts with both dogs and horses.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albury, K. (2003), "Curious Teenagers Need to be Informed About Sex, Not Controlled", *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 March. 2003
- Allen, M., D. D'Alessio & K. Brezgel (1995), "A Meta-Analysis Summarizing the Effects of Pornography II Aggression After Exposure", *Human Communication Research*, Vol. 22, pp. 258–283
- Amara Soonthornhdada, Sirinan Ikttisuksathit, Sureeporn Punpuing, Anchalee Varangrat, Anju Malhotra, S. R. Curran & S.B. Martin (2005), *Youth At Odds: Thai Youth's Precarious Futures in a Globalized World* (Sala Yar: Institute for Population Research, Mahidol University)
- Attwood, F. (2002), "Reading Porn: The Paradigm Shift in Pornography Research", *Sexualities*, Vol. 5/1, pp. 91–105
- Attwood, F. (2005), "What Do People Do With Porn? Qualitative Research into the Consumption, Use, and Experience of Pornography and Other Sexually Explicit Media", *Sexuality & Culture*, Vol. 9/2, pp. 65–86
- Bearup, L. (2003), *Paupers and Princes: A Study of Youth Attitudes Towards Gangs, Violence, Rape, Drugs and Theft* (Phnom Penh: GAD)
- Blankenship, K.M., S.J. Bray & H.M. Merson (2000), "Structural Interventions in Public Health", *AIDS*, Vol. 14 (Supp 1.), pp. S11–S21
- Bolton, R. (1995), "Rethinking Anthropology: The Study of AIDS", in Brummelhuis, H.T. & G. Herdt (eds.), *Culture and Sexual Risk: Anthropological Perspectives on AIDS* (Amsterdam: OPA Publishers) pp. 285–314
- Bury, L. (2005), *A Report on the Situation of Beer Promoting Women in the Workplace, Cambodia: Results of a Harassment and Abuse Survey* (Phnom Penh: CARE)
- Child Welfare Group/World Hope (2003), *A Preliminary Study into the Accessibility by Minors of Pornography in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Child Welfare Group/World Hope)
- Childress, S.A. (1991), "Reel 'Rape Speech': Violent Pornography and the Politics of Harm", *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 25/1, pp. 177–214
- Ciclitira, K. (2002), "Researching Pornography and Sexual Bodies", *Psychologist*, Vol. 15/4 pp. 191–194
- Cline, V.B. (1990), *Pornography's Effects on Adults and Children* (New York: Morality in Media)
- Cohen, S. (1973), *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (St Albans, Herts: Paladin)
- Cowan, G., C.J. Chase & G.B. Stahly (1989), "Feminist and Fundamentalist Attitudes Toward Pornography Control", *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, Vol. 13, pp. 97–112
- Crowe, L.C. & W.H. George (1989), "Alcohol and Human Sexuality: Review and Integration", *Psychological Bulletin*, 105/3, pp. 374–386

- Diamond, M. & Ayako Uchiyama (1999), "Pornography, Rape, and Sex Crimes in Japan", *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, Vol. 22/1, pp. 1–22
- Editorial (1990), "Alcohol and Violence", *Lancet* Vol. 336, pp. 1223–1225
- Flood, M. & C. Hamilton (2003), "Regulating Youth Access to Pornography", Discussion Paper No. 53 (Canberra: Australian Institute)
- Fordham, G. (1995a), "Social Change, Cultural Logic, and the Transformation of Domestic Relations in Rural Northern Thailand", *Journal of the National Research Council of Thailand*, 27/2, pp. 1–20
- Fordham, G. (1995b), "Whisky, Women and Song: Men, Alcohol and AIDS in Northern Thailand", *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 6/3, pp. 154–177
- Fordham, G. (1999), "Anthropology and HIV/AIDS Research in Thailand: Drinking Rituals and the Construction of Masculinity", in S. Toussaint & J. Taylor (eds.), *Applied Anthropology in Australia* (Perth: University of Western Australia Press), pp. 88–110
- Fordham, G. (2005a), "Wise" Before Their Time: Young People, Gender-Based Violence and Pornography in Kandal Stung District (Phnom Penh: World Vision Cambodia)
- Fordham, G. (2005b), *A New Look at Thai AIDS: Perspectives From the Margin* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn)
- Giles, E. (2004), *Men Against Violence Toward Women: Evaluation of Phase One and Presentation of Emerging Issues and Themes* (Phnom Penh: PADV)
- Gladwell, M. (2000), *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (London: Abacus)
- Haggstrom-Nordin, H., U. Hanson & T. Tyden (2005), "Associations Between Pornography Consumption and Sexual Practices Among Adolescents in Sweden", *International Journal of STDs & AIDS*, Vol. 16, pp. 102–107
- Hardy, S. (1998), *The Reader, The Author, His Woman, and Her Lover* (London: Cassell)
- Hardy, S. (2004), "Reading Pornography", *Sex Education*, Vol. 4/1, pp. 3–18
- Hegna, K., S. Vossige & L. Wichstrom (2004), "Older Adolescents' Positive Attitudes Toward Younger Adolescents As Sexual Partners", *Adolescence*, Vol. 39/156, pp. 627–651
- Hicks, N. (2004), *Cambodian Women Report 2004: The Situation of Cambodian Women* (Phnom Penh: LICADHO)
- Hughes, D.M. (2000), "'Welcome to the Rape Camp': Sexual Exploitation and the Internet in Cambodia", *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, Vol. 6/1-2, pp. 1–23
- Jacobs, K. (2004), "Pornography in Small Places and Other Spaces", *Cultural Studies*, Vol. 18/1, pp. 67–83
- Jan Panchupet (2005), *Incest Behaviour: Cause and Effect as Reported by Family Members* (Bangkok: Mart Publishing) in Thai
- Jenkins, H.W. (2001), "Pornography, Main Street to Wall Street", *Policy Review*, February, pp. 1–5

- Jenkins, P. (1992), *Intimate Enemies—Moral Panics in Contemporary Great Britain* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter)
- Johnson, E. (1993), “Excess and Ecstasy: Constructing Female Pleasure in Porn Movies”, *The Velvet Light Trap*, Vol. 32, pp. 30–49
- Kavanagh, S.J. (1997), *Protecting Children in Cyberspace* (Springfield, VA: Behavioral Psychotherapy Center)
- Kutchinsky, B. (1991), “Pornography and Rape: Theory and Practice? Evidence From Crime Data in Four Countries Where it is Easily Available”, *International Journal of Law & Psychiatry*, Vol. 47, pp. 47–64
- Kutchinsky, B. (1992), “Comment: The Politics of Pornography Research”, *Law & Society Review*, Vol. 26/2, pp. 447–455
- Lane, F. (2000), *Obscene Profits: The Entrepreneurs of Pornography in the Cyber Age* (Routledge: New York)
- Levine, J. (2002), *Harmful to Minors: The Perils of Protecting Children from Innocence* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press)
- Linz, D. & N.M. Malamuth (1993), *Pornography* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage)
- MacKinnon, C.A. (1985), “Pornography, Civil Rights, and Speech”, *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review*, Vol. 20, pp. 1–70
- MacKinnon, C.A. (1986), “Pornography: Not a Moral Issue”, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Vol. 9/1 pp. 65–78
- McCoy, A. (2003), “Blaming Children for Their Own Exploitation: The Situation in East Asia”, ECPAT 7th Report on the Implementation of the Agenda for Action Against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, Phnom Penh
- Malamuth, N.M. (1996), “Sexually Explicit Media, Gender Differences, and Evolutionary Theory”, *Journal of Communications*, Vol. 46/3, pp. 8–31
- Malamuth, N.M., T. Addison & M. Koss (2004), “Pornography and Sexual Aggression: Are there Reliable Effects and Can We Understand Them?”, *Annual Review of Sex Research*, Vol. 11 pp. 26–90
- Markos, A.R. (2005), “Alcohol and Sexual Behaviour”, *International Journal of STDs & AIDS*, Vol. 16, pp. 123–127
- Marshall, W.L. (1988), “The Use of Sexually Explicit Stimuli by Rapists, Child Molesters, and Nonoffenders”, *Journal of Sex Research*, Vol. 25/2, pp. 267–288
- Morais, R.C. (1999), “Porn Goes Public”, *Forbes Magazine*, No. 214
- Morrison, T., A. Bearden, S. R. Ellis, R. Harriman & M.A. Morrison (2004), “Correlates of Exposure to Sexually Explicit Material Among Canadian Post-Secondary Students”, *Canadian Journal of Human Sexuality*, Vol. 13/3-4, pp. 143–156
- Norris, J. (1991), “Social Influence Effects on Responses to Sexually Explicit Materials Containing Violence”, *Journal of Sex Research*, Vol. 28/1, pp. 67–76

- O'Connell, D. (2001), *Rape and Indecent Assault in the Community* (Phnom Penh: LICADHO)
- Parker, R.G. (1992), "Sexual Diversity, Cultural Analysis and AIDS Education in Brazil", in G. Herdt & S. Lindenbaum (eds.), *The Time of AIDS: Social Analysis, Theory, and Method* (Newbury Park (Ca): Sage) pp. 225–242
- Parker, T.S. & K.S. Wampler (2003), "How Bad Is It? Perceptions of the Relationship Impact of Different Types of Internet Sexual Activities", *Contemporary Family Therapy*, Vol. 25/4, pp. 415–429
- Paul, P. (2003), *Pornified: How Pornography is Transforming Our Lives, Our Relationships, and Our Families* (New York: Times Books)
- Ramage, I. (2002), *Strong Fighting Men: Sexual Behaviour and HIV/AIDS in the Cambodian Uniformed Services* (Phnom Penh: FHI/IMPACT)
- Rogala, C. & T. Tyden (2003), "Does Pornography Influence Young Women's Sexual Behaviour?", *Women's Health Issues*, Vol. 13 pp. 39–43
- Rosenthal, R. (1986), "Media Violence, Antisocial Behaviour, and the Social Consequences of Small Effects", *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 42/3, pp. 141–154
- Said, E. (1985), *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin)
- Segal, L. (1998), "Only the Literal: The Contradictions of Anti-Pornography Feminism", *Sexualities*, Vol. 1/1 pp. 43–62
- Senn, C.Y. (1993), "Feminist and Fundamentalist Attitudes Toward Pornography Control", *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, Vol. 13, pp. 319–341
- Senn, C.Y. & H.L. Radtke (1990), "Women's Evaluations of and Affective Reactions to Mainstream Violent Pornography, Nonviolent Erotica, and Erotica", *Violence and Victims*, Vol. 5, pp. 143–155.
- Shaw, S.M. (1999), "Men's Leisure and Women's Lives: The Impact of Pornography on Women", *Leisure Studies*, Vol. 18, pp. 198–212
- Tarr, Chou Meng & P. Aggleton (1999), "Young People and HIV in Cambodia—Meanings, Contexts and Sexual Cultures", *AIDS Care*, 11/3, pp. 375–384
- Tong Sprach (2000), *Gang Rape: The Perspective of Moto-Taxi Drivers Across Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: CARE)
- Ven-hwei Lo, Mohsen Jonghorbani, Thai Hing Lam (2003), "Sexual Media Use By Young Adults in Hong Kong: Prevalence and Associated Factors", *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, Vol. 32/6. pp. 545–553.
- Ven-hwei Lo & Ran Wei (2005), "Exposure to Internet Pornography and Taiwanese Adolescents' Sexual Attitudes and Behaviours", *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, June. pp. 221–237
- Witt, C. (1997), "Pornography", *NSWA Journal*, Vol. 9/2, pp. 1–5
- Zimmerman, C. (1994), *Plates in a Basket Will Rattle: Domestic Violence in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: PADV)

This report was produced by:



#20, Street 71, Sangkat Tonle Bassac, Khan Chamkar Morn,
Phnom Penh, Cambodia
PO BOX 479,
Phnom Penh, Cambodia
Tel: (855)-23-216052, Fax: (855)-23-216220

**With Financial Support From:
Australian Agency for International Development**



Australian Government
AusAID