

Czech University of Life Sciences Prague

Faculty of Economics and Management

Department of Humanities



Bachelor Thesis

Ethic and commodification in sex work:

A case study in Vietnam

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Ethics and commodification in sex work: A case study in Vietnam

Objectives of thesis

This thesis will investigate the practice of sex work in Vietnam in the context of the global debate about the ethics and legality of sex work. There is substantial disagreement internationally about how to approach sex work, ranging from full prohibition to more or less regulated markets. This debate touches on a range of issues, including harm to the workers and to wider society, questions of body commodification and self-ownership, exploitation and freedom the nature of work, and issues of gender and sexuality.

Vietnam represents a valuable example for discussion, since there are an estimated 33,000 people selling sex throughout the country, and there is extensive debate on its legality. The thesis will aim to investigate sex work in Vietnam from the point of view of those involved (their motivations, attitudes and personal stories) and to compare these findings with existing attitudes and laws, in order to consider potential changes and reforms.

Methodology

Develop a literature review focused on the international debate about the ethics and legality of sex work, identifying, clarifying and reflecting on the key concepts involved. Critical comparison of existing laws concerning sex work in Vietnam with legal frameworks in other countries. Qualitative research into the practices of and attitudes towards sex work in Vietnam, based on interviews with participants in sex worker organisations and networks.

The proposed extent of the thesis

40-50 pages

Keywords

Sex Work, Vietnam, Commodification,

Recommended information sources

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Declaration

I declare that I have worked on my bachelor thesis titled “Ethics and commodification in sex work: A case study in Vietnam” by myself and I have used only the sources mentioned at the end of the thesis. As the author of the bachelor thesis, I declare that the thesis does not break copyrights of any other person.

In Prague on 23.03.2020

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Ethic and commodification in sex work:

A case study in Vietnam

Abstract

This thesis clarifies the idea of ethic and commodification in sex work specified in Vietnamese market based on past and current situation in order to give an objective review about this issue in Vietnam.

The literature reviews explain the concept of sex as a commodity as well as the ethical aspects by comparing and discussing about legal facts in different countries, debate about legalization and previous researches in order to give an overview, about the problems of this work. For the better understanding, this part will be discussed from generally to particularly, from collective perspective to individual thought. It then gives the objective reviews at main questions such as whether prostitution is natural, exploitation or just a kind of work? Moreover, this part will be also mentioned about current sex work situation in Vietnam and government regulations imposed on it.

In the practical part, a semi- structure interview was designed for a group of Vietnamese citizens who are either involved or having concern about this issue. This part will be emphasized on individual's opinion, the reason leads them to participate into this market. It's focused deeply on the scenarios behind, as well as the thought of outsiders. Do they feel empathy or estrangement with those workers? Moreover, this part also presents people's opinion toward this issue. Whether prostitution should be legalized or absolutely prohibited.

The conclusion drives to the result and comparison if literature review and theoretical part are matched. Can this thesis give a final answer for those questions and problematic issue have been set up in the beginning? Finally, there are problems that have been left open, that this study was not conclusive and issues that we need to further research in the future.

Keywords: Prostitution, sex buyers, reasons, harm, regulation.

Etika a komodifikace sexuálních prací: případová studie ve Vietnamu

Abstrakt

Tato práce objasňuje etiku a komodifikaci sexuálních prací na vietnamském trhu. Práce je založena jak na minulosti tak na přítomnosti, aby výsledek mohl podat objektivní vyhodnocení ohledně situace ve Vietnamu.

Literatura vysvětluje koncept sexu jako komodity a etické aspekty vzhledem k právním faktům různých zemí, popisuje případné problémy s legalizací a uvádí předchozí studie, aby dala co největší přehled problematiky tohoto tématu. Pro lepší porozumění bude teoretická část rozepsána jak obecně tak podrobně, od hromadné perspektivy po osobní myšlenky. Poté odpovídá na zásadní otázky (například jestli je prostituce přirozená, nebo vykořisťování). Navíc tato část bude komentovat momentální situaci sexuálních prací ve Vietnamu a vládní regulace na toto odvětví.

V praktické části proběhne interview připravené pro skupinu vietnamských občanů, kterých se týká toto téma přímo i nepřímo. Tato část bude ovlivněna osobními názory a bude uvádět důvody, proč se tito lidé vyskytují v tomto odvětví. Především se tato část bude soustředit na scénáře v pozadí a na názory ostatních lidí, kteří se v těchto kruzích nevyskytují – zda jsou empatičtí, či odcizení od těchto pracovníků. Navíc tato část uvádí názory lidí na tuto problematiku.

Závěr se soustředí na výsledek a porovnání literatury a teoretické části. Dá tato práce odpovědi na úvodní otázky? Či stanoví, že je potřeba na toto téma udělat více průzkumů?

Klíčová slova: Prostituce, sexuální kupci, důvody, ublížení, regulace.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Commodification is the process by which something becomes a commodity. The market now includes not only consumables but also other services. It has raised critical questions whether certain things should be treated as commodities, such as water, education, data, information, knowledge, animal life and even human life.

We do not support any form of commodification of human beings, either in the past or nowadays. All the modern slavery, such as men forced to work in agriculture or construction, children in sweetshops or girls forced to marry older men, are on one hand condemned by society but on the other hand continued. Most of us let it happen to ourselves or other people because we sometimes ignore something which is close to slavery and think it is acceptable. In fact, some kinds of labor/ activity can be commodities. Perform your dance and get paid by pleasuring people and make them happy or giving people advise to their problem. Those activities are not objects that anyone can hold or own after paying money, but they're considered as commodities because of buying and selling transaction made by both involved parties.

If so, prostitution is similar to those activities. Why can't we see it as a normal commodity in this case? What's different between prostitution and other professions? So far, it's not considered as something that someone wants to do. If you ever ask your kid what she wants to become in the future, the answer can be: a teacher, a doctor, a lawyer... No kid says that she wants to be a prostitute. Children are not taught that prostitute is one profession because it is not named in our society as a normal work either. But we can realize this work is gradually recognized in some countries.

Not all markets are the same and some markets are more problematic than others, so the ethical question of commodification has risen many arguments and debates from people of different countries and background. There are no common rules for all the markets because the law within the country for trading is made by government and they're different people with different perspectives. Standards of ethics are not the same everywhere, it is changing due to human behavior in the subjects that they're trading on. This study will contribute to unravelling the hidden areas of prostitution and contribute to an alternative approach to this issue with practical reference to a specific country: Vietnam.

2. OBJECTIVE AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Objectives

Prostitution is not a new topic in Vietnam. The issue of prostitution mentioned for the first time was on the newspapers “Phu nu tan van”¹ on 12/12/1929. It has been almost a century since it appeared but there is no signal of decreasing numbers of participants. The International Labor Organization has updated the number of nearly 101 272 people selling sex throughout the country, mostly women. Over the time, this issue has become a serious issue in Vietnam that affects thousands of people. Not any paper or any research can describe it completely. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to present and analyse information and make objective observations on the current situation and the reasons that led to it. Here are the goals that the research aims at:

- To consider the ethical questions of commodification, focused specifically on sex work.
- To discuss different countries’ policies on legalizing prostitution.
- To understand the past and current situation of prostitution in Vietnam.
- To explore why and how people become involved in prostitution.
- To discuss government policies on sex work.

And the outcomes that author wants to achieve for the study are as follows:

- To obtain a great understanding of the issue of Vietnamese women’s involvement in prostitution.
- To present the advantages and disadvantages of the legalization of sex work in Vietnam through discussion and interviews.
- To provide suggestions for alternative solutions which might help to change the negative side of the current situation.

2.2 Methodology

There are two types of research methods which can be used when conducting a study: qualitative and quantitative method. Both research principles give rise to different “language of research” with different emphases. Quantitative method uses the language of variables and hypothesis and emphasizes on precisely measuring variables and test hypothesis, “the test of a

¹ A private women's newspaper published in Saigon and has many cultural and social influences in Vietnam in the first half of the 20th century.

hypothesis maybe more than a simple true or false answer” (Neuman W Lawrence, 2011). While qualitative study is relied “more on the principles from interpretive or critical social sciences” and spoken the “language of case and context and of cultural meaning” (Neuman W Lawrence, 2011).

As mentioned in the first chapter, the purpose of this study is understanding the ethical questions raised in commodification as the example of sex work in Vietnam. The author is interested in the context of motivation and cultural meaning, so she chooses the qualitative method based on its characteristics: “an apprenticeship model and the sharing of implicit knowledge about practical concerns and specific experiences” (Neuman W Lawrence, 2011) to understand deeper into the thought of each individual participating in this research.

Because of the philosophical approach, a semi-structured interview will be the most suitable method from the social data’s perspective of this study. It consists of open-ended questions, which were considered more appropriate than either a structured or unstructured interview, to allow the participants some degree of control during the interview process. The fact that a semi-structured interview can have a conversational aspect, resulting in the participants feeling more relaxed and therefore speaking more freely about personal experiences, was a quality required for this type of research. Along with the interview, secondary data collected from online reliable resources are also used for the practical parts.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section discusses issues related to prostitution in general. It begins with a general overview and social explanations of prostitution. Follow up with more in-depth and philosophical discussions on the ethical issues related to this trading activity. Further are the effects of prostitution on individuals and society based on different approaches to clarify if prostitution is harmful or not. Then there are the legal models which are applied to different countries as well as the pros and cons of these policies.

3.1 Prostitution

Prostitution is the “act or practice of engaging in sexual intercourse for money” (the 1969 edition of the Random House Dictionary of the English Language).

Prostitution is not the oldest profession in the world however it has existed in every civilized age on earth, wherever money and goods exist for the purpose of exchange, there is a sexual exchange for those goods. Pornai was the word for prostitution under ancient Greek empire for sex worker which could be translated as “payable women”. Prostitution was once considered a legal profession in Athens if the workers registered and paid taxes on their earnings. Women wore special shoes as an underhanded sign for customers who are in need. The reason why prostitution developed under ancient Greece was because men were often married late, so they wanted to experience it before. Moreover, adultery with a married woman was considered a serious crime so men often seek Pornai rather than be punished.

Another example of medieval times, prostitution was accepted as a fact of life in big cities. King Henry II didn't not encourage but allowed it. He had put also some regulation on workers that they must be single and checked regularly in London's brothels in order to make sure everything under control. In 1358, the Great Council of Venice has mentioned prostitution is “absolutely indispensable” and at the same time established Government funded brothels in many Italians cities in 14th and 15th centuries.

There was forced prostitution in Japan during WWII, Japanese government forced about 80 000 to 300 000 to serve Japanese soldiers in militarized brothels. (Erin Blakemore, 2020). Sex is the need of all humans, but the value that workers receive are bit different depending on each century, but always based on the need of goods and money. It is not only for the purpose of continuing the existence of species because people have sex even after they have children. People in current centuries are afraid of their joyful moment resulted in having pregnancy.

3.1.2 A multibillion-dollar business

Prostitution is a profession with different characteristics compared to the rest of society. It does not require educational attainment, unskilled labor, but it provides a worthy source of income, twice or thrice more than those trained and qualified. Prostitution revenue worldwide is around \$186 billion made by 13,828,700 prostitutes in the world. It's considered as a "industrialized" phenomenon market which has influenced about 40-42 million people (Havocscope, 2020a) (example of some countries as in table below). Among them 90% are dependent on a procurer, 75% of them are in the age of 13 to 25 years old (Erika Schulze, 2014).

Table 1: Number of prostitutes and Prostitution revenue in different countries

Place and period	Number of Prostitutes	Revenue	Prices per each sex transaction
China	5 Million	\$73 Billion	\$100 to \$400 in Beijing \$650 to \$1,600 in Shanghai
India	3 Million	\$8.4 Billion	\$1,000 for virgin \$1 for adult \$13.50 to \$16.80 for foreign women
US	1 Million	\$14.6 Billion	\$50 to \$100 for street prostitute \$200 to \$600 in legal brothel in Nevada \$40 to \$100 for 15 to 30 minutes of sex-underage girls
Philippines	800,000	\$6 Billion	\$35 at bars
Germany	400,000	\$18 billion	\$65 Flat Rate
South Korea	147,000	\$12 Billion	\$ 275 underage girl \$19 – \$29 for Elder Women (Jongmyo Park)
Turkey	118 000	\$4 Billion	\$500 for VIP service (User Submitted)
Taiwan	100 000	\$1.84 Billion	\$344 for South Korean Prostitute
Ukraine	67 500	\$1.5 Billion	\$124 to \$248 for foreign language speaking prostitute
UK	58 000	\$1 Billion	\$20 Street Prostitute
France	20 000	\$1.8 Billion	\$207 per client in Paris \$40,000 a night in Cannes
Switzerland	20 000	\$3.5 Billion	\$100 minimum
Netherlands	7,000	\$800 Million	\$68 in Amsterdam
Ireland	1 000	\$326 Million	\$107 to \$133 online \$40 to \$66 street prostitute (Limerick)

Source: Prostitution Revenue By Country (Havocscope, 2020b)

In *The Sex Sector: The Economic and Social Bases of Prostitution in Southeast Asia*, Lim says: “Like it or not, legal or not, the sex sector is an economic activity of such massive proportions in many countries it must be measured in terms of GDP” (Lim, L. L, 1998). Taking Thailand as a typical example, the fleshpot attracts about 500 000 sex tourists every year. And the sex sector occupies \$ 25 billion- 12% of the country’s domestic product. 4.6 million Thai men consult an estimated 700 000 prostitutes annually and 35 000 transsexuals are in waiting list (Forbes, 1999). This would make Thailand a curious travel destination for everyone. Especially for Asian citizens nearby which help the economy in Thailand and would make it as one of leaders in sexual industry in the world.

3.1.3 Path to prostitution

Prostitutes makes a lot of money compared to other professions. But, is that the main reason which leads women to prostitution? Discussing about this, a study was conducted on thirty-three Pakistani female prostitutes with different ages and marital statuses from three different cities about why they went on a commercial sex path. It shows one of the main reasons is Economic Crisis, Poverty and Debt.

❖ Poverty and Debt

The problem of poverty is distressing in underdeveloped and developing countries. It occurs also in the developed countries where gap between rich and poor starts to widen. Some people were born into a family where their parents have no ability to afford their meals. They were forced to this path in order to maintain family’s survival. For example, because of the illness of family members. One of the thirty-three women said: “My father was chronically sick having kidney problem. Our family had to spend around 75000 of rupees (about \$990) on my father’s recovery and treatment. We had to sell even our house for that but all are in vain. The money was not enough, and I had to decide to choose this profession”(Shahid Qayyum et al, 2013).

Because of poverty, they could even sell their children just to feed the rest of the family. In other case, the poverty isn’t from her parents, but it happens on the day when she was forced to marry an alcoholic, violent husband who was unable to care for her family. The incompetency of the husband led her to this path just to cover the cost of living for her children: “When I forced him to do something for our children, he beat me very severely and threw me out of his house with my children. In this situation for the survival of my children I’ve to look for this field” (Shahid Qayyum et al, 2013).

❖ **Unemployment**

Employment problems are very common today. It is easy to realize that many people accept to do manual work after graduating with a master's degree. Some people go into it because no job can satisfy their needs. Others are not entitled to a degree education and thus, are not accepted for a good job and prostitution does not require any qualifications or any skills.

❖ **Rape and trafficking**

Female sex workers are also victims of rape and trafficking. When they are not aware of what is happening and gradually, they are tied to it without a way out due to the strict control of brothel owners. And the habit of enjoying in invisible prisons gradually becomes part of their own life. Most of them are conscious of getting out of this bondage, but they themselves are afraid of getting out of it because some of them cannot manage the difficult life outside this community.

❖ **Enjoyment of sex**

Research has shown the case of girls who are sexually addicted, while a man cannot satisfy her needs, so she comes to prostitution to satisfy her needs whenever she wants. Some others simply feel like being enjoyed while having sex, one of the Pakistan girls desired to do it when she saw the people around her are engaging in sexual activities then she started doing it on a regular basis.

The above are the most mentioned reasons leading girls to prostitution. Prostitution is neither natural nor voluntary. Behind a woman is a story, we shouldn't judge someone's behavior before understanding the reason to the action of considering prostitution as a profession for the rest of her life. What we should be frankly looking at is its influence on the individual and society.

3.1.5 Morality of prostitution

We discussed above about prostitution in general as well as the right of using our bodies. This section will link the above arguments to discuss about the ethics in prostitution based on different approaches: The Economic approach and the Essentialist approach (Debra Satz, 2012).

In the Economic approach, the internal factors of goods are ignored, because in fact the economy is more concerned about the costs and profits that goods bring. The prostitution costs which Satz mentions are: “cost of disease and guilt, costs a man's wife or companion in term of mistrust and suffering, cost to moralism.” But in this approach, prostitution has been

examined in a different way from the way we view other occupations of society, focusing on the bad costs it brings from their social point of view. Satz mentioned about the difficulty in placing prostitution on the scale of this approach: “The economic approach ignores the background system of distribution within which prostitution occurs”. She takes the example of why participants enter this market is to solve poverty, this may be the only way to “stave off starvation.” Each person's background is different, and we can't equate it all, if this is the only way to save them from poverty, then raise the costs and benefits of a society by omitting the consideration for the benefits of a single individual is not advisable.

Moving to the Essentialist approach, prostitution is viewed from the intrinsic elements of the property. Satz says: “prostitution is not wrong simply because it causes harm; prostitution constitutes a harm.” Joe Vargas, MA, former Captain of the Anaheim Police Department writes: “I would say the idea that prostitution should be legalized is wrong. For those few who suggest otherwise, I would argue sex for money is illegal not just because it's immoral, but because it's just plain bad for women at every level” (ProCon.org, 2018). Sex work is done based on the act of selling something deep inside herself, so when a prostitute performs a prostitution contract, it means that she is “selling herself in a very real sense” (Carole Pateman, 1988). In this approach, prostitution is also seen as “an assault on personal dignity” because “each party now values the other only instrumentally, not intrinsically.” This leads to the degradation of prostitutes in the role of society. With the amount of money, one person can treat the other as a mere thing.

In the Egalitarian approach, Satz adds: “prostitution represents women as sexual servant to men.” The fact that female prostitution is more common means that it is easy for a man to possess a female body. A man therefore overestimates his power over women when he could use his money to buy women and ask her to do what he wants.

Based on all three approaches in which the Egalitarian is the most preferred, Satz concludes prostitution is wrong and unethical. In addition, Alexa Albert points out that: “Turning our backs on the women (and men) who do this work may be far more immoral - even criminal - than prostitution itself. Only when we recognize and validate the work of professional prostitutes, we can expect them to practice their trade safely and responsibly” (ProCon.org, 2018). The continuation of prostitution has been there for a long-time due to demand and supply, she also says: “it's naive to believe that prostitution can ever be eliminated. The demand will be met with supply one way or another, no matter what is legislated.”

3.2 Effects of prostitution on society and individuals

3.2.1 Does prostitution harm people?

Some people say prostitution is bad because it is harmful. It is harmful because buying and selling takes place based on deep human emotions. Others say that female sex workers are free to decide their fate, so prostitution is not harmful to them. Melissa Farley argues that the harmfulness of prostitution is invisible. Like when we see the issue of slavery. When human rights activists came to Mauritania to report on slavery but instead of what they imagine as ties or shackles, Africans work and received food, shelter as salary. So, they concluded these slaves are essentially voluntary laborers (Amy Black, 1997). One should not conclude that prostitution is not harmful by seeing a streetwise teenager who says, “I like this job and I’m making a lot of money” (Melissa Farley, 2003). Furthermore, in a research paper about prostitution in Southeast Asia, Lim pointed out that, 96% of interviewed female sex workers want to leave prostitution if they could. If prostitution does not affect and harm their lives, there is no reason for them to quit such a high-paying job (Lim, L. L, 1998).

Martin Moen claims that “harm” is a difficult concept, so he defines harm as that which is detrimental to well-being. He gave an example of eating pork. The nature of eating pork is not harmful, but one billion people feel torn apart by the guilt if they eat pork because of their religious beliefs (Ole Martin Moen, 2014).

To clarify the extent to which prostitution is harmful or not, here are specific examples that previous studies have presented on the issues that sex workers are expected to face during their lives.

❖ Does prostitution cause depression?

A study by BMC Women’s Health about mental health diagnoses among sex workers has provided the analysis after evaluating 692 sex workers in Vancouver, Canada between January 2010 and February 2013 with the following result:

Among 692 sex workers, 338 (48.8%) reported having ever been diagnosed with a mental health condition. Depression was the most common self-reported mental health diagnosis (35.1%), followed by anxiety (19.9%), post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (12.7%), and bipolar disorder (10.3%). Less commonly reported were attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) (4.9%), borderline personality disorder (3.5%) and schizophrenia (2.3%). Of the 338 sex workers who reported mental health diagnosis, 273 (80.8%) had received treatment and/or counselling in their lifetime (Nitasha Puri et al, 2017).

A similar study has been conducted in Germany in 2007 “Around half of the interviewees showed symptoms of depression; a quarter had frequent or occasional thoughts of suicide; almost one third had anxiety and panic attacks, and about 1 in 7 had had the intention of self-injuring in the last 12 months” (Nitasha Puri et al, 2017).

The facts about sex worker in Canada and Germany above are the evidence for the correlation of psychological problem and prostitution. We find significant number of prostitutes’ struggle in being regretted after selling sex. The suicide rate among prostitution is six times higher than average population. That’s definitely not an accident of this correlation of prostitute with the rate of being depression but Moen also gives the example of Homosexuality in the 1920s and 1930 with the competition of current situation. It was experienced to be related to the depression and psychology of homosexual people because the rate of depressive depression, eating disorders and suicide are higher than rest of the population. This figure was used as an evidence that homosexuality was harmful by those people who did reject it. However, nowadays most of us suppose there is nothing harmful in being a homosexual or in engaging in homosexual practice. The correlation was most likely because of the social norm. The prostitution in this argument can’t be excluded from subject of social stigma. The depression of prostitutes causes by social prejudice than the practicing activities themselves. By this statement, the harm of prostitution to people is still inconclusive.

❖ **Does prostitution objectify them?**

To be able to understand this argument, we first need to understand what objectification is. It’s an act of forcing one person and using her as an object, manipulate her in order to please another’s need.

Papadaki mentions in her research four conditions that show women's sexual objectification by men- based on four conditions that are necessary in order for person A to objectify person B (Evangelia (Lina) Papadaki, 2019):

- Men view and treat women as objects of male sexual desire.
- Men desire women to be submissive and object-like and force them to submit.
- Men believe that women are in fact submissive and object-like.
- Men believe that women are in fact submissive and object-like by nature.

Besides, Thomas Mappes and Howard Klepper also argued about objectification in their researches (Ole Martin Moen, 2014). In narrow sense, Mappes in “*Sexual morality and the concept of using another person*”, objectification means treating other persons by means of force, which means using another person as an object that he can dictate and satisfy his

pleasure. In a broader sense, Klepper's in "*Sexual exploitation and the value of persons*": "objectification is not restricted to force and fraud but includes any treatment of another person as a means to one's ends without regard for that person's own ends."

The point about objectification is that it treats another person like an object, rather than as a person. This could happen either by forcing or by agreement of the other person. According to Martin, using force to force others is always harmful but that does not mean that prostitution is harmful because buying and selling activities likely come from volunteering. Forcing prostitution is labelled as rape or sex slavery rather than sex trade. He takes the example of marriage: "The fact that it is harmful to force someone to marry, for example, does not show that marrying is harmful" (Ole Martin Moen, 2014).

But Anne Phillips stays in another point of view, she contends only few customers would be willing to enter market as sellers and the inequality in such market is not just contingent but an intrinsic feature (Anne Phillips, 2011). Prostitution is a transaction in which one person is a social subordinate of the other, who satisfies the other's needs. While natural sex is a giving and receiving based on the same spirit and purpose to maintain the goodness between the two individuals, the woman herself will also receive a good soul-giving from her partner, prostitution is "a form of labour market that cannot reciprocated" (Christine Overall, 1992).

❖ **Do prostitutes objectify themselves?**

Another aspect of this problem is the way prostitutes perceive themselves in the same way that other people look at them. In this argument, it is not just being treated as an object or a property of someone else. But accepting that possession encouraged them to think of themselves the way they were treated. What they accidentally did not realize or intentionally did not mention. Because no one directly acknowledges them as something they like to think of themselves as "self-owners". And so, they think they have the right to do what they want on their bodies.

Anne Phillips mentioned self-ownership in Naffine's word is "an assertion of self: possession and self-control, of a fundamental right to exclude other from one's very being." It refers to inner self that own the pieces that make up our body. The right to enjoy our own body and do whatever we want, to decide who has access to our body. People do tattoos, make piercing as the ideas of completing their self to be distinguished to the rest. It makes a person feel like she has the right of doing whatever she wants. Her parents might teach her that she has full right to do with her body. Does it mean that a person has full right to cut her body into pieces and sell it to anyone she wants?

Phillips also mentioned that we use language without the intention of claiming property, or maybe we talk about ownership but don't intend to overuse it. When kids are taught from music to remember your body is your own private property, your body's nobody's body but your but your own (J.W Harris describes a musical jingle). It doesn't mean that adults want them to do what they want with their bodies. The message conveyed is to stay away from inappropriate collisions from strangers. Only they can touch their own bodies, not anyone else. Because the "Private property is invoked here to express the right to keep others off, not the right to invite them in" (Anne Phillips, 2013).

❖ **Does prostitution cause inequality?**

And prostitution is on track to undermine the goodness of natural sex because of the evaluating of sex value in market. And prostitution influences negatively the image of women because it "shapes and influences the way women as a whole are seen" (Debra Satz, 1995). This may lead to the issue of gender equality. While men hardly offered sexual services, women are "abundant resources" in the market and men have full access their body, as far as they can afford it. Prostitution therefore remains as the gender stereotype in which women's dignity is affected badly (Erika Schulze, 2014).

The stereotype about female sex workers in the eyes of men is quite negative. The ability to buy a prostitute implies the power of a man to be able to own a woman and to turn her body into a tool for his sexual pleasure. She must act as what he wants her to be. A man who was guaranteed anonymity said prostitution was like "renting an organ for ten minutes". Another man said, "I use them like I might use any other amenity, a restaurant, or a public convenience" (Anne Phillips, 2013).

3.2.2 Prostitution and Human trafficking to exploitation, violence.

❖ **Prostitution exploit labors**

"While objectification is the practice of using other persons as objects, exploitation is the practice of profiting unduly from others' work" (Ole Martin Moen, 2014). Meaning as when person B takes all the profit that person A must work all day long to gain it. Moen mentioned women working in legal brothels, that they were provided with reasonable accommodation and workplace, and that their incomes were calculated to be 2-6 times higher than their incomes from other professions. He likens prostitution to construction work, if working 15 hours a day without protective equipment is dangerous, just like selling 15 hours a day without safety

equipment is harmful. Thus, “it only establishes that selling sex can be practiced in a harmful manner, which is uncontroversial” (Ole Martin Moen, 2014).

❖ **Human trafficking for sexual exploitation.**

However, we can't deny the number in fact that trafficking for sexual exploitation accounts for 50% of all trafficking cases worldwide. According to United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime there are around 140 000 victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation and up to 1 in 7 persons engaged in prostitution are trafficked in Europe, but other sources suggest 70%-90 % of prostitutes have been forced into prostitution by criminal groups (Erika Schulze, 2014).

Another problem has raised is exploitation of minors. 48% of the victims of the prostitution are children under 18 years old. UNICEF has confirmed between 2-3 million children in the world are prostitutes. In Southeast Asia 30-35 % of sex workers are minors at the aged between 12 and 17 years old, in India alone it is 2700 child prostitutes. Those children are sold by their parents from bad economy family, they're often brainwashed by pimps to have a better life in a different country or some of them are sold as live sex materials in brothels, strip clubs or used in pornographic film.

A 13 years old prostitute who lives in Taiwan says: “When I finished primary school, my father told me how poor my family was. ‘Are you ready to sacrifice yourself to support your family?’ So, he brought me to Taipei and sold me to the Madame of a brothel. I was only 13 years old and I was unaware of what would happen to me. This woman told me that I was expected to sleep with men. If I didn't do as she told me, I was beaten or raped by the guards and they threatened to kill my parents and brothers” (Catherine Goldmann, 2011).

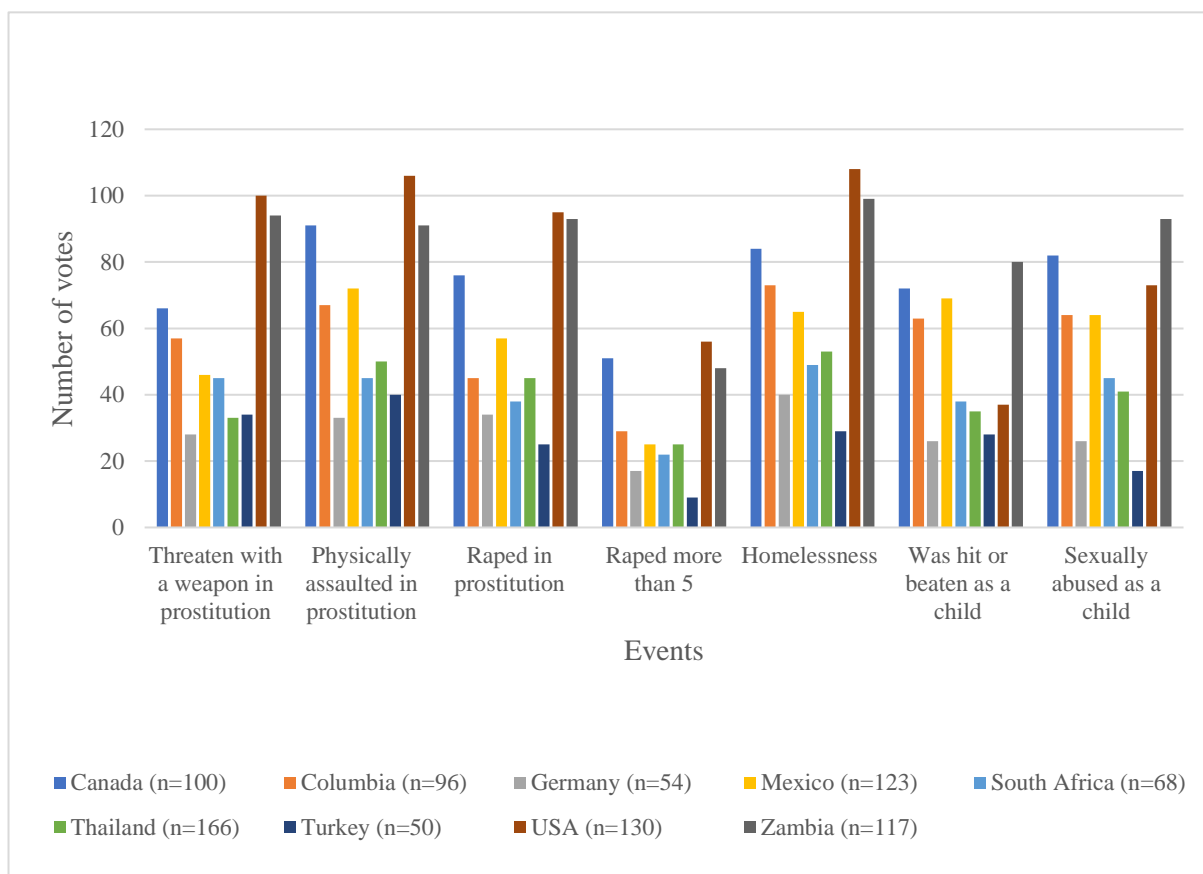
❖ **From intimate partner to violence.**

Being considered as an extremely serious matter, sexual violence happening amongst prostitution is caused by many reasons. Men sometimes enter the services with misogynist attitudes and believe that he can do whatever he wants with the woman he paid. A Women Support project in Scotland shows the result of 110 men interviewed that one-fourth to one-third of the men they asked has assign the rape attitude as a normal thing, 32% of them stated that rape happens when their sex drives out of control, around 10% of men stated that the concept of rape simply doesn't apply to prostitutes. “They'll basically do anything for money” said one man (Jan Macleod, 2008).

These attitudes of clients drive women prostitutes into dangerous situation that they could face to sexual violence in every intimate exchange. And this (as well as drug used) is considered as a main reason for death amongst prostitutes. The price prostitutes receive from

these risky clients is not calculated by \$ but death. Below is chart presented prostitutes undergo violence in 9 countries based on Farley’s research:

Figure 1: Violent event in prostitution in nine countries



Source: Prostitution and Trafficking in Nine Countries (Melissa Farley et al, 2004)

In the figure, n is presented the numbers of respondents in the study. USA and Zambia have the highest violence cases in prostitution. Within 130 participants from USA, 100 of them were threatened by weapons and half of them were raped more than 5 times. Significantly, about 80% of 117 respondents from Zambia were abused as a child. The rest of the countries, despite not having a high level of violence like the USA and Zambia, are also in concern.

Violent acts also come from the pimp or trafficker, prostitutes are severely instructed and controlled by a gang of gangsters who always threaten the danger of their families and force them to obey them, and they are usually beaten cruelly if they do not listen and complete their target “KPI”.

With the statistics combined with the above arguments, prostitution is wrong, because it constitutes inequality between men and women, turning intimacy into violence, abuse and trafficking. However, Satz observes that: “it is an injustice that operates in large part through beliefs and attitudes that might someday be changed” (Debra Satz, 2012). Changing the perception of right and wrong on an issue is absolutely possible as an example of transgender community. But when discussing this issue at the present, we should also be concerned whether elimination or legalization will minimize the harm to society.

3.2.3 Should sex market be prohibited or effectively regulated?

What should we do with prostitution? According to Satz, markets that undermine basic ethical values should be prevented because they make profits based on social vulnerabilities, lack of information transparency and risk putting participants at high risk and prostitution is a typical. (1) Search for suppliers and participants from discriminatory social classes, (2) do not facilitate the enhancement of knowledge (3) harm the health of participants, (4) reinforce the prejudice against women in general (Debra Satz, 1995).

No buyer, no business.

If there was no demand, there wouldn't be supply. Prostitution as well as other market are always finding ways to operate discreetly and cunningly based on the legal loopholes, does banning prostitution really reduce the demand and the number of victims? The truth is, prostitution as well as some prohibited good and services are still circulating and moreover, they are circulated more sophisticatedly in countries where they are prohibited by law but there is no thorough solution for it. Practicing differently, some countries in the world have recognized prostitution as a legal profession with labor management measures such as periodic health checks and mandatory or social diseases or condom use is required.

3.3 Regulating sex work models

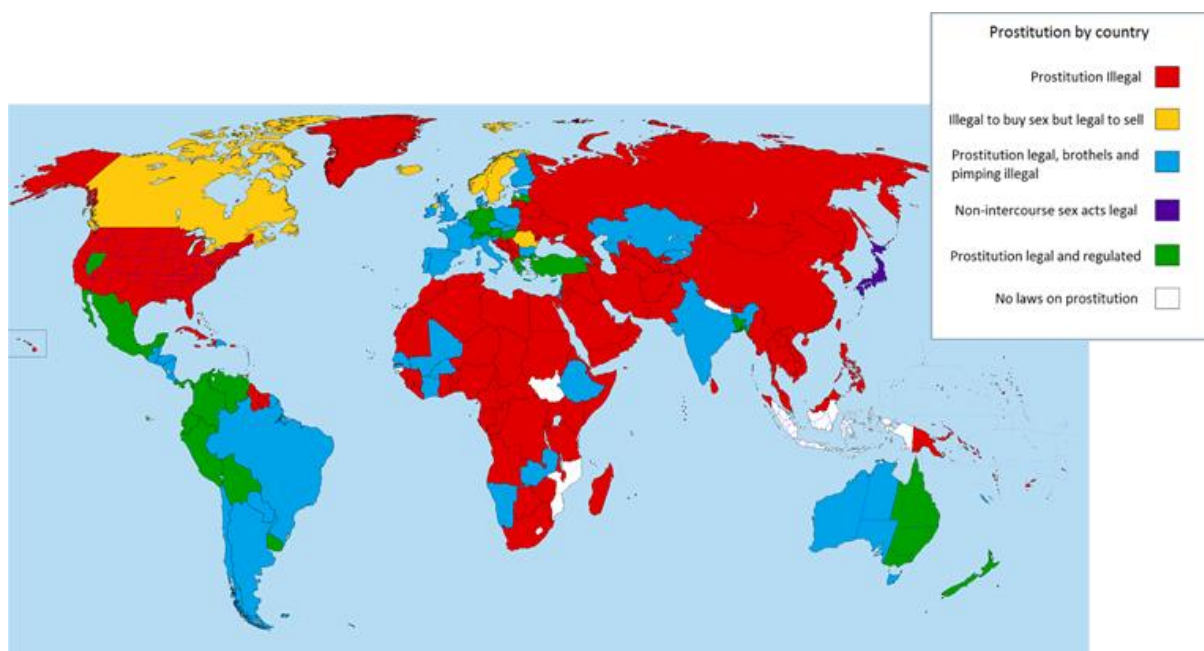
As we discussed in previous section, putting prostitution in regulation is a way to control over, prevent the overcrowded by law restrictions. In the second half of the 20th century, with many movements in society and the increasing role of women, they then demanded equality and freedom, demanding liberation from their role as a wife in the kitchen corner. Liberating women as well as liberating sexual needs, they are free to decide what they want to do with their bodies including prostitution. Therefore, from the 1980s and 1990s, trends in some countries followed the path of prostitution legalization and recognized it as a profession

to protect feminism rather than protest and boycott it. Some models of regulation in prostitution are mentioned in Regulation prostitution (Rocio Albert et al, 2017) as follows:

❖ **Prohibition.**

This is the typical regulation for most of the countries in the world (map below) where prostitution is considered as criminal based on the idea of its immorality. And the criminal sanction is applied to all the parties on sexual transaction: prostitutes, clients, pimps...sometimes they're punished by death penalty (US state, Japan, Iran...). In Spain, in order to disguise sex trafficking, brothels are often assumed to be normal restaurants, pubs or café and the authorities tries to eliminate but due to sophisticated activity they still cannot control it. Between 2010 and 2012, at least 20 women prostitutes were murdered in Spain. 66% of cocaine consumers started consuming after engaging in prostitution.

Figure 2: Map of regulation of prostitution in the world



Source : Legal status of prostitution by country (MapPorn, 2011)

❖ **“Emancipatory” as known as Nordic model**

This measure is based on the idea that prostitutes are victims of sexual violence and it will only punish sex buyers, not prostitutes. Because supply is dependent on demand, once demand is constrained by sanctions, buyers will often restrict trade because they can only be found on black markets with very high price. According to statistical studies, this measure has

been significantly reduced street prostitutes about 70% in some place. Sweden is example of this model, an evaluation of the impact in Sweden found that street prostitution had been cut in half. In comparison with other Nordic countries, Sweden's prostitution is approximately one tenth of Denmark's and one-eighth of Norway's.

❖ **Haft way between prohibit and regulation**

In this model, prostitution is not considered legal but is not given the related sanctions, prostitution stays in a legal limbo. And the parties involved are not protected or prosecuted unless there are other serious issues that arise.

❖ **Advocating regulation instead of prohibition**

This model allows for prostitution and is accepted by law but with adjustments to minimize prostitution. Germany is one of the countries implementing this model. With reports received from the German government most prostitutes do not register for employment contracts, so are not protected by social organizations. Lack of control has led to poor working conditions. But the good move is the victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation had significantly reduced in 2010 compared to 2002 by nearly 25% (Erika Schulze, 2014).

❖ **Legalization**

Take the Netherlands as a typical example for this model where prostitution is considered as a profession. Commercialization of prostitution allows prostitutes to operate officially in certain areas such as the Red-Light District after registration, periodic health exams, and full tax payment as a normal worker. The same report from European parliament shows outcome of the legislation from Netherland Government compared shortly after the adoption of the law during 2001-2002 and last evaluation in 2007. Overcrowding of unlicensed prostitutes reaches 95% and these workers of course do not participate in any social protection services. More than 60% of prostitutes do not pay taxes on their actual income. As many female sex workers are migrants, due to the policy of not applying as a work permit to their residency, the result is that non-EU citizens were pushed into black market where they are not protected and the risk of violence and trafficking increases. The report also shows that the legalization of prostitution in countries like Austria could lead to an overflow in migrant prostitution and increases the underground prostitution market.

Each country has a separate measure to adjust prostitution with the goal of reducing the negative impact on society. But what is the best regulation and how to apply it effectively is a major obstacle that all countries are facing.

4. PRACTICAL PART

4.1 Discussing about sex work in Vietnam

In the previous sections of this thesis, there are arguments about sex work and its impact on people and society as well as statistics on the sex work rate in some countries and models of regulation in several typical cases. In this section, the study will emphasize the situation of prostitution in Vietnam by analyzing available related researches to give an overview of the current situation in Vietnam before digging deeply into insider scenarios.

4.1.1 “History” of prostitution in Vietnam

Vietnam has a strong association with Confucian ideology throughout history. Confucianism also highly appreciates female virginity, encourage people to avoid libido. Therefore, with the long-standing traditions and customs of Vietnamese people, female sex workers are a shame, not only to themselves but also to the whole family. The social stereotypes associated with the collective lifestyle has suppressed prostitutes harshly in history.

During the French colonial period, French exploitation policy and the introduction of market economy led to the birth of urban areas. The need to buy prostitutes of the urban citizens and French soldiers stationed in the cities led to the appearance of prostitutes and the formation of brothels. This is the time when prostitution erupted violently, and the journalists began to frantically discuss this issue. An excerpt from the newspaper can clearly show the attitude towards prostitutes of Vietnamese people at that time: “...we will see a heart-breaking scene, a more despicable lewdness in prostitution, probably there do not exist any countries where prostitution is more despicable than prostitution in our country. They go to the streets to entice customers, they speak and sing in erotic voices” (C.Luan, 1932) In the late 30s of the twentieth century, another metaphor of prostitution, “tally card songs”² became an “ulcer” of society. On the outskirts of Hanoi in 1938, there were 216 “tally theaters” and nearly 2000 ladies. The President at that time also mentioned this issue and considered it a danger to society: “Two evils: Polygamy and prostitution, now organized in a European style.”

The president and the Communist Party of Vietnam (after its establishment-1930) set a policy to oppose polygamy and oppose the French government maintaining and taking advantage of the prostitution regime to collect taxes. Therefore, the Party's leaflets often put

² Tally card songs is a Vietnamese genre of musical storytelling performed by a featuring female vocalist.

up slogans such as: anti-prostitution, mobilizing women to participate in the struggle to liberate the nation, building a new civilized and peaceful society. The elimination of prostitution in society is considered by the Communist Party as a measure to improve social status and respect the dignity of women. After the French left, documents show that about 12,000 prostitutes worked in 45 brothels and 55 pubs, of which 6,000 were registered with the French colonial government. After 1954, prostitution became illegal and largely excluded under Article 202 of the Criminal Code of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. However, about 300-400 people are discovered to be involved in this activity every year.

Between 1960-1975, millions of American soldiers rushed to Vietnam during the War. There were many suppliers supplying goods and services (prostitutes, dancing girls, saunas girls) to American soldiers, American employees. Economic differentiation leads to the reversal of traditional moral values. A Saigon official publicly stated: “Americans need girls, we need dollars. Why do we have to restrict, that is the endless source of dollars” (Bao Dat Viet, 2011).

In the period 1975-1985, with the policy of “new cultural life”, the Vietnamese government virtually wiped out prostitution throughout Vietnam, especially prostitutes in the South, left by the US military. But after 1986, prostitution began to reappear.

4.1.2 Current situation in Vietnam

In Netherlands there is a red-light district. In Vietnam, there is not only one street, but many similar districts appear with a few girls wearing high heels on the side of the road (very easy to recognize according to their clothes and gesture) walking around waiting for customers. Trade takes place in few minutes. When a prostitute was approached by a man, she gives price and the man may bargain for a suitable price, if both agree, she will quickly get in the car to the “trading place.”

In February 2012, the Joint Program on Gender Equality (co-implemented by the Government of Viet Nam and the United Nations) published a particularly interesting report entitled “*Prostitution and Mobile Mobility from a gender perspective*” with the conclusions (Tuoi Tre, 2012):

Firstly, regarding the age at which sex workers began to work, this report suggests that as many as 21.6% of sex workers started participating in this market aged 18 and under.

Second, the average age of sex workers is very young, many people have other occupations and high levels of education. Up to 52.7% of people in the sample are aged 25 and under. Up

to 49.5% of these workers also have other normal jobs in society. The average education level is 17.1% only graduated from primary school, 39.3% have graduated from secondary school and about 10.3% graduated from university or college.

Third, in terms of income, the average income from sex work is \$370 per month, about four times higher than the average income of urban residents in Vietnam (\$95) - of which it is \$460 for women and \$290 for men. Especially, about 5% of the respondents had a sex work income of \$870 or more.

4.1.3 Disguise of prostitution

Due to the illegal policy in Vietnam, prostitution also disguises itself or disguises other forms of business, making it difficult to manage prostitution.

❖ Prostitution in the form of popular service business ...

According to the Department of Social Evils Prevention, in the suburbs, there are newly formed industrial zones with no land for agriculture, which are converted into catering services, coffee, refreshments, Kumquat, massage, motels. ... but in fact, prostitution.

❖ Call girls, escort girls follow high-class tours

According to police authorities, prostitution under the mode of call girls and female escort by tour is on the rise. The management of prostitution in the form of call girls has also been “industrialized” through modern means such as mobile phones, internet with many websites, “forums”.

❖ Prostitution 4.0

Prostitution is very diverse in many forms. Perhaps online prostitution is the most sophisticated form of prostitution. 45% of the total population in Vietnam have access to internet and smartphone according to the statistical report of Represent Asia News. Taking advantage of this, prostitutes also reach customers through existing social media. Besides Facebook, Zalo-a popular social network in Vietnam, is also an active market place.

People talk about prostitution on Zalo as a “love market” where sellers and buyers can easily trade with each other and only God and Zalo know about it. With the “Search around” feature, those who want to buy prostitutes can select prostitutes who are currently operating within a range of 50m to 4km. Under the nudity, there are advertisements with the content “I take guests in Tran Duy Hung area, whoever needs, call me at the phone number ... Ensure

enthusiastic and thoughtful service. No scrambling, make sure the photos on Zalo are 100% true no texting, need to contact directly, I take 400k³ once.”

Usually prostitutes, regardless of their composition, when joining the group of prostitutes on Zalo, they try to cover themselves with a cute, naive face. Most of the photos on the prostitutes’ personal pages are fake. They often use pictures of ravishing hot girls online and then say they are their real photos. And often tell customers “I’m a student, because of difficult circumstances, I should do this to pay tuition fee and cover daily life.” Because men often just want to buy young, beautiful girls or who are still students.

Older women work as prostitutes on social media often disguise and deceive their customers with the profile of young faces, only when the location and money transaction have been completed, the client is engaged to meet, they realize that they have been tricked. One prostitute mentions the reason to sell sex on Zalo: “It’s not difficult, my friends do that, both quickly and conveniently, supply and demand meet each other without having to go through pimp or guards. Those who do a lot, receive a lot money, those who do a little, they have a little, we will not have to be cut off, pay to pimps! There are so many clients, we are just afraid we don’t have enough time to do it.” (Lam Mai, 2019).

4.1.4 The reason to enter sex work

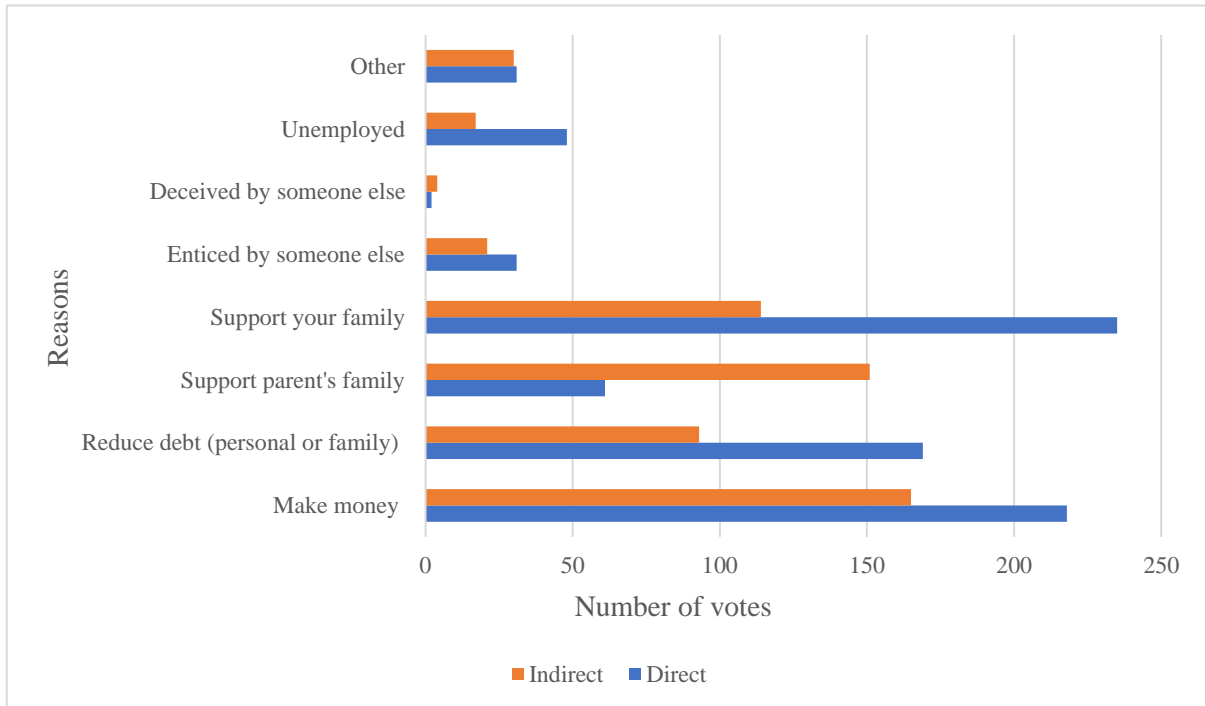
❖ Seller

A study on prostitution in Nha Trang-Vietnam in 2000 (figure below) was completed with the interview of 610 people, of which 343 were direct sex workers (women worked on the streets and beach) and the rest were indirect (bars and restaurants or other facilities).

Both types of prostitute report that economic concern is the primary reason leading them to this path. Looking at the report above, the income from sex work is almost four times than the average income of urban residents in Vietnam, so this is an inevitable cause. In addition, support for family members or forced labor is also one of the reasons leading them into prostitution.

³ 400k or 400 000 VND, about \$18

Figure 3: Reasons for entering sex work in Vietnam



Source: Sex Workers in Vietnam: How Many, How Risky? (Truong Tan Minh et al, 2004)

Another article criticizes most prostitutes blame on “poor families” as the reason for selling themselves. But according to the survey, 52.2% of prostitutes have average family situation and 2.4% are well-off, not poor. 27.6% of sex workers are sexually motivated by their friends, 63.9% are enticed by other prostitutes, only 6% are due to being tricked or raped. Another part of sex work is to make money to satisfy drug addiction (51% of prostitutes are addicted to drugs). 34.9% would like to continue selling sex in the next 3 years because they want to maintain high income while they are used to spending extravagantly (Thanh Nien, 2009).

❖ **Buyers**

In the same study, prostitutes report their clients are civil servants or workers with a variety of occupations, while civil servants often contact to indirect workers, direct workers are contacted by other laborers.

The Vietnamese buyer has a diverse background and works in all industries. On average, they must pay about \$10. Foreign clients must pay at a higher price about \$50-\$100 U.S for each sexual encounter (1 hour).

Table 2: Background of sex buyers in Vietnam

Variable	Direct (n=343) n(%)	Indirect (n=267) n(%)
Background of clients (multiple response)		
Labourers	289 (84.3%)	176 (65.9%)
Farmers	191 (55.7%)	75 (28.1%)
Students	108 (31.5%)	43 (16.1%)
Intellectuals	144 (42.0%)	168 (62.9%)
Taxi, cyclo or moto drivers	193 (56.3%)	115 (43.1%)
Foreigners	73 (21.3%)	94 (35.2%)
Military personel	150 (43.7%)	67 (25.1%)
Government employees	185 (56.9%)	213 (79.8%)
Unemployed	77 (22.4%)	29 (10.9%)
Other	25 (7.3%)	40 (15.0%)
Background of clients (most frequent)		
Labourers	235 (68.5%)	92 (34.5%)
Students	4 (1.2%)	3 (1.1%)
Taxi, cyclo or moto drivers	46 (13.4%)	16 (6.0%)
Foreigners	7 (2.0%)	19 (7.1%)
Military personel	15 (4.4%)	10 (3.7%)
Government employees	55 (16.0%)	155 (58.1%)
Unemployed	4 (1.2%)	6 (2.2%)
Other	42 (12.2%)	47 (17.6%)

Source: Sex Workers in Vietnam: How Many, How Risky? (Truong Tan Minh et al, 2004)

When asked about the reasons for buying sex, the majority answered that they were seeking pleasure because without a girlfriend or their wife could not satisfy their sexual needs. Due to the patriarchal lifestyle of most of Vietnamese people, in general, sex buyers (male) are not as critical as female sex workers. Most Vietnamese men think that sleeping with prostitutes is dirty, prostitutes are just for fun and cannot be their lover or wife. Reaching to sex buyers is more difficult than sex workers because they often want to hide their actions to be a “clean” image and not lose face in front of others because they understand that Vietnamese society generally does not agree with prostitution. This reason will also be mentioned in the interview with the man who used to buy sex that I was fortunate to reach in the next section.

4.1.5 How sex work is perceived in Vietnam

Prostitution can solve the problem of poverty for most participants involved because of this reason. But besides that, it also has a negative impact on society. In Vietnam, when they talk about prostitution, they remind about:

❖ HIV

A survey in 2001 in Vietnam shows 51% of female sex workers were addicted to drugs and 27% were infected with HIV, excluding other diseases such as hepatitis, gonorrhoea, syphilis (Thanh Ha, 2016). Another study finds nearly 95% of female sex workers asked clients to use condoms, but only half of them received clients' consent (Truong Tan Minh et al, 2004). This suggests that the large number of sexual "transactions" is often not protected by condoms. By the end of March 2005, there were more than 93,000 HIV cases nationwide, of which nearly 15,000 became AIDS and nearly 8,800 died. It is forecast that by 2010, Vietnam would have about 350,970 people infected with HIV / AIDS (Le Xuan Son, 2005).

A current article mentions there are about 250,000 people living with HIV nationwide, of which 40,000-50,000 people with HIV remain undetected in the community. Notably, the cases of HIV in Vietnam are mainly men, men account for more than 70% of HIV cases in Vietnam. HIV-infected people aged 30-50 years account for 80% of HIV cases (Thuy Giang, 2019).

Each year, there are between 2 million and 2.5 million HIV tests conducted at health facilities, of which about 10,000 new cases are detected. HIV / AIDS remains one of the leading causes of the burden of disease and death in Vietnam. Each year, about 2,000 patients die from HIV / AIDS.

The spread of HIV and other sexual transmitted diseases is inevitable. But people feel ashamed to test it. So, they infect their girlfriends or their wives. The children are born with this disease often suffer from estrangement at schools and in public places. Without the welcome from the community, the continuation of prostitution among these children is very high. This consciousness should be changed to stop the continuation because too strong social prejudice will overwhelm the people in that society.

❖ Human trafficking

Data of the Steering Committee for Crime Prevention show that, in Vietnam during the period of 2011-2015, localities detected nearly 2,000 human trafficking cases with more than 3,800 victims. Over 85% of the victims are women and children. Most women are trafficked as prostitutes in urban areas or sent to China to work as prostitutes in the country, and there have been cases of being tricked into Malaysia as sex slaves.

These girls are often tricked into selling with the promise of easy jobs at a high paid. “I was very scared and worried about my safety. The Vietnamese woman (the intermediary) had delivered me to a Chinese woman who took me to a very remote location and forced me into prostitution. I knew I had been duped by the two”, Said a young woman was duped and sold in China when she was 17 years old (Peter Tran, 2019). Some girls were even given sedatives and when they woke up, they were already in another country, no acquaintance, no similar language, they were forced to sell their bodies to clients, or they would be beaten and threatened. This situation often happens in the northern province where poverty is big issue and located head quarter of traffickers.

❖ Violence

Many prostitutes are beaten by their customers if the men are not served as they wish. According to Vietnamese government-run Institute of Labor Science and Social Affairs on a survey of 150 prostitutes, nearly 44% of female sex workers suffered physical pain from being brutally beaten by clients, and nearly 46% of them did not report to the authorities because they knew the law or they don't believe they get protected by authorities.

4.1.6 Government policies and solution on prostitution in Vietnam

According to Decree No. 73/2010 / ND-CP of the Vietnamese Government: *Regulations on sanctions against administrative violations in the field of security and social order and safety, forms of sanctions relating to prostitution*⁴ notable points on sanctions regulations for prostitution-related forms are:

Article 22. Acts of buying sex

A fine of between \$22 and \$45 for acts of buying sex.

Article 23. Acts of prostitution

Caution or a fine of between \$5 and \$15 for acts of prostitution.

Article 24.- Other acts related to prostitution and prostitution

A fine of between \$45 and \$85 shall be imposed for acts of providing places for prostitution.

2. A fine of between \$45 and \$85 for one of the following acts:

a) Leading and seducing activities of buying sex and selling sex.

b) Concealing and preserving acts of buying and selling sex.

3. A fine of between \$215 and \$435 for one of the following acts:

⁴ translated from official Vietnamese government document

- a) Enticing, forcing or forcing other people to sell sex.
 - b) Using tricks to control and threaten sex buyers and sellers to ask for money or property.
4. A fine of between \$650 and \$870 for one of the following acts:
- a) Taking advantage of reputation to protect and maintain activities of buying and selling sex.
 - b) Threatening to use force to protect and maintain activities of buying and selling sex.
 - c) Brokerage to buy sex, sex work but not often.
 - d) Contributing capital to use for the purpose of activities of buying sex and selling sex.
5. A fine of between \$870 and \$1300 for one of the following acts:
- a) Abusing positions and powers to protect and maintain activities of buying and selling sex.
 - b) Using force to protect and maintain the activities of prostitution and prostitution.

In general, the Vietnamese government not only disagrees with the legalization of prostitution, but also considers prostitution an evil of society. Prostitution makes society depraved and unclean. At the National Conference on Tourism Development, held in Hoi An on August 9, 2016, Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc affirmed that Vietnam would not accept to the sake of immediate benefits and suffer the consequences. as a long-term society, prostitution is not to be considered legal: “Vietnam will have no red-light district and no rampant casino. We do not develop in that direction”

But on the other hand, the investigation into prostitution is not effective. It could also be due to the immature investigation force or the sophisticated operation of involved people. Moreover, prostitution venues often disguise themselves in the form of normal businesses such as café, tea house or karaoke. Moreover, considering the form of sanction, the amount of such fines is probably not enough to harshly deter, because the money they earn from this illegal business activities is worth many times more.

If deterrence is not possible, will legalization be able to control this issue? Hoang Vu - a sociological researcher once said: “In my opinion, letting prostitution work is better than letting people go to rape.” And, he mentioned the story of prisoner living away from his wife for 3 years after, one day, he got drunk then he broke into her neighbor’s house to rape her. In the case of this man, Mr. Hoang Vu thought that he was more pitiful than to be blamed: “From the researcher's point of view, he was young, a normal person. Being a normal human, the demand for physiological requirements is also normal. Meanwhile his wife was away for a long time. Physiological needs had been deprived for 3 years. When yeast is absorbed, the demand is

increasing. At this point it hard to control himself and then his instinct will be stronger than his mind. I say this to prove that, if he had found a massage⁵, it might not have been.”

4.2 Interview

4.2.1 Interview process.

In the beginning, an interview was prepared for Vietnamese prostitutes in Vietnam through the help of a Vietnamese Sex work organization⁶. They did mention about scheduling a meeting but for unknown reasons, they stopped replying to email and the author couldn't reach them afterward. At the same time, the author tried to reach other sex worker by social media, but they all declined her requests. It was nearly impossible to reach sellers, so she moved her focus to buyers. Fortunately, some buyers were reached, and they were willing to share their thoughts. For the best understanding from both insider and outsider scenario, she decided to ask for some other non-buyers to compare the reaction from both sides.

With the different perspective from experienced and non-experienced people, the questionnaire was designed into two different variables with slightly different types of questions. At first, the questionnaire was designed in English, after having some correction, it was translated into Vietnamese because the respondents are Vietnamese. After that, it was translated back into English to make sure the validity if this study.

The interview was divided into two parts, one part was conducted by the author's friend in Vietnam. A meeting was scheduled, and the questions were sent to interviewees via email in advance. There were 12 people in total (10 are sex buyers and 2 are non-sex buyers). Another part of the interview is for non-buyers and it was conducted by the author and organized via Skype for 4 more participants. In addition, to raise the reliability, the people who took part in the interview were always asked for their willingness when answering the questions. Because of that there are some empty answers where the respondent did not want to discuss the issue. There is also additional information which wasn't mentioned on the questionnaire but was given from their experiences. So, in total, there are 16 people who responded to this study.

⁵ The researcher means prostitutes since many massages in Vietnam is the cover of prostitution

⁶ Vietnamese Sex work organization: under The Global Network of Sex Work Projects (NSWP) exists to uphold the voice of sex workers globally and connect regional networks advocating for the rights of female, male, and transgender sex workers.

The questions are designed into 4 parts:

Part I: The demographic questions with the content of gender, age range, recently job, educational level and marital statuses as well

Part II: Questions concerning the attitude about prostitution and their frequent usage of sex services.

Part III: Participant's opinion about prostitutes and sex buyers

Part IV: Questions referring to the legalization of sex work in Vietnam.

The questionnaire is described in the Appendix 1 as well as in the practical part in more detail

4.2.2 From insider scenario

This section covers the interviews with buyers- all the questions are given after being adjusted for suitable content and ensure the comfort during interview. The answers from these respondents will allow us to see the prostitution through the eyes of buyers themselves. Only having a sale- relationship with prostitutes, these men however, are quite close to them. Therefore, through their view of prostitutes, the author can also find out about prostitutes' situation. We will use the information obtained through these participants in the next chapter Result and Discussions in order to compare the discussion in the literature part of our study with the way they describe their experience.

There are 10 respondents in total and their answers were in written form. Below is the highlight of responses from buyers who have already participated into the market, some of them are continuing seeking to new prostitutes, some have already stopped being involved into this market. It will be summarized based on the structure of the interview form. The full version is attached in the appendix.

❖ General information of sex buyers.

Ten participants who were sex buyers in turn were marked as Unknown in order of 1 to 10 based on their request to remain anonymous. There were five people at the aged 23, three of them are 22 years old and one is 25 years old, the oldest one is 27 years old. They have all completed 12 levels of grades which is basic and compulsory education in Vietnam. Three of them are currently in a relationship, the rest are single. They are from medium and big cities. The common point of all of them is that they are studying at a military university in Vietnam.

❖ Experience and frequent usage of sexual service.

This section focuses on questions related to experience and how often sex workers are used as well as the circumstances of the first sex purchase, the reasons why they are looking

for prostitutes as well as the amount that they pay to prostitutes.

Age when first bought sex?

Of the 4 responses given, all of them had first bought sex 2-3 years ago. When they were between the ages of 19-23

How often do you buy sex?

The answer is very diverse. Two men said they buy sex for "the first and also the last time" because they don't like that much. Other person buys sex every 6 months, 3 times year or he had been doing it for 7 time until then. Some others are more frequent, once a month. One man said: "The first time was in 11th grade. After that, I find them 10 times/year"

Why did you decide to buy sex?

There are many answers for this question. One man has several reasons for buying sex. Each person has his own way to say about his reason but in general, some major reasons are listed below:

- When he feels lonely or being unloved or he doesn't have an intimate partner.
- When he gets drunk or hang out with his friend. Buying sex to have fun or to please his friend.
- When his sexual desire is high, after watching pornography movies. His girlfriend is far away, or the relationship is not going well.
- When he's seeking for new feeling and experience "I got bored with rice and I wanted to try noodles"⁷
- When he wants to become a real man since he thinks: "buying sex is a way to express man's power."

Before and after buying sex.

When they were asked about the feeling before and after buying sex, the common answers were rather normal or a little bit curious or afraid. Some other has quite different thought: "I wanted to prove that I am as good as them on sexual activity" or "I thought I wanted a beautiful prostitute. If not, I would rather to spend time with a "passionate" prostitute with a good price in a safety place."

How much did you pay her? And do you think it's expensive?

They reported paying from \$12 to \$20 for each sexual transaction, rarely \$ 40 or above. The majority did not think it's expensive. But one man has told differently "I paid 500 000

⁷ rice is referred to wife and noodles as another woman

VND each (\$20). I think it's quite expensive for me, because I don't have my own financial source, all supports are from my parents and they're farmers. 500 000 VND is about 50 kg rice sold."

❖ **Opinion about prostitution.**

The questions in this part revolve around buyers' attitude towards sex workers. Put them under some assumed circumstances to examine what they 'were thinking.

What do you think about prostitution?

"Prostitutes who have nicer appearance normally don't serve nicely because they over evaluate their selves. But the less beautiful prostitutes often treat clients nicely. Besides, the quality of service is increasing by the amount of money that I give them" - one man mentioned about prostitutes' service. He also got addicted to it, he thought he would come only once but he kept coming back after that. Other men listed some pitiful situations of prostitutes as well as the reasons why prostitutes come to this path. It's because of family circumstances, debt, forced or unemployed by her husband. There are many different attitudes about prostitution, in which one person thinks quite opposite: "even though women became prostitutes because of family's difficulties or human trafficking. But they are making money on their beauty and body therefore they're selling their "selves."

At the same time, most of these guys hardly forgive their ex-girlfriends if they realize she was a prostitute It's impossible to accept girlfriend sleeping with multiple people at the same time. There is a guy who holds a sympathetic and equal attitude. He will take in consideration to be in a relationship with a prostitute. He said: "I would rather to get married to a prostitute than with a woman who will become a prostitute after married"⁸ The rest never thought this could happen because they would not receive consent from their family or they could not open their mind to this.

❖ **Prostitution and legalization of sex work**

The two main questions of this section are whether prostitution is right or wrong and should prostitution be legalized? The table below shows the results of the opinions of 10 buyers participating in the interview. The other cells showed neutral (N) attitude or no answer (empty).

⁸ He can accept the past of a prostitute, but he can't forgive to his wife if she's cheating on him.

Table 3: Opinion of respondents about legalize sex work in Vietnam

Respondents	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
Prostitution is right	N	No	Yes	No	No	No	No	Yes		
Should prostitution be legal?	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	

Not most people who believe that prostitution is right agreed to legalize prostitution in Vietnam. On the contrary, not everyone who thinks prostitution is wrong wants it to be banned. The reason they think prostitution is right is because it's a natural need. In contrast, prostitution is wrong because it is illegal, guilty with the family or contrary to Vietnamese culture.

When discussing prostitution in Vietnam, the reason make they think prostitution should be legal are:

- To give prostitutes a chance to live like normal people, having protected by law and not be outraged by the community on honor and dignity.
- To give prostitutes a legal job, so they're protected under law.
- To ensure the health and safety of participants as well as their privacy.

And the reason why they think it's shouldn't be legalized are:

- It's conflicting to pure Vietnamese traditions and customs.
- More people will become prostitutes rather than joining other profession.
- It has bad affect not only to them but their family and friends.
- It's not good thing toward personal honor.

4.2.2 From outsider scenario

This part of interview is for the non-buyer who is not involved into this market. This part will provide another perspective on prostitution. This view is quite diverse. Because the respondents of this outsider scenario are from different backgrounds and professions. In this section, there are also the opinion from female respondents. The responses of these two women were added by the author later. Because in the process of getting into the discussion section of the interview, the author realized that women are an indirect reason for men to become buyers. This helps us see women's attitude towards female prostitutes. And how they perceive people of the same sex doing totally different work.

The questions of this interview parts are also slightly different between each respondent regarding to their current status and position. They're not directly involved into this market, but they also asked to stay anonymous because they normally don't talk loudly about this issue.

❖ **General information of non-sex buyers.**

There were 6 people in the interview who had never bought sex. Three of them are studying at military university, including a person who helped author to conduct first part of interview, two are officers and one teacher. The age range is from 22 to 29.

❖ **General view about sexual service.**

This part is focusing on asking their opinion about prostitutes as well as sex-buyers.

Why do men buy sex in your opinion?

Four male non-sex buyers stated that other men buy sex to get rid of sadness or sexual desire. It's also a kind of entertainment when going with friends. Or young men want to become real men. Two female participants added: "If he doesn't have a girlfriend yet, it's because of desire of being loved or fulfil sexual desire. If he is already married, so, his wife cannot satisfy his sexual desire while she's pregnant or he wants to try a new taste."

Have you thought about buying sex before? Will you do it?

The answer was no from everyone because they're either not having high sexual need or afraid of STDs. One male respondent has told his story: "Once I went for a coffee with friends. I was forced to pick one woman in that Café. I picked one randomly. On the way going to the private room, I took 200 000 VND (\$10) from my pocket, gave it to her and I left." He was asked about the reason he did that, since he could have left without paying because he didn't do anything. He said: "I felt so much pity for her. She told me she the reason to do it is supporting her family. I knew if I left without giving any money to her, she might get punished by her pimp."

What will you do if your husband is a sex buyer?

This question was given to female respondents. Both couldn't forgive their husband in this case. Because they considered this action as cheating "No matter how tolerant women are, in my opinion, no one can forgive if a man sleeps with two women at the same time" They also were worried about STDs risk to the family.

❖ **Prostitution and legalization of sex work**

Two similar questions as for sex-buyer were given to non-sex buyers:

"In your opinion, is buying sex right or wrong?" and "Should prostitution be legal in Vietnam?"

Two of six respondents stayed neutral on the first question because on one hand they thought it's referred to natural needs; on the other hand, whether this action is wrong only depends on circumstance. And only one respondent agreed to legalize sex work in Vietnam "If it can build

a good society, why not? But there should be an applicable regulation to cope with Vietnamese behavior” The other five respondents were against, because it will bring bad effects to society rather than solve any issue. They even suggested authority should issue a stricter ban policy.

4.2.3 Evaluation about quality of the interview

As the author of this study mentions, the insider scenario of the interview was carried out by her friend under her instructions. People of the same sex are more likely to talk to each other than to someone who belongs to the opposite sex. Moreover, they would rather to talk to a person they know than speak to a stranger. This in fact, increases the granularity of the answers. Because these buyers were sharing information with the interviewer - their friends rather than answering questions.

The common points of sex buyers are about the military that they're attending. This can be considered as both advantage and disadvantage of the responses. The advantage is about their honesty. They choose to answer the questions honestly or not to answer at all. They do not make up answers to cover up their thinking which is a little bit ridiculous. The disadvantage of it is about limitation of profession and background. They all are from the same education environment. It may also influence to their opinion and behavior. In some questions, they have quite similar point of view. This disadvantage is improved in the outsider scenario of interview conducted from people with different status and education.

However, the qualitative interview is aimed at deepening, not broadening. Therefore, we cannot rely only to the minority to draw a final conclusion. But along with secondary data, this interview provides additional information and reinforce some points from previous discussion.

5. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

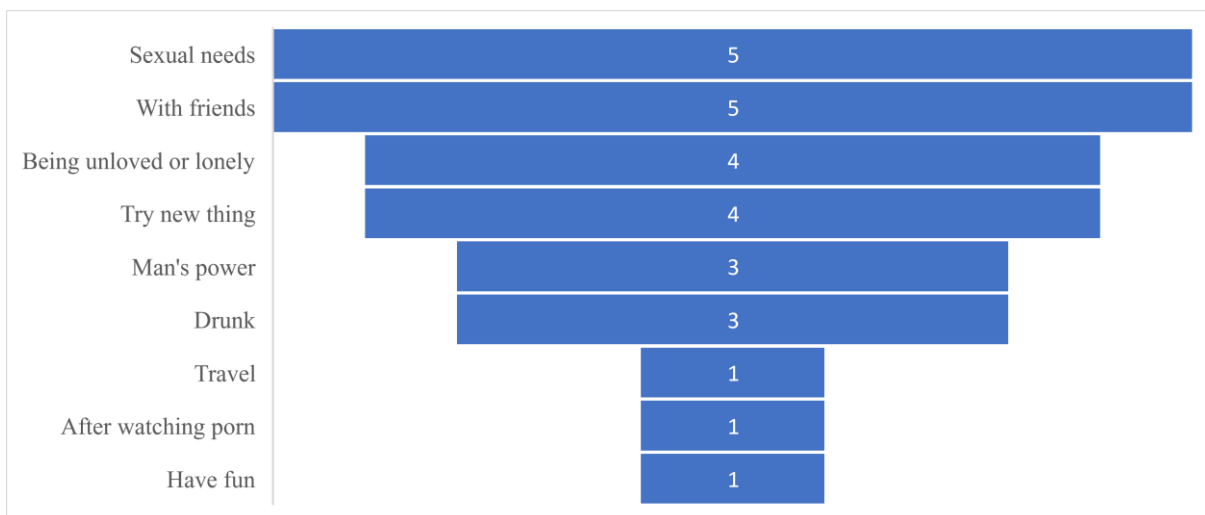
The main purpose of this paper is to understand the nature of sex work and why a part of the society is engaged in and gets involved in it. Based on their information, experiences and perspectives on sex work, the author raises questions about the ethical concept in this activity. From that, they were asked about the idea on solutions for sex work in Vietnam. Data collected in this study provided the views of participants are divided into three main parts. The first part is their experiences and perceptions about prostitution. The second part is their mentality about prostitutes. The third part is the idea of a better way to deal with inadequacies of prostitution in Vietnam. The main question here is whether prostitution should be legalized in Vietnam or not. The goal is to find their response to changes to the current law on prostitution. Three parts

of the paper are based on two viewpoints. The first view is from inside, from people have direct influence on the market. The second view is from outside, from the perspective of people who are not directly involved in, but they all know some information about prostitution. The aim of putting this in many aspects is to have a multi-dimensional view of a problem. The reflection of this polyhedron will be summarized into 3 parts below.

Part 1: Perception and experience about sex work

Most of these men started buying sex at a very young age: from 19 to 23 years old. In terms of the reason for buying sex which is mentioned firstly in this study in the literature review, the reasons why John buys sex are “It’s fun”, “I was attracted to that person”, “I wanted to communicate at a deeper level”, “I wanted excitement”, “ I wanted to improve my sexual skill”. Besides, secondary data on prostitution in Vietnam also shows the answer of Vietnamese John. He is seeking sexual pleasure because of no girlfriend or his wife could not satisfy his sexual needs. At these ages, men in normally have a lot of changes in their life. They go to a different city to study or working. They are surrounded by many different thing and different people. Therefore, they are often attracted to “new” things. The chart below analyses participant’s response for the question: “Why do you buy sex?”

Figure 4: Reason for buying sex of participants



From the overview, the reasons why they men became sex buyers are varied. Out of 10 buyers, there are 9 reasons given and one can give multiple reasons. Among them, sexual desire

and friends are the two most common reasons. Sexual needs for someone who does not have a girlfriend or who has a girlfriend but are far away, and there are others whose partner cannot fulfil his need. Guys go out for drink or go to karaoke with friends and they end up buying sex. Because many bars, karaoke or cafes are just a disguise of prostitution. Some of them are encouraged by friends as a way of show man's power. They don't do it because they need sex, but they do it because it's part of showing their masculinity and being in a relationship group. A man overestimates his power over women when he could use his money to buy women and ask her to do what he wants. This recalls what we discussed earlier. It might affect how people see their role as men and their attitude toward women in general. This is reinforced by Satz's opinion mentioned at the beginning, prostitution shapes the way women as a whole are seen. In addition, we also need to pay attention to 6 non-buyers on their opinion why other men are buying sex. In general, the reasons they gave are similar to the reasons that were given from the buyer. Moreover, they all have one concern in common for not buying sex: the fear of Sexual transmitted diseases.

There are a few other ideas shared by sex buyers about their thoughts before and after sexual transaction. They mentioned before paying that they want good quality or beautiful girls and in a safe place. There are a few people who didn't feel anything, they say it's normal. And after buying sex, half of them regretted, because they feel guilty with their girlfriend or because they realized they have spent money into a stupid entertainment. The other half realized that they were interested in this. One of them left a comment about this service as follows: "Prostitutes who have nicer appearance normally don't serve nicely because they over evaluate their selves. But the less beautiful prostitutes often treat clients nicely. Besides, the quality of service is increasing by the amount of money that I give them." They all seek prostitution from social media or through friends. In fact, there were two people who answered that they were invited by two other friends- also participated in an interview to try out "new feelings."

When being asked about the price for each sex transaction, they all said about \$12 to \$20 each time. Most of them are attending the university so they don't have any main source of income. Because, most students of the military university are supported on housing, food but on the other hand, they're restricted. They must follow a strict schedule, so they have no time for part-time job or anything similar. For those who do not have any income, but they are willing to spend that money, it seems that prostitution is not considered as a luxury thing. Something that anyone can afford in one way or another.

Part 2: Opinion about sex sellers and buyers

When asking their opinion about prostitutes, they were quite sympathetic. From sex-buyers, we also have a closer look at prostitutes. Because those men spend quite a lot of time with prostitutes. What they discussed why women sex workers were not surprising. Most of it is due to family circumstances, debt, taking care of elderly parents or younger sibling. Some buyers have even tried to persuade them to leave this job and find the better one. Although having sympathy to prostitutes, most of them consider prostitutes as “unclean”. They will not forgive if their girlfriend is a prostitute. But if they are really in love, they still must consider many angles to let this happen. And getting married with a prostitute is almost impossible in their minds. A guy would try but, in this case, he said: “I'm actually trying to change myself too, because I consider prostitution to be immoral.” Because it's an insult to honor if his partner must sell herself for money.

The frequency of buying sex among these buyers is ranged from 1/2 times a year to once a month. Some of them have gone through 10 times until then. Although the number of times these men are closer to prostitutes is neither too many nor too few, it must be enough to understand some of the internal and external aspects of the sex workers' situation. But it's almost impossible to consider prostitute as an influential person in their life. A guy can find a prostitute many times if her ability meets his needs. But he avoids being in a relationship with a prostitute as long as he can. This action is also close to contempt. Moreover, he easily buys her with a small amount of money. This keeps women at the bottom in men's eyes. This also widens the gap of equality between men and women because men often rely on on view to assess the overall picture of women. Vietnamese men always overvalue of “keeping face”, they are afraid of “losing face”. The gaze of family and society is in the highest concern. 100% of the participants stated 100% that their family and friends will not accept it if they want to build a relationship with a prostitute. The disgust to prostitutes comes from many sides, from buyers and non-buyers. As for the two female interviewees, they had contempt to buyers. They will not forgive their man because buying sex is considered as an act of cheating on them.

It is remarkable that those close friends in the interviewees have quite similar answers. Although the interview was done separately. If so, people who are close to each other often share the same opinion. Or their views are often influenced by others around them. And Vietnamese people have a collective lifestyle. That's why the impact of the surrounding

influences them seriously. This invisibly creates a certain social norm when assessing what is good, bad, should or should not. Which people live within it are mostly obeyed. More specifically, this is the role of stigma and ideas about the importance of different values, a symbolic meaning attached to reality. Satz's argument is that there is basically nothing wrong with prostitution, but in our society, it reproduces and depends on gender equality. Moen says that social prejudice is the cause of depression rather than practicing activities themselves.

Part 3: Opinion about prostitution and its legalization

Of the 16 participants from interview, 3 people remained neutral on the question of opinion about prostitution. Because according to them, sex is an indispensable need, but unsafe prostitution and prostitution in unsuitable circumstance bring bad effect in the future. Among 7 people who disagreed, a non-buyer commented: "I consider sex as an activity based on a combination of physical and emotional, so the ethical aspect will need to be considered when having sex as a commodity to trade on" and he came to the final conclusion: prostitution is immoral. There was only a single supporter of this. Because he eliminated other reasons and focused only on the human's natural need. On the other and, he shared the same opinion with 10 people that prostitution should not be legalized. Contrary to "Vietnamese customs and traditions" "Eastern culture", "honor and dignity "; the risk of STDs are the reasons they think prostitution should be eliminated and cannot become a profession. One of them had a slightly different view, though he did not agree to prostitution, he talked about "unannounced agreement" which means authorities should agree in silence but there will not be any legal documents. There is no punishment until the worst case happens such as violence or human trafficking, labor exploitation. Meanwhile, the other 4 people did not think much about the social prejudice but expressed attitudes about its benefits. Legalizing sex work can also create legitimate work for sellers, they get protected by law. But they all suggested that government should have a suitable regulation based on the current situation in Vietnam.

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

People believe that sex is a natural need. Even those who don't, they seem to agree that this is a natural need. It seems that this is a contradictory attitude in society, people say that this is a natural need, but we should not practice that. This means that whether we believe in

its natural needs or not, it shows there is need to reevaluate or change people's opinion. Because the idea that it is a natural need, but it is also bad. Because it generates bad situations for many people.

Many of the young men buy sex at a young age and they often have a conflict attitude towards female sex workers. On one hand, they say they sympathize and want to help and protect these women, help them have better jobs, and receive social protection. On the other hand, they think prostitutes are dirty, or something is wrong as a prostitute. Men themselves are part of society, if they are more consistent about what they think then perhaps the gender gap will not be too wide.

Meanwhile, gender stigma is also the reason why the current situation cannot be overcome. Because prostitution itself is not wrong, it becomes complicated because the evil is produced based on gender equality and social prejudice. In a society where the gender gap has not been reduced, the present situation will continue if people do not take any action.

Under this circumstance, if illegality doesn't seem to help, authorities should have more appropriate measures to reduce the evils of society and to reach out to people who need help but still struggling to find help.

Recommendation

Developed from the perceived progress and research work of this study, a number of recommendations are made for future practices and policies related solution to sex work in Vietnam:

- Improve education and vocational training

As concluded above, one of the main causes of prostitution is due to financial problems. Unstable occupation is the cause behind it. Unemployment due to lack of education, or lack of skills. Meanwhile, jobs without qualifications in Vietnam are very low paid. It is not enough to cover living expenses. People living in poor rural areas still do not have access to a good education. Therefore, vocational training for these people is the longest lasting measure against prostitution.

- Greater public awareness about prostitution is needed.

In order to understand clearly where problem comes from, people should open up to talk and to think. Vietnamese people are generally reluctant to discuss prostitution. Awareness here should come from self-inquiry and opinion rather than following the crowd.

- Organizing support and counselling to prostitutes.

There should be more organizations who are willing to listen to prostitutes to help them avoid the risks of assault, sexual abuse or human trafficking. Supporters help them improve their physical and mental breakdowns if they are going through hard times. As well as helping them to reintegrate into the community by increasing employment opportunities.

- A new regulation model needed

In order to implement the second and third recommendation, a new policy is needed. Currently, prostitution is illegal so people do not want to discuss it publicly. And this problem will not be solved when society does not have a greater awareness of it. In which, debates are essential to reinforce this understanding. The new model will encourage insiders to speak out about their situation and desires, outsiders to freely discuss their personal opinions.

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8. APPENDIX

Appendix 1: Interview with sex-buyer

GENERAL INFORMATION
Name: unknown 1, 25 years old, city: Ha Tinh, attending military university, in a relationship
EXPERIENCE AND FREQUENT USAGE OF SEXUAL SERVICES
<p>1. Age when first bought sex? 23-year-old</p> <p>2. Circumstances of first buying sex? I was drunk at that time and my friend asked me if I could do it.</p> <p>3. Why did you decide to buy sex? As normal man and in the age of maturity, having sexual need is obvious. When I hang out with friends and get drunk, buying sex is a way to express man's power.</p> <p>4. How often do you buy sex? It was first time and the last time. I choose not continuing because I don't feel good and I don't like it much.</p> <p>5. Recent experiences of buying sex? When I was 23.</p> <p>6. How do you find prostitution? (through a buyer you know/via internet/on street) I found her through a friend.</p> <p>7 How much did you pay her? And do you think it's expensive? I paid her 300 000 VND and I think it's quite cheap.</p> <p>8. Does anyone know you bought sex? What would your friend or family know about this? Some other friend of mine know it then they asked me not to go anymore.</p>
OPINION ABOUT PROSTITUTES
<p>9. What do you think about prostitution? I have never thought deeply about prostitution, but I think it's normal. In my opinion, they are "clean" because they are trained by pimp how to use methods of prevention and hygiene better than other women.</p> <p>10. Do you want to be in a relationship with a prostitute? I don't know yet. I will consider it in each different circumstance. My opinion is "I would rather to get married to a prostitute than a woman who will become a prostitute then"</p> <p>11. What would you do if you found out that your ex-girlfriend was prostitute? Firstly, I would clarify the reason why she became prostitutes. Secondary, I could forgive her if she was prostitutes before dating with me. But if she did it at the same time, she was with me, I would not accept it.</p>
PROSTITUTION AND LEGALIZATION OF SEX WORK
<p>12. In your opinion, buying sex is should or should not? I'm not sure about this. On one hand I think it's a bad when I think of my girlfriend and my family. On the other hand, I think buying sex is also giving prostitutes a little money for paying their living. And I think men buy sex just because of sexual need, prostitutes can satisfy their need and they get money; so, both sides are benefit. But on other side, it doesn't fit to Vietnamese tradition.</p> <p>13. Should prostitution be legal on Vietnam? Why? I totally agree with it. We should give prostitutes a chance to live like normal people, having protected by law and not be outraged by the community on honour and dignity</p>

GENERAL INFORMATION
Name: unknown 2, Age: 23, Nghe An, attending military university, single
EXPERIENCE AND FREQUENT USAGE OF SEXUAL SERVICES
<p>1. Age when first bought sex? When I was 21</p> <p>2. Circumstances of first buying sex? The first time, I was a bit worried but felicitous.</p> <p>3. Why did you decide to buy sex? It was because of curiousness and the encourage from friends. They said it's a way to express man's power.</p> <p>4. How often do you buy sex? I don't have girlfriend, so I find prostitute once in 6 months. I tried already 2 times until now.</p>

<p>What do you feel now? Are you keep doing this? I don't think I will because I don't feel excited anymore and I'm afraid of disease.</p> <p>5. Recent experiences of buying sex? I was in November 2019.</p> <p>6. How do you find prostitution? (through a buyer you know/via internet/on street) First time, I found her through a friend (the person from audio 2) The second time was by myself; I got the contact from the first time.</p> <p>7 How much did you pay her? And do you think it's expensive? I paid 500 000 VND each. I think it's quite expensive for me, because I don't have my own financial source, all supports are from my parents and they're famers. 500 000 VND is about 50 kg rice sold.</p> <p>8. Does anyone know you bought sex? What would your friend or family know about this? No, I didn't tell anyone because they will scold me if they know about this.</p>
<p>OPINION ABOUT PROSTITUTES</p> <p>9. What do you think about prostitution? I don't think much about them. But they're not "clean" because they are used by many men.</p> <p>10. Do you want to be in a relationship with a prostitute? No, I have never thought I would be in a relationship with a prostitution.</p> <p>11. What would you do if you found out that your ex-girlfriend was prostitute? I will break up with her. My family will never accept it.</p>
<p>PROSTITUTION AND LEGALIZATION OF SEX WORK</p> <p>12. In your opinion, buying sex is should or should not? In my view, buying sex is wrong because: Feeling ashamed to girlfriend/wife and family Disrespectful to Vietnamese culture.</p> <p>13. Should prostitution be legal on Vietnam? Why? I don't think its good solution but perhaps, legalized prostitution could solve issue of sexual needs and psychological release for men. Majority of women became prostitutes is because of family background, human trafficking due to ignorance. So the best solution could be unannounced agreement, but in any serious case, authority should have strict penalties.</p>

<p>GENERAL INFORMATION</p> <p>Name: unknown 3, Age: 23, Tuyen Quang city, attending military university, in a relationship</p>
<p>EXPERIENCE AND FREQUENT USAGE OF SEXUAL SERVICES</p> <p>1. Age when first bought sex? When I was 19</p> <p>2. Circumstances of first buying sex? The first time, I was a bit tremble, a bit worried but also excited and satisfied</p> <p>3. Why did you decide to buy sex? Because I had the feeling of being unloved.</p> <p>4. How often do you buy sex? Only 1 time until now What do you feel now? Are you keep doing this? (no answer)</p> <p>5. Recent experiences of buying sex? It's about 3 year ago</p> <p>6. How do you find prostitution? (through a buyer you know/via internet/on street) I found her via social media.</p> <p>7 How much did you pay her? And do you think it's expensive? I paid 500 000 VND and I think it's cheap.</p> <p>8. Does anyone know you bought sex? What would your friend or family know about this? No, they would protest intensely if they knew about it.</p>
<p>OPINION ABOUT PROSTITUTES</p> <p>9. What do you think about prostitution? I think there are a type of prostitutes: forced and voluntary. They're all unclean. I have discussed about this before. Even though women became prostitutes because of family's difficulties or human trafficking. But they are making money on their beauty and body therefore they're selling their "selves."</p>

<p>10. Do you want to be in a relationship with a prostitute? No, it will never happen. I discriminate them. And I know I'm an old school guy. And my family will never let it happen.</p> <p>11. What would you do if you found out that your ex-girlfriend was prostitute? I will consider it but ending relationship is a most likely to happen</p>
<p>PROSTITUTION AND LEGALIZATION OF SEX WORK</p>
<p>12. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong? It's right because it's considered as a normal need of human.</p> <p>13. Should prostitution be legal on Vietnam? Why? No, because it's not referred to tradition</p>

<p>GENERAL INFORMATION</p>
<p>Name: unknown 4, Age: 23, Lam Dong city, attending military university, single</p>
<p>EXPERIENCE AND FREQUENT USAGE OF SEXUAL SERVICES</p>
<p>1. Age when first bought sex? When I was 20</p> <p>2. Circumstances of first buying sex? I was lonely, that's why when I decided to do it, I was excited and happy.</p> <p>3. Why did you decide to buy sex? Because I felt lonely When I go out for drink or karaoke with friends When I feel sad to be alone Sometimes, when I travel around.</p> <p>4. How often do you buy sex? 3 times per year and 7 times until now What makes you keep doing this? It helps me relieve stress and fatigue. I feel satisfied. Before buying sex, I wanted to have a good quality. After buying sex I realized I have wasted money into stupid thing if she wasn't "good" enough. Sometimes, I feel guilty to my ex-girlfriend.</p> <p>5. Recent experiences of buying sex? It was in October 2019</p> <p>6. How do you find prostitution? (through a buyer you know/via internet/on street) I found her via social media and friend.</p> <p>7 How much did you pay her? And do you think it's expensive? I paid 300 000 - 500 000 VND and I think it's normal price.</p> <p>8. Does anyone know you bought sex? What would your friend or family know about this? Many people know this. They're sad and disappointed.</p>
<p>OPINION ABOUT PROSTITUTES</p>
<p>9. What do you think about prostitution? That's a pity for them, I feel empathy with them. It's all about family's bad circumstance, so they have no choice. I also give them advices to change their work. They're not "clean" So why you keep finding them? (no answer)</p> <p>10. Do you want to be in a relationship with a prostitute? No, I don't want.</p> <p>11. What would you do if you found out that your ex-girlfriend was prostitute? I would take in a consideration if it was before or when she was with me. I could forgive her if she had ended it before she met me. In contrary, I couldn't accept if she had more than a man in the same time</p>
<p>PROSTITUTION AND LEGALIZATION OF SEX WORK</p>
<p>12. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong? It's wrong because it's illegal.</p> <p>13. Should prostitution be legal on Vietnam? Why? I do not recommend it. In my opinion, if prostitution is stayed illegal, they will switch to another work after few years. But if it was legalized, they would stick to this work entire life. This effects their dignity and family's status. And it's conflicted to pure Vietnamese tradition and custom. Prostitutes will stick to it if it becomes legal.</p>

Unknown 5, 27-year-old. From Binh Phuoc. He's having girlfriend. He used to work as a worker, later he went to military services then follow up university.
<p>1. Why did you buy sex I sometimes found prostitutes because of below reasons: - I felt bad because of my sexual desire but I didn't have partner - I was out with my friend and they forced to do it - Once I was invited to Tet' celebration and they asked me to "join" - Got bored with rice and wanted to try "noodles" (rice is referred as wife and noodles as another woman)</p>
<p>2. Before buying sex I thought I wanted a beautiful prostitute. If not, I would rather to spend time with a "passionate" prostitute with a good price in a safety place.</p>
<p>3. After buying sex I was regret because she wasn't as nice as I thought or I had to pay more than I thought. Or simply, I couldn't agree with what I did.</p>
<p>4. Their services attitudes: Prostitutes who have nicer appearance normally don't serve nicely because they over evaluate their selves. But the less beautiful prostitutes often treat clients nicely. Besides, the quality of service is increasing by the amount of money that I give them.</p>
<p>5. Thought I'm got addicted to it. I thought I would pay once and never come back, but I keep going back over again. Because the satisfaction that I feel from service is way better than my partner.</p>
<p>6. How often do you find prostitutes? Once a month</p>
<p>8. Your attitude towards prostitutes: I have sympathy with them. I acknowledge that they chose that path because of facing difficulties in their life: family problem, debt... Once I suggested her to change her work, but she couldn't because she needs a lot of money then</p>
<p>9. Have you ever thought to get married with a prostitute? I have a quote "I would rather to get married to a prostitute than a woman who will become a prostitute then" But on the other hand, I never think it could happen in my life because I can live within the rumour in my community.</p>
<p>10. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong? I think it' wrong</p>
<p>11. Do you think state should legalize prostitution? I think yes. It helps prostitutes have a legal job, so they're protected under law.</p>

Unknown 6, 23 years-old (1997) from Nghe An.
<p>1. Why did you choose to buy prostitute? I look for prostitutes when one of these situations happens: - My sexual need is high - I got drunk - When I gather with my friends and we have fund - When I want to learn how to become a real "man" (the reason for first time) - Seeking to new feeling - After watching pornography movies - When my intimate relationship is not going well - When my girlfriend is far away.</p>
<p>2. Before buying sex I used to think about buying sex as an entertainment to get rid of sadness. Or staying cool as friends of mine. I wanted to prove that I am as good as them on sexual activity.</p>
<p>3. After buying sex I felt like I did lie to my girlfriend and wasting money on this bad entertainment.</p>
<p>5. Thought This is a bad evil in society which should be eliminated</p>

<p>6. How often do you find prostitutes? The first time was in 11th grade After that, I find them 10 times/year</p>
<p>7. How much do you pay? It's about 300-500 vnd</p>
<p>10. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong? I think it's wrong because this is bad for you and family.</p>
<p>11. Do you think state should legalize prostitution? I don't think its good idea. Because if it happens, more people will become prostitutes rather than joining other profession. This lead to the contradiction of family and friends since it's contract to Vietnamese tradition. Besides, it has the high risk of STDs.</p>

<p>Unknown 7, was born in 1998, from Binh Dinh city, finished high school then follow up university.</p>
<p>1. Why did you choose to buy prostitute? Because of some reasons: -Having fun -Sexual desire -Having experience</p>
<p>2. Before buying sex I felt nothing before trying it.</p>
<p>3. After buying sex But after try 1st time, I felt so excited, I like it</p>
<p>5. Thought I thought I would never come back the second time because of health unsafety. But I decided to find them more often after that because I don't have a girlfriend yet so it helps me to fulfil the gap of intimate wants.</p>
<p>6. How often do you find prostitutes? It depends on my mood and about 3 times/ year</p>
<p>7. How much do you pay? About 300-500 VND</p>
<p>8. Your attitude towards prostitutes: I don't think much about that, but I feel sorry for them sometimes. The reason leads them to this path are: - Family circumstance, they need money to help their family members - Husband forces her to do it - Boyfriend betrays and sells her to pimp.</p>
<p>10. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong? I think it's wrong.</p>
<p>11. Do you think state should legalize prostitution? I do not suggest it because its contracted to Vietnamese tradition and culture. It has bad affect not only to them but their family and friends.</p>

<p>Unknown 8, was born in 1998, from Kien Giang , he's single.</p>
<p>1. Why did you choose to buy prostitute? To discovery and learning experience.</p>
<p>2. Before buying sex I was a little bit afraid, a bit curious, I wasn't sure what would happen after that.</p>
<p>3. After buying sex I felt good after the 1st time. I have realized the enjoyment must be the reason for most people continuing buying sex.</p>
<p>5. Though I will continue to gain more experience.</p>
<p>6. How often do you find prostitutes? About 2 times/ year</p>
<p>7. How much do you pay? It's 200k each</p>
<p>8. Your attitude towards prostitutes:</p>

I feel bad for them because majority of prostitutes have family's financial issue. They didn't finish standard high school education. Some of them are forced by husbands. They're small women, because of their health status, they can't do another job.

10. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong?

I think it's right because it's natural need.

11. Do you think state should legalize prostitution?

Yes, I think government should come up with a suitable regulation to ensure the health and safety of participants as well as our privacy.

Unknown 9, from Binh Phuoc, was born in 1998

1. Why did you buy sex?

I don't feel comfortable to give any answer because this is sensitive issue, it has bad affect to my honour and dignity. If people around me know this, I will feel ashamed.

10. Do you think state should legalize prostitution?

No, I don't think so because it's not good thing toward personal honor

Unknown 10, from Binh Thuan city, he was born in 1997.

1. Why did you buy sex?

Because of sexual desire or when I get drunk.

2. Before buying sex:

I had never ever thought I would buy sex before the first time.

3. After buying sex

I feel excited. I gain more experience.

10. Do you think state should legalize prostitution?

No, I don't really know

Appendix 2: Interview with non sex-buyers

GENERAL INFORMATION

Name: unknown 11, Age: 22, Ha Tinh city, attending military university

Marital status: single

GENERAL VIEW ABOUT SEXUAL SERVICES

1. Do you know any people who are sex- buyers? What do you think?

I know several people. I think it's normal, I consider it as a basic need of human which can be satisfy. And prostitution is a way for it. It happens in a voluntary stage, both parties are benefit equally with an agreement in advance.

2. Have you thought about buying sex before? Will you do it?

To be honest, I was all the time curious from the discussion with my friends. I was about to try 1 time, just to know how it is.

Once I went for a coffee with friends. I was forced to pick once woman in that Café. I picked one randomly. On the way going to the private room. I took 250 000 VND, gave it to her and I left.

Why did you do that? Why did you give her money?

I felt so pity for her. She told me she was doing that because of supporting to family. But I know if I just left without giving any money to her, she might get punish from pimp.

Will you go back again?

No. I'm afraid of HIV and other disease. I also feel guilty to have fun on other's misfortune.

3. Why men buy sex in your opinion?

- Get rid of stress or sadness.

-Fulfill the feeling of being unloved if they don't have a partner.

-Solve the problem of sexual need.

-They think its lesson learned for real men.

-A kind of entertainment after drinking or doing karaoke together with friends or their boss.

4. What will you do if you realize your girlfriend is a prostitute?

I can't take it. I will be disappointed. She shouldn't sleep with 2 or more guys at the same time. That's horrible. I'll say bye then.

5. If you really fall in love with a prostitute. Is there any way that you can manage to make it work?

I can't do this. Because their past must be so bad. I can't stay with a woman that used to sell her body to many other men. And I don't want to against my family in this point because I'm sure 100% that they can't accept it either.

But I can be as a friend. I can help her if she needs helps.

OPINION ABOUT PROSTITUTES

6. What will you do if you realize your girlfriend is a prostitute?

I can't take it. I will be disappointed. She shouldn't sleep with 2 or more guys at the same time. That's horrible. I'll say bye then.

7. If you really fall in love with a prostitute. Is there any way that you can manage to make it work?

I can't do this. Because their past must be so bad. I can't stay with a woman that used to sell her body to many other men. And I don't want to against my family in this point because I'm sure 100% that they can't accept it either.

But I can be as a friend. I can help her if she needs helps.

PROSTITUTION AND LEGALIZATION OF SEX WORK

8. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong?

It's right because it's natural needs and if it happens voluntarily.

It's wrong because it's respectful to traditional and it's origin of sexual transmitted disease (STDs)

9. Should prostitution be legal on Vietnam? Why?

No, because if this is legalized, prostitutes will do it forever. I prefer the traditional way of living. I respect the pure Vietnamese custom.

There are already too many of them out there, It's going to be much more complicated and terrible. I don't want to Westernize our Eastern behaviours.

One of the Communist Party perspective: building a cultural family. But this divides family happiness. So I fully reject this idea.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Name: unknown 12, Age: 29, Hanoi- capital, Latest working place and position: officer, single

GENERAL VIEW ABOUT SEXUAL SERVICES

1. Do you know any people who are sex- buyers? What do you think?

I know several friends who had bought sex before. I used to think prostitution itself and the people who are involved into it are not right. Since, some countries have legalized it as a normal work, it has changed also my opinion. I'm quite ok with it now

2. Have you thought about buying sex before? Will you do it?

No, I haven't thought about it and I will never do it.

3. Why men buy sex in your opinion?

The need for prostitution in society is an undeniable fact. Demand causes supply. The reason for using prostitution are vary: the needs of sexual desire, no intimate partner, or the existing partner does not meet the sexual needs. There are also many cases of young adults curious about sex and looking to prostitutes. In addition, there are many individuals who come to prostitute to satisfy their emotional needs, due to their loneliness because of no emotional partner.

OPINION ABOUT PROSTITUTES

4. What will you do if you realize your girlfriend is a prostitute?

I will not accept the case.

5. If you really fall in love with a prostitute. Is there any way that you can manage to make it work?

The answer would be no, if she can leave prostitution.

Maybe, if she was born for me, and she is willingness to change careers.

If she's doing it for living only and she is willing to change, I can help and give her a chance.

In this case I'm actually trying to change myself also because I consider prostitution to be immoral.

6. Will your family accept this?

100% for sure they will not accept it. However, if we are belonging to each other and she can leave prostitution, try her best to change her life, become a better person. I believe we both can come through and make them change their mind.

OPINION ABOUT PROSTITUTION AND LEGALIZATION OF SEX WORK

7. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong?

I consider sex as an activity based on a combination of physical and emotional, so the ethical aspect will need to be considered when having sex as a commodity to trade on.

In addition, there is a high health risk to society when an individual has sex with many people. Despite the use of preventive and protective measures, it is still highly risky. In fact, despite meeting the highest standards of health protection in the adult film industry, many famous actors have been infected with HIV.

8. Should prostitution be legal on Vietnam? Why?

It shouldn't be legal in Vietnam due to all bad effect I have mentioned above.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Name: Unknown 13- female, Age: 26, Hanoi, teaching at private Kinder Garden

Marital status: married and has 1 child

GENERAL VIEW ABOUT SEXUAL SERVICES

1. Do you know any people who are prostitute or sex- buyers? What do you think about them?

I don't know any prostitute, but I have heard from my friends and know some sex-buyers. I don't want to discuss about this in details because in my opinion, each person has different opinion about this, they use the service because they like. But I strongly disagree with a man who had married already but still involve into this thing.

2. Why do they become prostitutes according to your opinion?

I think one of the reasons is because of hanging out with bad friends when they were young, then they get involved into drugs. Once they get addicted to it, they can't find the way back. And eventually, they step into prostitution.

Another reason is because of family circumstance (debt, parent's sickness) And selling sex is the fastest way to earn money.

4. What if you were in the same circumstance, would you do the same?

I will never do it even I have no other choice. I will feel like a loser, selling body is in the same meaning as selling my dignity. I would rather to kill myself.

5. Why do you think a man buying sex?

If he doesn't have a girlfriend yet, it's because of desire of being loved or fulfil sexual desire.

If he already married, so, his wife cannot satisfy his sexual desire while she's pregnant or he wants to try a new taste.

OPINION ABOUT BUYERS

6. What will you do if your husband is a buyer?

I can't forgive him. It's the same feeling of being betrayed. As a man has his own family, he should know how to control his behavior. It's also considered as responsibility to the family. Nevertheless, I can't think about sharing a same man to another woman. How can I be ensured that she does have any STDs risk.

PROSTITUTION AND LEGALIZATION OF SEX WORK

7. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong?

I think it's totally wrong because it's reason to destroy family's happiness

8. Should prostitution be legal on Vietnam? Why?

Because prostitution is wrong, so I don't support to legalize it as a normal profession. I don't think legalization can help to eliminate this issue. Government should come up with more strict regulation to abolish it out of the society.

GENERAL INFORMATION

Name: Unknown 14- female, Age: 28, Ho Chi Minh city, Latest working place and position: officer

Marital status: engaged

GENERAL VIEW ABOUT SEXUAL SERVICES

1. Do you know any people who are prostitute or sex- buyers? What do you think about them?

Not my friends but I know some familiar faces who often pass by my previous department. Because it's red line area.

I stay neutral, I don't agree or disagree. I neither encourage nor disgrace

2. Why do they become prostitutes according to your opinion?

Money is the direct reason but behind it, there must be another reason like family debt, sickness parents...

3. What if you were in the same circumstance, would you do the same?

I can't say anything about this. Everything is easier said than done. But as long as it's still banned, I'll try not to get involved. Because after all, even its paid, prostitutes are at risk. No one knows what kind of customers will find them. Vietnamese laws do not support, so they know who to report when are beaten.

4. Why do you think a man buying sex?

Sexual needs as well as the need to eat, drink and sleep. Men are looking for things that they don't have. This is the case of people who are still single.

As for someone who is already married, it is probably because his wife does not meet the needs.

OPINION ABOUT BUYERS

5. What will you do if your husband is a buyer?

No matter how tolerant women are, in my opinion, no one can forgive if a man sleeps with two women at the same time.

Suppose talking about my fiancé, it doesn't matter how many women he slept with before me (prostitutes or anyone). Because he had never met me before. I have also other men before him.

But I asked him to be faithful to me when we are together and after we get married. I accept divorce if he is not satisfied with me. If he lies on me about looking for prostitutes (I consider it as having an affair), I absolutely do not accept.

PROSTITUTION AND LEGALIZATION OF SEX WORK

6. In your opinion, buying sex is right or wrong?

I keep my opinion in neutral. It's not a matter of right or wrong. It depends on circumstance of a man, if he should or shouldn't buy sex.

7. Should prostitution be legal on Vietnam? Why?

If it can build a good society, why not?! My idea is: if government can control as in Netherland, let it be legalized. But there should be a applicable regulation to cope with Vietnamese behaviors.

Unknown 15, from Thanh Hoa, was born in 1997

1. Why don't you buy sex?

Because I think it doesn't fit to ethical.

I don't want to get risk of STDs

2. Do you think state should legalize prostitution?

No, I totally disagree with legalizing prostitution because it's contrary to Vietnamese tradition and custom. It causes bad consequence to family and society.

Unknown 16

1. Why don't you buy sex?

Because I don't like it, I have no sexual desire. Also, I afraid of STDs.

2. Do you think state should legalize prostitution?

It corrupts traditional value of society and it causes family problem. So, I don't agree legalize it.

I don't want to talk much about sellers because it's their business and I don't want to discuss about their privacy.