

# Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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SCHOLARONE™ Manuscripts Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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Short title: HIV infection and risk in two samples of FSW in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

#### **Abstract**

**Objectives:** HIV prevalence among Cambodian female sex workers (FSW) is among the highest in Southeast Asia. We describe HIV prevalence and associated risk exposures in FSW sampled serially in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (Young Women's Health Study (YWHS), before and after the implementation of a new law designed to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation.

**Design:** Cross-sectional analysis of baseline data from two prospective cohorts.

**Setting:** Community—based study in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

**Participants:** Women aged 15-29 years, reporting  $\geq$ 2 sexual partners in the last month and/or engaged in transactional sex in the last 3 months, were enrolled in the studies in 2007 (N=161; YWHS-1), and 2009 (N=220; YWHS-2) following information sessions where 285 and 345 women attended.

**Primary outcomes:** HIV prevalence, sexual risk behaviour, amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) and alcohol use, and work-related factors were compared the two groups, enrolled before and after implementation of the new law.

**Results:** Participants and in the two cohorts were similar in age (median 25 years), but YWHS-2 women reported fewer sex partners, more alcohol use, and less ATS use. A higher proportion of YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1 women worked in entertainment-based venues (68% vs. 31%, respectively). HIV prevalence was significantly lower in the more recently sampled women: 9·2% (95% CI 4·5, 13·8) vs. 23% (95% CI 16·5, 29·7).

**Conclusions:** Sex work context and risk has shifted among young FSW in Phnom Penh, following implementation of anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking laws. While both cohorts were recruited using the same eligibility criteria, more recently sampled women had lower prevalence of sexual risk and HIV infection. Women engaged more directly in transactional sex have become harder to sample and access. Future prevention

research and programs need to consider how new policies and demographic changes in FSW impact HIV transmission.



# **Article summary**

#### Article Focus

- HIV prevalence and incidence in two serial samples of young female sex workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (2007-2008, and 2009-2010);
- Comparison of baseline risk and HIV outcomes, including sexual behavior, drug and alcohol use in the two cohorts sampled before and after implementation of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation laws in 2008;
- Impact of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation legislation on female sex workers and HIV risk.

#### Key Messages

- Women sampled using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods in differed with respect to risk exposures and HIV outcomes;
- Changes in sex work typology and environment are evident after enactment of the anti-trafficking laws, including very few brothel-based FSW and significantly more FSW based in the entertainment sector;
- Shifts in the context of sex work and risk highlight the ongoing need and challenges for HIV and drug prevention for young women engaged in sex work.

# Strengths and Limitations

- Two comparably sampled groups of young FSW suggest changing trends in HIV risk;
- Comparison of cross-sectional samples is ecological and does not prove temporal effects;
- Criminalization and suppression of sex work and a flourishing entertainment-based sex work industry set new and conflicting stage for HIV prevention.

Author Contributions: All authors contributed to the design and implementation of the YWHS-1 and -2 studies. Authors KP, ES, JE, and LM compiled the first draft of the manuscript, which was reviewed by NS, M-CC, KS, MC, JM\_S, PP, JK. The primary statistical analysis was conducted by JE and M-CC; KS and MC provided supplemental data review, and KP reviewed all data analyses. All authors contributed to and have approved the final manuscript. The YWHS Collaborative is a steering committee who reviewed and approved the study protocols, and provided expertise into some or all of the studies' methods and implementation.

Data Sharing: no additional data available.

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# Introduction

There have been significant declines in HIV prevalence in Cambodia since the epidemic peaked in around 2000, a success widely attributed to measurable increases in condom use, declines in the number and frequency of commercial sex transactions reported by men, access to HIV voluntary counseling & testing (VCT) and uptake of antiretroviral therapy.<sup>1-3</sup> In 2010, the National Center for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology and STDs (NCHADS) revised the national estimate of HIV prevalence to 0.8% (in 15-49 year olds), reflecting a significant decline after the peak estimate of 2.4% in 1998. However, HIV prevalence in Cambodian women, especially young women, is among the highest in Southeast Asia and heterosexual sex remains the main route of transmission. 5-9 Since 2006, women have accounted for over half (52%) of all HIV infections in Cambodia <sup>10</sup>, higher than in Asia and the Pacific in general (35%). Limited income generating activities, a highly mobile workforce, trafficking in women and girls and widespread transactional sex, poverty, and sexually transmitted infections (STI) have been identified as key drivers of the epidemic among female sex workers (FSW). 156 10 12-15 As in many countries, FSW in Cambodia can be hard to reach and difficult to provide prevention services to. In recent years significant economic and policy changes have affected the sex work landscape, with notable shifts in sex work venues, typologies, and more women engaged in transactional sex than ever before. 16-20

Until 2008, FSW in Cambodia were categorized as "direct" and were mostly brothel-based, or "indirect". Indirect FSW were distinguished from direct FSW, generally working in entertainment establishments as beer promotion girls, waitresses, hostesses, or karaoke girls for example, and engaged in occasional transactional sex for supplementary income. <sup>21-23</sup> In 1997, an estimated 5,300 women worked in the entertainment/service sector and 6,000 were brothel-based FSW. Following the passage

and implementation of the "Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation" in February, 2008, brothel-based sex work was banned, and the direct sex trade went "underground". The number of women involved in entertainment-based sex work increased dramatically to an estimated 41,622 women, a more than threefold increase from the 2008 estimate of 12,762 (NCHADS, personal communication). Along with the overt enforcement against FSW, the 2008 anti-trafficking legislation had other consequences. For instance, official terminology used by governmental and nongovernmental organizations (NGO) to describe FSW labeled all women engaged in sex and entertainment work as "entertainment workers", or EW\*. Historically, brothel-based FSW were easily accessed and monitored for HIV prevention efforts, including HIV and behavioral surveillance. NGOs working in HIV prevention reported that as transactional sex was displaced to a wider range of settings, women at highest risk became harder to reach for both prevention and service delivery. These factors pose significant challenges to HIV prevention and threaten to undermine progress achieved to date.

HIV prevalence is extremely high among Cambodian FSW with prevalence among younger women is particularly troubling as their infection is likely to be more recent and indicative of incidence.<sup>5 8 9 21</sup> A cornerstone of HIV prevention in Cambodia was the 100% Condom Use campaign<sup>26 27</sup>, primarily directed at brothel-based FSW. With changes in sex work venues, this prevention approach is likely less effective, failing to reach the large number of women now engaged in transactional sex in entertainment

<sup>\*</sup> The term 'female sex worker' is no longer used in Cambodia. Terminology was changed in 2008 to designate high risk women working in service and entertainment venues as "entertainment workers" or EW. No new HIV surveillance data has been published on FSW, and Behavioral Surveillance Survey (BSS) methods have been changed to recognize only indirect sex workers'EW', and determining whether or not they are selling sex by the average number of reported sex partners per week (10. UNAIDS. Cambodia Country Progress Report: Monitoring the

Progress towards the Implementation of the Declaration of Commitment on HIV and AIDS. Reporting period: January 2010-December 2011. Prepared by National AIDS Authority for United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS). .

http://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/cambodia/ Accessed December 28, 2012...

establishments. Indeed, measures of self-reported condom use have declined according to monitoring data reported by UNAIDS.<sup>10</sup> New risk factors have also emerged, especially amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) use, in the form of "yama", (pills) and "ice" (a crystalline form).<sup>28-38</sup> ATS use is associated with increased sexual risk behavior and STI incidence among these young women<sup>5 39</sup>, similar to that seen in other populations and locales.<sup>40-44</sup>

We conducted two prospective studies of high-risk young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh, assessing HIV infection and associated health risks. The first, Young Women's Health Study (YWHS-1), was conducted in 2007-2008 and the second, YWHS-2, in 2009-2010. <sup>5 16 39 45 46</sup> In this paper, we explore the changing HIV risk landscape by comparing and contrasting the two cohorts of FSW sampled prior to, and following, legislative changes designed to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation in Cambodia.

#### Methods

#### Study setting

The YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 were both prospective studies of young women engaged in sex work in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Methods have been described in detail previously.<sup>5</sup>

Both studies were led by a multidisciplinary collaborative prevention research group from NCHADS, the Cambodian Women's Development Association (CWDA), the University of California in San Francisco (UCSF) in the United States, and the Kirby Institute at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) in Australia.

# Study population and recruitment

The target population in both studies was young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh. Inclusion criteria were: aged 15-29 years, Khmer language comprehension,  $\geq$ 2 different sexual partners in the last month or engaged in transactional sex (sex in exchange for money, goods, services, or drugs) within the last three months, no plans to move in the next 12 months, biologically female, and able to provide voluntary informed consent. YWHS-1 aimed to sample 160 women to provide 80% power to estimate a point prevalence of HIV at 15% with a 95% confidence interval (CI) of 9·7% to 23·0%. Based on results of YWHS-1, YWHS-2 aimed to sample 220 women to detect an estimated HIV prevalence of 23% (95% CI, 17·3%, 30·5%).

Recruitment and enrollment procedures were the same in both studies. <sup>5</sup> CWDA field assistants provided study information and conducted eligibility screening via information meetings in neighborhoods where sex work was prevalent. Eligible women were invited to a community location used by various sex-worker organizations where study information was described in more detail and informed consent was obtained. Enrolled participants were given appointment cards to present to the YWHS clinic field-site and free transportation was offered.

#### Data collection

All data collection occurred at the YWHS clinic, which was staffed by a physician, nurses, counselors and a laboratory technician. A structured questionnaire was administered in Khmer by trained interviewers. Survey items were similar in both studies, and covered socio-demographic characteristics, occupational and sexual risk history, alcohol and drug use. HIV testing was conducted at each visit. In YWHS-1, urine specimens were tested for Chlamydia trachomatis (CT) and *Neisseria gonorrhoea* (GC). In YWHS-2, women were tested for HPV infection. STI treatment was provided at

no cost, and women with HIV and HPV infection were referred to a local provider for free medical evaluation and treatment.

# Laboratory testing

HIV serology was performed using two rapid tests; Uni-Gold Recombigen (TM) HIV rapid HIV test (Trinity Biotech USA, Jamestown, NY) and the Clairview HIV 1/2 STAT-PAK (Inverness Medical Diagnostics, Waltham, MA). HIV positive and discordant samples were confirmed by HIV-1 immunoblot. CT and GC were assessed from urine samples using BDProbeTec<sup>TM</sup> strand displacement amplification assay (Becton Dickinson, Sparks, MD) at the NCHADS STD laboratory. Cervical specimens for HPV testing were collected using a standard cytobrush. Client-centered risk reduction counseling was provided in association with all testing.

#### Ethical review

The study protocols were reviewed and approved by Institutional Review Board of the Committee on Human Research at UCSF, the Cambodian National Ethics Committee, and the University of New South Wales Human Research Ethics Committee in accordance with ethical standards (institutional and national) and with the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, as revised in 2000.

#### Measures

Both studies aimed to estimate HIV infection, ATS use, and sexual risk behavior and included questions on sociodemographic factors, work history, income, and duration of sex work, and whether they currently had an employer (manager, boss or supervisor). Women were asked if they had ever and/or were currently working: as a beer promoter, in a beer garden, as a waitress or hostess in a karaoke bar, nightclub or snooker bar, in

a massage parlor, brothel, as a freelance sex worker using space at a brothel, as a freelance sex worker in the park or on the street, or to specify 'other' location. They were asked about age at first sex, number of partners (last month) and condom use with last partners (paying and non-paying). Paying partners were defined as male clients with whom respondents traded sex for money, goods or drugs. Condom use was classified as "consistent" if the participant reported always using a condom. Participants were asked about the number of days in which alcohol was drunk and the number of days in which they were "affected" by alcohol or were "drunk" in the past month. ATS use (ever and last 3 months) was assessed with questions regarding use of *yama* and crystal (ice).

#### Analyses

Prevalence estimates were calculated using exact binomial confidence intervals (CI). Chi-square and Fisher's Exact Tests were used to examine differences in baseline sociodemographic, occupational, sexual, and alcohol/drug use exposures and prevalent HIV and STI between the two cohorts. The only longitudinal data compared was HIV incidence, with the HIV incidence rate calculated using the number of seroconversions per 100 person-years of observation (PYO) assuming a Poisson distribution. Analyses were performed using STATA 9.0 (STATA, College Station, TX).

#### Results

In YWHS-1, 285 women attended community information sessions, 161 (56%) eligible women were recruited to the group information/consent meeting, and 160 (99%) consented to participate. In YWHS-2, 220 (64%) women consented out of 345 who attended information sessions. Sixty-seven women from YWHS-1 also enrolled in YWHS-2; they were not included in the YWHS-2 comparison group, leaving 153 in the

analysis. Table 1 shows baseline socio-demographic and occupational factors, as well as sexual and substance use risk exposures, in the two cohorts. The cohorts were similar with respect to age (median 25 years), and age of sexual debut (median 17 and 18 years, respectively), but differed significantly in years of education and marital status. Compared to women in YWHS-1, women in YWHS-2 had more education (median of 5 years (IQR 2,7) vs. 2 years (IQR 0,4)), and were more likely to be married or cohabitating with a partner (31.4% vs. 15%, respectively).

Women in YWHS-2 had been involved in sex work for significantly less time (median of 3 years (IOR 1.7, 5)) than YWHS-1 women (median of 4.3 years (IOR 2.5, 6.3). More YWHS-2 women were currently (last 30 days) working in entertainment venues and fewer in brothels, or as freelance FSW (including in parks, guest houses, or on the street). These differences were also reflected in the significantly higher proportion of YWHS-2 women who reported having a manager or boss (81.6%) compared to YWHS-1 (46%). Figure 1 shows the distribution and range of work venues women reported 'ever' working in. Women in YWHS-2 also reported significantly fewer sexual partners in the past 30 days: a median of 5 compared to 30 in YWHS-1 (Table 1). Despite these differences, women in the two samples reported similar income distributions. Selfreported consistent condom use, with both paying and non-paying partners, did not differ between cohorts. Alcohol and ATS use differed significantly: women in YWHS-2 reported more alcohol use, but fewer days drunk in the past month than in YWHS-1; and fewer women in YWHS-2 reported ever using ATS, although recent use was similar in both groups (Table 1). Both alcohol and ATS use varied by cohort and work venue: entertainment-based women in YWHS-2 reported less of both, whereas brothel and freelance-based women in YWHS-2 reported significantly more ATS use (Figure 2).

HIV prevalence was significantly (p<0.01) lower in women sampled in YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1: 9.2% (95% CI 4.5%, 13.8%; p<0.01) vs. 23% (95% CI 16.5%, 29.7%) (Table 2). HIV incidence was also lower: 0.8/100 pyo (95% CI 0.1, 6.0) vs. 3.6/100 pyo (95% CI 1·2, 11·1), but not significantly (p=0.26). In YWHS-1, prevalence of Chlamydia infection was 11.5% (95% CI 6.0%, 17.1%) and Gonorrhea infection was 7.8% (95% CI 3.5%, 12.3%). Women in YWHS-2 were not tested for these STI, but 41.1% were HPV. HIV prevalence differed significantly by work venue and by cohort, but over 30% of freelance-based women tested positive in both cohorts (Table 2). In both cohorts, 20% reported being tested for HIV in the past 3 months but more YWHS-2 women had a history of testing (Table 3). More women in YWHS-1 reported not knowing their HIV test results: 11 of the 84 women (13.1%) who reported being negative tested positive and 4 of 12 women (33.3%) who reported they did not know their previous HIV results tested positive. In YWHS-2, 5 of 114 (4.4%) who reported testing negative, and 2 of 4 (50%) who did not know their previous results, tested positive. Among women who reported no history of HIV testing, 31% (18/58) and 12.9% (4/31) tested HIV positive in YWHS-1 and -2, respectively.

#### **Discussion**

In these two samples of young FSW, recruited using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods, we observed important differences in socio-demographics, risk exposures and HIV infection outcomes. Most notably, women sampled more recently were more educated, had fewer sex partners, less time working in sex work and had significantly lower prevalence of HIV. Where women worked was also very different in the two cohorts: a much higher proportion of women sampled in 2009-10 compared to 2007-8 worked in entertainment-based establishments and fewer were brothel-based or

freelance FSW. These differences point to the notable changes in sex work typology and environment that occurred following the enactment and enforcement in 2008 of anti-trafficking legislation in Cambodia<sup>16</sup>. Brothel closures and increases in policing have been acknowledged as a cause of significant social and occupational upheaval among FSW, driving many women, especially former brothel-based FSW, "underground". <sup>10</sup> Both government agencies and NGOs in Phnom Penh have reported negative impacts of the legislation on FSW including: displacement and harassment and reduced access to condoms and health care. <sup>10</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>24</sup> In our qualitative research, women confirmed these impacts, describing how they moved to new venues or locales for sex work transactions including apartments or houses rented by brothel owners following brothel closures <sup>16</sup>, raising concerns about increased risks of HIV transmission as a result of the increasingly clandestine nature of direct sex work.

The differences in HIV prevalence, risk profiles, and sex work environments reported by these two samples are consistent with both quantitative and qualitative research demonstrating how socio-political and environmental factors can increase vulnerability to HIV among FSW.<sup>48-51</sup> The time period in which these two cohorts were sampled, corresponded with increased criminalization of sex work which impacted the number and settings of transactional sex. These shifts can have mixed effects. First, women engaged in entertainment-based work have lower risk profiles than women engaged in freelance sex work.<sup>5</sup> The shorter duration of sex work reported by entertainment-based FSW likely contributes to the lower HIV prevalence in this group. Protective effects of entertainment-based work may include having a boss or manager; odds of HIV among women who say they have a boss or manager are lower compared to women who do not (OR: 0.40; 95% CI 0.19, 0.90).<sup>5</sup> We also explored these factors in qualitative interviews with FSW.<sup>16</sup> Brothel and entertainment-based sex workers reported that the

'boss/manager" mitigated risk of violence from clients and problems with police. Also, women working in entertainment establishments report earning up to three times more (US \$50-\$60 or in \$200,000-\$240,000 Cambodian Riel) per client than women who worked in brothels or streets and parks. This is substantiated by the two cohorts' report of similar income levels despite differences in the number of sex partners. It is also possible that entertainment-based FW have lower risk partners than brothel-based and freelance FSW. Despite the lower individual risk among this growing group of FSW, there is potential for amplified population attributable risk for HIV, given the significant increase in the population of women exposed to transactional sex as well as male partners, who may also bridge to the general population.

The two cohorts also showed differences in drug and alcohol use exposures. Our group has identified ATS use as a significant independent risk factor for HIV related risk behaviour including number of sex partners (Adjusted Risk Ratio (ARR): 1·49; 95% CI 1·0, 2·21) and incident STI (AOR: 5·41; 95% CI 1·15, 25·48) <sup>39</sup>. Alcohol use is also emerging as a potential HIV-related risk factor <sup>16</sup>, although not well quantified among FSW, especially those working in entertainment establishments (or their male partners). Entertainment venues largely revolve around alcohol, and women working at these are generally employed as hostesses, waitresses, or as "promoters" such as "beer promotion girls" in a variety of venues. <sup>16</sup> <sup>21</sup> Women who were working in the entertainment sector were more likely to both report more days of drinking, and more days intoxicated, than brothel or street-based FSW. Alcohol use can be a barrier to effective condom use and condom negotiation in the transactional context. <sup>16</sup> <sup>52</sup> Consistent with this, we have shown that women who report heavy alcohol use are also significantly more likely to report inconsistent condom use. <sup>39</sup> Given how entwined drug and alcohol use are with sex work, especially in the growing entertainment-based

sector, there is a significant need to better elucidate ways to mitigate HIV-associated risks among women whose livelihood depends on working in these establishments. Designing and implementing prevention in these contexts will require input, not only from working women, but also from the wider business sector, as well as male clients.<sup>48</sup>

The differences in HIV and risk profiles between the women in our two samples, as well as outreach efforts by HIV prevention organizations, may be a result of reaching "low hanging fruit" resulting from both substantive increases in the number of women working in entertainment establishments, and the increased challenges of engaging women with higher risk and who are HIV infected for the reasons described above. FSW in Phnom Penh have historically been easily accessed for prevention and surveillance efforts. However, recent changes in the sex work landscape suggest that alternative sampling methods, such as respondent driven sampling, may result in better access to higher risk women who are more hidden and therefore hard to reach in this new legal climate. 57

HIV prevention remains an important and essential priority for all women engaged in transactional sex. A recent systematic review confirms that FSW in Asia have the highest odds of infection compared to women of reproductive age in the general population. In addition to new structural interventions aimed at reducing risk in the work-based environment, the very high prevalence and risk of HIV among FSW in Cambodia suggests a need for combination HIV prevention interventions including biomedical (pre-exposure prophylaxis, microbicides, and treatment as prevention), behavioural and development approaches (such as microfinance or income generating opportunities). Sec. 19-64

Several limitations of these analyses should be noted. First results presented here are cross-sectional and thus associations do not reflect causality. The comparison of the serial samples is ecological in nature and does not prove temporal effects. The sample sizes are small and thus subject to limitations with respect to generalizability. Many exposures are self-reported and thus may reflect social desirability bias, especially condom use which we have found has been over-reported based on biomarker data. On the other hand, we have found that self-reported ATS use is accurate compared to urine toxicology screening, suggesting that measures of drug and alcohol use in this group are accurate.

Results from this analysis provide important insights into recent shifts in the context of sex work and risk in young FSW in Phnom Penh and highlight the challenges to HIV prevention in this environment. Conflicting trends, including the criminalization and suppression of direct sex work while the indirect entertainment-based sex work industry is flourishing, set a new stage. Unless there is acknowledgment and access to women who are more directly engaged in sex work, these women will be poorly represented in any national HIV or behavioural surveillance. They will remain hidden and stigmatized, subject to repression, violence and potentially with less access to prevention or care. While the 100% condom use program had its criticisms, that policy at least acknowledged the existence and need for HIV prevention at a multisectoral level for FSW. The current socio-political climate has potentially reversed these benefits, by denying the existence of FSW. The exponential growth of entertainment-based sex work has the potential to result in an expanding HIV epidemic among young women in Cambodia. From a programmatic perspective entertainment-based FSW are much easier to reach but likely require different HIV prevention interventions than the 100% condom

use program. Implementation of research and programmatic efforts that integrate health, social empowerment, and safe work environments for HIV prevention remain a high priority for women engaged in sex work in Cambodia.<sup>67</sup>

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# **Competing Interests**

None

# Contributorship

All authors contributed to the design and implementation of the YWHS-1 and -2 studies. Authors KP, ES, JE, and LM compiled the first draft of the manuscript, which was reviewed by NS, M-CC, KS, MC, JM\_S, PP, JK. The primary statistical analysis was conducted by JE and M-CC; KS and MC provided supplemental data review, and KP reviewed all data analyses. All authors contributed to and have approved the final manuscript. The YWHS Collaborative is a steering committee who reviewed and approved the study protocols, and provided expertise into some or all of the studies' methods and implementation.

#### Data sharing

No additional data are available.

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Table 1: Selected socio-demographic characteristics, occupational, and risk exposures in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160 Prevalence of characteristic		YWHS-2 N=153* Prevalence of characteristic		p-value
	N	%	N	%	
Age (years, median (IQR))	25 (2:	1 – 27)	25 ( 2	22 – 28)	0.56
16-18	13	8.1	11	7.2	0.86
19-24	64	40.0	58	37.9	
25-29	83	51.8	84	54.9	
Marital status					
Never married	57	35.6	38	24.8	<0.01
Married-living together	24	15.0	48	31.4	
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	79	49.4	67	43.8	
Education (years)					
None	64	40.0	23	15.0	<0.01
Primary (1-6 years)	82	51.3	91	59.5	
Secondary (7+ years)	14	8.8	39	25.5	
Age at first sex (median (IQR))	17 (10	5 – 18)	18 ( 1	.6 – 19)	0.03
<u>&lt;</u> 15	32	20.1	22	14.5	0.19
> 15	127	79.9	130	85.5	
Length of employment as FSW	4.3 (2.5 – 6.3)		3 (1.7 – 5)		<0.01
(years, median (IQR))		<b>,</b>	3 (2.7)		
Current employment venue (last 30 days)					
Entertainment	51	31.9	113	74.3	<0.01†
Brothel	23	9.2	3	2.0	
Freelance	59	39.3	29	19.1	
Other/Multiple	27	16.9	7	4.6	
Have a manager, boss or supervisor					
No	82	53.6	28	14.4	<0.01
Yes	71	46.4	124	81.6	
Income in past month (US \$)					
Less than \$100	68	42.5	50	32.9	0.18
100-150\$	35	21.9	43	29.3	

		0= 6		200		
Over 150\$	57	35.6	59	38.8		
Number of sex partners in last						
month (median (IQR))	30 (10	0 – 90)	5 (3 – 13)		<0.01	
≤10	45	28.1	112	73.2	<0.01	
11-50	53	33.1	41	26.8		
> 50	62	38.8	0	0		
Condom use with last paying						
partner						
Consistent (always)	108	85.7	86	87.8	0.66	
Inconsistent	18	14.3	12	12.2		
Condom use with last non paying						
partner						
Consistent (always)	7	20.6	10	18.2	0.78	
Inconsistent	27	79.4	45	81.8		
Number of days drink alcohol (last						
month)	15 (2	2 – 30)	18 (	(5 – 28) 0.7		
0 – 4	65	40.6	36	23.5	<0.01	
5 – 19	25	15.6	42	27.5		
≥ 20	70	43.7	75	49.0		
Number of days drunk (last month)	5 (1	<b>– 20)</b>	3 (1 – 10)		0.07	
0 – 4	89	55.6	86	56.2	<0.01	
5 – 19	33	20.6	50	32.7		
≥ 20	38	23.7	17	11.1		
ATS use (ever)			7			
No	92	57.5	107	69.9	0.02	
Yes	68	42.5	46	30.1	0.02	
ies		42.3	40	30.1		
ATS use (last 3 months)						
No	116	73.4	117	76.5	0.54	
Yes	42	26.6	36	23.5		
Ever used any drug prior to/during						
sex						
No	109	68.1	117	76.5	0.10	
Yes	51	31.9	36	23.5		

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

<sup>†</sup>Fisher Exact p-value

Table 2: HIV prevalence overall and by current work venue in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic		YWHS-1 N=160			
	N	% (95% CI)	N	%	p-value
HIV positive	37	23.1 (16.5 – 29.7)	14	9.2 (4.5 – 13.8)	<0.01
HIV positive by employment venue (n/N)					
Entertainment	5/51	9.8 (1.5 – 18.1)	5/113	4.4 (0.6 – 8.2)	<0.01
Brothel	4/23	17.4 (1.5 – 33.3)	0/3	0	
Freelance	22/59	37.3 (25.0 – 48.0)	9/29	31.0 (13.8 – 48.2)	
Other/Multiple	6/27	22.2 (6.2 – 38.3)	0/7	0	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

Table 3: HIV testing history and behaviors in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh,

Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160		YWHS-2* N=153*			
	N	%	N	%	p-value	
Ever tested for HIV						
No	58	36.5	31	20.3	<0.01	
Yes	101	63.5	122	79.7		
HIV test in last 3 months						
No	126	79.3	119	77.8	0.75	
Yes	33	20.7	34	22.2		
What was result of last HIV test?#						
Negative	84	84.0	114	93.4	0.04	
Positive	4	4.0	4	3.3		
Don't know	12	12.0	4	3.3		
Where received last HIV test <sup>#</sup>						
Public hospital	35	34.7	55	34.0	0.10	
Voluntary testing and	1	1.0	0	0		
counseling center						
NGO clinic	59	58.4	54	44.3		
Private hospital, clinic, or laboratory	6	5.9	13	10.7		

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

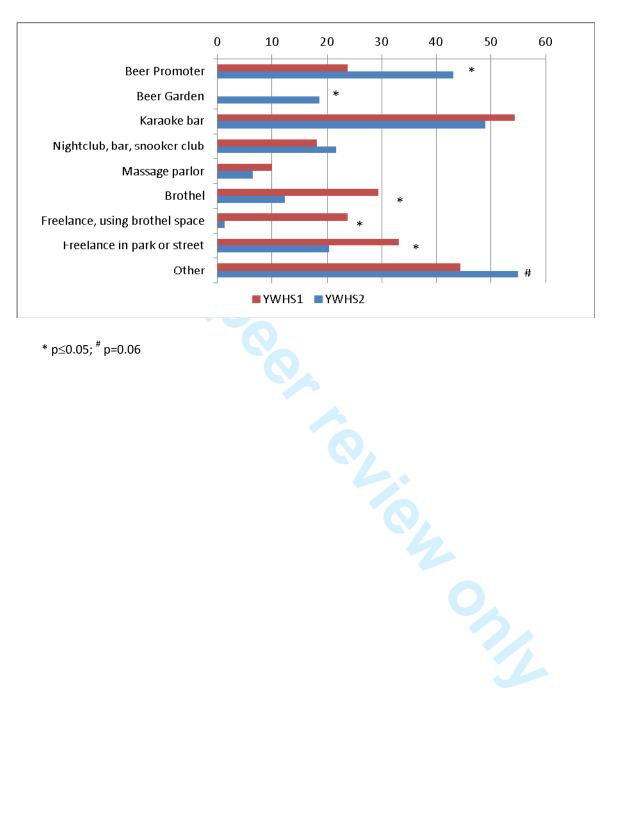
<sup>#</sup> Among those who reported being previously tested for HIV

# **Figure Legend**

Figure 1: Venues where women in YWHS-2 and YWHS-2 reported ever working

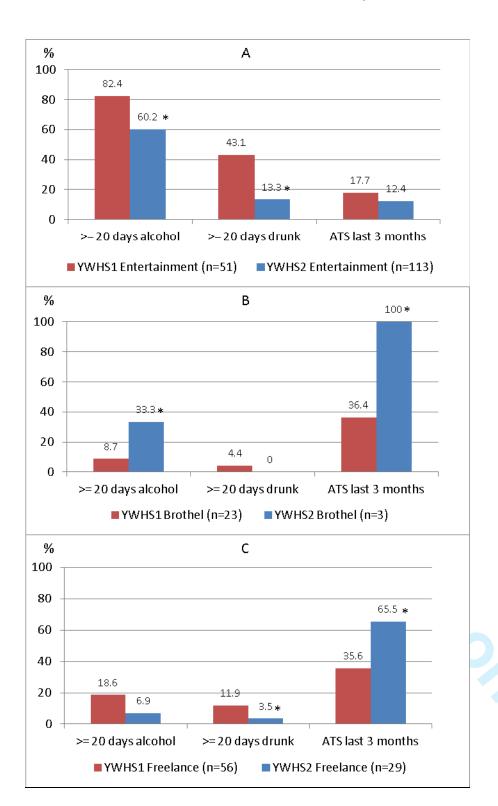
Figure 2. Alcohol use in the past month and ATS use in the past 3 months reported by women in YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 by work venue: (A) Entertainment-based; (B) Brothelbased; (C) Freelance





\* p≤0.05; # p=0.06





\*p<0.05

STROBE Statement—Checklist of items that should be included in reports of *cohort studies* 

# Page et al., Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

	Item No	Item, Section and PAGE NUMBER
Title and abstract	1	(a) Study's design with a commonly used terms – PAGE 1
		(b) Provide in the abstract an informative and balanced summary of what was done
		and what was found – PAGE 3
Introduction		
Background/rationale	2	Scientific background and rationale for the investigation being reported – PAGE 7-9
Objectives	3	State specific objectives, including any prespecified hypotheses- PAGE 9
Methods		
Study design	4	Present key elements of study design early in the paper-PAGE 9
Setting	5	Describe the setting, locations, and relevant dates, including periods of recruitment, exposure, follow-up, and data collection- PAGE 9, 11
Participants	6	(a) Give the eligibility criteria, and the sources and methods of selection of participants. Describe methods of follow-up-PAGE 10
		(b) For matched studies, give matching criteria and number of exposed and unexposed
Variables	7	Clearly define all outcomes, exposures, predictors, - PAGE 10-12
Data sources/	8*	For each variable of interest, give sources of data and details of methods of
measurement		assessment (measurement). Describe comparability of assessment methods if there is
		more than one group – PAGE 10-12
Bias	9	Describe any efforts to address potential sources of bias – NA (CROSS-SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
Study size	10	Explain how the study size was arrived at – PAGE 10
Quantitative variables	11	Explain how quantitative variables were handled in the analyses. If applicable, describe which groupings were chosen and why-
Statistical methods	12	(a) Describe all statistical methods, including those used to control for confounding- PAGE 12
		(b) Describe any methods used to examine subgroups and interactions- PAGE 12
		(c) Explain how missing data were addressed- NA (BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE
		INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
		(d) If applicable, explain how loss to follow-up was addressed NA (CROSS-
		SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
		(e) Describe any sensitivity analyses NA (CROSS-SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA
		ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
Results		
Participants	13*	(a) Report numbers of individuals at each stage of study—eg numbers potentially eligible, examined for eligibility, confirmed eligible, included in the study, completing follow-up, and analysed-  PAGE 12, 13
		(b) Give reasons for non-participation at each stage NA (CROSS-SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
		(c) Consider use of a flow diagram NA
Descriptive data	14*	(a) Give characteristics of study participants (eg demographic, clinical, social) and information on exposures and potential confounders- PAGE 12, 13, and TABLE 1

		(b) Indicate number of participants with missing data for each variable of interest
		NA
		(c) Summarise follow-up time (eg, average and total amount) NA (CROSS-
		SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
Outcome data	15*	Report numbers of outcome events or summary measures over time – TABLE 1  AND 2
Main results	16	(a) Give unadjusted estimates and, if applicable, confounder-adjusted estimates and
		their precision (eg, 95% confidence interval). Make clear which confounders were
		adjusted for and why they were included. TABLES 1 AND 2
		(b) Report category boundaries when continuous variables were categorized NA
		(c) If relevant, consider translating estimates of relative risk into absolute risk for a
		meaningful time period NA
Other analyses	17	Report other analyses done—eg analyses of subgroups and interactions, and
		sensitivity analyses –PAGE 13
Discussion		
Key results	18	Summarise key results with reference to study objectives – PAGE 14, 15
Limitations	19	Discuss limitations of the study, taking into account sources of potential bias or
		imprecision. Discuss both direction and magnitude of any potential bias – PAGE 18
Interpretation	20	Give a cautious overall interpretation of results considering objectives, limitations,
		multiplicity of analyses, results from similar studies, and other relevant evidence
		PAGE 14-15
Generalisability	21	Discuss the generalisability (external validity) of the study results PAGE 18
Other information		
Funding	22	Give the source of funding and the role of the funders for the present study and, if
		applicable, for the original study on which the present article is based PAGE 5

<sup>\*</sup>Give information separately for exposed and unexposed groups.

**Note:** An Explanation and Elaboration article discusses each checklist item and gives methodological background and published examples of transparent reporting. The STROBE checklist is best used in conjunction with this article (freely available on the Web sites of PLoS Medicine at http://www.plosmedicine.org/, Annals of Internal Medicine at http://www.annals.org/, and Epidemiology at http://www.epidem.com/). Information on the STROBE Initiative is available at http://www.strobe-statement.org.



# Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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SCHOLARONE™ Manuscripts Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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#### **Abstract**

**Objectives:** HIV prevalence among Cambodian female sex workers (FSW) is among the highest in Southeast Asia. We describe HIV prevalence and associated risk exposures in FSW sampled serially in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (Young Women's Health Study (YWHS), before and after the implementation of a new law designed to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation.

**Design:** Cross-sectional analysis of baseline data from two prospective cohorts.

**Setting:** Community—based study in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

**Participants:** Women aged 15-29 years, reporting  $\geq$ 2 sexual partners in the last month and/or engaged in transactional sex in the last 3 months, were enrolled in the studies in 2007 (N=161; YWHS-1), and 2009 (N=220; YWHS-2) following information sessions where 285 and 345 women attended.

**Primary outcomes:** HIV prevalence, sexual risk behaviour, amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) and alcohol use, and work-related factors were compared the two groups, enrolled before and after implementation of the new law.

**Results:** Participants and in the two cohorts were similar in age (median 25 years), but YWHS-2 women reported fewer sex partners, more alcohol use, and less ATS use. A higher proportion of YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1 women worked in entertainment-based venues (68% vs. 31%, respectively). HIV prevalence was significantly lower in the more recently sampled women: 9·2% (95% CI 4·5, 13·8) vs. 23% (95% CI 16·5, 29·7).

**Conclusions:** Sex work context and risk has shifted among young FSW in Phnom Penh, following implementation of anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking laws. While both cohorts were recruited using the same eligibility criteria, more recently sampled women had lower prevalence of sexual risk and HIV infection. Women engaged more directly in transactional sex have become harder to sample and access. Future prevention

research and programs need to consider how new policies and demographic changes in FSW impact HIV transmission.



## **Article summary**

#### Article Focus

- HIV prevalence and incidence in two serial samples of young female sex workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (2007-2008, and 2009-2010);
- Comparison of baseline risk and HIV outcomes, including sexual behavior, drug and alcohol use in the two cohorts sampled before and after implementation of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation laws in 2008;
- Impact of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation legislation on female sex workers and HIV risk.

#### Key Messages

- Women sampled using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods in differed with respect to risk exposures and HIV outcomes;
- Changes in sex work typology and environment are evident after enactment of the anti-trafficking laws, including very few brothel-based FSW and significantly more FSW based in the entertainment sector;
- Shifts in the context of sex work and risk highlight the ongoing need and challenges for HIV and drug prevention for young women engaged in sex work.

# Strengths and Limitations

- Two comparably sampled groups of young FSW suggest changing trends in HIV risk;
- Comparison of cross-sectional samples is ecological and does not prove temporal effects;
- Criminalization and suppression of sex work and a flourishing entertainment-based sex work industry set new and conflicting stage for HIV prevention.

Author Contributions: All authors contributed to the design and implementation of the YWHS-1 and -2 studies. Authors KP, ES, JE, and LM compiled the first draft of the manuscript, which was reviewed by NS, M-CC, KS, MC, JM\_S, PP, JK. The primary statistical analysis was conducted by JE and M-CC; KS and MC provided supplemental data review, and KP reviewed all data analyses. All authors contributed to and have approved the final manuscript. The YWHS Collaborative is a steering committee who reviewed and approved the study protocols, and provided expertise into some or all of the studies' methods and implementation.

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#### Introduction

There have been significant declines in HIV prevalence in Cambodia since the epidemic peaked in around 2000, a success widely attributed to measurable increases in condom use, declines in the number and frequency of commercial sex transactions reported by men, access to HIV voluntary counseling & testing (VCT) and uptake of antiretroviral therapy.<sup>1-3</sup> In 2010, the National Center for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology and STDs (NCHADS) revised the national estimate of HIV prevalence to 0.8% (in 15-49 year olds), reflecting a significant decline after the peak estimate of 2.4% in 1998.4 However, HIV prevalence in Cambodian women, especially young women, is among the highest in Southeast Asia and heterosexual sex remains the main route of transmission. 5-9 Since 2006, women have accounted for over half (52%) of all HIV infections in Cambodia <sup>10</sup>, higher than in Asia and the Pacific in general (35%). Limited income generating activities, a highly mobile workforce, trafficking in women and girls and widespread transactional sex, poverty, and sexually transmitted infections (STI) have been identified as key drivers of the epidemic among female sex workers (FSW). 156 10 12-15 As in many countries, FSW in Cambodia can be hard to reach and difficult to provide prevention services to. In recent years significant economic and policy changes have affected the sex work landscape, with notable shifts in sex work venues, typologies, and more women engaged in transactional sex than ever before. 16-20

Until 2008, FSW in Cambodia were categorized as "direct" and were mostly brothel-based, or "indirect". Indirect FSW were distinguished from direct FSW, generally working in entertainment establishments as beer promotion girls, waitresses, hostesses, or karaoke girls for example, and engaged in occasional transactional sex for supplementary income. <sup>21-23</sup> In 1997, an estimated 5,300 women worked in the entertainment/service sector and 6,000 were brothel-based FSW. The number of

women involved in entertainment-based sex work has grown dramatically in recent years in Cambodia. Until 2008, the estimated number of women engaged in sex and entertainment work was stable (12,762 women were enumerated in 2008), however by 2012, this had increased dramatically to an estimated 41,622 women, a more than threefold increase from the 2008 estimate (NCHADS, personal communication). The reasons for this growth have not been explored in detail, but may be associated with changing economic factors during this time in Cambodia. Following the passage and implementation of the "Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation" in February, 2008, brothel-based sex work was banned, and the most direct effect was on direct sex trade, which went "underground", or women moved into indirect work. 10 Along with the overt enforcement against FSW, the 2008 antitrafficking legislation had other consequences. For instance, official terminology used by governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGO) to describe FSW labeled all women engaged in sex and entertainment work as "entertainment workers", or EW\*. Historically, brothel-based FSW were easily accessed and monitored for HIV prevention efforts, including HIV and behavioral surveillance. NGOs working in HIV prevention reported that as transactional sex was displaced to a wider range of settings, women at highest risk became harder to reach for both prevention and service delivery. 16 24 25 These factors pose significant challenges to HIV prevention and threaten to undermine progress achieved to date.

<sup>\*</sup> The term 'female sex worker' is no longer used in Cambodia. Terminology was changed in 2008 to designate high risk women working in service and entertainment venues as "entertainment workers" or EW. No new HIV surveillance data has been published on FSW, and Behavioral Surveillance Survey (BSS) methods have been changed to recognize only indirect sex workers- 'EW', and determining whether or not they are selling sex by the average number of reported sex partners per week (10. UNAIDS. Cambodia Country Progress Report: Monitoring the Progress towards the Implementation of the Declaration of Commitment on HIV and AIDS. Reporting period: January 2010-December 2011. Prepared by National AIDS Authority for United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS).

HIV prevalence is extremely high among Cambodian FSW with prevalence among younger women is particularly troubling as their infection is likely to be more recent and indicative of incidence.<sup>5 8 9 21</sup> A cornerstone of HIV prevention in Cambodia was the 100% Condom Use campaign<sup>26 27</sup>, primarily directed at brothel-based FSW. With changes in sex work venues, this prevention approach is likely less effective, failing to reach the large number of women now engaged in transactional sex in entertainment establishments. Indeed, measures of self-reported condom use have declined according to monitoring data reported by UNAIDS.<sup>10</sup> New risk factors have also emerged, especially amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) use, in the form of "yama", (pills) and "ice" (a crystalline form).<sup>28-38</sup> ATS use is associated with increased sexual risk behavior and STI incidence among these young women<sup>5 39</sup>, similar to that seen in other populations and locales.<sup>40-44</sup>

We conducted two prospective studies of high-risk young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh, the principal research questions focused on estimating HIV and STI prevalence and incidence and associated risk factors. The first, Young Women's Health Study (YWHS-1), was conducted in 2007-2008 and the second, YWHS-2, in 2009-2010.<sup>5</sup> 16 39 45 46 In this paper, we explore the changing HIV risk landscape by comparing and contrasting the two cohorts of FSW sampled prior to, and following, legislative changes designed to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation in Cambodia. We theorize that the demographic characteristics and HIV risk of FSW has shifted as a result of socio-legal changed induced by the implementation of the new legislation.

## Methods

# Study setting

The YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 were both prospective studies of young women engaged in sex work in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Methods have been described in detail previously.<sup>5</sup>

Both studies were led by a multidisciplinary collaborative prevention research group from NCHADS, the Cambodian Women's Development Association (CWDA), the University of California in San Francisco (UCSF) in the United States, and the Kirby Institute at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) in Australia.

# Study population and recruitment

The target population in both studies was young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh. Inclusion criteria were: aged 15-29 years, Khmer language comprehension,  $\geq 2$  different sexual partners in the last month or engaged in transactional sex (sex in exchange for money, goods, services, or drugs) within the last three months, no plans to move in the next 12 months, biologically female, and able to provide voluntary informed consent. YWHS-1 aimed to sample 160 women to provide 80% power to estimate a point prevalence of HIV at 15% with a 95% confidence interval (CI) of 9·7% to 23·0%. Based on results of YWHS-1, YWHS-2 aimed to sample 220 women to detect an estimated HIV prevalence of 23% (95% CI, 17·3%, 30·5%).

Recruitment and enrollment procedures were the same in both studies. CWDA field assistants provided study information and conducted eligibility screening via information meetings in neighborhoods where sex work was prevalent. Eligible women were invited to a community location used by various sex-worker organizations where study information was described in more detail and written informed consent was obtained. Enrolled participants were given appointment cards to present to the YWHS clinic field-site and free transportation was offered. In both studies, women were remunerated US\$5 at each study visit for their participation time.

#### Data collection

All data collection occurred at the YWHS clinic, which was staffed by a physician, nurses, counselors and a laboratory technician. A structured questionnaire was administered in Khmer by trained interviewers. Survey items were similar in both studies, and covered socio-demographic characteristics, occupational and sexual risk history, alcohol and drug use. HIV testing was conducted at each visit. In YWHS-1, urine specimens were tested for Chlamydia trachomatis (CT) and *Neisseria gonorrhoea* (GC). In YWHS-2, women were tested for HPV infection. STI treatment was provided at no cost, and women with HIV and HPV infection were referred to a local provider for free medical evaluation and treatment.

## Laboratory testing

HIV serology was performed using two rapid tests; Uni-Gold Recombigen (TM) HIV rapid HIV test (Trinity Biotech USA, Jamestown, NY) and the Clairview HIV 1/2 STAT-PAK (Inverness Medical Diagnostics, Waltham, MA). HIV positive and discordant samples were confirmed by HIV-1 immunoblot. CT and GC were assessed from urine samples using BDProbeTec<sup>TM</sup> strand displacement amplification assay (Becton Dickinson, Sparks, MD) at the NCHADS STD laboratory. Cervical specimens for HPV testing were collected using a standard cytobrush. Client-centered risk reduction counseling was provided in association with all testing.

## Ethical review

The study protocols were reviewed and approved by Institutional Review Board of the Committee on Human Research at UCSF, the Cambodian National Ethics Committee, and the University of New South Wales Human Research Ethics Committee in

accordance with ethical standards (institutional and national) and with the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, as revised in 2000.

#### Measures

Both studies aimed to estimate HIV infection, ATS use, and sexual risk behavior and included questions on sociodemographic factors, work history, income, and duration of sex work, and whether they currently had an employer (manager, boss or supervisor). Women were asked if they had ever and/or were currently working: as a beer promoter, in a beer garden, as a waitress or hostess in a karaoke bar, nightclub or snooker bar, in a massage parlor, brothel, as a freelance sex worker using space at a brothel, as a freelance sex worker in the park or on the street, or to specify 'other' location. They were asked about age at first sex, number of partners (last month) and condom use with last partners (paying and non-paying). Paying partners were defined as male clients with whom respondents traded sex for money, goods or drugs. Condom use was classified as "consistent" if the participant reported always using a condom. Participants were asked about the number of days in which alcohol was drunk and the number of days in which they were "affected" by alcohol or were "drunk" in the past month. ATS use (ever and last 3 months) was assessed with questions regarding use of yama and crystal (ice).

#### Analyses

Prevalence estimates were calculated using exact binomial confidence intervals (CI). Chi-square and Fisher's Exact Tests were used to examine differences in baseline sociodemographic, occupational, sexual, and alcohol/drug use exposures and prevalent HIV and STI between the two cohorts. The only longitudinal data compared was HIV incidence. The HIV incidence rate calculated using the number of seroconversions per

100 person-years of observation (PYO) assuming a Poisson distribution. Analyses were performed using STATA 9.0 (STATA, College Station, TX).

#### **Results**

In YWHS-1, 285 women attended community information sessions, 161 (56%) eligible women were recruited to the group information/consent meeting, and 160 (99%) consented to participate. In YWHS-2, 220 (64%) women consented out of 345 who attended information sessions. Sixty-seven women from YWHS-1 also enrolled in YWHS-2; they were not included in the YWHS-2 comparison group, leaving 153 in the analysis. Table 1 shows baseline socio-demographic and occupational factors, as well as sexual and substance use risk exposures, in the two cohorts. The cohorts were similar with respect to age (median 25 years), and age of sexual debut (median 17 and 18 years, respectively), but differed significantly in years of education and marital status. Compared to women in YWHS-1, women in YWHS-2 had more education (median of 5 years (IQR 2,7) vs. 2 years (IQR 0,4)), and were more likely to be married or cohabitating with a partner (31.4% vs. 15%, respectively).

Women in YWHS-2 had been involved in sex work for significantly less time (median of 3 years (IQR 1.7, 5)) than YWHS-1 women (median of 4.3 years (IQR 2.5, 6.3). More YWHS-2 women were currently (last 30 days) working in entertainment venues and fewer in brothels, or as freelance FSW (including in parks, guest houses, or on the street). These differences were also reflected in the significantly higher proportion of YWHS-2 women who reported having a manager or boss (81.6%) compared to YWHS-1 (46%). Figure 1 shows the distribution and range of work venues women reported 'ever' working in. Women in YWHS-2 also reported significantly fewer sexual partners in the past 30 days: a median of 5 compared to 30 in YWHS-1 (Table 1). Despite these differences, women in the two samples reported similar income distributions. Self-

reported consistent condom use, with both paying and non-paying partners, did not differ between cohorts. Alcohol and ATS use differed significantly: women in YWHS-2 reported more alcohol use, but fewer days drunk in the past month than in YWHS-1; and fewer women in YWHS-2 reported ever using ATS, although recent use was similar in both groups (Table 1). Both alcohol and ATS use varied by cohort and work venue: entertainment-based women in YWHS-2 reported less of both, whereas brothel and freelance-based women in YWHS-2 reported significantly more ATS use (Figure 2).

HIV prevalence was significantly (p<0·01) lower in women sampled in YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1: 9·2% (95% CI 4·5%, 13·8%; p<0.01) vs. 23% (95% CI 16·5%, 29·7%) (Table 2). When the 67 women who had participated in both samples were included in YWHS-2, HIV prevalence was  $15\cdot5\%$  (95% CI 10.6, 20.3). HIV incidence was also lower in YWHS-2: 0·8/100 pyo (95% CI 0·1, 6·0) vs. 3.6/100 pyo (95% CI 1·2, 11·1), but not significantly (p=0.26). In YWHS-1, prevalence of Chlamydia infection was  $11\cdot5\%$  (95% CI 6·0%,  $17\cdot1\%$ ) and Gonorrhea infection was  $7\cdot8\%$  (95% CI 3·5%,  $12\cdot3\%$ ). Women in YWHS-2 were not tested for these STI, but  $41\cdot1\%$  were HPV. HIV prevalence differed significantly by work venue and by cohort, but over 30% of freelance-based women tested positive in both cohorts (Table 2).

In both cohorts, 20% reported being tested for HIV in the past 3 months but more YWHS-2 women had a history of testing (Table 3). More women in YWHS-1 reported not knowing their HIV test results: 11 of the 84 women  $(13\cdot1\%)$  who reported being negative tested positive and 4 of 12 women  $(33\cdot3\%)$  who reported they did not know their previous HIV results tested positive. In YWHS-2, 5 of 114  $(4\cdot4\%)$  who reported testing negative, and 2 of 4 (50%) who did not know their previous results, tested

positive. Among women who reported no history of HIV testing, 31% (18/58) and 12.9% (4/31) tested HIV positive in YWHS-1 and -2, respectively.

## **Discussion**

In these two samples of young FSW, recruited using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods, we observed important differences in socio-demographics, risk exposures and HIV infection outcomes. Most notably, women sampled more recently were more educated, had fewer sex partners, less time working in sex work and had significantly lower prevalence of HIV. Where women worked was also very different in the two cohorts: a much higher proportion of women sampled in 2009-10 compared to 2007-8 worked in entertainment-based establishments and fewer were brothel-based or freelance FSW. These differences point to the notable changes in sex work typology and environment that occurred following the enactment and enforcement in 2008 of antitrafficking legislation in Cambodia<sup>16</sup>. Brothel closures and increases in policing have been acknowledged as a cause of significant social and occupational upheaval among FSW, driving many women, especially former brothel-based FSW, "underground". 10 Both government agencies and NGOs in Phnom Penh have reported negative impacts of the legislation on FSW including: displacement and harassment and reduced access to condoms and health care. 10 20 24 In our qualitative research, women confirmed these impacts, describing how they moved to new venues or locales for sex work transactions including apartments or houses rented by brothel owners following brothel closures 16, raising concerns about increased risks of HIV transmission as a result of the increasingly clandestine nature of direct sex work. The significant increases in the number of women involved in sex work also warrant attention.

The differences in HIV prevalence, risk profiles, and sex work environments reported by these two samples are consistent with both quantitative and qualitative research demonstrating how socio-political and environmental factors can increase vulnerability to HIV among FSW. 48-51 The time period in which these two cohorts were sampled, corresponded with increased criminalization of sex work which impacted the number and settings of transactional sex. These shifts can have mixed effects. First, women engaged in entertainment-based work have lower risk profiles than women engaged in freelance sex work. The shorter duration of sex work reported by entertainment-based FSW likely contributes to the lower HIV prevalence in this group. Protective effects of entertainment-based work may include having a boss or manager; odds of HIV among women who say they have a boss or manager are lower compared to women who do not (OR: 0.40; 95% CI 0.19, 0.90). We also explored these factors in qualitative interviews with FSW. 16 Brothel and entertainment-based sex workers reported that the 'boss/manager" mitigated risk of violence from clients and problems with police. Also, women working in entertainment establishments report earning up to three times more (US \$50-\$60 or in \$200,000-\$240,000 Cambodian Riel) per client than women who worked in brothels or streets and parks. 16 This is substantiated by the two cohorts' report of similar income levels despite differences in the number of sex partners. It is also possible that entertainment-based FW have lower risk partners than brothel-based and freelance FSW. Despite the lower prevalence of HIV and the lower number of male sex partners reported by this growing group of FSW, there is significant potential for amplified transmission of HIV at a population level, given the extraordinary growth in the size of the population, especially if male partners bridge to women who are not involved in transactional sex.

The two cohorts also showed differences in drug and alcohol use exposures. Our group has identified ATS use as a significant independent risk factor for HIV related risk behaviour including number of sex partners (Adjusted Risk Ratio (ARR): 1.49; 95% CI 1.0, 2.21) and incident STI (AOR: 5.41; 95% CI 1.15, 25.48) <sup>39</sup>. Alcohol use is also emerging as a potential HIV-related risk factor<sup>16</sup>, although not well quantified among FSW, especially those working in entertainment establishments (or their male partners). Entertainment venues largely revolve around alcohol, and women working at these are generally employed as hostesses, waitresses, or as "promoters" such as "beer promotion girls" in a variety of venues. 16 21 Women who were working in the entertainment sector were more likely to both report more days of drinking, and more days intoxicated, than brothel or street-based FSW. Alcohol use can be a barrier to effective condom use and condom negotiation in the transactional context. 16 52 Although women in the two samples did not report differences in inconsistent condom use, we have previously found that women who report heavy alcohol use are also significantly more likely to report inconsistent condom use.<sup>39</sup> Given how entwined drug and alcohol use are with sex work, especially in the growing entertainment-based sector, there is a significant need to better elucidate ways to mitigate HIV-associated risks among women whose livelihood depends on working in these establishments. Designing and implementing prevention in these contexts will require input, not only from working women, but also from the wider business sector, as well as male clients. 48 53-56

The differences in HIV and risk profiles between the women in our two samples, as well as outreach efforts by HIV prevention organizations, may be a result of reaching "low hanging fruit" resulting from both substantive increases in the number of women working in entertainment establishments, and the increased challenges of engaging women with higher risk and who are HIV infected for the reasons described above. FSW

in Phnom Penh have historically been easily accessed for prevention and surveillance efforts. However, recent changes in the sex work landscape suggest that alternative sampling methods, such as respondent driven sampling, may result in better access to higher risk women who are more hidden and therefore hard to reach in this new legal climate.<sup>57</sup>

HIV prevention remains an important and essential priority for all women engaged in transactional sex. A recent systematic review confirms that FSW in Asia have the highest odds of infection compared to women of reproductive age in the general population. In addition to new structural interventions aimed at reducing risk in the work-based environment, the very high prevalence and risk of HIV among FSW in Cambodia suggests a need for combination HIV prevention interventions including biomedical (pre-exposure prophylaxis, microbicides, and treatment as prevention), behavioural and development approaches (such as microfinance or income generating opportunities). September 1996.

Several limitations of these analyses should be noted. First results presented here are cross-sectional and thus associations do not reflect causality. The comparison of the serial samples is ecological in nature and does not prove temporal effects. The sample sizes are small and thus subject to limitations with respect to generalizability. Many exposures are self-reported and thus may reflect social desirability bias, especially condom use which we have found has been over-reported based on biomarker data. On the other hand, we have found that self-reported ATS use is accurate compared to urine toxicology screening, suggesting that measures of drug and alcohol use in this group are accurate.

Results from this analysis provide important insights into recent shifts in the context of sex work and risk in young FSW in Phnom Penh, highlight challenges to HIV prevention in this environment, and also point to the need for more research. Conflicting trends, including the criminalization and suppression of direct sex work while the indirect entertainment-based sex work industry is flourishing, has potentially set a new stage. Unless there is acknowledgment and access to women who are more directly engaged in sex work, these women will be poorly represented in any national HIV or behavioural surveillance. They will remain hidden and stigmatized, subject to repression, violence and potentially with less access to prevention or care. While the 100% condom use program had its criticisms, that policy at least acknowledged the existence and need for HIV prevention at a multisectoral level for FSW. The current socio-political climate has potentially reversed these benefits, by denying the existence of FSW. Further in-depth research among both FSW, their male clients and among entertainment venue management would help to elucidate the impacts, both positive and negative of these new laws. The exponential growth of entertainment-based sex work has the potential to result in an expanding HIV epidemic among young women in Cambodia. From a programmatic perspective entertainment-based FSW are much easier to reach but likely require different HIV prevention interventions than the 100% condom use program. Implementation of research and programmatic efforts that integrate health, social empowerment, and safe work environments for HIV prevention remain a high priority for women engaged in sex work in Cambodia.<sup>67</sup>

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Table 1: Selected socio-demographic characteristics, occupational, and risk exposures in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160 Prevalence of characteristic		YWHS-2 N=153* Prevalence of characteristic		p-value
	N	%	N	%	
Age (years, median (IQR))	25 (2:	1 – 27)	25 ( 22 – 28)		0.56
16-18	13	8.1	11	7.2	0.86
19-24	64	40.0	58	37.9	
25-29	83	51.8	84	54.9	
Marital status					
Never married	57	35.6	38	24.8	<0.01
Married-living together	24	15.0	48	31.4	
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	79	49.4	67	43.8	
Education (years)					
None	64	40.0	23	15.0	<0.01
Primary (1-6 years)	82	51.3	91	59.5	
Secondary (7+ years)	14	8.8	39	25.5	
Age at first sex (median (IQR))	17 (16 – 18)		18 ( 16 – 19)		0.03
<u>&lt;</u> 15	32	20.1	22	14.5	0.19
> 15	127	79.9	130	85.5	
Length of employment as FSW	4.3 (2.5 – 6		-6.3) 3 (1.7 - 5)		<0.01
(years, median (IQR))		<u> </u>			
Current employment venue (last 30 days)			2/		
Entertainment	51	31.9	113	74.3	<0.01†
Brothel	23	9.2	3	2.0	
Freelance	59	39.3	29	19.1	
Other/Multiple	27	16.9	7	4.6	
Have a manager, boss or supervisor					
No	82	53.6	28	14.4	<0.01
Yes	71	46.4	124	81.6	
Income in past month (US \$)					
Less than \$100	68	42.5	50	32.9	0.18
100-150\$	35	21.9	43	29.3	

Over 150\$	57	35.6	59	38.8	
Number of sex partners in last	30 (10	<b>–</b> 90)	5 (3	_ 13)	<0.01
month (median (IQR))	·		5 (3 – 13)		
≤10	45	28.1	112	73.2	<0.01
11 – 50	53	33.1	41	26.8	
> 50	62	38.8	0	0	
Condom use with last paying partner					
Consistent (always)	108	85.7	86	87.8	0.66
Inconsistent	18	14.3	12	12.2	
Condom use with last non paying partner					
Consistent (always)	7	20.6	10	18.2	0.78
Inconsistent	27	79.4	45	81.8	
Number of days drink alcohol (last month)	15 (2 – 30)		18 (5 – 28)		0.76
0 – 4	65	40.6	36	23.5	<0.01
5 – 19	25	15.6	42	27.5	
≥ 20	70	43.7	75	49.0	
Number of days drunk (last month)	5 (1 -			<b>– 10)</b>	0.07
0 – 4	89	55.6	86	56.2	<0.01
5 – 19	33	20.6	50	32.7	
≥ 20	38	23.7	17	11.1	
ATS use (ever)					
No	92	57.5	107	69.9	0.02
Yes	68	42.5	46	30.1	
ATS use (last 3 months)			•		
No	116	73.4	117	76.5	0.54
Yes	42	26.6	36	23.5	
Ever used any drug prior to/during					
Sex No.	100	60 1	117	76.5	0.10
No Vos	109	68.1	117	76.5	0.10
Yes	51	31.9	36	23.5	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

<sup>†</sup>Fisher Exact p-value

Table 2: HIV prevalence overall and by current work venue in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Chavastaviatia	YWHS-1 N=160				
Characteristic	N	% (95% CI)	N=153*		p-value
HIV positive	37	23.1 (16.5 – 29.7)	14	9.2 (4.5 – 13.8)	<0.01
The positive	37	23.1 (10.3 23.7)		3.2 (1.3 13.0)	10.01
HIV positive by					
employment venue (n/N)					
Entertainment	5/51	9.8 (1.5 – 18.1)	5/113	4.4 (0.6 – 8.2)	<0.01
Brothel	4/23	17.4 (1.5 – 33.3)	0/3	0	
Freelance	22/59	37.3 (25.0 – 48.0)	9/29	31.0 (13.8 – 48.2)	
Other/Multiple	6/27	22.2 (6.2 – 38.3)	0/7	0	
* Excludes women who partic	cipated in Y	WHS-1			
				31.0 (13.8 – 48.2)	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

Table 3: HIV testing history and behaviors in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh,

Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160		YWHS-2* N=153*		
	N	%	N	%	p-value
Ever tested for HIV					
No	58	36.5	31	20.3	<0.01
Yes	101	63.5	122	79.7	
HIV test in last 3 months					
No	126	79.3	119	77.8	0.75
Yes	33	20.7	34	22.2	
What was result of last HIV test?#					
Negative	84	84.0	114	93.4	0.04
Positive	4	4.0	4	3.3	
Don't know	12	12.0	4	3.3	
Where received last HIV test <sup>#</sup>					
Public hospital	35	34.7	55	34.0	0.10
Voluntary testing and	1	1.0	0	0	
counseling center					
NGO clinic	59	58.4	54	44.3	
Private hospital, clinic, or laboratory	6	5.9	13	10.7	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

<sup>#</sup> Among those who reported being previously tested for HIV

## **Figure Legend**

Figure 1: Venues where women in YWHS-2 and YWHS-2 reported ever working

Figure 2. Alcohol use in the past month and ATS use in the past 3 months reported by women in YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 by work venue: (A) Entertainment-based; (B) Brothelbased; (C) Freelance



Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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Short title: HIV infection and risk in two samples of FSW in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

#### **Abstract**

**Objectives:** HIV prevalence among Cambodian female sex workers (FSW) is among the highest in Southeast Asia. We describe HIV prevalence and associated risk exposures in FSW sampled serially in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (Young Women's Health Study (YWHS), before and after the implementation of a new law designed to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation.

**Design:** Cross-sectional analysis of baseline data from two prospective cohorts.

**Setting:** Community—based study in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

**Participants:** Women aged 15-29 years, reporting  $\geq$ 2 sexual partners in the last month and/or engaged in transactional sex in the last 3 months, were enrolled in the studies in 2007 (N=161; YWHS-1), and 2009 (N=220; YWHS-2) following information sessions where 285 and 345 women attended.

**Primary outcomes:** HIV prevalence, sexual risk behaviour, amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) and alcohol use, and work-related factors were compared the two groups, enrolled before and after implementation of the new law.

**Results:** Participants and in the two cohorts were similar in age (median 25 years), but YWHS-2 women reported fewer sex partners, more alcohol use, and less ATS use. A higher proportion of YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1 women worked in entertainment-based venues (68% vs. 31%, respectively). HIV prevalence was significantly lower in the more recently sampled women: 9·2% (95% CI 4·5, 13·8) vs. 23% (95% CI 16·5, 29·7).

**Conclusions:** Sex work context and risk has shifted among young FSW in Phnom Penh, following implementation of anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking laws. While both cohorts were recruited using the same eligibility criteria, more recently sampled women had lower prevalence of sexual risk and HIV infection. Women engaged more directly in transactional sex have become harder to sample and access. Future prevention

research and programs need to consider how new policies and demographic changes in FSW impact HIV transmission.



## **Article summary**

#### Article Focus

- HIV prevalence and incidence in two serial samples of young female sex workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (2007-2008, and 2009-2010);
- Comparison of baseline risk and HIV outcomes, including sexual behavior, drug and alcohol use in the two cohorts sampled before and after implementation of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation laws in 2008;
- Impact of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation legislation on female sex workers and HIV risk.

#### Key Messages

- Women sampled using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods in differed with respect to risk exposures and HIV outcomes;
- Changes in sex work typology and environment are evident after enactment of the anti-trafficking laws, including very few brothel-based FSW and significantly more FSW based in the entertainment sector;
- Shifts in the context of sex work and risk highlight the ongoing need and challenges for HIV and drug prevention for young women engaged in sex work.

# Strengths and Limitations

- Two comparably sampled groups of young FSW suggest changing trends in HIV risk;
- Comparison of cross-sectional samples is ecological and does not prove temporal effects;
- Criminalization and suppression of sex work and a flourishing entertainment-based sex work industry set new and conflicting stage for HIV prevention.

Author Contributions: All authors contributed to the design and implementation of the YWHS-1 and -2 studies. Authors KP, ES, JE, and LM compiled the first draft of the manuscript, which was reviewed by NS, M-CC, KS, MC, JM\_S, PP, JK. The primary statistical analysis was conducted by JE and M-CC; KS and MC provided supplemental data review, and KP reviewed all data analyses. All authors contributed to and have approved the final manuscript. The YWHS Collaborative is a steering committee who reviewed and approved the study protocols, and provided expertise into some or all of the studies' methods and implementation.

Data Sharing: no additional data available.

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Cambodian women who agreed to participate in this study and grateful for the privilege to work with them.



#### Introduction

There have been significant declines in HIV prevalence in Cambodia since the epidemic peaked in around 2000, a success widely attributed to measurable increases in condom use, declines in the number and frequency of commercial sex transactions reported by men, access to HIV voluntary counseling & testing (VCT) and uptake of antiretroviral therapy.<sup>1-3</sup> In 2010, the National Center for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology and STDs (NCHADS) revised the national estimate of HIV prevalence to 0.8% (in 15-49 year olds), reflecting a significant decline after the peak estimate of 2.4% in 1998. However, HIV prevalence in Cambodian women, especially young women, is among the highest in Southeast Asia and heterosexual sex remains the main route of transmission. 5-9 Since 2006, women have accounted for over half (52%) of all HIV infections in Cambodia <sup>10</sup>, higher than in Asia and the Pacific in general (35%). Limited income generating activities, a highly mobile workforce, trafficking in women and girls and widespread transactional sex, poverty, and sexually transmitted infections (STI) have been identified as key drivers of the epidemic among female sex workers (FSW). 156 10 12-15 As in many countries, FSW in Cambodia can be hard to reach and difficult to provide prevention services to. In recent years significant economic and policy changes have affected the sex work landscape, with notable shifts in sex work venues, typologies, and more women engaged in transactional sex than ever before. 16-20

Until 2008, FSW in Cambodia were categorized as "direct" and were mostly brothel-based, or "indirect". Indirect FSW were distinguished from direct FSW, generally working in entertainment establishments as beer promotion girls, waitresses, hostesses, or karaoke girls for example, and engaged in occasional transactional sex for supplementary income. <sup>21-23</sup> In 1997, an estimated 5,300 women worked in the entertainment/service sector and 6,000 were brothel-based FSW. The number of

women involved in entertainment-based sex work has grown dramatically in recent years in Cambodia. Until 2008, the estimated number of women engaged in sex and entertainment work was stable (12,762 women were enumerated in 2008), however by 2012, this had increased dramatically to an estimated 41,622 women, a more than threefold increase from the 2008 estimate (NCHADS, personal communication). The reasons for this growth have not been explored in detail, but may be associated with changing economic factors during this time in Cambodia. Following the passage and implementation of the "Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation" in February, 2008, brothel-based sex work was banned, and the most direct effect was on direct sex trade, which went "underground", or women moved into indirect work. 10 Along with the overt enforcement against FSW, the 2008 antitrafficking legislation had other consequences. For instance, official terminology used by governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGO) to describe FSW labeled all women engaged in sex and entertainment work as "entertainment workers", or EW\*. Historically, brothel-based FSW were easily accessed and monitored for HIV prevention efforts, including HIV and behavioral surveillance. NGOs working in HIV prevention reported that as transactional sex was displaced to a wider range of settings, women at highest risk became harder to reach for both prevention and service delivery. 16 24 25 These factors pose significant challenges to HIV prevention and threaten to undermine progress achieved to date.

<sup>\*</sup> The term `female sex worker' is no longer used in Cambodia. Terminology was changed in 2008 to designate high risk women working in service and entertainment venues as "entertainment workers" or EW. No new HIV surveillance data has been published on FSW, and Behavioral Surveillance Survey (BSS) methods have been changed to recognize only indirect sex workers-'EW', and determining whether or not they are selling sex by the average number of reported sex partners per week (10. UNAIDS. Cambodia Country Progress Report: Monitoring the Progress towards the Implementation of the Declaration of Commitment on HIV and AIDS. Reporting period: January 2010-December 2011. Prepared by National AIDS Authority for United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS). http://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/cambodia/ Accessed December 28, 2012...

HIV prevalence is extremely high among Cambodian FSW with prevalence among younger women is particularly troubling as their infection is likely to be more recent and indicative of incidence.<sup>5 8 9 21</sup> A cornerstone of HIV prevention in Cambodia was the 100% Condom Use campaign<sup>26 27</sup>, primarily directed at brothel-based FSW. With changes in sex work venues, this prevention approach is likely less effective, failing to reach the large number of women now engaged in transactional sex in entertainment establishments. Indeed, measures of self-reported condom use have declined according to monitoring data reported by UNAIDS.<sup>10</sup> New risk factors have also emerged, especially amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) use, in the form of "yama", (pills) and "ice" (a crystalline form).<sup>28-38</sup> ATS use is associated with increased sexual risk behavior and STI incidence among these young women<sup>5 39</sup>, similar to that seen in other populations and locales.<sup>40-44</sup>

We conducted two prospective studies of high-risk young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh, the principal research questions focused on estimating HIV and STI prevalence and incidence and associated risk factors. The first, Young Women's Health Study (YWHS-1), was conducted in 2007-2008 and the second, YWHS-2, in 2009-2010. First 16 and 15 and 15 and 15 and 16 and

# Methods

# Study setting

The YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 were both prospective studies of young women engaged in sex work in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Methods have been described in detail previously.<sup>5</sup>

39 Both studies were led by a multidisciplinary collaborative prevention research group from NCHADS, the Cambodian Women's Development Association (CWDA), the University of California in San Francisco (UCSF) in the United States, and the Kirby Institute at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) in Australia.

# Study population and recruitment

The target population in both studies was young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh. Inclusion criteria were: aged 15-29 years, Khmer language comprehension,  $\geq 2$  different sexual partners in the last month or engaged in transactional sex (sex in exchange for money, goods, services, or drugs) within the last three months, no plans to move in the next 12 months, biologically female, and able to provide voluntary informed consent. YWHS-1 aimed to sample 160 women to provide 80% power to estimate a point prevalence of HIV at 15% with a 95% confidence interval (CI) of 9·7% to 23·0%. Based on results of YWHS-1, YWHS-2 aimed to sample 220 women to detect an estimated HIV prevalence of 23% (95% CI, 17·3%, 30·5%).

Recruitment and enrollment procedures were the same in both studies. CWDA field assistants provided study information and conducted eligibility screening via information meetings in neighborhoods where sex work was prevalent. Eligible women were invited to a community location used by various sex-worker organizations where study information was described in more detail and written informed consent was obtained. Enrolled participants were given appointment cards to present to the YWHS clinic field-site and free transportation was offered. In both studies, women were remunerated US\$5 at each study visit for their participation time.

#### Data collection

All data collection occurred at the YWHS clinic, which was staffed by a physician, nurses, counselors and a laboratory technician. A structured questionnaire was administered in Khmer by trained interviewers. Survey items were similar in both studies, and covered socio-demographic characteristics, occupational and sexual risk history, alcohol and drug use. HIV testing was conducted at each visit. In YWHS-1, urine specimens were tested for Chlamydia trachomatis (CT) and *Neisseria gonorrhoea* (GC). In YWHS-2, women were tested for HPV infection. STI treatment was provided at no cost, and women with HIV and HPV infection were referred to a local provider for free medical evaluation and treatment.

# Laboratory testing

HIV serology was performed using two rapid tests; Uni-Gold Recombigen (TM) HIV rapid HIV test (Trinity Biotech USA, Jamestown, NY) and the Clairview HIV 1/2 STAT-PAK (Inverness Medical Diagnostics, Waltham, MA). HIV positive and discordant samples were confirmed by HIV-1 immunoblot. CT and GC were assessed from urine samples using BDProbeTec<sup>TM</sup> strand displacement amplification assay (Becton Dickinson, Sparks, MD) at the NCHADS STD laboratory. Cervical specimens for HPV testing were collected using a standard cytobrush. Client-centered risk reduction counseling was provided in association with all testing.

### Ethical review

The study protocols were reviewed and approved by Institutional Review Board of the Committee on Human Research at UCSF, the Cambodian National Ethics Committee, and the University of New South Wales Human Research Ethics Committee in

accordance with ethical standards (institutional and national) and with the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, as revised in 2000.

#### Measures

Both studies aimed to estimate HIV infection, ATS use, and sexual risk behavior and included questions on sociodemographic factors, work history, income, and duration of sex work, and whether they currently had an employer (manager, boss or supervisor). Women were asked if they had ever and/or were currently working: as a beer promoter, in a beer garden, as a waitress or hostess in a karaoke bar, nightclub or snooker bar, in a massage parlor, brothel, as a freelance sex worker using space at a brothel, as a freelance sex worker in the park or on the street, or to specify 'other' location. They were asked about age at first sex, number of partners (last month) and condom use with last partners (paying and non-paying). Paying partners were defined as male clients with whom respondents traded sex for money, goods or drugs. Condom use was classified as "consistent" if the participant reported always using a condom. Participants were asked about the number of days in which alcohol was drunk and the number of days in which they were "affected" by alcohol or were "drunk" in the past month. ATS use (ever and last 3 months) was assessed with questions regarding use of yama and crystal (ice).

#### Analyses

Prevalence estimates were calculated using exact binomial confidence intervals (CI). Chi-square and Fisher's Exact Tests were used to examine differences in baseline sociodemographic, occupational, sexual, and alcohol/drug use exposures and prevalent HIV and STI between the two cohorts. The only longitudinal data compared was HIV incidence. The HIV incidence rate calculated using the number of seroconversions per

100 person-years of observation (PYO) assuming a Poisson distribution. Analyses were performed using STATA 9.0 (STATA, College Station, TX).

#### **Results**

In YWHS-1, 285 women attended community information sessions, 161 (56%) eligible women were recruited to the group information/consent meeting, and 160 (99%) consented to participate. In YWHS-2, 220 (64%) women consented out of 345 who attended information sessions. Sixty-seven women from YWHS-1 also enrolled in YWHS-2; they were not included in the YWHS-2 comparison group, leaving 153 in the analysis. Table 1 shows baseline socio-demographic and occupational factors, as well as sexual and substance use risk exposures, in the two cohorts. The cohorts were similar with respect to age (median 25 years), and age of sexual debut (median 17 and 18 years, respectively), but differed significantly in years of education and marital status. Compared to women in YWHS-1, women in YWHS-2 had more education (median of 5 years (IQR 2,7) vs. 2 years (IQR 0,4)), and were more likely to be married or cohabitating with a partner (31.4% vs. 15%, respectively).

Women in YWHS-2 had been involved in sex work for significantly less time (median of 3 years (IQR 1.7, 5)) than YWHS-1 women (median of 4.3 years (IQR 2.5, 6.3). More YWHS-2 women were currently (last 30 days) working in entertainment venues and fewer in brothels, or as freelance FSW (including in parks, guest houses, or on the street). These differences were also reflected in the significantly higher proportion of YWHS-2 women who reported having a manager or boss (81.6%) compared to YWHS-1 (46%). Figure 1 shows the distribution and range of work venues women reported 'ever' working in. Women in YWHS-2 also reported significantly fewer sexual partners in the past 30 days: a median of 5 compared to 30 in YWHS-1 (Table 1). Despite these differences, women in the two samples reported similar income distributions. Self-

reported consistent condom use, with both paying and non-paying partners, did not differ between cohorts. Alcohol and ATS use differed significantly: women in YWHS-2 reported more alcohol use, but fewer days drunk in the past month than in YWHS-1; and fewer women in YWHS-2 reported ever using ATS, although recent use was similar in both groups (Table 1). Both alcohol and ATS use varied by cohort and work venue: entertainment-based women in YWHS-2 reported less of both, whereas brothel and freelance-based women in YWHS-2 reported significantly more ATS use (Figure 2).

HIV prevalence was significantly (p<0·01) lower in women sampled in YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1: 9·2% (95% CI 4·5%, 13·8%; p<0.01) vs. 23% (95% CI 16·5%, 29·7%) (Table 2). When the 67 women who had participated in both samples were included in YWHS-2, HIV prevalence was  $15\cdot5\%$  (95% CI 10.6, 20.3). HIV incidence was also lower in YWHS-2: 0·8/100 pyo (95% CI 0·1, 6·0) vs. 3.6/100 pyo (95% CI 1·2, 11·1), but not significantly (p=0.26). In YWHS-1, prevalence of Chlamydia infection was  $11\cdot5\%$  (95% CI 6·0%,  $17\cdot1\%$ ) and Gonorrhea infection was  $7\cdot8\%$  (95% CI 3·5%,  $12\cdot3\%$ ). Women in YWHS-2 were not tested for these STI, but  $41\cdot1\%$  were HPV. HIV prevalence differed significantly by work venue and by cohort, but over 30% of freelance-based women tested positive in both cohorts (Table 2).

In both cohorts, 20% reported being tested for HIV in the past 3 months but more YWHS-2 women had a history of testing (Table 3). More women in YWHS-1 reported not knowing their HIV test results: 11 of the 84 women  $(13\cdot1\%)$  who reported being negative tested positive and 4 of 12 women  $(33\cdot3\%)$  who reported they did not know their previous HIV results tested positive. In YWHS-2, 5 of 114  $(4\cdot4\%)$  who reported testing negative, and 2 of 4 (50%) who did not know their previous results, tested

positive. Among women who reported no history of HIV testing, 31% (18/58) and 12.9% (4/31) tested HIV positive in YWHS-1 and -2, respectively.

### **Discussion**

In these two samples of young FSW, recruited using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods, we observed important differences in socio-demographics, risk exposures and HIV infection outcomes. Most notably, women sampled more recently were more educated, had fewer sex partners, less time working in sex work and had significantly lower prevalence of HIV. Where women worked was also very different in the two cohorts: a much higher proportion of women sampled in 2009-10 compared to 2007-8 worked in entertainment-based establishments and fewer were brothel-based or freelance FSW. These differences point to the notable changes in sex work typology and environment that occurred following the enactment and enforcement in 2008 of antitrafficking legislation in Cambodia<sup>16</sup>. Brothel closures and increases in policing have been acknowledged as a cause of significant social and occupational upheaval among FSW, driving many women, especially former brothel-based FSW, "underground". 10 Both government agencies and NGOs in Phnom Penh have reported negative impacts of the legislation on FSW including: displacement and harassment and reduced access to condoms and health care. 10 20 24 In our qualitative research, women confirmed these impacts, describing how they moved to new venues or locales for sex work transactions including apartments or houses rented by brothel owners following brothel closures 16, raising concerns about increased risks of HIV transmission as a result of the increasingly clandestine nature of direct sex work. The significant increases in the number of women involved in sex work also warrant attention.

The differences in HIV prevalence, risk profiles, and sex work environments reported by these two samples are consistent with both quantitative and qualitative research demonstrating how socio-political and environmental factors can increase vulnerability to HIV among FSW. 48-51 The time period in which these two cohorts were sampled, corresponded with increased criminalization of sex work which impacted the number and settings of transactional sex. These shifts can have mixed effects. First, women engaged in entertainment-based work have lower risk profiles than women engaged in freelance sex work. The shorter duration of sex work reported by entertainment-based FSW likely contributes to the lower HIV prevalence in this group. Protective effects of entertainment-based work may include having a boss or manager; odds of HIV among women who say they have a boss or manager are lower compared to women who do not (OR: 0.40; 95% CI 0.19, 0.90). We also explored these factors in qualitative interviews with FSW. 16 Brothel and entertainment-based sex workers reported that the 'boss/manager" mitigated risk of violence from clients and problems with police. Also, women working in entertainment establishments report earning up to three times more (US \$50-\$60 or in \$200,000-\$240,000 Cambodian Riel) per client than women who worked in brothels or streets and parks. 16 This is substantiated by the two cohorts' report of similar income levels despite differences in the number of sex partners. It is also possible that entertainment-based FW have lower risk partners than brothel-based and freelance FSW. Despite the lower prevalence of HIV and the lower number of male sex partners reported by this growing group of FSW, there is significant potential for amplified transmission of HIV at a population level, given the extraordinary growth in the size of the population, especially if male partners bridge to women who are not involved in transactional sex.

The two cohorts also showed differences in drug and alcohol use exposures. Our group has identified ATS use as a significant independent risk factor for HIV related risk behaviour including number of sex partners (Adjusted Risk Ratio (ARR): 1.49; 95% CI 1.0, 2.21) and incident STI (AOR: 5.41; 95% CI 1.15, 25.48) <sup>39</sup>. Alcohol use is also emerging as a potential HIV-related risk factor<sup>16</sup>, although not well quantified among FSW, especially those working in entertainment establishments (or their male partners). Entertainment venues largely revolve around alcohol, and women working at these are generally employed as hostesses, waitresses, or as "promoters" such as "beer promotion girls" in a variety of venues. 16 21 Women who were working in the entertainment sector were more likely to both report more days of drinking, and more days intoxicated, than brothel or street-based FSW. Alcohol use can be a barrier to effective condom use and condom negotiation in the transactional context. 16 52 Although women in the two samples did not report differences in inconsistent condom use, we have previously found that women who report heavy alcohol use are also significantly more likely to report inconsistent condom use.<sup>39</sup> Given how entwined drug and alcohol use are with sex work, especially in the growing entertainment-based sector, there is a significant need to better elucidate ways to mitigate HIV-associated risks among women whose livelihood depends on working in these establishments. Designing and implementing prevention in these contexts will require input, not only from working women, but also from the wider business sector, as well as male clients. 48 53-56

The differences in HIV and risk profiles between the women in our two samples, as well as outreach efforts by HIV prevention organizations, may be a result of reaching "low hanging fruit" resulting from both substantive increases in the number of women working in entertainment establishments, and the increased challenges of engaging women with higher risk and who are HIV infected for the reasons described above. FSW

in Phnom Penh have historically been easily accessed for prevention and surveillance efforts. However, recent changes in the sex work landscape suggest that alternative sampling methods, such as respondent driven sampling, may result in better access to higher risk women who are more hidden and therefore hard to reach in this new legal climate.<sup>57</sup>

HIV prevention remains an important and essential priority for all women engaged in transactional sex. A recent systematic review confirms that FSW in Asia have the highest odds of infection compared to women of reproductive age in the general population. In addition to new structural interventions aimed at reducing risk in the work-based environment, the very high prevalence and risk of HIV among FSW in Cambodia suggests a need for combination HIV prevention interventions including biomedical (pre-exposure prophylaxis, microbicides, and treatment as prevention), behavioural and development approaches (such as microfinance or income generating opportunities). September 1996.

Several limitations of these analyses should be noted. First results presented here are cross-sectional and thus associations do not reflect causality. The comparison of the serial samples is ecological in nature and does not prove temporal effects. The sample sizes are small and thus subject to limitations with respect to generalizability. Many exposures are self-reported and thus may reflect social desirability bias, especially condom use which we have found has been over-reported based on biomarker data. On the other hand, we have found that self-reported ATS use is accurate compared to urine toxicology screening, suggesting that measures of drug and alcohol use in this group are accurate.

Results from this analysis provide important insights into recent shifts in the context of sex work and risk in young FSW in Phnom Penh, highlight challenges to HIV prevention in this environment, and also point to the need for more research. Conflicting trends, including the criminalization and suppression of direct sex work while the indirect entertainment-based sex work industry is flourishing, has potentially set a new stage. Unless there is acknowledgment and access to women who are more directly engaged in sex work, these women will be poorly represented in any national HIV or behavioural surveillance. They will remain hidden and stigmatized, subject to repression, violence and potentially with less access to prevention or care. While the 100% condom use program had its criticisms, that policy at least acknowledged the existence and need for HIV prevention at a multisectoral level for FSW. The current socio-political climate has potentially reversed these benefits, by denying the existence of FSW. Further in-depth research among both FSW, their male clients and among entertainment venue management would help to elucidate the impacts, both positive and negative of these new laws. The exponential growth of entertainment-based sex work has the potential to result in an expanding HIV epidemic among young women in Cambodia. From a programmatic perspective entertainment-based FSW are much easier to reach but likely require different HIV prevention interventions than the 100% condom use program. Implementation of research and programmatic efforts that integrate health, social empowerment, and safe work environments for HIV prevention remain a high priority for women engaged in sex work in Cambodia.<sup>67</sup>

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Table 1: Selected socio-demographic characteristics, occupational, and risk exposures in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160 Prevalence of characteristic		YWHS-2 N=153* Prevalence of characteristic		p-value
	N	%	N	%	
Age (years, median (IQR))	25 (21 – 27)		25 ( 22 – 28)		0.56
16-18	13	8.1	11	7.2	0.86
19-24	64	40.0	58	37.9	
25-29	83	51.8	84	54.9	
Marital status					
Never married	57	35.6	38	24.8	<0.01
Married-living together	24	15.0	48	31.4	
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	79	49.4	67	43.8	
Education (years)					
None	64	40.0	23	15.0	<0.01
Primary (1-6 years)	82	51.3	91	59.5	
Secondary (7+ years)	14	8.8	39	25.5	
Age at first sex (median (IQR))	17 (10	5 – 18)	18 ( 1	.6 – 19)	0.03
<u>&lt;</u> 15	32	20.1	22	14.5	0.19
> 15	127	79.9	130	85.5	
Length of employment as FSW	4.3 (2.5 – 6.3)		3 (1.7 – 5)		<0.01
(years, median (IQR))	) (2.3 6.6)				
Current employment venue (last 30 days)					
Entertainment	51	31.9	113	74.3	<0.01†
Brothel	23	9.2	3	2.0	
Freelance	59	39.3	29	19.1	
Other/Multiple	27	16.9	7	4.6	
Have a manager, boss or supervisor					
No	82	53.6	28	14.4	<0.01
Yes	71	46.4	124	81.6	
Income in past month (US \$)					
Less than \$100	68	42.5	50	32.9	0.18
100-150\$	35	21.9	43	29.3	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

<sup>†</sup>Fisher Exact p-value

Table 2: HIV prevalence overall and by current work venue in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160				
	N	% (95% CI)	N	%	p-value
HIV positive	37	23.1 (16.5 – 29.7)	14	9.2 (4.5 – 13.8)	<0.01
HIV positive by employment venue (n/N)					
Entertainment	5/51	9.8 (1.5 – 18.1)	5/113	4.4 (0.6 – 8.2)	< 0.01
Brothel	4/23	17.4 (1.5 – 33.3)	0/3	0	
Freelance	22/59	37.3 (25.0 – 48.0)	9/29	31.0 (13.8 – 48.2)	
Other/Multiple	6/27	22.2 (6.2 – 38.3)	0/7	0	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

Table 3: HIV testing history and behaviors in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh,

Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160		YWHS-2* N=153*		
	N	%	N	%	p-value
Ever tested for HIV					
No	58	36.5	31	20.3	<0.01
Yes	101	63.5	122	79.7	
HIV test in last 3 months					
No	126	79.3	119	77.8	0.75
Yes	33	20.7	34	22.2	
What was result of last HIV test?#					
Negative	84	84.0	114	93.4	0.04
Positive	4	4.0	4	3.3	
Don't know	12	12.0	4	3.3	
Where received last HIV test <sup>#</sup>					
Public hospital	35	34.7	55	34.0	0.10
Voluntary testing and	1	1.0	0	0	
counseling center					
NGO clinic	59	58.4	54	44.3	
Private hospital, clinic, or laboratory	6	5.9	13	10.7	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

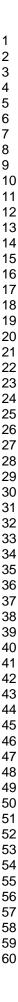
<sup>#</sup> Among those who reported being previously tested for HIV

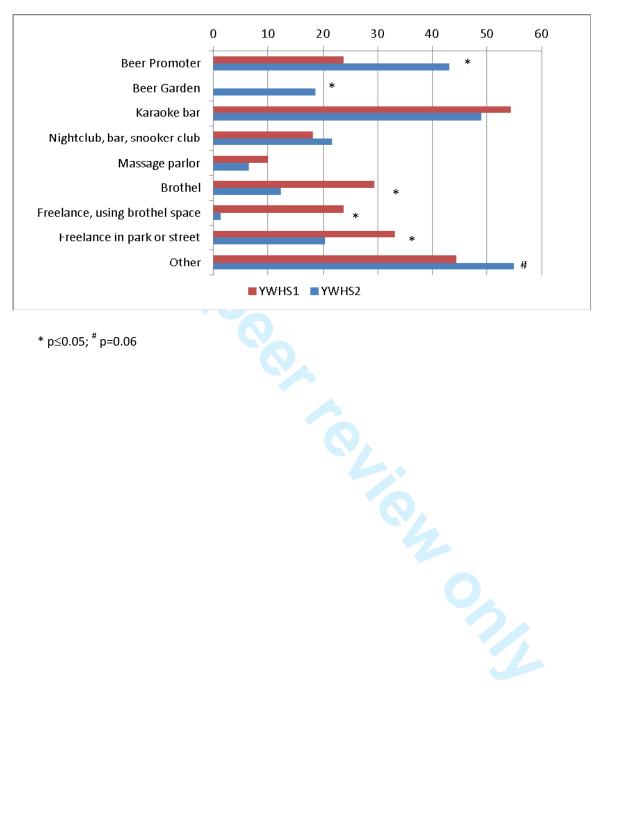
### **Figure Legend**

Figure 1: Venues where women in YWHS-2 and YWHS-2 reported ever working

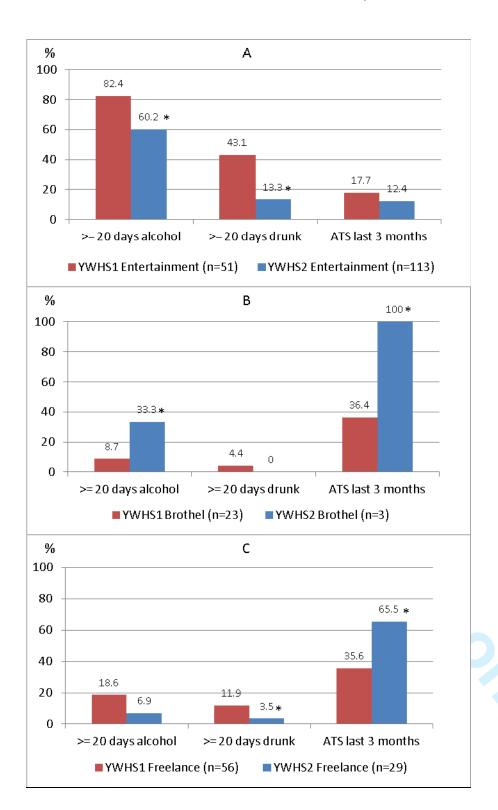
Figure 2. Alcohol use in the past month and ATS use in the past 3 months reported by women in YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 by work venue: (A) Entertainment-based; (B) Brothelbased; (C) Freelance











\*p<0.05

STROBE Statement—Checklist of items that should be included in reports of *cohort studies* 

# Page et al., Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

	Item No	Item, Section and PAGE NUMBER
Title and abstract	1	(a) Study's design with a commonly used terms – PAGE 1
		(b) Provide in the abstract an informative and balanced summary of what was done
		and what was found – PAGE 3
Introduction		
Background/rationale	2	Scientific background and rationale for the investigation being reported – PAGE 7-9
Objectives	3	State specific objectives, including any prespecified hypotheses- PAGE 9
Methods		same operations, mornaing any prooperation hypothesis
Study design	4	Present key elements of study design early in the paper-PAGE 9
Setting	5	Describe the setting, locations, and relevant dates, including periods of recruitment,
Setting	3	exposure, follow-up, and data collection- PAGE 9, 11
Participants	6	(a) Give the eligibility criteria, and the sources and methods of selection of
1 articipants	Ü	participants. Describe methods of follow-up- PAGE 10
		(b) For matched studies, give matching criteria and number of exposed and
		unexposed
Variables	7	Clearly define all outcomes, exposures, predictors, - PAGE 10-12
Data sources/	8*	For each variable of interest, give sources of data and details of methods of
measurement	0	assessment (measurement). Describe comparability of assessment methods if there is
measurement		more than one group – PAGE 10-12
Bias	9	Describe any efforts to address potential sources of bias – NA (CROSS-
Dias	9	SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
Study size	10	Explain how the study size was arrived at – PAGE 10
Quantitative variables	11	Explain how quantitative variables were handled in the analyses. If applicable,
Quantitutive variables	11	describe which groupings were chosen and why- PAGE 12
Statistical methods	12	(a) Describe all statistical methods, including those used to control for confounding-
		PAGE 12
		(b) Describe any methods used to examine subgroups and interactions- PAGE 12
		(c) Explain how missing data were addressed- NA (BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE
		INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
		(d) If applicable, explain how loss to follow-up was addressed NA (CROSS-
		SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
		(e) Describe any sensitivity analyses NA (CROSS-SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA
		ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
Results		
Participants	13*	(a) Report numbers of individuals at each stage of study—eg numbers potentially
1	-	eligible, examined for eligibility, confirmed eligible, included in the study,
		completing follow-up, and analysed- PAGE 12, 13
		(b) Give reasons for non-participation at each stage NA (CROSS-SECTIONAL
		BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
		(c) Consider use of a flow diagram NA
Descriptive data	14*	(a) Give characteristics of study participants (eg demographic, clinical, social) and
•		information on exposures and potential confounders- PAGE 12, 13, and TABLE 1
		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

		(b) Indicate number of participants with missing data for each variable of interest NA
		(c) Summarise follow-up time (eg, average and total amount) NA (CROSS-
		SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
Outcome data	15*	Report numbers of outcome events or summary measures over time – TABLE 1  AND 2
Main results	16	(a) Give unadjusted estimates and, if applicable, confounder-adjusted estimates and
		their precision (eg, 95% confidence interval). Make clear which confounders were
		adjusted for and why they were included. TABLES 1 AND 2
		(b) Report category boundaries when continuous variables were categorized NA
		(c) If relevant, consider translating estimates of relative risk into absolute risk for a
		meaningful time period <mark>NA</mark>
Other analyses	17	Report other analyses done—eg analyses of subgroups and interactions, and
		sensitivity analyses – <mark>PAGE 13</mark>
Discussion		
Key results	18	Summarise key results with reference to study objectives – PAGE 14, 15
Limitations	19	Discuss limitations of the study, taking into account sources of potential bias or
		imprecision. Discuss both direction and magnitude of any potential bias – PAGE 18
Interpretation	20	Give a cautious overall interpretation of results considering objectives, limitations,
		multiplicity of analyses, results from similar studies, and other relevant evidence
		PAGE 14-15
Generalisability	21	Discuss the generalisability (external validity) of the study results PAGE 18
Other information		
Funding	22	Give the source of funding and the role of the funders for the present study and, if
		applicable, for the original study on which the present article is based PAGE 5

<sup>\*</sup>Give information separately for exposed and unexposed groups.

**Note:** An Explanation and Elaboration article discusses each checklist item and gives methodological background and published examples of transparent reporting. The STROBE checklist is best used in conjunction with this article (freely available on the Web sites of PLoS Medicine at http://www.plosmedicine.org/, Annals of Internal Medicine at http://www.annals.org/, and Epidemiology at http://www.epidem.com/). Information on the STROBE Initiative is available at http://www.strobe-statement.org.



# Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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SCHOLARONE™ Manuscripts Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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Word count: Abstract: 296; Text 3444; 3 Tables, 2 Figures.

Key words: Cambodia, female sex workers, HIV, STI, risk, amphetamine-type stimulant, alcohol, policy effects

Short title: HIV infection and risk in two samples of FSW in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

#### **Abstract**

**Objectives:** HIV prevalence among Cambodian female sex workers (FSW) is among the highest in Southeast Asia. We describe HIV prevalence and associated risk exposures in FSW sampled serially in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (Young Women's Health Study (YWHS), before and after the implementation of a new law designed to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation.

**Design:** Cross-sectional analysis of baseline data from two prospective cohorts.

**Setting:** Community—based study in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

**Participants:** Women aged 15-29 years, reporting  $\geq$ 2 sexual partners in the last month and/or engaged in transactional sex in the last 3 months, were enrolled in the studies in 2007 (N=161; YWHS-1), and 2009 (N=220; YWHS-2) following information sessions where 285 and 345 women attended.

**Primary outcomes:** HIV prevalence, sexual risk behaviour, amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) and alcohol use, and work-related factors were compared the two groups, enrolled before and after implementation of the new law.

**Results:** Participants and in the two cohorts were similar in age (median 25 years), but YWHS-2 women reported fewer sex partners, more alcohol use, and less ATS use. A higher proportion of YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1 women worked in entertainment-based venues (68% vs. 31%, respectively). HIV prevalence was significantly lower in the more recently sampled women: 9·2% (95% CI 4·5, 13·8) vs. 23% (95% CI 16·5, 29·7).

**Conclusions:** Sex work context and risk has shifted among young FSW in Phnom Penh, following implementation of anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking laws. While both cohorts were recruited using the same eligibility criteria, more recently sampled women had lower prevalence of sexual risk and HIV infection. Women engaged more directly in transactional sex have become harder to sample and access. Future prevention

research and programs need to consider how new policies and demographic changes in FSW impact HIV transmission.



# **Article summary**

#### Article Focus

- HIV prevalence and incidence in two serial samples of young female sex workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (2007-2008, and 2009-2010);
- Comparison of baseline risk and HIV outcomes, including sexual behavior, drug and alcohol use in the two cohorts sampled before and after implementation of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation laws in 2008;
- Impact of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation legislation on female sex workers and HIV risk.

# Key Messages

- Women sampled using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods in differed with respect to risk exposures and HIV outcomes;
- Changes in sex work typology and environment are evident after enactment of the anti-trafficking laws, including very few brothel-based FSW and significantly more FSW based in the entertainment sector;
- Shifts in the context of sex work and risk highlight the ongoing need and challenges for HIV and drug prevention for young women engaged in sex work.

# Strengths and Limitations

- Two comparably sampled groups of young FSW suggest changing trends in HIV risk;
- Comparison of cross-sectional samples is ecological and does not prove temporal effects;
- Criminalization and suppression of sex work and a flourishing entertainment-based sex work industry set new and conflicting stage for HIV prevention.

Author Contributions: All authors contributed to the design and implementation of the YWHS-1 and -2 studies. Authors KP, ES, JE, and LM compiled the first draft of the manuscript, which was reviewed by NS, M-CC, KS, MC, JM\_S, PP, JK. The primary statistical analysis was conducted by JE and M-CC; KS and MC provided supplemental data review, and KP reviewed all data analyses. All authors contributed to and have approved the final manuscript. The YWHS Collaborative is a steering committee who reviewed and approved the study protocols, and provided expertise into some or all of the studies' methods and implementation.

Data Sharing: no additional data available.

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#### Introduction

There have been significant declines in HIV prevalence in Cambodia since the epidemic peaked in around 2000, a success widely attributed to measurable increases in condom use, declines in the number and frequency of commercial sex transactions reported by men, access to HIV voluntary counseling & testing (VCT) and uptake of antiretroviral therapy.<sup>1-3</sup> In 2010, the National Center for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology and STDs (NCHADS) revised the national estimate of HIV prevalence to 0.8% (in 15-49 year olds), reflecting a significant decline after the peak estimate of 2.4% in 1998.4 However, HIV prevalence in Cambodian women, especially young women, is among the highest in Southeast Asia and heterosexual sex remains the main route of transmission. 5-9 Since 2006, women have accounted for over half (52%) of all HIV infections in Cambodia <sup>10</sup>, higher than in Asia and the Pacific in general (35%). Limited income generating activities, a highly mobile workforce, trafficking in women and girls and widespread transactional sex, poverty, and sexually transmitted infections (STI) have been identified as key drivers of the epidemic among female sex workers (FSW). 156 10 12-15 As in many countries, FSW in Cambodia can be hard to reach and difficult to provide prevention services to. In recent years significant economic and policy changes have affected the sex work landscape, with notable shifts in sex work venues, typologies, and more women engaged in transactional sex than ever before. 16-20

Until 2008, FSW in Cambodia were categorized as "direct" and were mostly brothel-based, or "indirect". Indirect FSW were distinguished from direct FSW, generally working in entertainment establishments as beer promotion girls, waitresses, hostesses, or karaoke girls for example, and engaged in occasional transactional sex for supplementary income. <sup>21-23</sup> In 1997, an estimated 5,300 women worked in the entertainment/service sector and 6,000 were brothel-based FSW. The number of

women involved in entertainment-based sex work has grown dramatically in recent years in Cambodia. Until 2008, the estimated number of women engaged in sex and entertainment work was stable (12,762 women were enumerated in 2008), however by 2012, this had increased dramatically to an estimated 41,622 women, a more than threefold increase from the 2008 estimate (NCHADS, personal communication). The reasons for this growth have not been explored in detail, but may be associated with changing economic factors during this time in Cambodia. Following the passage and implementation of the "Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation" in February, 2008, brothel-based sex work was banned, and the most direct effect was on direct sex trade, which went "underground", or women moved into indirect work. 10 Along with the overt enforcement against FSW, the 2008 antitrafficking legislation had other consequences. For instance, official terminology used by governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGO) to describe FSW labeled all women engaged in sex and entertainment work as "entertainment workers", or EW\*. Historically, brothel-based FSW were easily accessed and monitored for HIV prevention efforts, including HIV and behavioral surveillance. NGOs working in HIV prevention reported that as transactional sex was displaced to a wider range of settings, women at highest risk became harder to reach for both prevention and service delivery. 16 24 25 These factors pose significant challenges to HIV prevention and threaten to undermine progress achieved to date.

<sup>\*</sup> The term 'female sex worker' is no longer used in Cambodia. Terminology was changed in 2008 to designate high risk women working in service and entertainment venues as "entertainment workers" or EW. No new HIV surveillance data has been published on FSW, and Behavioral Surveillance Survey (BSS) methods have been changed to recognize only indirect sex workers'EW', and determining whether or not they are selling sex by the average number of reported sex partners per week (10. UNAIDS. Cambodia Country Progress Report: Monitoring the Progress towards the Implementation of the Declaration of Commitment on HIV and AIDS. Reporting period: January 2010-December 2011. Prepared by National AIDS Authority for United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS). . http://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/cambodia/ Accessed December 28, 2012..

HIV prevalence is extremely high among Cambodian FSW with prevalence among younger women is particularly troubling as their infection is likely to be more recent and indicative of incidence.<sup>5 8 9 21</sup> A cornerstone of HIV prevention in Cambodia was the 100% Condom Use campaign<sup>26 27</sup>, primarily directed at brothel-based FSW. With changes in sex work venues, this prevention approach is likely less effective, failing to reach the large number of women now engaged in transactional sex in entertainment establishments. Indeed, measures of self-reported condom use have declined according to monitoring data reported by UNAIDS.<sup>10</sup> New risk factors have also emerged, especially amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) use, in the form of "yama", (pills) and "ice" (a crystalline form).<sup>28-38</sup> ATS use is associated with increased sexual risk behavior and STI incidence among these young women<sup>5 39</sup>, similar to that seen in other populations and locales.<sup>40-44</sup>

We conducted two prospective studies of high-risk young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh, the principal research questions focused on estimating HIV and STI prevalence and incidence and associated risk factors. The first, Young Women's Health Study (YWHS-1), was conducted in 2007-2008 and the second, YWHS-2, in 2009-2010.<sup>5</sup> 16 39 45 46 In this paper, we explore the changing HIV risk landscape by comparing and contrasting the two cohorts of FSW sampled prior to, and following, legislative changes designed to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation in Cambodia. We theorize that the demographic characteristics and HIV risk of FSW has shifted as a result of socio-legal changed induced by the implementation of the new legislation.

## Methods

# Study setting

The YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 were both prospective studies of young women engaged in sex work in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Methods have been described in detail previously.<sup>5</sup>

39 Both studies were led by a multidisciplinary collaborative prevention research group from NCHADS, the Cambodian Women's Development Association (CWDA), the University of California in San Francisco (UCSF) in the United States, and the Kirby Institute at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) in Australia.

# Study population and recruitment

The target population in both studies was young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh. Inclusion criteria were: aged 15-29 years, Khmer language comprehension,  $\geq 2$  different sexual partners in the last month or engaged in transactional sex (sex in exchange for money, goods, services, or drugs) within the last three months, no plans to move in the next 12 months, biologically female, and able to provide voluntary informed consent. YWHS-1 aimed to sample 160 women to provide 80% power to estimate a point prevalence of HIV at 15% with a 95% confidence interval (CI) of 9·7% to 23·0%. Based on results of YWHS-1, YWHS-2 aimed to sample 220 women to detect an estimated HIV prevalence of 23% (95% CI, 17·3%, 30·5%).

Recruitment and enrollment procedures were the same in both studies. CWDA field assistants provided study information and conducted eligibility screening via information meetings in neighborhoods where sex work was prevalent. Eligible women were invited to a community location used by various sex-worker organizations where study information was described in more detail and written informed consent was obtained. Enrolled participants were given appointment cards to present to the YWHS clinic field-site and free transportation was offered. In both studies, women were remunerated US\$5 at each study visit for their participation time.

#### Data collection

All data collection occurred at the YWHS clinic, which was staffed by a physician, nurses, counselors and a laboratory technician. A structured questionnaire was administered in Khmer by trained interviewers. Survey items were similar in both studies, and covered socio-demographic characteristics, occupational and sexual risk history, alcohol and drug use. HIV testing was conducted at each visit. In YWHS-1, urine specimens were tested for Chlamydia trachomatis (CT) and *Neisseria gonorrhoea* (GC). In YWHS-2, women were tested for HPV infection. STI treatment was provided at no cost, and women with HIV and HPV infection were referred to a local provider for free medical evaluation and treatment.

## Laboratory testing

HIV serology was performed using two rapid tests; Uni-Gold Recombigen (TM) HIV rapid HIV test (Trinity Biotech USA, Jamestown, NY) and the Clairview HIV 1/2 STAT-PAK (Inverness Medical Diagnostics, Waltham, MA). HIV positive and discordant samples were confirmed by HIV-1 immunoblot. CT and GC were assessed from urine samples using BDProbeTec<sup>TM</sup> strand displacement amplification assay (Becton Dickinson, Sparks, MD) at the NCHADS STD laboratory. Cervical specimens for HPV testing were collected using a standard cytobrush. Client-centered risk reduction counseling was provided in association with all testing.

#### Ethical review

The study protocols were reviewed and approved by Institutional Review Board of the Committee on Human Research at UCSF, the Cambodian National Ethics Committee, and the University of New South Wales Human Research Ethics Committee in

accordance with ethical standards (institutional and national) and with the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, as revised in 2000.

#### Measures

Both studies aimed to estimate HIV infection, ATS use, and sexual risk behavior and included questions on sociodemographic factors, work history, income, and duration of sex work, and whether they currently had an employer (manager, boss or supervisor). Women were asked if they had ever and/or were currently working: as a beer promoter, in a beer garden, as a waitress or hostess in a karaoke bar, nightclub or snooker bar, in a massage parlor, brothel, as a freelance sex worker using space at a brothel, as a freelance sex worker in the park or on the street, or to specify 'other' location. They were asked about age at first sex, number of partners (last month) and condom use with last partners (paying and non-paying). Paying partners were defined as male clients with whom respondents traded sex for money, goods or drugs. Condom use was classified as "consistent" if the participant reported always using a condom. Participants were asked about the number of days in which alcohol was drunk and the number of days in which they were "affected" by alcohol or were "drunk" in the past month. ATS use (ever and last 3 months) was assessed with questions regarding use of yama and crystal (ice).

#### Analyses

Prevalence estimates were calculated using exact binomial confidence intervals (CI). Chi-square and Fisher's Exact Tests were used to examine differences in baseline sociodemographic, occupational, sexual, and alcohol/drug use exposures and prevalent HIV and STI between the two cohorts. The only longitudinal data compared was HIV incidence. The HIV incidence rate calculated using the number of seroconversions per

100 person-years of observation (PYO) assuming a Poisson distribution. Analyses were performed using STATA 9.0 (STATA, College Station, TX).

#### **Results**

In YWHS-1, 285 women attended community information sessions, 161 (56%) eligible women were recruited to the group information/consent meeting, and 160 (99%) consented to participate. In YWHS-2, 220 (64%) women consented out of 345 who attended information sessions. Sixty-seven women from YWHS-1 also enrolled in YWHS-2; they were not included in the YWHS-2 comparison group, leaving 153 in the analysis. Table 1 shows baseline socio-demographic and occupational factors, as well as sexual and substance use risk exposures, in the two cohorts. The cohorts were similar with respect to age (median 25 years), and age of sexual debut (median 17 and 18 years, respectively), but differed significantly in years of education and marital status. Compared to women in YWHS-1, women in YWHS-2 had more education (median of 5 years (IQR 2,7) vs. 2 years (IQR 0,4)), and were more likely to be married or cohabitating with a partner (31.4% vs. 15%, respectively).

Women in YWHS-2 had been involved in sex work for significantly less time (median of 3 years (IQR 1.7, 5)) than YWHS-1 women (median of 4.3 years (IQR 2.5, 6.3). More YWHS-2 women were currently (last 30 days) working in entertainment venues and fewer in brothels, or as freelance FSW (including in parks, guest houses, or on the street). These differences were also reflected in the significantly higher proportion of YWHS-2 women who reported having a manager or boss (81.6%) compared to YWHS-1 (46%). Figure 1 shows the distribution and range of work venues women reported 'ever' working in. Women in YWHS-2 also reported significantly fewer sexual partners in the past 30 days: a median of 5 compared to 30 in YWHS-1 (Table 1). Despite these differences, women in the two samples reported similar income distributions. Self-

reported consistent condom use, with both paying and non-paying partners, did not differ between cohorts. Alcohol and ATS use differed significantly: women in YWHS-2 reported more alcohol use, but fewer days drunk in the past month than in YWHS-1; and fewer women in YWHS-2 reported ever using ATS, although recent use was similar in both groups (Table 1). Both alcohol and ATS use varied by cohort and work venue: entertainment-based women in YWHS-2 reported less of both, whereas brothel and freelance-based women in YWHS-2 reported significantly more ATS use (Figure 2).

HIV prevalence was significantly (p<0·01) lower in women sampled in YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1: 9·2% (95% CI 4·5%, 13·8%; p<0.01) vs. 23% (95% CI 16·5%, 29·7%) (Table 2). When the 67 women who had participated in both samples were included in YWHS-2, HIV prevalence was  $15\cdot5\%$  (95% CI 10.6, 20.3). HIV incidence was also lower in YWHS-2: 0·8/100 pyo (95% CI 0·1, 6·0) vs. 3.6/100 pyo (95% CI 1·2, 11·1), but not significantly (p=0.26). In YWHS-1, prevalence of Chlamydia infection was  $11\cdot5\%$  (95% CI 6·0%,  $17\cdot1\%$ ) and Gonorrhea infection was  $7\cdot8\%$  (95% CI 3·5%,  $12\cdot3\%$ ). Women in YWHS-2 were not tested for these STI, but  $41\cdot1\%$  were HPV. HIV prevalence differed significantly by work venue and by cohort, but over 30% of freelance-based women tested positive in both cohorts (Table 2).

In both cohorts, 20% reported being tested for HIV in the past 3 months but more YWHS-2 women had a history of testing (Table 3). More women in YWHS-1 reported not knowing their HIV test results: 11 of the 84 women  $(13\cdot1\%)$  who reported being negative tested positive and 4 of 12 women  $(33\cdot3\%)$  who reported they did not know their previous HIV results tested positive. In YWHS-2, 5 of 114  $(4\cdot4\%)$  who reported testing negative, and 2 of 4 (50%) who did not know their previous results, tested

positive. Among women who reported no history of HIV testing, 31% (18/58) and 12.9% (4/31) tested HIV positive in YWHS-1 and -2, respectively.

## **Discussion**

In these two samples of young FSW, recruited using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods, we observed important differences in socio-demographics, risk exposures and HIV infection outcomes. Most notably, women sampled more recently were more educated, had fewer sex partners, less time working in sex work and had significantly lower prevalence of HIV. Where women worked was also very different in the two cohorts: a much higher proportion of women sampled in 2009-10 compared to 2007-8 worked in entertainment-based establishments and fewer were brothel-based or freelance FSW. These differences point to the notable changes in sex work typology and environment that occurred following the enactment and enforcement in 2008 of antitrafficking legislation in Cambodia<sup>16</sup>. Brothel closures and increases in policing have been acknowledged as a cause of significant social and occupational upheaval among FSW, driving many women, especially former brothel-based FSW, "underground". 10 Both government agencies and NGOs in Phnom Penh have reported negative impacts of the legislation on FSW including: displacement and harassment and reduced access to condoms and health care. 10 20 24 In our qualitative research, women confirmed these impacts, describing how they moved to new venues or locales for sex work transactions including apartments or houses rented by brothel owners following brothel closures 16, raising concerns about increased risks of HIV transmission as a result of the increasingly clandestine nature of direct sex work. The significant increases in the number of women involved in sex work also warrants attention.

The differences in HIV prevalence, risk profiles, and sex work environments reported by these two samples are consistent with both quantitative and qualitative research demonstrating how socio-political and environmental factors can increase vulnerability to HIV among FSW. 48-51 The time period in which these two cohorts were sampled, corresponded with increased criminalization of sex work which impacted the number and settings of transactional sex. These shifts can have mixed effects. First, women engaged in entertainment-based work have lower risk profiles than women engaged in freelance sex work. The shorter duration of sex work reported by entertainment-based FSW likely contributes to the lower HIV prevalence in this group. Protective effects of entertainment-based work may include having a boss or manager; odds of HIV among women who say they have a boss or manager are lower compared to women who do not (OR: 0.40; 95% CI 0.19, 0.90). We also explored these factors in qualitative interviews with FSW. 16 Brothel and entertainment-based sex workers reported that the 'boss/manager" mitigated risk of violence from clients and problems with police. Also, women working in entertainment establishments report earning up to three times more (US \$50-\$60 or in \$200,000-\$240,000 Cambodian Riel) per client than women who worked in brothels or streets and parks. 16 This is substantiated by the two cohorts' report of similar income levels despite differences in the number of sex partners. It is also possible that entertainment-based FW have lower risk partners than brothel-based and freelance FSW. We believe that despite the lower prevalence of HIV and the lower number of male sex partners reported by this growing group of FSW, there is significant potential for amplified transmission of HIV at a population level, due principally to the extraordinary growth in the size of the population engaged in sex work. The numbers enumerated by the government, are likely to include a high proportion of etertainmentbased FSW who have significantly lower risk overall. But it is unclear if how well the population of high risk women, those previously working in brothels, who were not

apparent or represented in our latter sample, are apparent in the census. These women now displaced, may or may not be counted, but are highly likely to be engaged in clandestine transactional sex, as suggested by our qualitative research. Women sampled in the YWHS-2 reflect the majority of the growing population of low risk entertainment workers: they report fewer exposures and have lower HIV prevalence, however our qualitative data also suggests that unprotected sex, length of sexual transactions, sex in risky environments may have increased 16 45. While we cannot establish that the criminalization of sex work causes increases in population HIV risk from this limited data, results from these studies correspond to marked shifts in the demographic and risk population that should be investigated more thoroughly.

The two cohorts also showed differences in drug and alcohol use exposures. Our group has identified ATS use as a significant independent risk factor for HIV related risk behaviour including number of sex partners (Adjusted Risk Ratio (ARR): 1·49; 95% CI 1·0, 2·21) and incident STI (AOR: 5·41; 95% CI 1·15, 25·48) <sup>39</sup>. Alcohol use is also emerging as a potential HIV-related risk factor <sup>16</sup>, although not well quantified among FSW, especially those working in entertainment establishments (or their male partners). Entertainment venues largely revolve around alcohol, and women working at these are generally employed as hostesses, waitresses, or as "promoters" such as "beer promotion girls" in a variety of venues. <sup>16 21</sup> Women who were working in the entertainment sector were more likely to both report more days of drinking, and more days intoxicated, than brothel or street-based FSW. Alcohol use can be a barrier to effective condom use and condom negotiation in the transactional context. <sup>16 52</sup> Although women in the two samples did not report differences in inconsistent condom use, we have previously found that women who report heavy alcohol use are also significantly more likely to report inconsistent condom use. <sup>39</sup> Given how entwined drug and alcohol

use are with sex work, especially in the growing entertainment-based sector, there is a significant need to better elucidate ways to mitigate HIV-associated risks among women whose livelihood depends on working in these establishments. Designing and implementing prevention in these contexts will require input, not only from working women, but also from the wider business sector, as well as male clients.<sup>48 53-56</sup>

The differences in HIV and risk profiles between the women in our two samples, as well as outreach efforts by HIV prevention organizations, may be a result of reaching "low hanging fruit" resulting from both substantive increases in the number of women working in entertainment establishments, and the increased challenges of engaging women with higher risk and who are HIV infected for the reasons described above. FSW in Phnom Penh have historically been easily accessed for prevention and surveillance efforts. However, recent changes in the sex work landscape suggest that alternative sampling methods, such as respondent driven sampling, may result in better access to higher risk women who are more hidden and therefore hard to reach in this new legal climate. 57

HIV prevention remains an important and essential priority for all women engaged in transactional sex. A recent systematic review confirms that FSW in Asia have the highest odds of infection compared to women of reproductive age in the general population. In addition to new structural interventions aimed at reducing risk in the work-based environment, the very high prevalence and risk of HIV among FSW in Cambodia suggests a need for combination HIV prevention interventions including biomedical (pre-exposure prophylaxis, microbicides, and treatment as prevention), behavioural and development approaches (such as microfinance or income generating opportunities). Sec. 19-64

Several limitations of these analyses should be noted. First results presented here are cross-sectional and thus associations do not reflect causality. The comparison of the serial samples is ecological in nature and does not prove temporal effects. The sample sizes are small and thus subject to limitations with respect to generalizability. Many exposures are self-reported and thus may reflect social desirability bias, especially condom use which we have found has been over-reported based on biomarker data. On the other hand, we have found that self-reported ATS use is accurate compared to urine toxicology screening, suggesting that measures of drug and alcohol use in this group are accurate.

Results from this analysis provide important insights into recent shifts in the context of sex work and risk in young FSW in Phnom Penh, highlight challenges to HIV prevention in this environment, and also point to the need for more research. Conflicting trends, including the criminalization and suppression of direct sex work while the indirect entertainment-based sex work industry is flourishing, has potentially set a new stage. Unless there is acknowledgment and access to women who are more directly engaged in sex work, these women will be poorly represented in any national HIV or behavioural surveillance. They will remain hidden and stigmatized, subject to repression, violence and potentially with less access to prevention or care. While the 100% condom use program had its criticisms, that policy at least acknowledged the existence and need for HIV prevention at a multisectoral level for FSW. The current socio-political climate has potentially reversed these benefits, by denying the existence of FSW. Further in-depth research among both FSW, their male clients and among entertainment venue management would help to elucidate the impacts, both positive and negative of these new laws. The exponential growth of entertainment-based sex work has the potential to

result in an expanding HIV epidemic among young women in Cambodia. From a programmatic perspective entertainment-based FSW are much easier to reach but likely require different HIV prevention interventions than the 100% condom use program. Implementation of research and programmatic efforts that integrate health, social empowerment, and safe work environments for HIV prevention remain a high priority for women engaged in sex work in Cambodia.<sup>67</sup>

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## **Competing Interests**

None

#### Contributorship

All authors contributed to the design and implementation of the YWHS-1 and -2 studies. Authors KP, ES, JE, and LM compiled the first draft of the manuscript, which was reviewed by NS, M-CC, KS, MC, JM\_S, PP, JK. The primary statistical analysis was conducted by JE and M-CC; KS and MC provided supplemental data review, and KP reviewed all data analyses. All authors contributed to and have approved the final manuscript. The YWHS Collaborative is a steering committee who reviewed and approved the study protocols, and provided expertise into some or all of the studies' methods and implementation.

# **Data sharing**

No additional data are available.

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Table 1: Selected socio-demographic characteristics, occupational, and risk exposures in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160 Prevalence of characteristic		YWHS-2 N=153* Prevalence of characteristic		p-value
	N	%	N	%	
Age (years, median (IQR))	25 (2:	1 – 27)	25 ( 2	22 – 28)	0.56
16-18	13	8.1	11	7.2	0.86
19-24	64	40.0	58	37.9	
25-29	83	51.8	84	54.9	
Marital status					
Never married	57	35.6	38	24.8	<0.01
Married-living together	24	15.0	48	31.4	
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	79	49.4	67	43.8	
Education (years)					
None	64	40.0	23	15.0	<0.01
Primary (1-6 years)	82	51.3	91	59.5	
Secondary (7+ years)	14	8.8	39	25.5	
Age at first sex (median (IQR))	17 (1	6 – 18)	18 ( 1	6 – 19)	0.03
<u>&lt;</u> 15	32	20.1	22	14.5	0.19
> 15	127	79.9	130	85.5	
Length of employment as FSW	4.3 (2.5 – 6.3) 3 (1.7 – 5)		.7 – 5)	<0.01	
(years, median (IQR))		<u> </u>	-,		
Current employment venue (last 30 days)					
Entertainment	51	31.9	113	74.3	<0.01†
Brothel	23	9.2	3	2.0	
Freelance	59	39.3	29	19.1	
Other/Multiple	27	16.9	7	4.6	
Have a manager, boss or supervisor					
No	82	53.6	28	14.4	<0.01
Yes	71	46.4	124	81.6	
Income in past month (US \$)					
Less than \$100	68	42.5	50	32.9	0.18
100-150\$	35	21.9	43	29.3	

Over 150\$	57	35.6	59	38.8	
Number of sex partners in last month (median (IQR))	30 (10 – 90)		5 (3 – 13)		<0.01
≤10	45	28.1	112	73.2	<0.01
11 – 50	53	33.1	41	26.8	
> 50	62	38.8	0	0	
Condom use with last paying					
partner					
Consistent (always)	108	85.7	86	87.8	0.66
Inconsistent	18	14.3	12	12.2	
Condom use with last non paying					
partner					
Consistent (always)	7	20.6	10	18.2	0.78
Inconsistent	27	79.4	45	81.8	
Number of days drink alcohol (last month)	15 (2 – 30)		18 (5 – 28)		0.76
0-4	65	40.6	36	23.5	<0.01
5 – 19	25	15.6	42	27.5	
≥ 20	70	43.7	75	49.0	
Number of days drunk (last month)	5 (1	5 (1 – 20)		3 (1 – 10)	
0 – 4	89	55.6	86	56.2	<0.01
5 – 19	33	20.6	50	32.7	
≥ 20	38	23.7	17	11.1	
ATS use (ever)					
No	92	57.5	107	69.9	0.02
Yes	68	42.5	46	30.1	
ATS use (last 3 months)					
No	116	73.4	117	76.5	0.54
Yes	42	26.6	36	23.5	
Ever used any drug prior to/during sex					
No	109	68.1	117	76.5	0.10
Yes	51	31.9	36	23.5	0.10
	J.	31.3	30	25.5	
	1	1			1

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

<sup>†</sup>Fisher Exact p-value

Table 2: HIV prevalence overall and by current work venue in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic		YWHS-1 N=160			
	N	% (95% CI)	N	%	p-value
HIV positive	37	23.1 (16.5 – 29.7)	14	9.2 (4.5 – 13.8)	<0.01
HIV positive by employment venue (n/N)					
Entertainment	5/51	9.8 (1.5 – 18.1)	5/113	4.4 (0.6 – 8.2)	<0.01
Brothel	4/23	17.4 (1.5 – 33.3)	0/3	0	
Freelance	22/59	37.3 (25.0 – 48.0)	9/29	31.0 (13.8 – 48.2)	
Other/Multiple	6/27	22.2 (6.2 – 38.3)	0/7	0	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

Table 3: HIV testing history and behaviors in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh,

Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160		YWHS-2* N=153*			
	N	%	N	%	p-value	
Ever tested for HIV						
No	58	36.5	31	20.3	<0.01	
Yes	101	63.5	122	79.7		
HIV test in last 3 months	<b>•</b>					
No	126	79.3	119	77.8	0.75	
Yes	33	20.7	34	22.2		
What was result of last HIV test?#						
Negative	84	84.0	114	93.4	0.04	
Positive	4	4.0	4	3.3		
Don't know	12	12.0	4	3.3		
Where received last HIV test <sup>#</sup>						
Public hospital	35	34.7	55	34.0	0.10	
Voluntary testing and counseling center	1	1.0	0	0		
NGO clinic	59	58.4	54	44.3		
Private hospital, clinic, or laboratory	6	5.9	13	10.7		

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

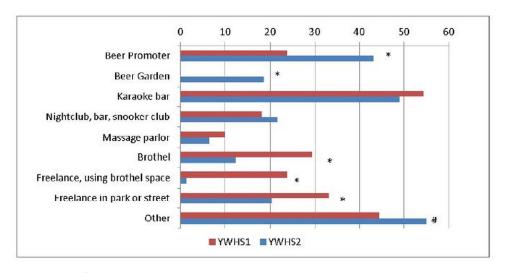
<sup>#</sup> Among those who reported being previously tested for HIV

## **Figure Legend**

Figure 1: Venues where women in YWHS-2 and YWHS-2 reported ever working

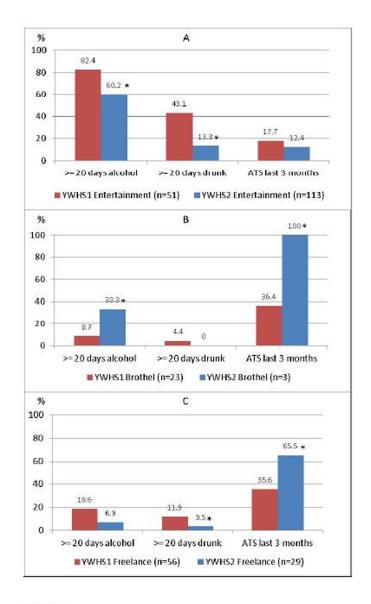
Figure 2. Alcohol use in the past month and ATS use in the past 3 months reported by women in YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 by work venue: (A) Entertainment-based; (B) Brothelbased; (C) Freelance





\* p≤0.05; # p=0.06

Venues where women in YWHS-2 and YWHS-2 reported ever working 151x90mm (300 x 300 DPI)



\*p<0.05

Alcohol use in the past month and ATS use in the past 3 months reported by women in YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 by work venue: (A) Entertainment-based; (B) Brothel-based; (C) Freelance 106x183mm (300 x 300 DPI)

STROBE Statement—Checklist of items that should be included in reports of *cohort studies* 

# Page et al., Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

	Item No	Item, Section and PAGE NUMBER
Title and abstract	1	(a) Study's design with a commonly used terms – PAGE 1
		(b) Provide in the abstract an informative and balanced summary of what was done
		and what was found – PAGE 3
Introduction		
Background/rationale	2	Scientific background and rationale for the investigation being reported – PAGE 7-9
Objectives	3	State specific objectives, including any prespecified hypotheses- PAGE 9
Methods		
Study design	4	Present key elements of study design early in the paper- PAGE 9
Setting	5	Describe the setting, locations, and relevant dates, including periods of recruitment, exposure, follow-up, and data collection-PAGE 9, 11
Participants	6	(a) Give the eligibility criteria, and the sources and methods of selection of participants. Describe methods of follow-up-PAGE 10
		(b) For matched studies, give matching criteria and number of exposed and unexposed
Variables	7	Clearly define all outcomes, exposures, predictors, - PAGE 10-12
Data sources/	8*	For each variable of interest, give sources of data and details of methods of
measurement		assessment (measurement). Describe comparability of assessment methods if there is
		more than one group – PAGE 10-12
Bias	9	Describe any efforts to address potential sources of bias – NA (CROSS-
		SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
Study size	10	Explain how the study size was arrived at – PAGE 10
Quantitative variables	11	Explain how quantitative variables were handled in the analyses. If applicable,
		describe which groupings were chosen and why-PAGE 12
Statistical methods	12	(a) Describe all statistical methods, including those used to control for confounding- PAGE 12
		(b) Describe any methods used to examine subgroups and interactions-PAGE 12
		(c) Explain how missing data were addressed- NA (BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE
		INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
		(d) If applicable, explain how loss to follow-up was addressed NA (CROSS-
		SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
		(e) Describe any sensitivity analyses NA (CROSS-SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA
		ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
Results		
	13*	(a) Report numbers of individuals at each stage of study—eg numbers potentially eligible, examined for eligibility, confirmed eligible, included in the study, completing follow-up, and analysed-PAGE 12, 13
		(b) Give reasons for non-participation at each stage NA (CROSS-SECTIONAL
		BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
		(c) Consider use of a flow diagram NA
Descriptive data	14*	(a) Give characteristics of study participants (eg demographic, clinical, social) and
Descriptive data	17	information on exposures and potential confounders- PAGE 12, 13, and TABLE 1

		(b) Indicate number of participants with missing data for each variable of interest  NA
		(c) Summarise follow-up time (eg, average and total amount) NA (CROSS-
		SECTIONAL BASELINE DATA ONLY ARE INCLUDED IN THIS ANALYSIS)
Outcome data	15*	Report numbers of outcome events or summary measures over time – TABLE 1  AND 2
Main results	16	(a) Give unadjusted estimates and, if applicable, confounder-adjusted estimates and
		their precision (eg, 95% confidence interval). Make clear which confounders were
		adjusted for and why they were included. TABLES 1 AND 2
		(b) Report category boundaries when continuous variables were categorized NA
		(c) If relevant, consider translating estimates of relative risk into absolute risk for a
		meaningful time period NA
Other analyses	17	Report other analyses done—eg analyses of subgroups and interactions, and
		sensitivity analyses – PAGE 13
Discussion		
Key results	18	Summarise key results with reference to study objectives – PAGE 14, 15
Limitations	19	Discuss limitations of the study, taking into account sources of potential bias or
		imprecision. Discuss both direction and magnitude of any potential bias – PAGE 18
Interpretation	20	Give a cautious overall interpretation of results considering objectives, limitations,
		multiplicity of analyses, results from similar studies, and other relevant evidence
		PAGE 14-15
Generalisability	21	Discuss the generalisability (external validity) of the study results PAGE 18
Other information		
Funding	22	Give the source of funding and the role of the funders for the present study and, if
		applicable, for the original study on which the present article is based PAGE 5

<sup>\*</sup>Give information separately for exposed and unexposed groups.

**Note:** An Explanation and Elaboration article discusses each checklist item and gives methodological background and published examples of transparent reporting. The STROBE checklist is best used in conjunction with this article (freely available on the Web sites of PLoS Medicine at http://www.plosmedicine.org/, Annals of Internal Medicine at http://www.annals.org/, and Epidemiology at http://www.epidem.com/). Information on the STROBE Initiative is available at http://www.strobe-statement.org.

Sex work and HIV in Cambodia: trajectories of risk and disease in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

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Word count: Abstract: 296; Text 3444; 3 Tables, 2 Figures.

Key words: Cambodia, female sex workers, HIV, STI, risk, amphetamine-type stimulant, alcohol, policy effects

Short title: HIV infection and risk in two samples of FSW in Phnom Penh, Cambodia

#### **Abstract**

**Objectives:** HIV prevalence among Cambodian female sex workers (FSW) is among the highest in Southeast Asia. We describe HIV prevalence and associated risk exposures in FSW sampled serially in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (Young Women's Health Study (YWHS), before and after the implementation of a new law designed to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation.

**Design:** Cross-sectional analysis of baseline data from two prospective cohorts.

**Setting:** Community—based study in Phnom Penh, Cambodia.

**Participants:** Women aged 15-29 years, reporting  $\geq$ 2 sexual partners in the last month and/or engaged in transactional sex in the last 3 months, were enrolled in the studies in 2007 (N=161; YWHS-1), and 2009 (N=220; YWHS-2) following information sessions where 285 and 345 women attended.

**Primary outcomes:** HIV prevalence, sexual risk behaviour, amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) and alcohol use, and work-related factors were compared the two groups, enrolled before and after implementation of the new law.

**Results:** Participants and in the two cohorts were similar in age (median 25 years), but YWHS-2 women reported fewer sex partners, more alcohol use, and less ATS use. A higher proportion of YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1 women worked in entertainment-based venues (68% vs. 31%, respectively). HIV prevalence was significantly lower in the more recently sampled women: 9·2% (95% CI 4·5, 13·8) vs. 23% (95% CI 16·5, 29·7).

**Conclusions:** Sex work context and risk has shifted among young FSW in Phnom Penh, following implementation of anti-prostitution and anti-trafficking laws. While both cohorts were recruited using the same eligibility criteria, more recently sampled women had lower prevalence of sexual risk and HIV infection. Women engaged more directly in transactional sex have become harder to sample and access. Future prevention

research and programs need to consider how new policies and demographic changes in FSW impact HIV transmission.



# **Article summary**

#### Article Focus

- HIV prevalence and incidence in two serial samples of young female sex workers in Phnom Penh, Cambodia (2007-2008, and 2009-2010);
- Comparison of baseline risk and HIV outcomes, including sexual behavior, drug and alcohol use in the two cohorts sampled before and after implementation of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation laws in 2008;
- Impact of anti-trafficking and sexual exploitation legislation on female sex workers and HIV risk.

## Key Messages

- Women sampled using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods in differed with respect to risk exposures and HIV outcomes;
- Changes in sex work typology and environment are evident after enactment of the anti-trafficking laws, including very few brothel-based FSW and significantly more FSW based in the entertainment sector;
- Shifts in the context of sex work and risk highlight the ongoing need and challenges for HIV and drug prevention for young women engaged in sex work.

# Strengths and Limitations

- Two comparably sampled groups of young FSW suggest changing trends in HIV risk;
- Comparison of cross-sectional samples is ecological and does not prove temporal effects;
- Criminalization and suppression of sex work and a flourishing entertainment-based sex work industry set new and conflicting stage for HIV prevention.

Author Contributions: All authors contributed to the design and implementation of the YWHS-1 and -2 studies. Authors KP, ES, JE, and LM compiled the first draft of the manuscript, which was reviewed by NS, M-CC, KS, MC, JM\_S, PP, JK. The primary statistical analysis was conducted by JE and M-CC; KS and MC provided supplemental data review, and KP reviewed all data analyses. All authors contributed to and have approved the final manuscript. The YWHS Collaborative is a steering committee who reviewed and approved the study protocols, and provided expertise into some or all of the studies' methods and implementation.

Data Sharing: no additional data available.

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### Introduction

There have been significant declines in HIV prevalence in Cambodia since the epidemic peaked in around 2000, a success widely attributed to measurable increases in condom use, declines in the number and frequency of commercial sex transactions reported by men, access to HIV voluntary counseling & testing (VCT) and uptake of antiretroviral therapy.<sup>1-3</sup> In 2010, the National Center for HIV/AIDS, Dermatology and STDs (NCHADS) revised the national estimate of HIV prevalence to 0.8% (in 15-49 year olds), reflecting a significant decline after the peak estimate of 2.4% in 1998. However, HIV prevalence in Cambodian women, especially young women, is among the highest in Southeast Asia and heterosexual sex remains the main route of transmission. 5-9 Since 2006, women have accounted for over half (52%) of all HIV infections in Cambodia <sup>10</sup>, higher than in Asia and the Pacific in general (35%). Limited income generating activities, a highly mobile workforce, trafficking in women and girls and widespread transactional sex, poverty, and sexually transmitted infections (STI) have been identified as key drivers of the epidemic among female sex workers (FSW). 156 10 12-15 As in many countries, FSW in Cambodia can be hard to reach and difficult to provide prevention services to. In recent years significant economic and policy changes have affected the sex work landscape, with notable shifts in sex work venues, typologies, and more women engaged in transactional sex than ever before. 16-20

Until 2008, FSW in Cambodia were categorized as "direct" and were mostly brothel-based, or "indirect". Indirect FSW were distinguished from direct FSW, generally working in entertainment establishments as beer promotion girls, waitresses, hostesses, or karaoke girls for example, and engaged in occasional transactional sex for supplementary income. <sup>21-23</sup> In 1997, an estimated 5,300 women worked in the entertainment/service sector and 6,000 were brothel-based FSW. The number of

women involved in entertainment-based sex work has grown dramatically in recent years in Cambodia. Until 2008, the estimated number of women engaged in sex and entertainment work was stable (12,762 women were enumerated in 2008), however by 2012, this had increased dramatically to an estimated 41,622 women, a more than threefold increase from the 2008 estimate (NCHADS, personal communication). The reasons for this growth have not been explored in detail, but may be associated with changing economic factors during this time in Cambodia. Following the passage and implementation of the "Law on Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation" in February, 2008, brothel-based sex work was banned, and the most direct effect was on direct sex trade, which went "underground", or women moved into indirect work. 10 Along with the overt enforcement against FSW, the 2008 antitrafficking legislation had other consequences. For instance, official terminology used by governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGO) to describe FSW labeled all women engaged in sex and entertainment work as "entertainment workers", or EW\*. Historically, brothel-based FSW were easily accessed and monitored for HIV prevention efforts, including HIV and behavioral surveillance. NGOs working in HIV prevention reported that as transactional sex was displaced to a wider range of settings, women at highest risk became harder to reach for both prevention and service delivery. 16 24 25 These factors pose significant challenges to HIV prevention and threaten to undermine progress achieved to date.

<sup>\*</sup> The term 'female sex worker' is no longer used in Cambodia. Terminology was changed in 2008 to designate high risk women working in service and entertainment venues as "entertainment workers" or EW. No new HIV surveillance data has been published on FSW, and Behavioral Surveillance Survey (BSS) methods have been changed to recognize only indirect sex workers'EW', and determining whether or not they are selling sex by the average number of reported sex partners per week (10. UNAIDS. Cambodia Country Progress Report: Monitoring the Progress towards the Implementation of the Declaration of Commitment on HIV and AIDS. Reporting period: January 2010-December 2011. Prepared by National AIDS Authority for United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS). . http://www.unaids.org/en/regionscountries/countries/cambodia/ Accessed December 28, 2012..

HIV prevalence is extremely high among Cambodian FSW with prevalence among younger women is particularly troubling as their infection is likely to be more recent and indicative of incidence.<sup>5 8 9 21</sup> A cornerstone of HIV prevention in Cambodia was the 100% Condom Use campaign<sup>26 27</sup>, primarily directed at brothel-based FSW. With changes in sex work venues, this prevention approach is likely less effective, failing to reach the large number of women now engaged in transactional sex in entertainment establishments. Indeed, measures of self-reported condom use have declined according to monitoring data reported by UNAIDS.<sup>10</sup> New risk factors have also emerged, especially amphetamine-type stimulant (ATS) use, in the form of "yama", (pills) and "ice" (a crystalline form).<sup>28-38</sup> ATS use is associated with increased sexual risk behavior and STI incidence among these young women<sup>5 39</sup>, similar to that seen in other populations and locales.<sup>40-44</sup>

We conducted two prospective studies of high-risk young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh, the principal research questions focused on estimating HIV and STI prevalence and incidence and associated risk factors. The first, Young Women's Health Study (YWHS-1), was conducted in 2007-2008 and the second, YWHS-2, in 2009-2010. Find 39 45 46 In this paper, we explore the changing HIV risk landscape by comparing and contrasting the two cohorts of FSW sampled prior to, and following, legislative changes designed to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation in Cambodia. We theorize that the demographic characteristics and HIV risk of FSW has shifted as a result of socio-legal changed induced by the implementation of the new legislation.

# Methods

# Study setting

The YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 were both prospective studies of young women engaged in sex work in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Methods have been described in detail previously.<sup>5</sup>

39 Both studies were led by a multidisciplinary collaborative prevention research group from NCHADS, the Cambodian Women's Development Association (CWDA), the University of California in San Francisco (UCSF) in the United States, and the Kirby Institute at the University of New South Wales (UNSW) in Australia.

# Study population and recruitment

The target population in both studies was young women engaged in transactional sex in Phnom Penh. Inclusion criteria were: aged 15-29 years, Khmer language comprehension,  $\geq 2$  different sexual partners in the last month or engaged in transactional sex (sex in exchange for money, goods, services, or drugs) within the last three months, no plans to move in the next 12 months, biologically female, and able to provide voluntary informed consent. YWHS-1 aimed to sample 160 women to provide 80% power to estimate a point prevalence of HIV at 15% with a 95% confidence interval (CI) of 9·7% to 23·0%. Based on results of YWHS-1, YWHS-2 aimed to sample 220 women to detect an estimated HIV prevalence of 23% (95% CI, 17·3%, 30·5%).

Recruitment and enrollment procedures were the same in both studies. CWDA field assistants provided study information and conducted eligibility screening via information meetings in neighborhoods where sex work was prevalent. Eligible women were invited to a community location used by various sex-worker organizations where study information was described in more detail and written informed consent was obtained. Enrolled participants were given appointment cards to present to the YWHS clinic field-site and free transportation was offered. In both studies, women were remunerated US\$5 at each study visit for their participation time.

#### Data collection

All data collection occurred at the YWHS clinic, which was staffed by a physician, nurses, counselors and a laboratory technician. A structured questionnaire was administered in Khmer by trained interviewers. Survey items were similar in both studies, and covered socio-demographic characteristics, occupational and sexual risk history, alcohol and drug use. HIV testing was conducted at each visit. In YWHS-1, urine specimens were tested for Chlamydia trachomatis (CT) and *Neisseria gonorrhoea* (GC). In YWHS-2, women were tested for HPV infection. STI treatment was provided at no cost, and women with HIV and HPV infection were referred to a local provider for free medical evaluation and treatment.

# Laboratory testing

HIV serology was performed using two rapid tests; Uni-Gold Recombigen (TM) HIV rapid HIV test (Trinity Biotech USA, Jamestown, NY) and the Clairview HIV 1/2 STAT-PAK (Inverness Medical Diagnostics, Waltham, MA). HIV positive and discordant samples were confirmed by HIV-1 immunoblot. CT and GC were assessed from urine samples using BDProbeTec<sup>TM</sup> strand displacement amplification assay (Becton Dickinson, Sparks, MD) at the NCHADS STD laboratory. Cervical specimens for HPV testing were collected using a standard cytobrush. Client-centered risk reduction counseling was provided in association with all testing.

## Ethical review

The study protocols were reviewed and approved by Institutional Review Board of the Committee on Human Research at UCSF, the Cambodian National Ethics Committee, and the University of New South Wales Human Research Ethics Committee in

accordance with ethical standards (institutional and national) and with the Helsinki Declaration of 1975, as revised in 2000.

#### Measures

Both studies aimed to estimate HIV infection, ATS use, and sexual risk behavior and included questions on sociodemographic factors, work history, income, and duration of sex work, and whether they currently had an employer (manager, boss or supervisor). Women were asked if they had ever and/or were currently working: as a beer promoter, in a beer garden, as a waitress or hostess in a karaoke bar, nightclub or snooker bar, in a massage parlor, brothel, as a freelance sex worker using space at a brothel, as a freelance sex worker in the park or on the street, or to specify 'other' location. They were asked about age at first sex, number of partners (last month) and condom use with last partners (paying and non-paying). Paying partners were defined as male clients with whom respondents traded sex for money, goods or drugs. Condom use was classified as "consistent" if the participant reported always using a condom. Participants were asked about the number of days in which alcohol was drunk and the number of days in which they were "affected" by alcohol or were "drunk" in the past month. ATS use (ever and last 3 months) was assessed with questions regarding use of yama and crystal (ice).

### Analyses

Prevalence estimates were calculated using exact binomial confidence intervals (CI). Chi-square and Fisher's Exact Tests were used to examine differences in baseline sociodemographic, occupational, sexual, and alcohol/drug use exposures and prevalent HIV and STI between the two cohorts. The only longitudinal data compared was HIV incidence. The HIV incidence rate calculated using the number of seroconversions per

100 person-years of observation (PYO) assuming a Poisson distribution. Analyses were performed using STATA 9.0 (STATA, College Station, TX).

### **Results**

In YWHS-1, 285 women attended community information sessions, 161 (56%) eligible women were recruited to the group information/consent meeting, and 160 (99%) consented to participate. In YWHS-2, 220 (64%) women consented out of 345 who attended information sessions. Sixty-seven women from YWHS-1 also enrolled in YWHS-2; they were not included in the YWHS-2 comparison group, leaving 153 in the analysis. Table 1 shows baseline socio-demographic and occupational factors, as well as sexual and substance use risk exposures, in the two cohorts. The cohorts were similar with respect to age (median 25 years), and age of sexual debut (median 17 and 18 years, respectively), but differed significantly in years of education and marital status. Compared to women in YWHS-1, women in YWHS-2 had more education (median of 5 years (IQR 2,7) vs. 2 years (IQR 0,4)), and were more likely to be married or cohabitating with a partner (31.4% vs. 15%, respectively).

Women in YWHS-2 had been involved in sex work for significantly less time (median of 3 years (IQR 1.7, 5)) than YWHS-1 women (median of 4.3 years (IQR 2.5, 6.3). More YWHS-2 women were currently (last 30 days) working in entertainment venues and fewer in brothels, or as freelance FSW (including in parks, guest houses, or on the street). These differences were also reflected in the significantly higher proportion of YWHS-2 women who reported having a manager or boss (81.6%) compared to YWHS-1 (46%). Figure 1 shows the distribution and range of work venues women reported 'ever' working in. Women in YWHS-2 also reported significantly fewer sexual partners in the past 30 days: a median of 5 compared to 30 in YWHS-1 (Table 1). Despite these differences, women in the two samples reported similar income distributions. Self-

reported consistent condom use, with both paying and non-paying partners, did not differ between cohorts. Alcohol and ATS use differed significantly: women in YWHS-2 reported more alcohol use, but fewer days drunk in the past month than in YWHS-1; and fewer women in YWHS-2 reported ever using ATS, although recent use was similar in both groups (Table 1). Both alcohol and ATS use varied by cohort and work venue: entertainment-based women in YWHS-2 reported less of both, whereas brothel and freelance-based women in YWHS-2 reported significantly more ATS use (Figure 2).

HIV prevalence was significantly (p<0·01) lower in women sampled in YWHS-2 compared to YWHS-1: 9·2% (95% CI 4·5%, 13·8%; p<0.01) vs. 23% (95% CI 16·5%, 29·7%) (Table 2). When the 67 women who had participated in both samples were included in YWHS-2, HIV prevalence was  $15\cdot5\%$  (95% CI 10.6, 20.3). HIV incidence was also lower in YWHS-2: 0·8/100 pyo (95% CI 0·1, 6·0) vs. 3.6/100 pyo (95% CI 1·2, 11·1), but not significantly (p=0.26). In YWHS-1, prevalence of Chlamydia infection was  $11\cdot5\%$  (95% CI 6·0%,  $17\cdot1\%$ ) and Gonorrhea infection was  $7\cdot8\%$  (95% CI 3·5%,  $12\cdot3\%$ ). Women in YWHS-2 were not tested for these STI, but  $41\cdot1\%$  were HPV. HIV prevalence differed significantly by work venue and by cohort, but over 30% of freelance-based women tested positive in both cohorts (Table 2).

In both cohorts, 20% reported being tested for HIV in the past 3 months but more YWHS-2 women had a history of testing (Table 3). More women in YWHS-1 reported not knowing their HIV test results: 11 of the 84 women  $(13\cdot1\%)$  who reported being negative tested positive and 4 of 12 women  $(33\cdot3\%)$  who reported they did not know their previous HIV results tested positive. In YWHS-2, 5 of 114  $(4\cdot4\%)$  who reported testing negative, and 2 of 4 (50%) who did not know their previous results, tested

positive. Among women who reported no history of HIV testing, 31% (18/58) and 12.9% (4/31) tested HIV positive in YWHS-1 and -2, respectively.

## **Discussion**

In these two samples of young FSW, recruited using the same eligibility criteria and outreach methods, we observed important differences in socio-demographics, risk exposures and HIV infection outcomes. Most notably, women sampled more recently were more educated, had fewer sex partners, less time working in sex work and had significantly lower prevalence of HIV. Where women worked was also very different in the two cohorts: a much higher proportion of women sampled in 2009-10 compared to 2007-8 worked in entertainment-based establishments and fewer were brothel-based or freelance FSW. These differences point to the notable changes in sex work typology and environment that occurred following the enactment and enforcement in 2008 of antitrafficking legislation in Cambodia<sup>16</sup>. Brothel closures and increases in policing have been acknowledged as a cause of significant social and occupational upheaval among FSW, driving many women, especially former brothel-based FSW, "underground". 10 Both government agencies and NGOs in Phnom Penh have reported negative impacts of the legislation on FSW including: displacement and harassment and reduced access to condoms and health care. 10 20 24 In our qualitative research, women confirmed these impacts, describing how they moved to new venues or locales for sex work transactions including apartments or houses rented by brothel owners following brothel closures 16, raising concerns about increased risks of HIV transmission as a result of the increasingly clandestine nature of direct sex work. The significant increases in the number of women involved in sex work also warrants attention.

The differences in HIV prevalence, risk profiles, and sex work environments reported by these two samples are consistent with both quantitative and qualitative research demonstrating how socio-political and environmental factors can increase vulnerability to HIV among FSW. 48-51 The time period in which these two cohorts were sampled, corresponded with increased criminalization of sex work which impacted the number and settings of transactional sex. These shifts can have mixed effects. First, women engaged in entertainment-based work have lower risk profiles than women engaged in freelance sex work. The shorter duration of sex work reported by entertainment-based FSW likely contributes to the lower HIV prevalence in this group. Protective effects of entertainment-based work may include having a boss or manager; odds of HIV among women who say they have a boss or manager are lower compared to women who do not (OR: 0.40; 95% CI 0.19, 0.90). We also explored these factors in qualitative interviews with FSW. 16 Brothel and entertainment-based sex workers reported that the 'boss/manager" mitigated risk of violence from clients and problems with police. Also, women working in entertainment establishments report earning up to three times more (US \$50-\$60 or in \$200,000-\$240,000 Cambodian Riel) per client than women who worked in brothels or streets and parks. 16 This is substantiated by the two cohorts' report of similar income levels despite differences in the number of sex partners. It is also possible that entertainment-based FW have lower risk partners than brothel-based and freelance FSW. We believe that despite the lower prevalence of HIV and the lower number of male sex partners reported by this growing group of FSW, there is significant potential for amplified transmission of HIV at a population level, due principally to the extraordinary growth in the size of the population engaged in sex work. The numbers enumerated by the government, are likely to include a high proportion of etertainmentbased FSW who have significantly lower risk overall. But it is unclear if how well the population of high risk women, those previously working in brothels, who were not

apparent or represented in our latter sample, are apparent in the census. These women now displaced, may or may not be counted, but are highly likely to be engaged in clandestine transactional sex, as suggested by our qualitative research. Women sampled in the YWHS-2 reflect the majority of the growing population of low risk entertainment workers: they report fewer exposures and have lower HIV prevalence, however our qualitative data also suggests that unprotected sex, length of sexual transactions, sex in risky environments may have increased 16 45. While we cannot establish that the criminalization of sex work causes increases in population HIV risk from this limited data, results from these studies correspond to marked shifts in the demographic and risk population that should be investigated more thoroughly.

The two cohorts also showed differences in drug and alcohol use exposures. Our group has identified ATS use as a significant independent risk factor for HIV related risk behaviour including number of sex partners (Adjusted Risk Ratio (ARR): 1·49; 95% CI 1·0, 2·21) and incident STI (AOR: 5·41; 95% CI 1·15, 25·48) <sup>39</sup>. Alcohol use is also emerging as a potential HIV-related risk factor <sup>16</sup>, although not well quantified among FSW, especially those working in entertainment establishments (or their male partners). Entertainment venues largely revolve around alcohol, and women working at these are generally employed as hostesses, waitresses, or as "promoters" such as "beer promotion girls" in a variety of venues. <sup>16</sup> <sup>21</sup> Women who were working in the entertainment sector were more likely to both report more days of drinking, and more days intoxicated, than brothel or street-based FSW. Alcohol use can be a barrier to effective condom use and condom negotiation in the transactional context. <sup>16</sup> <sup>52</sup> Although women in the two samples did not report differences in inconsistent condom use, we have previously found that women who report heavy alcohol use are also significantly more likely to report inconsistent condom use. <sup>39</sup> Given how entwined drug and alcohol

use are with sex work, especially in the growing entertainment-based sector, there is a significant need to better elucidate ways to mitigate HIV-associated risks among women whose livelihood depends on working in these establishments. Designing and implementing prevention in these contexts will require input, not only from working women, but also from the wider business sector, as well as male clients.<sup>48 53-56</sup>

The differences in HIV and risk profiles between the women in our two samples, as well as outreach efforts by HIV prevention organizations, may be a result of reaching "low hanging fruit" resulting from both substantive increases in the number of women working in entertainment establishments, and the increased challenges of engaging women with higher risk and who are HIV infected for the reasons described above. FSW in Phnom Penh have historically been easily accessed for prevention and surveillance efforts. However, recent changes in the sex work landscape suggest that alternative sampling methods, such as respondent driven sampling, may result in better access to higher risk women who are more hidden and therefore hard to reach in this new legal climate. 57

HIV prevention remains an important and essential priority for all women engaged in transactional sex. A recent systematic review confirms that FSW in Asia have the highest odds of infection compared to women of reproductive age in the general population. In addition to new structural interventions aimed at reducing risk in the work-based environment, the very high prevalence and risk of HIV among FSW in Cambodia suggests a need for combination HIV prevention interventions including biomedical (pre-exposure prophylaxis, microbicides, and treatment as prevention), behavioural and development approaches (such as microfinance or income generating opportunities). Sec. 19-64

Several limitations of these analyses should be noted. First results presented here are cross-sectional and thus associations do not reflect causality. The comparison of the serial samples is ecological in nature and does not prove temporal effects. The sample sizes are small and thus subject to limitations with respect to generalizability. Many exposures are self-reported and thus may reflect social desirability bias, especially condom use which we have found has been over-reported based on biomarker data. On the other hand, we have found that self-reported ATS use is accurate compared to urine toxicology screening, suggesting that measures of drug and alcohol use in this group are accurate.

Results from this analysis provide important insights into recent shifts in the context of sex work and risk in young FSW in Phnom Penh, highlight challenges to HIV prevention in this environment, and also point to the need for more research. Conflicting trends, including the criminalization and suppression of direct sex work while the indirect entertainment-based sex work industry is flourishing, has potentially set a new stage. Unless there is acknowledgment and access to women who are more directly engaged in sex work, these women will be poorly represented in any national HIV or behavioural surveillance. They will remain hidden and stigmatized, subject to repression, violence and potentially with less access to prevention or care. While the 100% condom use program had its criticisms, that policy at least acknowledged the existence and need for HIV prevention at a multisectoral level for FSW. The current socio-political climate has potentially reversed these benefits, by denying the existence of FSW. Further in-depth research among both FSW, their male clients and among entertainment venue management would help to elucidate the impacts, both positive and negative of these new laws. The exponential growth of entertainment-based sex work has the potential to

result in an expanding HIV epidemic among young women in Cambodia. From a programmatic perspective entertainment-based FSW are much easier to reach but likely an into the and progrous afe work environments, and in sex work in Cambodia. require different HIV prevention interventions than the 100% condom use program. Implementation of research and programmatic efforts that integrate health, social empowerment, and safe work environments for HIV prevention remain a high priority for women engaged in sex work in Cambodia.<sup>67</sup>

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Table 1: Selected socio-demographic characteristics, occupational, and risk exposures in two cohorts of high risk young women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160 Prevalence of characteristic		YWHS-2 N=153* Prevalence of characteristic		p-value
	N	%	N	%	
Age (years, median (IQR))	25 (21 – 27)		25 ( 22 – 28)		0.56
16-18	13	8.1	11	7.2	0.86
19-24	64	40.0	58	37.9	
25-29	83	51.8	84	54.9	
Marital status					
Never married	57	35.6	38	24.8	<0.01
Married-living together	24	15.0	48	31.4	
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	79	49.4	67	43.8	
		·			
Education (years)					
None	64	40.0	23	15.0	<0.01
Primary (1-6 years)	82	51.3	91	59.5	
Secondary (7+ years)	14	8.8	39	25.5	
Age at first sex (median (IQR))	17 (16 – 18)		18 ( 16 – 19)		0.03
≤ 15	32	20.1	22	14.5	0.19
> 15	127	79.9	130	85.5	
Length of employment as FSW (years, median (IQR))	4.3 (2.5 – 6.3)		3 (1.7 – 5)		<0.01
Current employment venue (last 30 days)				2	
Entertainment	51	31.9	113	74.3	<0.01†
Brothel	23	9.2	3	2.0	
Freelance	59	39.3	29	19.1	
Other/Multiple	27	16.9	7	4.6	
Have a manager, boss or supervisor					
No	82	53.6	28	14.4	<0.01
Yes	71	46.4	124	81.6	
Income in past month (US \$)					
Less than \$100	68	42.5	50	32.9	0.18
100-150\$	35	21.9	43	29.3	

Over 150\$	57	35.6	59	38.8	
Number of sex partners in last month (median (IQR))	30 (10 – 90)		5 (3 – 13)		<0.01
≤10	45	28.1	112	73.2	<0.01
11 – 50	53	33.1	41	26.8	
> 50	62	38.8	0	0	
Condom use with last paying partner					
Consistent (always)	108	85.7	86	87.8	0.66
Inconsistent	18	14.3	12	12.2	
Condom use with last non paying partner					
Consistent (always)	7	20.6	10	18.2	0.78
Inconsistent	27	79.4	45	81.8	
Number of days drink alcohol (last month)	15 (2 – 30)		18 (5 – 28)		0.76
0-4	65	40.6	36	23.5	<0.01
5 – 19	25	15.6	42	27.5	
≥ 20	70	43.7	75	49.0	
Number of days drunk (last month)	5 (1 – 20)		3 (1 – 10)		0.07
0 – 4	89	55.6	86	56.2	<0.01
5 – 19	33	20.6	50	32.7	
≥ 20	38	23.7	17	11.1	
ATS use (ever)					
No	92	57.5	107	69.9	0.02
Yes	68	42.5	46	30.1	
ATS use (last 3 months)					
No	116	73.4	117	76.5	0.54
Yes	42	26.6	36	23.5	
Ever used any drug prior to/during sex					
No	109	68.1	117	76.5	0.10
Yes	51	31.9	36	23.5	5.10

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

<sup>†</sup>Fisher Exact p-value

Table 2: HIV prevalence overall and by current work venue in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh, Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160				
	N	% (95% CI)	N	%	p-value
HIV positive	37	23.1 (16.5 – 29.7)	14	9.2 (4.5 – 13.8)	<0.01
HIV positive by					
employment venue (n/N)					
Entertainment	5/51	9.8 (1.5 – 18.1)	5/113	4.4 (0.6 – 8.2)	<0.01
Brothel	4/23	17.4 (1.5 – 33.3)	0/3	0	
Freelance	22/59	37.3 (25.0 – 48.0)	9/29	31.0 (13.8 – 48.2)	
Other/Multiple	6/27	22.2 (6.2 – 38.3)	0/7	0	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

Table 3: HIV testing history and behaviors in two cohorts of young high risk women in Phnom Penh,

Cambodia: YWHS-1 (2006-2007) and YWHS-2 (2009-2010)

Characteristic	YWHS-1 N=160		YWHS-2* N=153*		
	N	%	N	%	p-value
Ever tested for HIV					
No	58	36.5	31	20.3	<0.01
Yes	101	63.5	122	79.7	
HIV test in last 3 months	<b>&gt;</b>				
No	126	79.3	119	77.8	0.75
Yes	33	20.7	34	22.2	
What was result of last HIV test?#	6				
Negative	84	84.0	114	93.4	0.04
Positive	4	4.0	4	3.3	
Don't know	12	12.0	4	3.3	
Where received last HIV test <sup>#</sup>					
Public hospital	35	34.7	55	34.0	0.10
Voluntary testing and counseling center	1	1.0	0	0	
NGO clinic	59	58.4	54	44.3	
Private hospital, clinic, or laboratory	6	5.9	13	10.7	

<sup>\*</sup> Excludes women who participated in YWHS-1

<sup>#</sup> Among those who reported being previously tested for HIV

# **Figure Legend**

Figure 1: Venues where women in YWHS-2 and YWHS-2 reported ever working

Figure 2. Alcohol use in the past month and ATS use in the past 3 months reported by women in YWHS-1 and YWHS-2 by work venue: (A) Entertainment-based; (B) Brothelbased; (C) Freelance

