



**SEXUALITIES, IDENTITIES AND BODIES
THE FRAMING OF PAGKATAO AMONG
ESTABLISHMENT-BASED
MALE SEX WORKERS IN THE PHILIPPINES**

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Introduction

In 1990, the World AIDS Foundation commissioned members of the University of the Philippines Manila AIDS Study Group to undertake a comprehensive study on sex work in the Philippines in the light of the impact of HIV/AIDS worldwide. This project paved the way for designing an appropriate HIV/AIDS prevention program for sex workers. Among the different types of sex workers in the country such as, freelance sex workers (both male and female), massage attendants, providers of escort services and child sex workers, the research team decided to target establishment-based male sex workers.

Establishment-based male sex workers seemed to be a logical choice. It would be convenient to conduct an HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infection education program for them because they work in one place only. The project resulted into the training of male sex workers as peer agents for HIV/AIDS awareness. In the process of designing an intervention program, we were especially interested in looking at their lives as sex workers, their sexual practices in the club (i.e., sexual negotiations, condom use) and the types of sexual services that made them vulnerable to sexually transmitted diseases and HIV/AIDS.

In the course of our research, we realized that male sex workers were in this industry because of economic reasons. The majority of our interviews with them revealed the fact that they came from poor families and therefore did not finish their education at least in the secondary level so they decided to become sex workers. Some of these sex workers worked menial jobs before such as waiters in restaurants or laborers in construction firms. The salaries they received were insignificant and not enough to send home and life in a big city like Metro Manila proved to be very expensive.

Most of these sex workers were born and raised in the provinces where their parents were either farmers or factory workers. They came from large families with six to ten brothers and sisters. It took a while for elder brothers or sisters to finish education because they needed to stop schooling every other year so that other siblings could go to school, too. Those who were out-of-school needed to find work in their provinces so that they could augment the family income.

The adventure of going to Metro Manila was a dream for the sex workers. Their relatives in Metro Manila often talked about job opportunities in the city

whenever they visited them in the provinces. This triggered their ambition to try their luck in the big city.

Becoming a sex worker was a conscious decision. The majority of the male sex workers interviewed for this study revealed that their peers and cousins were the ones who introduced them to this job. Even though they knew what a “sex worker” did in a club, the sex workers saw their work as “easy money”. The fastest way to get money was entertaining and providing sexual services not only to gay men but also to female clients. The study also showed that they gave services both men and women.

Sexual pleasure was their trade. For them, nothing was morally wrong in what they were doing because they opined that they were not robbing their clients of money but were giving pleasure to them. This mindset brought us to examine their sexual orientation. The study revealed that the majority of these sex workers had sexual encounters with their girlfriends, and later with homosexuals. Thus, their sexual experience with both sexes gave them an advantage in becoming sex workers.

The male sex workers knew how to take good care of themselves. To become more “commerciable” to clients, they developed their bodies especially their torso. Since most of them were macho dancers, that is, they performed on stage in a skimpy brief; they also put effort in developing their thighs and buttocks. Some went as far as putting penile implants such as *bolitas* or small balls in their penis so that they and their clients could enjoy sexual pleasure. These facts come with the trade of a male sex worker. Their bodies are their capital and they have to take care of it passionately.

Statement of the Problem

The establishment-based male sex workers in the 1990 study had multiple sex partners of different genders and the motivating factor in becoming a sex worker seemed to be economic. What we, however, failed to do in this project was to situate the sexual orientation, sex work and sexual practices within the totality of their personhood or *pagkatao*.

Pagkatao is a Filipino term that expresses who you are as a person. The shaping of a character or an identity is manifested in your self-actuations, personal motivations, ambitions and realizations. Social or cultural norms and values, which can be found in education, family life, media, religion, contribute to this *pagkatao*. The *pagkatao* in this sense is internally shaped and externally constructed by a person.

Identity is a result of a *pagkatao* as it refers to the integration of the self, or the person, as a whole.

Pagkatao is above identity since identity is relative. Identity may emphasize on self-perception, sometimes on classification by outsiders; it may mean a well-integrated personality or one element of a multiplicity of identities. The concept of *pagkatao* being above identities provides an opportunity to highlight how the sex workers see themselves. Second, it draws attention to their different identities (homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual, worker and male gender) while maintaining the general perspective of their whole personality.

Applying this term in relation to the male sex workers, I inquired into the relationship between who they are and what they do. Questions like “What motivates them to become a sex worker?” “What is “work” for them?” “What does sexuality mean for them?” were asked.

However, it was inevitable that in the course of this thesis, the question of identity of the sex workers would surface whether they are homosexuals, heterosexuals, or bisexuals. Avoiding a debate on the differences of western constructs of sexual identities and orientations and Filipino constructs, I opine that when one discusses sexuality, from libido to pleasure and personal goals in life, the development of *pagkatao* is needed to be explored. I argue in this thesis that understanding a male sex worker’s *pagkatao* is a result of his identity or a label which he consciously attaches to himself and is, at the same time, a reflection of what he does with regard to the *sexing* of his body (i.e., making his body more commerciable to clients) and his perceptions about his work. Thus, for this thesis, the *pagkatao* concept is more practical to discuss because I am using *pagkatao* as the basis of their perceptions on their sexualities, identities and work.

The Study

This study aimed to explore the *pagkatao* of these male sex workers and how it relates to their perceptions of themselves as sex workers, their sexual practice and their work. The following questions were asked:

1. What are the life histories, sexual histories of these sex workers?
2. What are the meanings and symbols they are attached to? What or whom do they identify themselves?
3. What shapes their *pagkatao*? How do they label this?

The research design used in this study was a combination of interviews and observations. Interviews served as an opportunity to further discuss the narratives categorized in the following study themes: (1) sexual orientation; (2) sex work; and, (3) bodies. An interview with a floor manager plus a focus group discussion with a few clients of the male sex workers were done to gain more insights.

The research was *explorative* and *descriptive* in nature. Data collection was further augmented by using Filipino approaches. I used Filipino approaches because I was studying the *pagkatao* and culture of the Philippines. I believe that using western approaches would not enable me to fully explain the object and the subject of my study. To explain *pagkatao* according to western constructs would be to continue the miseducation process, that is, the research would be limited to western psychology or anthropology. Moreover, the Filipino approaches were used to avoid the many pitfalls that tokenism in the use of Filipino approaches could cause one of which is distortion of Philippine social reality and the glossing over of the uniqueness of the Filipino as the subject of the study.

This also means that to completely understand the *pagkatao* of the Filipino, it is imperative that we recognize his social and historical contexts. He is a product of his history and his environment. In that way, he is unique.

The following approaches fit the Filipinos' narration of their stories. Further, these approaches are sensitive to what Filipinos' want to narrate or tell, that is, how they want to reveal their true selves. Since I was studying the ethnographies of sex workers that would touch on issues that are sensitive to them, the use of these approaches would make them comfortable. The following approaches are as follows:

Pagmamasid is a Filipino term for observation. I took critical notes of verbal and non-verbal communications of the participants for this thesis. Every wink of the eye or body gesture while being formally interviewed or small chitchats, mattered so much in deriving the thought processes of the participants. Being a Filipino myself, it was easy to decipher or identify from the participants any sudden and unconscious body movements that led me to probe into their *pagkatao*. *Pagmamasid* was an effective gauge or springboard for determining the participants' thought process or responses to my inquiries. By using this method, the participants were at ease in discussing their life stories or narratives, most especially if their inner feelings could only be expressed in our language (*Filipino*).

However, for this study, *pagmamasid* not only meant probing into the participants' *pagkatao* but it also meant observing their actual interactions with their

clients, fellow workers and club managers. In this case, I used the note-taking technique.

Pakikiramdam is feeling one's way through the process of getting to know the participants very well and gaining their trust so they would share with me their life stories. In this case, I needed to use Filipino words distinctively used in the club such as Filipino words like '*Pare*' or '*Kumpadre*' or '*Pards*' (brother or close friend). Using these terms made the participants more open and comfortable most especially when we discussed about their sexual histories and sexual values. The *pakikiramdam* method is a useful instrument in this thesis because it centered on the feeling that I was accepted in their club and thus had a free rein in asking sensitive questions without them being embarrassed.

Pakikilahok means being a concerned researcher in the process. I showed much attention while talking to them, in interview sessions and in informal conversations within the club. I made them aware that I was concerned about their mind processes and interested in what they did in the club. Using this method opened the gates for more conversations with them but this time they expressed their more personal feelings and statements about their work and themselves to me. In one instance, I was one of the judges of their weekly search for the "exotic macho dancer". Thus, I was accepted by the management as well as the sex workers because I participated in an activity that represented a lot of information about their "world."

Pakikipagkwentuhan is a form of socialization or verbal exchanges among Filipinos. It is an informal conversation and/or story telling where participants narrated how they were growing up to how they see themselves after they have decided to stop from being a sex worker. *Pakikipagkwentuhan* is not only chitchat but also more of how a sex worker structures his narration of his life – in his own words and body movements. I was more of a listener in this method because I gave them the freedom to express themselves and only asked them questions if I felt that I needed to probe into some of their statements. Nonetheless, I let them be the storyteller.

I opine that sometimes researchers forget that in attempting to be scientific, they become more concerned with their methodology and instruments than with the people they study and who eventually will be described in their work (or even use in their work). This thesis accepts the challenge that it is now time that we change our research perspective and tools for analysis and develop from within models and constructs that will best reflect the manner in which our people confront, cope and

deal with real life situations that challenge them everyday. It is thus not enough that we quantify peoples' behavior; we must contextualize our observations about people.

The use of these Filipino approaches enabled me to enrich my field data by noting down expressions, feelings, movements and of ideas. These are positive reinforcements for me, as a researcher, because I realized that there was much more information that could be derived from everyday experiences with them and that I did not have to rely only on my more or less "structured" interviews.

Sample and Analysis of Data

Due to the personal and sensitive nature of the thesis, the informants in this study were selected purposively because I allowed the club's floor manager to determine the participants based on the following inclusion criteria: (1) the length of years working as a sex worker; (2) physical attributes; and (3) the most frequently "taken-out" by clients of the club. A total of five individuals or male sex workers were interviewed.

The floor manager I consulted and interviewed was considered as the oldest and experienced manager in the club. I allowed him to choose the informants for the study because he not only knew the workers, in and out, but he was also responsible for recruiting these boys.

Initially, I planned to have informal conversations or do *pakikipagkwentuhan* with few clients of the male sex workers. However, this proved to be difficult because I could not sustain my inquiries while disco music played in the entire club. Also, it would be very unethical to squeeze in sensitive questions while a male sex worker was being tabled by them. Given this situation, I had to befriend a client whose friends were also frequent visitors of the club. Thus, a focus group discussion followed and was conducted in the house of a client.

The life stories and information about the informants (the five sex workers), the floor manager and the clients of the sex workers are described in the data presentation part of this thesis.

The interview guide that was used had open-ended questions. This provided the participants the opportunity to be as detailed as they wished in terms of the information that they wanted to provide. In a sense, the participants created their own instruments.

Valid qualitative research should accurately depict the participants' experiences and sketch a larger picture from their stories (Acker et al, 1983; Du Bois, 1983). Also, it should portray a picture of the socio-cultural context of the experience (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). I personally transcribed verbatim from voice recorder all narratives from the interviews. This gave me the certainty that all transcripts were faithful records of the responses and narrations from the informants. This also gave me a feel for the data.

To enable me to understand better the informants' workplace and what they do, I needed to comprehend the 'culture' by which they operate and the language they use. I have been involved in the male sex work industry as a researcher since 1992 and therefore adequately understand its culture, its influences on the male sex workers, and the culturally rich phrases that have a different meaning from their surface ones. In the case of this study, I acted both as an insider' and as an outsider' to the culture. Since data for the study were collected in Filipino, the informants had the opportunity to express themselves without being misunderstood, or without the danger of not finding the appropriate words in English while expressing their feelings and meanings about their sexualities.

However, on several occasions, they mentioned that it would have been easier to discuss these matters with someone who has been an associate in the club and who *"really knows and understands what I am talking about"*. This implies that they were reluctant at first to share with me how they felt about being a sex worker or even to narrate their life stories, because I was not one of them. However, after giving them information that I have been an associate in the club since 1992 and doing HIV/AIDS education with previous male sex workers, they slowly opened themselves to me.

Prior to the 1990 study, I had some personal reflections about the kind of work they do in comparison to my own sexual orientation and preference. In fact, I had to undergo a desensitization process of my personal beliefs with regard to men having sex with men by undergoing sexuality workshops conducted in my place of work (university). When I conducted research in the male sex work industry, I learned about their personal beliefs and perceptions of what they do and who they are. Since then, I see myself both as an 'insider' and an 'outsider'.

The informants were contacted and a time was set to discuss with the floor manager the study requirements. The procedures involved were explained to the

informants and they were asked if they were willing to participate in the process. Those who agreed to participate signed a prepared consent form.

Open-ended questions such as "*Is there anything else you would like to share?*" and "*Anything you would like to add or discuss?*" allowed the informant to expand or add information without feeling pressured to talk about a particular topic. The interviews were held in the informant's preferred location to allow them to be comfortable and to establish a sense of privacy. Most of the time, the interviews took place just before the opening of the club at 7:00 in the evening.

The content of the narratives from in-depth interview sessions, feedback on interpretations, and personal notes were subsequently analyzed. I divided the analysis process in three stages: (a) identifying themes and developing concepts; (b) coding the data; and (c) understanding the data in the context they were collected.

I personally transcribed the written narratives and audiotape interviews. This step provided an early exposure to the data and helped me become familiar with the narratives. First, the transcripts were read five times. During the first three times, I tried my best to read without attempting to make any interpretations or analysis. A few notes were recorded in a notebook for further use in the analysis. After the third reading, a list was made which included common themes and ideas recurring in the data. All transcripts were re-typed in double space to allow for comments and questions to be written down. The transcripts were read two more times allowing for side notes about emerging themes and ideas. Again, these themes were written down and compared with the existing ones.

In my conversations I followed an interview guide. For focus group discussion with the clients of the male sex workers, I had, however, a separate interview guide. I also transcribed the audio taped interviews. From the printed copies of the verbatim transcriptions, I coded some of the parts that directly touched on the study themes.

A notebook while doing my fieldwork proved to be handy. While doing *pagmamasid*, I was able to take notes of important information, for instance, negotiations or transactions of the informants with their clients. Also, I took note of the use of their language inside the club and during negotiations, some of which will be discussed in the presentation of data. Taking down notes was not easy at all because I frequently had to go out of the club, to the club's restroom. I always had a good excuse when some of the sex workers asked about my so called

“disappearances” by telling them that I needed to make a phone call or meet someone at the gate.

I thoroughly read my notes every time I arrived home from the club and wrote down marginal notes on concerns that I felt I needed to probe such as how sexual negotiations occur, the price for every sexual service or the type of sexual services given by the male sex workers. While some of these concerns were discussed during the formal interview, I felt that there was a need to inquire into them again but with more details. The notes provided me an opportunity to ask follow-up questions which I failed to ask when I previously interviewed them. The informants granted me ‘follow-up’ interviews through small informal conversations.

Another data analysis processing I did was through *pakikipaglahok*. I was invited to become a judge in two activities of the club. One was the *Santacruzán*, a Catholic festival during the month of May, regarded as the month of flowers, where beauties parade in the streets with their escorts. In this case, the beauties were the female impersonators of the club. Female impersonators are gay men who have breast implants and have long hair. They mimic or impersonate singers like Gloria Gaynor, Diana Ross, Barbara Streisand or Celine Dione during shows in the club. These impersonators were escorted by some of the male sex workers of the club. Another activity I participated in was being a judge in their weekly search for the ‘exotic macho dancer’. These activities proved to be useful because I had the opportunity to experience how one judges beauty according to their standards. All observations were written down in my notebook.

Pleasure and Bodies

The Club

The location of this study is an establishment-based bar called Club 690. As an establishment-based bar, it operates like a business. The owner of the club, a Filipino-Chinese, employs a regular staff of four to five floor managers, one of whom is a personnel officer who interviews applicants who want to be receptionists (as they call ‘sex workers’) and another, an administrative officer who takes care of the club’s accounting and auditing procedures. Each floor manager maintains a stable of receptionists, from 10-20.

Open nightly, seven days a week, one cannot determine exactly the number of male sex workers or “receptionists” in the club. This is so because the sex workers

have the option not to report to the club. Some of them have previous commitments with their clients outside the club or are just lazy to go to the club. It can be assumed that there are more than fifteen male sex workers in the club every day.

The bar or club is located in the northeastern part of Quezon City, one of the urban sites of Metro Manila. The club was established in 1975 and is the oldest entertainment center catering, not exclusively though, to gay and bisexual men. The site is a two-storey building where the stage and karaoke bar are located on the ground floor. On the second floor, several rooms are used by female impersonators as dressing rooms. These rooms used to be reserved for clients who were having sex with male sex workers until the city government banned sex hostels in 1999.

About ten male sex workers mount the stage and dance in a gyrating fashion in their skimpy trunks. (Hernandez et al, 1993) The rest of the sex workers are either standing or loitering around the club, eyeing possible clients or being tabled by clients. Being tabled would mean a sex worker is requested by a client to sit with him at the table for an hourly fee of 100.00 pesos (equivalent to 2.00 euros).

The club prepares three entertainment shows or segments starting at about 23:30: (1) an all-boys *macho* (term for hunks or studs) dancing; (2) dance routines by in-house dancers usually as back-up to female impersonators; and (3) an all-boys macho dancing but this time with stripping (although not totally) of their skimpy briefs. Each segment lasts for 30 minutes and is interspersed with disco music. Once a month, the management puts up a gig or a contest of sorts to lure more customers, like the ‘Search for the Exotic Macho Dancer of the Week’ every Monday or the ‘Search for the Beauties 2002 of the Week’ (or a gay men beauty contest) every Wednesday.

There are more than ten establishment based-gay bars in Metro Manila but most of them cannot compete with Club 690. The club continuously enjoys a reputation as the regular haunt of show business personalities; particularly gay men film directors and producers, who are looking for new male talents. Thus, the club has become a ground for aspiring actors. On several nights, I also observed that there are political personalities entering the club and tabling male sex workers as well.

For the past five years, the club has opened its gates to female clients while other gay bars were strictly catering to gay men and bisexual men. This decision was a strategy made by the club owner because women are also a captive market in seeking entertainment from male sex workers. In fact, during my fieldwork, there were nights that women clients outnumbered gay men clients. There were single or

unmarried women clients who were either sex workers themselves or overseas contract workers who had just returned from abroad. There were married ones whose spouses or husbands worked abroad.

Since its establishment in 1975, the club has enjoyed police protection from the local government of Quezon City. This is so because the club assists the city government by sending their club entertainers to the city's entertainment programs and activities. Thus, the club also has a good rapport with the city officials.

The club's shows are not as daring or lewd as those in other gay bars. The macho dancers just dance on stage primarily to tease clients and have them tabled afterwards. Unlike in other gay bars, the dancers in 690 are not expected to undress or become totally nude while parading around the club.

Male sex workers

Five male sex workers were the informants of this study. A narrative of their life stories before becoming sex workers will be presented as a requirement for the understanding of the study themes – sexual orientation, bodies and sex work. All transcriptions done were originally in Filipino but for this part of the study, all narratives were translated in English. The original Filipino texts are attached in the appendix. To protect the anonymity of my informants, all the names of the sex workers (including of the clients and the floor manager) have been changed.

Ariel was born and raised in Lanao del Sur, which is located in the south of the Philippines. His father was a soldier who died while in active duty in Mindanao. By that time, Ariel was only nine months old. His mother took him to his paternal grandmother in Ilocos Norte located in the northern part of Luzon, the largest island in the country. That was the last time he saw his mother. Ariel was the only child. He grew up with his grandmother and took his primary, elementary and high school education in the said province. Life in the province was fine and they could afford to eat three times a day. He said that he had good friends who gave him moral support and attention despite growing up without having a mother around. His friends became his source of stability as a person, giving him advice whenever he had problems or even dishing out money for him when needed.

One day, his uncle who worked in Manila visited him in their province and suggested him to continue his schooling in Manila. His grandmother agreed and sent him to Manila under the guidance of his uncle. Upon reaching Manila, he was so

attracted by the hustle and bustle of the city that he decided not to continue his studies but instead looked for work. His first job, at the age of 18, was working for a garment factory but after a year, he resigned. He said that aside from receiving a small amount of income, he felt that the job was physically too demanding. So, he moved to another job as a security guard for a major commercial bank in Metro Manila. He was 20.

It was during his stint as a security guard that he began to work on his body in a gym. He opined that he needed to be physically fit because of the demands of his work as a security guard. A gym instructor teased him to try his luck as a male dancer in a gay club but he shrugged this off. However, he confided to me that he thought of that suggestion very seriously because that meant easy money for him. He read in the newspaper that a certain club in Quezon City was accepting male models. He applied at Club 690 and was immediately accepted by the manager as a receptionist.

At present, Ariel is living alone in his rented place in Caloocan City. Ariel is one of the “star” dancers in the club. He is one of the favorites of clients. He is always being tabled, mostly by gay men clients.

Kenzmon is presently 30 years old and the second oldest among the participants in the study. He was born and raised in Pampanga, an hour and a half from Manila. He is the third child among eight siblings. His father was a welder who died when he was 9 years old while his mother was doing laundry for families in his province. At the age of 10, he left school and his province and went to Manila. He did not ask permission from his family to leave their town. He told me that he wanted to be on his own because he was a problem child of the family.

In Manila, he lived with strangers while he was growing up. He lived in different slum areas of Manila. He worked as a cigarette vendor on the streets. Although he had a married sister living in Manila, he decided not to live with her because he would only be an additional burden to her. He said his sister’s family was not well off like their family in Pampanga. Besides, he said he needed to lead his life on his own and resolve his own problems.

Being alone in Manila, life was tough for him. Not only did he transfer from one house to another under the care of total strangers, he also acquired a vice – smoking marijuana at the age of 13. Aside from vending cigarettes, his street friends also introduced him to selling sex. He had to sell his body on the street at the age of 14 to gay men and also to women. At the age of 17, he worked as a strip tease dancer in a gay club, where the shows were considered at that time as the most daring and

lewd. After three years, he moved to another gay club, International Club, and stayed there for three years. While employed here, he joined a macho dancing contest sponsored by Club 690. He won the third place in that yearly event and afterwards he decided to move from International Club to Club 690.

At present, Kenzmon is living in a rented place near Club 690. He regularly sends money to his family in Pampanga and a monthly allowance to his two-year old son. His son stays with his common-law wife. He has plans of putting up a business after retiring from sex work three years from now.

Julius is the youngest among the participants in this study. He is 19 years old. He was born and raised in Tondo, believed to be a tough neighborhood in the city of Manila. He is the third of five children. The eldest brother worked as a macho dancer in Club 690 several years back. Julius confided to me that his brother introduced him sex work in the same club. He idolized his brother so much because when their father died when they were still young, his brother took over the responsibility of taking care of the family. His mother did not have a job. Unable to finish high school, his brother applied as a receptionist in Club 690.

Julius was not hesitant to become a sex worker in the club because he believed that it was easy to earn money. In fact, his brother was not against it either. His brother was even proud of him because he was helping him to augment the family income. Now that his brother has retired from sex work, Julius continues to work as a receptionist in the club. His brother is 8 years older than he.

Julius said that his family was always scavenging for food. In order to survive, they grew vegetables in the backyard of their small house. His mother could not afford to send them to school because of sheer poverty. When his brother became a macho dancer in the club, they had a steady income but it was still not enough for the needs of his other growing siblings.

Julius is another “star” dancer of the club and is always being tabled. He is one of the back-up dancers whenever female impersonators perform on stage. He told me that he, along with other macho dancers is planning to go to Japan and work as male entertainers. According to him, male entertainers in clubs in Japan are called *hostos*. He added that the kind of work in Japan is similar to what they do as receptionists. If given the opportunity, he really wants to work there. He said he dreams of going abroad to work, so that he would be able to support his family.

Gerald is the most sought after sex worker in Club 690. At the age of 26, he has been in the sex industry for the past 6 years.

Gerald was born in a fishing village in Catbalogan, Samar. His province is located in the Visayas, the second largest island of the Philippines. He is the fifth child of seven children from the second family of his father. His father, separated from his first wife with whom he also had seven children, was a fisherman while his mother worked as a farmer. He mentioned that he had a happy childhood and vividly remembered that when he was small, he would run after his father and helped him in his daily catch. It was a simple life, he said. However, when his father died when he was 13 years old, their lives changed. He stopped schooling and decided to go to Manila to look for work.

Finding work in a big city was not easy at all for Gerald. He lived with his maternal uncle in Marikina City, the shoe-making center of the Philippines. He worked at a young age of 14 in a small shoe-making factory. He stayed in the factory for three years and found another job as a *bagger* in a big grocery store. He stayed there only for six months and moved to work in a construction company. He was 18 years old by this time. He stayed with the construction company until he was 20 years old. It was during this time that his mother became ill and he needed to send money for medicines. His income in the construction company was not enough to buy his mother's expensive drugs.

One day, on his way home, he said, that he stopped by a gay bar. He saw an advertisement that the bar was looking for male dancers. Curiously, he entered the club and inquired about the job. After being interviewed by the bar manager, he was accepted and was requested to start work on that very day. He said that he was surprised to receive on his first night an amount of money equivalent to his whole month's salary as a construction worker. He enjoyed his stay there and transferred to other gay bars until he found his way to Club 690.

Gerald was a returnee to Club 690 when I interviewed him. He had just arrived from Japan where he worked as a male entertainer. He returned to Club 690 because he finished his 3-month contract in a club in Japan.

Among the sex workers in Club 690, Gerald is physically the best looking. He was even proud to inform me that he devoted his time to develop his body as he pumps iron almost everyday. Gerald is one of the few sex workers in the club who has

admitted to have penile implants. When I was doing my fieldwork, his customers in the club were mostly women.

Gerald is planning to go back to Japan and work again as a *hosto* because it earns well. From his last contract in Japan, he received a monthly salary of US\$500 plus commissioned drinks. He said that he saved money while in Japan and carried an equivalent of US\$2,000 when he returned to the Philippines.

Marvin is the oldest participant in this study at the age of 32. Like Julius, he was born and raised in Tondo in the city of Manila. He is the fifth child among seven children. Like all of the respondents, his father died when he was a teen. He was able to finish high school while doing part time work in a textile firm. With his father gone and he being the only male in the family, Marvin could not go to college. He continued working in the same textile firm as a full time worker. He said that he was industrious in his work and even got overtime pay. He stayed with the firm until he was 28 years old.

He got to know Club 690 when he was delivering textiles to a place near the club. Since the club was known as a gay bar, his supervisor who was with him at that time teased him and suggested to him to try his luck as a dancer since he had a well-developed body. He took the joke seriously and applied several days after. When he was interviewed for the job as a receptionist, he was immediately accepted and requested to start work that same day. He earned a lot during his first night but still continued to work in the textile firm during daytime. However, due to the physical demands of juggling two jobs at the same time, he gave up the textile firm for the job at the club since it pays more.

Today, Marvin is an old weed in the club. He has thought of retiring from sex work next year. He said that he was able to save enough money to put up a small business. He confided that he needed to plan his life because he is getting old. He continues to support his family aside from his 8 growing children from 5 different women. He said that he cannot help it but he is really a ladies' man.

All of the male sex workers interviewed for this study came from poor families. Their state of poverty triggered them to seek greener pastures in Metro Manila. Coming from large families and from provinces where employment opportunities are limited, the informants sought help from their relatives to assist them in finding work and money, except for Kenzmon. The role of the relatives is important in Filipino families because they form a large support group specifically in

finding employment and money. If one relative is in need of help, an uncle or auntie for example, would always extend a hand to alleviate his or her situation.

Another trait of these participants was their determination to give their families a comfortable life. While all of them started in menial labour such as factory work or vending food, their goal of earning more money no matter the costs propelled them to achieve it. Ariel, Julius and Gerald even plan to go to Japan to earn dollars. The participants knew the value of money and of being thrifty while living in the city and the responsibility of sending money to their loved ones in their provinces. This is reflective of one's desire to achieve a higher status in life most especially if the welfare of the family is at stake. The family, thus, is essential in the lives of these sex workers. What holds them to their work is their family's welfare. This is another typical value of Filipinos. Everybody in the family, married or not, continues to support the family financially.

The informants emphasized in their narratives their role as the man in the family. When the fathers of the sex workers died, they took the responsibility of taking care of their families. We put premium on the roles assigned to sons. In this case, the informants did not only help their families in terms of their economic needs in general but also carried the responsibility of sending their brothers and sisters to school, putting up a business for their mothers and attending to the welfare of their own children. Marvin's responsibility, for example, does not end in providing money for his family but he also looks after the welfare of his eight growing children.

Most the sex workers were impressed by peer groups and associates. Their friends have been their source of support. This is a clear indication of their socialization process while growing up. Their "world view" about the things and events around them was developed through their interactions with their friends. Kenzmon, for example, lived with strangers who were responsible for introducing him to his vice and sex trade. Thus, social networks among the participants also play important roles in shaping their *pagkatao*.

As the only Catholic country in the Far East, none of the informants mentioned religion or faith as a basis of their strength and wisdom. I can surmise that religion did not play a decisive role in becoming a male sex worker. In my in-depth interviews with them, I was conscious about not asking them about their faith or the basis of their morality, unless they mentioned it themselves. All their narrations, however, pointed to the fact that what is moral for them boiled down to economics,

not to faith or religion. That as men, they need to provide financial support for their families and give their younger siblings and their children opportunities like quality education which they themselves never had.

The Floor Manager

Critical in this study is the participation of the floor manager because his knowledge and experiences with male sex workers enabled me to better understand the ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ of the trade. **Louie**, 38 years old, has been a floor manager for a decade. His responsibility is primarily to recruit boys to become sex workers or receptionists. Aside from hiring, Louie and three other floor managers take care of a stable of receptionists, which consists of 5 to 8 during club hours. He receives commissions whenever a member of his stable is bar-fined by a client. “Bar-fined” means that a client pays the bar or management for taking out a sex worker from the club. Normally, clients would approach a floor manager to choose for him, that is, to be tabled by him and perhaps to have sex later on. Louie maintains a string of clients who frequent go to the club.

As a manager and a recruitment officer, Louie knows the sexual tastes and preferences of clients. Whenever an applicant is being interviewed by Louie, he takes time in explaining what that applicant is expected to do once he has been accepted into the club. He asks for background information such as work history and the reasons why an applicant wants to be a receptionist. Physical examination forms part of the interview session with an applicant. He inspects the applicant’s body including his penis. He even asks the applicant to make his penis erect so that he can determine whether his so called merchandise is big enough to be traded in the club. I asked Louie why he needs to do that and he replied by saying that clients go to the club to be entertained and to have sex with a receptionist later on. Thus, he needs to inspect the body of an applicant if it is smooth and flawless without scars. The larger the penis, the better. One does not need to be good-looking, he said, but the applicant must have a “macho” image, as clients prefer *real* men as receptionists.

Louie receives feedback from clients with regard to the sexual performances of his receptionists or sex workers. He knows who among the present crop of sex workers performs fellatio and/or acts as receiver of anal sex.

Louie is an *old hand* in the business of sex. Louie is also a close friend and a confidant of most of the sex workers in the club. They approach Louie for their

problems, may they be personal or otherwise. He knows what and how a sex worker thinks.

When I was interviewing Louie, he gave me his impressions about the sex workers in the club. He opined that sex workers are either problem children or are in the business to escape the cruel and harsh life in the province. The main reason why the sex workers stick it out in the club is because of easy money. Economics is a major reason. Most of the sex workers in the club come from poor families and lived in rural areas where opportunities for employment are just too limited. He said:

Most of the boys here come from broken families or one of their parents died. They have no one to help them. They feel helpless. They got to know this place from their friends. Money is easy here. Some of them use this opportunity to meet clients who can help them or provide them work.

Another point he made was that there is nothing wrong in being sex workers because they do not rob money from people but instead give pleasure, for a fee. Louie said that the sex workers enjoy sex, too. In a way, he was telling me that while sex workers give pleasure, they themselves enjoy it, too. He added:

Before they enter in this kind of work, they have experienced sex with others, for example, with their girlfriends or with homosexuals. I asked them about their experiences when they applied here as receptionists. They know that having sex is great. There are no virgins here.

He also said that the male sex workers really value their job so much that they develop their bodies in order to be more commerciable to clients. They make their bodies more *manly*, as he puts it, meaning more muscled and buffed.

Even before they entered this club I noticed that they take good care of their faces and their bodies. Maybe men are becoming vain unlike before. Like women, they feel that it is also important to have a clearer skin and healthy hair. I really don't know but I guess this is what is happening now among men.

The body of a sex worker becomes his economic capital that puts him in a position to command or influence what price he asks from clients. Louie said that some of their workers went as far as having their noses fixed, their body pierced or

their penis implanted. As this juncture, I surmise that the bodies of these workers are not only economic bodies, but political bodies as well. Their body movements are a way of communicating to clients that they are ready for the taking at a price. This came to my mind while I was watching them gyrating on stage. Dance for them is not a regular dance; it is a ritual. It is like a ceremony that involves a series of actions and movements performed in a pattern. Every move, every sway of the hips, every wink of the eye while dancing are innuendos or clues where the sexing of body is at play.

Clients of sex workers

Interviewing the clients of sex workers in a focus group discussion proved to be interesting and provided another dimension or meaning to what I was looking for in this study – sex, work and bodies. The participation of the clients is crucial in understanding the *pagkatao* of these male sex workers. I argue that the clients are one of their social networks and that they continue to contribute to the way sex workers see themselves, both on a personal and professional level.

As originally planned, I engaged in small talk with a few randomly selected clients inside the bar. This proved to be frustrating because I felt that I was intruding into their private conversations and intimate moments. So, I befriended a client whom I met by chance while I was smoking outside the gate of the club. After asking initial question like “why are you here” and “what are you doing in this bar”, I introduced myself and the purpose of my nightly visits in the bar. The client got interested and offered assistance by organizing a very small group of his friends where in we could discuss my research questions extensively.

The client, named **Brigs** is a 35 years old businessman. His friends, **Eric**, 33 and **Jeff**, 30, are also frequent clients of Club 690. They have been friends for more than five years. They were introduced to each other by common friends. They told me that one thing they have in common is that they are gay and enjoy hopping from one gay bar to another almost every other night. They have been doing this for the past three years.

When I asked them what makes them gay, all of them said that they prefer having sex with men. They admitted that they are not openly gay by choice that not even their families know about their real sexual preferences. In the Philippines, some gays are closeted to avoid social stigma while others are openly gay. These clients

acted like “straight” men and sported short hair. They like going to a club like 690 because they want to have sex with the workers there.

They prefer a sex worker who is a stud with manly appearance and behavior. Another requirement is the body build. The more buffed a sex worker is, the more likely the client will avail of his services. The last requirement would be the sexual act itself as they like sex workers doing oral and if possible anal sex (either as insertor or receiver). It would be a bonus if the penis of the sex worker is large. Jeff added that he wanted his sex worker to physically abuse him like slapping him on the face or softly punching him because he opined that this would make him a *woman*. He opined that he wanted to be controlled by the sex worker in bed. Brigs summed it up by saying:

We prefer sex workers who are really men, masculine men without any effeminate or girlish gestures and behavior. We are gay men and we expect them to act like men and show to us that in bed we are like women. Sex workers know that and that is the reason why we pay them.

Sex roles play an important factor in their negotiations with the sex workers. Brigs started by saying that it is essential to know what his partner can do in bed. The price for sex is not in question but it is important how good a sex worker is in having sex. He prefers to be passive and lets the sex worker do all the work. He reasoned out that he pays him to do it on him and therefore he should work. Eric, on the other hand, enjoys intimacy with a sex worker. He wants that the sex worker enjoys what he is doing on him. Jeff puts himself in a mindset that in bed with a sex worker, he should remain passive like a woman and that the sex worker should work on him. From all indications and narrations with regard to sex roles, it is clear that the sexual act is not exclusively determined by economics (getting paid).

The clients added that should there be penetration, that is oral and/or anal sex. Male sex workers would prefer to be the insertors. Very few sex workers allow themselves to be penetrated because according to Eric –

In a sexual act between me and the worker, it is made clear that he assumes the role of a man. If I like the sex worker very much and he is good looking, clean and muscled, then I will allow him to penetrate me. Like any other gay men, they don't want to assume the male role. They want to be treated like a woman in bed. Of course, there are some cases where

sex workers themselves liked to be the receivers in anal sex. I have encountered some but sorry to say this but that will surely turn me off.

The clients informed me that sex workers impose some limitations in sexual services depending on how much they pay. The workers will start negotiating for their price pegged at a minimum of 1,000 pesos (equivalent to 20 euros) and that would entail them just lying in bed and letting the client do the work (i.e., oral sex without hard kissing). Eric continued by saying that the workers command a price higher than their minimum if they are required to be active in bed. More often than not, the clients pay the workers more than their minimum price. Brigs rationalized this by saying –

There is always a cost for every sexual act. I believe in that because I have been getting sex workers for a couple of years now and they would ask me how much I could afford. I guess this is leverage for negotiations among sex workers. In fact, if a sex worker has a good body and is endowed, he asks for a higher fee. Sex work is of course a career for them, so they need to take care of their career.

Based on the aforementioned topic of sex roles in relation to the limitations in sexual services dictated by the sex workers, I can say that in this situation power play is at work. On one hand, the clients may have the upper hand regarding the amount that he was willing to pay so that they can dictate the kind of sexual services they will require sex workers to do. On the other hand, sex workers realize that their well-developed bodies are their economic capital, so they can set limitations to their sexual acts and roles.

All of the clients admitted that they have fallen emotionally close or in love with sex workers. The workers make them feel like women, that they are concerned about their welfare and sometimes go out on a date with them. While the clients know consciously that sex workers put on a charade to maintain their clientele, they nonetheless enjoy the recognition. What is important for them is that sex workers give extra efforts by being affectionate to them, not as gay men, but as persons. When this level of intimacy happens, it goes beyond a client-sex worker relationship and progresses into friendship. As Eric puts it:

We gay men are vulnerable to falling in love with sex workers. It won't be a surprise because these sex workers

know how to make us feel important. He would call me for example for no reason at all except to ask me how was my day or even ask me for a date....those simple things matter to me. We feel good when we are wanted by these workers not because of sex only but for companionship or even sharing our thoughts about life.

Sexual health practices were discussed with the clients of the sex workers. Jeff mentioned that he knows that he may not be the only one who is having sex with a worker in a day so he sees to it that there are no penetrations during sexual acts. Briggs and Eric use protections like condoms when they receive during anal intercourse. However, they quickly added that they do not like having oral sex with sex workers with condoms. They feel like they are eating a candy with a cover on it. As Eric puts it:

In all honesty, in the heat of passion, who would ever think of putting a condom on someone's dick, may it be mine or his (sex worker)? What is important is the desire to have sex and ejaculate. This is our biological assignment, to ejaculate.

When I asked the clients how they see the sex workers, all of them said that they are in the business because of easy money. Eric, however, was quick to add that poverty pushed them to be in the business and that they have no other opportunities in life. On the contrary, Briggs said that men are men and regardless of sexual orientation, men expect to enjoy sex. He continued by saying that it so happens that they are sex workers and it does not necessarily mean that they do not enjoy sex at all. They like what they are doing and most importantly they are getting paid for it. Jeff remarked –

We are all the same. Sex is important in our lives. I have a regular job and I like having sex with men. So before a sex worker becomes one, he knows for a fact that sex should be enjoyed and should be celebrated. When I say celebrated I mean that we need to seek it in order to know that we are humans after all, capable of having orgasm, of being loved and loved back in return. I believe that men by nature are sexual and sex work is a just career. This I think what goes inside a sex worker. [laughing] Besides, we have been sex

workers ourselves one time in our lives [laughing]. We use sex to gain something from someone, right?

Based on the aforementioned quotations I argue in this thesis that clients, being one social network in the lives of the sex workers, contribute to the understanding of the *pagkatao* of the male sex workers. Without these clients, sex workers would not be able to develop their sexual role and identity based on what is needed in the sex trade. From the observation that a male sex worker enjoys and seeks sex, one can conclude that this makes him a whole person.

The construction of *pagkatao* among sex workers as manifested in the interviews with the clients is a product of three factors - economic (the power to pay), political (power play between a client and a sex worker) and social (ascribed roles in sex acts). Because of the interplay of these factors, sexual identity and/or male identity are a result of a *pagkatao*.

On Sexual Orientation

I learned sex from the streets. From the streets, I got to know sex. I was 14 then. I was young and did not know what to do in life. All I wanted was to earn money. I lived with strangers in the city of Manila since I ran away from home. I had to have sex with gay men in order to survive. At 14, I started peddling myself in the street. You couldn't imagine what things these homosexuals did to me! [said in disgust] I felt I was dirty doing those things. I still remember...but look at me now, I am still here. I still sell sex.

These were the words quoted directly from my transcriptions of the interview with Kenzmon. Sexual experience will always remain vivid in the minds of these sex workers. It is through their experiences that they derive their sexual orientations. And these sexual orientations guided them to what they have become now. The first sex experiences of Ariel, Julius and Marvin were based on curiosity. Friends initiated all of the informants to their first sexual experience. Ariel was 19 years old when he did it with his girlfriend; Julius was 17 when he did it with a neighbour while Marvin had sex with his girlfriend when he was in high school. Gerald however, had a different experience:

I was 16 when I and my friends visited a circus in the poblacion (town). I got attracted to the glitz of the circus.

Someone approached me from behind and it was a man dressed in woman's clothes. He was offering me a free ride in one of those....I think it was a ferries wheel. My friends encouraged me to go with him. I did. After that he guided me through a dark pathway, he started massaging my dick. I got an erection because it felt good when he was doing it. We did what is expected. I allowed myself to have sex with him. I offered small amount of money to him after that sex because I thought that was the "arrangement"; he declined and did not take the money. That was my first time in sex. I felt good...really good. [smiling]

After experiencing sex for the first time, all of the male sex workers interviewed stated that they could easily have strings of sexual partners. Ariel, for one, juggled two girlfriends at one time because he could not resist the temptation of trying each girl in bed. If he felt that he was not sexually active with his girlfriend on some days of the week, he would go to his other girlfriend and have sex with her. Both girls did not know that they had Ariel as their boyfriend. Marvin was even proud when he told me that because of the color of his skin (brown) and his truly Filipino-looks he easily attracted women, old as well as young.

However, what was so evident in my conversations with them was that they consider having sex with women as a natural thing. Ariel quipped:

It feels good to have sex with a woman; there is romance, doing oral sex then penetrating her. Men are for women. Our penis for the vagina. With men, this is not the case. When a man fellates me, I need to imagine that he is a woman and then I cum. It was only here in the club that I had my first experience with a man.

Most participants view sex as a natural act. Marvin said:

That's okay. That's normal. Everybody does it. If someone does not have sex, he/she is abnormal. Sex is important, most especially for us, men. It is what we do best, to ejaculate. Sex is not defined by the number of times you do it in a week. In my case, three times in a week is okay.

While they see that sex is natural, the pleasure or satisfaction one derives from it is determined by their liking or by who their partners are. They said that they could go all the way if they like their partners. Julius opined that:

Pleasurable sex has to do with liking your partner. When you like your partner, sex feels so good. If you are coerced into having sex, you feel you just wasted your semen. If you love someone, you retain your dignity as a person.

However, one of them added that same sex acts could also be pleasurable. Gerald said:

Being sucked by another man, that feels good. He knows what I need because he is also a man. When I reach orgasm and I ejaculate, it really feels good. However, if you search always for a man to do it on you, then you might be gay. In my case, I am not gay. I feel that it is immoral to have a relationship with another man. I am here in this club just for a job.

The foregoing signifies that while for most of the informants having sex with gay men clients is unnatural, this can sometimes turn them on, too. Now that they are sex workers, however, they were quick to say that pleasure can be attained; because they imagine that they are having sex with their girlfriends and/or female live-in partners.

This seemingly diverse mindsets regarding sex enable the sex worker to look at his sexual act solely from the perspective of work. For him, ejaculating and reaching orgasm with his gay men clients is markedly different from the orgasm that he reaches with women. Kenzmon said that with gay men clients/partners, sex is never spontaneous. Everything has to be done within the ambit of their agreed upon contract. Kenzmon added:

It is still natural to have sex with women because the penis is intended for the vagina. Unlike gay men, I am sexually used because that's my work. They suck me. I sell my body and my semen. When I have sex with women, they can have all of me. It is unnatural for me to look for another man to have sex with. I don't want it because it is not natural....it is not what we are here for....its not our biological assignment.

It is likewise interesting to note that for Marvin and Kenzmon, the older participants, pleasure in sex should lead to the formation of families. Sexual acts with women, therefore, are preferred because women can get pregnant while gay men cannot. This idea can be related to their sexual health and practice. Marvin stated:

When I am with a woman, I don't use a condom because it is not natural to use it. When I use rubbers I cannot feel my erection and I cannot feel myself inside her. With my male clients, I use a condom if I have anal sex with them because that is not natural. Although my male clients would insist me not to wear rubbers when I do it on them, I leave them.

I can deduce from the aforementioned narrations that in the context of Philippine society, the masculinity of the informants received positive reinforcements. The masculinity of their *pagkatao* is valued within the patriarchal culture in which men are socialized. The Catholic religion reinforces male domination and entitlements, legitimizes women's oppression and inferiority and views this as natural and inevitable. This traditional religion, its persistent beliefs and value systems perpetuate the oppressive nature of patriarchy.

For the male sex workers, sexual identity was a major concern. This must have stemmed from the fact that they know fully well that having paid sex-with-men in Philippine society is unacceptable and perceived as an aberration. They had to self-identify as males although they consciously know that they render sexual services to other men. They use the language and symbolism that is socially recognized as male or masculine and affirm this male identity by talking about their bodies, their sexual preferences, their erection, their libido, their ejaculation, their semen and their *pagkatao*.

While the bipolarity between men and women in the Philippines is often described as egalitarian, males are still accorded a disproportionate share of power that legitimates their gender privileges as men and the subjugation of women. Thus, it is natural for men to dominate women, unnatural for the same men to physically prefer other men. This view was expressed by the sex workers in their pleasurable sexual encounters with women and the forced or coerced sex with their gay men clients. Sexual acts borne by sexual orientations of male sex workers have varying significance and meanings. As men, having sex with women is natural. As sex workers, having sex with gay men may be unnatural but they do it for an obvious

reason – to gain income. It means that there is no direct relationship among sexual desire, sexual practice and sexual identity. This can be gleaned from their perception that *‘the penis is for the vagina, a woman is for a man’* and that sexual pleasure can only be had with women.

From the sex workers’ narratives, it is difficult to simplistically identify their identity. The data show how they identify themselves, as men and at the same time as sex workers. Their identity is a confluence of diverse factors as well as circumstances within the ambit of their perceived decision-making privileges, as well as of causes beyond their will and control.

As males they express the characteristics that are often used to describe their *pagkalalaki* or maleness -- being responsible, able to hold a job, raise a family, love women and raise children. As sex workers, they are all the more male because their use of sex in their work enables them to earn money for themselves as well as for their loved ones.

The very probable multiplicity of their sexual networks and relationships allow them to self-identify as men who are able to support themselves and their families and if needed are ready to sell their bodies to earn this means of support. As Kenzmon stated it:

We are here in this business, of selling our bodies, of selling our semen but that does not mean that we are not responsible to ourselves as human beings. We are here to have money and the easiest way to get it. We are men; we help our families by sending them money, by having a small business in order for us to get by. We raise our own families and hope that our children will not experience in the future the hardships we are experiencing now. To say that we also prefer men to have sex with or enjoying it is not at all true. We are here for a job and this is the best we can do for now.

On Bodies and Sex Work

As has been established in this study, the male sex worker’s perceptions about their work rely solely on how they sell their bodies for sex. This fact is understandable considering that gay men and women clients pay the workers’ bodies to attain sexual pleasure and satisfaction. This part of the study explores the relationship of the bodies at work and their personhood.

All the sex workers believe that the desire for easy money is of paramount importance to them. Thus, they have learned to accept the reality that having sex with another male is one easy way to earn much. Although Julius said:

At first, I could not stand the reality that I was having sex with men. But I struggle against this thought. I could not do anything because this is my work and that was the reason why I still continue to have sex with them. It was my first time to have sex with another man.

Ariel pointed out:

I think that my male clients are satisfied because they enjoyed what I was doing. What they liked was for me romancing them in bed, kissing and massaging their organs. I was forced to do that because that was what we agreed on before we left the club. Since then, my clients return to me and take me out again. I have regular clients.

All of the informants admitted that there are perks while doing sex in the club.

Kenzmon said in confidence:

Of course, its easy money here. That is what I call opportunities while doing this kind of work. I respect my clients and I don't abuse their kindness or goodness. I have a bisexual man client who sends money to me in the amount of US\$1,000 per month and at the same time a girl client who works in Japan and sends me 100,000 yen or 30,000 pesos a month. Isn't that good opportunity?

Most of the informants maintained that while in the club, they negotiate with their clients the sexual services/acts they are expected to perform. They then quote their price and what sexual acts go with this payment. They also allow their would-be clients to touch their sex organ, so that the latter can appraise its size. As Louie, floor manager put it:

....if his organ is big and long, then I recommend him immediately to specific clients especially if these boys are really good in bed. That is the reason why they during the interview when they apply here as receptionists, they need to

show their “merchandise” so that we know how to sell it. Of course, a majority of our clients prefers big penises.

Sometimes, these sex workers are able to show-off their bodies and the size of their organ by being mounted on stage with their very skimpy brief only and their penises fully erect.

All the informants were quick to claim that they avoid getting emotionally hitched to a customer. While initially hesitant to have sex with a client, Gerald said, he psyches himself up and says to himself – *well, this is just work.*

Ariel said that while he can be sexually active with a male partner, he knows his limitations and thus controls his emotions. Some of the informants admitted that it is possible to maintain steady relationships with their male clients, but this can only be possible within the framework of the former supporting their needs and without interfering with their other affairs. However, Kenzmon, who prefers to be in control of his feelings, said:

While some of my male clients profess their love for me, I usually say that he does not know me that well yet and therefore could not truly love me. I make it clear to him that this is just work. Gay men clients are like that. They didn't understand that while I have consented to sit with them in the club, this doesn't necessarily mean I like them. It's just a job.

Julius, the youngest participant in the study even said that his relationship with his male client is primarily premised on the latter's financial capability and that he uses this money to support his family. Most often, his partner will not agree to this arrangement. He wants only him and not his family. Thus, while he has learned to love one of his benefactors, he left him because he failed to understand his obligation to his family. He adds:

I fell in love with my British client because he was putting effort to make the relationship work. I must have been emotional, too. But when he learned that I was helping my family with the money he provided me, he said that it was not his responsibility to support anyone else. I left him.

It was interesting to note that male clients are usually possessive of their sex worker partners. This must have been premised on the fact that they have economic power over these sex workers. It is the client who dictates what the sex worker can

and cannot do, where he can go and where he cannot go. Marvin summed this up by saying:

I still have the opinion that gay men customers are not spendthrift. They are ready to give whatever I need even if I don't ask for it in exchange for the attention I give them in return. I think I can say on behalf of the rest of us that we do not abuse our male clients. If they are not giving anything to us, then thank you. If they give us something without us asking for it, then thank you again.

Moreover, Gerald, Kenzmon and Marvin maintained that sex or a steady relationship with their fellow sex workers. I am not surprised by this fact because these three workers are the best among the stable of sex workers in the club. They claimed that some of their fellow workers “swing both ways”, meaning they prefer both men and women. These fellow workers are often into sex work because they not only need cash but more importantly, they want to have sex with other males and get paid for it. They said that this is not a good arrangement because in the process the latter takes advantage of the friendship. Marvin said:

It is not uncommon for some of us here to be the object of affection of our fellow sex workers. One will know this because there will be instances where he gives you a towel after your dance routine or put cologne on your body. Later on, I would know that he is a bisexual. I don't like that because it will ruin the friendship.

Further, Kenzmon has developed an eye for determining who among his fellow sex workers is straight (read:heterosexual) or only straight acting. This must be the result of his experience working in the club for several years. Kenzmon said –

I am now able to know who is gay or not among my fellow workers here. Some have even intimated their desire to take me as their boyfriend or live-in partner but no dice. I have to turn them down. I prefer women.

While they continue to have sex with men, they said in the interviews that they still prefer women as sexual or steady partners. All of them confirmed that women like them because of their good physical looks. Thus, it has become common for them

to maintain relationships with both women partners and gay men clients at the same time. Kenzmon added:

I had relationships with a woman and at the same time with a gay man. My woman client trusts me because she assumes that I will not fall for other women; consequently, my gay man client is comfortable with me knowing that I will not fall for other gays. All is fair in love and sex.

Upon probing, all the informants shared their view that the gauge of being a man and a sex worker revolves around how one gets turned on (reaching libido), how he is able to cum and how he uses his erect penis while having sex. The following quote attest to this:

(Gerald on an erect penis)

An erect penis is being a man. If one's erected penis becomes flaccid during intercourse, that diminishes his maleness. I need to maintain my erection, whether at work or at play. I value my erection because I am a man and a sex worker, in that order.

An erect penis is a symbol of being a man. A man needs to maintain an erection with a woman, whether she is a female client or his girlfriend. For the sex worker, erection becomes a symbol of being the 'man' in the sexual services he provides to gay men clients. He assumes the "active" role while the gay men client assumes the 'passive' or women's role.

Marvin on semen or cum:

Semen is for me important in being a man not because I am a sex worker now. I derive strength and power from it. If you don't have semen, you are not fully male. That would be unfortunate because your girlfriend/wife will leave you. In terms of work, it is important for my clients to see me cumming because they want to swallow it or drink it. If I don't cum, clients will feel I am not enjoying having sex with them. They don't like that.

Semen is another symbol of being a man. Semen for the informants means power – power to procreate (with women partners) and power to sell (with gay men

clients). The sex workers believe that without semen, they would be less of a man or not man enough.

Ariel on libido:

Its like body heat. You just masturbate and you are done. In my work, I need to force myself to cum because clients pay for it. It's a different libido for a woman especially if you love her, right? Having sex with her means more than having libido...you want security and you don't want to be separated from her.

For sex workers – libido is natural to men, but when they apply it to their work, they see it as their capital. As Ariel described it, sex workers force themselves to attain libido because that is what their gay men clients pay for. Gerald added:

I get turned on with women. I am in heat. Before, if I see a woman in mini skirt or see her with her cleavage exposed, I instantly got an erection. But now, I really get turned on if I romance a woman in bed. When I was younger...I was wild, I used to masturbate twice a day. But with my work now, I use it to earn money. My semen is my merchandise. I have to sell my semen, I don't masturbate as often. I need to sell my libido...before my libido was mine.

As sex workers, they put a premium on their appearances. When asked which body part they are proud of, Kenzmon said –

My chest and my butt are important for me. If you have a well-developed chest, it will show when you wear t-shirts and when you walk, you will be noticed. I wear t-backs when I perform on stage, thus my customers can see my butt. They have to be proportional to both my height and entire body...its part of my overall appeal and come-on to my customers.

While the participants know that their bodies are their major attraction point to get clients, Gerald go beyond what is expected. He said –

My body is important for me but my large penis is most important. I have placed a piece of flesh to the shaft of my penis so that when it is erected it looks like it has a "hump".

I know that women like it especially when I fuck them. I had a very large “hump”. I like my “humps”. Women love to play with my “hump” penis. Gay men customers love to suck it.

Most of the sex workers interviewed adorn their bodies with tattoos. They also wear earrings. They opined that their looks are enhanced by these adornments, although Ariel said that he dislikes his tattoos now because he doesn't look clean with them.

When finally asked whether it is possible for them to become a gay man because of their sexual relationships with gay clients, Marvin said that he does not think so because what they are doing is only part of what they call work. Gerald and Kenzmon added that this is the reason why they maintain an emotional distance from their gay men clients. Ariel stated:

Frankly, I am afraid that I might become gay. This is the reason why I always have in mind that I am doing this only for the perks. I try my best not to like what they are doing to me...otherwise, I might like having sex with men and therefore become gay.

The other informant expressed a fatalistic attitude as to what he will become in the future if he continues with this type of work. Julius said –

Life is like that. Whatever will happen to me in the future, I will have to be prepared for it.

Finally, all of them said, “*I am still a man*”. They insisted that they still prefer having sex with women, may it be women clients or girlfriends/wives.

Their perceptions about their sex work reflect how they practice sexual health. During the interviews, I could not avoid to touch on this topic. For the informants, there was a connection between what they do as sex workers and what they perceive as safe sexual practices. Many prevention programs in the country addressing the need to promote the sexual health of male sex workers have emphasized the messages of safer sexual practices and condom use. However, I believe that these efforts have failed to take into account strategies that carry relevant sensitive messages, particularly sexual decision-making and practices. Thus, these programs have failed to develop among these men skills to ensure protection.

Most of the informants claimed that it was important for them and consistent with their type of work to develop their physical bodies, as this was their chief merchandise. Most of them said also that while they were consenting to have sex with gay men, they impose certain limitations on the type of sexual service they render as well as on what their clients can do to them - no anal penetration, no hard kissing, among others. On the other hand, they tend to be more liberal (no limitations/no restrictions) with their female partners.

Asked how they protect themselves from possible infection from their male sexual partners, they opined that they choose their clients well. Not only should their partners look and act decent, they should also appear and smell clean. Louie, the floor manager confirmed this view by saying:

Our customers or clients usually prefer sex workers who look clean.... like students. Most want their sex workers well built and buffed. The boys want their would-be clients look clean and decent, too.

It can be said that this preference for one who looks clean has been equated by both sex workers and clients to not being sick or capable of transmitting diseases. When asked if they use condom to protect themselves, Kenzmon, Marvin and Ariel insist that they wear it. Kenzmon said:

More often than not, my clients demand that I don't wear a condom because wearing one lessens sensation. But since I don't want to contract any disease, I just leave my clients.

Upon probing, when they insist on using the condom, they said that they use it when they perform penetrative anal sex. In this situation, they think that they are still dominant and their partners subservient, a manifestation of power play. Marvin said:

I used the condom during anal intercourse. In that situation, I am still the man because I am the insertor.

With women partners, however, they seldom use the condom. Ariel rationalized by saying:

With a woman, especially when I like her, I fuck her without thinking of using a condom. They are women and they want me not to wear condom at all. I prefer it that way.

The *pagkatao* of the informants stemmed from the erect penis, as it becomes a powerful symbol of maleness. The penis can be used and enjoyed by both male and

female partners. However, with regard to circumstances in terms of sex work, it is different. With gay men clients, the penis becomes a powerful economic tool and the ability to render sexual services on them depends on how much they are paid for it. With women, sex is both for pleasure and procreation.

There are other symbolic interpretations of parts of the body made by the informants. Some of them are as follows:

- (1) that body fluids like semen can mean both reproduction (family life) and trade (sex work);
- (2) that body tattooing and penile implants (e.g., humps) can mean both pleasure (for woman and gay men clients) and self-esteem (i.e., confidence, persona); and
- (3) that physical development of the body (i.e. being muscled or buffed) can mean additional leverage of their marketability.

These symbolic meanings are reflected in their culture of sex. I saw these mental symbols through their body reflections while looking at their dances as a form of a ritual. Their rituals are like celebrations of their sexuality and their bodies communicate sexual meanings. Bodies are interwoven into symbols and meanings in several ways:

- (1) the body as an *individual* body capable of being developed to the extent of enduring pain and pleasure such as piercing one's nipples, adding flesh to the shaft of the penis or decorating one's body tattoos as personal imprints
- (2) a body as a *political* body that uses its power to be traded with the clients, a body that can be controlled (e.g., body decorations) and be in control (e.g., sexual services) and a body that regulates and selects (e.g., to whom this body goes – male or female clients)
- (3) a body as an *economic* body to gain income
- (4) a body as a *social* body that acts within the context of social relationships and affiliations with clients, fellow sex workers, families, friends and lovers.

When watching the bodies of these sex workers and relating this to the transcripts of my interviews, I was struck by how they could separate their *pagkatao*, their personhood of being men desiring and loving women from their work as sex

workers. I can only surmise that *pagkatao* is a result of the Filipino concepts of *loob* and *labas*.

These concepts state that *loob* (inside one's mind or being) is a result of the conscious structuring in accordance to what society prescribes. Society's prescriptions are cultural norms such as *what is right* and *what is morally good*. As Filipinos, we follow these norms in order to be accepted and to co-exist with other Filipinos. This proceeds from both a utilitarian and an egalitarian disposition. The *labas* (outside actions) is expressed overtly in the language and behaviour of the individual as soon as he confronts real life situation.

The interplay between *labas* and *loob* is what one uses when he sexually self-identifies. Thus, for instance, while the informants maintain an almost neutral emotional involvement with gay men clients and dislike paid receptive anal sexual intercourse, they claim that their sexual behaviours do not necessarily reflect their real *pagkatao*. This means that they are able to distinguish sex for money and sex for pleasure.

Because of the use of the Filipino concept of *labas*, the informants have developed a mental template that determines how they understand their "world". In relation to their sex work, the participants were clear in describing sexual behaviours through labels. Here is a list of all terms that were used by the participants during my fieldwork:

<i>Label</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Lalakeng-lalake</i>	Male sex workers who are men, masculine in dress also in manners and speech. With regard to sex, he is exclusively and strictly an insertor in vaginal or anal or the fellatee in oral intercourse. The biological sex of the partner is women.
<i>Lalake</i>	Male sex workers who are men, masculine in dress also in manners and speech but who can have sexual activities with both gay men and women clients. They are insertor in vaginal or anal or the fellatee in oral intercourse.
<i>Bahid/Pa-men</i>	Male sex workers who dress masculine and are (heterosexual) straight acting. In sexual acts, he is more of an insertor, less of a receiver. The biological sex of the partner varies but the

	preference is for male partners.
<i>Silahista</i>	Male sex workers who swing both ways. They can be straight-acting at one time and effeminate in another time depending on their clients. In sexual acts, they are less an insertor and more a receiver. The biological sex of the partner is not important.
<i>Bading/Bakla</i>	Male sex workers who are gay and work exclusive for gay men clients (mostly foreigners) and who prefer to be fellators in oral intercourse and receiver in anal intercourse. The biological sex of the partner is strictly male.
<i>Pa-girl</i>	Male sex workers who dress and speak like women and prefer to be the fellators in oral intercourse and receiver in anal intercourse. They inject estrogen to their bodies to possess feminine characteristics and behaviors. The biological sex of the partner is strictly male.

These labels, used by sex workers to identify themselves and their sexual practices, manifest a certain degree of unfixedness and fluency. They are typical for Filipino male sex workers. There is a very wide range of possible sexual acts and partners for most of the sex workers. The social acceptability of being male in the Philippines is the main factor of behaviour; thus, they are acknowledged as men because they still prefer women inspite of their sexual relations with other men. Coming from the perspective of *pagkatao* therefore, the distinction between his self-identity and his *actual* sexual behavior does not lead him to doubt his masculinity or have guilt feelings.

This points to the fact that sex roles (male or female sexual activities) play a more important function in their self-identification than the biological sex of their partners. Different sexual acts with different sexual partners can thus be attributed to one and the same individual.

The informants not show any guilt feelings for having sex with men. They rationalize it by saying that they do it in an exchange for money. Only two participants, Julius and Ariel, admitted experiencing pleasure while being fellated or while penetrating another man. That Kenzmon, Marvin and Gerald do not allow themselves to be penetrated. Is their way of maintaining their social identity.

The feeling of superiority over their female and male clients is an outcome of the definition of their sexuality in terms of what they need. The narratives that have been gathered for this study showed that these sex workers are not wanting in what they clamour for. They want to show that they are in control of themselves and their sexual activities. This is expressed in their relations with women. Among their male clients, however, they manifested an ambivalent posture - sometimes contradictory, often congruent with their internalized sexual beliefs (*loob*). Thus, sometimes, they denigrate their male clients by appending the label *bakla* (effeminate homosexual). This was exemplified further when Kenzmon said:

Pay me well and I will give you the sexual pleasure that you want. Don't even say you love me; you don't know me that well.

Thus, using the *labas* concept, the sex workers' view that when they succumb to their clients' sexual desires; they have to reinvent their sexuality to fit the situation. However, whatever these sex workers have learned to internalize as their sexual beliefs or as *loob*, produces an ambivalence in what they think is right (*loob*) and what they do in bed (*labas*). These powerful internal conflicts are obvious in the decisions they make during sexual acts.

When participants have sex with women, and are thus, true to their socialization and internalized beliefs, sexuality is a source of pleasure. When they respond to the sexual needs of their gay men partners, the desire of their partners is a source of conflict, which they try to resolve by staying passive in the sexual act and by imposing limitations to what they can do in bed.

These participants clearly are engaged in an internal debate with themselves, the *loob* vs. *labas*. This engagement, this struggle to reconcile what to them was incongruent to their desired sexuality is a marker that these men are actively transforming themselves by constructing and reconstructing their sexuality, from what they perceive as shameful to something which they think is not only pleasurable but acceptable. Thus, in that instance, these men try their best to possess power and control over their sexuality. It is interesting to note that in the narratives, these men attempted to show the importance of assuming an active role in the construction of their own sexuality.

These sex workers take the position that sexual desire and pleasure should not be drawn from the bodies of other men; otherwise, they have to reject their own

sexuality and be transformed into men liking other men. They project that the source of their own pleasure and that of their client is solely based on the contract that they have entered into. And that while they can become sexually aroused with what their gay men clients do to them, they should not lose control of their power as men.

A sex worker's economic well-being takes precedence over his own or his clients' sexual pleasure. Since both of them are men, their sexual interaction pits them in an arena where the fulfilment of men's sexual desires and needs is celebrated. The power that he possesses over his gay man client is in his erect penis, in his proportional and well-built body, the merchandise, the object of sexual pleasure. Gay man's power is nakedly economic; he pays for sex. He can buy and consume it. He has the privilege because money entitles him to have sex with someone he chooses to be with. By defining their sexuality in terms of what they need, they think that what they do is socially acceptable. They do not fall in love. This may be a forced choice that both make, but this pressure, this ambivalence is what makes the sexual act pleasurable. Coerced into having sex with men, they attempt to make sense out of their sexual experiences.

"Sexual behavior as a form of currency", is a metaphor derived from the accounts of the informants of this study. Sexual activity can be seen as a reward, a source of love or a source of material gain. Sex for the sex workers is equated with the material reward that they can obtain from the clients they have.

As sexuality for male sex workers involved in this study draws mainly from their self concept about what they want and what gives pleasure to their partners, it is important to look at how these men protect themselves from the perilous effects of infection or disease. Because these men are pressured into intimacy with their partners, they often leave to chance the need for sexually healthy practices.

As mentioned earlier, as conquerors and givers of desire, their basic motivation when having sex is based on their decision to satisfy their partners' desires and needs. In paid sex, and because they are coerced by circumstances to give importance to their sexual capabilities, sex workers sometimes use the freedom of the "four walls" of the bedroom or the space beneath the sheets to express what should have been regulated or prohibited culturally. In the silence of the private and hidden encounters, anything can happen, everything is possible.

Conclusion

To fully comprehend the *pagkatao* of male sex workers, there is a need to understand the dynamics of -

- a. their sexual orientation – their first sexual experience with females as a ‘natural process’ and with males as sexual exploration and to some extent as forced or coerced sex;
- b. the shifts in their sexualities and identities – preference for women clients over male clients and the notion that women are for procreation and men are for economic sustainability; and,
- c. the interpretation of their body which is based on economic, social and political needs.

All of these factors are interwoven under the ambit of (sex) work. The multiplicity of the sexual networks (clients, floor managers and fellow workers) that sex workers are able to establish, reflects that their *pagkatao* is also multi-faceted – one which is both socially acceptable (e.g., strictly as sex workers) and personally satisfying (e.g., income from sex work).

The Filipino concepts of *loob* and *labas* of their *pagkatao* proved useful for a better understanding of their “culture of sex”. Aided by cultural prescriptions, the informants in this study pointed to the fact that sex work is morally bad (*loob*) and that continuing doing sex work is only for economic reasons (*labas*). This has been possible because of their ability to construct and reconstruct themselves on the basis of what they need – sex for pleasure or sex for material gain.

However, in this study the ambivalence of their *pagkatao* is a process. This means that their sexuality is at most transitory, utilitarian and multiple, a way of adapting to the pressures of social norms. It is nonetheless difficult to imagine sex workers – as individuals – completely devoid of some intuitive perceptions of themselves. These workers are endowed with a self-consciousness of mind and body, with an internal image of themselves and a sense of body self-awareness.

The culture of sex and sex work contributed largely to their *pagkatao*. This means that these sex workers are acting within the context of their social relationships with clients, floor managers and fellow workers. Their individuality and their social identity as sex workers are two sides of the coin. For this reason, sex workers celebrate their sexuality.

Most of the men in the study manifested the powerful symbolism of the erect penis, of their beautiful bodies, of the adornments that make them more attractive to their clients. Their goal is to make what they do not only a source of personal pleasure, but also an activity that is socially acceptable and consistent with their mind frame (e.g., being males).

A symbolic-cognitive perspective provides an efficient framework in explaining the capacity of these men to accept their sexual networks and subsequently their sexual activities and the appreciation of their work-related reality. In their sexual relationships with gay clients, it was imperative for sex workers to share these realities of themselves with their clients. This comes to fore in the negotiation and the contract that they enter into. For most of the male sex workers in the study, this process by which they are able to share their contexts and meanings of sex work with their partners is one of the possible explanations for their ability to confront the discrepancy and ambivalence between their beliefs (*loob*) and behaviours (*labas*). For most of the male sex workers, the pressure to have sex with someone of their own biological sex in exchange for perceived and actual returns was their way of overcoming the pressures from the society. In a word, they are able to legitimize their sexual behaviour.

In conclusion, this reality is important when one designs appropriate health intervention programs for sex workers. As the dominant partner, they can and must dictate how sex can be both pleasurable and safe. Engaging in safer sexual practices is a practical decision that stems from their desire to continuously use their body in what they do best. This means that they must be convinced that their sexuality, being a result of their *pagkatao* and manifested in their sexual behaviours, should not be sacrificed for immediate financial reward, pleasure or even love. The message that must be conveyed to them is that as an active body-mind self, interacting consciously with social contexts and realities, they must stay healthy.

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to explore the *pagkatao* of male sex workers in the Philippines and the ways sexual orientation, sex work and bodies are created, influenced, modified based on the mindsets of the informants in the study (*loob*) and the nature of the discourse and practices that are manifested (*labas*).

This study pointed to the fact that *pagkatao* of the male sex workers is socially constructed and is shaped by social, political, and economic influences, and modified throughout life. The *loob* (inside) and *labas* (outside) Filipino model aided in ascertaining the cultural meanings of sexuality that the participants in the study have structured in their minds and how these find utility in both oral and verbal languages that participants use.

Analysis of the informants' oral narratives obtained during the interviews produced the overarching themes of sexual meanings, sexual relationships, perceptions on sex work, sexual and personal self-identification and bodies.

The multiplicity of sex workers social sexual networks and the range of sexual practices they engage in make it difficult to ascertain their *pagkatao*, there are marked incongruencies between the social constructions of male sexuality and the realities of these men's sexual experiences.

Thus, their sexualities, identities and use of their bodies at work and non-work are defined as being challenged and modified through the sex workers' lives.

APPENDICES

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Ethnographic Interview Guideline (Sex work/Life-History)

Number of respondents: 5 male sex workers

Interview strategy: Open, guided and probing technique

SEX WORK

[Probing interview regarding his present state of work, history of being a sex worker, information about his family, marital status, body changes, gender preferences, sexual health practices and behaviours, health seeking behaviours and concepts about his sexual identity]

1. Could you tell me about being a receptionist (term used for a male sex worker)?
2. Tell me of your activities. How do you start and end your day as a receptionist?
3. Could you tell me about your clients? What kind of services you give them?
4. Tell me what you need to prepare to get clients.
5. How old were you when you entered in this kind of work?
6. What were your reasons for entering in this kind of work?
7. Tell me about your family? Do they know your work? How is your relationship to them?
8. How is your relationship with your co-workers? Managers?
9. What are your future plans?

SEXUAL HEALTH

[Probing interview with regard to his perceptions or notions about his sexual health, disease/illness perceptions relative to STI and HIV/AIDS, sexual health protection and behaviours, body changes and medicalization issues.]

1. How is your health? Describe to me your activities to stay healthy.
2. What are your fears in terms of health, as a receptionist? Why?
3. For the past 3 years, have you consulted a doctor? For what kind of illness?
4. How do you avoid being sick?
5. In cases of STD, what would you do? What did other receptionists tell you once confronted by this disease?

Focused Group Discussion Guideline for Clients of Male Sex Workers

(Probing technique)

Sexuality

1. What is sex for you?
2. What are the negative and positive aspects of sex?
3. What is your identity in your concept of sex?
4. Are you bothered by your identity? Why?
5. What are your identity markers?

Sex Work and Sex Workers

6. For you, who are sex workers? Any identity markers?
7. Where can you find sex workers?
8. What are your requirements in getting a sex worker?
9. How do you negotiate?
10. Do you assume a role or roles in sex act?

Sexual Relationships

11. Did you experience of having emotional attachments with sex workers?
12. How do you see these sex workers now?

Sexual Health and Practices

13. What is sexual health for you?
14. How is your sexual health?

Note: Summarize crucial points and ask for clarifications for process information.

LOUIE, Floor Manager
25 May 2002

Ilang taon ka na dito sa Club 690 bilang isang floor manager? Floor manager ba ang tawag sa iyo?

Floor manager ako pero ang gusto nga naming tawag sa amin public relations manager at hindi booking agents. Nandito na ako since 1982.

Ilang kayo dito as floor manager?

Tatlo kami dito.

Sabihin mo nga sa akin Louie how do boys apply in this club?

Yung iba dahil sa kilala o kaibigan, say, ni-rekomenda. Yung iba sa ads, sa Bulletin, pero walang nakalagay na Club 690 kundi “wanted male models”.

So hindi kayo nag-rerecruit?

Dati nag rerecruit kami kaya lang walang budget.

Anong ibig sabihin ng budget?

Dati magaabono kami sa pag-rerecruit dahil sa pamasaha, sa pang meryenda ng gusto mong kunin. Babayaran na lang kami pag ang nakuha namin ay nakapag-bar fine ng 3 beses, doon na lang kami babayaran. Parang reimbursement ba. Pero syempre pag di na kumita ang lalake, di na babalik ang pera namin. Kaya wa na budget-budget, walk in applicants na lang sa opis.

So, pag may pupunta sa opis, ano na ang susunod?

Pag ffill-up namin ng application form parang personal data. Tapos hingi ng requirements – police clearance, barangay clearance, cedula at 3 picture 1x1. At saka mayor’s permit o occupational permit sa city hall.

Paano nya malalaman kung minor ang bata?

Kase sa cedula naman nakikita e o kaya police clearance at makikita na 18 years old.

Pag ka-fill up ng application form, ano na ang mangyayari?

Pag ako ang tao sa opisina at nadatnan ako na may nag walk-in, makita ko lang na walang karapatan, sasabihin ko na wala ng bakante.

Anong ibig mong sabihin na walang karapatan?

Pag ang itsura di naman kikita, wa tanggap.

Ano ba ang kikitang itsura?

Pag nakita ko na maganda ang istura ng mukha niya, gwapo o malakas ang dating nya, pina-fifill-up ko na sya ng application form. Pero pag chaka, wala na, ora-mismo sasabihin ko na wala ng bakante.

So walang dating ang istura, hindi mo tinatanggap? Ganun din ba ang ibang floor managers?

Oo. Kaya lang yung isang floor manager, pinapatawag na lang sa opis kung tanggap sya o hindi. Ako, direstahan kong sinasabi sa kanya na walang bakante pag ang istura nya ay walang dating.

Kung okay naman ang itsura at kumpleto ang papeles, ano ang susunod doon?

Kaunting interview at tinatanong ko sa kanya kung may experience sya. Tinatanong ko kung alam nya ang pinapasukan nyang trabaho. Let say, nilagay nya sa application form na GRO o receptionist o macho dancer, tatanungin ko kung alam nya ang papasukin nya.

Eh paano kung wala syang karanasan, ano ang sasabihin mo sa kanya?

Kung ganun, ikukwento ko sa kanya ang magiging trabaho nya. Mayroon na nag wa-walk-in na talaga walang karanasan. Yung iba meron.

Paano ang mga walang karanasan?

Sa mga aplikante na walang karanasan, nag babakasakali sila na may magandang offer na trabaho katulad ng waiter o buss boy sa club. Kung walang bakante na waiter o buss boy, i-try-try nila sa pagiging GRO o receptionist.

So uulitin ko ang sinabi mo...may mga aplikante na walang karanasan pero susubukan nilang maging GRO o receptionist?

Oo. Pag ganun, bibigyan namin ng observer's pass good for 1 to 3 nights. Pag nagustuhan nila, sasabihin namin, ayusin na nya ang requirements para regular na sya next time.

Paano naman sa mga aplikante na may karanasan?

Pag may karanasan, tatanungin ko kung ano ang magagawa nya sa kama.

At ano ang sinasabi nila sa iyo?

Karamihan sa may karanasan, nag-roromansa sila. Karamihan ng mga lalake, hindi sila nagsasabi na nag papa-uring sila. At ang mga customers na lang namin ang nagsasabi na yung kinuha nilang receptionist ay nagpapa-uring at magaling sa kama. Doon na lang namin nalalaman. Ang lalake namin ay hindi aamin at malalaman pa namin sa mga kliyente namin.

Ano kaya ang pwedeng dahilan bakit hindi nila sinasabi sa inyo Louie?

Well, pwedeng nahihya.

Pag ini-interview mo na ang mga ito mga nag-aapply, nag physical check-up ka?

Oo. Hubad talaga. Ang ginagawa ko sasabihin ko kanya na sa trabahong ito, kailangan makita ko ang katawan nya at tinitingnan ko kung may skin diseases sya. Dapat flawless. Yung iba, pag nag hubad sa harapan ko, may tattoo na sa katawan, yung iba permanente. Pag dating sa ari o organ nila, kailangang patigasin nila dahil gusto ko malaman kung malaki o maliit ang ari nila.

Bakit kailangan pang malaman kung malaki o maliit ang ari nya?

Kase ang mga customers pag nagtatanong e, malaki ba ang nota nyan. Kung malaki ang nota nya, nirerekomenda namin sya lalo pa kung nagtrabaho sya sa kama. Kaya sa interview stage pa lang, inalam naming kung ano ang kaya nilang magawa sa kama para pag nagtanong kami sa customers kung ano ang kanilang requirements sa boys, alam na namin kung sino ang ire-rekomenda namin.

Eh sa sexual health nila, tinatanong mo ba sa kanila kung nagkaroon sila ng STD?

Kase sa parteng yan, hindi ko tinatanong na yan kasi wala sa rules and regulations namin dito. Kasi ang katwiran namin e, bago sila kumuha ng occupational permit mula sa Quezon City Hall may examinations na sila doon katulad ng STD o HIV.

Sa experience mo, sa observation pass na binibigay nyo sa bagong aplikante, nakakakuha sila agad ng kliyente?

Oo naman. Nabibinyagan sila ng mga customers lalo na ang mga kaibigan na naming customers o suki. Break-in ba. Minsan nga may isa akong bagong aplikante nung hapon, tumawag sa akin ang best customer ko at ni-rekomenda ko na agad ng araw na yun at nagkita sila sa Shangrila Hotel.

Ano ang reaksiyon naman ng mga “break-in” mo?

Hay naku, bumabalik sila sa club kasi kumita sya ng pera sa sex sa isang customer katulad nga nung sa Shangrila Hotel na yun. Ibig sabihin nag-eeenjoy na sila.

Mapunta tayo sa bilang ng boys dito sa club, ilan na sila ngayon?

Hindi ko ma-exact ang bilang kasi di naman sila regular na pumapasok. Marahil mahigit sa 50. Kasi pag maraming pumapasok, may 30 plus e. Ang pinakabata ay 18 at ang pinakamatanda ay 26-27 pero may nag-aapply na mahigit 30 at kung may karapatan sya, maganda ang face at katawan, tinatanggap na rin namin.

Ano ang marital status ng mga boys?

Karamihan ay single pero yung iba may asawang babae. Kapag yung mga bago pa lang sa pagiging receptionists, hindi alam ng kanilang asawa pero yung matagal na, alam na ng kanilang asawa. Kasi ang mga asawa ng mga matagal na ay katulad din nila.

Mapunta tayo sa pagkuha ng kliyente. Paano ang mga boys na hindi regular na pumapasok dito, paano sila nakakakuha ng kliyente?

Nakikipagtagpo sila sa mga kliyente nila sa labas ng club. Although bawal ito sa amin kaya lang hindi mo mapipigilan ang mga boys kasi ang mga kliyente nila ay ayaw na rin bumalik sa club kasi nagkikita naman sila sa labas ng club. Kaya ang pumupunta dito sa club ay halos bago o di kaya yung mga suki namin tinatawagan namin para lang pumunta sa club.

Magkano ba ang bar-fine dito?

Ang bar fine namin ay 300 pesos. Sa lalake, depende may 1,500 to 2,000 pesos ang service fee at depende rin sa lalaki sa capacity nila. Katulad ko, alam ko sa mga lalaki ang kaya nila ibigay sa sex o kama at alam ko kung sino ang ibibigay ko based sa gusto ng customer. Ang pinakamataas na service fee ay 4,000 to 5,000 pesos. Ang shower party namin ay 2,200 at mula sa halaga na yun kukunin ng management ang 400.

Tingin mo ba masaya ang mga boys sa ginagawa nila?

Ay oo naman. Ang iba, ang sabi nila sa akin bukod nag eenjoy sila sa pagdi-disco ay kumikita pa sila. Madali ang pera dito pero kung nag eenjoy sila sa sex, di ko masasagot yan. Pero sa tingin ko, consistent naman silang nakikipag-sex sa kapwa nila o customers, tingin ko masaya sila.

Wala ka bang naririnig na problema sa trabaho nila?

Wala naman except pag pagod sila the other night dahil nilabas sila ng customer at nakipag-sex sila ng todo. Yun lang, pagod. Minsan, ang kawalan ng customer o hindi-na-ta-table lalo na ang mga GRO na hindi nag ma-macho dancing.

Paano nila na mai-maintain ang kanilang katawan?

Karamihan, nag wei-weights sila dito (tinuro ni Louie kung saan sila nag wei-weights sa loob ng dressing room). Ang isa pa ang kanilang pananamit dahil gusto nila body hugging shirt at pants. May sapatos silang ginagamit na parang black boots na leather na mukhang sexy sa customer.

Ang ibang kliyente kasi gusto nila na parang ang bango-bangong tingnan, mestisuhin, parang estudyante. Hindi lang naman ang katawan agad ang tintingnan kungdi gwapo at parang estudyante, malinis tingnan. Yung iba naman, gusto matipuno, may muscles. Pero yung mga foreigners, gusto naman ay mga payat, maitim o moreno at walang itsura. May naobserverbahan lang kami sa mga ibang customer na mas gusto nilang i-table ang walang itsura at minsan pa i-ba-barfine pa nila. Ibat-iba talaga ang taste ng mga customer.

Naku may isa pa, masyado ngayon maalaga ang mga boys sa mukha nila. Karamihan sa kanila, lalo na ang mga show boys namin, nag-fa-facial cream at may facial wash na rin. Dati rati noong araw, natural beauty ang dating ng mga boys namin lalo na noon late 1980s until early 1990s. Pero ngayon, conscious na rin sila at yung iba may kaunting make-up para i-highlight nila ang ilong nila o mata nila, mga ganun ba. Iba na talaga ang panahon ngayon.

Uso sa kanila ang magpa-tattoo. May iba, may bolitas katulad ni (disclosed) at ang laki ng kanyang uten.

Oo nga, naalala ko pa yun Noon Louie maski na sa pagpili nyo ng receptionists may mga receptionists na mukhang lalaking-lalaki, may mga receptionists naman na parang malamya, ganito pa rin pa ba ang mga boys ninyo ngayon?

Meron pa rin naman kaya lang mas patago sila ngayon. Noon, halata na namin kung ang receptionists ay bumibigay kasi halimbawa kung mag-sigarilyo sa harap ng customer ang isang receptionist ay mas bali ang daliri pag humawak ng sigarilyo kaysa sa customer nila. Ngayon, patago. Ngayon, may ilan kaming receptionists na macho ang dating o muscled pero nagpapa-uring naman at nag-si-sing-a-long ng nota. Nalalaman namin ito sa mga customers namin at pupunta sa club at sasabihin “ano ba yan Luisa, nagbigay ka sa akin ng isang bading na receptionist na mas magaling pa sa akin sumubo ng nota”. Minsan nga, sa mga centermale models namin, yung kasama nina Cherrie-Pie sumayaw sa stage, mas graceful pa kina Cherrie-Pie. Mahahalata rin namin e. Katulad ni (disclosed) kung sumayaw parang aldeguer sisters at pag na-ba-barfine tumatambling pa sa kama. (Laughter) Pero macho syang tingnan. Iba na sila ngayon.

Kailan ba nagbukas ang 690 sa female patrons?

Matagal na. Kasi noong 1980s, exclusive kami sa gay men o sa mga bakla. May mga pumapasok na ilan-ilan na babae noon pero na-observe namin na mas malakas mag-order ng pagkain at alak ang mga ito kaysa sa mga baklang customer. At kung tumable sila ng mga receptionist, hindi lang isa. Kaya napagkasunduan ng management na buksan ang gaybar na ito sa mga babae kaya lang mas mataas ang kanilang entrance fee.

Ano klaseng female patrons o customers ito?

Ay, unang-una mga galing Japan, mga japayuki. Yung iba, nagtrabaho sa ibang bansa bukod sa Japan. Yung iba naman, mga asawa ng overseas Filipino workers. Sa ngayon, mas galante ang mga babae gumastos kaysa sa mga baklang customer namin. Eh siyempre, mas gusto ito ng mga boys na makatable sila ng babae lalo na mga japayuki na ang se-sexy pa at maraming pera.

Karamihan ngayon ng kumukuha ng lalaki ay mga babae. Mga babaeng japayuki kungdi naman mga mid-30s na babae at madatung.

Mas gusto ng mga boys na magtable sa kanila ay mga babae. In fact, may mga boys na mismo ang nagsasabi sa akin na-itable sila sa mga babaeng customers lalo na pag galing Japan at kung i-babar fine sila, bababaan pa nila ang service fees nila.

So base sa kwento mo, ano ang tingin nila sa sarili nila (read:receptionists)?

Mga lalaki pa rin sila. Na lalaking-lalaki sila although nag se-service pa rin sila sa mga baklang customer. Proud pa nga sila pag nai-table sila ng magandang babae e. At saka, karamihan na rin sa gay bar sa Metro Manila nagbubukas na rin sila sa mga babaeng customers. Trend yata na ito ngayon eh. Nawawala na ang mga baklang customers siguro binabahay na lang nila ang boys, ganun na lang.

Alam mo kung tatanungin mo ang mga receptionists kung ano sila, hindi sila aamin na bading sila bagamat nakikipag-sex sila sa babae at lalaki. Alam ko lang ay masaya sila sa pareho.

Mapunta tayo sa proteksyon Louie. May naikukwento ba sa iyo ang mga boys kung gumagamit sila ng proteksyon katulad ng condom pag nakikipag-sex sila sa customers?

Alam mo, dati nung kasaganahan ng ating lectures, open ang mga boys sa kanilang paggamit ng condom. Ngayon, di sila open.

Bakit?

Ewan ko ba. Iba na yata talaga ngayon e. May mga barkada sila dito, kapwa receptionists, pero siguro sila-sila nag-uusap pero di na sila open sa amin – mga floor managers hindi katulad dati na humihingi sila sa akin ng condom pag nababar fine sila kasi alam nila noon na may mga kahon ako ng mga condoms. Pero wala na dito yung mga boys namin na mahilig mag-short time sa mga babaeng bayaran mula sa maliliit na bar na nagkaroon ng STD. Hindi na sila pumapasok uli dito as receptionists.

Mapunta tayo sa profile ng mga boys at ang kanilang relationships sa mga kapwa receptionists. Maari mo bang sabihin kung ano ang kanilang background?

Karamihan, single o di kaya, may mga ka-live in na babae o asawang babae. Karamihan, ito lang ang trabaho may ilan-ilan na mga estudyante – mga estudyante

sila at pumasok bilang sex worker at may mga naging estudyante kasi paaral ng mga papa nila. Ang pinakamababa na antas ng aral sa mga boys ay high school graduates kasi yung iba takot sa mga customer na ingles ng ingles...umiiwas sila doon (laughter). Lalo ng mga taga-Samar na receptionists kasi karamihan sa kanila ngayon dito ay mga taga-Samar hindi katulad noon, nung nandito kayo gumagawa ng research, karamihan noon ay taga South (Cavite at Laguna).

Yung iba, pagdating sa economic status, ay mahihirap na ang kanilang pamilya ay nasa probinsya at nagpapadala na lang sila ng pera.

Ang kanilang relation sa bawat isa?

Kung ibig mong sabihin kung nag-on sila bilang mag syota, may mga ilan-ilan at patago pa. Di katulad noon na lantaran. May mga iba ngayon na alam naming may extra concern kay (disclosed) si (disclosed) na lagi silang magkasama, tantsa naming may namamagitan sa kanila pero di nila inaamin.

Ano ang buhay nila bilang receptionists?

Hay naku, magastos sila. Bili ng bili ng damit, pampa-beauty nila tapos kung may pera sila after closing, pumupunta pa sila sa girlie bars sa Cubao para kumuha ng mga babae at inom ng inom ng beer kaya waldas sila sa pera. Yung iba naman after closing time, kakain sa labas kung saan tumatambay din ang mga female sex workers tapos kakaibiganin. Pag ganito, nagiging syota nila yung mga girls o di kaya yayain nila na bisitahin sila o pumunta sa club namin para i-table sila. Pero yung iba receptionists, marunong magtabi o savings ba.

Sa mga mahilig mag-good time after closing time at lalo na pag kumita sila that night sa bar namin, gusto nila sila ang customer naman sa ibang bar, girlie bars. Ito ang ginagawa ng mga binata na receptionists namin.

Sa mga receptionists naman na nakakuha ng baklang customer dito, ay ginagawa nilang papa. Tapos, hindi mo sila pumunta rito para magtrabaho, pabisita-bisita lang.

How about Louie emotional involvement sa mga kliyente?

Ay may kwento ako dyan. Sa mga receptionists na nai-involve sa baklang customer at binabahay sila, hindi nila maiiwasan na ma-in love sila. In fact, si (disclosed) bumalik dito sa club kasi yung papa niya na foreigner ay nagselos sa kanya na hindi ko matandaan ang dahilan kaya stop ang allowance niya. Tapos, bumalik dito at umiiyak sa akin dahil sabi nya, hindi na nga daw sya kumuha ng girlfriend o nag-asawa ng babae kasi mahal na rin nya yung papa nya. Yung iba naman, gusto lang nila magkaroon ng allowance tapos nag si-side sex sila sa iba na hindi alam ng mga papa nila.

Yung iba naman na binabahay ng mga babae, di rin nagtatagal. Ewan ko ba bakit ganun. Alam mo kung sa babae lang, ang bilis nilang magpalit ng girlfriend o asawa...ang pinakamatagal na alam ko sa kwento ng iba, nagtatagal lang sila ng 2 buwan tapos maghahanap na nanaman sila.

Okay. May gusto pa bang sabihin sa akin?

Wala na.

Maraming salamat Louie sa interview na ito.

Walang ano man.

ARIEL, Sex worker
27 May 2002

Bago tayo magumpisa sa pagiging receptionist mo, maari bang sabihin kung taga saan ka? Saan ka ipinanganak?

Pinanganak ako sa Mindanao, sa Lanao del Sur.

Tapos lumaki ka ba sa Maynila?

Bago ako napadpad sa Maynila, pumunta ako sa Ilocos Norte sa lola ko, nanay ng tatay ko. Napadpad ako sa Ilocos Norte dahil namatay ang tatay ko sa Mindanao dahil dati siyang sundalo. Taga-Ilocos Norte ang tatay ko at dun din sya nilibing.

Pang-ilang ka sa magkakapatid?

Bale, nag-iisa lang ako. Wala akong kapatid.

Buhay pa ba ang magulang mo?

Bale ang mama ko, di ko alam. Namatay ang tatay ko ng 9 months old pa lang ako.

Ano trabaho ng nanay mo?

Di ko alam kasi 9 months old pa lang ako, di ko nakilala ang nanay ko hanggang ngayon.

Kasal ba ang magulang mo?

Yan ang hindi ko alam kasi tinanong ko sa lola ko, sabi nya hindi raw.

Naulila ako noong 9 months pa lang ako.

Paano ka nakapunta ng Maynila?

Noong natapos ko ang high school, mga 16 years old ako, pinadala ako ng lola ko sa tiyahin ko sa Tondo.

Noong kabataan mo, mula 9 months old ka hanggang high school, sa Ilocos ka lumake?

Oo.

Kwento mo naman sa akin kung paano ka lumaki sa Ilocos?

Maayos naman ang buhay ko doon at di ako nagkaka-problema. Mapalakaibigan ako. Kung nagkakaroon ako ng problema, sinasangguni ko ang problema ko sa kamag-anak ko.

At ang mga kaibigan mo?

Tinuturing ko ang mga kaibigan ko bilang mga kapatid ko. Karamihan sa mga kaibigan ko ay lalake.

Habang lumalaki ka sa Ilocos, sino ang nakapag-inpluwensya sayo sa buhay?

Una ang tiyohin ko dahil siya ang nag-aadvice sa akin at kung ano ang karapat-dapat ang gagawin ko sa buhay ko. May asawa siya at 5 ang anak.

After high school, sabi mo nagpunta ka na sa Maynila? Ano ginawa mo dito pag dating mo?

Di na ako nag aral at nag istambay ako ng 2 months tapos nagtrabaho ako sa garments. Kaibigan ng tiyahin ko ang may-ari ng garments.

Tapos?

Umalis ako sa trabaho ko. Tapos bakante ako ng 2 months. Tapos nag-ayos ako ng papeles dahil nag apply ako bilang guard. Nag guard ako sa PCI Bank. Two years ako dun. 24 years old ako ngayon. Tapos nag-apply ako ng ibang posting at nagka-posting ako sa Malate, sa US Embassy.

Bakit ka umalis sa garments?

Kasi mababa ang sahod, 75 pesos kada araw. Nagpaalam ako sa kaibigan ng tiyahin ko na aalis na ako dun at mag-aapply ako ng ibang trabaho. Kasi naghahanap ako ng trabaho na talagang kaya ko at maayos ang sahod. Kaya naisip ko mag-security guard.

Tapos?

Umalis na ako sa pagiging security tapos nag-apply na ako sa club bilang receptionists dahil nakita ko sa dyaryo na kailangan ng male models. Kinabukasan nag-apply ako.

Bakit ka nag-apply? Ano nagtulak sa iyo mag-apply?

Kase pagkatapos ko mag security guard sa US Embassy, nabakante ulit ako ng 2 months. Tapos, may nagsabi sa akin na maganda ang katawan ko at bakit hindi ko gamitin sa pag-sayaw.

Sino ang nagsabi sa iyo nun?

Gym instructor ko. Kasi kahit noon pa, nag gy-gym na ako. Sabi niya, may kaibigan (lalaki) siya sa isang club pero hindi niya sinabi sang club, na may maganda ang katawan at kumikita ng malaki bilang dancer. Pero binabale wala ko yun.

Ano reaction mo nung may nagsabi sa iyo na puwede mo gamitin ang iyong katawan sa club bilang dancer?

Pero pinagisipan ko yung sinabi ng aking gym instructor at nagkataon na kailangan ko ng pera. Nagkataon na nakita ko sa dyaryo na kailangan nila ng receptionist/dancer sa club kaya ako nag-apply.

Yung first sexual experience mo, ilang taon ka?

19 years old sa aking una girlfriend. Nagtrabaho ako bilang security guard. Na-meet ko sya sa mall. Pag dumadaan ako sa area ko, nakikita ko na sya. Ngumigniti ako, ganun din sya. Then nagkakilala kami tapos nagkikita kami sa labas.

Ano ang naramdaman mo ng first sex mo sa girlfriend mo?

Masarap. Yung ginagawa naming, na feel na feel ko na nararamdaman ko sa akin.

Wala ka pang sexual experience sa iba kung hindi sa girlfriend mo?

Meron din pero sa sumunod ko ng girlfriend. Naka-on ko ang first girlfriend ko ng 6 months tapos after 2-3 weeks may bago nanaman akong girlfriend.

Mukhang kailangan mong makipag-sex sa girlfriends mo lagi, bakit?

Kasi po di ko na talaga maiwasan yun dahil naglalambingan kame, sobrang lambing, tapos halik sa lips. Ako ang nag-iinitiate sa sex at wala silang reklamo. Pero pag ayaw nila, di ko na tinutuloy.

Kailan naman ang karanasan mo sa lalake sa sex?

Yung pumasok na ako bilang receptionist dito sa club.

Noong nag-apply ka sa club, ano ang nangyari sa iyo?

Bale nung nag-apply ako, kinabukasan pinapunta na ako sa club tapos pinasayaw na ako. Bago pa ako nun, hindi pa malakas ang loob ko lumabas sa stage. Pero nung gabing yun, may naglabas na sa akin, sumama na ako. Bakla na customer. Dinala ako sa hotel tapos nag sex na kame.

Ano ang naramdaman mo?

Yung una na yun, di ko masikmura kasi ka-sex ko lalake. Pero nilabanan ko talaga sa pag-iisip ko yun. Pero wala ako magawa at sabi ko sa sarili ko trabaho lang ito. Kaya napilitan ako makipag-sex sa kanya. Tapos umuwi na ako sa Tondo, tapos bumalik ako sa club.

May pagkakataon ba na kumukuha ka ng kliyente sa labas ng club?

Doon wala akong karanasan dun, na pinipik-up ako.

Ano reaction ng mga customer pag nagseseks kayo?

Tingin ko nakukuntento sila sa ginagawa ko sa kanila, nag-eeenjoy. Gusto nila na roromansahen ko sila, yung halikan, tapos pinapahalik sa akin ang kanila (read: ari). Napipilitin ako gawin yun kasi yun ang pinagusapan naming bago ako ilabas sa club o barfine.

Magkano ba ang service fee mo?

Nagprepresyo ako ng 2,500 bilang mababa at pinakamataas ay 5,000. Walang pagkaiba sa binibigay kong serbisyo pero depende sa customer na kausap ko. Naguumpisa ako ng 5,000 tapos sasabihin ng customer mahal yun hanggang mag-sesettle ako sa kaya nila. Di dapat bababa ng 2,500 ang service fee ko.

Ano kaibihan ng karanasan mo sa sex sa babae at sa lalake? Ano ang nararamdaman mo?

Sa lalake, wala akong na-fe-feel. Nasasagwaan ako sa sarile ko. Nag-eeenjoy ako pero di talaga ako todo nag eenjoy. Pag mina-masturbate nya ako, dun nag eenjoy ako. Tapos bino-blow job ako.

Masarap pa rin ang sex sa babae, masarap romansahin, halikan mo sa kanya tapos ipapasok ko yun akin sa kanya. Sa mga lalake, di ganun. Kaya pag sinusubo ng lalake ang ari ko, iniisip ko na babae ang ka-sex ko. Tapos nilalabasan ako sa bunganga ng customer na lalake.

Meron din mga customer ko na lalake, na nagpapatira sa puwet. Pero alam ko di ko kaya yun.

Ano ang sex sa iyo kung ganun?

Okay yun. Normal sa tao yun e. Lahat ng tao ginagawa yun. Kung wala nun, parang abnormal yun. Importante yun. Sa akin, di naman kailangan araw-araw ang sex e. Sa isang lingo, tama na ang 3 sex.

Pag nakaharap ka sa salamin at hubad ka, anong parte ng katawan mo ang nagugustuhan mo?

Ang dibdib. Kasi maganda ang shape ng dibdib ko at bilog siya. Kasi isa rin ito (pointing to his chest) pang-appeal sa babae kasi kasama rin yun sa porma. Isa pa gusto ko ay ang ari ko. Kasi medyo mahaba yung ari ko. At huli ang tangkad ko kasi eksakto sa hugis ng dibdib ko, ng katawan ko.

Nag-hikaw ako kasi pang-porma ko. May nakita ako sa iba na ganun, nagustuhan ko kaya nag hikaw ako. Wala akong tattoo sa katawan kasi ang tattoo parang marumi sa katawan. Mahirap maalis o matanggal pag ayaw mo na, baka ka magkaroon ng peklat hindi na babalik yung dati mong balat.

Ano pa ang gusto mong idevelop sa katawan mo?

Legs ko dahil naiiwanan e. Maayos ang dibdib ko pero ang legs ko kailangang idevelop para pantay syang tingnan. May isa akong kasamahan dito na maganda ang katawan, dibdib at iba pa, gusto ko syang gayahin.

Maganda tingnan kasi. Kaya sinisipagan ko mag-buhat ng weights para mahabol ko siya.

Para sa iyo ano ang tamod?

Para sa akin ang tamod ay nakakabuo ng bata. Mahalaga sa pag-aasawa sa pagbuo ng pamilya. Mahalaga rin yan sa trabaho ko kasi yan ang hinahanap ng customer ko sa akin. Kasi iniinum nila. Pag di ka nilalabasan ng tamod, ang feeling ng customer di ka okay sa sex. Tapos ayaw nila sa iyo dahil hindi ako nag-eejoy. Kaya lang pag sa customer kong lalake, ayaw ko talaga mag-palabas ng tamod eh kaso kailangan ko dahil gusto nila.

Gumagamit ka ba ng proteksyon?

Oo, sa lalakeng customer, condom. Sa mga babae naman, withdrawal.

Ano meron ka na wala ang mga ibang receptionists dahil bina-bar fine ka madalas?

Kasi nga nag-eejoy sila sa akin dahil sa serbisyo. Pag di ka okay, di ka babalik-balikan dito.

Sino ang madalas ang maglabas sa iyo – babae o lalaki?

Babae. Pagdating sa presyo ng serbisyo ko, mas mababa ang bigay ko sa babae kaysa sa lalaki. Kase sa babae gagamitin ko sya, parang free ako gumamit sa kanya, ganon din sya sa akin. At nag-eejoy ako ako. Minsan nga, nalilibre ko sila kasi ganun naman talaga e, pagdating sa sex normal na makipag-sex ang lalaki sa babae. Di normal sa kapwa lalaki kaya lang iniisip ko bakit ang mga lalaki kong customer gusto nila yun.

Sa mga lalaking customer, ano na ang nagiging relasyon mo sa kanila?

Yung mga bumabalik sa akin bilang customer, ang tingin na nila sa akin ay parang kapatid nila. Yung iba, sinusupportahan ako, nagbibigay ng allowance ng 5,000 pesos a month. May nag-ooffer sa akin ng pabahay pero di ko kinakagat dahil pareho kaming lalake sana kung kamag-anak ko sya. Pero yung iba na nag-ooffer sa akin ng allowance, malaya pa rin ako pumunta dito sa club at maging dancer.

Hindi kaya dahil na sumasama ka sa baklang customer, mababakla ka na rin?

Maliban sa sakit na maari kong makuha, natatakot din ako. Pero depende pa rin kung mapipigilan mo yung...na fe-feel mo sa katalik mong lalaki e. Na tipo bang sarap na sarap na ginagawa nya yun (sex) sa iyo. Kung gusting-gusto mo yun, malamang magiging bakla ka na rin.

Kasi pag nag sesex ako sa kanila, iniisip ko na ang katalik ko ay babae at lalaki ako.

Sa mga baklang customer, ano ang pinaguusapan nyo? May role ka ba dapat gawin habang nag se-sex kayo?

Wala naman usapan na ganun. Sila ang naguumpisa o na-iinitiate. Ayoko mag umpisa kasi pag ganun para bang feel na feel na gusting-gusto ko yun. Pero kung ang naglabas sa akin ay babae, ako ang maguumpisa kasi gusto ko, feel na feel ko yun.

Sa mga baklang customer, kung di ako nilabasan, bibigyan na lang ako ng 500 pesos. Kasi minsan, lumalanta ang ari ko hindi lagi matigas pag katalik ko ay lalake.

Sa sexual act, sabi mo gumagamit ka ng condom? Bakit?

Kasi inuring ko siya. Sa situwasyon na yun, lalaki ako dun kasi ako ang pumapasok.

Pero may customer ka na gusto naman i-uring ka?

Oo. Kasi...minsan, parang ayaw ko yun e. Pero nagawa na nila sa akin yun pero di talaga nila pinapasok. Kasi nasasaktan na ako. Umaayaw ako. Gumagamit sya ng condom.

Pag ganun e, parang iniisip ko ay ginagawa nya akong babae. Minsan kasi yung iba kung customer, patakas na ginagawa ang pag-uring sa akin e. Ayaw ko na. Mindan, nakadapa ako tapo nilalagyan nila ng lotion ang ari nila tapos nararamdaman ko na pinapasok nila, ayaw ko ng ganun. Wala sa usapan yun e pwera na lang kung ako ang gagawa sa kanila.

Tingin mo ba ganun din kaya ang nararanasan ng iba mong kasama dito sa club?

Di ko alam kasi di naman kami open sa mga ganung usapan. At saka iba-iba ang gingawa naming sa kama, hindi kame pare-pareho. Pero sa babae na customer, open kami dyan sa usapan.

Ano ngayon ang sukatin ng pagiging lalake mo?

Ang ari ko. Matigas na ari at tamod ko.

Alam ba sa inyo na receptionist ka sa club?

Hindi kasi pihadong pagagalitan ako. Yung pera ko, iniipon ko dahil nagpapadala ako sa lola ko.

Nag-eejoy ka ba bilang receptionist?

Oo. Hanapbuhay ko ito e. Malaki ang kita. Masaya at di ako gaanong nagkakaroon ng problema kasi panay music lang dito. At mas marami ako nagiging kaibigan, di lang mga kasama sa trabaho, mga kliyente pa.

Sino ang nagturo sa iyo na sumayaw?

Ako lang during rehearsals.

Kamusta ang relation mo sa ibang receptionists?

Okay lang. Kasi barkadahan kami dito. Pag may problema, nagtutulungan lalo na sa pera. Isa sa mga problema naming ang di regular ang kita. Minsan walang customer na kumukuha sa amin. Commissioned drinks ang kita naming pag-tine-table kami. Halimbawa kung maka-sampu kang drinks, may 1,000 pesos ka. Tapos may tip ka pa. Sa stage naman, kasama ako sa centermale models tapos may 300 pesos ako dun tapos pag lumalabas kami paisa-isa sa stage, may dagdag pang 300 pesos.

Nakukuntento na rin ako pag ganun. Kung naba-barfine ako, mas okay. Kaya lang kung ayos na ako sa drinks, tips at sayaw, di na ako nagpapa-barfine.

Mayroon ka bang matalik na kaibigan dito sa club?

Meron. Isa. Kapwa dancer ko.

Bakit iba siya sa mga iba mo pang kasama mo rito?

Kase ang mga iba kong kasama dito ay may bisyo. Nag-sha-shabu.

Hanggang kailan ka kaya magiging receptionist?

Tingin ko hanggang bata pa ako. Hanggat hindi pa ako makahanap ng iba pang trabaho. Wala pa naman akong immediate na plano, kung hindi ito muna.

Nagkaroon ka ba ng STD?

Hindi pa pero siguro malapit na. (laugh) Pero maingat ako. Gumagamit ako ng condom.

Mayroon ka bang tanong sa akin bago ko tapusin itong interview na ito?

Wala.

Maraming salamat sa interview na ito.

(Smile) Okay lang po para lang naman tayo nagkwewentuhan.

---- End ----

KENZMON, Sex worker
28 May 2002

Taga-saan ka?

Probinsya ko ay Pampanga. Tubong kapampangan pero laking Maynila.

Ipinanganak ka pala sa Pampanga....

Actually, ipinanganak ako noong 1972. Noong 10 years old palang ako, napadpad ako sa Maynila. Nag-trabaho na ako nung edad kong yon. Sa Pampanga ako nakapag-aral pero hanggang elementary lang.

Ilan kayong magkakapatid?

Walo. Pangatlo ako mula sa bunso. 6 kami mga lalaki. Ang father ko patay na pero ang mother ko buhay pa. Ang trabaho ng tatay ko noong nabubuhay pa ay welder. Ang nanay ko naman ay may tindahan sa palengke. Ang panganay naming ay 36 years old at ang pinakabata ay 19 years old.

Habang lumalaki ka, sino ang nag-aalaga sa iyo?

Gaya ng sinabi ko sa iyo, 10 years old pa lang, binuhay ko na ang sarili ko. Nagtitinda ako ng sigarilyo sa bus, mais...sa Pampanga. Tapos nakapag-asawa ang kapatid kong babae sa Marikina, nag stay ako sa kanya na temporary...tapos naghanap na ako ng trabaho. Nag wai-waiter ako sa restaurant o nag dishwasher. Tapos nakapag-start na ako sa trabaho na ganito.

Sino nagpalaki sa iyo?

Basically, sarili ko. Ako ang naghahanap ng paraan para ma-resolba ko ang aking mga problema ko. Nandyan naman ang mga kapatid ko kaya lang kung ishe-share ko ang aking problema sa kanila, wala rin naman silang magagawa. Kasi simulat-sapul nga, binuhay ko na ang sarili ko. Although pag may extra pera ako, ishe-share ko sa mga kapatid ko.....umuwi ako sa Pampanga.

Barkada habang lumalaki ka?

Barkada? Sapul pa wala na akong hilig mamarkada lalo noong nasa Pampanga ako. Pero noong nakapunta ako sa Maynila parang nawala na sa akin e.

Ano ang nagtulak sa iyo para pumunta ng Maynila?

Trabaho kasi alam mo na, pag nasa probinsya ka ang kasabihan ay pumunta ka sa Maynila...pag nakarinig kang taga-Maynila....parang maganda at na-enganyo akong pumunta sa Maynila. Sabi ng mga kapitbahay namin sa Pampanga, na ang sarap sa Maynila, na puputi ka...tatataba ka...ganyan, ganun. Parang magkaroon ka ng layaw sa sarili mo...ganun.

Lumawas ka ng Maynila, anong edad ka?

11 years old ako at napatira ako sa kapatid ko sa Marikina until 15 years old ako. Mga panahon na yun, tumutulong ako sa kapatid ko sa gawain bahay...pag hugas ng pinggan...pagluluto..ganun. Pagkatapos nun ay napapasok ako sa club. Pero hindi gay bar pero restaurant...club ng mga babae at waiter ako. 15 years old lang ako nun.

Di ako nagtatagal sa club, mga 1-2 years ako tapos lipat ako kasi yun bang kasabihan ba natin na pag di mo swerte sa isang lugar, lipat ka at maghahanap ako ng iba. So pag alam ko na wala akong asenso dun o di ko kasundo ang mga kasamahan ko, lipat ako.

Pagtapos ng pagiging waiter mo sa mga ibat-ibang club, ano na ang nangyari sa iyo?

Noong 17 years old ako, naging gala ako noon. Tambay ako sa Recto. Nakatira ako sa mga friends ko sa Recto. Raket kami. Pagbebenta ng ano....alam mo na. Tapos at the age of 18, nag GRO ako sa 103 gay club. Ang nagtulak sa akin dito ay yung mga kakilala ko nga sa Recto.

Kamusta ang buhay mo sa 103?

Okay lang kaya lang alam mo naman...delikado kasi panay raid...mainit sa mata ng pulis. Di ako nag show doon e, nag-GRO lang ako for two years, on and off.

Ano ang trabaho mo bilang GRO?

Nag eentertain ng customer although kasama na doon ang monkey business

Anong ibig mong sabihin na monkey business?

Yung babayaran ka ng customer sa isang gabi pero di ako nagsho-show doon. Wala akong karapatan mag-show doon kasi payat pa ako nun. Di pa maganda ang aking katawan.

After 103, saan ka naman pumunta?

Napapunta ako sa 3rd Avenue sa may Caloocan, ang IC gay club. Nag start ako bilang macho dancer sa entablado. Doon ako nag start mag sayaw. May advantage kase yun. Kung GRO, di ka na-eexpose masyado unlike pag sumasayaw ka. Medyo dito na ako naging body conscious. Noong una, may nagturo sa akin sumayaw. Nagtiyaga ako hanggang na perpekto ko ang sayaw...ang paggiling ika nga. Sa IC, umabot ako ng 3 years...straight.

Pagtapos ng IC....?

Lumipat na ako sa club na ito. Kasi noong nasa IC ako, may mga inter-gaybar competition. So pumunta doon ang isa sa floor manager from 690 doon at may dalang envelope, tapos kinausap ang manager ng IC..tapos kinuha kaming 3 para sumali sa Man of the Year sa 690. Parang modeling competition.

So ano ang impression mo sa Club 690?

Actually, na-impress ako kasi nga aircon samantalang mga pinanggalingan kong clubs, natural and open air lang. So, noong pumunta ako dito October 1998, nag compete ako sa Man of the Year tapos pinalad naman ako sa elimination. Tapos bumalik ako sa IC. Tapos inintay ko ang grand finals dito noong 23 December. Sa grand finals, nanalo ako as 4th runner-up tapos mula noon dito na ako nag-start.

Mapunta tayo sa sexual experience mo naman. Anong edad ka nagkaroon ng first sexual experience sa lalake? Sa babae?

14-15 years old sa kapwa ko lalake. Kase naging tambay ako sa Recto. Nag-stow away ako noon. Di kami nagsama. Sa babae, 19 years old. Between 16 years old hanggang 19 years old, patuloy ako nakikipag-sex sa bading. Kase nga, nasa 103 na ako noong 18 years old pa lang ako.

Gumagamit ka ba ng proteksyon?

Oo naman...condom kase minsan lang ang buhay natin at ayaw kong matamaan. Gumagamit ako ng supot payo ng mga floor managers sa akin. Gumagamit lang ako nito pag nagpapa-uring ang customers sa akin. Although ayoko, hindi ko gusto, parang hindi normal...kase wala naman puwerta, di ba? Kaya lang trabaho yun.

Mas masarap sa babae syempre kasi natural yun. Customer na babae yun mga yun.

Ano ang sex para sa iyo?

Sex ay laro na lang. Although aamin ko sa inyo na sapul na nagging receptionist ako sa 690, bihira na ako pumatol sa gay. Halos babae na ang nag-babarfine. Nagkaroon kasi ako ng trauma sa gays kasi may masama akong karanasan sa kanila noong nag-uumpisa ako sa 103. Kasi ayaw nila magpaggamit ng condom maski gusto ko. Katwiran nila ay wala silang nararamdaman pag may condom ako kayo right on the spot...nag se-sex na kami bigla akong hihiritan na wag nang gumamit ng condom. Ayaw ko kasi magkakasakit ako pag gumamit naman ako ng condom, aayawan na ako. Kaya pag ganun, di na bale walang kita, iniwan ko sila.

Ang emotion kasi pag kame ay nagkagusto sa mga babae. Nangyari na sa akin yun. Pagka-sex ko ay babae, masarap. Pero pag ang ka-sex ko ay babae na customer, play na lang.

May emotional involvement ka ba sa mga customers mo?

Wala akong emotional involvement sa customer. Although may nagsasabi sa akin ng "I love you" pero alam mo naman di na bago yun. Sabi ko sa sarili ko na lang ay di naman ganoon katibay ang pagkakilala sa akin sinasabihan ko sila na trabaho ko ito, bayaran mo ako...one-night stand ganun kaya wag mo ako sabihan ng "I love you."

Ano ang konsepto ng tamod para sa iyo?

Alam ko ang tamod ay white blood (laugh). Pag ang tamod ko ay nasa trabaho, binabayaran yun di ba. Kaya katulad ng sinasabi ko sa iyo kanina, pag ginusto ko yung babae kahit walang bayad, masarap.

Nasasarapan ka ba sa pareho?

Hindi. Mas nasasarapan ako sa ginusto kong babae.

Sa kliyenteng babae?

Hindi. Bihirang-bihirang-bihirang-bihara.

Mapunta ako sa katawan mo. Pag nakaharap ka sa salamin, hubad ka, anong parte ng iyong katawan ang gusto mo?

Ang chest ko at ang puwet ko. Kase ang chest ay puhunan ng katawan. Pag maganda ang chest mo, kahit naka t-shirt ka, pag tumayo ka, nakabihis ka, magandang tingnan. Ang puwet naman, kasi pag nag-sho-show ako, mahilig akong mag t-back.

Sunod doon ang buong body ko na except ang face ko dahil di ako kagandahang lalake.

Ang ari ko kasi alagang-alaga ko yan. Madalas ko linisan ng eskinol bago ako matulog...pagkatapos maligo. Desisyon ko ito sa sarili ko at hindi sa trabaho. Malinis talaga ako.

Ano pa ang gusto mong i-develop sa katawan mo?

Lahat. Hindi naman gusto kong palikihan pa kungdi...sexy katulad ng artista kay Jomari ba.

Ngayon maayos ka na, ano ang pakiramdam mo o kaibahan noong nag-uumpisa ka?

Masarap. Maganda. Kase may katawan ka at may height. Pag nakaharap ako sa salamin, unlike before ang payat-payat ko, na-develop ko ang aking katawan dahil sa tiyaga....pag-gy-gym...masaya. Pag sumasayaw na ako...siyempre, unang titingnan sa iyo yung body mo. Yung paano ka sumasayaw...kung paano mo dalhin ang body mo pag sumasayaw ka.

Mapunta tayong sa kliyente?Ano ang hinahanap sa iyo ng lalakeng kliyente?

Hindi naman kasi pare-pareho e. May kliyente akong bastos. Unahin ko ang mga bastos. Kasi hindi ko masisi ang ganong klaseng customer na magsabi ng ganun dahil sa uri ng trabaho naming na sinasabi agad magkano..ganun-ganyan...gawin mo ang gusto ko...paligayahin mo ako. Like gusto nilang “69” na masyado nang baboy...pakinggan mo lang...baboy na di ba? Sinasabi ko sa kanila, huwag niyo naming lahatin....na kami ay pare-parehong ginagawa. Pag di kami nagkasundo ng ganon, alis na ako....tatayo ako sa table. Ito ang karanasan ko sa 690.

Yung iba ay mabait...desente. Di sila bastos. Ako kasi ang tipo na sasabihin ko na agad sa customer ang limitations ko pag dating sa kama.

Sa kliyenteng babae?

Iba yan...depende sa edad ng babae. May mga matrona na 40-50 years old, gusto nila ay sex na normal na parang pag-ibig ang dating. Yayakapin mo sila, roromansahin mo sila. Sa mga bata pa, syempre puwede pa yun kasi may “asim” pa yun. Masarap pa.

Dito sa 690, magkano ang service fee mo?

Depende. Sa gay, 2,500 pesos hanggang 3,500 pesos pero blow-job lang yun. Nakahiga lang ako...walang romansahan. Puwede akong romansahin pero mula paa hanggang leeg lang. Walang halikan.

Sa mga babae, kung may gusto ako at sariwa, pagtatrabahuin ko yun. All the way. Pag matrona, siguro hanggang suso lang ang romansa ko pag ganun.

Hindi lang ako receptionist dito kungdi strip-teaser din ako. 250 pesos ang bigay sa akin kada labas sa stage.

Bakit ka may limitations?

Kasi nga mayroon akong masamang karanasan sa mga bakla e sa ganitong trabaho karamihan na pumapasok sa gay bar e mga bakla...kaya kailangan kong mag set ng limitations.

May nag-ooffer sa iyo ng monthly allowance o pabahay?

Ah...meron (extends his body and arms placing behind his head). Silahis at babae. Ang silahis kasi ang pagkakaalam ko ay puwede siyang ma in-love sa babae at sa lalake...puwede siyang makipag-sex sa babae at sa lalake. Binibigyan nya ako ng alahas. Binigyan ako ng pera na pinagawa ko ng bahay sa Pampanga worth 700,000 pesos. Last year kami nagka-hiwalay dahil sa mga pinag-babawal nya sa akin..minsan nakakabalita sya sa club tungkol sa akin..na di-discourage sya. May limitation ako sa sex sa kanya kase desente sya. Masaya na sya pag-magkayakap kami maski na walang sex...ni hindi lang sya sumususo e. Nasa 50 years old.

Meron ding nag-garehe sa akin na babae...japayuki naman. Nag-on kami 1999. Nagkahiwalay kami dahil sa selos.

May emotional involvement ka sa japayuki na yun?

Wala. Kasi alam ko naman e..na sa trabahong ito how many years na rin ako sa trabaho na ito..alam ko na kung saan ko ilalagay ang sarili ko. Alam ko naman kasi ipa-prangka ko na yung guest ko. In fact, alam nila (silahista at japayuki) na sabay sila. Kasi ang katwiran ng silahista, di ako pumapatol pa sa isang bading at ang katwiran naman ng japayuki ay di ako pumapatol sa ibang babae. Kaya patas lang.

So ano ang nararamdam mo nyan?

(laughs) Syempre, tumitiba ako ng pera. Yan ang tawag kong opportunities sa ganito klaseng trabaho. Nirerespeto ko naman sila. Sila naman ang may kusang nagbibigay. Yung silahista, 1,000 US dollars a month tapos yung japayuki naman, 10 lapad o 30,000 pesos a month.

Sabi mo wala na ang mga parokyano mo, paano ka na lang nyan...barfine na lang ang income mo?

Hindi. Hindi ako na bobokya. May sponsor pa rin ako, babae, 26 years old. Nagbibigay siya sa akin ng pang-maintenance ko...alam mo na, katulad ng renta sa inuupahan kong kwarto, pangbili ng sapatos ko, atbp. Wala pa rin akong emotional involvement sa kanya.

Gaano ka kadalas ma-bar-fine?

Minsan, isa hanggang dalawang beses sa isang linggo. Kaya lang karamihan sa aking mga nagiging guests o customers, mas gusto nila magkita na lang sa labas ng club, kaya di na sila nag-ba-bar-fine...kawawa nga lang ang club.

Pagdating sa sex, mapalahanap ka ba?

Hindi. Kagaya ng sinabi ko sa iyo kanina na pag gusto ko yung babae, di ako mapakale.

Ano ang libog sa iyo ngayon?

Libog lang e..yung gusto mo lang kumantot. Sa ngayon, sa edad ko ngayon, twice na lang ako sa isang linggo na lilibugan...hindi naman sa ano...pero nagbabate na lang ako. Hindi ako nanghihinayang sa lumalabas sa akin kasi kailangan kong magpalabas.

Ano ang kaibahan ng libog mo ngayon kung ikukumpara sa libog mo noong bata ka pa?

Merong kaibihan. Yung libog ko noong kabataan ko, mas grabe. Halos 2 beses sa isang araw magbate. Unlike ngayon, hindi na kase sa klase ng trabaho ko, siguro sa edad. Kase trabaho ko, tamod ko ang ibinebenta e..kayo hindi ako masyadong nagpapalabas masyado..sa pagbabate. Ngayon, naiibenta ko ang libog ko ngayon...noon hindi kasi sinasarili ko.

Ano sukat ng pagkalalake sa iyo ngayon?

Bihira lang ako uminum pag nagte-table ako kaya minsan sinasabi sa akin ng mga customer ay “Ano ka ba naman, bakit hindi ka umiinom, para kang di lalake.” Sabi ko sa kanila di naman yun sukatan ng pagkalalake e nasa paninindigan yun. Isa pa, pagdating sa kama...sa babae. Dapat mag eenjoy ang babae. Yun bang sarap-sarap....lahat ng klase ng sex dapat ibigay ko. Di ako pabor sa sex na parehong lalake. At saka ang katigasan ng ari, isang sukat yun. Saka pag nalanta yun habang nag se-sex, nababawasan ang pagkakalalake mo nun...lalo na sa pagtalik mo sa babae. Malaking kahihiyaan yun sa akin. Sa mga bakla na customer, talagang nalalanta ang akin..minsan.

Tingin mo ba lumiligaya sa iyo ang kliyenteng bading?

A...di ko alam. Wala ako masasabi dun. May bumabalik sa akin, may hindi. Sa mga hindi, sabi nila, hindi ako masarap ka-sex kasi alam nila ang limitasyon ko dahil sinasabi ko na agad yun sa kanila. Di ako sumasama sa kliyente na maramihan.

May nagyaya sa akin na dalawang babae na ako lang ang lalake. Mga Brazilian. E...alam mo naman, may kasabihan tayo mga Pilipino na..ay mga foreigner yan...may dala ng sakit yan mga yan. Di ko na pinatulan o pumayag.

Kamusta naman ang relasyon mo sa mga kasamahan mo dito?

Ah....actually may tinatawag kami ng samahan dito na ang tawag namin ay Zaragoza. Ito yung grupo ng barkada namin na through thick and thin, lumubog at lumitaw, kami pa rin ang nagtutulungan since 1998. Although yung iba ay wala na dito sa club at nag iba na ng buhay, nag re-reunion din kami paminsan-minsan. Zaragoza lang ang bansag ko, ako ang nagtayo nun. Ako pinakamatanda sa grupo na yun.

Ginagabayan ko ang mga baguhan dito...na may mayayabang, may mabait. Pag mabait pinakikisamahan namin. Mayroon naman na pumupunta sa akin pag natatamaan sila ng tulo. Pero di ko mapaliwanag ang tulo.

Mayroon ka bang karanasan na nagkakagusto sa iyo ang mga kasamahan mo?

Ay...oo naman, di nawawala yun. Malalaman ko naman kung may gusto sa akin e. Yung nandyan ka minsan na aabutan ka ng towel, nagbibigay ng lotion o cologne. Tapos nababalitaan ko na lang na silahista pala. Nawawalan ako ng gana kase ako ayaw ko mag-take advantage ng situwasyon....sinasamantala ang pagkakaibigan...panget yun. Common na yun sa lahat ng gay club kasi hindi lahat ng sumasayaw sa club ay tunay na lalake.

Pagkatapos mo ilahad sa akin ang lahat, ano na ang tingin mo sa sarili mo?

Ang tingin ko sa sarili ko ay walang pinagkaiba sa mga babae na nagtatrabaho sa club na ganito. Pero proud ako kasi instead na gumagawa ng masama kahit na katawan ko ang binebenta ko. At least hindi masama, sa iba masama yun pero sa majority hindi masama ang ginagawa ko.

Hindi ka ba natatakot na sa tagal mo sa pakikipagtalik sa mga baklang kliyente, hindi ka mahawa na pagiging bakla?

Kase yun mga sinasabi ng iba na nahahawa ka pag madalas ka makipag-sex ka sa kapwa mo, hindi totoo yun. Kasi ang pagiging bading e...in-born yun e...yun ang pagkaalam ko. Yung sinasabi ko sa iyo na ang limitasyon ko sa sex sa bakla ay hindi basehan ng pagkalalake ko. Kaya lang ako nag-limit sa sex services ko sa bakla dahil nagkaroon talaga ako ng trauma sa kanila noong tambay pa ako sa Recto. Mga balahurang bakla...yun ang dating sa akin ng bakla. Although may desente naming bakla pero iilan.

Ano ang plano mo sa future?

May naipundar na ako property..so hanggang this year na lang ako dito. Magtatayo ako ng negosyo sa Pampanga.

Alam ba ng pamilya mo ang ginagawa mo?

Ngayon lang kasi nakita ako sa TV kasi may nag-sho-shooting sa club, nakita nila ako tapos tinawagan ako ng nanay ko. Pinagtapat ko na sa kanila kase nagtataka rin sila kung bakit ganun kalaki na pera ang minsan binibigay ko sa kanila. Katulad nga nung bahay tapos nakuha ko ng puwesto ang nanay ko sa palengke, nagpapaaral pa ako...ganun ba.

Ano ang pakiramdam mo ngayon na nalaman ng pamilya mo?

Syempre, hindi naman ganun pa nila ako tanggap pero maglalaon matatanggap nila. Pero sa totoo lang, mas comfortable ako ngayon dahil kita naman nila kung saan napupunta ang aking pera tapos may savings pa ako sa bangko. Kaya mas ayos ang pakiramdam ko ngayon.

Okay. Mayroon ka bang gustong tanungin sa akin bago ko tapusin itong interview na ito?

Wala naman.

Kung gayon, maraming salamat sa interview na ito.

No problem.

---- End ---

JULIUS, Sex worker
31 May 2002

Saan ka ipinanganak?

Dito na ako talaga sa Maynila ipinanganak at lumaki. Dati nasa Tondo ako nakatira. 19 years old ako ngayon.

Maari mo bang sabihin kung ano ang pamilya mo?

Lima kami magkakapatid, gitna ako. 4 na lalaki at 1 babae. Buhay pa ang magulang ko. Bago akong naging receptionist, pakapa-kapa ang buhay ng magulang ko lalo na ang nanay ko. Dati nagtitinda sa school ang nanay ko ng pagkain. Ang tatay ko naman iniwan kami noong maliit pa ako; nakatira sya sa lola ko, nanay nya. Tapos, papunta-punta lang siya sa amin...bisita. Ngayon, may maliit na tindahan ng school

supplies ang nanay ko dahil sa kita ko rito at nagsasama na ang nanay at tatay ko ngayon.

Ang panganay namin ay 27 years old at nag-trabaho dito sa 690. Nahinto ako sa pagaaral ng college...commerce programming sa STI dahil may nagbahay sa akin...may tumulong sa akin mula sa isang client dito sa 690...binahay ako...apartment tapos pinagaaral niya ako.

Mula sa kuya sa ate ko ay 2 taon ang pagitan nila, tapos kami naman ay 6 years, tapos tag-two-two years na ang agwat ng mga sumunod sa akin at ang bunso. Malapit ako sa ate ko kasi since bata pa kami...kami-kami naguusap tapos ang kuya ko mabarkada kaya hindi ako masyado malapit sa kanya. 2nd year high school palang ang kuya ko nagtayo na sya ng fraternity sa school niya kaya palakaibigan ang kuya ko.

Kailan ka napapasok sa 690?

15 years old ako pero padalaw-dalaw lang. Ito ang unang gaybar na pinasukan ko kasi nga kuya ko rito nagtatrabaho nga bilang dancer. Di naman niya ako inipluwensahan mas ina-idolize ko sya kasi sabi ko mukhang umaayos ang buhay niya rito, so sinusubukan ko makita. Kasi ang buhay namin ay walang-wala talaga; minsan, naghahanap kami ng pera. Sa likod nga ng bahay namin nagtatanim kami ng kamote para makain namin yung mga yun pag hango nun at sagingan.

Paano sinabi ng kuya mo ang pagpasok mo sa 690?

Wala. Actually, wala siyang sinabi sa akin. Pero ng kapatid ng nanay ko, ang tiyahin ko may anak ding lalaki, pinsan ko bale, pinapasok na dancer dito sa 690. Sumama lang ako sa kanya tapos sabi nila bakit di muna na rin ako pumasok.

So alam ng magulang ninyo kung ano klaseng trabaho ang pinapasukan ninyo?

Oo. Hindi naming nililihim sa kanila kasi nga kuya di ba nga nandito. Tapos maski na ako, di ko nililihim sa kanila lalo na ang show ko dito. At saka, ang show ko naman ay production numbers wala talagang hubaran kaya nakikita naman nila ito kasi minsan tini-tape namin ang numbers namin.

Ang kuya ko wala na rito. Nagtitinda na lang sya ng alahas o damit na pahulugan sa mga club dancers naman na mga babae. May asawa na ang kapatid ko pero yun kinakasama niya ngayon ay pangalawang asawa niya.

Ano ang impression mo nung unang gabi mo sa 690?

Syempre di na ako nahhirapan dito sa club kasi nandito naman ang kapatid ko. Pinakikilala ako sa mga guests niya...ganun. Kaya nagkakapera ako sa table-table. Dumaan ako sa floor manager nung na-aapply ako kasi madalas naman ako pumunta dito dahil sa kuya ko at humihingi ako sa kuya ko ng pang-budget sa bahay.

Noong unang gabi ko rito, nakakuha ako agad ng guest at tinala ako. Nakuha ko noon ay 1,200 pesos at ang tingin ko doon ang laki-laki na nun kasi sa bahay naming malaki na ang perang 300 pesos. Kaya sabi ko ang bilis pala kumita ng pera dito. Yun ang pakiramdam ko sa laki ng pera na natanggap ko nung gabing yun.

Pero mga sumusunod na araw, nagpapaalam ako sa kapatid ko na "Kuya, papasok ako ulit sa club." Ang sabi nya sa akin. "Ano? Gusto mo ba gulpihin kita? Tama na ang padalaw-dalaw ka sa club." E, kaso wala naman siya magagawa kasi alam niya naman ang situwasyon naming sa bahay, kaya...dito na ako.

Sabi ko sa kanya, pag ayaw mo eh di pag-aralin mo ako at ikaw na rin ang bahala sa gastusin natin sa bahay. Eh naisip nya mabigat ang hiling ko, kaya wala siya magagawa.

Pero maliwanag ba talaga sa iyo kung ano klase ng trabaho mo sa club nung baguhan ka pa rito?

Hindi ko nalaman ito sa kuya ko kungdi sa floor manager. Kasi before sabi ko sa kapatid ko mag-aapply ako bilang receptionist...di ba patable-table lang yun. Kuya ko kasi ay di lang receptionist..dancer din sya kaya ang taas-taas ng tingin ko sa kanya. Sabi sa akin ng floor manager, ilalabas ako ng clients. Kaya naging regular na ako dito nung 17 years old na ako.

Mapunta tayo sa kliyente mo...sino ba ang madalas mong kliyente...babae o lalake?

Before? Noong 17 ako, si (disclosed) ang unang naglabas sa akin, so lalaki ang una. Paminsan-minsan babae pero tinuraan ako ng kuya ko na pag nag-desisyon ako magpalabas sa club, i-minimize ko ang mga babaeng kliyente. Kasi raw baka ako mahawa ng sakit. Puwede ako ilabas ng babae pero depende daw sa laki ng ino-offer, yun ang sabi ng kuya ko. Mas okay ka, sabi nya, lumabas sa bading na kliyente kaysa babae.

Magkano naman ang service fee mo?

Minimum ko ang 2,000 pesos. Ang pinakamalaki na nakuha ko ay 250,000 pesos mula sa isang bading na kliyente na British, 51 years old. Nakita nya ako rito kasi non-stop dancer ako rito noon e. Tapos inilabas ako, sa (disclosed) hotel nya kami nagpunta, nag sex kami tapos kinabukasan, may nakita ako sa side table ng hinihigaan naming kama na bundle na pera pero di ko ginalaw yun. Alam mo na, nahihiya naman ako makialam at baka sabihin nya magnanakaw ako so iniintay ko siya dumating. Nung dumating sya ng bandang hapon, binigay nya na lang ang pera sa akin kaya lang after 3 days pa.

Tapos sabi nya sa akin, handa siya magbigay sa akin ng 50,000 pesos a month at pagpapaaralin nya ako sa STI basta di na ako papasok dito. So nag-on kami ng 7 buwan.

Bakit anong nangyari at 7 buwan lang ang tagal ng relation ninyo?

Kasi nalaman niya na bagamat na nagbibigay siya sa akin ng allowance nga ng 50,000 pesos, nalaman niya na binibigay ko sa nanay at pamilya ko para bang tulong ko sa kanila. Eh ayaw niya yun, katwiran niya na ang 50,000 ay para lang sa akin..eh gago ba siya eh kailangan ko tulungan ang pamilya ko. Yun ang hindi niya maintindihan. Hindi niya raw responsibilidad na buhayin niya ang pamilya ko.

May pagkakataon ka ba na na-involve ka sa kliyente emotionally?

Oo, dun nga sa British. Minahal ko sya. Kasi nakikita ko sa kanya na nagpu-put siya ng effort sa akin, napapamahal na ako. Ganun din sa mga iba kong babae na kliyente. Nahuhulog ang loob ko kaya pag nawala na ang mga taong yun nahihirapan ako bumawi. Emotional lang siguro ako.

Mapunta tayo sa sexual na karanasan mo. Ilang taon ka nung nagkaroon ka ng first sexual experience at kanino?

11 years old ako sa babae at 15 years old ako sa lalaki.

Ano ang diperensya sa iyo ngayon sa pakikipagtalik mo sa babae at lalaki?

Parang ano...pag sa lalaki mas binibigyan nila ng priority kung saan ka nasasarapan...saan ka nag-eejoy. Sa babae naman panay satisfaction nila ang gusto nila...gusto nila ako ang nagtatrabaho sa kanila.

Pero kanino ka pa rin nasasarapan?

Sympre sa babae pa rin.

So ano ang libog sa iyo ngayon?

Parang ano na lang yun..init ng katawan yun. Magbate ka lang, tapos na ang libog. Sa trabaho, sapilitan lang ang libog eh...kasi nga, binabayaran ka kaya minsan hirap din abutin ng libog sa kliyente lalo na kung ang araw na yun, wala kang libog. Iba naman sa personal na libog lalo na pag mahal mo ang babae, di ba? Parang gusto mo may mangyari sa inyo for security na....na hindi kayo magkakahiwalay.

Pag sa trabaho nga, sapiltan e. Minsan nga di ako tinitigasan pag wala ako sa mood. At saka minsan, nandidiri ako sa ginagawa ko e. Nadidiri ako kasi minsan nilalabas ako minsan ng matanda na bakla tapos ayaw na ayaw ko pa naman na mahahalikan ako.

Ano ba ang limitasyon mo sa customer pag nilalabas ka?

Yun walang halik at yung walang anal sex kasi ayaw ko mahawa ng sakit. Based sa study sa school ko noon, marami na rin ako nalaman sa safe sex. Pero mayroon ako na-encounter sa trabaho ko na ako ang nagtrabaho sa kanya sa bading..yung British nga kasi nga tinutulungan ako sa pera at pinag-aral niya ako. Pero sa babae, nagtatrabaho din ako pero pinaguusapan namin yun bago ako ilabas....mga 15,000 pesos yun.

Ano naman sa iyo ang sex?

Sex kasi ay depende sa ka-sex mo. Pag gusto mo ang ka-partner mo, masarap yun. Wala kang satisfaction pag nikipag-sex ako sa di ko gusto...pera lang ang habol mo. After that parang nanghihinayang ka sa tamod mo..ganun. Pag sa mahal mo, ang pagkatao mo ay hindi na-de-graduate di katulad ng sex sa trabaho.

Nagkaroon ka na ba ng girlfriend?

Oo. From Grade 4 hanggang 2nd year high school ako.

Ano ang tamod sa iyo?

Mmmm...tamod kasi sa trabaho namin, yun ang binabayaran nila e. Pero kung syempre ang tamod ay mitsa ng buhay ng tao...na di tayo mabubuo pag wala yun....pinaka-punla yun e. Kaya lang di naman ako nasasayangan sa tamod pag nilalabas ko sa trabaho. Sa isang linggo, ngayon bihara na pero nung bata pa ako nakaka-10 ako sa isang lingo nilalabasan....sa kliyente lang.

Ano meron ka na wala sa iyong mga kasamahan sa trabaho at nilalabas ka ng kliyente?

Siguro, personality ko at hindi ako nagkakaroon ng self-interest sa kliyente ko. Kaya nga ang mga guests ko nagtatagal sa akin e at di panandalian lang. At hindi naman lang sex, kasi madali akong kausap at maasikaso ako sa kanila.

Ano naman ang parte ng katawan mo na gusto mo?

Una ang bibig ko kasi kung baga katulad ng ganito..mapalakwento ako. Mas naiilalabas ko ang opinion ko...ang nararamdaman ko..lalo na sa trabaho kong ito. Pangalawa, kamay ko. Syempre, kailangan ko ito sa mga gawain sa bahay at trabaho. Pinakahuli ang ari ko. Ito ang puhunan ko sa trabaho e at mahalaga ito maski di ako receptionist kasi kailangan ko ito pag nag-pamilya na ako. Kasi ayaw ko danasin ng pamilya ko ang dinadanas ko ngayon dito.

Ano ang sukatan ng pagkalalake sa iyo?

Being responsible lang. Kasi lalakeng-lalake ka pero ang dami mo ng anak tapos hindi mo tinutugunan ang pangangailangan nila, wala kang responsibilidad kung ganon. Saka yun walang kang inaagribayado na ibang tao. Saka...di ko ugali kasi na manukat ng tao e. Basta okay kang kasama at makisama sa iba, okay na yun.

Di rin pisikal ang pagkakalalake e. Kasi katulad dito, may mga bading na customer na mahaba ang buhok nakamake-up, sa panglabas mukha silang babae pero sa panloob nila, lalake pa rin sila dahil responsible din sila sa buhay nila..mapa-sa hanap-buhay o sa pamilya nila.

Hindi ka ba natatakot na mahawa ka ng kabadingan kung sama ka ng sama sa mga bading mong kliyente?

Hindi naman. Ang buhay naman ay ganyan. Naka-prepare naman ako kung ano mangyayari sa akin sa buhay.

Kamusta na ang buhay mo ngayon bilang receptionist?

Mahirap pa rin e lalo ngayon. Kung baga lahat ng klase ng trabaho, pinaghihirapan mo di ba? May kanya-kanya lang ng degree kung paano o anong klase ng hirap. Kaya lang emotional dito, mahirap sa akin kasi nakikita mo dito mga kasama mo, walang customer minsan. Tapos minsan mahirap kasi lalo na pag nahuhulog na ang loob ko sa customer, ma-babae yan o lalake. Pisikal di mahirap.

Kamusta ang relation mo sa mga kasamahan mo dito?

Nagtutulungan kami rito. Masaya. May mga payo sila sa akin lalo na pag dating sa protection katulad ng wag ako mag anal sex o sa babae mag co-condom ako. Wala pa akong karanasan sa anal sex e.

May napapansin ka ba sa mga kasama mo na nagkakagustuhan?

May mga concern lang sila lalo na pagdating sa pera. Utang yun habang wala silang customer.

Napapansin ko sa mga kasamahan mo na naka-hikaw sila o tattoo. Ano ang tingin mo dito?

Ayaw ko magkaroon ng marka sa katawan ko dahil hindi maganda sa tingin ko e. Ganito na nga ang trabaho ko e, sisirain ko pa ang katawan ko...di siya malinis tingnan. Kasi ang tattoo nakakapag-bigay ng attitude sa tao e. Dati may hikaw ako nung high school kasi nakikisunod lang ako sa uso pero ngayon wala na. Yung iba kung kasama dito ay nagpalagay ng bolitas sa ari nila pero ang sa akin, bakit pa ako magpapalagay e nag eenjoy naman sa akin ang mga clients ko as is.

Ano plano mo ngayon?

Bale ngayon nagpalano kami ng grupo dito pumunta ng Japan. Nag-a-ARB kami at nag re-rehearsal. Pinili lang kami dito. This month mag-a-ARB at pag-dating ng August aalis na kame.

Bakit plano ninyo pumunta ng Japan?

Kase naman kung ano ang pagod mo rito sa trabaho, parang mabagal ang asenso. Di katulad pag nagpunta ka ng Japan, kikita ka ng malaking pera. Ako kase nung bata pa ako, nakikita ko sa amin na marami ang nag-ja-Japan, mapalalake o mapababae. Ang ginagawa nila doon ay parang dito. Kaya lang ang diskarte nila doon ay mas madaling kumita ng pera..syempre may kasamang sex na rin yun.

Kasi ang pag-ja-Japan ko tingin ko stepping stone sa akin e. Ang balak ko na pag naka-ipon ako doon, pagpapa-aralin ko ang mga sumunod kong mga kapatid. Alam naman ng pamilya ko ito. Sinusuportahan naman nila ang desisyon ko kasi alam nila makakatulong ng malaki sa amin.

May gusto ka bang tanungin sa akin bago ko tapusin ang interview na ito?

So far ano ang naoobserbahan mo rito base sa mga ini-interview mo?

Base sa pinag-aralan naming 10 years ago dito, wala naming pagbabago, ganun pa rin ang problema nila. Siguro ang pagbabago ngayon ay ang dami mga batang pumasok sa ganitong trabaho.

Oo nga kasi yung isa kung pinsan pumasok dito na 14 years old pa lang sila. Pagdating sa sexual services, hindi naman naming napapagusapan kung kaya mo ito o kaya mo ang ganun. Secret yun...sa amin na lang yun. At saka kami na rin ang nag-estimate kung magkano ang service fees naming e...kanya-kanyang diskarte.

So may tanong ka pa ba?

Wala na.

Salamat sa interview na ito.

Salamat din.

---- End ----

GERALD, Sex worker
01 June

Maari ko bang malaman kung saan ka ipinanganak?

Ipinanganak ako sa Catbalogan, Samar. Nandun ako hanggang 1994 at 26 ako ngayon.

Ikwento mo sa akin ang iyong pamilya?

May mga kapatid ako sa unang pamilya. 7 kami na magkakapatid, pang-lima ako. 3 dito ay mga babae. Mother ko buhay pa at ang father ko patay na. Last January namatay ang tatay ko. Ang hanap buhay ng tatay ko nun ay isang mangingisda at ang nanay ko nun at nagsasaka naman. Ngayon ang nanay ko ay may tindahan na....pinagtindahan ko mula sa kita ko dito.

Ang mga nauna kung mga kapatid kong lalaki ay mga mangigisda rin. Noon tumutulong ako sa kanila.

Nagaral ako ng elementary hanggang 1st year high school sa Catbalogan.

Bakit ka napatigil sa pag-aaral?

Kasi pinansyal..mahirap lang kami at pinasya ko na lang pumunta ng Maynila para maghanap ng trabaho. Noong elementary ako hanggang high school, sumama ako sa mga kapatid ko sa pangingsda. Nakakakuha ako ng 50 pesos kada araw...kaya lang tuwing Sabado at Linggo lang ako sumasama kasi nga nag-aaral ako noon.

May mga barkada ka naman sa Catbalogan?

Wala akong barkada kasi busy ako sa pag-aaral ko noon tapos tumutulong ako sa pamilya ko katulad ng pangingsda.

Habang lumalaki ka, sino ang unang-una mo pinupuntahan pag may isasangguni kang problema?

Una, sa magulang ko. Nagbibigay sila ng payo. Malapit ako sa panganay namin...kuya ko...syempre lahat ng utos niya sinusunod naming mga magkakapatid. Pero masaya kami kasi syempre may probinsya...kasi alam mo na sa probinsya lalo na sa amin pag sapit ng 6 ng gabi manonood kami ng betamax sa kapitbahay hanggang 9 ng gabi. Tapos uwian na, tulugan na kami. Pag di pa naantok, magiinuman ng tuba, bibili ng tuba ganon lang....habang madaling araw.

Sino ang nagtulak sa iyo na lumuwas ng Maynila?

Ako na rin...sarili ko kasi di naman kaya ng pamilya ko na pagaralin ako kasi noon 3 kami nag aaral. Sabi ko sa Nanay ko luluwas ako ng Maynila tatal naman luluwas ang tiyo ko dun e sumabay na rin ako sa kanya.

Kasi ang Maynila nandun ang trabaho...may kita ka kaysa sa amin, mahina kumita.

Pagluwas mo ng Maynila, ano ang una mong trabaho?

Sa Marikina, sa sapatosan. 19 years old ako noon. Pero pabalik-balik ako dun. Kasi umalis ako sa sapatosan tapos nag-bagger ako sa grocery store..may 6 na buwan finish contract ako, balik ako sa sapatosan. Siguro apat na ako pabalik-balik sa sapatosan na yun bago ako tumungo sa club. Nag-construction worker pa nga ako sa may Pasay.

Okay naman sa sapatosan kasi kumikita naman ako. Kaya lang sabi ko sa sarili ko kailangan ko pang maghanap ng ibang pagkikitaan. Nag-apply akong waiter sa Madonna club tabi ng Alibangbang sa Cubao. Kaso nagkaroon ako ng problema dun after 3 months e. Dahil sa mga babaeng customer kasi bawal dun na-isyota ang customer. Di ko naman sinosyota yun mga yun kasi ewan ko ba, malaki na kasi ang katawan ko na nun pa kaya siguro medyo may mga lumalapit sa akin na mga babaeng customer. Di nagustuhan ng manager kaya sinipa ako dun.

Pagkatapos nun, sumama ako sa isa kung kuya na namimintor ng mga bahay sa isang subdivision sa Pasay.

Tapos....

Noong pauwe ako sa amin, lagi ako napapadaan sa isang gay club na malapit sa amin, ang Maginoo club. Kabubukas lang nun kaya nag-apply ako ng pag-wai-waiter dun. Tatal naman experience na ako sa pag-wai-waiter. E di naman ako tinanggap sa pagiging waiter kasi sabi sa akin, maganda raw ang katawan ko, bakit di ako mag-GRO ako. Tanong ko panga nun anong trabaho yun tapos sinabi sa

akin. Sabi ko pareho pala ang gagawin kong GRO dun katulad sa mga babae sa Madonna. So sabi ko madali lang pala yun. Tapos dagdag pa sa akin ng manager, kung gusto rin raw sumayaw sa stage mas okay ang kita ko daw. Pagkapasok ko sa club hanggang 1 buwan na ako dun, natuto na ako sumayaw sa stage.

Kaya lang syempre nung mga una kung sayaw nangangatog pa ang mga tuhog ko o may nasisipa akong table...di pa nga ako makatingin sa mga customer kasi nahihya ako. Hanggang December ako dun kasi nag sara na ang Maginoo. Tapos tinanggal kami mga datihan at maglalagay sila ng bago sa itatayo nilang gay bar sa Laguna. Umalis na ako sa Maginoo hanggang mapadpad ako sa Lion777 sa EDSA malapit sa BLTB.

Doon sa Lion777, 4 na categorya na receptionist. Una, yung tinatawag nilang "condominium" yung nagsasayaw ka sa stage na hubad na naka-condom ka lang. Pangalawa, strip teaser yung unti-unti nilang inaalis ang saplot mo sa katawan hanggang matapos ang kanta. Pangatlo naman yung paglabas sa stage, naka-brief ang mga dancers. Pang-apat, yung "all-the-way" na, hubad ka na nagsasayaw sa stage...walang takipan ng harapan. Ako strip teaser ako. Mga 3 buwan lang ako dun kasi dami akong kasama dun sa club na yun minsan wala akong customer. Nag-apply ako sa Adonis naman.

Sa Adonis, 2 gabi lang ako dun kasi bawat kita mo hahatiin mo ang club manager, yung mga floor managers at saka yung waiter na naka-assign sa iyong table. Luge ako dun kaya umalis ako dun.

Tapos nag 690 na ako.

Ano sa tingin mo ang deperensya sa trabaho mo nun sa sapatosan o bagger o construction worker ka at sa trabaho mo ngayon?

Sa totoo lang, masarap makakuha ka ng pera sa pinagpapaguran mo katulad ng isa akong construction worker noon...nagpawis ako para lang kumita. Mahirap nga pero masarap naman. Dito sa trabaho ko ngayon mas madali nga kumita ng pera pero ang bilis din ng labas ko ng pera.

Ano ang trabaho mo sa 690?

Noong una, non-stop dancer ako. Tapos, nag solo na ako sa pagsasayaw.

Alam ba ng pamilya mo kung ano ang trabaho mo sa ngayon?

Noong una hindi. Nagtataka nga ang Kuya ko noon na nakatira pa siya noon sa Malabon kung bakit madaling araw ako umuuwi. Sabi ko na lang na nag-ro-room boy ako sa Anito Motel sa Pasay. Eh kaso sa bahay sa Malabon ang hipag ko naglalaba at nakita ang mga brief ko na pangsayaw eh nagsabi sya sa asawa niya na kuya ko nga, dun na ako nagtapat.

Ngayon alam na nila kasi pinagtapat ko sa kanila ano klase ng trabaho ko nung paalis na ako papuntang Japan para mag-hosto. Last year lang yun.

Ano ang reaction nila?

Okay lang siguro. Noong una, nagsisinungaling pa ako na sabi ko na dancers kami at nagsasayaw ako sa mga pang-babae na club o pang-bakla. Sabi ko panga nakatape pa kami. Malakas naman ang loob ko kasi wala naman kaming betamax at saka isla kami. Eh kaso nakakahalata na rin sila kasi lalo pa ako nagpapalake ng katawan ko kaya sinabi ko na ang totoo. Tingin ko okay naman ang reaksiyon nila kasi tinutulungan ko ang pamilya ko sa Catbalogan, napag-patayo ako ng tindahan para sa nanay ko...napa-ayos ko na ang bahay naming dun.

Paano ka nakapunta ng Japan?

Kasi may promoter na guest sa 690. Niyaya ako kasama ko ang mga iba rito. Sabi ko okay lang yun kasi pangarap ko rin pumunta ng abroad. Nag-ARB ako nun tapos inasikaso ko pa ang mga ibang papeles ko...umabot din ako ng isang taon bago ako nakaalis puntang Japan. Mahirap din kasi, practice pa ako sa promotion tuwing umaga, tapos trabaho ako sa club sa gabi.

Dancer ang inaaplyan ko dun sa Japan last year yun kaso di ko natapos ang trabaho o contract ko dahil nagkaroon ako ng problem dun sa pinapasukan kung club sa Fukoka.

Bago mo ilahad kung ano ang nagging problema mo dun, sabihin mo sa akin kung ano klaseng trabaho ang ginawa mo dun?

Sa contact namin, all-male dancer kami. Pero pagdating doon sa Fukoka, yun ginagawa ko dito ay halos pareho dun sa Fukoka. Nag-sosolo ako sumayaw, patable ng customer pero walang bar-fine na sex. Iba kasi dun e. Kumikita ako sa table hour ko at commissioned drinks lang tutal naman may buwanang suweldo ako...500 US\$ linis tapos may meal allowance ako every month libre pabahay pa. Okay na sana kasi karamihan mga babaeng japon ang customers namin.

Bakit...sana?

Kasi iba ang management dun e. Papasok kami ng 8 ng gabi hanggang 5 ng umaga. Walang waiter dun kungdi kami rin. Pag tinala ka, ikaw din ang mag-se-serve ng drinks o pagkain. Tapos pag-closing, kami ang naglilinis ng club kaya nakaka-uwe kami sa tinitirhan namin mga 7 ng umaga na. Isang beses lang ang bakasyon ko sa isang buwan. Nakakapagod. Tapos nasabit pa ako sa gulo dun.

Anong gulo?

Hinamon ko ng suntukan ang manager dun e. Nakainom na rin ako nun...mga 2 ng umaga yata yun. Sinusumbat sa akin na masyado daw ako mapili sa customer ko at may tinatangihan daw ako. Ano magagawa ko kung may mga datihan na akong customer na gusto ako i-table at i-solo ako. Tapos isang araw pa, may 2 japonesa na customer na sabay dumating sa club at pinag-aagawan ako. (Smiling)...naging syota ko kasi yung 2 japonesa na yun kaya naipit ako sa away na yun.

Nagpasya yung manager na pauwin na ako So umuwe na ako...di ko tinapos ang contract ko. Pero ngayon, nagre-re-apply ako papunta ulit sa Japan makatapos ng taon na ito.

Mukha sa mga kwento mo, malapit ka sa mga babaeng customer?

(Laughing) Oo.

Bakit?

Ewan ko ba, malapit sa akin talaga sa mga babae maski nung maliit pa ako. Lalo na nung nagpalaki na ako ng katawan.

Sino ang galanteng kliyente para sa iyo?

Para sa akin mas galante pa ring gumastos ang mga baklang customer. Kasi hindi ka pa nagsasabi, nakahanda na sila magbigay sa iyo.

Sa 690, magkano ba ang service fee mo?

Minsan kasi naiinis ako sa mg ibang bakla na customer e. Bibiglain ka at tatanungin ka na lang “magkano ba ang fee mo?” Para sa akin, yung tanong na yun, nakakababa ng integridad ng pagkatao. Nasa ganito na nga akong trabaho para bang kung magtanong sila ay parang nagbebenta ako ng laman sa palengke. Nalulungkot ako pag ganun.

Pinakamababa na nakuha ko ay 2,500 pesos at pinakamataas na singil ko naman ay 5,000 pesos.

Yung presyo na yun ba ay depende ba sa kakayahan mo sa kama?

Pareho lang yun. Syempre, iba naman ang seks sa babae kaysa sa bakla, di ba? Sa mga bakla, may limitation ako, trabaho sila sa akin mula leeg pababa pero di ako magtatrabaho sa kanila. Sa mga babae, all the way ika nga lalo na kung type ko yung babae.

Proteksyon?

Sa mga baklang customer, may proteksyon ako kasi hindi ako pumapayag na i-uring ko sila maski gusto nila na maglagay ako ng condom sa ari ko. Basta ayoko nun. Sa mga babae naman (laughing) minsan hindi ako gumagamit ng proteksyon. Kasi naman pag nasa kasarapan ka na sa babae, di ko na naiisip yun e. Bahala na si Batman...hahahaha.

May karanasan na rin ako sa mga threesome sa trabahong ito...couple na babae at lalake. Tinatangihan ko ang kapwa lalake...mahirap na kasi baka ako ang kanilang pagkaisahan i-uring.

Mukhang malawak na talaga ang karanasan mo sa pakikipagsex, anong edad ka ba nung first time mo?

Sa babae, 17 years old. Pero sa bading, 15 years old ako kase pyesta sa amin nun e. Mga ka-baryo ko..lahat kami mga lalake pumunta sa perya tapos may mga bading dun, nagkayayaan tapos tsinupa ako...nasarapan pa nga ako nun e...pumutok na agad ako. Wala pa nga ako alam nun e dahil ako nga ang kinuha ng bakla dun tapos pagkatapos namin mag sex ako pa ang nagbabayad sa kanya. Natawa nga ang bakla sa akin dahil hindi naman daw siya naniningil. Hindi ko alam na ganun pala yun.

Sa babae naman, nag-pa-part-time akong waiter sa isang cabaret sa amin na may isang prostitute na 30 anyos na yun sa cabaret na yun niyaya akong makipagsex sa kanya sa likod ng cabaret na yun. Palibhasay malaking bulas ako kaya natipuhan na nya ako. Kaya nung bumakaka na siya sa akin, siya ang nagturo na naipasok ko ang ari ko sa kanya. Siguro, mga 3 kadyot lang, nilabasan na ako agad. Masarap pala ang ari ng babae sabi ko sa sarili ko.

Kanino ka nasasarapan?

Pag-tsinupa ako ng bakla, masarap yun. Pero pag nag-iyut ako sa babae, iba ring sarap yun. Mas natural para sa akin yung sa babae kasi nagagamit din ng babae ang ari ko e at ako din sa kanya. Di kagaya sa bakla, nakahiga lang ako, siya ang nagtatrabaho. Iba pa rin ang subo ng babae sa bakla...mas may romansa ika nga. Na-involve na ako emotionally sa 2 babaeng customer e.

Kung gayon, ano ang sex para sa iyo?

Sex sa akin kasi paglalabasan na ako e...masarap talaga.

Ano ang libog sa iyo?

Libog ko talaga sa babae...nagiinit ako. Kasi noon, makakita lang ako na babae na maiksi ang palda o kita ko ang dibdib nya, nalilibugan na ako. Pero ngayon, libog ko na lang talaga ay sa romansahan na..sa kama.

Ano ang tamod sa iyo?

Dati ay tubig yun ngayon may kulay na...hahahaha. Sa trabaho kung ito, importante ang tamod ko kasi kada labas nun, pera ang katumbas nun. Ngayon, nakokontrol ko na ang ari ko na wag tigasan o wag labasan kasi kailangan ko I-save yun sa oras ng trabaho.

Ano pa ba ang puhunan mo bukod sa tamod mo?

Siyempre ang katawan ko. Pinakamahalaga sa akin ang ari ko kasi naglagay ako ng "humps" dun e last year pa. Gusto ko lang dahil para mas masarap kung pumapasok ako sa babae. Pinakamalaking size ang pinalagay ko. Yung laki pa ng ari ko ang isa pang mahalaga sa akin kasi nasasarap ang mga babae ditto pag pinapasok ko sa kanila at ang mga bading naman, sarap na sarap pag tsinutsupa nila.

Itong hikaw kong ito at saka tattoo ko naman ay nakikiuso lang....mukhang maganda sa katawan e. Kaya lang, gusto ko na rin patanggal kasi parang maduming tingnan. Patatanggal ko ang tattoo ko dito sa dibdib ko pero dito sa aking legs hindi na kasi naitatago ko naman yun pag nakapantalón ako.

Ano ang sukat ng pagkakaalake sa iyo?

Ako? Ang sukatan ay sa pakikipag-seks.

Ano tingin mo sa sarili mo ngayon? Lalaki pa rin?

Lalaki pa rin. Kasi kung may dugo ka na di lalaki tapos lalaki ka...bibigay ka na rin. Di ako mahahawa.

May tanong ka sa akin bago ko tapusin ang interview na ito?

Wala naman.

Salamat sa oras na binigay mo sa akin.

Salamat din.

---- End ----

MARVIN, Sex worker
17 June

Saan ka ipinanganak?

Sa Tondo, Maynila.

Ikwento mo sa akin ang pamilya mo?

Pang-lima ako mula sa panganay sa 7 magkakapatid. Father ko patay na nung 1992, 16 years old ako nun. Nagtatrabaho ang father ko nun sa textile tapos ang

mother ko plain housewife lang. 32 years old ngayon ang panganay namin, 25 years old na ako ngayon. 2 lang kaming lalake.

Nag-aral ako sa Malolos, Bulacan. Kasi magulo talaga ang Tondo noon, kaya nag desisyon ang aking tatay na lumipat kami sa Malolos. 13 years old ako noong lumipat kami sa Malolos. Nakatapos ako ng high school doon.

Pag may problema ka noong lumalaki ka o kanino ka ba mapala-kwento?

Sa nanay ko at sa panganay namin....babae. Palakaibigan ako noong nasa elementarya ako pero noong nag high school ako, di na. Kase kaya ako mapili sa kaibigan noong high school ako kase di naman lahat tapat sa iyo. Mas masaya ako sa Malolos kasi dun tahimik di katulad sa Tondo.

Magkakasama ba kayo sa Malolos?

Oo pero ako may sarili akong bahay dun.

After high school sa Malolos, anong nangyari sa iyo?

Bale di na ako nagtuloy ng college kasi yung mga sumunod sa akin nagtuloy naman ng pag-aaral. Ako kasi ang bumuhay sa sarili ko e. Ako ang nagpa-aral sa sarili ko tapos kumuha ako ng trabaho after high school ako naman ang nag-paaral sa mga sumunod sa akin.

Kasi noong high school, sinabi ko sa tatay ko na gusto ko mag part-time work sa gabe sa textile. Ang sahod ko noon ay 150.00 pesos kada araw wala pa dun ang overtime pay. Pumayag naman siya kasi makakatulong din ako sa pamilya namin. Nagtagal ako dun, nagumpisa ako ng 16 hanggang 22 years old ako. Napaalis lang ako sa textile yung napapunta na ako ditto.

Bakit mukhang ikaw lang sa magkakapatid ang nagtatrabaho?

Kase yung mga nauna sa akin ay mga babae at may mga asawa na. Bilang lalaki sa pamilya, naiisip ko kailangan ko na magtrabaho at tulongan si Tatay sa textile. Lalo na yung namatay ang tatay ko noong high school nga ako...ako na ang tumayo na padre de pamilya ika nga.

Umaasenso ka naman sa textile na yun?

Hindi rin kase sapat lang talaga ang kita at saka wala naman na bakante na mas mataas sa posisyon ko. Ano ako doon bale, taga deliver ng mga tela sa mga binabagsakan naming mga suking tindahan sa Metro Manila.

Paano mo naman natuntunan ang 690?

(Smiling) Kase bale may delivery kami sa malapit na lugar dito. Naabutan kami ng pananghalian sa daan kaya kumain kami sa canteen dito...sa may bilyaran. Sabi ng boss ko sa akin habang kami kumakain biniro nya ako at ang sabi niya.."o, malaki naman ang katawan mo, bakit di ka mag-apply sa club na ito pihado kikita ka". Syempre, deadma lang ako kasi hindi ko kaya sumayaw na naka-bikini.

Tapos sa mga sumunod na araw, nag-deliver ulit kami. Dumaan kami dito at sabi ko sa driver i-hinto niya ang sasakyan at sisilip ako sa gate ng club. Bumababa ako at sinilip ko ang mga posters nila doon. Sabi ko sa sarile ko pagkakita ko sa mga posters na yun...ay, ganun lang pala yun, kaya ko rin gawin yun.

Kinagabihan, pumunta ako rito na nakasando, short at suot ko ay tsinelas. Sabi ng manager, bakit daw ganun ang suot ko habang ako ay nag-aapply bilang

receptionist. So ang ginawa ng manager, pinahiram ako ng damit at sapatos ng gabing yun. Sa gabing yun, naka-4,000 pesos ako dahil lang sa isang customer. Nilabas niya ako ng gabing yun.

Pero alam mo na ang pinapasukan mo?

Bale nga noong nag-apply ako, wala akong alam talaga kung ano ang gagawin ko bilang receptionist. Kaso mukhang na-on-the-job-training ako kung baga. Alam ko naman sex ang bentahan dito kase nga club e pero lalake naman ako, walang mawawala sa akin.

Alam ko naman na di lahat ng lalaki dito ay hanap ng sex sa kapwa lalaki kasi yung iba dito bading talaga kaya lang pumasok dito ay para maka-libre sila ng sex sa kapwa nila at kikita pa sila. Ako trabaho lang, kailangan kong kumita ng pera.

Ang bilis nga ng development ko ditto. Sa unang gabi, nilabas na ako ng customer tapos sa ikatlong araw ko pinasayaw na ako sa stage na nakabikini. Pero nangangatog ako...nahihiya ako pero kailangan kong gawin kase kada sampa ko sa stage, may kumukuha sa akin na customer...may kita na ako sa gabing yun. Maganda kasi ang katawan ko nun e...walang tiyan at panay muscles talaga.

Anong naramdaman mo noong pumasok ka dito at nailabas ka kaagad ng customer?

Sabi ko sa sarili ko, ganito pala dito. Nakakahiya na di ko maintindihan. Parang nanglilit ako sa nangyari sa akin noong unang gabing yun.

Pero may trabaho ka sa textile habang nandito ka sa club, di ba?

Oo pero di ko na nakayanan kaya nagbitiw na ako sa textile. Napuna ng boss ko na tuwing trabaho ko sa kanila ay naantok ako lagi kasi ng gabe-gabe nasa club na ako. Kaya nagtapat na ako sa boss ko ant binitawan ko ang trabaho kong yun sa textile kasi mas malaki ang kita ko sa club.

Mapunta ako sa first sexual experience mo?

First ko sa babae ay 13 years old ako..kapitbahay naming na mag-ja-Japan...may edad sa akin, 17 years old. Sa lalake naman ay 23 years old ako dito na sa club..siya ang naka-donselya sa akin.

Ano ang kaibahan sa tingin mo?

Siyempre sa babae, gagamitin mo di ba? Pag sa lalake naman, ikaw naman ang gagamitin nya....di sa puwet ha. Pagkatalik ko ang mga bakla, iniisip ko na lang na babae ang katalik ko habang nakapikit ang mga mata ko para lang ako labasan ng tamod.

Naka-ilang ka bang ka relasyon?

Kung girlfriend ang tanong mo marami na. Naka-10 na akong ka-live-in na babae. Sapul ng nasa textile na ako may ka-live-in na ako tapos nung nagtrabaho na ako dito mas dumami pa. Noong nasa textile na ako, may 3 na anak na ako tapos nadagdagan ang mga anak ko. Yung ka live-in ko ngayon buntis. May 8 na anak na ako ngayon pwera pa yung lalabas ngayon na babay. Nasa kanilang mga nanay ang mga anak ko kasi karamihan sa mga nanay na yun may kaya naman sa buhay tapos yung iba naman may asawa na naman.

Bakit hindi ka ma-steady sa isa?

Kasi nga lalaki ako pag may nagkakagusto sa akin na babae, binibira ko na e kaso nakakabuo ako ng bata sa kanila. Di ako ma-period kase hanggang ngayon naghahanap pa rin ako na mamahalin ko ng todo at ganun din sya sa akin. Yung naging ka relasyon ko naman ay minahal ko kaya lang pag nagtagal na nakikita ko na ang tunay na ugali.

Pero may nakarelasyon kang baklang customer?

Kung ang relasyon ay ginawa akong parang inaalagaan ako...meron. Isa lang yun. Binahay ako. May allowance pa ang nanay ko...3,000 per month tapos yung parokyano ko binibigyan nya ng kung ano-anu ang mga anak ko. Matagal na yun..mga 3 years ago pa....naka-1 year na ako. Nagkahiwalay kami kase selos nya sa babae ko.

Ano sabi ng nanay mo sa buhay mo ngayon?

Wala naman...okay lang daw. Kase nga tinutulungan ko naman sila sa finances sa bahay at saka lalake naman ako at wala naman mawawala sa akin.

Ano ang sex sa iyo ngayon?

Sex ay kailangan makabuo ng pamilya kaya lang kailangan ko na i-control. Sex sa lalaki iba e kasi di mo naman mabubuntis e di katulad sa babae. Pero mas maligaya ako sa babae.

Ano ang tamod para sa iyo?

Mahalaga sa akin ito dahil lalaki ako...doon ako kumukuha ng lakas. Pag wala ka nun parang di ka ganap na lalaki....kawawa naman yun kasi pihadong iiwana siya ng babae o maghahanap ng iba yung babae.

Mapunta tayo sa clients mo sa club? Karamihan ba ng mga clients mo babae o lalake?

Salitan e....minsan babae, minsan lalake. Sa trabaho, kung sino mauna kumuha sa akin, walang problema sa akin.

Magkano ba ang service fees mo?

2,000 pesos flat. Di ako nagtataas o nagbababa. Mahirap naman kung magtataas ako ng fee kasi wala naman sa itsura ko na ganun....di naman ako mestizo.

Sa babae, lahat gagawin ko. Sa lalake, half body lang...chest down...romansahan lang. May mga bakla na kliyente na humihiling mag pa-uring, ginagawa ko na may condom ako kaya lang binibigla ko ipasok ang ari ko sa kanila na sinasadya ko...para masaktan sila at wag na maulit ang gusto nila...kasi aaray sila pihado.

Kaya lang mabait din ako e. Kung di kaya ng customer ang 2,000 pesos at 1,000 lang, for example, pinagbibigyan ko na....ma lalake yun o babae.

Maraming bumabalik sa akin..kasi okay ako sa kama at sa pakikisama.

2,000 pesos din ang fee ko pag shower. Mayroon nga nagpa-shower, pinay na taga Amerika ang ikakasal pero nung lumalim ang gabi ayaw ako paalisin sa party niya pagkatapos ko mga-perform. Di ako umalis pero naglaon, ako ang nakadonselya sa kanya (laughing).

May mga mag-asawa na rin ako na mga kliyente pero ang inaano ko yung babae. 2,000 libo rin yun. Walang pares na lalake na kumukuha sa akin.

Mapunta tayo sa katawan mo naman, anong parte ng katawan mo na sa tingin mo ay maganda?

Malaki ang dibdib ko kasi magandang tingnan dahil maraming hahanga sa iyo, mababae man o lalake. Tapos ang ari ko kasi sandata ko ito. Ayaw ko ng tattoo kasi para sa akin para syang mantsa.

May napapansin ka ba sa mga kasamahan mo na nagkakagusto sa iyo?

Meron din. Alam ko kalitisin kung ang mga receptionists ditto ay bading o hindi. Meron na nagpahayag na gusto ako syotain at i-live-in pero no dice.

Ano ang tingin mo na baka mahawa ka sa mga kabadingan?

Tingin ko hindi mangyayari yan kasi ginagawa ko ito dahil trabaho lang ang ginagawa ko.

May tanong ka pa ba sa akin?

Wala naman.

Salamat sa interview na ito.

Salamat din.

---- End ----

Focus Group Discussion with Clients of MSWs

15 June 2002

What is sex for you?

1 Ang una sa isipan ko ay yung act of doing it. It means sexually...as having sex, the act of having sex from oral, insertion, penetration hanggang pag-labas ng tamod ko at nung partner ko.

2 Ang sa akin naman, it is a thing na ginagawa ng mga taong nagmamahalan...it doesnt mean na kung may penetration or what...pero if you ask me, ayaw ko ng may penetration. May level of intimacy.

3 For me, its for pleasure...na stimulating sa lahat ng senses mo. Fulfilling kasi may ejaculation...di naman kailangan may intimacy e.

2 Sa akin fulfilling pag may intimacy.

1 Sa akin kailangan type ko yung lalaki....na di ako pepeke na makipag-sex.

What are the positive and negative aspects of sex then?

1 Sa akin ang negative aspect noon ay pwede ako makakuha ng STD o AIDS kase nga minsan di ko talaga kakilala ang nakatalik ko e.

2 Isa pa yung partner ko ay sexually active kasi di ko alam kung sino pa ang gumamit sa kanya.

3 Sa akin depende sa partner mo e. Kung MSWs delikado yun.

Why do you still do it kung negative yun?

1 Kase hinahanap ng katawan ko e. Kase kung wala ang lover ko, di na pwede so hanap ako ng replacement.

It seems na ang sex definition ninyo kailangang may ka-involve kayo? Di ba ang self-sex ay sex din?

3 Pwede rin yun. Iba pa rin kasi ang may gumagawa sa iyo..may katulong...iba ang feeling.

2 Kung mag-isa ka lang ang tingin ko dyan ay hindi sex...magpapalabas ka lang.

1 Sa akin kasi kanina is the act of doing it. Prefer ko pa rin ang may kasama. Kaysa naman nag-iisa ka at nakaharap ka sa salamin na nagjajakol, hindi pa rin masarap. (laughing)

Ano ang identity nyo ngayon after giving me your personal concepts of sex?

3 Ang identity ko ay am very much attracted sa kapwa kong lalake at di ako attracted sa babae pero na-aappreciate ko ang qualities ng mga babae not to the point of having sex with them.

2 Most of the time I enjoy having sex with the same sex. Nasubukan ko na kasi mag-girlfriend kaya lang napilitan ako makipag-sex sa kanila. Mas gusto na lang na holding hands na lang kami pero with the same sex masarap ang makipag-sex. Kasi nung bata pa ako alam ko na I am gay...na attracted ako sa same sex pero nilaban ko kaya I tried with girls. Pero di ako nag-eejoy sa kanila mas preference ko pa rin ang mga guys.

1 Ako gay ako kasi wala akong karanasan sa mga babae at wala akong balak sa mga babae

At what age ninyo ba nalaman na gay kayo?

2 Sa case ako noon maliit ako, naglalaro kami lahat kami guys, nagbabahayan kami at ako lagi ang mommy.

3 Noong 6 years old ako alam ko na gay ako maski na nung umakyat ako sa bundok noong college ako. Di ko na iniisip na kung ano ang sasabihin sa akin ng pamilya ko basta alam na nila, di na naming pinaguusapan ang orientation ko.

1 Sa akin, bading na ako nung maliit pa ako tapos na-susuper-impose pa ng environment ko at friends ko na bading din. Kasi sa aming pamilya ako lang ang bading.

2 It can be genetical kasi sa pamilya naming ang daming bading tapos dumadami pa kami. Kaya nga pag may reunion ang lokohan namin ay pwede kami mag beauty contest e.

Ano ang sexual identity ninyo?

(In unison) Homosexual kami.

3 Pero to some of us, may denial ako sa sarili ko not until I met these guys. So I level myself for who I am. Besides madami naman kami kaya okay lang. I thought at first being gay was a form of a disease or sickness pero when I meet these guys I realized hindi siya ganun.

Does it bother you with your identity?

3 Yes it is most especially in a society like ours. May negative aspects e..like kinukutya ka. Pero now I am open to my family and friends kaya feeling ko accepted na ako.

1 Kasi naman hindi naman ako ang tao na I always carry a placard and saying “I am gay”, I assimilate with my heterosexual friends and officemates. I don’t need to dress up like a girl just to be accepted.

Ano ang identity markers ninyo?

1 Don’t have to be physical. Thinking ko is gay. My mindset...the way we view our world is gay.

3 Thinking ko pa rin. Na I want to go to a concert na ang kinakanta ay melodramatic songs...love songs rather than sa metalica concert. Or even sports, I would rather play volleyball than basketball. Yung nga lang stereotyping yun. Saka sa sex, mas gusto ko sa lalaki, napakalaking marker yun.

Ano ang male sex worker sa inyo?

1 Somebody who sells sex.

2 Does sex with a fee.

Where can you find these sex workers?

1 I can get a MSW through sa dyaryo....sa bakal boys tapos dadalhin ko sa bahay.

2 Naka-experience na ako sa MSW sa club....sa motel ko dinala.

3 Ako naman may referral sa akin. Mga istambay sila sa disco. May standard rate sila parang bar fine. Na-cocontact ko through cell phones.

2 Ang experience ko kasi nga ay sinama ako sa gay bar ng mga kaibigan ko. Nasa VIP room kami tapos pumapasok ang mga MSWs kasi nga kilala ang mga friends ko at rich. So binigyan ako ng MSW tapos game sya kaya lang nung kinakapa ko sya sa tabi ko, hindi sya tinitigasan. Pero nagpapaubaya siya kasi that was their job. Kaya pinabayaan ko na kasi na-realize ko iba pala talaga kung gusto ng guy ang ginagawa mo sa kanya pero in that case economics lang ang gusto nila (read:MSWs) sa amin...kaya nawalan na ako ng gana. Wala din talaga e....na-gui-guilty ako dahil nagpapaubaya sila kasi sex workers sila.

3 Sa akin naman pag kumukuha ako ng MSW na boboost ang identity ko na para bang ang ganda ganda ko. Kasi pag may partner ako...yung regular partner ko parang boyfriend parang wala lang sa sex. Mas ego feeding sa akin ang MSW kasi ang feeling ko may pagnanasa sila sa akin at mas aggressive sila kaysa sa partner ko.

2 Noong first time ko sa MSW ang feeling ko ay nakita ko na ang Mr. Universe ko kasi nga bata pa ako. I was 22 years old nun.

1 Ang experience ko sa MSW ang feeling ko lang masarap. Ganun lang. Hinahanap ko yung ginagawa ko sa kanya at ganun din sya sa akin. Ganun pa man, ako ang kapitalista sa situation na yun kaya nadidiktahan ko sya kung ano ang dapat nyang gawin sa akin.

Ano ba ang requirements ninyo sa pag kuha ninyo ng MSWs?

1 Dapat lalaki ang dating...matipuno na walang bahid. Very physical ang requirements. Dapat nag si-sing sya...nag su-suck sya.

2 Mukhang dapat talagang lalaki na tipo bang bubugbugin niya ako. Mga mukhang waiter, construction worker, laborer...ganun ba. Na if ever I am with them ang feeling ko ganap akong babae. Siya yung magdadala sa akin na siya ang bahala sa akin. Submissive ako sa kama e.

3 Very masculine dapat sya, buffed. Okay lang sa akin ang may bahid basta tolerable lang.

1 Sa akin dapat discreet sya kasi tago ako sa family ko.

Ano ang requirements ninyo sa MSW sa sex act?

3 What he can do. Dapat siya ang nagtrahabo kasi ako ang nagbabayad. Syempre para bang bumibili ka sa palengke ng karne, dapat maganda ang quality, di ba?

2 Kaya lang syempre ayaw ko sana para bang kina-career nila ang sex work nila. Ako ngayon, if I cruise now...mas gusto ko muna magkwento siya tungkol sa kanya. Not physical na masyado...gusto ko ang ka-sex ko may utak din naman.

3 Kaya lang di ba...if I can ask a question, pag if you want to communicate with a MSW para bang naghahanap ka na nyan ng dyowa?

2 Akin lang kasi naman titingnan ko lang ang circumstances nya...he being a MSW....ganun lang.

1 Primary physical ang requirements ko....na sana di mukhang call boy...na tight fitting pants na ganun ba...na high cut boots, naka gell ang buhok.

3 Ayaw ko ng na pag tumitingin sya sa akin ay parang nangangamoy syang pera. Turn-off yun. Kaya lang, it comes with age e. Pag panay ang kuha mo sa MSW, you will understand na talagang they are in need of money. Sa akin mas na-aappreciate ko yun dahil mas maliwanag ang usapan na pera ko ang kailangan nila at di siya boyfriend material. Kase nga pag kumukuha ako sa casa, maliwanag ang negotiations...pera ang gusto nila. Pero pag sa kalye ka kumukuha, maraming drama yun...may mga kwento sila na nakakaantig ng damdamin nila. Kaya ako, sa casa na kumukuha.

2 Yung experience ko nga e sa gay club ang bentahan ang laki ng ari nila...na malaki ito...na masarap ito. Tapos tinitingnan din ang pananalita ng mga sex worker na kung carry nila mag converse sa client.

3 Sa akin pa rin ang performance pa rin. Mahalaga sa akin ang performance....di ang ari...malaki o maliit yun. Kung malaki, e di jackpot ka...may bonus ka.

How do you negotiate?

1 Pag sa kalye, magkano ang tanong ko at pag sinasabi nyang 1,000 pesos tatawad ako at sasabihin ko agad 200 pesos na lang. Tapos tawaran na...na kung ano ang kaya nyang gawin sa sex. Yung halaga o presyo sa akin may katumbas sa sexual act e. Kung romansa lang sya e di 200 pesos lang sya tapos ako pa ang magtatrabaho pa.

1 Sa masahe naman, binibigyan ko siya ng 300 all the way na yun.

2 Sa bar, may fixed price na sila at may bar fine sila. Di na ako nakipag-tawaran.

3 Sa casa kasi may protection sila at sa akin din. Kasi nga recommend nila sa akin at suki nila ako. Sa presyo kasi may regular akong payment kasi nga suki na ako dun. Tapos binabalikan ko yung regular ko doon. Tapos pag nagtagal, bumabait na sa akin...kasi nga regular ko na syang kinukuha. I am in control of the situation. Umaabot ako ng 1000 pesos.

May ina-assume ba kayong roles sa sexual act?

1 Ako ang nasa itaas. Ako ang nagtatrabaho at the same time I kiss and suck. I don't like anal fucking and don't do that with any sex worker. Sometimes, 69 kami. I am in control in sex and I like it that way.

2 Ako ang pa-girl effect. Siya ang gagawa lahat. Kaya ako nagbabayad e kasi di trabaho ang ginagawa ko, pleasure ang gusto ko. Pero ayaw ko anal penetration pero with my past boyfriends oo. I want them to be in control.

3 As a customer, dapat sya ang nagtatrabaho sa akin. Kasi may sex worker na marunong talaga makipag-sex. Part of my wellness ko, wala akong iniisip na fantasy.

Sabi ng mga sex workers sa akin, may iba silang clients na finu-fulfill nila ang fantasy ng mga clients nila like raping them, into water sports or nagpapa-sampal, foot fetish...(laughing).

Nagkaroon ba kayo ng experience that you fall for a MSW? Why?

1 Sa akin, wala kasi I wanna try somebody else pa rin e kaya I don't fall for any I tried.

3 Ako oo. Kasi nga binabalikan ko ang mga datihan ko tapos napapansin mo na lalong bumabait sa iyo, malambing..ganun...kaya parang feeling mo sino-syota ka na niya. Sa akin kasi, security sa akin e..kase, datihan na mga kinukuha ko tapos alam ko hindi siya nagpapagamit sa iba para di ako makakuha ng sakit...lalo na ang AIDS scare.

2 Sa akin mas gusto ko may variety kaya I think I wont fall for a sex worker.

3 Kaya lang matanda na ako ngayon at jaded ka na sa love experiences mo, I take precautions na wag ma-in love maski na sya ay dyowa-material.

Ano ang tingin ninyo ngayon sa MSWs?

1 Customer is always right. Kaya sila ay isang commodity.

3 Sa akin parang nagpa-manicure ka na nagpa-service ka..ganun. Syempre tinatrato ko naman syang tao na kinakausap ko siya..ganun.

2 Ako naman, I wont extend efforts to please him kasi I wanted to be pleased kaya service lang ang habol ko sa kanila.

1 They say that they have their girlfriends or wives or children of their own kaya they think they are studs.

2 Kasi ang opinion ko dyan e if a guy is would not ask for a fee and do it, then he is straight. Kaya lang because of economics and sometimes they enjoy it, we can say na they can be straight too.

3 Nakikita ko trabaho lang yun nila. Kaya lang may nakakwentuhan ako na a guy who used to be sex worker..he stopped trading, pero tuloy pa rin siya makipag-sex sa same sex. Family man na siya pero he still do it. So he enjoys na rin having sex with the same sex, di ba? Hinahanap na talaga.

2 Kasi hindi na safe indicator ang having a family or a family man siya as not having been labeled as gay. Marami na rin na sex workers ay married and they still enjoy having sex with the same sex with or without a fee. I guess hinahanap na rin ng katawan nila yun e. Ayaw lang nila tawagan silang gay.

What is sexual health for you?

1 Sexual health sa akin ay still having safe sex. I have been abroad mas may protection ako kase mas alam ko ang situation sa Philippines kaysa sa abroad. I wear rubbers when I have penetrative sex.

2 I don't use protections kaya I am safe kase wala naman anal penetration pero I suck.

3 Una kasi ang role ko ay passive and there is no anal intercourse. Gusto kong sumubo one time with a rubber kaya lang ang feeling ko parang kumakain ako ng ice candy na may wrapper. Kase naman may mga sex workers na wala silang dalang rubber.

May tanong pa ba kayo sa akin before I end this session?

Wala naman.

Salamat sa oras ninyo sa FGD na ito.

---- End ----

This is the “home” for some male sex workers. The club is just adjacent to this building. Several rooms are located in this building.



Inside the dressing room of the male sex workers.

Inside the dressing room of the male sex workers.





This is the entrance of the club. The desk serves as the payment counter.

Frontage of the club.



This is the interior of the club. The club can occupy a maximum of 150-200 clients on peak days (i.e., weekends).





Note: Permission was granted by the club management to photograph these posters.

Promotional poster where the male sex workers display their bodies. This is a calendar type poster.

Take note of the number assigned in each picture. The number identifies the sex worker. It would be easier to remember this way when clients require the services of the sex workers.



Another poster where male sex workers are identified by assigned numbers.

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