

# The Unknown World of Male Masseurs

Andro T. Tabiolo

## Abstract

Massage as a camouflage for prostitution using the online dating application is one of the rarely explored topics. This qualitative study, in the form of a narrative, presents a comprehensive story of the lives and situational experiences, vulnerabilities, and resiliencies of five freelance male sex masseurs. A narrative approach was used in the study. Specifically, this study highlights personal and social circumstances of the participants and the participants' motivation and exposure to engage as a sex massage therapist. The study revealed that participants had varying reasons for entering this kind of career; the common denominator in offering extra service was that they came from poor families, were abuse victims, and had low academic performance. The love for their families, easy money above all, a personal choice motivates them to engage in sex massage. For most participants, part of their motivation is the economic benefit, which bolsters the position of an economic necessity to alleviate their financial conditions. Further, their current personal circumstances, specifically the lack of job opportunities due to their educational attainment, limit their choices of profession. The results of this study conformed with the understanding that the most common reason for engaging into sex work concerned the financial benefits; that most participants enjoyed being male-sex masseurs; and the participants have positive improvements in their psychological health in terms of increased self-esteem, self-confidence, and the ability of the work to reduce feelings of depression and isolation.

**Keywords:** *extra service, prostitution, narrative inquiry, sex massage, male masseur, online sex work*

## Article History:

*Received:* August 9, 2023

*Accepted:* September 1, 2023

*Revised:* August 31, 2023

*Published online:* September 5, 2023

## Suggested Citation:

Tabiolo, A.T. (2023). The Unknown World of Male Masseurs. *International Review of Social Sciences Research*, 3 (3), 44-70. <https://doi.org/10.53378/353013>

## About the author:

Doctor of Philosophy in Social Science, School Principal I at Pepe Elementary School Buruanga, Aklan, Philippines. [andro.tabiolo@deped.gov.ph](mailto:andro.tabiolo@deped.gov.ph)



## 1. Introduction

Massage is an integrative modality recognized as adjunctive supportive care in managing pain. It is defined as the "hand motions practiced on the individual body surface with a therapeutic goal" (Wilkie *et al.*, 2000). Massage therapy is a part of Filipino culture in terms of pain management and has become one of the standard practices in the province Aklan. According to Fajardo and Panascola (2013), the Philippine *hilot* massage therapy is an ancient art of treatment using bare hands and herbs. It is a part of the traditional, ancient culture of Filipinos. *Hilot* is practiced all over the islands, cutting across ethnolinguistic divisions. While different names know it, and best practices may vary across the regions, the underlying principles are unmistakably the same. Massage therapy is available in various settings, including shopping malls, tourist attractions, and residential areas. Massage therapy services while always protecting customers' privacy. These settings are frequently utilized as prostitution venues by others.

Freelance male masseurs looked for other ways to attract clients by using the male-exclusive online application offering "extra service." "Extra service" refers to sexual services in addition to body massage in exchange for money or goods. This "extra service" could be classified as prostitution, sex for livelihood, usually paid in cash. It includes not only regular intercourse but also any form of sexual contact with another person for a fee.

The accessibility and ease of use of these apps have facilitated this growth for both masseurs and clients in trading services. This underground and discreet activity of male masseurs is unknown to the general public. Thereby sex massage therapy is disguised as prostitution (Wiryawan & Bunga, 2018; Tayibnapis *et al.*, 2019; Matolcsi *et al.*, 2021; Monk-Turner & Turner, 2017).

Masseurs engage in online services using special applications offering "extra service" to attract clients. In massage sessions, male masseur provides various types of sexual transactions, ranging from holistic to sensual and erotic massage therapy such as *lingam* (*a type of tantric massage that primarily focuses on massaging the male genitalia to create meditative sexual and spiritual experience*), *rimming* (*the act of using one's tongue on the anal rim of the client to gain sexual pleasure*), *blowjob* (*oral sex performed to the client or sucking the dick*), *hand job* (*masturbation*) or *anal sex* (*intercourse with a client through the*

*anus*). With the practices and scenario, this study explored the socio-cultural narratives on sex massage therapy so that male masseurs can tell stories about their experiences, vulnerabilities, and resiliencies in massage prostitution. Specifically, this study highlights personal and social circumstances of the participants and the participants' motivation and exposure to engage as a sex massage therapist. The researcher believed that men who offered "extra service" are in a liminal space as a socio-cultural narrative emphasizes men's sexuality. Socio-cultural narrative refers to the participants' living conditions, family background, socioeconomic status, and deviant behavior. At the same time, male masseurs are condemned morally for using their sexuality to earn a living. Allowing these men to tell their stories will bring them out of this liminal space and enable them to share their stories. The narratives on prostitution that are currently available seem to be restrictive and may not have provided men the freedom to openly tell their stories of coping, resilience, and strength.

The study was conducted to reveal the unknown world of male masseurs to shed light on this kind of sex trade, masked as a legitimate profession, and the kind of lives they live to understand their individual life stories better specifically the participants' motivations and exposure in engaging as a sex massage therapist. The Epistemology of the research is drawn out from Constructionism – this stance will underlie the entire research process. "...constructionism is the epistemological 'view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of the interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998).

In this study, the researcher applied the interpretive framework of social constructivism by asking research participants open-ended questions. The approach permits the study participants to share their experiences as masseurs willfully. The role of the researcher is to carefully listen and interpret findings as they share their views based on their experiences and background (Creswell, 2013). The interpretation of their experiences revealed significant information regarding the phenomenon and offered new insight into the overall study. Applying the social constructivism framework is the most helpful approach in gaining access to the views and nuances that will influence the separate worlds of the research participants.

Using interpretivism as a theoretical perspective, this study on the lives of male masseurs one may gain new insights and a greater understanding of the phenomenon and its complexity in its unique context instead of generalizing the base of knowledge for the whole population (Creswell, 2007). In the same way, Hammersley (2013) emphasizes that since multiple interpretations are developing among human relationship, this study tries to understand "the diverse ways of seeing and experiencing the world through different contexts and cultures" and tries to avoid the bias in studying the events and people with their interpretations. This study uses interpretivism to explain objects, humans, or events and deeply understand them in a social context. In addition, it "allows the researcher to investigate and reveal some things that we cannot directly observe; researchers can probe an interviewee's thoughts, values, prejudices, perceptions, views, feelings, and perspectives" (Wellington & Szczerbinski 2007).

Moreover, this study was anchored in the Culture of Poverty Theory by Oscar Lewis (1959, as cited in Tuason, 2002), Social Cognitive Theory by Bandura (1989, as cited in Nabavi, 2012), and Psychosexual Theory by Sigmund Freud (1905, as cited in McLeod, 2019).

According to the Culture of Poverty (Lewis, 1959, as cited in Tuason, 2002), poverty is the result of cash and economy: labor wage and production for profit, high rate of unemployment of unskilled labor, low wages, and inadequate social and economic organizations to serve the low-income bracket of the population. This theory may underpin this study as it has been observed that the male masseurs seem less determined, more fatalistic about their views in life, generally looking for easy money, and usually pleasure-oriented. On the other hand, the Psychosexual theory (Freud, 1905, as cited in McLeod, 2019) stresses the role of man's cravings, motives, and desires, which are often hidden and repressed in the subconscious mind, resulting in abnormal behavior. The thoughts propounded in this theory concerning the unconscious processes that contain childhood's unacceptable, anxiety-provoking wishes, ideas, and desires, which were driven out of awareness; thus, they are believed to be primarily sexual and only find expression through free association and dream analysis. Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) contemplates the dynamic interaction of human behavior, personal factors, and the environment. Individual factors include self-efficacy, the belief about one's confidence to perform a specific behavior,

outcome expectations, and expectancies (Bandura, 1989, as cited in Nabavi, 2012). The environment refers to objective factors that can affect a person's behavior but that are physically external to that person (Baranowski *et al.*, 2002). Therefore, male masseurs' personal characteristics, stories, life experiences, outcome expectations, and expectancies, and whether they practice alone or with others, may be related to their behavior. Studying the characteristics of male masseurs may shed light on their struggles and challenges.

This study is limited to freelance male masseurs using online applications such as *Grinder* and *Blued*, who lived in/are residents of the province of Aklan. An identified online male sex massage masseur with ages ranging from 18 to 35 years old based on their profiles were the participants. Participants must be of legal age and willing to be interviewed. Participants were identified as sex massage masseurs with five (5) years and above experience as male therapists. They have been a massage practitioner since 2016 up to the present. This study focused only on male masseurs who offer "extra service" to gay, straight males, bisexuals, and male homosexuals only.

## **2. Methodology**

### ***2.1. Research Design***

This study used a qualitative research design. Qualitative inquiry provides a good fit for this particular study- the lives of male masseurs, given its ability to help researchers who "are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009). Qualitative research aims to collect an in-depth knowledge of human behavior and the reasons that dominate such behavior—the qualitative method probes the how and why of decision-making, not just what, where, and when. Hence, smaller but focused samples are needed. Qualitative methods permit the researcher to study the matter in depth, with data collection often happening through open-ended questions permitting "one to recognize and apprehend the points of view of other people without predetermining those points of view through the prior selection of questionnaire categories" (Patton, 2002).

This study is grounded in narrative inquiry to elicit the critical tales that depict the male masseur's experiences. Narrative inquiry is a methodology gaining attention in qualitative research (Kim, 2011).

Therefore, this is a qualitative study in the form of a narrative where the stories become the raw data. The narrative approach implies inquiry directed at narratives of human experience or inquiry that produces data in narrative form (Creswell, 2013). This approach has been used in many areas to learn more about the narrator's culture, historical experiences, identity, and lifestyle (Lieblich et al., 1998). The narrative approach implies inquiry directed at narratives of human experience or inquiry that produces data in narrative form (Hoshmand, 2005). Clandinin and Connelly (2000) described the narrative inquiry approach as inquiry into the narrative. By this, narrative is both a method and a phenomenon. Narrative names the structured quality of experience to be studied and the patterns of inquiry for its study. To preserve this distinction, it uses the reasonably well-established device of calling the phenomenon "story" and the inquiry "narrative." Thus, people by nature lead storied lives and tell stories about those lives, whereas narrative researchers describe such lives, collect and tell stories of them, and write narratives of experience.

A narrative inquiry is needed to provide in-depth information regarding male masseurs' life stories and experiences. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) advocated narrative inquiry in which storytelling was acknowledged as a powerful tool for reflecting on personal practical knowledge and how such knowledge is formulated. Narratives were extracted from face-to-face conversational in-depth interviews collected during the study. The study's end product resulted in a thick narrative description depicting a multi-dimensional rendering of the participants' life stories and experiences in a sex massage (Saldaña, 2015).

## 2.2. *Participants of the Study*

**Table 1**

*Participants profile*

<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Highlights of Narrative</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Civil status</b>	<b>Application (Apps) Used</b>
Xander	The Naked Masseur	27	Eastern Aklan	Single	Grinder/ Blued
Thoto	Just for Fun	35	Western Aklan	Single Father	Grinder/ Blued
Rick	A Devoted Family Man with Three Children	32	Western Aklan	Married	Grinder/ Blued
Kevin	Happy, but I'm Not Enjoy	27	Eastern Aklan	Single	Grinder/ Blued
Eric	Teaching Requires Me to Turn Off Everything that Turns Me On	34	Eastern Aklan	Living In	Grinder/ Blued

Five (5) participants were selected using purposeful, maximum variation sampling (Patton, 2002). Each of the five (5) participants was given a pseudonym to protect their personal identity.

***Selection of the Participants and Inclusion Criteria.*** In identifying the participants, non-probability sampling - specifically, purposive sampling is employed based on the following inclusion criteria: must be a male masseur offering extra service; of legal age (18 to 35 years old); an online application user of either Grinder or Blued; masseur in the province of Aklan; practicing masseur for five years and willing to be interviewed.

***Participants Locale of the Study.*** The study was conducted in the province of Aklan, specifically Boracay Island, which is the location of the participants. Based on the Philippine Statistics Authority poverty incidence among Aklanon individuals in the first half of 2021 went up to 24.9 percent from 19.8 percent in 2018. This is equivalent to 152,300 persons.

### ***2.3. Ethical Considerations***

According to Bryman and Bell (2007), ethical considerations can be specified as one of the most important parts of research. A research undertaking may even be doomed to failure if this part is missing. They help to determine the difference between acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. Essentially, this consideration addresses issues such as honesty, objectivity, respect for intellectual property, social responsibility, confidentiality, non-discrimination, and many others, for it will greatly impact the integrity of the research project. Friesen *et al.* (2014) identified seven important ethical issues to be considered: a) informed consent; b) voluntary participation; c) do not harm; d) confidentiality; e) anonymity, and f) only access relevant components.

***Informed Consent.*** This study ensured that participants were fully informed of the evaluation, aware of the purpose of the research, and how findings were used.

***Voluntary Participation.*** This study ensured voluntary participation; people participate in the evaluation free from coercion. Participants were also free to withdraw their participation at any time without negatively impacting their involvement in future services of the current program and the relationship of any researchers or research bodies involved.

***Do not harm.*** This study does not intend any physical and psychological harm to the participants all throughout the data gathering process.

***Confidentiality.*** In this study, any identifying information was not made available to or accessed by anyone and that identifying information is excluded from reports or published documents.

***Anonymity.*** The identity of the participant in this study remains unknown throughout the research process. This is to safeguard and prevent the identification of individuals who contributed to the research.

***Only assess relevant components.*** The evaluations are as simple as possible and remained focused on the objectives of the study and the data gathered would be used.

#### ***2.4. Data Sources and Collection Procedure***

In this qualitative study, the primary data-gathering method involves primarily in-depth interviews with participants (Creswell, 2007). A narrative interview describes the meaning of a phenomenon that several individuals share (Marshall & Rossman, 2014).

An interview guide translated into the local language (Tagalog and Aklanon) was used in the face-to-face interview to gather information about the participants. The researcher asked the questions as worded and sequenced in the interview guide. A voice recorder or a voice interview was used to validate the transcript with the participants' consent.

The interview was conducted by the researcher utilizing interviewing techniques. An in-depth conversational interview determined the antecedent events to offer "extra service" in a massage session. According to Burgess-Limerick and Burgess-Limerick (1998), conversational interviews gain access to the interpretation of personal experiences.

There were two private conversational in-depth interview sessions with the researcher. The first session involved an hour-and-a-half face-to-face interview regarding their stories, experiences, involvement, and exposure to sex massage. The second session involved any follow-up questions and a review of the first session transcript. This session lasted approximately one hour. Questions were asked in the local language that the



participants understood and were conveniently used during the conversations. This is to let the participants express themselves fully.

All of the information collected from this study is confidential. The recorded voice interview was reviewed only by the researcher and a professional transcriber who agreed to keep the information confidential. The interview transcripts were coded, the researcher kept a separate master list with the names of participants, and the corresponding code numbers or pseudonyms were used. Once the data were collected and analyzed, the master list was destroyed. The recorded voice interviews were destroyed after they were transcribed. Transcribed transcripts were saved to a CD- ROM or flash drive and retained for at least three years, kept in the researchers' position.

### ***2.5. Validity and Reliability***

Creswell (2014) defined qualitative validity and reliability as the steps a researcher takes to check "for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures." According to Butina (2015), qualitative researchers can use numerous strategies to promote validity and reliability to prove their data is valid and reliable. There are no specific strategies for the narrative approach.

Creswell (2013) recommends that researchers utilize at least two strategies in any study. Strategies promoting credibility (internal validity) begin with the utilization of member-checking, the "sharing interview transcripts, analytical thoughts, or drafts of the final report with research participants to make sure you are representing them and their ideas accurately" (Glesne, 2006). Next, this study was submitted to a panel of experts as an expert audit review, an expert serving as a committee that will assess the quality of data analysis (Patton, 2002; Merriam, 2009). Last, the researcher's biases were clarified in the study. Assumptions were openly and honestly discussed to shape the interpretation of research findings and approach to the study (Creswell, 2013).

A strategy used for consistency (reliability) was the documentation of an audit trail which is the authentication of the study's findings by following the trail or steps of the researcher. Strategies promoting transferability (external validity) included providing detailed, thick descriptions. The term thick description is "a highly descriptive, detailed presentation of the setting and, in particular, the study's findings" (Merriam, 2009). A

description of the research participants and presented findings with supporting evidence presented as narrative quotes.

## ***2.6. Data Analysis***

Qualitative data analysis is "a system of understanding out of the data" (Merriam, 2009). Narrative analysts may use one of four approaches (Butina, 2015). The most common of the four approaches is narrative, and thematic analysis within the text is the primary focus; therefore, this was the study's approach. The narrative, thematic analysis process used in this study consisted of five stages: (a) organization and preparation of the data, (b) obtaining a general sense of the information, (c) the coding process, (d) categories or themes, and (e) interpretation of the data (Singer, 2004).

## **3. Results**

***3.1. Personal and social circumstances of the participants to engage in extra service.***

### ***3.1.1. Vignettes: Unveiling the Men***

This part unveils the life circumstances of the participants. Personal and social circumstances in this wise refer to the participants' personal and sociological background, such as age, place or location, educational background, socioeconomic status, and other matters that shape the person's background. The following statement accentuated how sex massage helps the participants to support themselves and their families for a living and as a leisure for some. Extra service becomes their source of additional income. This study was participated by Xander, Thoto, Rick, Kevin, and Eric.

***The Naked Masseur.*** He is known as "**The Naked Masseur**" for Xander's story. Xander advertised himself on online dating apps as a "naked masseur," and his attached naked photo with bottled water covering his one-holed flute. He used the said account name and pictures to catch the attention of other app users. Xander is a 27-year-old, single, and adventurous man. His account states that he is 165cm in height and 41kg in weight and has a fair complexion. This guy has an average body type, with monolid eyes, and belongs to daddy tribes after a dating relationship. Xander belongs to a clean-cut group, which means he underwent circumcision. He is a typical guy on the Island with a pleasing personality, well-

groomed and clean looking in *sando* to display his physique. He lives with his relatives on the Island of Boracay, who migrated from Davao. Fifth, among the eight siblings of a farmer who hails from hardships to survive daily, his parents are Davao rice and vegetable farmers. Admittedly, he is a third-year high school dropout due to poverty and a lack of interest in pursuing his education. The family source of living is selling Ready-to-Wear (RTW), souvenir items, and other dry goods products to the visiting tourist on the Island. He shared capital with his brother. For seven years, a 24/7 on-call freelance sex massage therapist has been offered—excellent "extra service" to well-satisfied visiting clients. Xander is known as the naked masseur on the Island. Admittedly, his first sexual experience was with his girlfriend.

***Just for Fun.*** Another participant is Thoto, who treated massage as "**Just for Fun.**" According to Thoto, "*Ito naman kasi ay just for fun lang naman, after that magkakalimutan din naman kayo. Pag nandito pa ang client okey pag wala na magkalimutan na parang ginagawa lang na temptation island*". (The reality is, everything here is just for fun. While the client is still on the Island, the attachment is there. Everything ends once the client leaves the Island). Thoto has an average body type, upturned eyes, fair complexion; his entire body is hairy, attracting fetish clients. He also belongs to clean-cut tribes. This a neat-looking guy is 175cm tall and 84kg, coordinating his physique. Wearing a well-trimmed bore around his face, this masseur can be identified easily from the rest. He has been a Boracay sea sports commissioner and local Korean tour guide for seven years. This 35-year-old hardworking single father from Roxas City graduated with a Bachelor of Science in Elementary Education with a specialization in Values Education from one of the catholic schools in Roxas. He took the licensure examination once but did not pass it. Even though he did not try his luck again since, according to him, teaching was not his passion and choice, and it was his parents' choice. The second child among two siblings of a fisherman and Manila shoe exchange (MSE) dealer is trying his luck on the Island. Thoto has lived alone on the Island for the past seven years; he offered massage to visiting tourists for extra income to finance his daughter and his family during his free time. On the Island, Thoto is known as the guy wearing white; all of his upper shirts are white to denote identity, according to him. As narrated, he was repeatedly sexually molested by his high school teacher.

*A Devoted Family Man with Three Children.* On the other hand, Rick's story is about "**A Devoted Family Man with Three Children**". He is a 32-year-old married man who straightforwardly introduced himself during the interview. Rick is 5'5" in height and 143lbs in weight; he looks mature with enticing sex appeal. Wearing a skinned head haircut that matched his round face and round eyes with a bunch of well-trimmed beard below his chin emphasizes his masculinity. His fair complexion symbolizes the aggressive aura of a clean-cut daddy. A guy with bulging biceps painted with permanent ink stretched up to his stocky torso as a form of body art gives a mind-blowing perception of the natural man. His tattoo is a thorn crawling around his arms and body to symbolize his struggles and hardships in life. A hardworking husband and supportive father of three, married to a real estate broker. Being a high school graduate, he landed as a lineman in a cable company in the province of Aklan. Working away from his family, he stays in the company barracks with fellow workers to practice massage during their free time, especially at night. The story of Rick is different from the rest, during his childhood he was physically abuse by his father. He was beaten, punched and tortured.

*Happy, but I am not Enjoy.* Kevin's story focused on his experience and denoted the masseur as "**Happy, but I am not Enjoy.**" This Christian by religion is a sex fellatio expert, a 27-year-old hunk 5'2" in height, and 143lbs looks smart in how he dressed to attract clients. Kevin is a man in style, wearing an earring in the right ear, fashionable eyewear, and a clean-cut hairstyle. This average-looking masseur advertised himself as a discreet top with round black eyes and rosy lips that were always ready to lick. Currently in a relationship for months during the interview. He has been a small but terrible masseur for eight years, a guy from the second district of Aklan. Kevin lives with his family of six members, his parents, and three siblings—second among four children of a *habal-habal* (motorcycle) driver and sari-sari store owner in their locality. After high school graduation, he did not continue to college since his parents could not afford to send him due to financial incapacity. With this, he went to Metro Manila to find a job. Kevin was raped by a woman in a drinking session. It was a nightmare for him to be sexually abused without consent.

*Teaching requires Me to Turn Off Everything that Turns Me On.* Finally, "**Teaching requires Me to Turn Off Everything that Turns Me On,**" that's the story of Eric. At 34, Eric has a rugged muscular body, 170cm in height and 59kg in weight. His round

face wears a smile with seductive round eyes that complement his fair complexion. This versatile clean-cut guy is willing to meet his client at his place, coffee shop, or restaurant and looks to chat and make friends online. Eric was orphaned at an early age. His father re-married two times after the death of his mother. They were seven siblings, three of them from the first family, another three in the second, and one in the last relationship. Being the eldest, Eric hugged his parents' obligation to provide for his younger siblings' needs. They lived in a simple way where farming was the source of income. Even hard up, Eric manages to send himself to school through farming, copra, and *kaingin* as means of income. He finished a Bachelor in Secondary Education, major in Mathematics, and passed the Licensure Examination for Teachers. He opted not to share the real reason; he did not practice his chosen profession for personal reasons. He lives with his partner in an austere boarding house in Kalibo, the center of commercial establishment and the sex trade. A room they rented serves as a massage place for Eric while his partner is at work, and he has practiced this massage with extra service for almost ten years now. Eric received his sexual baptism from his older cousin while doing “kaingin” in the mountain that leads to his desire in flesh.

Based on their profile, the five participants work as freelance masseurs, offering extra service at their convenience. While engaging in massage, three are employed or have permanent jobs, while others work full-time as freelance masseurs. This study's participants range from 27 to 35 years old at the time of the interview. All five participants had an investment in obtaining their high school diploma. They overcame multiple familial, school, and job-related issues as they progressed through school. The study revealed that poor academic qualification was the main reason these people fell into the massage industry; they had insufficient educational capabilities to find decent jobs. Only two of the participants have baccalaureate degrees. One is a licensed professional teacher who prefers to engage in massage.

Most participants had a history of sexual experiences during their childhood or teenage life. Early in life, they have engaged already in sexual activities that make them somehow addicted to their fantasies and desires. In sex, they find pleasure, comfort, and short-lived satisfaction with their sex partner. To support the needs of a family, this group of people serves as the breadwinner. In the interview, one of the five participants was married with children. At the same time, the rest were single and in a relationship status. To remain

unnoticed or their work a secret how they earned money, they work far from home and the family's visibility; most participants preferred to work outside their province or hometown, and they find comfort in living alone. Four participants live alone and independently, away from their families, to work to support their families.

### ***3.2. Exposure and Motivation of the participants as sex masseurs.***

Masseurs' life is truly unknown to the general public, for they are the only one who knows why and why they engaged in offering "extra service." Sharing their kept stories undress on what motivated them in engaging to sex. These research questions were divided into three sub-themes:

*Ro Ugat: The Poor Play*, participants narrated the roots of their involvement in sex massage. They shared how everything started, making them dance gracefully to every beat of erotic music played in different circumstances.

*Kwarta sa Kanamit: The Deep Truth*, the need for easy money, and the promising economic benefit motivated me to perform "extra service" towards their clients. Explored the hidden adventures of the participants who took the road less travelled, engaging in different livelihoods both legitimately and those that are done under the covers.

*Paun: Getting Mass Tour Bait*, participants shared their stories on how they learned that using online dating apps is dealing with possible clients for hook up. Dating apps serve as a gateway to trading flesh free.

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Subthemes</b>	<b>Significant Statement</b>
The Unknown World	Ro Ugat: The Poor Play	It happened first in Manila, where I learned massage. Then, I was sent to Bulacan for formal training. After that, I was employed in Pasay. I have a licensed, but it is now expired.
		I underwent training while in Boracay and took my license in Kalibo.
		Just experience. I used to work in a motel as a room boy. The guests come in and out of our motel, sometimes looking for a masseur. My -worker is a masseur; that's how he taught me how to massage and where I learned it from
		It's through my friend, who's also a cousin of mine. He brought me to the Island of Boracay because they needed a therapist, so I underwent training. It's my initiation as a masseur.

Themes	Subthemes	Significant Statement
The Unknown World	Kwarta sa Kanamit: The Deep Truth	<p>Most clients are looking for extra service. They demand extra service... first, it is a message, then if they like extra service, it depends on the price range.</p>
		<p>All the way is Php 2,500.00, its 2 hours. It helps. Much better to have extra service because I earned more. I've been offering extra service for over five years already, and all of them are satisfied.</p>
		<p>I do not charge for extra service; the clients will pay for it. If they ask me how much I charge, I answer... it is up to you. Just add a little to my professional fee.</p>
		<p>Of course, yes, it is an additional income. I learned to give extra service only here in Boracay.</p>
		<p>I need it as an additional budget to buy milk and diapers for my child because my salary is insufficient. Sometimes my wife also does not have a regular income, so I have to take it away.</p>
		<p>It depends on the conversation and it depends on the price. Usually, I offer all the way, and it costs Php 1,500.00 to Php 2,00000 for overnight sex.</p>
		<p>My salary is not enough, so I need to make a remedy when there is a time.</p>
		<p>You earn more when you do ES than just plain massage to make money. I will offer the client a massage; if he does not want to take it, I will ask ES, sir, do you like it?</p>
		<p>Nowadays, it is a necessity... ha ha ha; that is the only way to earn big. Sometimes it also depends on the client if he wants it</p>
		<p>It depends on the package—one thousand for a massage with ES.</p>
<p>It also helps. I am also making money on it. I use it for my daily needs and vices; I buy what I want, share a little with my family, and spend for my needs.</p>		
<p>At first, I was also afraid because of possible diseases that I could acquire. Lately, my two siblings are both graduating. I badly needed money, so I entered the offering of extra service to my client.</p>		
<p>It's the client's choice. If you are deeply and badly in need of money, extra service is the way. It is also the client's request.</p>		
<p>Financially it helped to finance sending my two siblings to college until graduation.</p>		

Themes	Subthemes	Significant Statement
The Unknown World		My friend registered me on Grinder and Blued; most of the Island visitors are online apps users.
		In Manila, I noticed that finding clients using the apps is easy. He added: I preferred face-to-face rather than apps; most apps use filtered pictures.
	Paun: Getting Mass Tour Bait	From my circle of friends, I have found the apps. Since they easily get a client, I also started using the apps. You have to be vulgar here in Grinder and Blued to get noticed. If they want a massage, send a tap or message to the nearby app users.
		I used Grinder just lately... but I've known that for a long time. I use Facebook.

The journey of the participants as legitimate male masseurs to those who offer extra service via online applications and face-to-face transactions has a beginning and a drive that keeps the participants staying in the said profession. The participants' exposure to the world of massage therapy started legitimately. They have received proper training and licenses and have been employed in licit establishments. Yet, the male masseur's pay is insufficient to support their needs.

The exposure that the participants encountered motivated them to engage in sex commerce disguised as legitimate massage. In the Delplanque *et al.* (2015) study, the mere exposure phenomenon refers to improving one's attitude toward an a priori neutral stimulus after repeated exposure. The results affirmed the study's findings, where it was found that most participants' knowledge of massage combined with their history of sexual experiences during their childhood or teenage lives. At an early age, they discover the sexual pleasure that triggered them to embrace sex as an avenue of getting off into the road of victimless scenarios. Rick mentioned that his father physically and mentally abused him. On the other hand, Thoto was sexually abused by his teacher. Kevin supports the claims that he was sexually harassed in a drinking session, leading to the call of the flesh. The narratives of Xander supported these claims. In their early years, they have already been exposed to the sex trade, unknown them that it is not appropriate.

The responses have been proven from the study by Allen (1980) that has attempted to provide the underlying determinants of why males urged and engaged in sex masseurs. These were: 1) early exposure to and acceptance of sexual experiences during their childhood; 2)



awareness of prostitution as a social phenomenon; 3) subcultures were acting as a prostitute is accepted or even encouraged to which most of the participants have been employed in the hotel where sex masseurs are being exercised; 4) sufficient psychic interest and arousal to permit a homosexual experience in which there are motives when it comes to arousal and wherein the clients demand it, and 5) money which becomes the main reason why male masseurs involved into this kind of activity.

The participants' exposure to sexual activities has led them to comfortably embrace their careers as male masseurs. These decisions were driven by various factors. The participants' narrative shows that the need for money to sustain a family has been a major motivation for them participants. Thus, the reason participants engaged in "extra service" was poverty. Participants find massage an avenue for a quick remedy for difficulties in life that no one can depend on. By dealing with "extra service" in a massage, they grab the opportunity to work with it to survive and gain income. Poverty is described in four dimensions: the relationship between the subculture and the larger society, the nature of the slum community, the heart of the family; and the individual's attitudes, values, and character structure (Lewis, 1966).

The findings were affirmed in the study of Khan *et al.* (2009). It stated that its content analysis of data resulted in the identification of one main theme: Poverty of opportunity forcing women into prostitution and had identified driving forces behind women resorting to selling sex were poverty, materialism, and the desire to move up in society. The participants' narrative shows that being a product of a low-income family whose hand-to-mouth existence is the means of day-to-day activities is another reason that motivates the participants in sex work. Finding means at an early age to become productive family members, they enter into the massage world and fall into sex work. These claims strongly adhere that prostitutes are products of a poor home environment characterized by violence, lack of parental love and affection, and drug and alcohol abuse. Many have been the victims of sexual abuse, including incest and rape, and have experienced physical abuse and neglect at home. They see prostitution as a life of adventure, glamour, excitement, and an easy way to earn money. Many are dependent on their income from prostitution for their survival (Ahart, 1982; Gore & Patwardhan, 2022; Phrasisombath et al., 2012). Paperny and Deisher (1983) and Williams (2016) argued that mistreatment in the early childhood of male prostitutes predisposed them

to prostitution. Other factors have also been cited, such as chaotic and disorganized homes (Allen, 1980; Shoemaker, 1977, as cited in Mannino, 1989), physical abuse (Caukins & Coombs, 1976; Coombs, 1974), and sexual abuse (Gray, 1974). Other researchers have found a relationship between prostitution and broken, dysfunctional, ineffectual, or overcrowded homes (Allen, 1980; Butts, 1947; Cory & LeRoy, 1963; Deisher *et al.*, 1969; Doshay, 1943; Mac Namara, 1965; Peiper, 1979, as cited in Mannino, 1989).

The need for extra service to support the family is highlighted in the story of the five participants. Denoting the demand for the illicit commodity of a happy ending. This scenario is evident in the story of Xander, Eric, and the other participants. Xander left his province to try his luck in Manila to help his family, where he landed as a masseur. In Eric's narrative, he mentioned that as orphaned at an early age, he became the breadwinner of the family, where his two siblings depend on him financially. Another reason this group of people indulged in giving "extra service" in massage was the call for easy money. The need for money to sustain the needs and wants in day-to-day life was the root of everything. The luxury of enough in exchange for sexual services makes them embrace prostitution in a camouflage of massage. It was further agreed by Nguyen (2017) that a group of youth who are at high risk of entering sexual work for survival, most of them considerable breadwinners of the family. Easy money is the product of an effortless activity that gains huge money in just an hour or less. This can be done through sexual activity among male freelance therapists in massage sessions. When a prostitute engages with a client, the sexual activity is often consciously well-planned and defined ahead of time (Brewis & Linstead, 2000, as cited in Going, 2008).

Based on the participant's narratives, they earned enough in a day equal to or more than a month's salary. With this, they find comfort in offering "extra service" to possible clients. They must create gimmicks and advertise almost nakedly in online apps to attract clients. Lankenau *et al.* (2005) highlighted that the pathways to the street economy, like sex masseurs, are characterized by accumulating street capital and transforming this capital into street competencies. He also delineated two paths to sex work, such as financial desperation and the advantages of money and pleasure. These significantly affect why males engage in sex masseurs because of the luxury and enticement. In the study of Samis (2021), the easy money experience makes some sex workers commit themselves to a long-term relationship with gay patrons, plunging them deeper into the sex work business. That poverty is why

"easy money" is bait for sex workers to stay in sex work. Others cite that they enter sex work as a way to "thrill-seeking" (Koken, 2004). Out of the curiosity of how sex masseurs can have brought and caused their lives, most males have engaged in it and did not find their way out due to the monetary value they can get.

#### **4. Discussion**

The participants have been in the massage industry for quite some time, including giving extra service. The participants have varying reasons why they entered this kind of career; nonetheless, the common denominator was that they came from low-income families, were victims of abuse, had low academic achievement, and it was a personal choice. These situations pushed them to find financial means to support their needs and families, even if it was considered immoral and frowned upon by society. Thus, masseur has become the profession that could help them earn a living and, at the same will, aid their clients in achieving a healthy lifestyle.

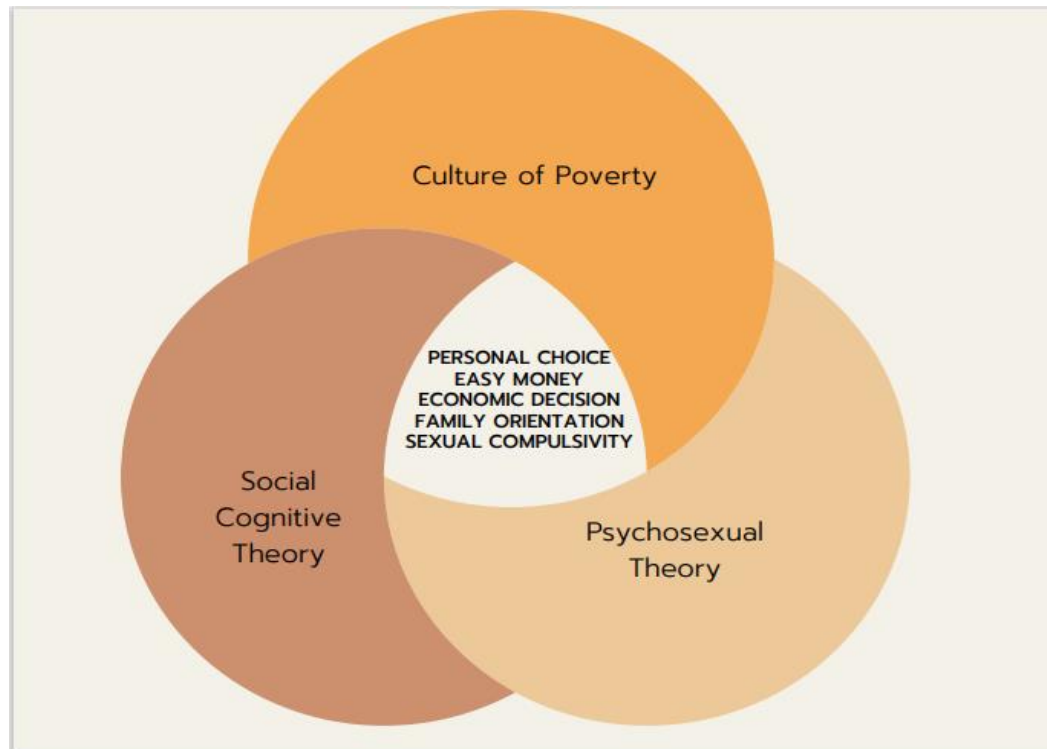
The common factor that pushed the participants to be sex massage therapists was love for their families. Based on the participants' responses, they verbally expressed that their families were the main concern about why they entered sex work. As a breadwinner, their desire for financial stability is the top priority to uplift their families from poverty. According to participants, they need to take advantage of their opportunity to earn more by offering extra services to Boracay's visitors. Through their extra service, they could feed their families, support their siblings' studies and needs, and at least make their lives comfortable.

Another factor that made them continue with this profession is the growing demand for masseurs with extra service on the Island, which they saw as an opportunity to be professional masseurs but simultaneously continue with the extra service they provide. By profession, they admitted that they earned a lot high from the services they offer. The number of visitors visiting the Island increases the opportunity for them to earn more because the demand is high. Relatively, their financial issues will be addressed.

The unfortunate experiences they encountered during childhood also allowed them to be exposed to this kind of profession which later led to them offering extra services. Given that they were financially in need, the reality of them being encouraged to enter this profession was high, even if it was considered indecent.

**Figure 1**

*The interplay between the theories as used in the study*



The three theories used in has proven strong support for the results of the study. The culture of poverty has laid down poverty as a motivation to earn a living and survive hunger and education for their family members. They have been inclined to earn money at all causes. The psychosexual theory has led the participants to choose how to answer the call of poverty. Prompted by their sexual experience of abuse in the past, their craving for sexual pleasure and the easy money in extra service has been the perfect reason why they chose to engage in the king of the profession. Finally, the social cognitive theory lays down the foundation that strengthens the participant's professional stay. The presence of the circle of friends and the networks they were able to make has led to their protection to survive the world they chose.

The focus of study implications is placed on two: theory and practice and among those who are in any form or manner involved with sex massage.

**For Theory.** The results of this study conform with the understanding regarding the culture of poverty that the most common reason for engaging into sex work concerned the

financial benefits that this job affords them. In this study, sex massage participants earned more money and had more financial security. According to Lewis (1959, as cited in Gao & Postiglione, 2015), the setting is a cash economy, with wage labor and production for profit and persistently high unemployment and underemployment rates, at low wages, for unskilled labor. Society fails to provide social, political, and economic organization for the low-income population voluntarily or by government imposition. This theory restores nature with nurture as the leading cause of school failure. Its theorists presume that some racial/ethnic groups do not experience a cognitively stimulating family environment. Thereof their cultural attributes or practices are second class and intellectually destitute (e.g., lack of work ethic, limited outlooks toward the future, low intellectual abilities, and other deficiencies such as early actuation to sex among children, female-headed households, or limited interest in education (Eitzen & Zinn, 2006), thus preventing them from achieving in school (Bereiter & Engelmann, 1966; Deutsch, 1967; Hess and Shipman, 1965, as cited in Gao & Postiglione, 2015), and resulting in culturally-based cross-generational poverty (Lewis, 1959, as cited in Gao & Postiglione, 2015). The motivation and the drive of the participants have proved that poverty has been the greatest challenge for them. With a lack of education, they cannot think of a better way to find a living. Yet, driven by their love for their families, they embraced a profession that could aid their survival.

On the other hand, psychosexual theory has a significant connection as results revealed that most participants enjoyed being male-sex masseurs; they cited some advantages and improvements resulting from their occupation. Male masseurs displayed physical or emotional intimacy with their clients. This implies the development of close friendship between them—a development of love and cares for a friend without the shadow of guilt and fear. The level of physical and emotional intimacy between the male sex masseur and his client is highly developed. Foucault (1980), in his writings on *The History of Sexuality*, argues that the concept of sex developed because of the discourse regarding sexuality. He argues that sexuality stemmed from the Christian custom of confession. Christians began reflecting on their erotic desires as a road to moral purity. Foucault (1980) argues that sexuality developed in the 19th century, which paralleled the development of a disciplinary society in modern times. Within a disciplinary society, citizens are led by disciplinary control. Disciplinary control takes 20 places by people internalizing a definition of normal and

engaging in self-monitoring to govern themselves without external control. Through this process, society develops the ability to control its citizens. Human expectations, beliefs, emotional bents, and cognitive competencies are developed and modified by social influences that convey information and activate emotional reactions through modeling, instruction, and social persuasion (Bandura, 1986). People also evoke reactions from their social environment through physical characteristics, such as age, size, race, sex, and physical attractiveness, quite apart from what they say and do (Lerner, 1982). People similarly activate different social reactions depending on their socially conferred roles and status (Bandura, 2004). Weitzer (2009) revealed that many indoor workers report increased self-esteem after working in prostitution, are delighted with their work, or feel that their lives improved after entering prostitution.

Finally, the social cognitive theory relates to the findings that most of the participants have positive improvements in their psychological health in terms of increased self-esteem, self-confidence, and the ability of the work to reduce feelings of depression and isolation. In contrast, some participants reported that they felt being used, depressed, or with a feeling of inner guilt. Some people do not appear to be able to leave one stage and go on to the next stage. The reason for this may be that the needs of the maturing individual at any certain stage may not have been decently met, in which case there is frustration. Alternatively, the person's necessity may have been so well pleased that he/she is hesitant to leave the psychological benefits of a specific stage where there is intemperance. It is presumed that some libido is perpetually invested in each psychosexual stage, and thus each person will act in some ways that are characteristic of infancy or early childhood (McLeod, 2019).

***For Practice.*** Most of the participants are academically deprived. Findings suggest that there should be free education with incentives for every learner to decrease child labor that leads to prostitution. With the incentives, learners will not leave school to finance their family needs.

Results revealed that male masseur has a history of sexual abuse. Findings suggest that every school should keep anecdotal records to understand every clientele's background. This anecdotal record will serve as a basis for every learner's guidance program; with the presence of the record, school guidance will track the behavior of every learner. This also suggests that the Department of Education should strengthen a strong sex education program

from primary to senior high school. This program should be emphasized, and experts should ensure this is handled properly.

For most participants, part of their motivation is the economic benefit, which bolsters the position of an economic necessity to alleviate their financial conditions. Further, their current personal circumstances, specifically the lack of job opportunities due to their educational attainment, limit their choices of profession. Efforts in the governmental aspect towards providing scholarships and job opportunities must be provided for in the community to ensure educational progression and alternative financial opportunities.

The majority of the participants have experienced sexual trauma in their young years. In relation to the psychosexual theory, it could be shown that a causative link exists between the trauma and the practices that they hold. Thus, the researcher submits that guidance counseling and intervention must be made as soon as possible to rehabilitate the consequences of such trauma.

As to the social aspect of the study, it can be shown that most respondents found solace in the companionship of their comrades. They stick together in a typical relationship which may explain why they run to one another in need. A healthy group discussion may be beneficial during intervention programs by providing them with a safe space to air out their grievances as part of the action plan.

## References

- Ahart, G. J. (1982). Sexual Exploitation of Children--A Problem of Unknown Magnitude. Report to the Chairman, Subcommittee on Select Education, House Committee on Education and Labor.
- Allen, D. M. (1980). Young male prostitutes: A psychosocial study. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 9, 399-426.
- Bandura, A. (1997) *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*, New York, NY: W.H. Freeman.

- Baranowski, T., Perry, C.L., & Parcel, G.S. (2002). How Individuals, Environments, and Health Behavior Interact. *Health Behavior and Health Education: Theory, Research, and Practice* (3rd Edition). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2007). *Business Research Methods* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Burgess-Limerick, T., & Burgess-Limerick, R. (1998). Conversational interviews and multiple-case research in psychology. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 50(2), 63-70.
- Butina, M. (2015). A narrative approach to qualitative inquiry. *Clinical Laboratory Science*, 28(3), 190-196.
- Caukins, S. E., & Coombs, N. R. (1976). The psychodynamics of male prostitution. *American Journal of Psychotherapy*, 30(3), 441-451.
- Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Coombs, N. R. (1974). Male prostitution: A psychosocial view of behavior. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 44(5), 782-789.
- Creswell J.W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Creswell J.W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among the Five Approaches* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Creswell J.W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and perspective in the research process* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Delplanque, S., Coppin, G., Bloesch, L., Cayeux, I., & Sander, D. (2015). The mere exposure effect depends on an odor's initial pleasantness. *Frontiers in psychology*, 6, 911.



- Fajardo, B. and Pansacola M.A. (2013). *Hilot: The Science of the Ancient Filipino Healing Arts*. Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- Friesen, P., Kearns, L., Redman, B., & Caplan, A. L. (2014). Rethinking the Belmont report. *The American Journal of Bioethics*, 17(7), 15-21.
- Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction* (3rd ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Going, N. (2008). *Resiliency in the choice to prostitute: A narrative phenomenological approach*. The Chicago School of Professional Psychology.
- Gore, M. N., & Patwardhan, A. R. (2022). Disparities in the Cost of Living Adjusted Earnings of Female Sex Workers in India, Thailand, and the USA: A Need to Create an Equitable Economic Survival of Female Sex Workers. *Journal of primary care & community health*, 13, <https://doi.org/10.1177/21501319221101857>
- Gray, D. (1973). Turning-out: A study of teenage prostitution. *Urban Life and Culture*, 1(4), 401-425.
- Khan, M. S., Johansson, E., Zaman, S., Unemo, M., Rahat, N. I., & Lundborg, C. S. (2010). Poverty of opportunity forcing women into prostitution--a qualitative study in Pakistan. *Health care for women international*, 31(4), 365–383. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07399330903349707>
- Kim, J. H. (2011). Narrative inquiry into (re) imagining alternative schools: A case study of Kevin Gonzales. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 24(1), 77-96.
- Koken, J. A., Bimbi, D. S., Parsons, J. T., & Halkitis, P. N. (2004). The experience of stigma in the lives of male internet escorts. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality*, 16(1), 13-32.
- Lankenau, S. E., Clatts, M. C., Welle, D., Goldsamt, L. A., & Gwadz, M. V. (2005). Street careers: Homelessness, drug use, and sex work among young men who have sex with men (YMSM). *International Journal of Drug Policy*, 16(1), 10-18.
- Lewis, O. (1966). The culture of poverty. *Scientific american*, 215(4), 19-25.

- Mannino, J. D. (1989). *The relationship of child abuse and other characteristics among young adult male prostitutes*. University of San Francisco.
- Marshall, C., & Rossman, G. B. (2014). *Designing qualitative research*. Sage publications.
- Matolcsi, A., Mulvihill, N. & Lilley-Walker, SJ. (2021). The Current Landscape of Prostitution and Sex Work in England and Wales. *Sexuality & Culture*, 25, 39–57 (2021). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12119-020-09756-y>
- McLeod, S. A. (2019). *Psychosexual stages*. Simply Psychology. [www.simplypsychology.org/psychosexual.html](http://www.simplypsychology.org/psychosexual.html)
- Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design an Implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass
- Monk-Turner, E. & Turner, C.G. (2017). "Thai Massage and Commercial Sex Work: A Phenomenological Study". *Sociology & Criminal Justice Faculty Publications*. 23. [https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/sociology\\_criminaljustice\\_fac\\_pubs/23](https://digitalcommons.odu.edu/sociology_criminaljustice_fac_pubs/23)
- Nabavi, R. T. (2012). Bandura's social learning theory & social cognitive learning theory. *Theory of Developmental Psychology*, 1, 24.
- Nguyen, H. M. (2017). Understanding male sex work: a literature review. *J Subst Abuse Alcohol*, 5(1), 1054.
- Paperny, D. M., & Deisher, R. W. (1983). Maltreatment of adolescents: the relationship to a predisposition toward violent behavior and delinquency. *Adolescence*, 18(71), 499–506.
- Patton. M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Phrasisombath, K., Faxelid, E. & Sychareun, V. (2012). Risks, benefits and survival strategies-views from female sex workers in Savannakhet, Laos. *BMC Public Health* 12, 1004 (2012). <https://doi.org/10.1186/1471-2458-12-1004>
- Saldaña, J. M. (2015). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications.

- Samis, E. C. (2021). Understanding the Process of Becoming Male Sex Workers. *Asian Journal of Behavioural Sciences*, 3(1), 105-112.
- Singer, J. A. (2004). Narrative identity and meaning making across the adult lifespan: An introduction. *Journal of personality*, 72(3), 437-460.
- Tayibnapis, R.G., Triputra, P. & Rusadi, U. (2019). Habitus and Field of Massage Therapist Workers in the Entertainment Industry. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*. Volume 8 Issue 06, pp 01-08
- Tuason, M. (2002). Culture of Poverty: Lessons From Two Case Studies of Poverty in the Philippines; One Became Rich, the Other One stayed Poor. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 8 (1). <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0910.1069>
- Wilkie, D.J., Kampbell, J., Cutshall, S., Halabisky, H., Harmon, H., Johnson, L.P., Weinacht, L. & Rake-Marona, M. (2000). Effects of Massage on Pain Intensity, Analgesics and Quality of Life in Patients with Cancer Pain: A Pilot Study of a Randomized Clinical Trial Conducted within Hospice Care Delivery. *The Hospice Journal*, 15(3), 31-53.
- Williams, S. (2016). The Role of Problem Behaviors in the Pathway from Abuse to Prostitution. *Walden University Scholar Works*. <https://scholarworks.waldenu.edu/dissertations>
- Wiryawan, I. W. G., & Bunga, D. (2018). Sex Massage Therapy at Spa: A New Form of Prostitution. In *SHS Web of Conferences* (Vol. 54, p. 07008). EDP Sciences.