

WHY DO SOME MEN USE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND HOW CAN WE PREVENT IT?

FINDINGS FROM THE UN MULTI-COUNTRY STUDY ON
MEN AND VIOLENCE IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
CAMBODIA REPORT



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and the Empowerment of Women



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**“Men are gold and women
are cloth.**

**The former is easily
cleaned; the latter easily
stained**

Cambodian adage

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FOREWORD

Violence against women (VAW) remains a pervasive and systemic human rights violation in Cambodia. The scale and complexity of the problem requires a comprehensive and multidisciplinary approach. Eradication of VAW can be achieved only when the social and cultural norms that perpetrate it are addressed. Every woman has the right to live a life free from violence. Preventing violence is an essential part of securing this right.

This report represents a unique contribution to the country-specific literature in identifying the root causes of VAW in Cambodia, so as to more fully understand how to prevent it. Prevention is about addressing the underlying causes of violence, rather than focusing on the results and treating the ‘symptoms’. By exploring and understanding the social and cultural conditions that put women at risk, actions can be identified that mitigate these factors. Because different cultural and social norms generate unique behaviours and practices, the country-specific evidence generated from this report will contribute to the formulation of accurate and targeted prevention strategies.

In order for prevention strategies to be effective, however, they must be informed by evidence that represents the true picture of VAW. This means that they must heed the stories and experiences of men and boys. As such, this research does not only fulfill the need for an increased evidence base on VAW. Crucially, it also recognizes the importance of men and boys being key partners in addressing the underlying norms, behaviours and values that perpetuate it.

The importance of partnership in developing the evidence base on VAW cannot be understated. A multisectoral and multi-stakeholder approach must be taken to the development of prevention strategies in order to ensure a comprehensive approach with support from all invested parties. In Cambodia, this approach has had the benefit of strong and unyielding leadership from the Royal Government of Cambodia, and specifically the Ministry of Women’s Affairs, who have continually and tirelessly vocalized the importance of multi-stakeholder engagement and the development of evidence-based research. This unique leadership has provided the fertile ground for key stakeholders including AusAID, GIZ, United Nations and CSO partners, to engage and cooperate on the development of strategies for prevention and, ultimately, ending VAW.

This report provides an integral piece of the picture of VAW in Cambodia. As such, it will be equally integral to informing the commitment to ensure every woman’s ability to live free from that violence.

Wenny Kusuma
Country Director
UN Women Cambodia

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

Asia and the Pacific is a highly diverse region, with some of the highest, and some of the lowest, reported rates of violence against women (VAW) in the world. To better understand men's use of VAW, in order to stop it before it starts, the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence was launched in 2010 and the regional findings were published in 2013 (Fulu et al. 2013). The study was coordinated by Partners for Prevention (P4P), a UNDP, UNFPA, UN Women and UNV regional joint programme for gender-based violence prevention in Asia and the Pacific. Cambodia was one of the study sites. In Cambodia the research was led by UN Women Cambodia, in collaboration with government, civil society, UN agencies and research partners. This report presents the findings of the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Cambodia and is a component of a larger effort to promote evidence-based violence prevention policies and programmes, in part through the engagement of men and boys.

The objectives of this study were to:

1. estimate the prevalence and frequency of men's use of different types of VAW in Cambodia;
2. enhance understandings of individual, relationship, family and community attributes associated with men's use of VAW in Cambodia; and
3. enhance evidence-based violence prevention interventions.

The study was conducted with a randomly-selected sample of 1,831 men and 477 women in five sites across Cambodia: Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Battambang, Kampot, and Sihanoukville. ⁸Data was collected from 21 March to 30 April 2012 by three male teams and one female team, following two weeks of intensive fieldworker training.

The Royal Government of Cambodia is currently undertaking a comprehensive prevalence study interviewing women on their experiences of violence, using the WHO Multi-country Study methodology. This will, for the first time, provide comprehensive prevalence data on women's experiences of different types of violence as well as data on the health consequences of such violence in Cambodia. This report on men's use of violence represents a perfect complement to the prevalence study with women.

The Ministry of Women's Affairs with GIZ has also conducted two major surveys that focused on awareness and attitudes related to VAW and this research also complements these previous studies.

This research in Cambodia followed the methodology of the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence and adhered to international guidelines on ethical research on violence against women.

Summary of key findings

Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)

⁸ The Cambodia survey sample presented in this report is slightly larger than that presented in the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence regional report (Fulu et al. 2013). This is because the regional report presents results based on a combined data set from nine study sites across the six countries included in the regional study. In order to combine the data sets, incomplete and non-comparable data were removed from the regional analysis. However, in this Cambodia report, all relevant data collected from Cambodia was included in the analysis.

Men's use of violence against intimate female partners is pervasive and cuts across all ages, regions and socio-economic groups.

Of ever-partnered men, more than one in three (36 percent) reported perpetrating physical and/or sexual violence against a female intimate partner during their lifetime, which is similar to the global average. 7 percent of men had done so in the past 12 months. 16 percent reported that they had ever committed physical violence against a partner and 21 percent had ever used sexual violence against a partner. There was no difference in the rates of intimate partner violence (IPV) by income, region or age. This challenges the assumption that violence is more common among poorer communities and highlights the need to work with all people to address this issue. Violence perpetration is rarely a once-off incident; the majority of men who had used violence against a partner reported that they had done so a few or many times.

Sexual partner violence is more common than physical violence

Men were more likely to report perpetration of sexual IPV than physical abuse, with one in five men reporting they had used sexual violence against a partner. This runs counter to global patterns of IPV but is consistent with other countries in the South-East Asian region. This finding points to the need to focus more violence prevention efforts on sexual violence in Cambodia.

Half of all ever-partnered men have used emotional and economic abuse against an intimate partner. Emotional and economic abuse was also very common in Cambodia. Economic abuse, in particular, was extremely high, with approximately half of all ever-partnered men (53 percent) reporting perpetration of some type of economic abuse. A quarter of male respondents reported having economically abused a female partner in the last 12 months. Rates of economic abuse are higher in Cambodia than in most other countries in the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence. This highlights the need to work on women's economic empowerment and address dominant notions of masculinity that position men as the breadwinners in control of financial resources.

Non-partner sexual violence

Sexual violence, especially gang rape, is a critical issue in Cambodia

Sexual violence in Cambodia, and worldwide, is most common within intimate relationships; however, rape of non-partners also frequently occurs. 8 percent of men involved in this study reported perpetration of rape against a female who was not an intimate partner. A further 4 percent of men had ever perpetrated sexual violence against a man.

The lifetime prevalence of gang rape perpetration, at 5 percent, was alarmingly high compared to other countries in the region. This highlights the need for specific interventions that target this form of VAW. Men who had perpetrated gang rape were significantly more likely to perpetrate other forms of rape against women and men.

Rape perpetration usually starts in adolescence

More than half of all men who committed rape were teenagers the first time they did so. Men who committed non-partner rape were a particularly young cohort (25 percent first committed rape before age 15). This demonstrates the need to work with young boys to prevent rape.

Rape is most commonly motivated by sexual entitlement, anger and fun

The most common motivation that men reported for perpetrating both sexual violence against intimate partners and non-partners, was sexual entitlement - men's belief that they have the right to sex regardless of consent. Men's use of sexual violence in Cambodia, therefore, is closely linked to dominant ideas of masculinity that are based on sexual prowess and dominance. However, non-partner rape, including gang rape, was also strongly motivated by fun and anger. Drinking was the least reported motivation across all types of rape perpetration.

Gender attitudes and relations

Men's attitudes towards women are becoming more equitable over time and men can learn positive models from their fathers

Men aged 18-24 years had more equitable attitudes towards women than older men, indicating values and norms related to gender roles and women's position in society are changing in a positive way. Men with secondary education or more, those who had a higher income and those who were not formally taught Chbab Srey/Chbab Proh, the traditional Cambodian codes for male and female behaviour, also had more gender equitable attitudes.

Men who grew up in a household with equal decision-making between their parents were more likely to have higher levels of equality in decision-making in their own relationship. This indicates that men can learn positive and equitable practices through observation when growing up. However, the majority of housework and childcare is still done by women and less than 10 percent of men had highly gender-equitable attitudes, indicating that ongoing work is needed in promoting equality in these areas.

Men and women have very high exposure to community activities on VAW and the majority were aware of the law on domestic violence

Men and women had very high exposure to community activities on VAW and 93-95 percent of respondents were aware of the law on domestic violence. However, when asked whether they thought the law was too harsh against men, 44 percent of male respondents agreed, and 45 percent had no opinion. This indicates that awareness has not necessarily translated into support. Further awareness raising and education work is needed in this regard.

Men who have more dominating attitudes and controlling behaviours are more likely to use partner violence

Men who had gender inequitable attitudes were found to be more likely to use IPV in Cambodia. Men who used more controlling behaviours over their partners, for example controlling where she goes, who she sees and what she wears, were more likely to use violence against a partner. Therefore ongoing effort is needed in the promotion of attitudes and practices that reflect equality between men and women as a means of violence prevention.

Child abuse and male adversity

Child abuse is prevalent and is associated with violence in adulthood

Child abuse is a serious issue in Cambodia and can have negative outcomes in adulthood. 65 percent of men reported experiencing physical abuse during childhood. Furthermore, 35 percent of men and 78 percent of women reported having hit or beaten their children. This indicates that physical disciplining of children is widespread and normalized in Cambodia, as in much of Asia. The fact that women more often use this form of discipline indicates that positive parenting programmes need to be targeted towards mothers and fathers.

16 percent of men reported experiencing sexual abuse as a child. This can have considerable detrimental short- and long-term effects on the lives of boys and men. For both men and women, experiencing violence in childhood was associated with victimization of violence in adulthood.

More men than women reported experiencing sexual abuse and neglect in childhood. Men's childhood experiences of violence and abuse were significantly associated with later life experiences of: depression, alcohol and drug abuse, membership in gangs and use of weapons, and perpetration of all types of violence, against both men and women. Violence is also cyclical, as men who experienced abuse as a child were also more likely to beat their own children.

Men also face violence and adversity in their lives

A large proportion of men suffer from depression which is associated with violence perpetration

Many Cambodian men suffer from depression and this is associated with their perpetration of both IPV and non-partner rape. 43 percent of all men were found to be clinically depressed and one quarter were considered highly depressed. The need to improve men's access to mental health services is clear, especially as men's own depression is a risk factor for VAW.

While not as common as women's experiences of rape, some men also experience rape by other men

Men also experience abuse and violence from other men. Of men involved in this study, 3 percent reported having been victimized by homophobia-related violence. Furthermore, 4 percent of men

indicated that they had been raped by another man. There is a strong association between men's own experiences of rape and their perpetration of rape against women and other men. This highlights the need to address men's own experiences of abuse as part of preventing VAW.

What it means to be a man

Most people believe that to be a man you need to be tough

Of people interviewed, 96 percent of men and 99 percent of women believed that to be a man you 'need to be tough'. This appears to manifest in highly masculinized behaviour that feeds into delinquency, which is linked to VAW. For example, 8 percent of men had been involved in a gang and 10 percent reported being in fights with weapons, both of which were highly associated with perpetration of VAW.

Many men engage in transactional sex or have sex with sex workers, which is a risk factor for perpetration of violence

Half of the men interviewed reported having engaged in transactional sex and about one-fifth reported use of sex workers. Both transactional sex and use of a sex worker are associated with higher rates of violence perpetration. Men who had more sexual partners were also more likely to use VAW. This is supported by other research on rape perpetration which has highlighted that notions of heterosexual performance and the need to show dominance over women feed into risk of rape perpetration. This is translated into having a larger number of sexual partners, paying for sex and demonstrable control over women, particularly using violence.

Drivers of men's use of VAW

While gender inequality underpins VAW, there is no single cause of VAW

Men's use of violence is driven by a complex interplay of different factors at individual, relationship, community and societal levels. This study found that frequent quarreling with a partner, childhood experiences of violence, depression, having had sex with a sex worker, having had multiple sexual partners, use of weapons, and alcohol abuse all increased men's risk of perpetrating IPV. Having any secondary level education or higher and having attitudes that are more gender equitable were found to reduce men's likelihood of perpetrating IPV.

IPV and non-partner rape appear to be distinct types of violence with different drivers

Drug abuse, sexual practices, involvement in gangs, use of weapons and depression were found to increase men's likelihood of perpetrating rape against a non-partner woman. While there is some overlap between the risk factors for IPV and non-partner rape, they are distinct types of violence with different drivers. This highlights the need for specific and targeted interventions for these different types of violence.

Conclusion

The UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence is the first comprehensive study on men, masculinities and violence in Cambodia. Some research on VAW has been carried out with women in Cambodia and a prevalence study is underway, using the WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence methodology. This Study on Men and Violence complements the other research, and aims to bring new insight to this issue by exploring the perspectives and experiences of Cambodian men. The results of this study will provide an important evidence base from which the Royal Cambodian Government, civil society organizations and international development agencies will be able to develop and implement more effective policies and programmes to prevent VAW.

This study has helped to develop a more comprehensive understanding of different types of VAW in Cambodia in order to design and target interventions more effectively. Most importantly, we now know what factors increase or decrease men's likelihood to abuse intimate partner and non-partner women. Targeting these specific factors will decrease the rates of VAW in Cambodia. There is also detailed data on men's gender attitudes, experiences of violence, health and sexual practices. These findings point to a series of recommendations to prevent VAW in Cambodia, but also have the potential to inform a broad range of policies and programmes on mental health, reproductive rights, access to justice, and child protection.

Recommendations

To address the findings of this study, the following recommendations are made:

Recommendation 1: Strengthen commitments to promote gender equality and women's economic empowerment

- Target gender equality programmes towards more in-depth understanding and attitude change.
- Promote positive, non-violent parenting practices and support men to be gender equitable role models for their children.
- Efforts to promote gender equality in Cambodia should address Chbab Srey and Chbab Proh.
- Work on women's economic empowerment.
- Ensure universal access to secondary education.

Recommendation 2: Promote healthy family environments to end child abuse

- Give parents the skills, tools, resources and support to create a healthy and safe home environment and to become better role models for their children.
- Build capacity of schools, NGOs and other institutions working with children, to identify signs of child abuse and to provide effective support, counseling and protection.
- Implement programmes to raise children's awareness of their rights and how to report abuse and seek help.
- End corporal punishment in schools.
- Increase awareness, and capacity to deal with violence against boys.

Recommendation 3: Address men's depression and experiences of adversity

- Increase the availability of counseling services for men and encourage men to access mental health services.
- Address sexual violence against men.

Recommendation 4: Specifically target interventions to different types of violence

- Tailor interventions to address the specific risk factors for different types of violence.
- Shift focus of anti-domestic violence work to include sexual IPV.

Recommendation 5: Develop and implement programmes to reduce sexual violence including gang rape

- Design comprehensive programmes to explore and address gang rape.

Recommendation 6: Work specifically with young boys to prevent sexual violence perpetration

- Begin sexual violence prevention programmes with boys before the age of 15.

Recommendation 7: Address ideologies of male sexual entitlement

- Implement programmes in schools and communities to promote healthy sexual relationships and teach young people to recognize what consent looks like in practice.
- Explore and address men's use of transactional and commercial sex from the perspective of male sexual entitlement.

Recommendation 8: Tackle harmful masculinities and delinquency

- Work towards providing non-aggressive masculine scripts, through the media, schools, and public role models, for young men to define their identities.
- Work with at-risk delinquent teenagers to change behaviours around violence

Recommendation 9: Pilot a holistic violence prevention model

- To build the evidence-based of what works, pilot a holistic and integrated violence prevention approach and rigorously evaluate.

Recommendation 10: Conduct further research

- Research young Cambodians' attitudes towards sex and how this ties in with young men's processes of forming ideas of manhood.



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

- Conduct in-depth studies on the issue of gang rape, to explore the specific drivers.
- Research male victims of violence, both in childhood and adulthood, to inform the design of effective services and facilities for men who experience sexual violence.
- Enhance capacities for further collection and analysis of data on gender-based violence and masculinities to monitor changes.

Background to the study

Over the last 20 years, violence against women (VAW) has become increasingly recognized as “perhaps the most shameful human rights violation” (Annan 1999). In 1995, the Beijing Platform for Action highlighted the lack of information on the prevalence, causes, characteristics, and consequences of VAW to be able to develop evidence-based strategies and interventions to address VAW effectively.

Since then, there has been a rapid growth of studies that aim to fill in these information gaps, ranging from in-depth anthropologic studies, to high level policy analysis, to population-based surveys across multiple countries. In 2006, the United Nations Secretary General launched a hallmark in-depth study on all forms of VAW. The study revealed that, globally, as many as one in every three women experiences some form of violence during her lifetime, either by being beaten, coerced into sex or other types of abuse (UN General Assembly 2006). These results support findings from the 2005 World Health Organization Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence against Women, which showed that while prevalence of violence varied across the 10 country settings, the most common form of violence reported by women was domestic violence from their intimate partners, which ranged from 15 percent to 71 percent (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005). According to most recent estimates, 30 percent of women aged 15 years or older have experienced, during their lifetime, physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence (Devries et al., 2013). It is a leading cause of homicide death in women globally (Stockl et al., 2013) and has many other health consequences (WHO, 2013).

Most research on understanding VAW has predominantly focused on women. However VAW is not a women’s issue, it is also a men’s issue, a relationship issue and a social issue. In the last five years, a number of global initiatives such as the Men and Gender Equality Policy Project (MGEPP) have come forth to leverage evidence and lessons learned from existing programmes and policies for raising awareness of the need to involve men in understanding the potential entry-points for changing men’s behaviour related to VAW.

The Asia-Pacific region is diverse, with some of the highest and some of the lowest reported rates of VAW in the world (SPC 2009 & 2010; Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005). To respond more effectively to VAW, Partners for Prevention (P4P): A UNDP, UNFPA, UN Women and UNV regional joint programme for gender-based violence prevention in Asia and the Pacific, initiated the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence to deepen understanding of the root causes of male perpetration of VAW. In 2013 the regional findings of this study were published in the report *Why Do Some Men Use Violence against Women and How Can We Prevent It?* (Fulu et al. 2013). The regional report included some findings from Cambodia presented alongside findings from the five other countries included in the multi-country study.

The research in Cambodia was led by UN Women Cambodia, in collaboration with government, civil society, the UN family and research partners. This report presents the Cambodian findings of the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in significantly more detail than the regional report, and in-

cludes additional findings from the Cambodia survey that have not yet been published. The report also outlines what these findings mean for the development and implementation of more evidence-based responses to violence prevention, in part through the engagement of men and boys.

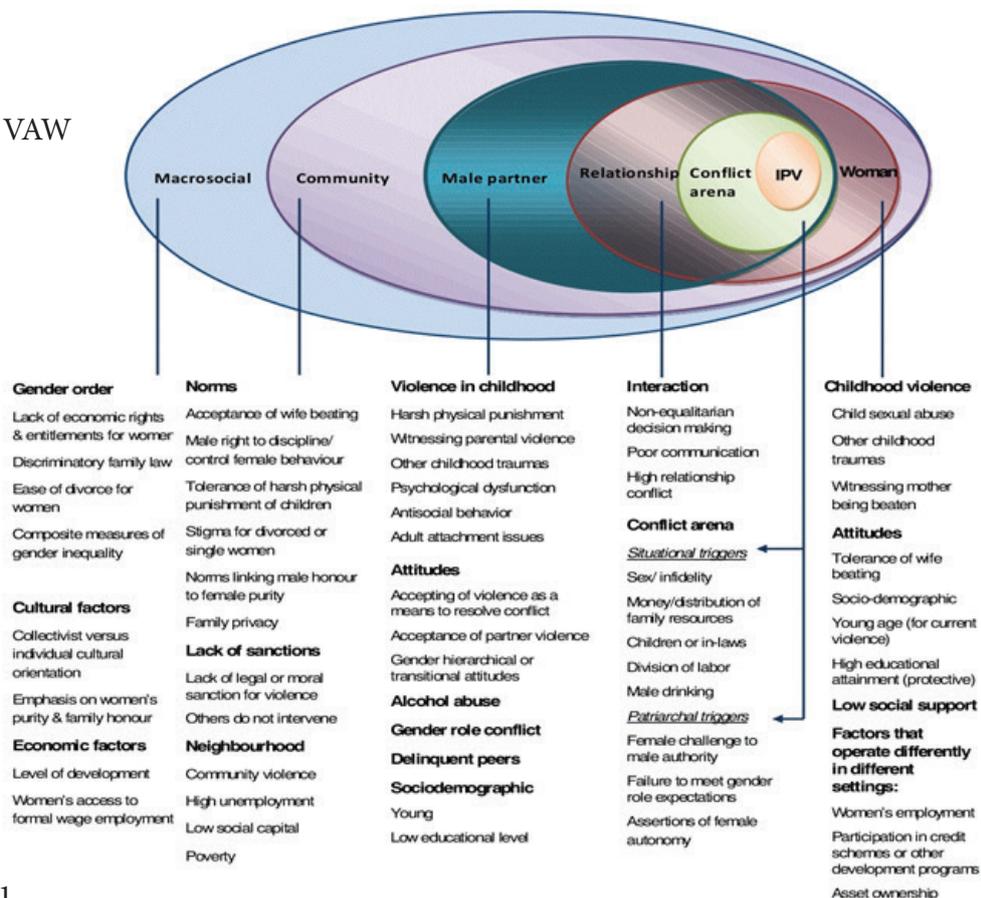
Conceptual Framework

To prevent VAW, it is necessary to understand its etiology, as well as the circumstances and risk and protective factors that surround its perpetration and victimization. This study uses an organizing framework based on an adapted version of the ecological model, presented in Figure 1.1. The framework is founded on evidence drawn from a wide range of studies that identified factors associated with VAW. Figure 1.1 illustrates the complex interplay of these factors across different levels of the social environment.

The model operates within the context that violence is multifaceted, occurs at different levels and involves power relationships between individuals and contextual factors. It speaks to both risk factors (characteristics, events or experiences that are shown to increase the likelihood of use or experiences of VAW) and protective factors (characteristics, events or experiences that reduce the likelihood of using or experiencing VAW). The model also takes into account the role of social norms, the existence of patriarchal and sexist patterns learned in society and within the family, learned behaviours of both perpetrators and victims, as well as macro conditions, such as policies, that enable or hinder gender rights.

Figure 1.1

Ecological model for understanding VAW



Source: Heise, 2011.

Given the multi-causal nature of this social and public health problem, a scientific approach based on the different variables described in Heise's model is required to obtain a comprehensive evidence base to inform prevention programmes. Further, it is also important to consider this through a masculinities lens, as well as a feminist perspective. Only through understanding the interplay between the different factors, men's attitudes, behaviours, and experiences in the context of the ecological model, and how these perpetuate violence can we begin to develop solutions.

National context

The Royal Government of Cambodia has made a strong commitment to addressing violence against women. The Law on Domestic Violence and the Protection of Victims was passed in 2005 and has been used widely to raise awareness that violence against women is a crime. The National Action Plan to Prevent Violence against Women was developed in 2009 and is another important landmark in the efforts to end VAW (see Box 1.1 for more details). The next action plan is currently being developed and the new evidence presented in this report will be very useful in informing the strategies under the new plan, particularly in the area of prevention.

The Royal Government of Cambodia is currently undertaking a comprehensive prevalence study interviewing women on their experiences of violence, using the WHO Multi-country Study methodology. This will, for the first time, provide comprehensive prevalence data on women's experiences of different types of violence as well as data on the health consequences of such violence in Cambodia. This report on men's use of violence represents a perfect complement to the prevalence study with women.

The Ministry of Women's Affairs with GIZ has also conducted two major surveys that focused on awareness and attitudes related to VAW and this research also complements these previous studies.

There is also extensive qualitative research on VAW in Cambodia which frequently references Chhab Proh and Chhab Srey: Cambodian codes for the ideal masculinity and femininity respectively. A number of scholars have explored male dominance within society, as well as the symbolic constructs that are assigned to gender identities of men and women (Ebihara 1968; Ledgerwood 1990). Cambodian women are often portrayed as shy, honest, gentle, active, hard-working, humble, and unenlightened (Ledgerwood 1992). In the political realm, women are frequently seen as publicly submissive to the male hierarchy rather than active and participatory (Frieson 2001), as men are considered political actors while women are seen as non-political (Lilja 2008). These notions of submission and obedience are linked by much of the research to women's experiences of violence. Women are often expected to accept and tolerate men's behaviour, including their perpetration of violence (GADC, 2010; Surtees 2003). Similarly, the emphasis put by Cambodian society on women's virginity and modesty discourages many women from reporting experiences of rape (Amnesty 2010). A 2010 study on domestic violence (DV) in Cambodia found that both physical and emotional violence on women were related to a husband's level of control in the family (Eng et al. 2010).

However, gender relations in Cambodia are not static, and gender norms are constantly negotiated by individuals throughout their lives. There is an increasing recognition among violence researchers in Cambodia that inflexible representations of gendered identities are not sufficient to understand the complexities of why VAW occurs (Wong 2010). Rather, it is necessary to challenge these stereotypes,

and explore the ways in which Cambodian women (and men) negotiate and challenge prescriptions of gendered behaviours. While the oft-cited Chbab laws locate women's gendered identity within the family, there is a shift to locate women within a space of agency, to move beyond the "fatalistic analysis of the Chbab," toward a "greater sensitivity to the diversity of ideological influences that women—as vocal subjects—are negotiating in their everyday lives, daily social interactions, and movements within and beyond the home" (Brickell 2011, p.441). Other researchers contest these overarching categorical representations of men and women, identifying instead more complicated factors that influence gendered decision-making and behaviour (Wong 2010).

Violence against women in Cambodia intersects with a number of other social issues which include trafficking and prostitution, economic growth, the remnants of the Khmer Rouge legacy, educational and employment opportunities, and HIV/AIDS. Key historical events in Cambodian society that influence experiences of violence and are important to note in relation to the findings in this report are outlined in Table 1.1. However, until now there has been no research that explores the specific factors in Cambodian society related to women's victimization or men's perpetration of VAW from a strong statistical perspective.

Men's perspectives have often been left out of research on VAW, yet it is increasingly recognized that boys and men must be involved in efforts to prevent violence to reduce prevalence. There have been limited studies on masculinity in Cambodia although some qualitative research does exist (Miedema 2011). Masculinity can be defined as the social norms that prescribe the ideal characteristics, roles and behaviours for men. These norms are reinforced by a vast array of voices from the global media down to friends and family members and are embodied by women and men. In addition, the term masculinities is used to describe the broad social discourse that underlies patriarchy, the globalized system of power that values men over women and oppresses vast groupings of women and men. There is no one masculinity; rather, constructions of masculinity vary over time and across and within cultures, creating multiple masculinities. However, there is often a hierarchy of masculinities in which one (or more) pattern of masculinity is socially dominant and others are marginalized (IDS 2007). Hegemonic masculinity may not be the most common pattern in the everyday lives of boys and men, only a minority of men might enact it. But it is normative in the sense that it embodies the currently most honoured way of being a man, and requires other men to position themselves in relation to it (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Although Cambodian concepts of hegemonic masculinity, as detailed in the Chbab codes of conduct, promote a single format for masculine identity, qualitative analysis identifies the existence of multiple interpretations and experiences of masculinities within the lives of the men (Miedema 2011).

Box 1.1

Cambodian policies on gender equality and prevention of VAW

Constitution of the Royal Government of Cambodia	<p>Article 31 (rights and freedoms): Every Khmer citizen shall be equal before the law, enjoying the same rights, freedom and fulfilling the same obligations regardless of race, colour, sex, language, religious belief, political tendency, birth origin, social status, wealth or other status.</p> <p>Article 35 (political equality): Khmer citizens of either sex shall be given the right to participate actively in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the nation.</p> <p>Article 45 (discrimination against women): All forms of discrimination against woman shall be abolished...and the exploitation of women in employment shall be prohibited in marriages and matters of the family.¹</p>
Law on Domestic Violence and the Protection of Victims (2005)	<p>Jurisdiction: Within the household, and includes any form of domestic violence against husband, wife, children or elderly.²</p> <p>Definition of violence: (1) an act that could affect life (including premeditated, intentional or unintentional homicide) (2) an act that affects physical integrity (including physical violence that may or may not result in visible wounds) (3) any torturous or cruel act (including harassment that causes mental/psychological, emotional or intellectual harm to persons within the household) or (4) sexual aggression (including violent rape, sexual harassment or indecent exposure).⁴</p>
National Action Plan to Prevent Violence against Women (2009)	<p>Four strategies of the NAPVAW:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">(1) Public awareness raising and information dissemination on existing laws;(2) Enhancing social, medical, and legal services to ensure quality care for women who experience violence;(3) Develop and improve policies and laws to enhance the criminal justice response to violence against women; and(4) Strengthen capacity of government officials. <p>Author's note: In addition to these four strategies, gender has been mainstreamed into various government ministries to ensure that there is a fair share for women in specific sector development.</p>

Source: So, Kim and Duong, 2013.

9 Kingdom of Cambodia, Constitution and Amendments, 2006.

10 Article 2 of the law refers to domestic violence that happens and could happen towards: husband,

Table 1.1

Summary of Cambodian historical events with potential adverse effects on respondents

YEARS	HISTORICAL EVENT	ADVERSE EXPERIENCES	AGE OF RESPONDENT	
			DURING CURRENT STUDY	DURING HISTORICAL EVENT
1970	US covert operations in Eastern Cambodia	Internally displaced families/ children Children orphaned due to bombing	40-49 years	0-5 years
1975-1979	Khmer Rouge regime	Infants separated from parents	33-37 years	<=1 year
		Children separated from parents & placed into forced labor	34-49 years	1-16 years
		Recruitment of child soldiers	39-49 years	6-16 years
1980-1989	Vietnamese Occupation	Khmer Rouge resistance in Western Cambodia (child soldiers, hunger, fighting, etc.) Refugees on Thai-Cambodian border Post conflict deprivation (breakdown in infrastructure/lost families, etc.)	23-49 years	0-26 years
1992-now	UNCTAD and post conflict development	Children whose parents were children during Khmer rouge	18-32 years	same
		Development & consequences of unequal distribution & global exposure	18-49 years	

or wife, dependent children or person living under the roof of the house.

Study objectives

A structured household questionnaire was administered to men and a small sample of women aged 18-49 years. The overall aim of the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence is to understand more fully men's use and women's experiences of VAW, and related factors such as men's attitudes, notions of masculinities, sexual and reproductive health, parenting practices, and childhood experiences, among others. The findings will be used to further inform programming and advocacy on violence prevention including male involvement in this issue.

The quantitative study is complementary to qualitative and policy research that has been conducted by P4P and its partners on VAW in Cambodia (So, Kim and Duong 2013; Miedema 2011; GADC 2010). This report presents the main findings from the quantitative component for Cambodia, drawing and building on data from the other components.

The key objectives of the quantitative research component are:

1. To estimate the prevalence and frequency of men's use of different types of VAW;
2. To enhance understandings of individual, relationship, family and community attributes associated with men's use of VAW in Cambodia;
3. To enhance evidence-based violence prevention interventions.

The questionnaires have been designed to inform strategies to reduce men's perpetration of VAW.

Organization of the study

Implementation of the research at the national level was guided by the National Working Group (NWG), which oversaw the project and ensured country ownership of the work and findings. Coordinated by UN Women Cambodia country office, the working group consists of national partners including civil society practitioners, research institutions, government entities, bi-lateral partners, and the UN agencies.¹¹ The NWG also provided consultative support on the adaptation of the questionnaire and validation of its findings. In addition, they will play a key role in disseminating the findings and developing advocacy strategies based on the evidence and recommendations borne out of this study.

Adaptation and administration of the household questionnaire was conducted by an independent Cambodian research organization, with technical support from P4P. P4P provided overall coordination and oversight for the project, ensuring ethical and safety standards in implementation as well as quality and consistency at the regional level through standardized guidelines, survey instruments and data collection tools.

¹¹ Civil society practitioners: GADC, LSCW, Care International, World Vision Cambodia, PHD, PYD. Research institutions: Domrei, CDRI, Paññasatra University. Government entities: Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Ministry of Justice. Bi-lateral partners: GIZ. UN agencies: UNDP, UN Women, UNFPA.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Study design

The methodology for the quantitative household survey conducted in Cambodia followed the overall principles described in the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence Regional Research Protocol (Fulu and Jewkes, 2010). This protocol was developed through a consultative process to ensure the research project covered the breadth and scope of VAW in the region.¹² In addition to the Regional Research Protocol, P4P provided the Cambodia research team with recommendations for sampling method, the actual questionnaire for both men and women with field tested question items and scales, curriculum for training interviewers, and standard statistical code for the running basic tables and analysis for the survey data.

Although there was some opportunity to adapt the recommended methods to the Cambodian context (specific survey questions, sampling, data analysis, etc.), care was taken to standardize and maintain consistency with the regional protocol in order to maximize the quality of data collected and to allow for comparability of data across countries. Any major deviations from the Regional Research Protocol are highlighted in this section.

The study in Cambodia was based on a cross-sectional population-based household survey. The survey consisted of two separate but compatible questionnaires, administered to either Cambodian men aged 18-49 years, or Cambodian women aged 18-49 years. The focus of the study is on men and women were only included as a means of comparing and verifying men's responses, particularly related to attitudes and violence perpetration. The women's data should in no way be considered as prevalence rates of violence against women nor a comprehensive picture of the issue from women's perspectives.

Sample Design

The sample targeted the population in Cambodia (i.e. all people living in the country, including migrants, immigrants, etc.) aged of 18-49. The study aimed to interview 2000 men and 500 women and based on the most recent population estimates (National Institute of Statistics 2008), the sample would provide a 5 percent error and 95 percent confidence.

The study undertook a multi-stage cluster sampling, ideal for Cambodia where households are not enumerated, allowing for fewer units to make the sample. The method optimized the balance of information precision and operational efficiency/costs. The sampling design involved a five stage process of clustering with each subsequent cluster representing a smaller unit than the former (Table 2.1). The sample was designed to be self-weighting. (See Annex 1 for more detail on the sampling design).

The sampling deviated from the Regional Research Protocol, which recommended sampling from the capital and from one province. As Cambodia is highly regional, it was decided that a more comprehensive sampling frame would allow for findings to be generalized. For this reason, four provinces were randomly selected from two regions. Phnom Penh was included as a fifth province because of its uniqueness and to allow for comparison to other capitals at the regional level.

¹² Includes members of the Regional Technical Advisory Group from ICRW, University of Sydney, Medical Research Council South Africa, AAKAR India, P4P research team, UN Women.

Table 2.1
Sampling design of study

Stage	Sampling Unit	Method	Selection
Stage 1	Geographical zones	Randomly selected two regions from four	Tonle Sap zone Coastal zone
Stage 2	Provinces	PPS to select 2 provinces from each of 2 selected regions Capital also included	Tonle Sap: Siem Reap, Battambang; Coastal: Kampot, Krong Preah Sihanouk; Phnom Penh
Stage 3	Villages	PPS to select 25 clusters/villages from each selected province	125 villages total
Stage 4	Household	Random walk method used to generate household list - sampling interval calculated based on 20 required interviews	20 households per village
Stage 5	Persons*	One eligible man or woman randomly selected from each household (drawing lots)	2000 (20/village) 500 (20/village)

*For safety reasons men and women were sampled in separate villages

Definitions

The language surrounding VAW can be highly sensitive. Variations in terminology can affect how stakeholders conceptualize the issues and lead to differing interpretations and conclusions. For this reason definitions of terms that were used in this study are described here and throughout the report to ensure consistent understanding of the findings, conclusions and recommendations that are presented.

The study explored the following types of intimate partner violence (IPV): emotional or psychological violence, economic abuse, physical violence and sexual abuse. Other forms of non-partner violence investigated included women's victimization of non-partner rape, men's perpetration and victimization of non-partner rape, and male-on-male physical violence. Table 2.2 explains how each type of violence was measured in the questionnaire. Respondents were also asked if these acts occurred once, a few times or many times, and if that type of violence occurred within the last 12 months. In order to analyze the risk and protective factors for perpetration of VAW, the study looked at mental health,

attitudes towards gender equality (see Table 6.1 and Table 6.2) and childhood trauma (see Table 8.1). For more detailed definitions see the related chapters and annexed female and male questionnaires (available online).

There were methodological differences in the way the sexual violence questions were asked for men and for women. For men, questions were included as part of the self-administered section which used audio-enhanced personal digital assistants (PDAs) to collect responses anonymously and privately. For women, questions were asked directly by the interviewer (PDAs were still used by the interviewer to enter responses), therefore their responses were known to the interviewer. There are ethical concerns about asking men about criminal behaviour which raises a conflict between the need to maintain confidentiality and the mandatory requirement to report on crimes such as rape perpetration. For women, research suggests that they can benefit from being asked questions face-to-face and from having the opportunity to share their experiences of abuse with a compassionate interviewer, in a confidential setting.

Table 2.2

Operational definitions: How is violence measured by the questionnaire

Intimate partner violence against women (Current or previous wife or girlfriend)	Non-partner violence
Emotional abuse	Rape of non-partner woman
Insulted a partner or deliberately made her feel bad about herself	Forced a woman who was not your wife or girlfriend to have sexual intercourse with you
Belittled or humiliated a partner in front of other people	Had sexual intercourse with a woman or girl when she was too drunk or drugged to say whether she wanted it or not
Done things to scare or intimidate a partner on purpose for example by the way you looked at her, by yelling and smashing things	Gang rape of woman
Threatened to hurt a partner	You and other men had sexual intercourse with a woman at the same time when she didn't consent to sex or you forced her
Hurt people your partner cares about as a way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her	You and other men had sexual intercourse with a woman at the same time when she was too drunk or drugged to stop you
Economic abuse	Sexual violence against man
Prohibited a partner from getting a job, going to work, trading or earning money	Done anything sexual with a boy or man when he didn't consent or you forced him

Taken a partner's earnings against her will	Done anything sexual with a boy or man when you put your penis in his mouth or anus when he didn't consent or you forced him (rape)
Thrown a partner out of the house	Gang rape of man
Kept money from your earnings for alcohol, tobacco or other things for yourself when you knew your partner was finding it hard to afford the household expenses	You and other men had sexual intercourse with a man at the same time when he didn't consent to sex or you forced him
Physical violence	
Slapped a partner or thrown something at her that could hurt her	
Pushed or shoved a partner	
Hit a partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her	
Kicked, dragged, beaten, choked or burned a partner	
Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against a partner	
Sexual violence	
Forced partner to have sexual intercourse with you when she did not want to (rape)	
Had sexual intercourse with partner when you knew she didn't want it but you believed she should agree because she was your wife/partner	
Forced partner to watch pornography when she didn't want to	
Forced partner to do something sexual, other than sexual intercourse, that she did not want to do	

Questionnaire development

Two separate but comparable questionnaires were administered in Cambodia. These were adapted from the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence 'Regional Core Male Questionnaire,' and

‘Regional Core Female Questionnaire’. The regional survey instruments were developed by P4P, and were the result of a rigorous consultative process that included an extensive literature and instrument review. The final questionnaires drew primarily upon the Medical Research Council South African Men’s Health and Relationships Study, the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), and the WHO Multi-country Study on Women’s Health and Domestic Violence, which have all been extensively field tested. The core questionnaires were designed to maximize disclosure by ordering survey questions in such a way as to facilitate an environment of trust for the respondent and place them at ease to answer openly and honestly.

Adaptations of the core questionnaires followed an extensive iterative process of translation and back translation to ensure internal validity of the questions. Certain sections of the questionnaires were adjusted to better suit the Cambodian context through a process of consultation between the research team, the National Working Group, UN Women Cambodia and P4P, as well as pre-testing of the questionnaires in similar field sites. In order to ensure cross-country comparability, the majority of the questions in the Cambodian questionnaire were kept the same as P4P regional questionnaires. See Annex 2 for more information on changes made to Cambodia questionnaire.

Interviewer training and fieldwork

Rigorous interviewer training was provided because of the complexity of the questionnaire and the sensitivity of the research topic. The training curriculum was based on WHO ethical guidelines for research on VAW (WHO 2001).

Fieldworker training was conducted over a two-week period in Phnom Penh, with technical support from P4P. The training covered sensitization on gender, sex, sexualities and masculinities; an introduction to VAW; field procedures; ethics and safety; working conditions and logistics; questionnaire familiarization; interview techniques; PDA-use; and supervisor training.

Male and female fieldworkers were trained together, except during sessions on the questionnaire, when they separated into two groups. 16 interviewers and 12 supervisors were trained during this period. The training was followed immediately by a pilot test to allow interviewers and supervisors to practice what they had learned and test the instrument and PDAs.

Fieldwork was conducted from 21 March - 30 April, 2012, across five sites that covered both rural and urban locations: Kampot, Sihanoukville, Siem Reap, Battambang, and Phnom Penh. Data was collected by teams made up of three interviewers and one supervisor. There were three male teams and one female team. In total, the teams interviewed 477 women and 1,831 men.

Data handling and analysis

Data collection

The survey was administered using PDAs to facilitate the asking of particularly sensitive questions and to address ethical issues related to asking questions of men about involvement in criminal activities. In addition, the PDAs do not require data entry, minimizing error and speeding up the process of data input and cleaning; they automate complicated skip patterns which also reduces error. PDAs also

minimize interviewer bias and fatigue. The PDAs used in Cambodia were audio enhanced for the self-administered section of the male survey for those respondents with low literacy.

Data was uploaded daily to the server of P4P's consultant based in the United States. During fieldwork, regular updates of the data were sent to P4P and the research team so that any problems in data collection could be identified and resolved. Upon completion of data collection, P4P cleaned the full dataset and conducted preliminary analysis.

Data analysis

Figures, graphs and the narrative section of the report highlight statistically significant results unless otherwise noted.

All data analysis was conducted in Stata 10 SE. Statistical code was prewritten at the regional level and run in Stata to obtain initial results for basic tables. The associative modeling analysis was also conducted at the regional level. This was to ensure that results represented the same constructs across countries (where possible), through consistent creation of variables and constructs.

The results were provided to the report consultant in Cambodia, checked and modified or updated where necessary to reflect differences in the questionnaire, sampling and methodology. In addition, a series of secondary analysis was conducted relevant to Cambodia's context.

Due to skip patterns, not all respondents answered all parts of the questionnaire. For this reason, denominators may differ for men and women across different variables.

The Cambodia sample presented in this report is slightly larger than that presented in the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence regional report (Fulu et al. 2013). This is due to the fact that the regional report presents results based on a combined data set from nine study sites across the six countries included in the regional study. In order to combine the data sets, incomplete and non-comparable data were removed from the regional analysis. However, in this Cambodia report, all relevant data collected from Cambodia was included in the analysis. For this reason, denominators in this national report may be slightly larger than in the regional report, resulting in very slight differences in results. It is important to note that this is not an error, rather a common disparity when analyzing national versus combined multi-country data.

Results interpretation

Important studies in Cambodia that have measured aspects of VAW include the aforementioned 2000 and 2005 Demographic Health Surveys, and the 2005 and 2009 Ministry of Women's Affairs, Royal Government of Cambodia Violence against Women Surveys. It is important to note that the methodologies and questionnaire design of these studies varied substantially to that of the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence. Even in cases where the survey questions were similar, they were administered differently with different sampling frames, which could affect responses. Caution is recommended in interpreting the different sources of data as directly comparable or establishing true trends.

The focus of the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence is on men - their experiences of lifetime violence, their knowledge, attitudes and practices around gender and masculinities and their well-being. Even though both men and women were surveyed, the sample size of female respondents was only one fourth of that of males. To avoid duplication with the current WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence in Cambodia, only a small female sample was included in this study for comparison, validity and to provide hypotheses for future studies focused on women. Given the small female sample size, women's results are not considered to have enough statistical power to be generalizable and hence are only mentioned in comparison to men or to highlight consistencies with other studies that lend validity or question it.

Ethics and safety

VAW is a highly sensitive and stigmatized issue which can place respondents, both men and women, whether they experienced or perpetrated violence, in precarious and threatening positions. For this reason, special care was taken to ensure the comfort and safety of both participants and the research team. The study followed the WHO's guidelines on confidentiality and safety based on a principle of 'do no harm' to ensure the research did not cause the participant to undergo further harm or trauma. In addition, other factors included the importance of ensuring that the participant was informed of available sources of help, and the need for the interviewers to respect the interviewee's decisions and choices. The following actions were taken to ensure rigorous ethical standards were met:

Individual consent

At the start of all interviews, participants were informed orally of the purpose, the sensitivity and the confidentiality of the study. Verbal consent was obtained and recorded before proceeding with the interview.

Voluntary participation

Participation in the study was on a voluntary basis to ensure participants were not induced. It was communicated to participants that refusal to participate would not result in any negative consequences.

Confidentiality

A number of measures were taken to ensure confidentiality, this included: interviewers were extensively trained, questions were pre-tested to minimize embarrassment, names were not recorded, and research findings were aggregated. The PDAs provided an extra measure of confidentiality.

Physical safety of informants and researchers

The physical safety of interviewees and interviewers was a priority. If the topic of the interview had become known to a perpetrator of violence, the act of participating in the study may have provoked further abuse. A number of measures were taken to maximize safety which included men interviewing men and women interviewing women, men and women being interviewed in separate villages, and interviews being conducted in private settings.

Mechanisms were also put in place to support the needs of researchers and fieldworkers. During the research regular debriefing meetings were scheduled to enable the research team to discuss what

they had heard, their feelings about the situation, and how it affected them. These meetings aimed to reduce the stress of the fieldwork, and avert negative consequences.

Provision of crisis intervention

The research team liaised with potential providers of support, which included: government health, legal and social services and less formal providers of support, to develop a discrete resource list of agencies and individuals who could provide support to respondents, both during and after the survey.

Strengths and limitations of the study

Strengths

This study has a number of strengths that are drawn from lessons learned from previous studies, both quantitative and qualitative. This study provides, for the first time in Cambodia, comprehensive quantitative data on men's use of VAW. The study adheres to the highest safety, ethical and methodological standards for research on VAW and is based on a representative sample.

The questionnaire was designed and administered in such a way as to increase internal validity, to provide confidence that findings represented real phenomena. The questionnaire was based on a set of questions that have been extensively field tested in multi-cultural settings with scales proven to have strong internal validity. Further, self-administration for the most sensitive male questions provided higher response rates to contribute to stronger internal validity through confidentiality of answers.

This quantitative study complements the qualitative and political analysis that has been conducted on masculinities and VAW in Cambodia to allow for the triangulation of findings. The study is designed to generate hypotheses and inspire future research on VAW and masculinities. It also provides baseline data against which change can be measured.

Limitations

As with all research studies, there were shortcomings of this study due to resource limitations, unpredictable challenges and methodological anomalies. Despite best efforts, certain terminologies and concepts did not translate into the Khmer language. In general Khmer has a limited range of words in comparisons to other languages, and one word can take on multiple meanings. There are some examples of unexpected or unusual findings that might be the result of translation difficulties.

The cross-sectional nature of the survey means the study cannot explore causal relationships, but only associative relationships. With the interviews taking, on average, over an hour each, it is possible that respondents – and perhaps also interviewers – became fatigued towards the end of the survey administration. This may have had an impact on the responses, especially to those questions placed at the end of the questionnaire.

The smaller sampling of women and the shorter questionnaire means that the findings from the women's survey are not generalizable. Women did not have self-administration on the most sensitive questions but, rather, were asked directly by the interviewer. Although it has been shown that women appreciate being able to talk about violence, this difference in administration between men and women could also lead to biased results. Underreporting is possible considering the prohibitive norms for discussing such experiences.

CHAPTER 3: SAMPLE DEMOGRAPHICS

Response rates

The total number of individuals who completed the survey was 2308, with 1831 men and 477 women.¹³ The overall response rate was considerably high - 93 percent at the individual level - despite the sensitive nature of the survey. Table 3.1 summarizes the response rates by sex and province. Men's response rate was quite high (98 percent), while women's was considerably lower (77 percent). Garcia-Moreno et al. (2005, p.23) argue that, "as women are commonly stigmatized and blamed for the abuse they experience, there is unlikely to be over-reporting of violence."

Across provinces, Phnom Penh had the lowest response rate of 78%, while the other provinces had similarly high rates of response (above 95%). The lower response rate in urban Phnom Penh as compared to the provinces has been observed in other household based surveys such as the WHO multi-country study (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005), which is reflective of the challenges associated with conducting household interviews in urban areas.

Table 3.1
Response rates by sex and location

Demographic Category	Number	%
<i>By sex</i>		
Female interviews completed	477	76.9
Male interviews completed	1,831	98.3
<i>By province</i>		
Battambang	472	95.4
Kampot	473	98.3
Phnom Penh	393	78.1
Siemreap	489	97.6
Sihanoukville	481	95.6
Individual response rate*	2,308	93.0

*Completed interviews/total households with eligible persons

20 The total completed survey sample from Cambodia presented in this report is slightly higher than that presented in the regional report from this study. As outlined above, this is because some data was removed from the regional analysis because of incomparability with data from the other study sites. This is not an error, rather a common disparity when analyzing national versus combined multi-country data.

Socio-demographic characteristics of respondents

Table 3.2 summarizes the demographic characteristics of all respondents who completed the interview. The table shows that for both males and females, the distribution across geographical residence, or province, is fairly consistent, with the exception of Phnom Penh. The distribution of the population of women and men by age reflects recent Cambodian history. The age groups above 35 were considerably smaller than the younger age groups of 20-34 year olds. This age distribution of respondents is unusual and reflects the effects of the Khmer Rouge regime (1975-79), during which fertility rates declined and were coupled with higher than normal mortality due to national conflict. Between one and two million people are estimated to have been killed during the reign of the Khmer Rouge. These events are reflected in the smaller than expected proportions of women and men in the 30-34 and 35-39 age groups. The majority of male and female respondents were 20-34 years of age. The lowest representation was in the youngest age group of 20 years or younger.

Table 3.2
Demographic characteristics of respondents

Demographic Category	Female		Male	
	Number	%	Number	%
Residence				
Battambang	96	20.1	376	20.5
Kampot	96	20.1	377	20.6
Phnom Penh	88	18.5	305	16.7
Siemreap	99	20.8	390	21.3
Sihanoukville	98	20.5	383	20.9
Age				
18 – 19	33	7.0	152	8.3
20 – 24	87	18.2	323	17.7
25 – 29	103	21.6	366	20.0
30 – 34	90	18.9	332	18.1
35 – 39	42	8.7	207	11.3
40 – 44	57	12.0	200	10.9
45 – 49	65	13.6	251	13.7
Education**				
None	114	23.9	173	9.5

Primary	220	46.1	755	41.2
Some secondary	99	20.8	587	32.0
Secondary complete	25	5.2	130	7.1
Tertiary	19	4.0	186	10.2
Employment**				
Employed in last year	307	65.7	1574	86.0
Employed ever but not in last year	48	10.3	67	3.6
Never employed	112	24.0	190	10.4
Relationship status**				
Never partnered	60	12.6	347	19.0
Currently married	350	73.4	1293	70.6
Currently cohabiting	35	7.3	19	1.0
Currently has partner but not living together	15	3.1	90	4.9
Previously married	7	1.5	23	1.3
Previously partnered	10	2.1	59	3.2
Number of children**				
No children	117	24.5	648	35.4
1	95	20.0	266	14.5
2 to 3	178	37.3	627	34.2
4 or more	87	18.2	299	15.8
Income level				
< USD 100/month	206	67.1%	943	60%
USD 100/month - USD 300/month	98	31.9	578	36.8
>USD 300/month	52	1.0	52	3.3
Total	477		1831	

**Statistically significant difference between male and female distribution

Education

Most respondents had primary education only. Men overall had received higher levels of education than women. More than twice as many females (24 percent) as males (10 percent) had received no education. More than twice as many males (10 percent) as females (4 percent) had received tertiary education. The majority of respondents with no education (28 percent) were in the oldest age group of 45-49 years. Only 8 percent of respondents younger than 24 years of age had no education. In addition, the majority of respondents (44 percent) who had received no education were from Siem Reap Province. Over 41 percent of respondents with secondary education or higher were from Phnom Penh, which is consistent with the pattern of higher education in urban settings.

Partnership status

The majority of male and female respondents were married (71 percent and 73 percent respectively). Almost 20 percent of males had never been partnered. The majority of male respondents aged less than 24 years of age were never partnered (57 percent), whereas 44 percent of female respondents in same age range were already married.

Other demographic characteristics

A little over one-third of respondents had two to three children. The same proportion of male respondents and a quarter of female respondents had no children. Of those with no children, 20 percent were married.

The majority of men and women were employed. 24 percent of women had never been employed, compared to 10 percent of men. The majority of men (60 percent) and women (67 percent) were in the lowest income tertile of less than USD 100/month. Less than 3 percent of respondents earned more than USD 300/month.

Across the five locations included in the sample, age distribution was fairly consistent, with the exception of Phnom Penh, which had the largest proportion (35 percent) of young men aged 18-24 (see Annex Table 3.1).

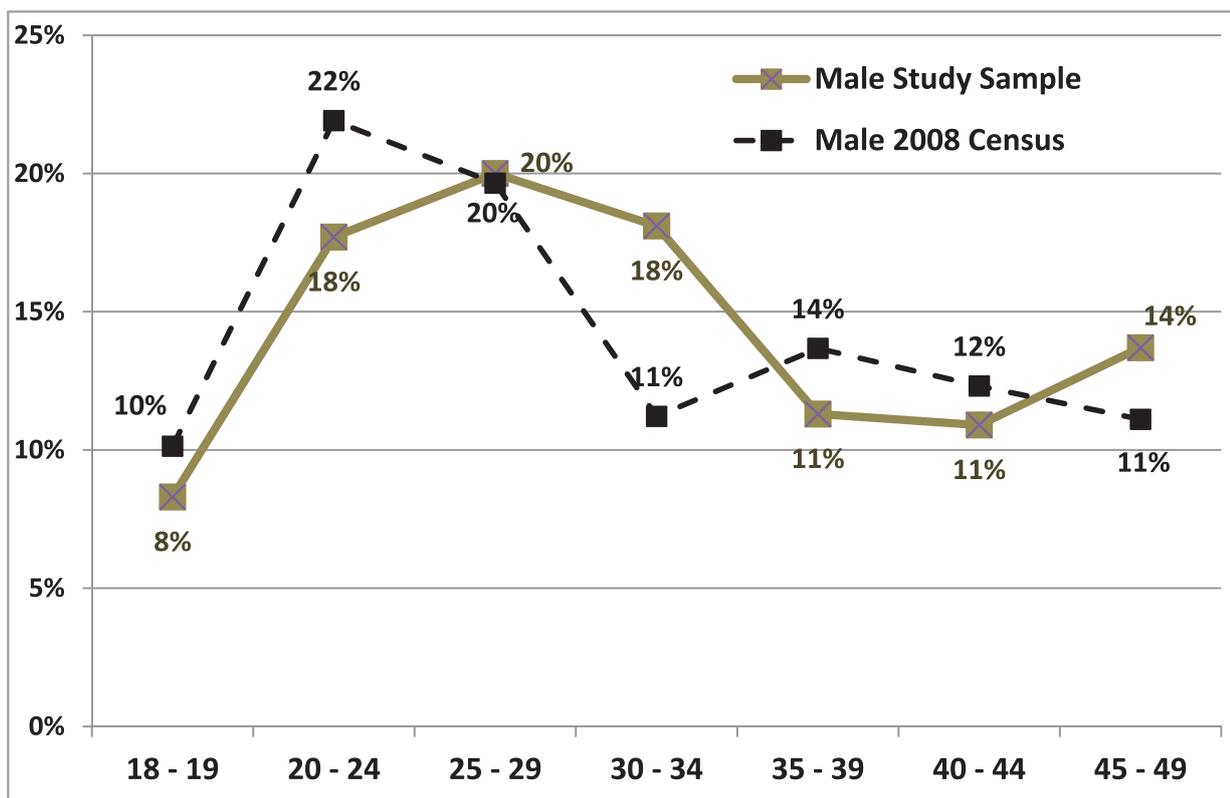
Representativeness and potential bias

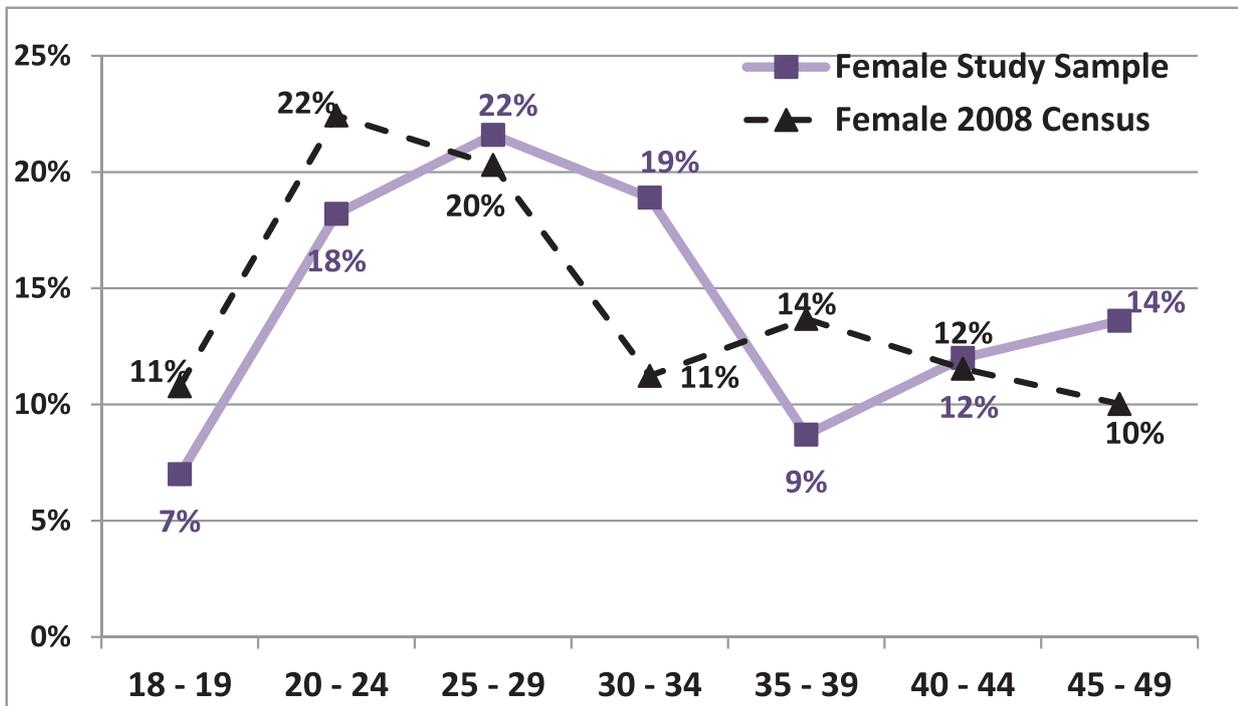
Distribution of age and education in the study population was compared with distributions in the national population, as per the 2008 Cambodian National Census. Even though the age overall pattern is fairly similar between the Census and our sample, there are still some differences. This study has a higher proportion of men and women in the 30-34 years age group for both males and females. The study sample has less proportion of people aged less than 24 years. There is also a greater proportion of the highest age group 45-49 than in the Census. Similar findings occurred in the WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women, which used a comparable sampling strategy. Garcia-Moreno et al. (2005) explain that the disparity most likely results from the sampling strategy, where, for safety reasons, only one woman or man per household was interviewed. As a result of this strategy, women/men in households with fewer eligible women/men were likely to be overrepresented because of their higher probability of being selected. This in turn is likely to have affected the age

distribution of respondents, as households with men in the middle age groups were likely to have, on average, fewer eligible men in the same household (sons still too young and fathers too old), while in households with an adolescent man it was more likely that there were also others who were eligible (his siblings, his father).

Figure 3.1

Comparison of male and female age distribution between study respondents and general population



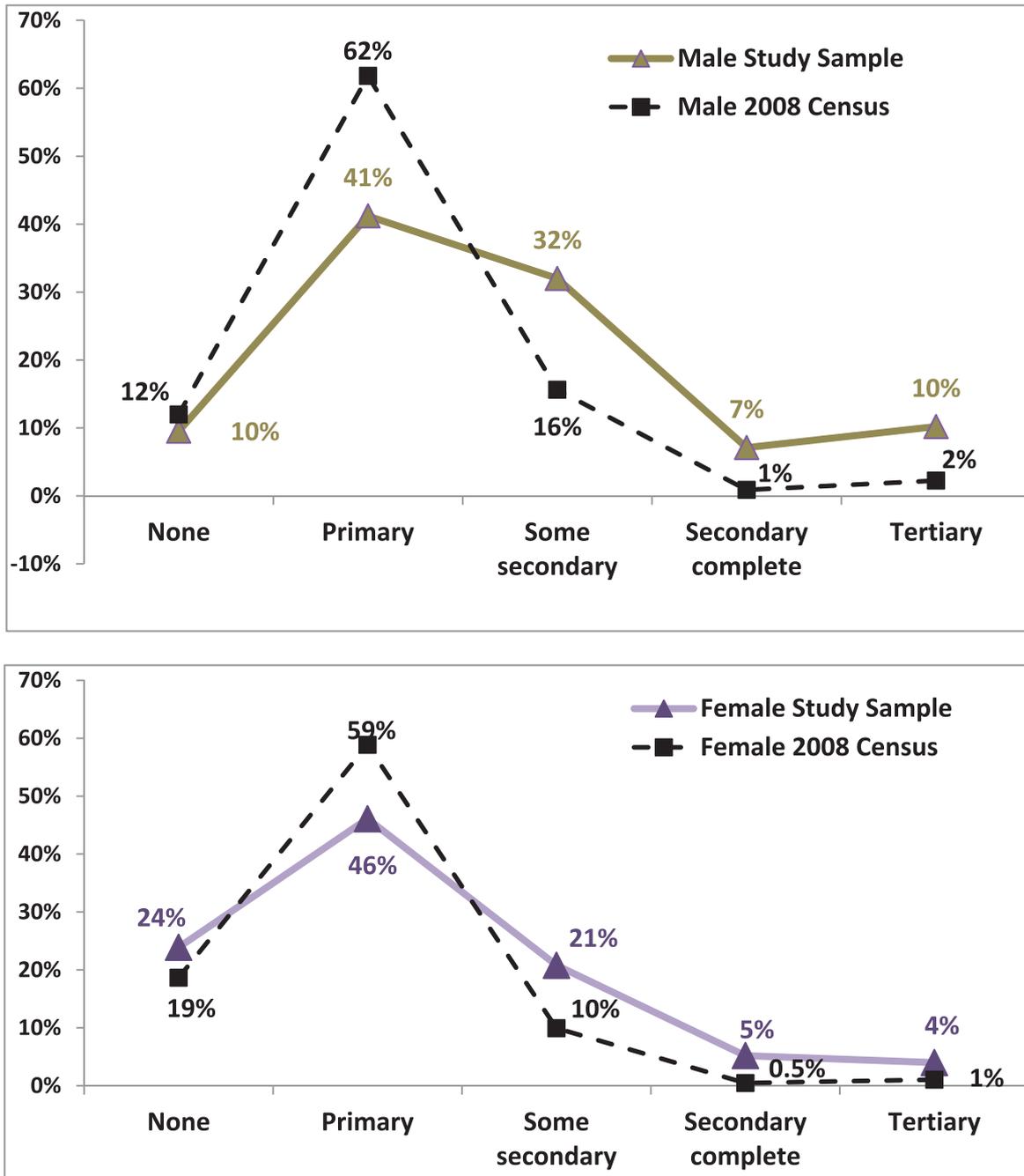


Source: National Institute of Statistics 2010.

Overall, the distributional pattern of education across male and female study respondents is similar to that of the 2008 Cambodian Census. However, the male study sample population has a higher proportion of respondents have received some secondary education, compared to the national population.

Figure 3.2

Comparison of male and female education distribution between study respondents and general population



Source: National Institute of Statistics, 2010.

The main potential form of bias is likely to reflect respondents' willingness to disclose their experiences of violence despite standardization of the study tools, the careful pre-testing of the questionnaire and

intensive interviewer training. This is particularly true in light of the more sensitive questions that were administered through PDA to men but were asked directly of women. This disclosure related bias would likely lead to an underestimation of the levels of violence. In this regard, the prevalence figures should be considered to be minimum estimates of the true prevalence of violence.

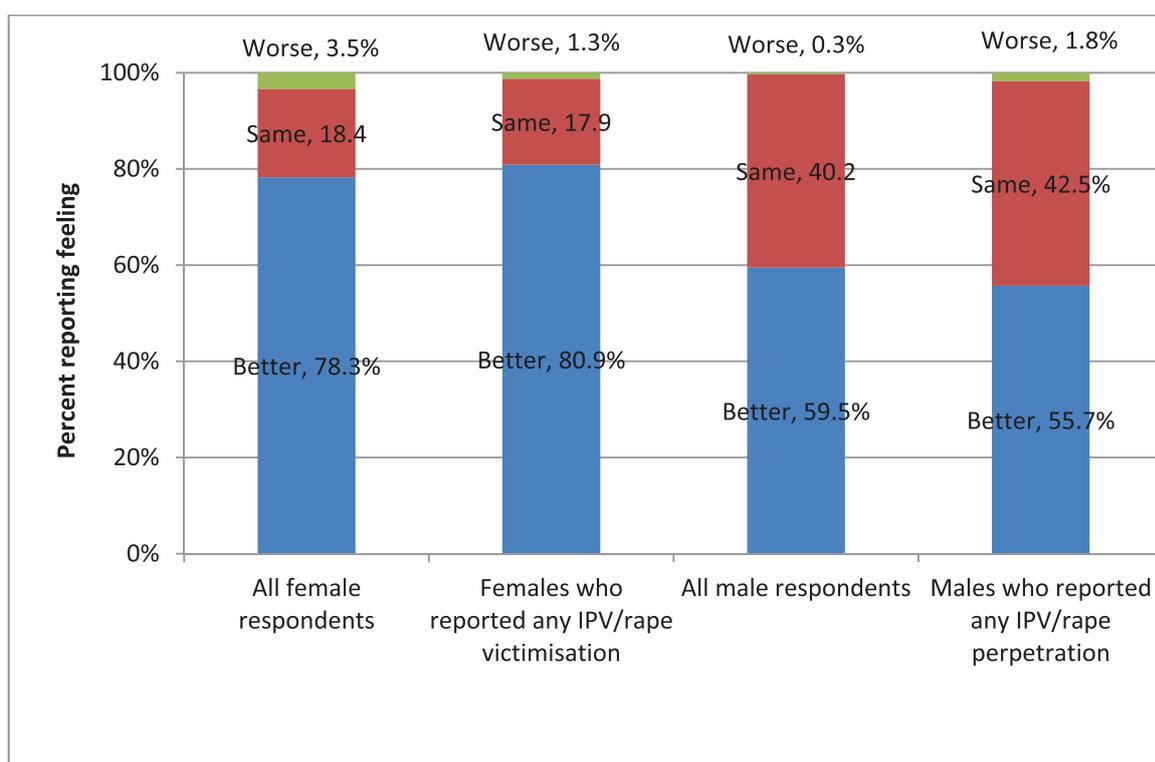
Respondents' feelings after interview

Previous household surveys which have addressed VAW, have shown that respondents tend to feel better after answering interview questions, particularly women who have been victims of violence perpetration (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005; Fulu 2007). The majority of women who took part in the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence, approximately 80 percent, felt better, regardless of whether or not they had experienced any type of violence. Compared to similar studies, these results are much higher than the half of Thai women or the two-thirds of Chinese women who reported feeling better after being interviewed (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005; Wang forthcoming). Most men reported they felt better after taking part in the study, even if they had perpetrated violence. Around 40 percent of men reported they felt the same after the interview. Very few male respondents, less than 2 percent, felt worse after the interview. There was no statistically significant difference between those who reported perpetrating violence and those who did not.

Although in general women felt better than men, both had very small proportions that felt worse. Among the small group of both men and women who did feel worse after the study, the majority were in the oldest age groups. These results show that research on these sensitive issues can be conducted under the principle of 'do no harm', if rigorous ethical and safety standards are adhered to.

Figure 3.3

How respondents felt after interview, by sex and experience with violence



CHAPTER 4: INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN (MEN'S PERPETRATION AND WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE)

**“Plates in a basket will rattle - if people live in the same house there will inevitably be some collisions. It's normal—it can't be helped.
But, from time to time, plates break. So do women.”
Famous Cambodian Proverb**

MAIN FINDINGS

- Of ever-partnered men, more than one in three (36 percent) reported ever perpetrating physical and/or sexual violence during their lifetime.
- Men were more likely to report perpetrating sexual violence than physical violence. One in five men had used sexual violence against a partner. There is a need to move beyond domestic violence interventions that focus only on physical violence, to address issues around women's sexual autonomy and male sexual entitlement.
- Physical IPV is almost always perpetrated in conjunction with other forms of IPV.
- Of ever-partnered men, more than half reported perpetrating emotional and/or financial IPV during their lifetime.
- Rates of economic abuse are higher in Cambodia than most other countries involved in the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence. There is a need to work on women's economic empowerment and address dominant notions of masculinity that position men as the breadwinners in control of financial resources.

Population-based studies conducted in multiple countries have pointed to the fact that the most common form of violence reported by women is domestic violence from their intimate partners (IPV). Globally, these figures range from 15 percent to 75 percent (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005; Hindin, Kishor and Ansara 2008; UN Women 2011). IPV creates significant barriers to the empowerment of women. It affects health-seeking behaviour for themselves and their children. It has also been shown to directly and indirectly affect health consequences for both women's and their children's physical and mental health (Kishor and Johnson, 2004; Hindin, Kishor and Ansara 2008).

One of the main objectives of the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence was to measure the prevalence of male perpetration of IPV, as reported by men themselves. This chapter presents data on men's perpetration of lifetime and current (within the last 12 months) perpetration of IPV. In order to provide comparison, women were also asked about their lifetime and current experiences of IPV which are also presented in this chapter.

The Study explored four main types of IPV: emotional, economic, physical and sexual. To measure each of these forms of IPV, an operational definition was used which corresponded to a series of questions in the survey (see Chapter 2). These questions were posed to respondents who reported ever having had a partner for a total of 1484 men (81 percent) and 417 women (87 percent). The actual number of men and women who responded to each individual question may vary slightly due to refusals.

Emotional abuse and controlling behaviours

The Study looked at both controlling behaviours of men towards their intimate female partners and behaviours that are characterized as emotional abuse.

Men often control their partners as a result of expectations imposed by gender norms but can also be a result of jealousy and insecurity (McCue 2008; Miedema, 2011). This type of marital control has been linked with higher risks of more severe types of abuse, such as emotional, physical and sexual abuse (McCue 2008).

In this study we asked respondents a series of eight statements, based on a standardized and field tested relationship control scale (Table 4.1). Responses were based on a four point Likert scale ranging from 'strongly disagreeing' to 'strongly agreeing' to the occurrence of controlling behaviour. A total score was developed and divided into three levels: least controlling behaviour, medium controlling behaviour and highly controlling behaviour.

Table 4.1 lists the percentage of men and women who agreed or strongly agreed to the relationship control statements. An overwhelming 92 percent of men and 91 percent of women agreed or strongly agreed to at least one of the statements, in other words to having perpetrated (men) or experienced (women) at least one controlling behaviour. The most commonly reported forms of controlling behaviour related to sex, decision-making, and who the female partner spends time with. A very high percentage of both men (69 percent) and women (70 percent) reported that male partners expected their female partners to agree to sex when the man wants it. This finding is corroborated by both the 2005 and 2009 Ministry of Women's Affairs studies on violence against women in Cambodia (MoWA 2005 & MoWA 2009). Despite these high rates of men's entitlement to sex from their partners, only 21 percent of men said they would get angry if their female partner asked them to use a condom.

Table 4.1
Percentage of men and women who agreed with statements about controlling behaviours in a relationship

CONTROLLING BEHAVIOUR	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
1. Male partner expects his female partner to agree to sex when he wants it	68.7	70.3
2. Male partner would get angry if female partner asked to use condom*	21.2	31.2
3. Male partner won't let female partner wear certain things*	26.9	21.7
4. Male partner has most say about important decisions that affect them*	55.9	47.3
5. Male partner tells female partner who she can spend time with*	79.2	50.4
6. Male partner thinks female partner is trying to attract other men when she wears something beautiful*	8.7	13.4
7. Male partner wants to know where female partner is all the time	44.2	47.8
8. Male partner lets female partner know she's not the only partner he could have	24.0	22.3
Relationship control scale tertiles:*		
% reporting most control	4.9	9.6
mid level	73.6	40.2
least control	21.6	50.3
Total number of partnered males/females	1484	417

*Statistically significant difference between males and females

When looking at levels of relationship control, overall few men reported high control (5 percent), with the majority reporting mid-level (74 percent) and 22 percent reported a low level of control. Overall women reported similarly or lower than men on six out-of-the eight controlling statements and more women (50%) than men (22%) reported being in relationships with low levels of controlling behaviour.

Emotional abuse

Table 4.2 shows that 54 percent of men reported perpetrating any type of emotional abuse against a female partner in their lifetime and 16 percent had done so in the past 12 months. The most commonly reported emotional abuse was insulting by males towards their female partners, with 35 percent of men reporting they had insulted their partners. Intimidation/scaring was the second highest form of emotional abuse reported, with 31 percent of men reporting they had done this. Hurting others as way of hurting a female partner was the least prevalent type of emotional abuse reported overall, with men reporting perpetrating half as much (7 percent) as women reported (16 percent).

Reports from women were slightly higher than from men (65 percent ever and 27 percent current). This finding is consistent with other studies as many of these emotionally abusive acts are perceived subjectively (Garcia-Moreno 2005; Fulu 2010). A woman may feel insulted but a man may not believe that he has insulted her and hence does not perceive the behaviour as abusive.

Table 4.2

Percentage of ever-partnered men and women who reported having perpetrated emotional partner abuse

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Ever any emotional abuse*	54.3	64.9
Emotional abuse in last 12 months*	15.8	26.8
Hurt others as a way of hurting her*	6.7	16.1
Belittlement/ humiliation	14.9	15.4
Threats of harm	29.1	26.1
Intimidation/ scaring*	30.8	41.1
Insults*	34.8	48.9
Total number of ever-partnered men/women	1484	417
*Statistically significant difference between males and females		

Economic abuse

Previous data on domestic financial abuse is limited in Cambodia. Approximately half of the men (53 percent) and women (49 percent) reported some type of economic abuse - this is much higher than most other countries in the region. A quarter of male respondents (25 percent) reported having financially abused a female partner in the last 12 months. Contrary to emotional abuse and controlling behaviours which had a relatively high frequency, happening many times, most men who reported economic abuse said it happened once or a few times.

In the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence, respondents were also asked who provides the main source of income in the family. Almost half (49 percent) of respondents indicated that the man provided the main source of income with 18 percent reporting equal contribution.

Table 4.3

Percentage of men and women who reported having perpetrated or experienced financial partner abuse

FINANCIALLY ABUSIVE ACT	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Any financially abusive act (ever)	53.1	49.0
Any financially abusive act (12 months)*	25.2	16.6
Prohibited from working/earning money*	25.5	37.4
Male partner has taken her earnings against her will	13.2	16.9
Female partner thrown out of house by male partner	7.8	8.6
Male partner kept earnings for self, despite difficulty to pay household expenses*	30.6	8.6
Total number of partnered men/ women	1484	417

*Statistically significant difference between men and women

Of the different kinds of economic abuses, the most commonly reported by men was keeping earnings for their own use (alcohol, tobacco, etc.) despite difficulties to pay household expenses. Men reported perpetrating this abuse (31 percent) more than three times more than women reported experiencing it (9 percent). The higher reporting in men could be due to fact that women may not know how much money their partners have or whether their partners are keeping money from them. This is the only type of abuse where men reported higher rates than women, all other abuses were either equally reported or women reported higher rates.

A quarter of men (25 percent) reported they had prohibited their partner from working or earning money – the second highest type of economic abuse reported by men. Previous qualitative studies have found that the belief that men who allow their wives to work outside of their home are not considered ‘real men’ (Miedema 2011). The two least reported abuses by men were: taking their female partner’s earnings against her will (13 percent) and throwing their partner out of the house (8 percent), both of which were also the least reported by women.

Physical Violence

Table 4.4 shows that the lifetime prevalence of any physical IPV perpetrated by men was 16 percent, with 3 percent having perpetrated in the last year. In addition, an expected pattern emerges of decreasing prevalence as the severity of physical violence increases (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005). The most commonly reported physical act of violence by both men and women was the male partner pushing or shoving his female partner.

For the more severe forms of physical IPV 8 percent of men reported hitting their partner with a fist. Less than 5 percent of men reported dragging, kicking, or beating their partner, with 2 percent reporting having threatened or attacked their female partner with a weapon.

Table 4.4**Percentage of men and women who reported having perpetrated or experienced physical partner violence**

PHYSICALLY ABUSIVE ACT	Men (%)	Women (%)
Any physically violent act (ever)*	16.4	22.1
Any physically violent act (12 months)*	2.9	6.4
Male partner pushed/shoved female partner	11.5	15.2
Male partner slapped female partner*	6.6	13.4
Male partner hit female partner with fist *	6.3	11.8
Male partner kicked, dragged, beat female partner	3.2	5.2
Male partner threatened/used weapon against female partner*	2	5.4
Total number of ever-partnered men/women	1484	417

*Statistically significant difference between men and women

Across all types of physical IPV men reported lower rates of perpetration, in some cases half, compared to women’s reports of victimization. In addition, as seen with the other types of abuses, men reported lower frequencies of physical IPV perpetration than women. These questions were administered face-to-face and in the Cambodia context where domestic violence is increasingly considered unacceptable, therefore, men may have under-reported their use of such violence.

Sexual violence

The measure of sexual partner violence reported below includes any of four types of sexual violence as described in the methodology chapter, including but not limited to forced or coerced sexual intercourse. The measure of ‘partner rape’ on the other hand, is defined as forced or coerced sexual intercourse based on the first two questions outlined in the methodology chapter. This may also occur when the person aggressed is unable to give consent, such as while drunk, drugged, asleep or mentally incapable of understanding the situation (Krug et al., 2002). This follows international definitions (Krug et al., 2002).¹⁴

It is important to note the methodological differences in the way the sexual partner violence and partner rape questions were asked for men and for women when comparing reported values between them.¹⁵ For men the questions were part of the self-administered section, which allowed for higher levels of privacy. For women the questions were asked directly by the interviewer.

14 In the regional report only ‘partner rape’ is reported rather than a broader definition of sexual violence. However, in the national report it was considered important to present a more comprehensive set of findings and thus both sexual partner violence and partner rape are reported. For this reason, there are some differences in the numbers presented in the national and regional reports, however this is not an error, rather a presentation of slightly different findings.

15 It should be noted that the figures for partner rape are calculated slightly differently from men and women’s reports. Partner rape perpetration is calculated from men’s responses to having “ever forced your current or previous wife or girlfriend to have sexual intercourse with you when she did not want to” and having “ever had sexual intercourse with your current or previous wife or girlfriend when you knew she didn’t want it but you believed she should agree because she was your wife/partner?” Partner rape victimization is calculated from women’s responses to two questions regarding: whether a “current or previous husband or boyfriend ever physically forced you to have sexual intercourse when you did not want to” and whether the woman “ever had sexual intercourse with a current or previous husband or boyfriend when you did not want to because you were afraid of what he might do.” The reason for this discrepancy is that men may not know when their partners are afraid of them, so we are unable to ask men in this way.

Lifetime prevalence for men perpetrating any type of sexual violence against their female partner was reported as 21 percent (see Table 4.5). Perpetration of any sexual violence in the last year was reported by 4 percent of men. Perpetration of intimate partner rape was reported by 21 percent of men. The most commonly reported type of sexually violent act was a male having sex with a female partner when he knew she didn't want to but thought she should agree because she was his wife/girlfriend, with 17 percent of men perpetrating, followed by 10 percent forcing sex on their partner. Forcing a female partner to watch pornography was reported by 6 percent of men, and forcing other sexual acts was reported by 4 percent of men.

The opposite pattern of reporting between males and females is seen than for physical IPV. Table 4.5 illustrates that across all types of sexual IPV, more men reported perpetration than women reported victimization.

Although more men reported sexual IPV than women, 38 percent of women indicated they experienced sexual violence many times, compared to 11 percent of men who reported perpetrating sexual violence many times. The only exception was with forcing to watch pornography, where more men reported perpetrating many times (32 percent) compared to 25 percent of women who reported experiencing many times.

Table 4.5

Percentage men and women who reported having perpetrated or experienced sexual partner violence

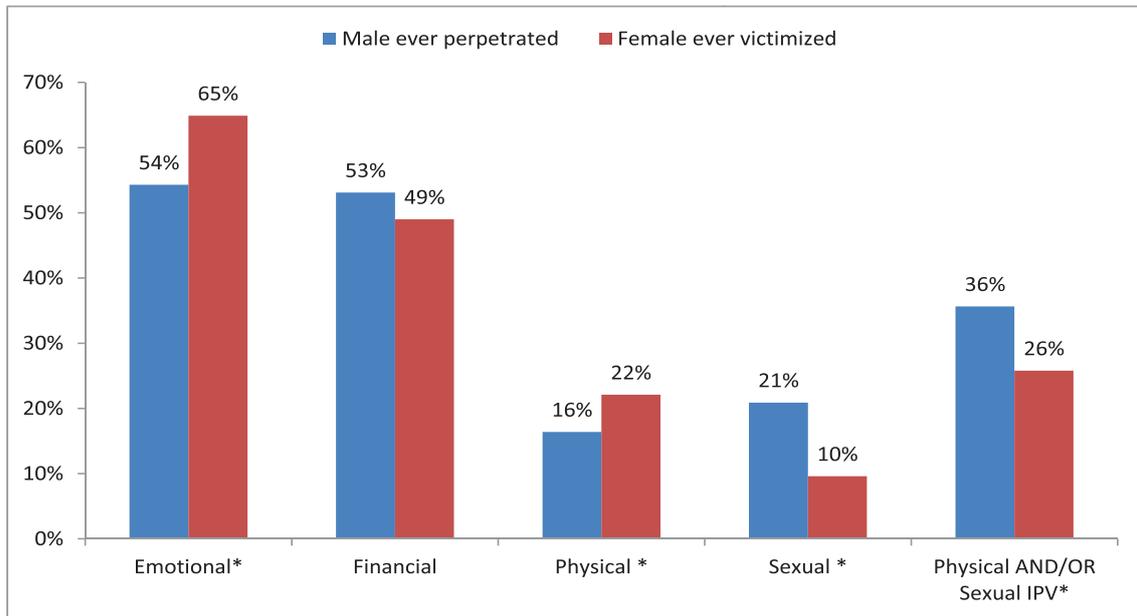
Sexual act	Men (%)	Women (%)
Ever any sexually violent act including rape of/by an intimate partner*	20.7	9.9
Ever rape of / by an intimate partner*	20.7	9.8
Male partner physically forced sex on female partner	9.6	5.9
Male partner had sex with female partner when he knew she didn't want to, but he thought she should agree because she was his wife/girlfriend*	16.5	7.13
Male partner forced female partner to do something else sexual she did not want to do	3.81	1.47
Male partner forced female partner to watch pornography*	5.69	0.98
Total number of ever-partnered men/women	1484	417
Perpetrated/experienced any sexually violent act of/by an intimate partner in last 12 months*	4.3	3.7

*Statistically significant difference between men and women

Figure 4.1 shows that, overall, emotional abuse was the most common type of partner violence, followed closely by economic abuse. Men reported perpetrating sexual violence more frequently than physical violence although the opposite was true for women's reported experiences. 36 percent of ever-partnered men reported that they had committed physical or sexual violence against an intimate partner in their lifetime. 7 percent reported that they had done so in the past 12 months. In terms of the frequency of the violence, whether it had occurred once, a few times or many times, women were more likely to report that it had occurred many times compared to men (Figure 4.2). The majority of men and women reported that the violence occurred a few times.

Figure 4.1

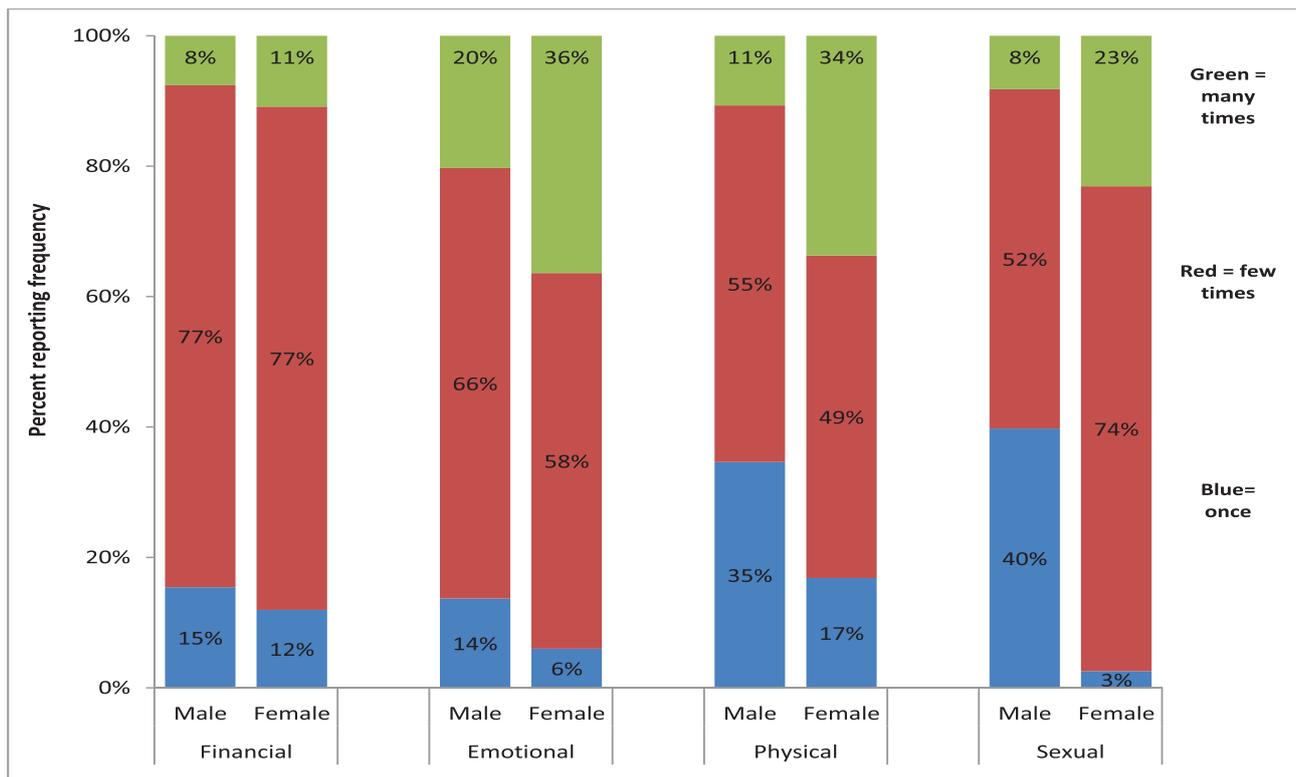
Percentage of men and women who reported having perpetrated or experienced intimate partner violence in their lifetime, by type of violence



*Statistically significant difference between men and women

Figure 4.2

Level of frequency reported for lifetime financial, emotional, physical and sexual partner violence (men's perpetration and women's experiences)



Overlap of violence

Different forms of IPV are not usually perpetrated or experienced in isolation (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005; Hindin, Kishor and Ansara 2008). Results from the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence support previous findings that any one type of IPV is often experienced in conjunction with other forms of IPV. When looking at the overlaps of violence in Cambodia, some interesting patterns emerge. Only 3 percent of men and 5 percent of women reported all four forms of IPV in conjunction. Most commonly, men (42 percent) and women (40 percent) reported experiencing two or three forms in conjunction.

Physical IPV had the lowest reporting in isolation for both men and women, at less than 1 percent. This suggests that physical IPV is typically experienced in conjunction with other types of violence. Studies have shown that physical abuse is usually accompanied by emotional abuse (McCue 2008). In the Cambodia data, as Table 4.6 shows, emotional IPV accompanies at least 94 percent of physical IPV perpetration by men; economic abuse accompanies 73 percent. These findings suggest that physical IPV could be a final or more severe culmination of controlling behaviour and conflict that may initially manifest as emotional and financial forms of IPV.

Table 4.6

Overlap between emotional and financial IPV perpetration with other types of IPV perpetration

PERCENT PERPETRATING EMOTIONAL/FINANCIAL	FINANCIAL/EMOTIONAL* (%)	PHYSICAL* (%)	SEXUAL* (%)
Emotional	67.4	94.9	63.1
Financial	65.9	73.0	66.1

*Statistically significant

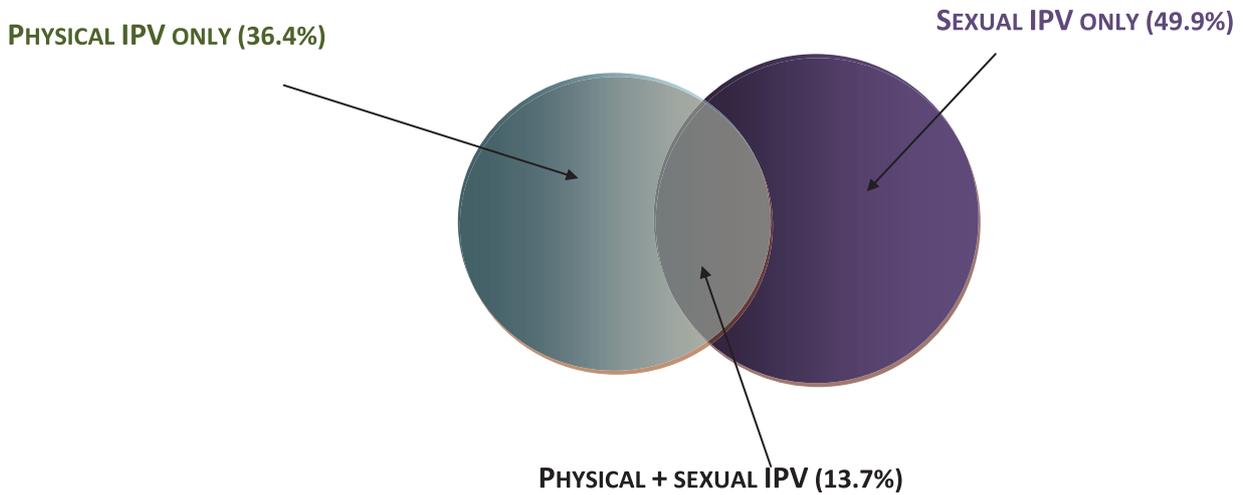
*Statistically significant

Sexual IPV in isolation was reported by 7 percent of men, one third less than the overall figure. While it is clear that most sexual IPV is experienced in conjunction with other forms of violence, it also suggests that a substantial proportion of perpetrators of sexual IPV may have characteristics that are different from perpetrators of other forms of violence (see Chapters 5 and 9).

Figure 4.3 illustrates the overlap of physical and sexual IPV perpetration among ever partnered men who reported IPV. Interestingly, men report much higher prevalence of perpetrating sexual IPV without physical IPV (50 percent) in comparison with perpetrating physical IPV without sexual (36 percent). 14 percent of men reported perpetrating physical as well as sexual IPV during their lifetime.

Figure 4.3

Overlap of physical and sexual IPV among men who reported perpetration



IPV by education, income, partnership status and location

At the bivariate level, education was found to be associated across almost all forms of IPV for men and for emotional and physical IPV for women. Respondents that had primary or less education reported more IPV (see Table 4.8). In other studies, education is recognized as a protective factor for IPV after controlling for income and age (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005). However, differences in educational attainment between partners were not found to be associated with IPV.

Table 4.8

Men's reported perpetration of IPV, by education

	Primary or less (%)	Secondary or more (%)
Financial*	56.9	48.3
Emotional*	57.0	50.8
Physical*	19.0	13.0
Sexual*	24.6	16.0

*Statistically significant difference between education categories

Figure 4.4

Men's reported perpetration of IPV, by partner co-habitation status

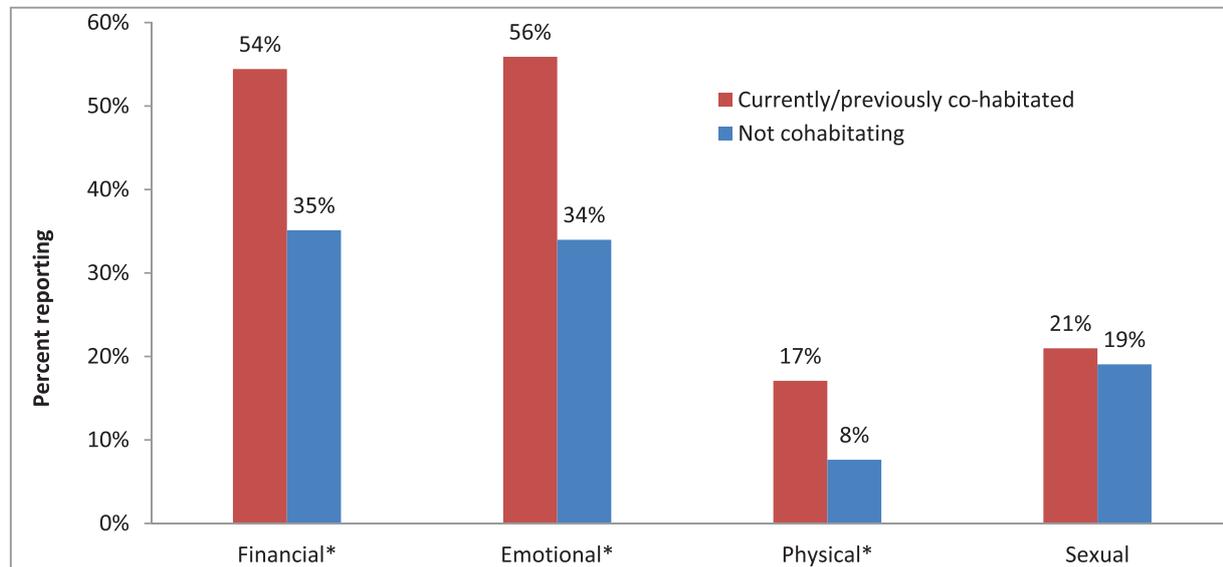
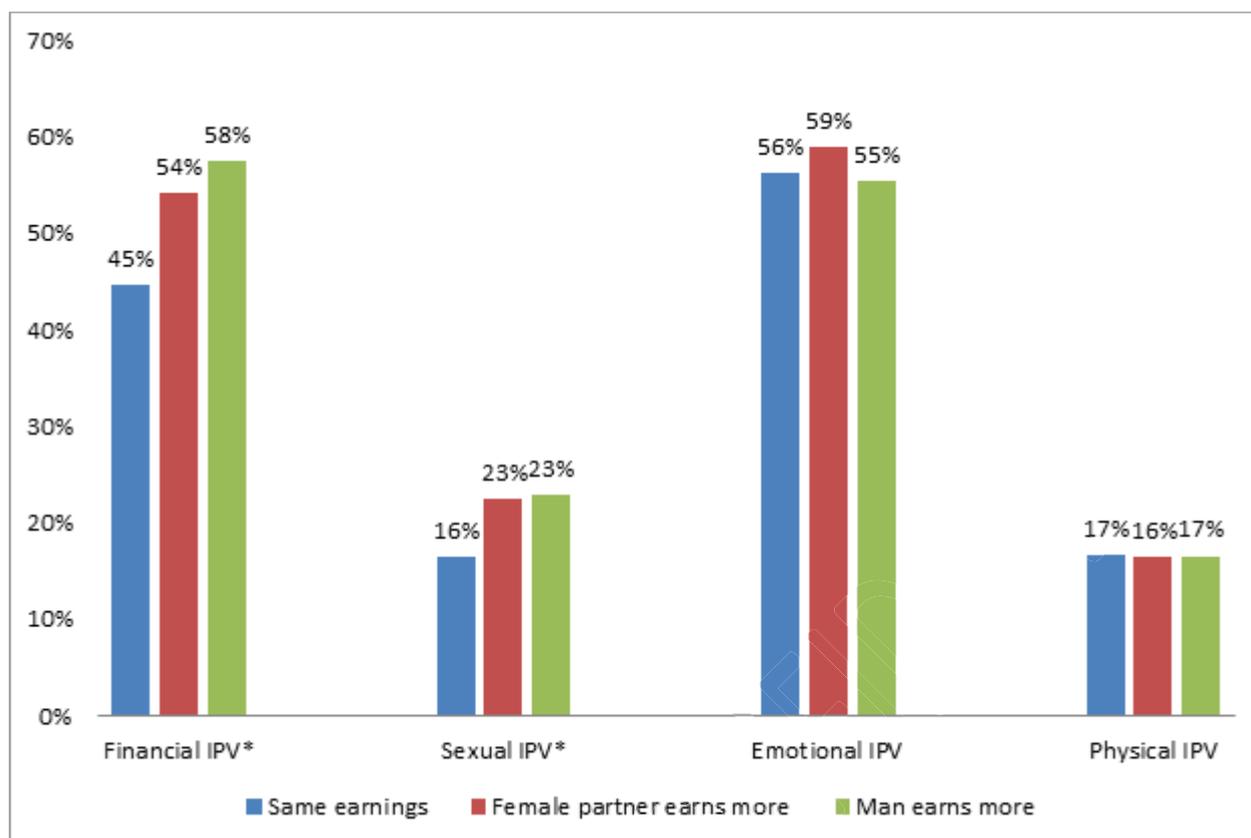


Figure 4.4 shows ever partnered men's reported prevalence of IPV by their partnership status. With the exception of sexual IPV, cohabitation (currently married, currently living together, or previously married) was highly associated with perpetration of IPV. It has similarly been observed in other countries, that IPV is more common in cohabitating relationships (Kishor 2004; Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005; Fulu 2010).

There is an association between men who earned more money than their partners and men's perpetration of financial and sexual abuse, but not for emotional or physical abuse. Men who earn more than their female partners have higher reported rates of perpetration of financial (58 percent) and sexual IPV (23 percent) (see Figure 4.5). Men who reported earning a similar income to their female partners, also reported lower levels of financial (45 percent) and sexual IPV (17 percent). Therefore, having partners with similar earnings seem to play a more protective role against economic and sexual IPV than when the woman earns more than her male partner. This finding complicates the common notion that economic empowerment alone can alleviate IPV, suggesting that equality between partners may have a more profound role, at least in the context of Cambodia.

Figure 4.5
Men's reported perpetration of IPV, by partner's earnings



Age was not significantly associated with current prevalence (in last 12 months) of IPV. There was also no significant difference in the prevalence of IPV across the five provinces sampled (Table 4.9).

No significant association was found between income status and IPV prevalence for either men or women. This finding is similar to what has been found in Maldives, Solomon Islands and Kiribati, and highlights that violence cuts across all income groups and economic development alone may not be enough to address VAW (Fulu 2007; SPC 2009).

Table 4.9
Men's reported perpetration of IPV, by province

TYPE OF IPV	BATTAMBANG		PHNOM PENH	SIEM REAP	SIHANOUK (%)
	(%)	KAMPOT (%)	(%)	(%)	
Financial	52.6	60.3	50.8	49.4	51.9
Emotional	50.2	50.8	51.3	61.9	56.0
Physical	13.1	18.6	14.6	17.5	17.5
Sexual	18.7	21.3	17.1	18.5	19.5

*No statistically significant difference across geographical locations

Discussion

The study shows that IPV is relatively common in Cambodia. 36 percent of ever-partnered men reported using physical and/or sexual violence against an intimate partner in their lifetime. 7 percent reported doing so in the last 12 months. Half of all men reported using emotional abuse against a partner and the same rates were reported for economic abuse. The rates of economic abuse in Cambodia are particularly high compared to other countries that have participated in the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence (Fulu et al. 2013). This highlights the need to work on women's economic empowerment and address dominant notions of masculinity that position men as the breadwinners in control of financial resources. IPV perpetration cuts across region, age and income status, pointing to the fact that partner violence is not related to poverty and must be addressed in all areas of society. Male perpetration of sexual partner violence was found to be more common than physical partner violence in Cambodia. This contrasts to many countries in the world where physical violence is the most common type of IPV (Naved et. al. 2011; Garcia-Moreno et. al., 2005). However, this is consistent with other countries in the South-East Asian region, including Thailand and Indonesia, which indicates that this may be a regional pattern (Garcia-Moreno et. al., 2005; Hakimi et. al. 2002). The Indonesia study suggests that higher rates of sexual partner violence might be related to gender norms based on culture and religion that confer absolute sexual control of men over women. Further research is needed to explore what cultural elements in South-East Asia, and Cambodia in particular, may help explain this pattern. It highlights the need to move beyond domestic violence interventions that focus only on physical violence, and address issues around women's ability to refuse sex within marriage, and what consent means in practice. There is a clear need to promote healthy sexual relationships, increase women's sexual autonomy at the same time as addressing male sexual entitlement.

Men reported higher rates of perpetrating physical and/or sexual IPV than women reported experiencing such violence, although the women's prevalence reports are similar to the global average (Garcia-Moreno et. al. 2005). Women's reports of experiencing sexual IPV (including all types of sexual IPV, not just rape) were approximately half that of men's reports of perpetration, whereas women's reports of physical IPV were higher than men's. The variation may be explained by the fact that sexual violence questions were asked to men using the anonymous format of the self-administered PDAs. This process may have made men feel more comfortable than women to report on such a sensitive topic. Questions on sexual violence were also slightly different for men and women. There may be real differences in interpretation of sexual coercion for men and women. Regardless of the prevalence reported, across all four types of lifetime IPV, men reported lower frequencies of occurrence than women. This may indicate that while men are willing to admit their use of violence they minimize the severity and frequency.

It should be noted that the women's sample was too small to be conclusive and it will be important to explore men's perpetration against women's reports in the ongoing prevalence study using the WHO multi-country study methodology.



MAIN FINDINGS

- 8 percent of men reported having perpetrated sexual violence against a female non-partner during their lifetime.
- 5 percent of men reported having perpetrated gang rape against a woman – higher than most other study sites in the region.
- 4 percent of men reported having perpetrated sexual violence against a man during their lifetime and 3 percent reported having perpetrated gang rape against a man during their lifetime.
- More than half of all men who had perpetrated rape did so for the first time when they were teenagers – highlighting the need to work with younger boys to prevent sexual violence.
- The most commonly reported motivation for perpetrating rape was related to men's sense of sexual entitlement - the belief that they have the right to sex regardless of consent. The second most common reason for perpetration of partner rape was related to entertainment seeking. However, non-partner rape was driven more predominantly by anger.
- Alcohol use was the least frequently reported motivation for perpetrating rape.
- The study found a strong overlap between rape perpetrated against men and women. To end VAW it is also necessary to address sexual violence against men.

Globally, most studies have been focused on the prevalence of sexual VAW perpetrated by partners, as compared to non-partners (UN Women 2011). The few studies on non-partner violence show that overall, sexual violence against a partner is more commonly reported than against a non-partner woman. The prevalence of non-partner rape in countries ranges from less than 1 percent to 26 percent (Jewkes et al. 2013; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; Jewkes 2011; Dunkle 2004). Even less data is available on men's sexual violence perpetration against other men. This chapter presents data on Cambodian men's use of sexual violence against women who were not intimate partners as well as against other men.

Rape and gang rape of non-partner women

Prevalence

Table 5.1 presents men and women's reports of non-partner rape perpetration and experiences respectively. As discussed in the methods section, non-partner rape by a single male perpetrator was measured using two questions related to forced or coerced sexual intercourse. Gang rape refers to forced or coerced sex by more than one perpetrator at the same time. These measures fit the international definition of rape, therefore the term non-partner rape is used throughout this chapter.

Lifetime perpetration of any type of non-partner rape against a woman or girl was reported by 8 percent of men surveyed. This is less than half the reported prevalence of partner rape (21 percent). The lower prevalence of non-partner compared to partner rape is similar to findings in other countries, adding weight to the consistent evidence that women are most at risk of sexual violence from their intimate partners (Fulu et al. 2013; Naved et al. 2011; Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005). Current perpetration (last 12 months) of any type of non-partner rape was reported by 2 percent of men surveyed.

5 percent of men indicated that they had participated in the gang rape of a women or girl; more than twice the prevalence reported in some other countries in the UN Multi-country Study (Fulu et al. 2013). The most common type of non-partner rape reported, whether perpetrated alone or in a gang, was physically forcing sex (6 percent) compared to having sex with a non-partner female when she was too drunk/drugged to refuse (5 percent).

A higher proportion of men in the survey reported perpetration of non-partner rape than women reported experiencing such violence. Less than 1 percent of women surveyed reported that they had experienced non-partner sexual violence. As mentioned earlier, part of this differential reporting may be due to the different methodologies in survey administration. It may also reflect a greater shame or stigma for women to report experiences of rape in a culture where virginity before marriage is highly valued.

Table 5.1
Percentage of men and women who reported having perpetrated or experienced sexual violence

	Male reports (%)	Female reports (%)
Ever any non-partner rape*	8.3	0.6
Past year any non-partner rape*	2.1	0.4
Ever gang rape*	5.2	0.4

* Statistically significant difference between male and female reports

Frequency and number

In terms of frequency, the majority of men who had perpetrated non-partner rape reported that they had done so only once (Figure 5.1). Nevertheless, 40 percent of men who had forced a non-partner woman to have sex reported that they had perpetrated such violence more than once. An equally high number (37 percent) reported having sex with a woman when she was too drunk to refuse, or gang raping a woman more than once. Women’s reports related to the frequency of experiencing sexual violence is not included as the sample size was too small to be meaningful.

Figure 5.1

Frequency of non-partner rape perpetration, among men who reported ever perpetrating non-partner rape against a woman or girl

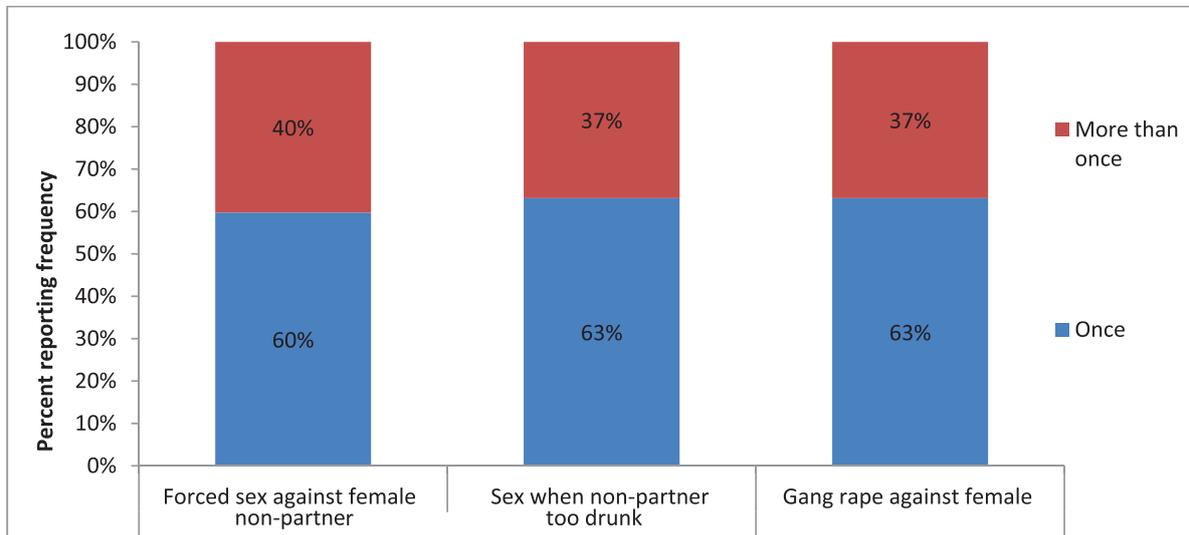
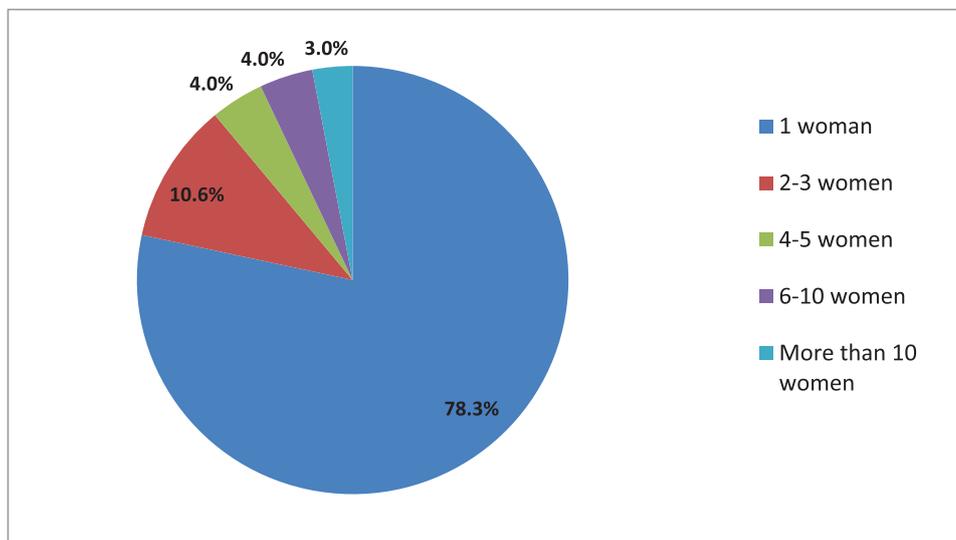


Figure 5.2 presents findings on the number of different women that men reported having raped during their lifetime, among those who reported having raped at least one woman or girl. The values include both partner and non-partner women, although the pattern more strongly reflects the situation for non-partner rape. The majority of men who had ever perpetrated sexual violence against a woman (78 percent) indicated that they had raped one woman during their lifetime, 22 percent had raped two or more women; and 3 percent reported that they had raped more than 10 different women. There was no significant difference in rates of serial rape across age groups, or by education.

Figure 5.2

Percentage of men who raped more than one woman or girl in their lifetime, among men who reported ever perpetrating rape



Men's sexual violence against other men

Prevalence

Table 5.2 presents the reported prevalence of male-on-male sexual violence. Lifetime perpetration of any type of sexual violence against another man, either alone or in a gang, was reported by 4 percent of men; 3 percent reported perpetration in the last year. This is mirrored by the 4 percent of men who reported being a victim of sexual assault and/or rape by another man. The prevalence of gang rape of men was found to be 3 percent, just over half the prevalence of gang rape of women, according to men's reports of perpetration.

While some rape reported against men may refer to partner violence within same-sex relationships, the majority of rape against men appears to be perpetrated by men who identify as heterosexual. 44 percent of men who perpetrated rape against another man reported that they were attracted to only women and 32 percent reported that they were unsure about their sexuality. This shows, as the literature suggests, that rape, whether against men or women, is less about sexual attraction and more about power (Spiegel 2003). For example, men may perpetrate rape as a form of punishment against men who fail to live up to dominant masculine norms.

Table 5.2

Percentage of men reporting sexual violence perpetration against other men, and experiences of sexual violence by men

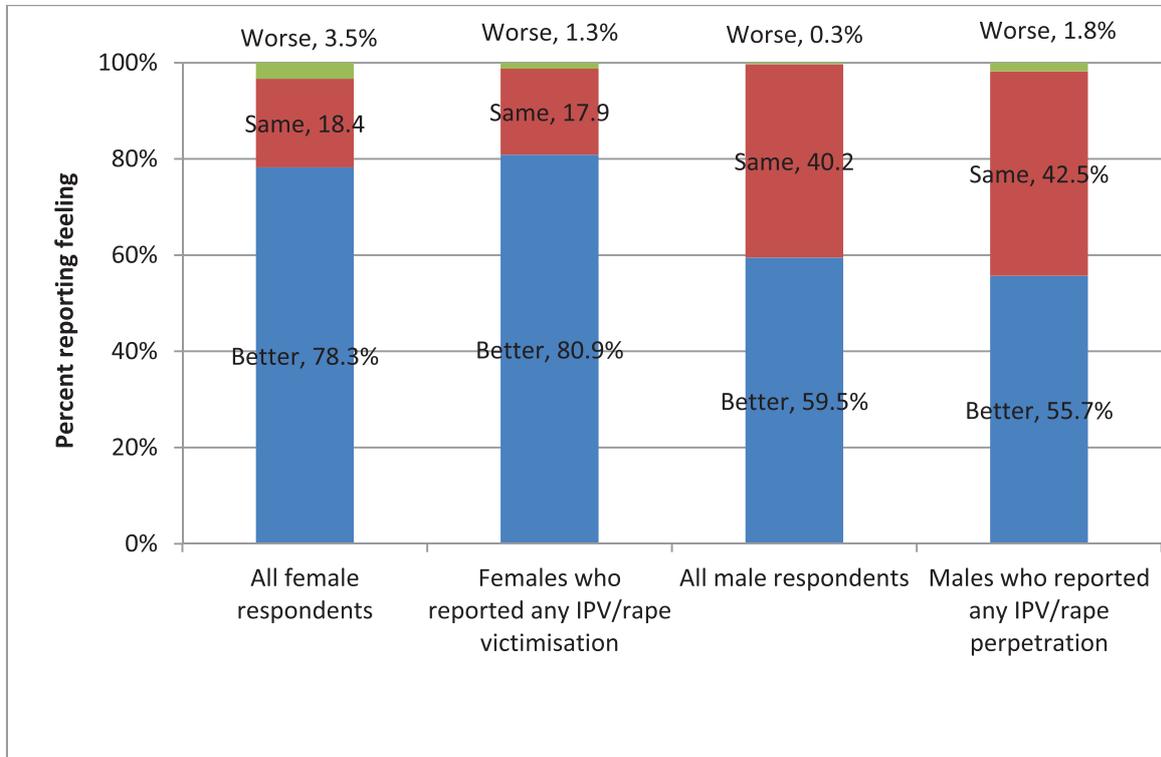
	Men (%)
<i>Victimization</i>	
Ever been sexually assaulted by a man	3.7
<i>Perpetration</i>	
Ever perpetrated any sexual violence against a man or boy	3.8
Ever raped a man	3.3
Past year perpetrated sexual violence against a man or boy	2.6
Ever gang raped a man	2.5
Total number of men responding	1774

Frequency and number

Figure 5.3 shows that the frequency of men's perpetration of sexual violence against other men, among those who had ever perpetrated, was quite high. Almost 70 percent of men who had used sexual violence against another man reported having perpetrated such violence more than once. This is much higher than the frequency reported by male victims of sexual violence, of which 39 percent reported being victimized more than once. The frequency of perpetration of sexual violence against men was also higher than that reported against women. Gang rape against men had a lower frequency, similar to that of gang rape against women with 39 percent reporting perpetration more than once.

Figure 5.3

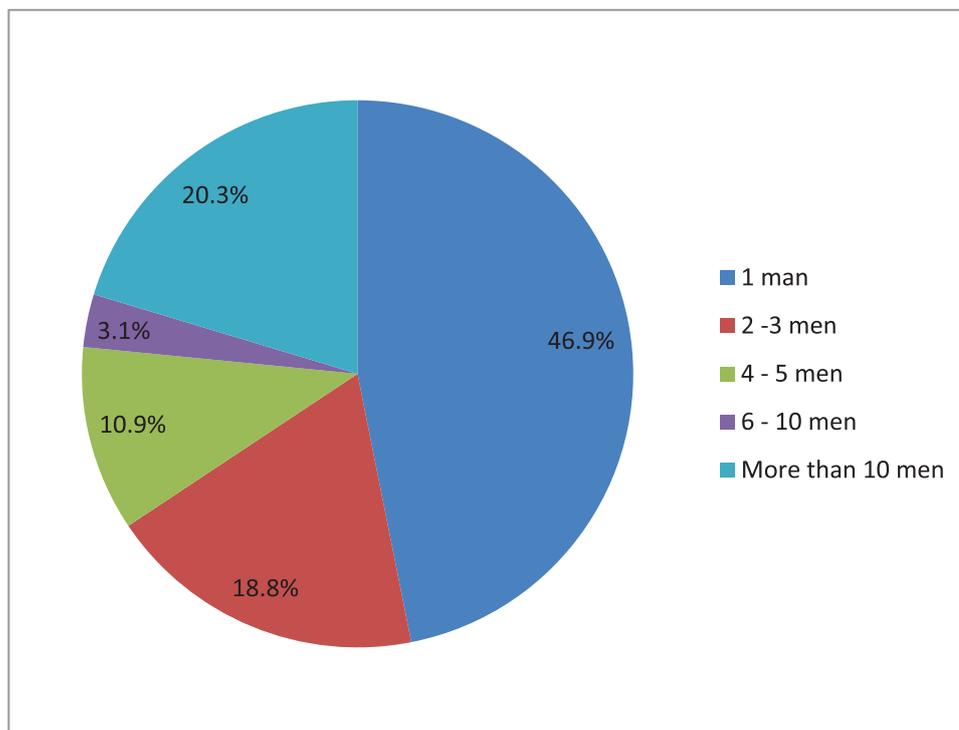
Frequency of men's sexual violence perpetration against other men, and frequency of men's sexual violence victimization



In addition, more than half of those who reported having perpetrated rape against another man had raped more than one man, including 20 percent who reported raping more than 10 different men in their lifetime. This suggests that serial rape of men is more common than would be expected. In addition, serial rape of men does not vary by education, or across age groups, suggesting that exposure to opportunities over time is not associated with the number of victims.

Figure 5.4

Percentage of men who raped more than one man or boy in their lifetime, among men who reported ever perpetrating rape against a man or boy



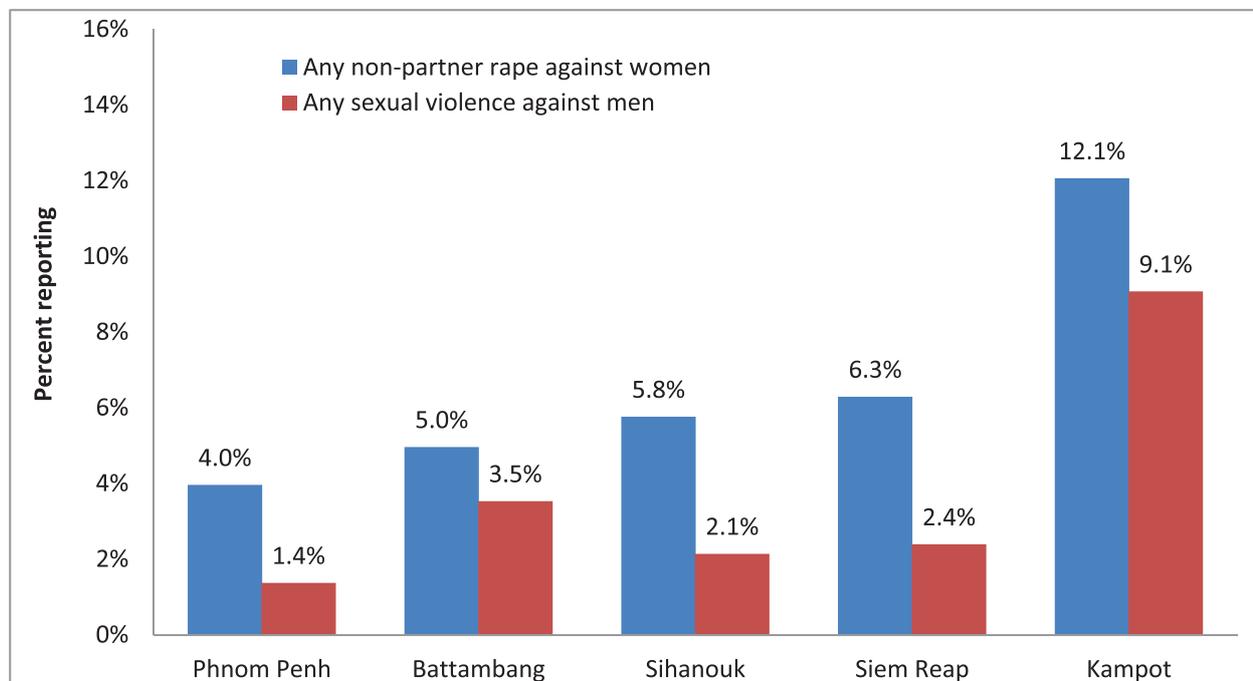
Rape perpetration and victimization by province, age, education, marital status and income

Sexual violence perpetration by province

Chapter 4 showed that there was no significant variation in rates of intimate partner violence by province, however non-partner sexual violence against both women and men was found to vary by province. Figure 5.5 shows that the pattern of perpetration is similar regardless of whether the victim is a woman or a man. Kampot has the highest reported prevalence of non-partner rape against women (12 percent); twice as high as any other provinces. Kampot also has the highest prevalence of sexual violence against men (9 percent) which is three to seven times higher than the other provinces. The lowest reported prevalence for both types of sexual violence was in the capital, Phnom Penh.

Figure 5.5

Percentage of men reporting perpetration of sexual violence against female non-partners and other men, by province



Age of first rape perpetration

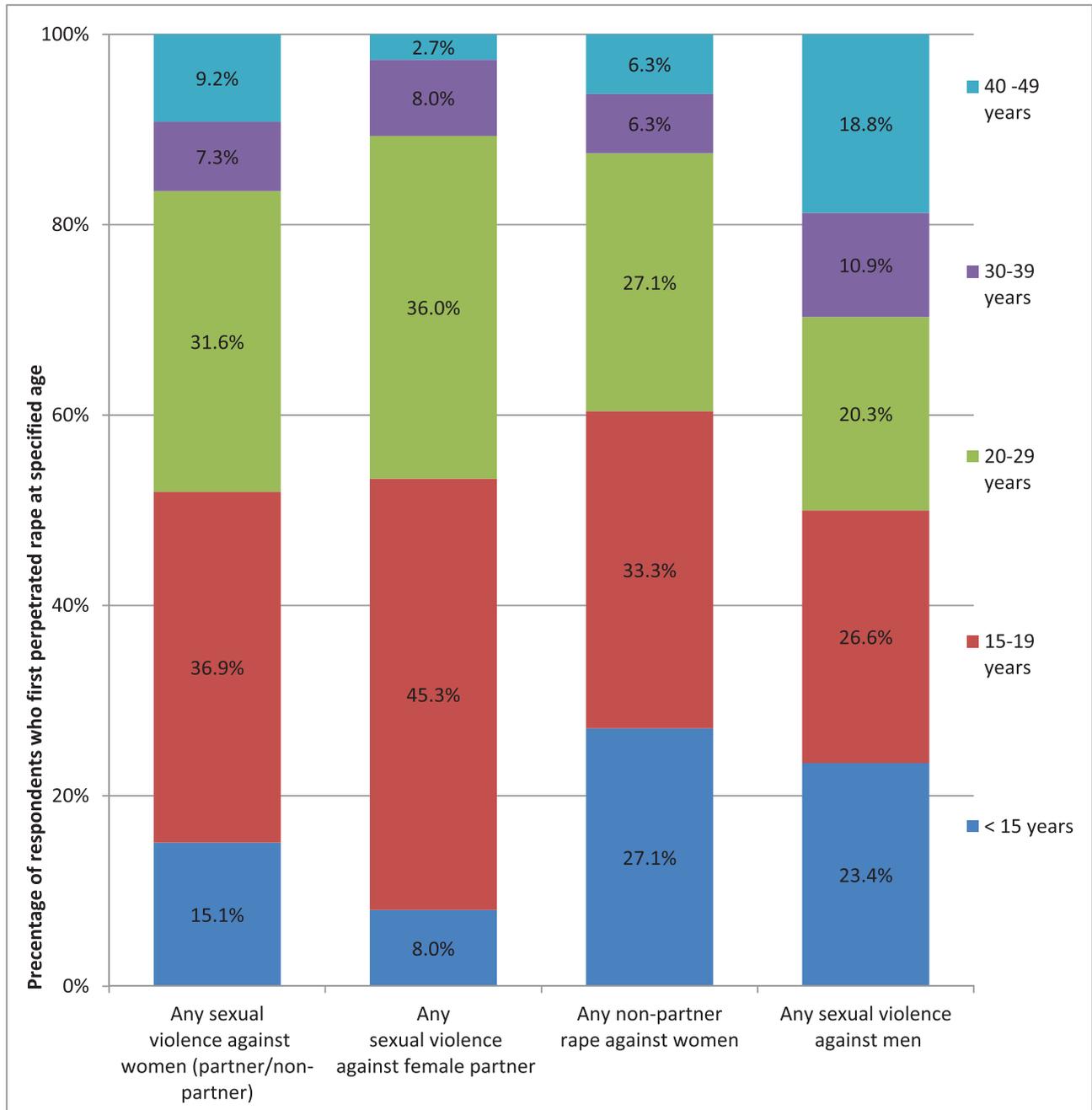
Men who reported ever perpetrating sexual violence were asked the age they were when they first did this. Figure 5.6 shows the age distribution of first perpetration by the type of sexual violence and the victim.

More than half of those who had ever perpetrated sexual violence and rape, reported that they were teenagers the first time they did so. A high proportion of men were less than 15 years of age although this was much more common among perpetrators of non-partner rape compared with sexual partner violence. In fact, the proportion of men who first raped a non-partner woman before age 15 (27 percent) was three times higher than for perpetration of sexual violence against an intimate partner (8 percent). This is likely because boys were not in an intimate relationship at this young age. However, the majority of sexual partner violence perpetration began when men were 15-19 years of age, which is most likely before the age of marriage, suggesting that they had raped girlfriends and/or 'sweethearts'.

The proportion of men who first sexually assaulted another boy/man as children (less than 15 years of age) was 23 percent. However, this value does not filter out men who also sexually assaulted women, because of small sample sizes.

Figure 5.6

Age of first rape perpetration among men who reported ever perpetrating rape against a woman or girl (partner or non-partner), by type of rape and victim



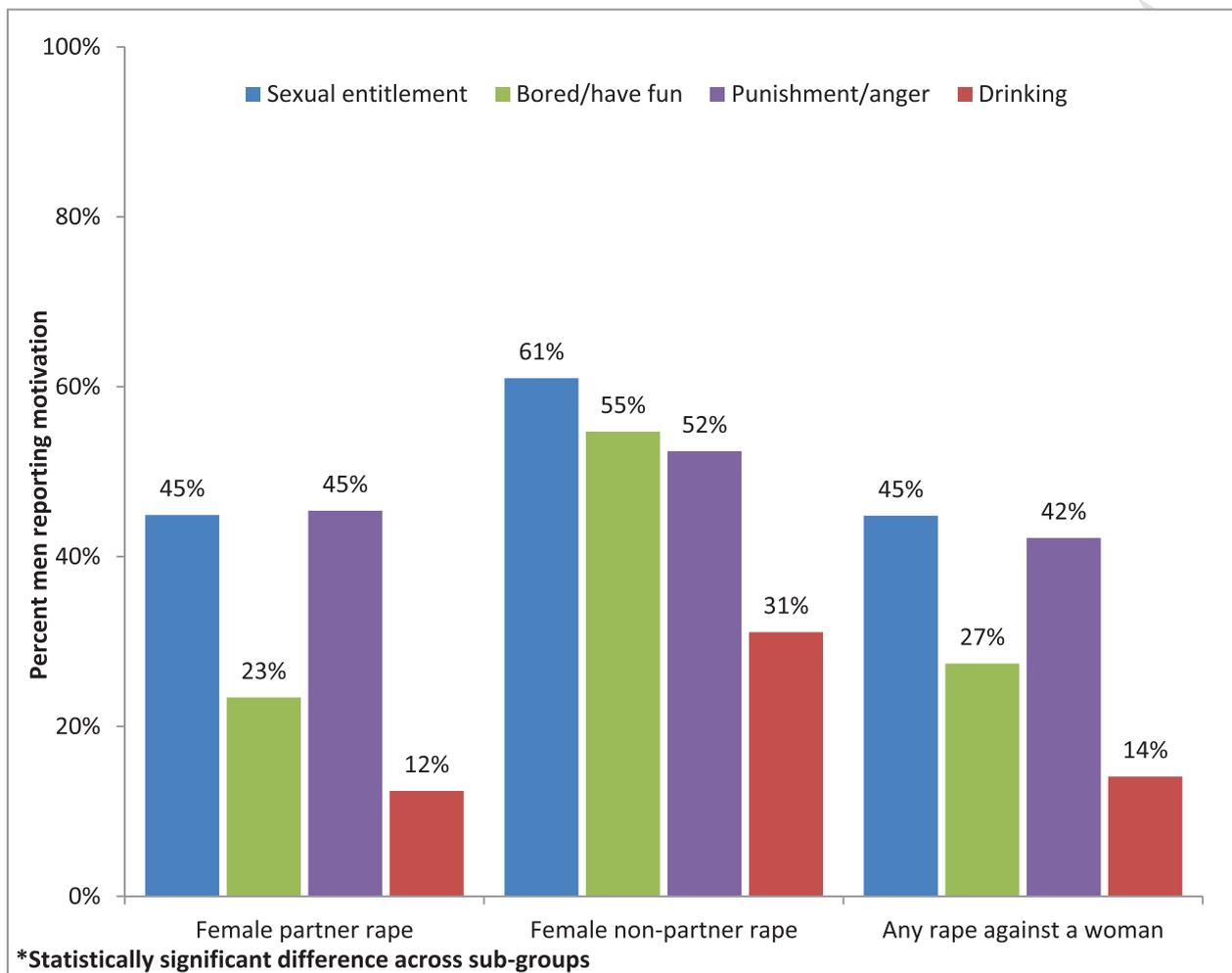
Rape motivation and consequences among men who perpetrated any rape

Motivations

Men who reported perpetrating rape were asked follow-up questions about their different motivations for the most recent rape that they perpetrated against a partner and non-partner. These motivations were then grouped together in relation to similar thematic reasons. Figure 5.7 shows the reported motivations, by type of sexual violence perpetrated. It should be noted that there may be some overlap in these types of violence for men who perpetrated more than one type of rape.

Sexual entitlement was the predominant motivation reported for rape overall and sexual IPV. Men who reported perpetrating partner rape also cited ‘anger’ and ‘punishment’ as motivations. For non-partner rape of a female, doing it ‘for fun’ or because the respondent ‘was bored’ were the second most common motivations after sexual entitlement. Drinking was the least frequently reported motivation across all types of sexual violence however it appears to be a more predominant reason for non-partner rape than partner-rape.

Figure 5.7
Motivations for rape, by men who reported ever raping any woman or girl, by type of rape



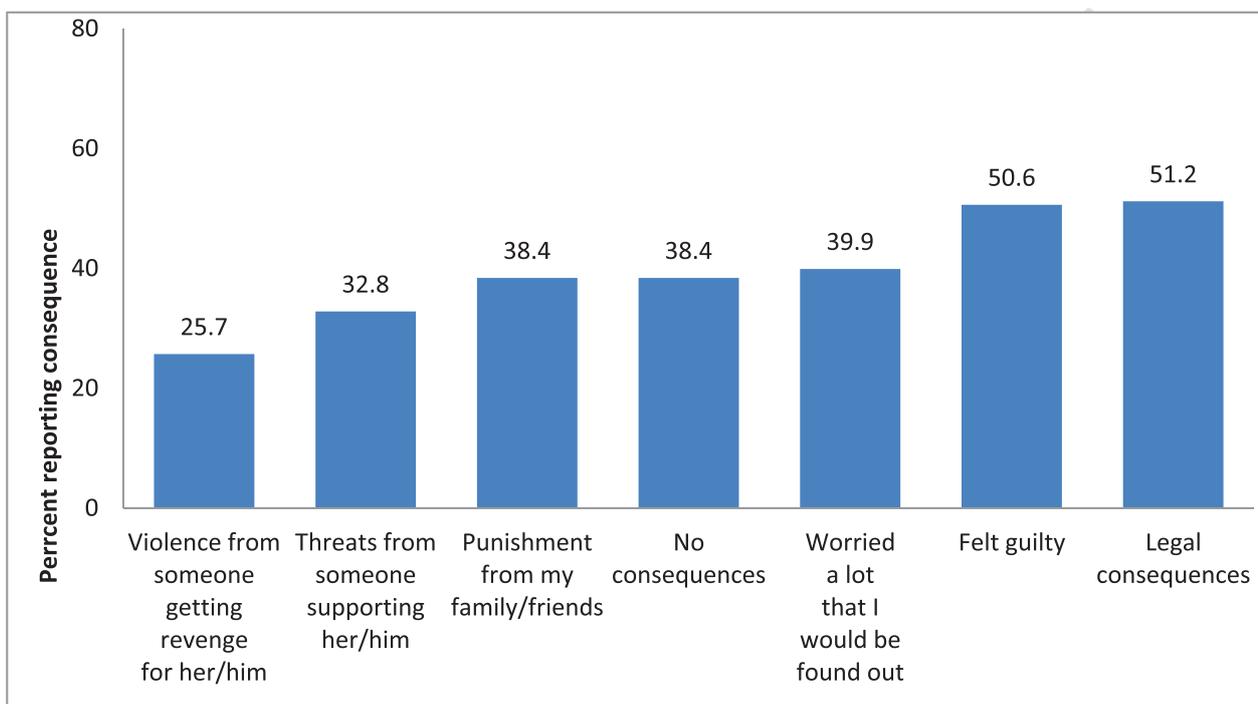
Consequences

Men who reported having perpetrated sexual violence were also asked if they faced any consequences of their actions. More than one consequence was possible. Half of these men reported they had experienced some legal consequences - being arrested, having a court case or going to jail. This is significantly higher than in other study sites where the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence was undertaken (Fulu et al. 2013). This relatively high percentage indicates that government efforts to address violence through the criminal justice sector have been relatively successful in identifying cases, and should be commended. However, the fact that only half the men who raped have experienced

legal consequences, suggests that increased legal enforcement alone may not be an effective preventive measure. This may also be due to the fact that 66 percent of those who did get arrested for rape had their charges dropped. Enforcement is not strong enough to instill concern for long-term legal consequences.

Half of all men who had committed rape reported feeling guilty (51 percent) (see Figure 5.8). There was fairly equal reporting of men having had no consequences (38 percent); worrying about potential consequences (40 percent); and being reprimanded by family or friends (38 percent). Unlike with motivations, there were no significant differences in consequences experienced across different types of sexual violence perpetration, including against men. This finding further suggests that interventions may be more effective if they focus on preventing the motivators of rape, rather than focusing on measures taken once the rape has been committed.

Figure 5.8
Men’s reported consequences of rape perpetration



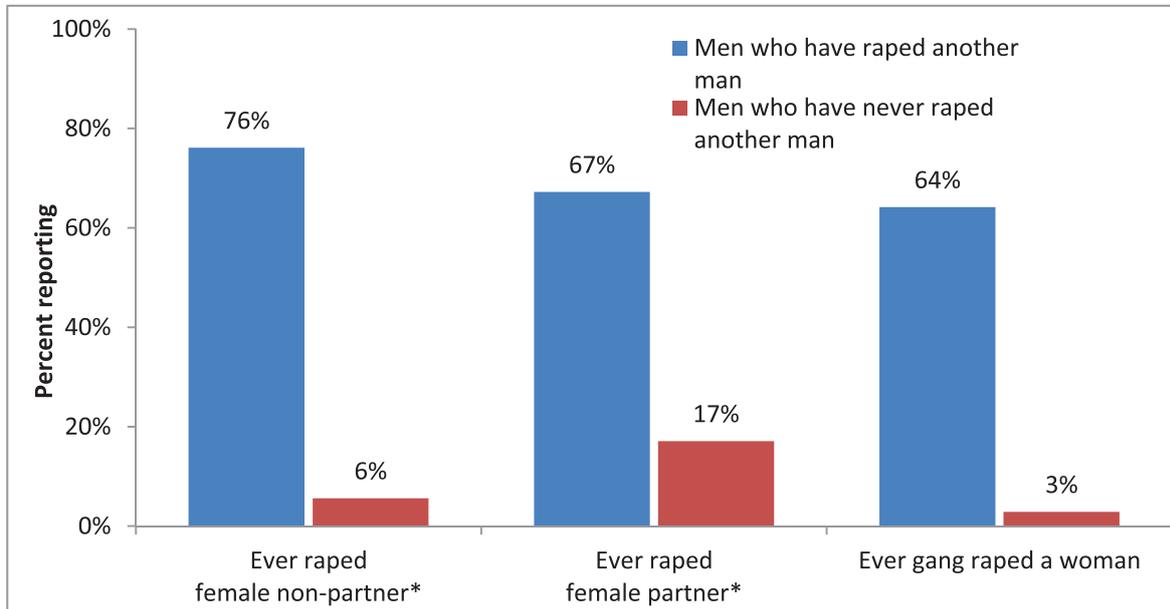
Overlap between different types of sexual violence

Perpetration of sexual violence against both women and men

As illustrated in Figure 5.9, the study found that there is considerable overlap between men’s use of sexual violence against women and violence against other men. Among men who had ever raped another man, 85 percent had also raped a woman, compared with 20 percent of men who had never raped another man. Furthermore, considerably more men who had raped a man had also raped a female intimate partner (67 percent) than men who had not raped a man (17 percent).

Figure 5.9

Overlap between reports of raping a man and raping any woman, partner or non-partner



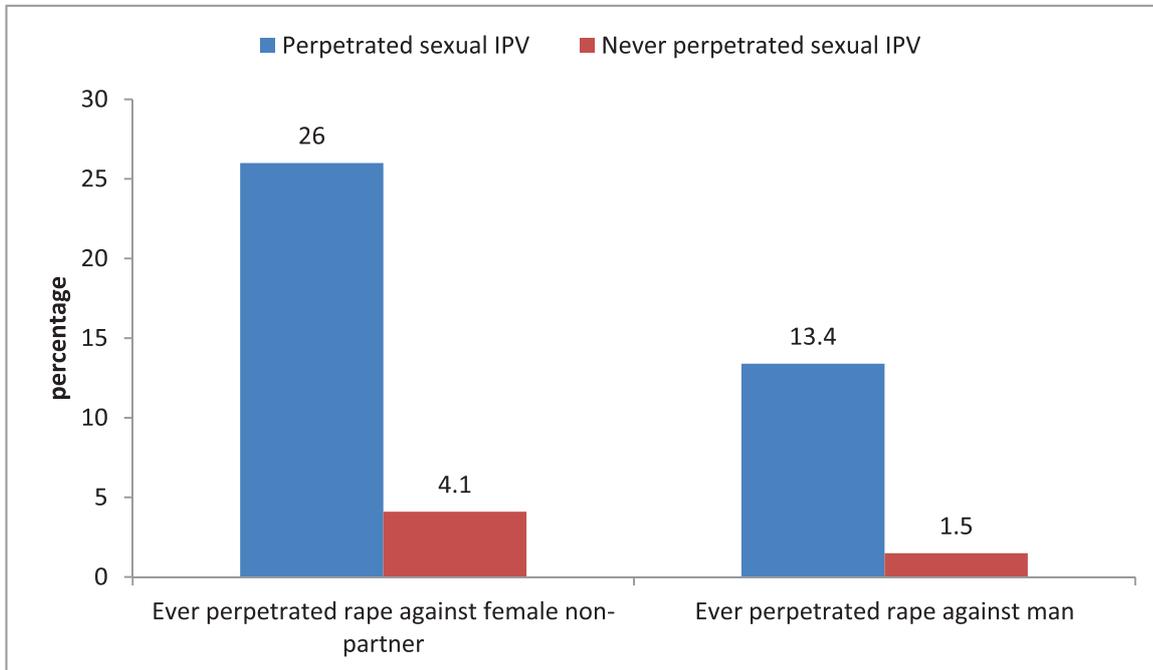
Perpetration of sexual violence against both partners and non-partners

The findings from the Study are consistent with global trends, in that prevalence of non-partner sexual violence is much lower than partner sexual violence and IPV in general. However, there is a strong overlap between partner and non-partner sexual violence.

Figure 5.10 illustrates that men who have perpetrated sexual IPV have higher rates of perpetration of non-partner sexual violence against either women or men, compared with men who have never perpetrated sexual IPV. Men who perpetrated sexual partner violence had a six times higher prevalence of non-partner rape against a woman or girl (26 percent) compared to men who never perpetrated sexual partner violence (4 percent). There is also an association between perpetration of sexual IPV and perpetration of sexual violence against a man. Among men who have committed sexual IPV there is a nine time's higher prevalence of sexual violence perpetration against men, than among men who have not committed sexual partner violence.

Figure 5.10

Overlap between perpetration of sexual IPV and perpetration of non-partner sexual violence

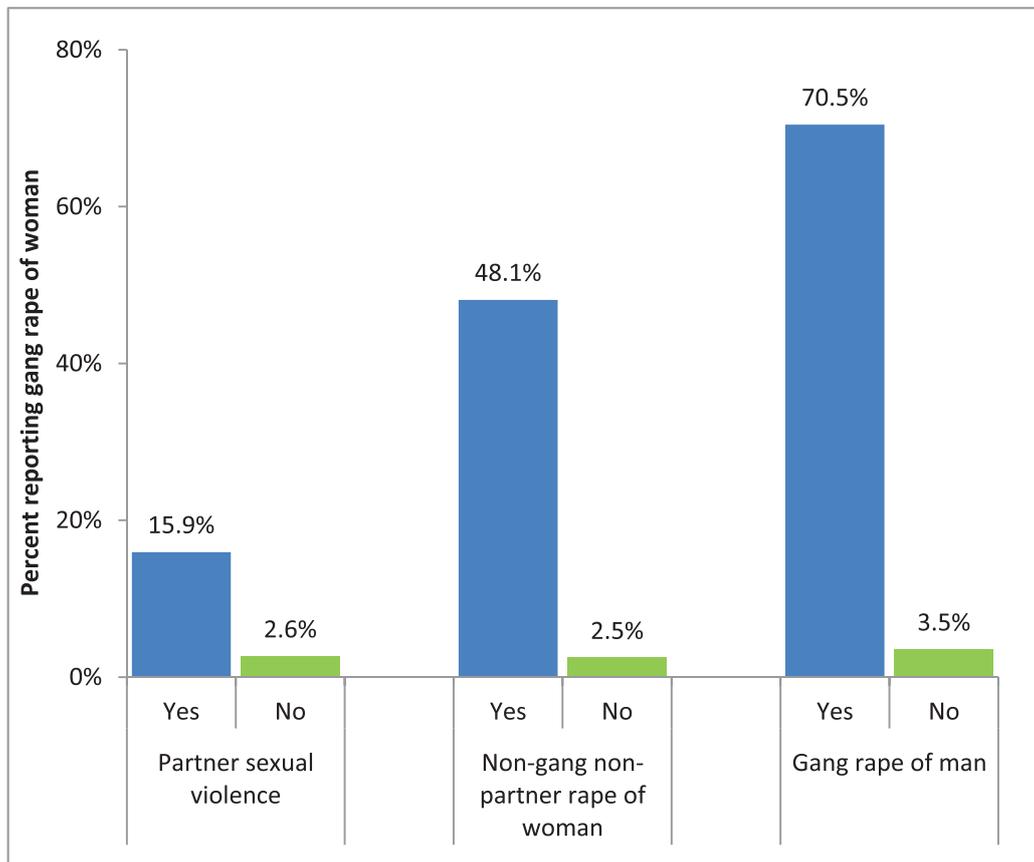


Perpetration of gang rape

Figure 5.11 illustrates that there is also significant overlap between single perpetrator rape and multiple-perpetrator rape (gang rape). Men who perpetrated any type of single perpetrator rape, whether against a woman or man, were much more likely to have also perpetrated gang rape than men who had not. A dose response relationship exists with regards to type of sexual violence. Men who had perpetrated sexual partner violence had lower prevalence of gang rape against a woman (16 percent) and against a man (9 percent), compared with men who had perpetrated non-partner rape. Of men who had perpetrated gang rape against a man, 71 percent had also perpetrated rape against a woman. A much lower rate (34 percent) of men who perpetrated gang rape against a woman also perpetrated gang rape against a man.

Figure 5.11

Association between men's perpetration of gang rape of woman and their perpetration of other types of sexual violence



Discussion

Nearly one in ten men reported that they had committed rape against a woman or girl who was not their partner. This is a significant issue, although it is much lower than the rate of partner rape perpetration indicating that women are most at risk of sexual violence from an intimate partner which is strongly supported by other studies (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; Fulu, 2007; Jewkes et al., 2011). NGOs argue that rape – or the reporting of rape – is becoming more commonplace in Cambodia and the age of victims appears to be getting younger (Amnesty 2010).

Compared to many other sites in the region, Cambodia appears to have very high rates of gang rape, with 5 percent of men reporting that they had committed gang rape. Numerous studies have raised concern about the issue of gang rape in Cambodia and reports of gang rape appear to be on the increase (LICADHO 2004; Bearup 2003; CARE 2004; Wilkinson et al. 2005; Amnesty International 2010). One study found that 60 percent of male university students knew someone who was involved in *bauk* (Bearup 2003), pointing to how widespread this practice has become in recent years in Cambodia. Although most of the research on this topic has focused on Phnom Penh, evidence suggests that this is a significant practice throughout all major urban areas in the country (Wilkinson et al. 2005; CARE 2004).

Gang rape in Cambodia is usually referred to as *bauk*, which is two or more men having sex with one woman (often, but not necessarily, a sex worker) and it can be with or without consent. The practice appears to be characterized by a lack of guilt, shame, or empathy for the woman involved (Bearup 2003; Wilkinson et al. 2005). A study in 2003 found, for example, that only 13 percent of young Cambodians surveyed considered *bauk* to be wrong or criminal (CARE 2004). David Wilkinson and others argue that the double standards for men and women in Cambodian society create an environment where the disregard for women's dignity involved in the practice of *bauk* is possible (Wilkinson et al. 2005). For most young men who participate in *bauk*, gang rape appears to be a male bonding activity, through which they form and define their masculine identity (Bearup 2003; Wilkinson et al. 2005). International literature suggests that one of the most frequently cited influences on male behaviour toward women themselves (Abbey et al. 2007; Morris, Anderson and Knox 2002). Most relationships between men involved behavioural issues such as drugs, alcohol, and prostitution that frequently corresponded with violent behaviour against women (Grazian 2010). Further research into this issue is urgently needed to more accurately understand young Cambodians' attitudes towards sex and how this ties in with young men's processes of forming masculine identities in Cambodia today. The prevalence of this practice also illustrates the need for violence prevention work in Cambodia to specifically address gang rape and to aim messaging at adolescent, or younger, boys.

The Study on Men and Violence shows that some men use violence not only against women, but also against men - 4 percent of all men reported that they had used sexual violence against another man or boy and 3 percent had committed gang rape against a male. There was a strong overlap between men who had used violence against other men and their use of sexual VAW. There was a particularly strong overlap with gang rape, which suggests a common social context for these two acts. This indicates that gang rape and rape of men occurs within the delinquent peer context in which dominance over women and some men is played out. It is more likely to be an expression of a violent performance of heterosexuality than of homosexuality, as the majority of men who raped a man reported being attracted to only women. These findings suggest that the prevention of VAW must also address men's use of violence against other men.

Kampot had the highest levels of sexual violence, which challenged the assumption that sexual violence would be highest in Phnom Penh. However, this is supported by the fact that many of the risk factors related to sexual violence are also higher in this province. For example, there is a higher rate of commercial sex and violence against children in this region which are associated with sexual violence. It has been suggested by the research National Working Group, that a relatively high proportion of former Khmer Rouge members have settled in Kampot and this may in part explain the high rates of violence in this region - related perhaps to a greater acceptability of violence. Kampot was selected randomly and it is possible that other provinces that were not included in the sample have equally high rates of sexual violence.

Significantly, men who use sexual violence start very early in life - half of all men who had committed rape, did so for the first time when they were teenagers. The young age of rape perpetration is supported by other studies, for example, a 1996 study noted the particularly prevalent use of rough and violent sex amongst students and young men (Tarr cited in Jenkins and Sainsbury 2006). Similarly, the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights (LICADHO) found that, of the rape cases that they addressed between January 1999 and March 2000, 14 percent of the accused perpetrators were under 18 years old and 7 percent were under the age of 16 (O'Connell 2001). Hilton suggests that,

“juvenile sexual offenders as a rule commit their first offence before the age of 15, and a considerable minority (46 percent) before the age of 12” (Hilton et al. 2008). It has been suggested that high rates of sexual violence perpetrated by young people may be related to the rise of youth gangs in Cambodia (Jenkins and Sainsbury 2006; Bearup 2003), and unhealthy sexual norms formed in part by wide accessibility of pornographic videos, combined with a lack of adequate sexual education (Fordham 2005; O’Connell 2001). In Cambodia, sexual experience appears to be considered an integral component of ‘becoming a man’ though for many young men, visiting a brothel would not be financially-viable. Some studies suggest that rape, therefore, may be linked to boys’ attempts to assert their masculine identity within the material constraints of their lived realities and within a context of strong peer pressure (O’Connell 2001; Bearup 2003; Wilkinson, Bearup and Soprach 2005).

Sexual entitlement was the predominant motivation that men reported for all types of rape. This demonstrates a strong need to work with boys and girls on healthy sexual relationships, understanding consent and addressing notions of manhood related to sexual entitlement. Boredom/wanting to have fun was reported as the second highest motivation for perpetrating non-partner rape, however anger/punishment was a stronger factor for partner rape. Interestingly, drinking was the least reported motivation across all types of sexual IPV, although it was more important for non-partner rape than partner. While some qualitative literature suggests that drinking culture is related to rape this study indicates that it is not necessarily a causal factor and other motivations are in fact more important.

CHAPTER 6: GENDER RELATIONS

**“Don’t speak in a way as if you consider him as equal...
My dear, no matter what your husband did wrong,
I tell you: to be patient, don’t say anything without the husband being present.”
Chbab Srey, Cambodia**

MAIN FINDINGS

- A high proportion of men agreed with statements that reflect traditional Cambodian roles of men and women. However, there was less support or acceptance for acts or potential acts of violence.
- The majority of men had moderately gender equitable attitudes, as measured by GEM scale. Women reported less gender equitable attitudes than men.
- Men who had the highest gender equitable attitudes were those:
 - ▣ 18-24 years old
 - ▣ with secondary education or more
 - ▣ not married/cohabitating
 - ▣ with a higher income
 - ▣ not formally taught Chbab Srey/Chbab Proh
 - ▣ whose fathers had less dominance in decision making
- 82 percent of men indicated that Chbab Srey/Chbab Proh are obeyed in present day Cambodia, despite less than half of men having been formally taught it.
- Men and women had very high exposure to VAW awareness-raising activities. The majority were aware of the law on domestic violence. However, many men thought the law was too harsh or had no opinion about it, indicating that more in-depth awareness and attitude change is required.

The saying at the beginning of the report is well-known in Cambodia. It infers that men are like gold, which does not lose its shine or value, and women are like cloth, losing their value if they “tear or become dirty” (Walsh 2007). Previous literature has linked violence against women in Cambodia to the traditional roles and perceived value of women in society (Amnesty International 2010; Walsh 2007). This chapter explores men and women’s attitudes toward gender relations and roles and VAW.

Attitudes about gender

Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale

Respondent’s attitudes towards gender were measured using the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale. The GEM Scale was developed by Population Council and Instituto Promundo and has been used in India, Brazil and more than 15 other countries to date. These attitudinal questions have been used in diverse settings and have consistently shown high rates of internal reliability (Pulerwitz and Barker 2008).

Table 6.1**Percentage of men and women who agreed or strongly agreed with the gender statements**

<i>STATEMENT - AGREE/STRONGLY AGREE</i>	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
1. A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family*	82.4	92.7
2. There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.	27.9	32.8
3. It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.	65.6	67.4
4. A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.	59.8	66.9
5. If someone insults a man, he should defend his reputation, with force if he has to.	41.7	42.1
6. To be a man, you need to be tough*	96.4	98.9
7. Women who work in entertainment venues, like karaoke and massage or beer promotion are decent women*	40.0	32.7

*Statistically significant difference between males and females

The majority of men and women agreed with socially defined roles for women, for example that women have a responsibility to tolerate violence, avoid getting pregnant and keep the home in order. While most men and women did not believe that there are times a woman deserves to be beaten, the majority believed that a woman should tolerate violence in order to keep the family together. This indicates that while violence was not necessarily accepted, keeping a family together was more important regardless of the consequences on women. Almost all men and women agreed with traditional notions of masculinity and being “macho.” Over 96 percent of both male and female respondents agreed that ‘to be a man, you need to be tough.’ Less than half felt that men needed to defend their reputations, with force if necessary. This may have less to do with not being “macho”, than with a culture of saving face and avoiding conflict in general.

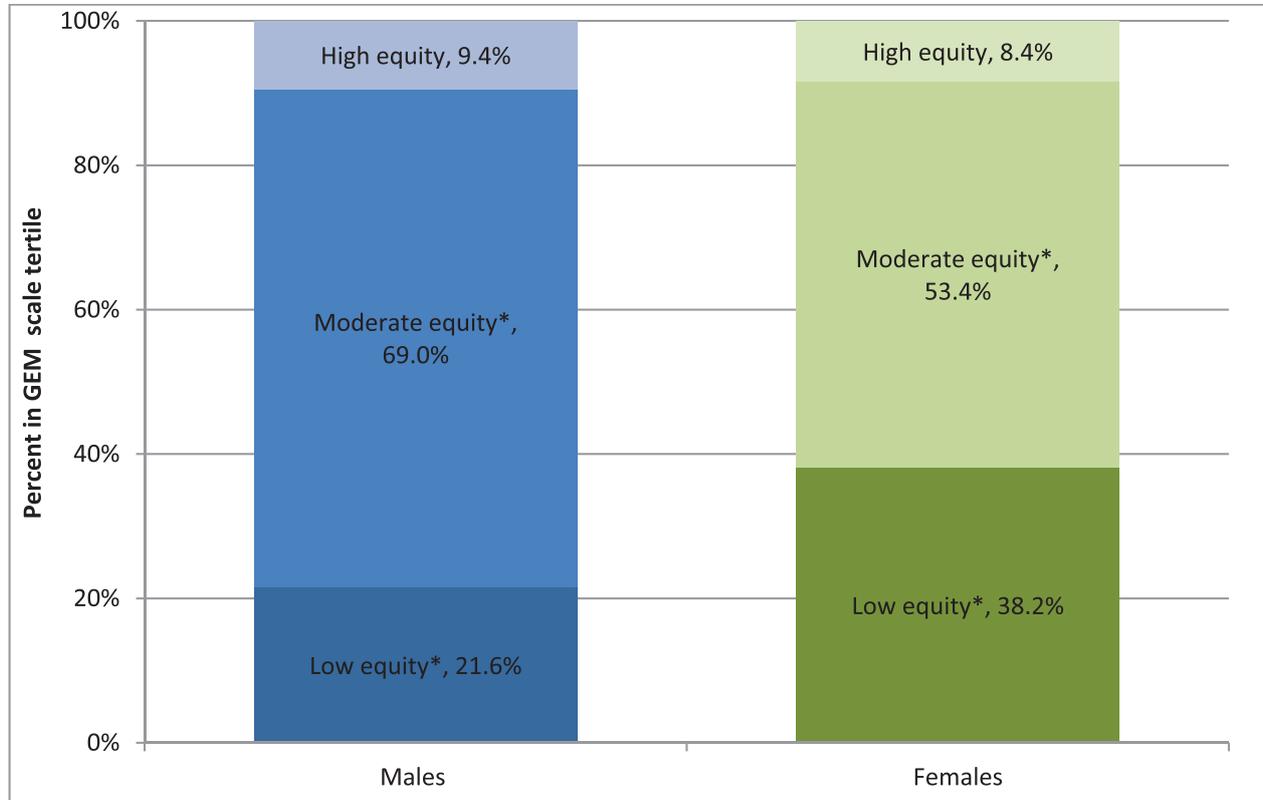
GEM score

A scale was created based on agreement to the statements in Table 6.1 to obtain a GEM score. This score could range from 0-18. The score was divided into tertiles to represent having low gender equity (score of six or less), moderate gender equity (score between six and twelve), and high gender equity (score of twelve or more).

The majority of men (69 percent) had moderate gender equity based on the GEM scores (see Figure 6.1). A little over one-fifth (22 percent) scored low equity and just under 10 percent scored high equity. Overall, men had more gender equitable attitudes compared to women, with more women scoring in the low equity range. There was no significant difference between the percentage of men and women who scored in the high equity range (9 percent versus 8 percent respectively).

Figure 6.1

Percentage of men and women in high, moderate or low GEM tertiles



*statistically significant difference between men and women

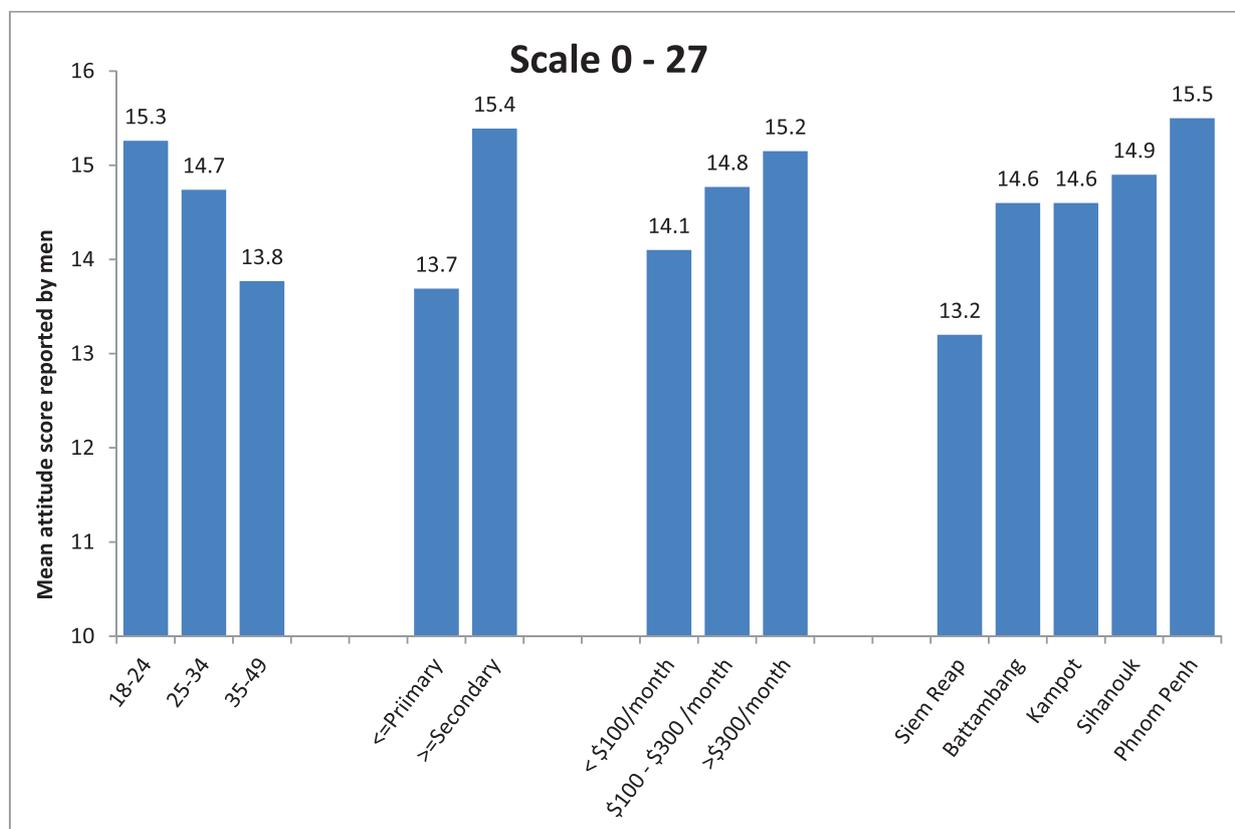
Demographics of GEM score

Figure 6.2 compares men’s average GEM score across key demographics. Across all demographics, men scored on average in the mid-equity range. Older respondents had lower GEM scores compared to men aged 18-24. Men with primary education or less had lower average GEM scores than more educated men.

Men with a lower income had a lower average GEM score than men in the highest income tertile. There was quite a difference across provinces. Men in Siem Reap had the lowest average GEM score (6.5) compared to men who lived in the capital (8.7). This could be partly due to confounding in age and education, as Phnom Penh has a more educated and younger population of respondents - both factors which were found to be associated with higher GEM score. However, it could also reflect that men in Phnom Penh may have been more exposed to gender training or women’s rights campaign materials.

These findings are important to consider when tailoring interventions to effectively reach the needs of specific sub-groups. Men with secondary or higher education may need different messages than those with primary or less education.

Figure 6.2
Men's mean GEM scores, by demographic characteristics



Attitudes towards gender relations

Almost all men and women surveyed agreed that people should be treated the same regardless of whether they are male or female. Despite this highly equitable attitude, respondents' answers to other statements reveal a substantial level of inequitable gender norms. Although the majority of respondents believed the primary role of women was to take care of the house and cook (see Table 6.2), almost all men (97 percent) agreed that they should share household duties with women - a higher percentage of agreement than women (88 percent).

Over 95 percent of men and women surveyed agreed that women should obey their husbands – a belief that is deeply rooted in Cambodian culture. Despite this high level of accepted obedience, only one third of men agreed that a woman should be punished if she does something wrong. This suggests most men do not believe in violence as a default solution to conflict in the home.

A high percentage of men (65 percent) believed that it is not rape unless a woman fights back, and an even higher percentage of women agreed with this statement (82 percent). Almost half of men and half of women surveyed believed a woman cannot refuse sex with her husband. Although responses to these two statements suggest unequal norms with regards to women's sexual rights, only one fifth of respondents agreed that a woman is to be blamed for being raped. Over 70 percent of respondents believed that having a homosexual son is shameful.

Table 6.2**Percentage of men and women who agreed or strongly agreed with statements on gender relations**

STATEMENT - AGREE OR STRONGLY AGREE	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
1. Men should share work around house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking*	96.7	87.8
2. People should be treated same whether they are male or female*	94.4	97.1
3. A woman should obey her husband*	96.3	98.5
4. A man should have final say in all family matters*	62.5	57.1
5. A woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband.*	42.3	50.3
6. If a wife does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her	37.5	31.8
7. When a woman is raped, she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation	17.9	21.0
8. If a woman doesn't physically fight back, it's not rape*	65.1	81.8
9. It would be shameful to have a homosexual son	71.0	74.7

*Statistically significant difference between men and women's reports

Chbab Srey/Chbab Proh

In Cambodia, the most well-known representation of social norms related to how women are supposed to act is in an ancient poem called the 'Chbab Srey'. This poem is the code (chbab) of women (srey), which describes the moral principles which women are expected to live by. According to the Chbab Srey, a wife should "follow the commands of the husband like a slave," be silent, cooperative, tolerant of her husband's behaviour, and focus on household affairs and raising children as the priority in her life (Miedema 2011).

*"Don't bring the outside flame into the house and then burn it.
Your skirt must not rustle while you walk.
You must be patient and eat only after the men in your family have finished.
You must serve and respect your husband at all times and above all else.
You cannot touch your husband's head without first bowing in respect.
School is more useful for boys than girls." Chbab Srey*

In tandem with the Chbab Srey is the Chbab Proh, or 'code of men,' which provides notions of what an 'ideal man' should be. This poem instructs men to behave moderately, be strong decision makers, knowledgeable and resourceful, and embody discipline, hard work, strength and bravery. It also warns against the vices of adultery, drunkenness, and gambling.

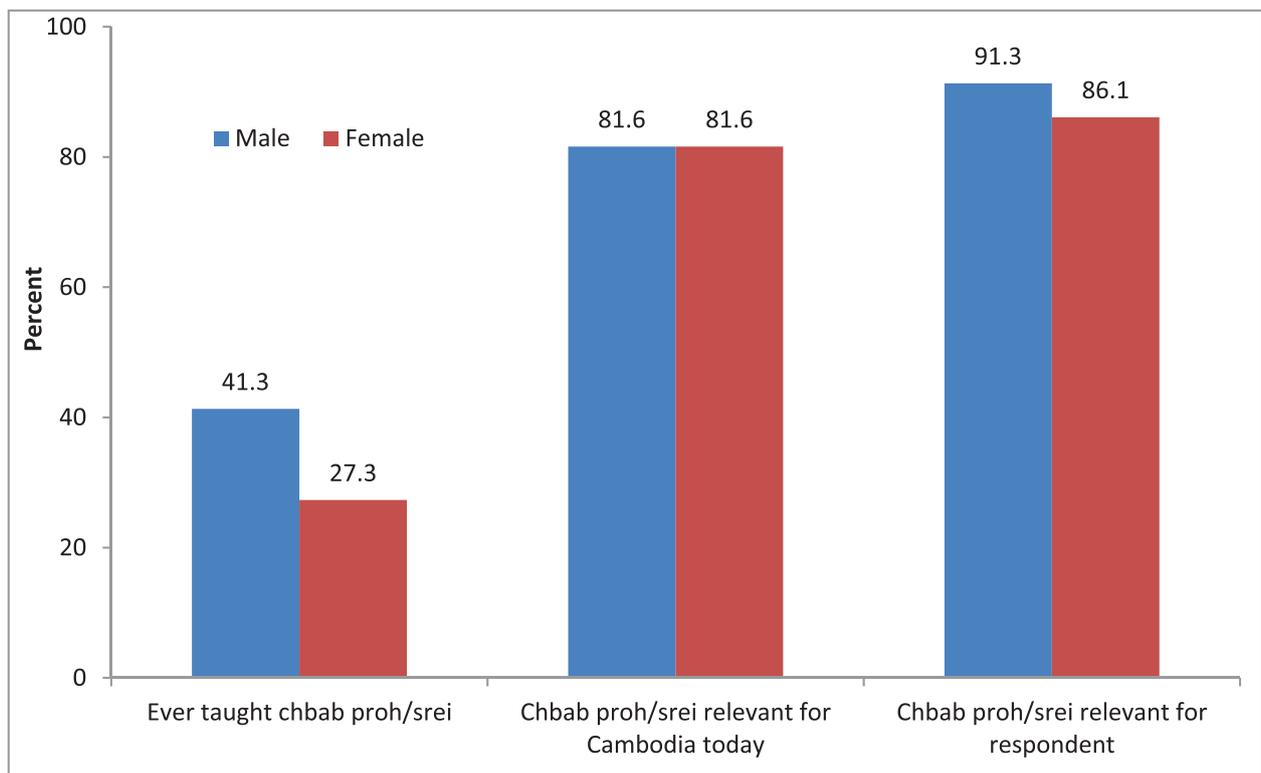
Although the relevance of these codes in modern Cambodia has been challenged, the general consensus is that they have influenced gender norms that form the notions of masculinity, femininity, and relational gender patterns.

In the Study on Men and Violence, respondents were asked if they had been taught either of these codes, whether they felt that they were relevant in Cambodian society today, and whether they felt they were relevant for themselves (see Figure 6.3). 41 percent of men reported they had been formally

taught the two codes, compared to only 27 percent of women. When asked if these codes were relevant in Cambodia today, the vast majority 82 percent said they were. When asked if they were relevant for them personally a very high 91 percent of men also said yes. Of people who thought they were relevant, 41 percent had been taught the codes. Amongst people who did not think they were relevant, only 14 percent had been taught the codes.

Respondents who indicated that the laws were relevant in Cambodia today had slightly, yet statistically significantly, less gender-equitable attitudes (average GEM score of 13), than those who said they were not relevant (14). However, the study did not find any associations with support for Chbab Proh and Chbab Srei and demographic characteristics or perpetration or experiences of any form of violence against women.

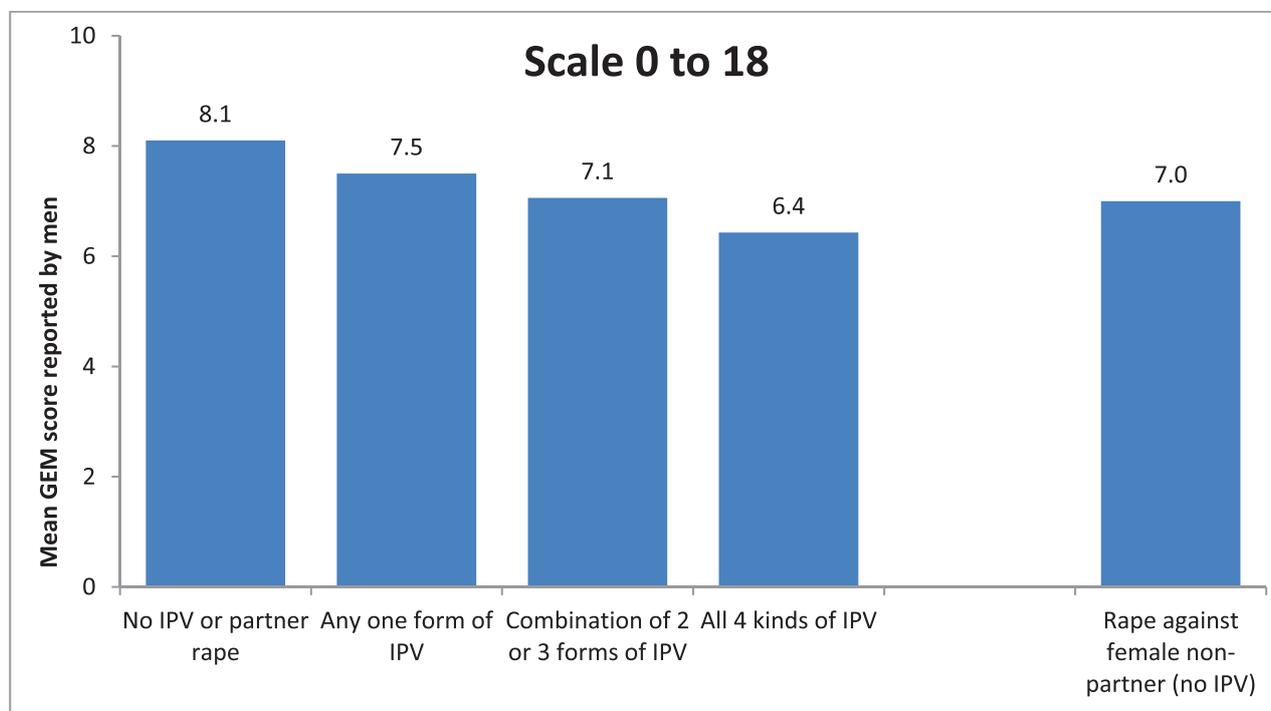
Figure 6.3
Men’s and women’s knowledge and attitudes about Chbab Proh/Chbab Srei



Although direct support for these ancient codes is not associated with VAW, it is possible that the norms are so deeply engrained that respondents did not attribute their general beliefs to these laws. The study found that gender inequitable attitudes were associated with IPV and non-partner rape perpetration (see Chapter 9). Figure 6.4 shows that men who had perpetrated different types of violence against women had lower GEM scores (less gender equitable attitudes) than men who had not perpetrated any VAW.

Figure 6.4

Comparison of men’s average GEM score and different types of violence perpetration



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Attitudes and exposure to VAW laws and activism

Exposure to VAW activism

Respondents were asked whether they were exposed to, or participated in campaigns or activities to end violence against women. Of men involved in this study, 81 percent had heard of campaigns or activities; 93 percent had seen a media-based public service announcement to address violence. The high level of exposure in men corroborates the idea that these campaigns are sensitizing the population to the idea that VAW is illegal.

Table 6.3

Men and women’s exposure to advocacy and programmes addressing VAW

ACTIVITY	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Heard of campaign/activity in community, workplace, school which addresses prevention of VAW	81.2	76.8
Saw/heard on television/radio advertisement and/or public service announcement on VAW**	92.6	86.7
Participated in activity in community/workplace on VAW	36.9	38.5

*Statistically significant difference between men and women

Awareness of VAW laws

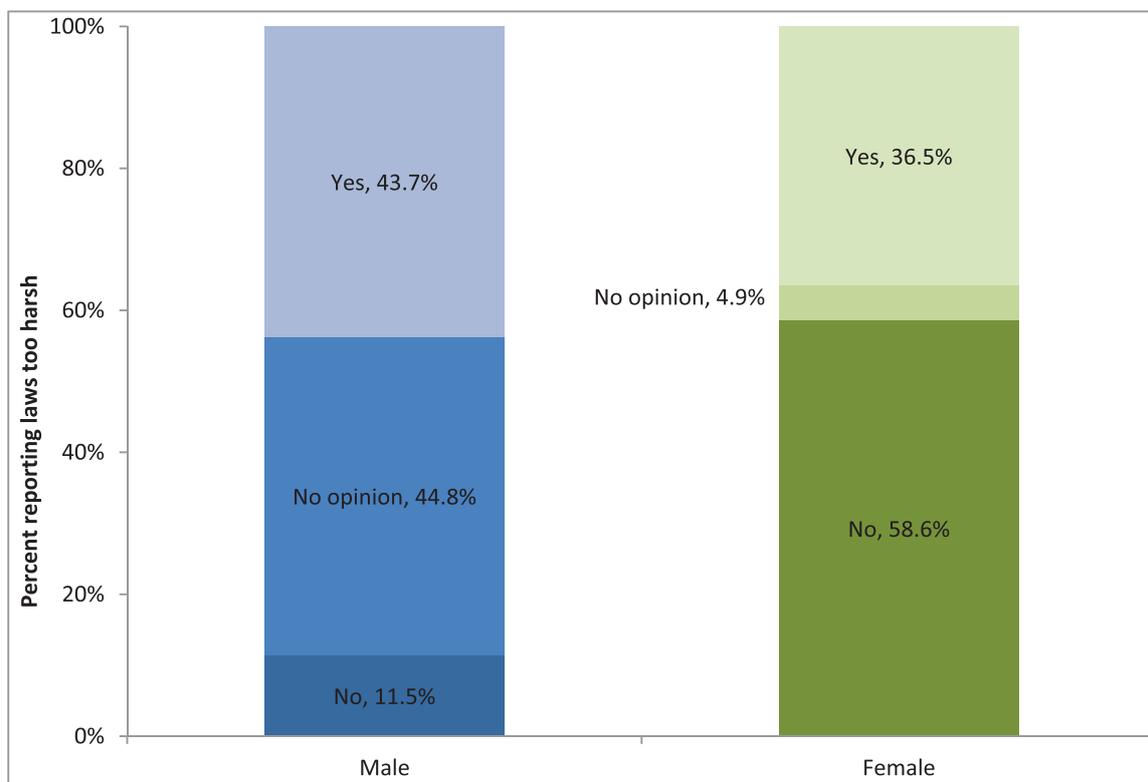
Respondents were also asked a series of questions on their knowledge and attitude about Cambodian laws that address VAW. A high proportion of men, 93 percent, were aware that VAW laws exist in Cambodia. This finding was mirrored by the 95 percent of women who also knew of Cambodian laws on VAW. This degree of awareness is uncharacteristic when compared to men's and women's responses in other countries such as China, where less than half of men and women sampled were aware of any laws (Wang forthcoming).

Attitudes toward VAW laws

Although efforts to end violence against women seem to have raised awareness in the community, the effectiveness of these campaigns in changing men's attitudes towards VAW is questionable. With regards to Cambodian laws on VAW (see Figure 6.5), the majority of men reported either having no opinion (45 percent) or felt that these laws are too harsh (44 percent). Only 12 percent indicated that these laws were not harsh enough. The fact that so many men have no opinion could be a reflection of lack of awareness about the content of these laws, and this should be further investigated in future studies.

Figure 6.5

Men's and women's opinion on whether Cambodian laws on VAW are too harsh



Among women, only 5 percent had no opinion, and 59 percent felt VAW laws are not harsh enough. Attitudes about the laws are quite different between men and women, despite similar levels of awareness of their existence and engagement in VAW activities (group sessions, rallies, etc.). It is possible that current campaigns and messages are not reaching men and women with the same effectiveness.

Discussion

Almost all men and women agreed in principle, that people should be treated the same, regardless of whether they are male or female. However, respondents' answers to other statements reveal a substantial level of inequitable gender norms with, for example, nearly all respondents believing that a woman should obey her husband. The majority of men and women in Cambodia have moderate levels of gender equity (based on the GEM score), however less than one in ten respondents were found to have highly gender equitable attitudes. Overall, there was higher agreement to statements reflecting cultural roles of men and women, and less agreement to acts or potential acts of violence. The exception was that approximately two-thirds of men and women agreed that a woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together. Although this is quite high, it is much lower than findings from the 2000 and 2005 DHS, where 86 percent and 90 percent (respectively) of women agreed to a similar statement (National Institute of Statistics et al. 2000 and 2006). This suggests that positive changes in gender attitudes are already taking place in Cambodia.

Men with the most gender equitable attitudes were those aged 18-24 years, those with secondary education or more, those who had a higher income and those who were not formally taught Chbab Srey/Chbab Proh. Gender inequitable attitudes are found to be statistically associated with men's perpetration of IPV in Cambodia (see Chapter 9). Therefore ongoing effort is needed to promote gender equitable attitudes as a means of violence prevention.

Men and women had very high exposure to community activities on VAW and the majority were aware of the law on domestic violence. This indicates that the government, women's rights activists, and civil society organizations have been extremely successful in raising awareness of the domestic violence law since its implementation in 2005. This is positive compared to the findings from the 2005 DHS, where only 42 percent of women reported they were aware of any laws protecting women's rights (National Institute of Statistics et al. 2006). The findings are further corroborated by the MoWA 2009 VAW Follow-up Study, which found that more than 80 percent of men and women indicated that specific acts of VAW were illegal, an increase from the 70 percent reported in 2005 (MOWA 2009).

Although efforts seem to have raised awareness, more work is required to promote the acceptance of these laws and change attitudes because the majority of men still think that the law on domestic violence is too harsh or have no opinion. Activities targeted towards more in-depth awareness raising and attitude change are required.

CHAPTER 7: HOUSEHOLD GENDER RELATIONS, FATHERHOOD AND MEN'S SEXUALITY

**Don't just think that you are a man and then you spend something without thinking and then do the thing without agreement from your wife.
- Chbab Proh**

MAIN FINDINGS

- The study found a medium level of equity between men and women in household decision-making. However, men who had more gender equitable attitudes and grew up in a household with equal decision-making between their parents were more likely to have higher levels of equality in decision-making in their own relationship.
- The majority of housework and childcare is done by women. Men with higher levels of education, more gender equitable attitudes and whose fathers were engaged with them or their siblings, tend to be more involved in household work and childcare.
- 35 percent of men reported that they had smacked or beaten their children. This rate was much higher among women, with 78 percent reporting that they did this at least sometimes.
- The vast majority of men (90 percent) reported being attracted to women. Only, 2 percent reported being attracted to men only, and less than 1 percent reported being attracted to both men and women. Interestingly, 7 percent of men were "not sure" about their sexual attraction.
- Of men interviewed, 8 percent reported they had a boyfriend or male lover, 4 percent reported having had any type of voluntary sex with a man.
- Half of men reported having engaged in transactional sex and one-fifth reported use of sex workers. Having been married and having a higher income were associated with higher rates of use of sex workers.
- Both transactional sex and use of a sex worker is associated with higher rates of sexual violence perpetration (see Chapter 8)

Although the purpose of this report is to better understand male perpetration of violence against women in order to better prevent it, these practices exist within a broader gender context and need to be understood within the larger situation of men's lives. In addition to questions about violence perpetration, the study questionnaire covered many topics related to attitudes about gender norms, household and parenting practices and health. This chapter presents some of the broader findings related men's involvement in household work, childcare and decision-making and sexual practices.

Domestic duties and decision-making

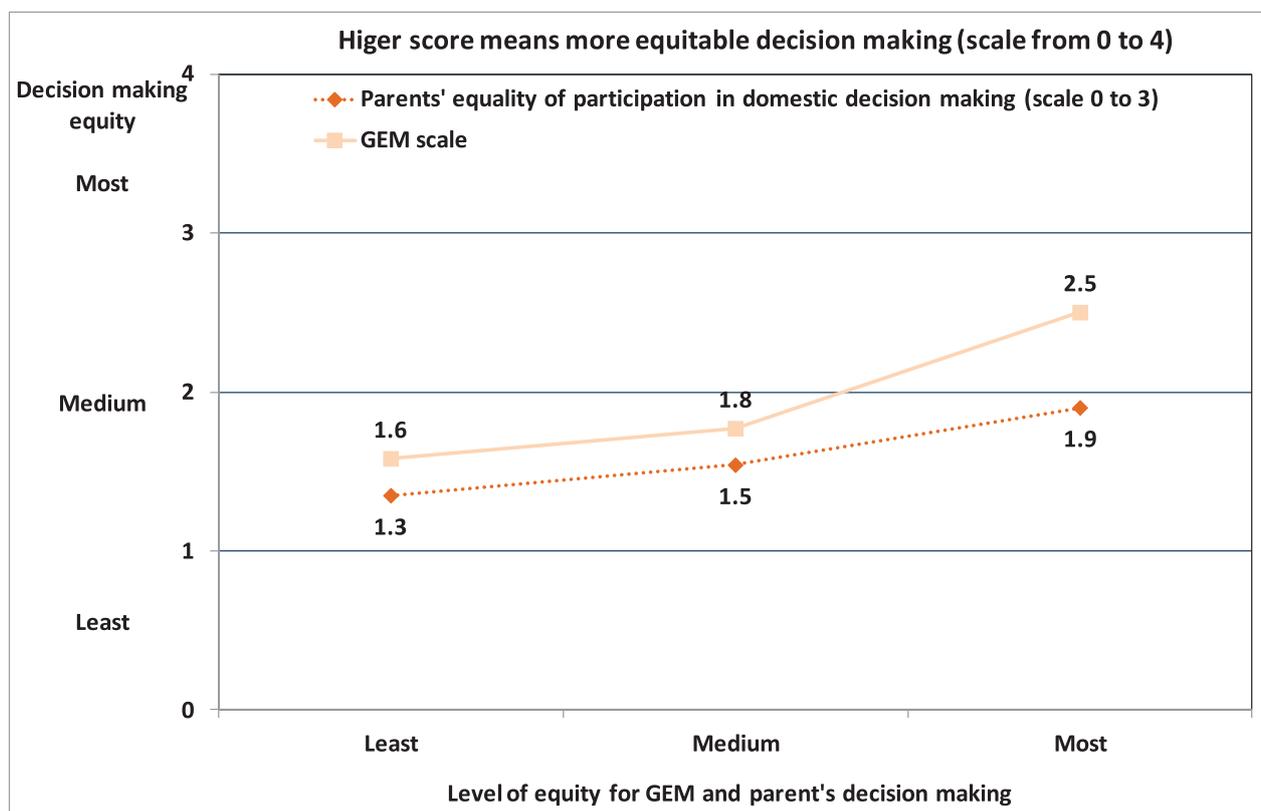
Household decision-making

Men were asked a series of questions on whether they, their partner, someone else, or both they and their partner had the final say on household decisions regarding health, children, and spending money. A scale was developed, based on the combined answers to these questions, with scores from 0-3 divided into low (one partner or no partner has final say), medium (sometimes equal say between partners) or high equity (usually equal say) in decision-making.

Overall, 75 percent of men reported having medium level of equity on decision-making, with only 7 percent having high equity and 15 percent with low equity (see Figure 7.1). Men who had primary-level education or less had a slightly lower level of equity in decision-making than men with secondary or more education (1.7 versus 1.9). Figure 7.1 shows that both the GEM scale and men's perception of their parents' level of equality in decision-making was positively associated with their own level of equality in decision-making. Men with the highest GEM scores, also had the most equal level of decision-making with a score of 2.5. A similar, but less pronounced pattern was seen with men's perceptions of their parents' relationship. Men whose parents had low equity in decision-making also had low equity in their own household. Those with higher equity in parents' decision-making also had higher equity in their own relationships with regards to household decisions.

Figure 7.1

Men's response on equality of participation in domestic decision-making as compared to GEM score and men's parent's equality of participation in domestic decision-making



Domestic duties

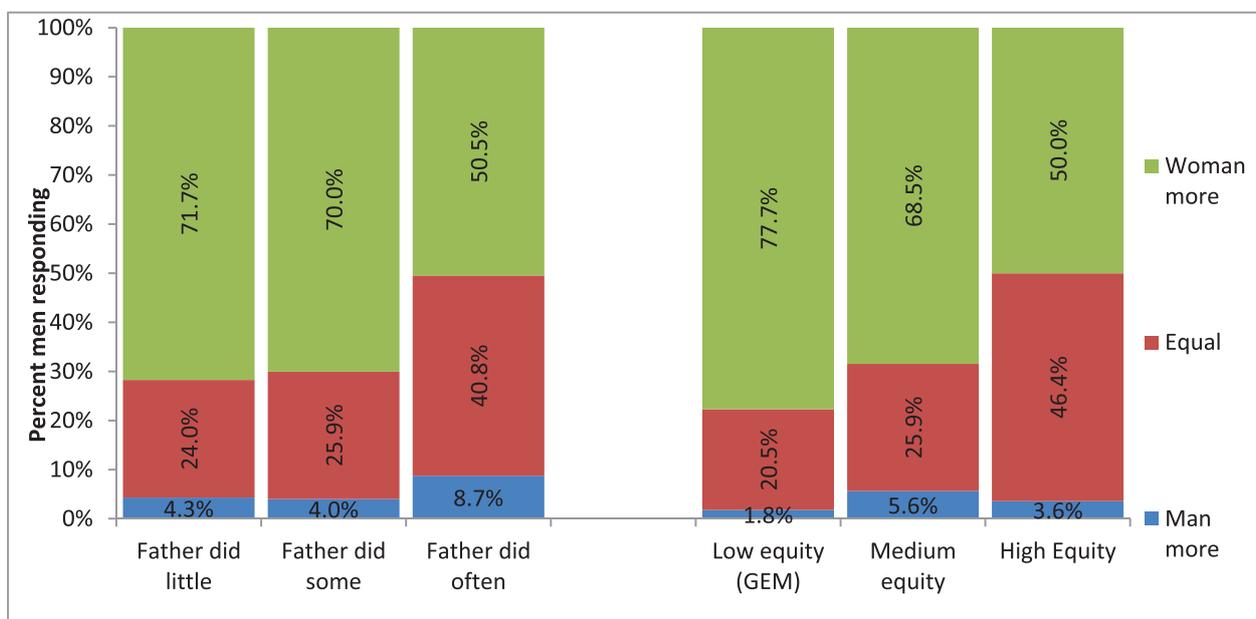
Men were also asked about their participation in household work such as, cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, and whether they or their partner did more or if duties were shared equally. A scale was based on the combined answers to these questions, with scores from 0 -3 divided into 'man does more', 'equitable' (both share equally) or 'woman does more'.

Figure 7.2 shows that, regardless of the presence of children, household work is highly feminized. At least 70 percent indicated that female partners do most of the work, a quarter reported equal sharing

of tasks, and less than 5 percent reported that men did most of the housework. This distribution was seen across all age groups, education levels, income and current relationship status. These results are not surprising considering the high percent of agreement to the gender attitude that women’s most important role is to take care of the home and cook for her family.

With regards to care of children, there was more equality: 58 percent of men reported that women did most of the work, and 32 percent indicated equal sharing of tasks. Again this result is in line with the high percentage of men who agreed to the statement that men should share work around the home (See chapter 6).

Figure 7.2
Associated factors to men’s response on equality of housework (GEM score, and men’s perception of parents sharing of housework)



As with decision-making, both GEM score and men’s perception of their parents’ level of equity was associated with men’s behaviour towards housework. Men’s GEM score had a dose response effect, with higher GEM leading to more equal participation in household duties (46 percent) compared to lowest GEM (20 percent). Men who reported that their fathers participated often in housework, had the highest level of doing most of the housework themselves (9 percent), and highest level of equal participation (41 percent), compared to men whose fathers did some or very little sharing of housework. The high association of parental behaviour with men’s current behaviour indicates that gender equitable household practices are in part learnt during childhood, and modeled later in life.

Fatherhood and parenting

Men and women who had children living in their house were both asked a series of questions related to their parenting behaviours.

Engagement with children

Respondents were asked how often they talked with their children about personal matters, played with them and/or helped with their homework. These responses were combined to provide a score for their level of engagement with their children ranging from zero (no engagement) to a maximum score of nine (very high engagement). Overall, levels of engagement with children were quite low, with men having an average score of 3.7, which is particularly low in comparison with women's average score of 4.2.

Looking across demographics, there was an association between men's age and their engagement with children. Older men aged 35-49 years had the highest level of engagement with their children (3.5), compared to men less than 24 years of age (2.5). Higher education in men was also associated with more engagement with children. There were no significant differences across provinces or income.

Men who believed that men should share in household duties, including raising children, had much higher scores of engagement with children than those who did not agree with this statement. As with decision-making and domestic duties, men's parents' behaviour was highly associated with men's engagement with their own children. For example, men whose fathers never took care of the siblings had less engagement with their own children than men whose fathers very often took care of the siblings.

Physical punishment of children

Men and women were also asked if they ever "smacked" or "beat" their children as a means of punishment. The majority of men indicated they had never beaten their children (65 percent), 32 percent indicated beating them sometimes and 3 percent indicated having beaten them often. Women reported more than double the rates of beating children than men, with 71 percent of women having beaten their children sometimes, and 7 percent indicated having done it often.

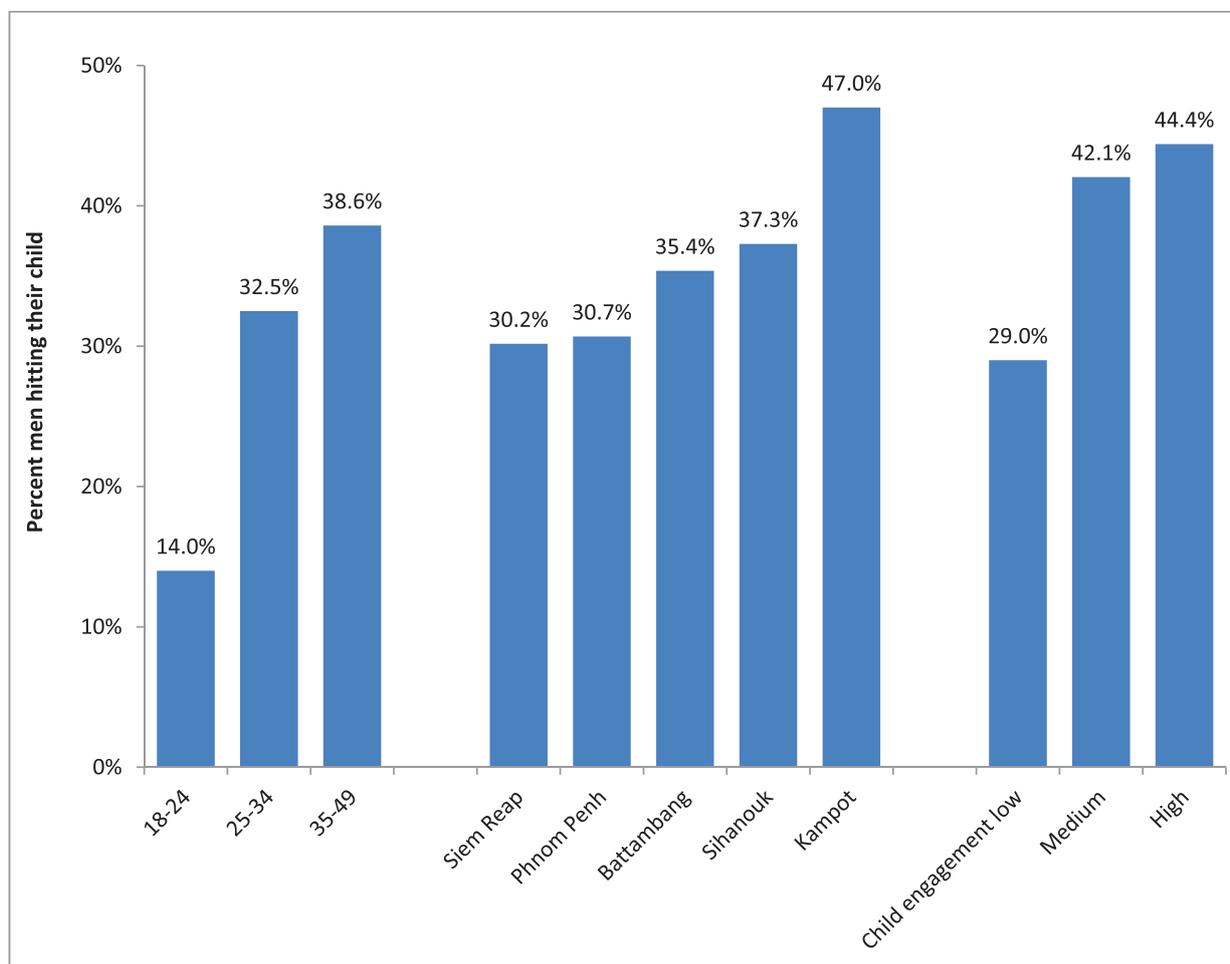
As with engagement, Figure 7.3 shows that older men (35-49) had the highest prevalence of beating (39 percent), compared to the youngest age group of men (14 percent). The age pattern was different in women, with the middle age group (25-34) having the highest reporting. Since majority of male respondents indicated an age difference of two to six years between them and their partner, the association maybe related to the age of the child rather than that of the parents.

Geographically, at 47 percent, Kampot had the highest rates of beating children. It is important to note that Kampot is also the province with the highest reporting of non-partner rape. Other demographic factors were not found to be associated.

An interesting finding was that level of engagement with children was highly associated with child beating, but only amongst male respondents.

Figure 7.3

Percentage of men who reported having hit their children, by age, province and child engagement



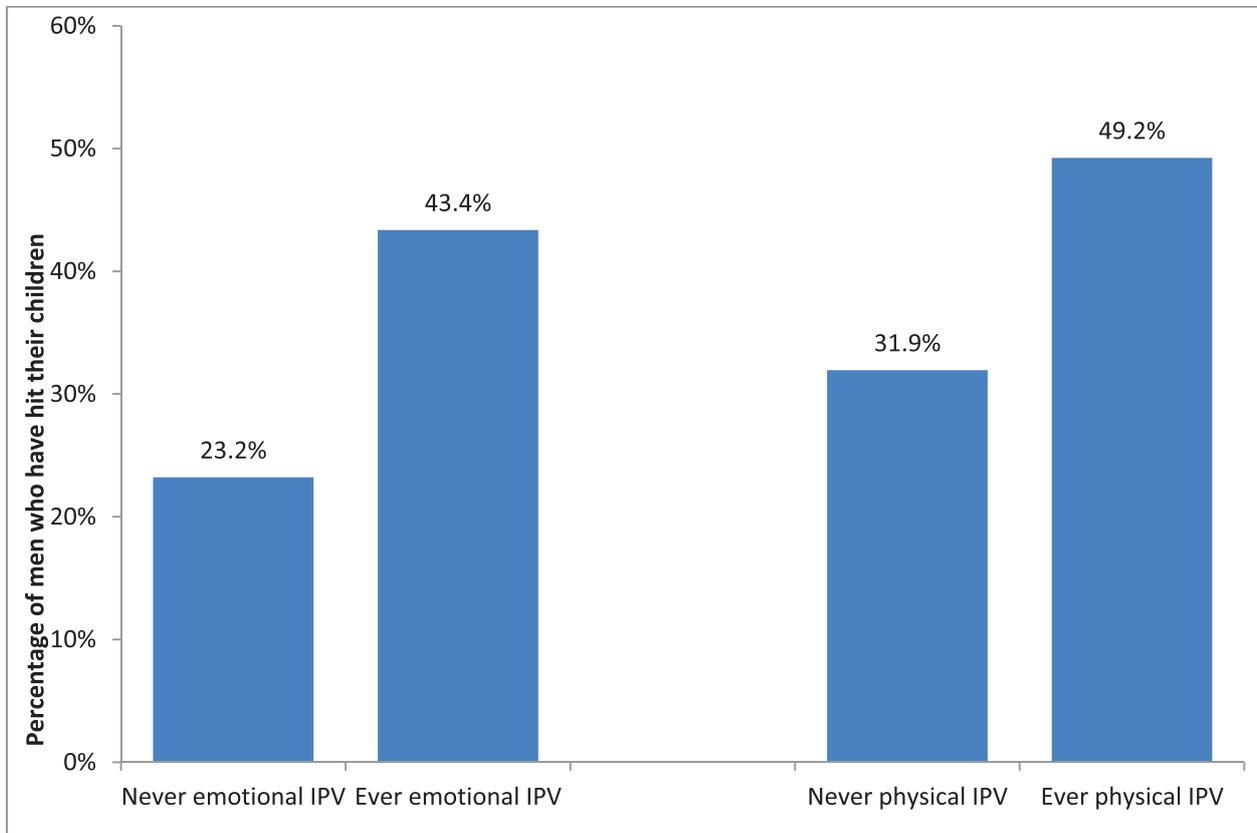
IPV and physical punishment of children

Some studies suggest that the presence of domestic violence in a child's home is the single most identifiable risk factor for predicting child abuse (Johnson 1987). In the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence, men who ever physically abused their partners were 1.5 times more likely to physically punish their children than those who never perpetrated physical IPV. Men's emotional abuse of their partner was an even higher risk factor, with perpetrators almost twice as likely to hit their children as those who never abused their partner emotionally.

Sexual violence perpetration was not found to be associated, and neither were gender attitudes. This suggests that other underlying constructs that are common to physical and emotional abuse of women are also common to physical punishment of children.

Figure 7.4

Association between men's violence perpetration and hitting their child



Men's sexuality

Very little research exists on men's sexuality in Cambodia, especially outside of heterosexual married relationships. Men were asked a series of questions regarding their sexual preferences and practices. Due to their sensitive nature these questions were asked in a self-administered format.

Sexual attraction and experiences

Men were asked if they were attracted to men, women or both. Table 7.1 shows that the vast majority of men (90 percent) reported being attracted to women only; 2 percent reported being attracted to men only, and less than 1 percent reported being attracted to both women and men. 7 percent of men reported that they were "not sure," about their sexual attraction.

Table 7.1 also describes men's reported sexual experiences with other men. A total of 8 percent reported they had a boyfriend or male lover, 4 percent reported having had any type of voluntary sex with a man and the same percentage (4 percent) reported having forced another man to have sex. Having a sexual experience with a man was not limited to men who were attracted to men only. Among the men who either had a boyfriend or had sex with a man, only a small percentage reported being attracted to men only. The majority of men who reported having a boyfriend (73 percent) reported being attracted to women only, and 41 percent of men who voluntarily or 44 percent who forcefully had sex with a man were also attracted to women only.

Of the men who reported having had sex with a man, 26 percent were unsure about their attraction, as were 32 percent of those who had forced sex on another man. This echoes research by Josef Spiegel, which illustrates that sexual preference has little to do with male sexual assault of boys and men (2003).

Table 7.1
Men’s sexual experiences and attraction

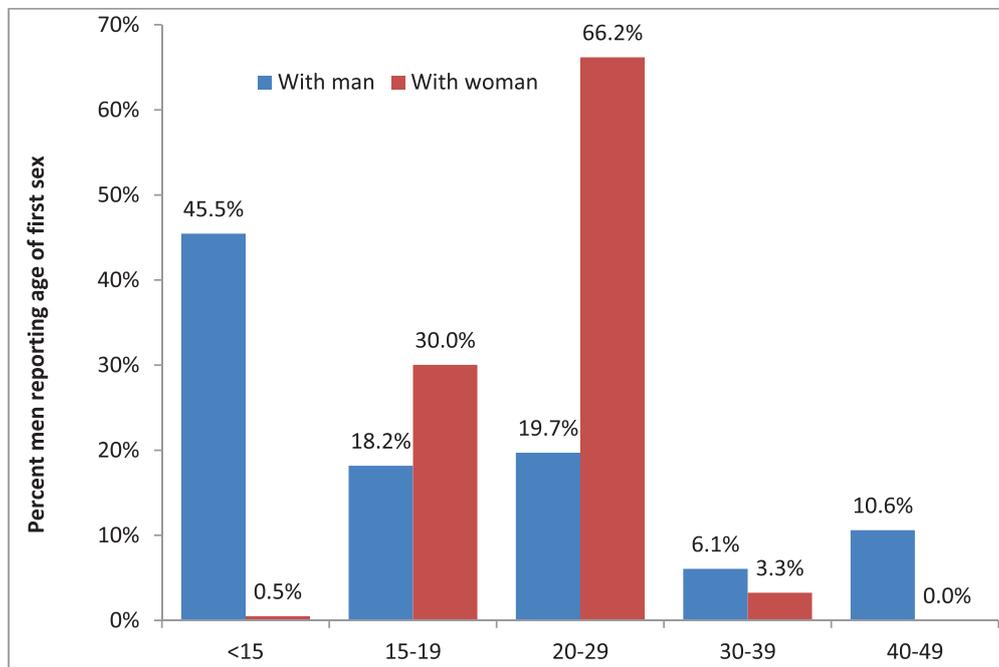
	HAS A BOYFRIEND/MALE LOVER (%)	VOLUNTARY SEX WITH MAN (%)	FORCED SEX WITH MAN (%)
Total	8.4	3.9 percent	3.8 percent
Attracted to (column percent)			
Men	12.1	24.6	16.7
Women	72.5	40.6	43.9
Both	3.4	8.7	7.6
Unsure	12.1	26.1	31.8

Among the men who reported having voluntary sex with another man, the most commonly reported sexual act was masturbating a man (72 percent), followed by thigh sex (55 percent) and oral sex (54 percent). Only 50 percent reported anal sex.

Although older men had higher rates of reporting voluntary sex with a man (5.7 percent) as compared to the two younger age groups, a large proportion of men who had had sex with a man (45 percent) reported having first had sex with another man before the age of 15 (Error! Reference source not found.). Less than 1 percent of men reported having had sex with a woman before the age of 15.

Figure 7.5

Men's age of first sex with either a woman or another man



Transactional and commercial sex

Box 7.1

Operational definition of 'transactional sex' and 'commercial sex'

Transactional sex

- Do you think any of the women or girls you had sex may have become involved with you because the expected you to do, or because you did do any of the following:
- Provided her with drugs, food, cosmetics, clothes, a cell phone, transportation or anything else she couldn't afford by herself
 - Provided her with somewhere to stay
 - Gave items or did something for her children or family
 - Gave her cash or money to pay her bills or school fees

Commercial sex

- Have you ever had sex with a:
- Female sex worker
 - Male/transgender sex worker
 - Both female and male/transgender sex worker
 - Prostitute or sex worker less you knew or suspected was less than 18 years of age
 - Prostitute or sex worker you think was forced or sold into prostitution

Prevalence of transactional and commercial sex

Men were asked if they had ever had transactional and/or commercial sex. The operational definitions of these are presented in Box 7.1. Approximately half (51 percent) of men reported having had some type of transactional sex with a woman (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). There was equal distribution across the different types of transactional possibilities described in Box 7.1. Commercial sex, or sex with a sex worker, was less prevalent than transactional sex but still common. A total of 18 percent of men reported having ever had sex with any type of sex worker. Of these men, 89 percent had sex with a female sex worker (18 percent of all men), 4 percent had sex with a male or transgender sex worker (1 percent of all men), and 8 percent had sex with both (2 percent of all men). In addition, 3 percent of men reported that they knowingly had sex with sex worker less than 18 years of age and 3 percent reported knowingly having had sex with a sex worker that was trafficked or sold/forced into prostitution.

A small proportion of men, 11 percent, reported having engaged in both transactional and commercial sex. This suggests that overlap between these two types of sexual transactions is not common.

Table 7.2

Percentage of men who reported engaging in transactional and/or commercial sex

	%
Ever had transactional sex	51.1
Ever had sex with a sex worker	18.3
Female	18.3
Male/transgender	0.07
Both female and male	1.6
<18 year old	3.3
Trafficked	2.5
Both transactional and commercial sex	11.0
Total number of men	1782

Association between violence perpetration and transactional/commercial sex

The study found an inverse relationship between the age of the respondent and engagement in transactional sex. Younger men were more likely to report having had transactional sex (See Annex Figure 3.1.). Men with primary or less education were also more likely to engage in transactional sex. Men in Kampot province had much higher reporting (55 percent) than other provinces - another characteristic which makes Kampot stand out.

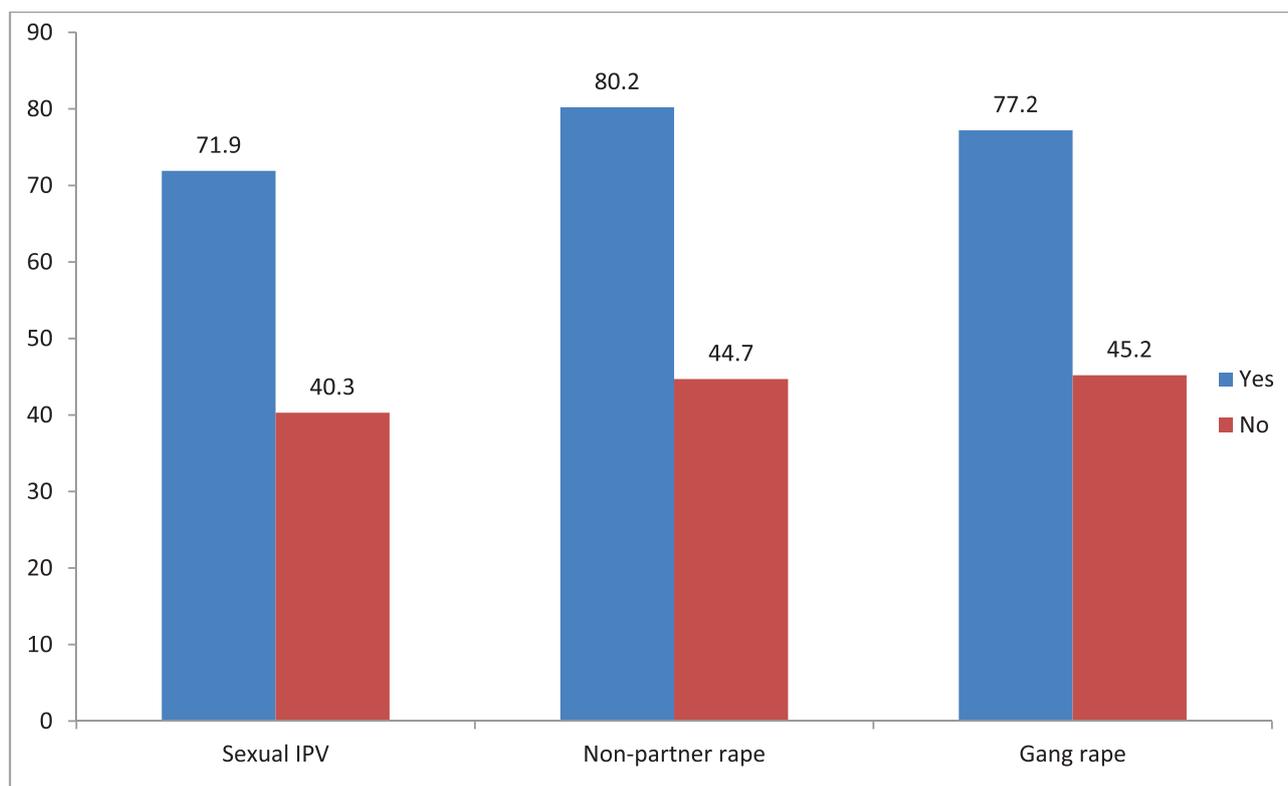
Unlike with transactional sex, older men were more likely to have had sex with a sex worker than younger men (Annex Figure 3.2). **Error! Reference source not found.** This may be partially related to income, which also had a positive association - 39 percent of men in the highest income quintile reported sex with a sex worker as compared to 16 percent of the lowest income quintile.

Men who were previously married had the highest prevalence of sex with a sex worker (41 percent), with currently married/cohabitating having the second highest (21 percent). Those who were never partnered or previously partnered but not married had the lowest (8 percent). This association maybe confounded by age, but also suggests that the availability of sex may not be directly linked to whether one pays for sex.

Chapter 9 shows that men who have had sex with a sex worker or transactional sex are more likely to have perpetrated sexual partner violence and non-partner rape. Figure 7.6 shows that, the percent of men reporting transactional sex or sex with a sex worker is much higher for perpetrators of sexual violence than for non-perpetrators. The differential is particularly salient for non-partner rape and gang rape and reporting sex with a sex worker.

Figure 7.6

Association between men’s transactional and commercial sex and different forms of sexual violence perpetration



Discussion

There is a medium level of equity between men and women in household decision-making. However men who had more gender equitable attitudes and grew up in a household with equal decision-making between their parents were more likely to have higher levels of equality in decision-making in their own relationship. The majority of housework and childcare is done by women, although men who had more gender equitable attitudes and had grown up in a more equitable family had a greater level

of involvement in household work and childcare. This indicates that men can learn positive and gender equitable practices through observation when they are growing up. Positive models shown through the media and campaigns such as ‘The Good Men,’ campaign (see <http://goodmencampaign.wordpress.com/> for more information) may also play a role in shifting norms around male involvement in household work and child rearing.

The following chapter shows that men’s experiences of physical violence as children is very common and this is supported by men and women’s own reports of using physical violence as a form of discipline against their own children. 35 percent of men reported that they had smacked or beaten their children. This rate was much higher among women, with 78 percent reporting that they did this at least sometimes. This is corroborated by Fordham (2005, p.20) who found, “although 66.7 percent of boys and 38.2 percent of girls claimed they had been beaten by their father, an even higher figure, 75.6 percent of boys and 59.6 percent of girls, claimed they had been beaten by their mother.” Men who were more engaged with their children were more likely to have hit or beat their children (43 percent), compared to men who reported little engagement (29 percent). As this association was not seen in women, it suggests that men in Cambodia may have had fewer opportunities than women to learn how to interact with, and to discipline, children without resorting to violence. These differences between men and women in parenting, suggest that women may play a larger role in children’s lives, particularly for punishment. Significantly, IPV perpetration was found to be associated with child beating. The detrimental impact of violence against children is outlined in the following chapter. This research highlights the need to work with fathers and mothers, to help them understand the potential damage they are causing and learn more positive parenting practices.

In terms of male sexuality, the vast majority of men (90 percent) reported being attracted to women. Only, 2 percent reported being attracted to men only, and less than 1 percent reported being attracted to both men and women. Interestingly, 7 percent of men were “not sure” about their sexual attraction, this may represent a group who was not willing to report attraction to men or people who were genuinely unsure. A total of 8 percent reported they had a boyfriend or male lover, 4 percent reported having had any type of voluntary sex with a man.

Half of all men reported having engaged in transactional sex and about one-fifth reported use of sex workers which indicates that these are very common practices in the Cambodian context. Previously having been married and higher income was associated with higher rates of use of sex workers. Even though Farley et al. (2011) found lower education to be related to higher use of street prostitution, there was no association found in this study. Most significantly, the percent of men reporting transactional sex, or sex with a sex worker, is much higher among perpetrators of sexual violence than for non-perpetrators, which is discussed further in Chapter 9. This highlights the need to address the underlying gender issues related to men’s use of sex workers and transactional sex.

MAIN FINDINGS

- Child abuse and trauma
 - Over 95 percent of men reported experiencing some kind of childhood trauma/violence.
 - Emotional abuse was the most common form (79 percent), followed by physical punishment (65 percent) and not having enough to eat (64 percent).
 - 16 percent of men reported experiencing sexual abuse as a child.
 - More men than women reported experiencing sexual abuse and neglect in childhood.
- The consequences of violence against children are serious with men who had experienced abuse as children more likely to have depression, suicidal thoughts, substance abuse problems, engagement in gangs and fights with weapons.
- Experiencing violence as child is highly associated with victimization of violence as an adult, for both men and women.
- 8 percent of men had been involved in a gang and 10 percent reported being in fights with weapons - both of which are highly associated with perpetration of violence.
- 43 percent of men were considered clinically depressed, and 25 percent were highly depressed.
- Depression is associated with IPV perpetration and sexual violence perpetration, having a dose-response effect with multiple forms of violence

This chapter presents findings on men's experiences of lifetime violence, as well as both men and women's hardships and trauma experienced during childhood. We also present findings on the health status of men and their specific vulnerabilities.

Men's experiences of violence

Previous research has pointed to strong linkages between men's perpetration of violence and their lifetime experiences of violence. We first characterize men's reported experience of violence as children and as adults. We then identify any potential linkages across different forms of violence and explore evidence of cycles of violence from childhood to adulthood.

Violence and hardship in childhood

Children are the most vulnerable members of society and are often least able to protect their rights from harm (Pinheiro 2006). The acute and long-term detrimental psychological, physical and social effects of violence experienced in childhood are well documented (Shaw and Krause 2002; Zolotor et al. 2007; Pinheiro 2006; Miles and Thomas 2007). Children exposed to violence in their family either directly (as victims of violence) or indirectly (through witnessing or hearing a parent or relative being emotionally, physically, or sexually abused) can develop norms that violence is a suitable response or way to solve problems (Kerley et al. 2010). Further, studies have shown that early exposure to violence, especially multiple forms of violence, can create a learned response to violence that predisposes an individual to experiencing violence as an adult, either as a perpetrator, victim or both (Gil-Gonzalez et al. 2008; Kerley et al. 2010; Jewkes et al. 2010; Heise 2011).

The UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence examined five dimensions of adversity experienced in childhood, to develop an overall trauma score: emotional abuse and neglect, physical punishment and hardship, and sexual abuse. To measure each type of violence, an operational definition was created through a series of grouped questions which was based on the short form of the Childhood Trauma Questionnaire (Bernstein et al. 1994). Both male and female respondents were asked to rate on a four point frequency scale, whether they ‘never’, ‘sometimes’, ‘often’ or ‘very often’ experienced any of the statements listed in Table 8.1. The overall childhood trauma score was developed by combining the responses to the statements in Table 8.1. The score could range from 0 (those who experienced no trauma or any types of childhood violence, hardship or neglect) to a maximum score of 39 (those who experienced all types very often during their childhood).

In reviewing the findings, it is recommended to take into consideration the historical perspective of the respondents when they were children by referring to Chapter 1. Many of the differences seen across age groups could be due to cohort effects and understanding the environment these respondents were growing up in can help contextualize the range of experiences that could lead to childhood trauma.

Childhood experiences

The average childhood trauma score was 4.3 for men and 4.1 for women. Figure 8.1 shows that, the oldest age group of men had a higher average score (4.5) compared to the youngest age group (3.9).

Men with primary education or less also had higher scores (4.6) than men who had secondary education or more (4), but this pattern was dominated in the youngest age group of men (18-19). No association was seen between education and childhood trauma scores for men older than 24 years-of-age, possibly because a vast majority of older men have primary or less education (see Chapter 3). For the younger age group, who are post-UNCTAD, there is an association between education and childhood trauma but the direction of this association, or if there are other influencing and/or interacting factors, remains unclear. Men from Siem Reap had the highest overall trauma score (4.8) compared to all other provinces and the lowest was seen in Battambang (4.1).

Figure 8.1
Men’s childhood trauma scores, by demographics

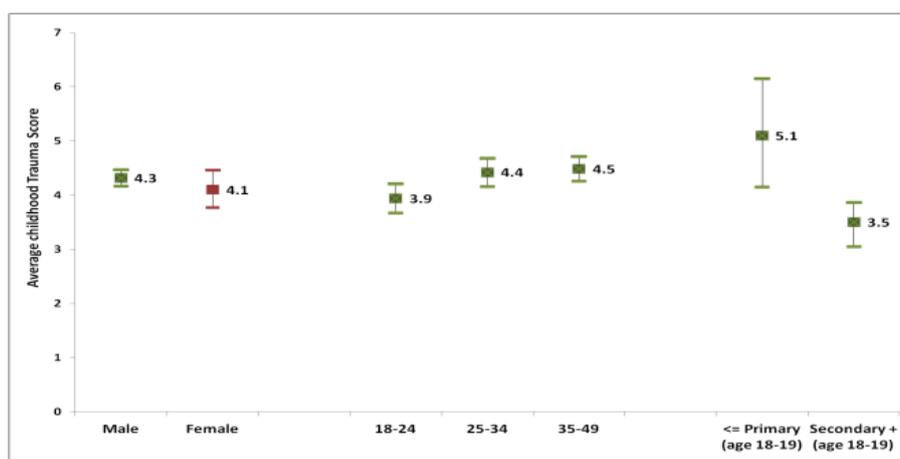
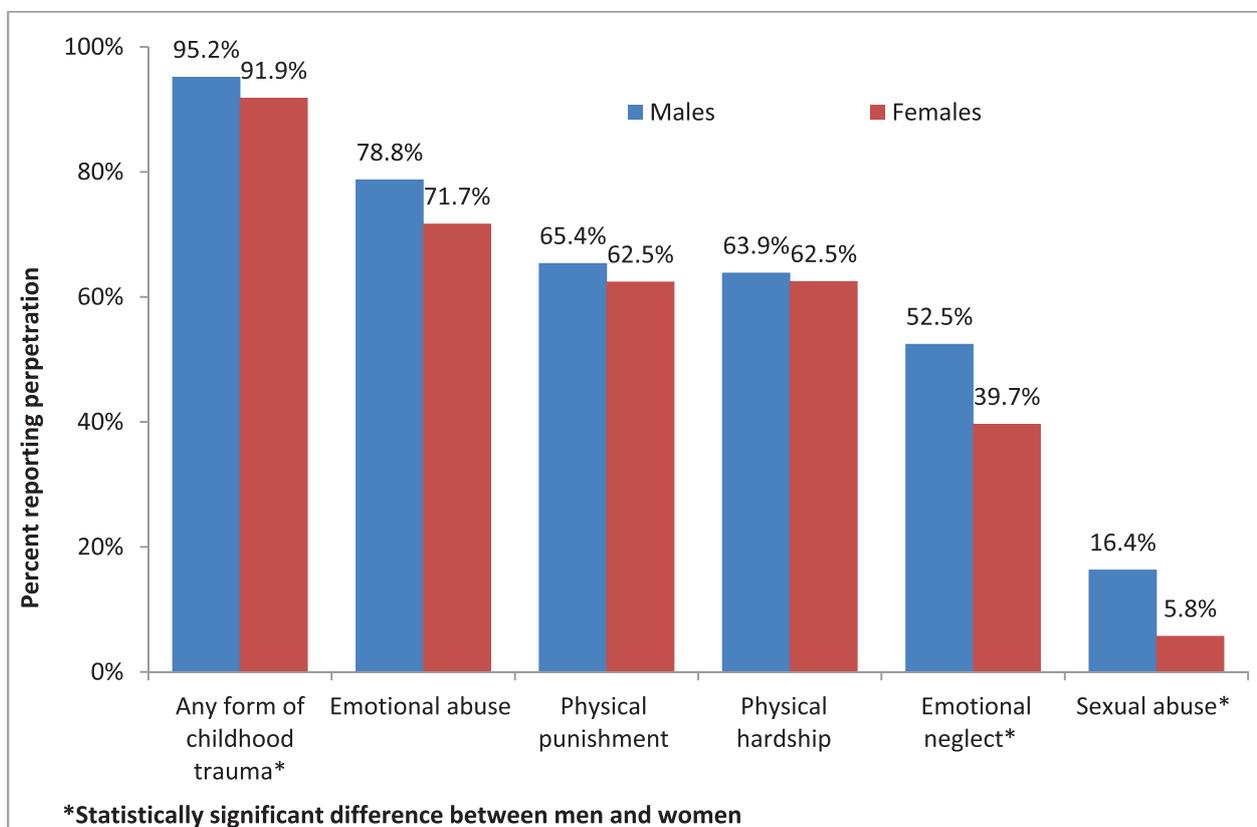


Figure 8.2 illustrates the percent of men and women who experienced different forms of violence and hardship as children. With the exception of sexual abuse, more than half of men experienced some form of violence as children, almost 80 percent of men experienced emotional abuse and two-thirds experienced either physical punishment and/or physical hardship (hunger). Close to one fifth of men reported they had experienced some kind of sexual abuse as a child. Overall, men and women reported similar levels of experiencing childhood violence and hardship. Emotional neglect and sexual abuse were the exceptions, as men reported significantly higher rates than women.

Figure 8.2
Percentage of men and women who reported experiencing different forms of childhood abuse and trauma



Emotional abuse

Emotional abuse was the highest reported form of childhood abuse for both men and women. Figure 8.2 shows that the most commonly reported type of emotional abuse for men was having been insulted by a family member (41 percent). Over a third of men reported having been humiliated by a family member in front of others. In both cases, among those who reported experiencing these abuses, the majority of men (84 percent, 90 percent respectively) reported having experienced them sometimes rather than often or very often. The proportion of men and women experiencing these two types of emotional abuse was similar however, women reported higher frequency (often or very often) than men.

Many studies have shown that children suffer when witnessing their mother being beaten (McCue 2008; Miedema 2011). In this study, one quarter of men (24 percent) reported that they had witnessed their mother being beaten by her partner. Even though this was the lowest reported type of emotional abuse, it had the highest frequency among those who reported it, with 19 percent having witnessed their mother being beaten often and just over 1 percent witnessing it very often.

The oldest age group, 35-49 years, reported much lower levels of all types of emotional abuse compared to younger men.

Neglect

Overall, men reported higher rates and frequency of all types of neglect, compared to women. Neglect was experienced by 53 percent of men surveyed. One third of men experienced instability by living in different households throughout their childhood. Men 35 years and older were much more likely to have lived in different households at different periods of their childhood (38 percent) than men aged 18-24.

A smaller proportion of men (13 percent) reported that one or both of their parents had been too drunk or drugged to take care of them as children. Younger men (18-24) were more likely to indicate (15 percent) that their parents were too drunk or drugged to take care of them than men over 35 years of age (10 percent).

Reports of neglect were higher among less-educated men. Men who had primary or less education were more likely to report having lived in different households (37 percent) and their parents having been too drunk or drugged (15 percent). This is compared to the 29 percent and 10 percent (respectively) of men who had received a secondary education. It is possible that lower education in this case is a result of these types of neglect.

One quarter of all men reported they had spent time out of the home without adults having knowledge of their whereabouts. This is four times higher than women and is probably related to cultural norms around male and female mobility. Nearly 40 percent of men who said their parents were too drunk or drugged to take care of them also spent time outside of the home without adults knowing where they were. This type of neglect was consistent across age and education categories. This finding is critical in light of such early ages of rape perpetration (see Section 5.2). This suggests that structural guidance maybe missing in many boys' lives, making them more vulnerable to different kinds of abuses and placing them at risk for unhealthy behaviours, criminal and/or violent acts. This is confirmed by the finding of Hilton et al. that alcohol and drug misuse – by boys' parents or by boys themselves – as well as neglect and physical, emotional and sexual abuse are risk factors for boys' sexual exploitation in Cambodia (2008).

Table 8.1

Experiences of hardship, violence and neglect in childhood

PERCENT REPORTING HAVING EXPERIENCED AS CHILD	MEN (%)	WOMEN (%)
Emotional abuse		
Any type of emotional abuse before age 18*	78.8	71.7
1. I was told I was lazy or stupid or weak by someone in my family	41.2	38.9
2. I was insulted or humiliated by someone in my family in front of other people	36.6	34.5
3. I saw or heard my mother being beaten by her husband or boyfriend	23.8	21.7
Neglect		
Any type of emotional neglect before age 18*	52.5	39.7
4. I lived in different households at different times	33.2	30.5
5. I spent time outside the home and none of the adults at home knew where I was*	24.5	6.6
6. One or both of my parents were too drunk or drugged to take care of me *	12.7	7.7
Physical punishment		
Any type of physical abuse before age 18	65.4	62.5
7. Before I reached 18 I was beaten or physically punished at school by a teacher or headmaster*	43.2	36.9
8. I was beaten at home with a belt or stick or whip or something else which was hard	42.9	47.9
9. I was beaten so hard at home that it left a mark or bruise *	10.5	15.0
Physical hardship		
10. I did not have enough to eat before age 18	63.9	62.5
Sexual abuse		
Any type of sexual abuse before age 18*	16.4	5.8
11. Someone touched my thighs, buttocks, breasts or genitals when I did not want them to or made me touch them when I did not want to*	12.9	3.2
12. I had sex with a (wo)man who was more than 5 years older than me	2.9	2.4
13. I had sex with someone who was not my (girl)boyfriend because I was threatened or frightened or forced*	2.6	0.6
Teasing/bullying		
Was teased and bullied as a child	35.6	
Teased or harassed others	25.4	

*Statistically significant differences between men and women

Physical punishment

Overall, physical punishment was the second highest reported experience of childhood violence for both men and women. Global trends suggest that boys are at higher risk of physical abuse (Pineiro 2006), however in this study men and women reported similar levels of physical punishment, particularly at home. For school-based physical punishment, men reported higher rates (43 percent) than women (37 percent), which is reflective of global patterns. A smaller proportion of men than women (11 percent compared to 15 percent) of severe beatings at home that left a mark (15 percent). An important finding was that the same proportion of men experienced physical punishment in the home (43 percent) as they did in school (43 percent) with 50 percent of men having experienced both forms.

Overall, the highest reports of experiencing any physical punishment were from men aged 18-24 years (70 percent) compared to the older age group 35-49 years (60 percent).

Men with a higher education reported higher rates of experiencing some form of physical abuse (70 percent) compared to 62 percent of men with primary education or less. This pattern is particularly predominant for school violence - 48 percent of men with secondary or more education reported experiencing corporal punishment, versus 38 percent of men with primary or less. This is possibly because they were in school longer and therefore had greater exposure to this form of violence. Furthermore, higher levels of education was also associated with more frequent beatings in school.

Physical hardship (hunger)

Physical hardship was measured by hunger, or not having had enough to eat as a child. As Table 8.1 shows, two-thirds of both men (64 percent) and women (63 percent) experienced hunger in childhood. A number of demographic and circumstantial factors were associated with not having had enough to eat as a child. There is an age cohort effect, with twice as many men (80 percent) in the 35-49 age group reporting having experienced hunger as a child, compared to 41 percent of men in the 18-24 age group. Historically this makes sense, as mentioned in Chapter 1 and above, men who are currently 40-49 years old would have been in the prime of their childhood during the Khmer Rouge regime, which was known to be a time of food scarcity and hunger (Chandler 2000). Men with lower levels of education were also more likely to report having not had enough to eat as a child.

Sexual abuse

In addition to the adverse effects mentioned for other types of childhood abuse, sexual abuse can lead to negative reproductive health manifestations, including HIV and sexually transmitted infections (STIs), unwanted pregnancy and sexual dysfunction as adults (Miles and Sun 2005). Sexual abuse of children in Cambodia is well documented. Over the years, the reported cases of rape and sexual trafficking have shown that the mean age of victims is getting lower (Amnesty International 2010).

A substantial proportion of men, 16 percent, reported experiencing some type of sexual abuse, compared to 6 percent of women. Molestation was the most commonly experienced type of abuse experienced by men (13 percent). This was also the most frequently experienced, with 17 percent of men who were molested having experienced it often/very often.

Three percent of men reported that they had sex with someone who was not their girl/boyfriend because they were threatened, frightened or forced. Three times as many men as women reported being forced into having sex as a child, although women reported experiencing this in higher frequencies than men.

For men, neither age nor education was associated with experiencing sexual abuse. The exception to this was forced sex, where 2 percent of men with secondary education or more reported, compared to 4 percent of men with primary or less education.

Bullying/teasing

Bullying is distinguished from other forms of violence because it represents a pattern of behaviour as opposed to an isolated event (Pineiro 2006). Experiences of bullying in childhood – as a whether having perpetrated or been victimized - are associated with a number of adverse consequences for adult men, including dysfunctional relationships with women and an increased tendency towards acts of violence, including rape (Jewkes et al. 2010; Pontzer 2010).

One quarter of men indicated that they had bullied, teased or harassed other children. More than a third (35 percent) of men reported having been a victim of bullying or teasing themselves. Age was associated with both being a bully and having bullied: 33 percent of younger men (18-24 years) reporting having bullied, as opposed to 20 percent of older men (35-49 years).

Education was positively associated with bullying and having been bullied - more educated men reported higher levels of both. However, this association disappeared when controlled for age. This further suggests that the relationship between younger age and higher rates of bullying experience could be due to recall bias or a cohort effect due to changes in school environments or social structures. Phnom Penh had the highest rates of both bullying and having been bullied, most likely due to confounding of higher education and younger-aged men.

It is not uncommon for bullies to also have been victims of bullying (Pontzer 2010). In Cambodia however, the overlap between bullying and being bullied was quite remarkable, in that 70 percent of men who reported teasing or harassing others when they were children were also themselves teased or bullied as children (Pinheiro 2006).

Childhood experiences of bullying or being bullied were not associated with any type of non-partner rape. However, 75 percent of men who reported both having been a perpetrator and victim of bullying, had perpetrated some type of IPV. This is in sharp contrast to the 57 percent of men who reported neither perpetration nor being a victim of bullying. There was no difference in IPV perpetration for men who were either victims of bullying (67 percent) and those who perpetrated bullying (68 percent).

Parental situation

The parental environment in which children grew up, although not part of the childhood trauma scale was found to be highly associated with levels of trauma. Higher trauma scores were reported by respondents whose mother or father were never or rarely at home (see Annex Figure 3.4). Parental absence can be considered a form of neglect and pose certain traumatic risks for children. More respondents reported their fathers being absent (40 percent) than their mothers (17 percent). Men reported lower rates of parental absence than women.

As seen with physical hardship (hunger), older men (35-49) reported higher rates of parental absence, 22 percent indicated their father was never at home and 9 percent indicated their mother was never home. This is almost twice as high as the youngest age group (18-24).

Childhood trauma varied significantly depending on whom men reported they lived with when growing up. The highest average trauma score was reported by men who lived with their father. Men who grew up with both parents reported the lowest levels of childhood trauma. Living with neither parent was not associated with higher trauma rates than living with just the mother or just the father, although it was associated with significantly higher rates of trauma than living with both parents. This suggests that living with both parents may have a protective effect against these types of adverse experiences as compared to other family structures. Miles and Sun (2005) found similar results, in that children living with single mothers appeared to be more likely to be beaten than children living with two parents. Although physical abuse did not vary across men's living situations, it does suggest there is a protective nature to living with both parents. This is corroborated by Hilton et.al who found family violence and

separated parents to be risk factors for boys' experiences of abuse, as many of these boys then have to then work outside the home and earn money, with more freedom and less parental supervision (2008).

Table 8.2
Associations between men's experiences of child abuse and different negative consequences

	Never experienced child sexual abuse	Experienced child sexual abuse	P value	Adjusted odd ratio
Gang involvement	7.4	13.4	0.001	2
Fights with weapons	8.9	13.1	0.03	1.6
Depression	40.9	53.7	<0.001	1.9
Alcohol abuse	14.4	18.1	NS	NS
Past year drug use	4.6	11.7	<0.001	2.9
Suicidal thoughts	3.9	7.1	0.005	2.1
Suicide attempts	1.5	5.1	<0.001	4.6

	Never experienced physical child abuse	Experienced physical child abuse	P value	Adjusted odd ratio
Gang involvement	6.7	9.2	0.04	1.5
Fights with weapons	6.2	11.4	0.001	2
Depression	39.9	44.6	0.007	1.3
Alcohol abuse	10.2	17.6	<0.001	1.9
Past year drug use	NS			
Suicidal thoughts	NS			
Suicide attempts	1.1	2.5	0.05	2.3

*Adjusted for age, education and province

Table 8.2 shows associations between men's experiences of childhood sexual abuse and physical abuse and different negative consequences. This bivariate analysis was adjusted for age, education and province. The analysis shows that there are severe consequences for boys who experience abuse as children. For example, men who had experienced sexual abuse as children are twice as likely to end up in a gang as men who had not experienced such abuse. They are twice as likely to have depression and suicidal thoughts and nearly five times more likely to have attempted suicide. Men who have experienced physical or sexual abuse are more likely to abuse alcohol be involved in delinquent behavior such as gang involvement and fights with weapons.

Men's experiences of abuse as children as also associated with perpetration of violence against women as discussed in Chapter 9.

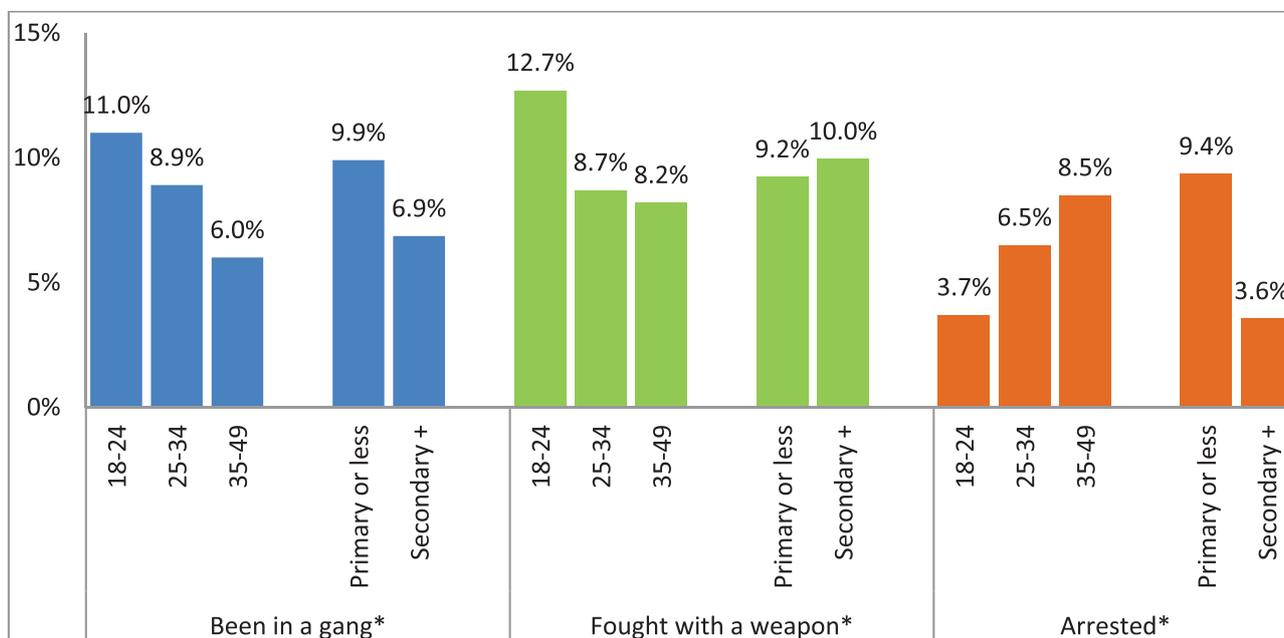
Criminal behaviour and violence

Men were asked if they had ever engaged in violent or criminal behavior, such as membership in a gang, use of a weapon or having ever been arrested or put in jail. A total of 8 percent of men reported

having ever been in a gang and 10 percent reported ever using a weapon when fighting. Few men had ever been arrested (6 percent), and even fewer had been to jail (3 percent).

Figure 8.3 shows that both men’s age and education were found to be associated with gang membership. Younger men, and men with primary or less education, were more likely to have ever been in a gang. Younger men were also more likely to have used a weapon. Older men were more than twice as likely to have been arrested as the youngest age group. Men who had received a primary or lower education were three times more likely to have been arrested. Geographical residence was not associated with any of these behaviours and there were no demographic associations with having been to jail.

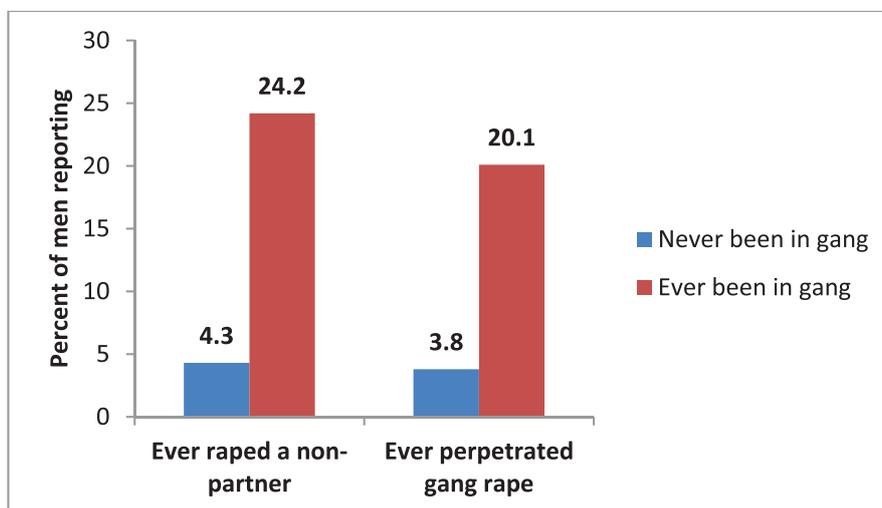
Figure 8.3
Men’s engagement in violence or criminal behaviour, by age and education



Stereotyped sex roles, including domination over and violence towards women, although originally learned in families, can crystallize in gangs (Totten 2000). The findings from the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence, did not reveal such normative differences, as measured by mean GEM score or relationship control scale, between those men who reported being in a gang and those who did not. However, figure 8.4 illustrates that gang membership is highly associated with the perpetration of non-partner sexual violence. The differences are remarkable, with non-partner rape of a female and gang rape both five times more prevalent in men who were or are involved in a gang than those who reported never being in a gang. This is discussed further in Chapter 9.

Figure 8.4

Prevalence of men's perpetration of non-partner rape and gang rape, by their participation in a gang



Homophobia and sexual victimization

The majority of men (71 percent) and women (75 percent) agreed to the statement that “it would be shameful to have a homosexual son.” Such strong negative attitudes towards homosexuality, coupled with the high percentage of respondents agreeing to the statement “to be a man, you need to be tough,” could lead to violence against men who are deemed as effeminate or those who do not fit traditionally masculine roles.

Of men interviewed, 3 percent reported having been victimized by homophobic related violence (homophobic violence was framed as having been called names, faced derogatory remarks or been subjected to violence or threats because you were thought to be effeminate or attracted to men). Furthermore, 4 percent of men indicated that they had been raped by another man. This mirrors the finding discussed in Chapter 5, that perpetration of rape or sexual assault against another man, either alone or in a gang, was also reported by 4 percent of men.

The fact that 47 percent of men who reported having forced a man into sex did not report having had voluntary sex with a man, suggests that the underlying reasons for raping or forcing sex on men extends beyond sexual preference. 44 percent of men who forced sex on another man reported they were attracted to women, and only 18 percent said that they were attracted to men only. A substantial proportion men who raped other men were unsure of who they were attracted to, suggesting that feelings of conflict may play a role in violence perpetration.

Men's health and vulnerabilities

Mental health

Studies have found that depression is common in men (Instituto Promundo 2011) and can be considered one of their main vulnerabilities, particularly with regards to perpetrating violence.

To measure depression, this study used the Centre for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale. Men were read a series of statements (see Box 8.1) and asked to score how often they felt or experienced these statements in the past week, on a four point scale that ranged from ‘rarely’ to ‘all of the time’. An overall score (CES-D score) was developed based on these responses. CES-D scores of 16 or more are considered clinically important depressive symptoms, while scores of 20 or more are considered clinically meaningful depressive symptoms, or highly depressed.

In Cambodia, a high proportion of men (43 percent) could be considered clinically depressed. 25 percent are considered highly depressed. Another 18 percent are considered depressive, with CES-D scores over 16.

Education was the only demographic characteristic found to be associated with depression. Of men with no education, 34 percent were found to have clinically meaningful depression (score higher than 20) compared to 28 percent of men with only primary education and 20 percent of men with secondary or more being highly depressed. Despite depression being prevalent in this study population, suicidality was quite low, with 5 percent of men reporting they had ever had suicidal thoughts, and 2 percent reporting having ever attempted suicide. There were no demographic characteristics associated with either thoughts or attempts of suicide. However, as expected, level of depression was highly associated with suicidality. Of the men who were highly depressed, 10 percent had thought of suicide and 5 percent had attempted suicide. Of men not classified as clinically depressed, less than 1 percent had attempted suicide.

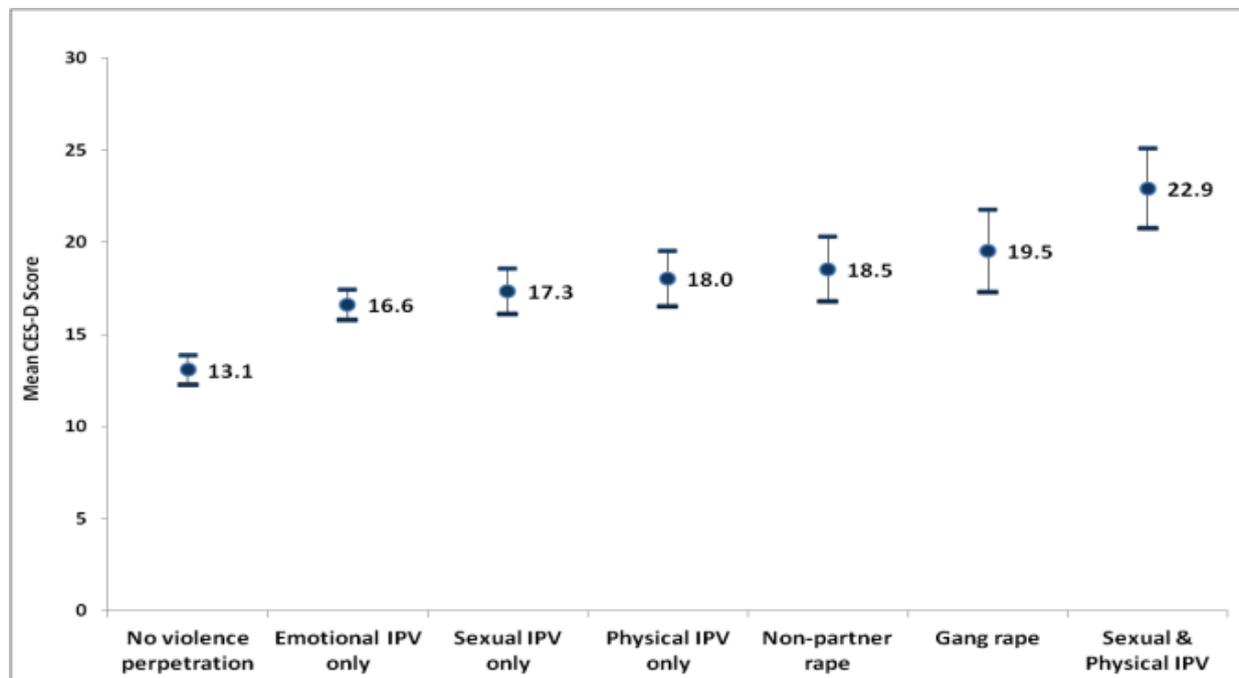
Box 8.1: Operational definition for self-report depression (CES-D) Scale

SELF-REPORT DEPRESSION (CES-D) SCALE	
a. During the past week I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me	b. During the past week I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing
c. During the past week I did not feel like eating, my appetite was poor	d. During the past week I felt that everything I did was an effort
e. During the past week I felt I could not cheer myself up even with the help of family and friends	f. During the past week I thought my life had been a failure
g. During the past week I felt I was just as good as other people	h. During the past week my sleep was restless
i. During the past week I felt depressed	j. During the past week I talked less than usual
k. During the past week I felt hopeful about the future	l. During the past week people were unfriendly
m. During the past week I felt fearful	n. During the past week I had crying spells
o. During the past week I was happy	p. During the past week I felt sick
q. During the past week I felt lonely	r. During the past week I felt that people dislike me
s. During the past week I enjoyed life	t. During the past week I could not get 'going'

Figure 8.5 illustrates that violence perpetration is associated with higher levels of depression (this is discussed further in Chapter 9). Men who never perpetrated any type of violence had a significantly lower mean CES-D score of 13, which is considered not to be depressed (cut off is 16). For all other types of violence, men had mean scores ranging from 17-23. Men who perpetrated more severe forms or violence, such as gang rape or a combination of sexual and physical IPV, scored in the highly depressed range. All men who perpetrated both sexual and physical IPV were considered as highly depressed, with a mean CES-D score of 23.

Figure 8.5

Men's level of depression (CES-D Score) by perpetration of different types of VAW



Discussion

Violence against children is a global issue and this chapter shows that it is also a serious concern in Cambodia. More than half of all men experienced some form of violence as children. In this study, emotional abuse was the highest reported form of childhood abuse for both men and women, which is in line with regional figures (Zolotor et al. 2007). Two-thirds experienced either physical punishment and/or physical hardship (hunger). Close to one fifth of men reported experiencing some kind of sexual abuse as a child. Older men had higher rates of childhood trauma than younger men. One reason could be due to recall bias of childhood experiences - a common methodological issue when interviewing older respondents (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005; Gil-Gonzalez et al. 2008). Another reason could be due to the fact that the older age group would have been 2 -16 years-old under the Khmer Rouge regime - a time of parental separation - which would have reduced their overall exposure to emotional violence in the home as compared to younger generations (Gils 2007). However given public violence in Cambodia continued to through the 1990s, long after the official end of the Khmer Rouge regime, this should have similarly affected the home life of all of the respondents in the survey.

The rates of child abuse reported in this study are supported by other research in Cambodia (O'Connell 2001; LICADHO 2004; Fordham 2005; Hilton et al. 2008; Miles and Sun 2005). The 2013 UNICEF Violence against Children Study found that over half of both females and males aged 18 to 24 (52.7% and 54.2%, respectively) reported at least one experience of physical violence prior to age of 18. A 2005 quantitative study by Tearfund, of over 1,300 Cambodian children found that 64 percent knew children who had been raped by an adult and over 20 percent had witnessed the rape of a child by an adult (Miles and Sun 2005). Amongst rape and sexual assault cases brought to LICADHO between 2002 and

2003, the highest proportion of all victims, were children between ages 11-15 (38 percent) (LICADHO 2004). Similarly, rape of minors constituted 75 percent of all rapes reported to the Cambodian Human Rights and Development Association (ADHOC) in 2002 (Miles and Sun 2005). In Kandal Stung Province, a significant proportion of children reported being physically beaten by teachers and parents (Fordham 2005) and Tearfund found that over 80 percent of Cambodian children had witnessed other children being beaten by their parents (Miles and Sun 2005).

While very little has been published on violence against boys, our research and other studies found that more boys than girls report experiencing abuse in childhood (Hilton et al. 2008; Miles and Sun 2005). The UNICEF Violence against Children Study also found that boys reported higher rates of sexual abuse than girls: 4% of females and 6% of males aged 18 to 24 reported at least one incident of sexual abuse before the age of 18 (Ministry of Women's Affairs et al. 2013). Overall the rates of sexual abuse of boys found by the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence were higher than the Violence against Children Study. This could be in part explained by the different methodologies – such as the use of PDAs, the fact that the study focused on interviewing men, and the longer interviewer training in the UN study. Other studies also support the higher prevalence of sexual abuse of boys found in the UN Study. A Tearfund study, for example, found 16 percent of Cambodian boys surveyed, and 14 percent of girls, said that they had been touched on the genitals before the age of nine (Miles and Sun 2005). Research also suggests that boys experience more physical abuse – both at home and at school – than girls (Miles and Sun 2005; Fordham 2005).

The relative invisibility of the issue of violence against male children, in Cambodia, and the reluctance of communities to talk about it openly, is tied to a common assumption that the abuse of boys is a western import, and that it rarely occurs in Cambodian society (Hilton et al. 2008). Also related are Cambodian norms around masculinity, which expect boys to protect themselves and to overcome adversity easily and without help (Hilton et al. 2008). This is reinforced by the finding that, the majority of Cambodian men and women agree that 'to be a man you need to be tough.' As with violence against girls, abuse of boys often has serious short- and long-term impacts on boys' development, health and wellbeing. However, due to the shortage of facilities and services available to male victims of child abuse, and the lack of awareness or serious attention given to this issue by Cambodian society, boys who have experienced abuse rarely seek help (Hilton et al. 2008).

Rates of child abuse are highly significant because the effects on a child's psychological development, learning and overall wellbeing, place them at high risk of psychological and health problems as adults (McCue 2008; Pinheiro 2006; Gil-Gonzalez et al. 2008). This study found that men who had experienced physical and sexual abuse as children were more likely to have depression, suicidal tendencies, substance abuse problem, and engage in gangs and fights with weapons. These severe consequences of child abuse point to the need to address boy's experiences of abuse as a priority.

Further, as is discussed in Chapter 9, boys' experiences of abuse are found to be one of the most significant risk factors for perpetration of VAW later in life, which is supported by other studies (McCue 2008; Heise 2011). Considerably more research needs to be done to bring this issue into the open and to further unpack the complexities of abuse of male children in Cambodia. Efforts need to be made to end violence against children, both boys and girls, and also help them recover from abuse to help mitigate these long-term consequences. The 'Government Commitments to Prevent and Respond to

Violence Against Children and Leading to the Development of a National Action Plan on Violence Against Children in Cambodia, made following the Violence against Children Study outline a number of important priorities and steps in this regard (Ministry of Women's Affairs et al. 2014).

Men also experience abuse and violence from other men as adults. 3 percent of men in this study reported having been victimized by homophobic related violence. Furthermore, 4 percent of men indicated that they had been raped by another man. These experiences of violence appear to be linked to the high rates of depression seen in men. 43 percent of all men were found to be clinically depressed, and one quarter (25 percent) were considered highly depressed. There is a need to improve men's access to mental health services, especially as men's own depression is a risk factor for IPV (see Chapter 9).

Chapter 9 will show that men who have experienced sexual violence and homophobic violence are more likely to use violence themselves, highlighting to need to address men's own experiences of abuse, as part of VAW prevention.

MAIN FINDINGS

- Quarreling with a partner, childhood experiences of violence, depression, sexual practices, low gender equity, use of weapons, and alcohol abuse were all found to be associated with men's perpetration of IPV.
- Having any secondary/high school education and being gender equitable were found to reduce men's likelihood of perpetrating IPV.
- Drug abuse, sexual practices, involvement in gangs, use of weapons and depression were found to increase men's likelihood of perpetrating rape against a non-partner woman.
- While there is some overlap in the risk factor for IPV and non-partner rape, they are distinct types of violence with different drivers – this highlights the need for different and targeted interventions for these types of violence.

One of the key goals of the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence was to determine the underlying drivers of men's use of VAW, in order to target these in prevention work. To do this, the survey explored various factors that increase the likelihood of a man perpetrating different types of violence (risk factors), as well as the factors that decrease the likelihood of a man using violence (protective factors). In one sense a protective factor is the opposite of a risk factor, for example, if men who have lower levels of education are more likely to perpetrate violence, then higher education can be considered a protective factor.

Multi-variate logistic regression modeling was conducted to determine the key risk and protective factors for men's use of VAW. Multi-variate modeling looks beyond bivariate associations between two variables to account for interactions between all variables. The models below show the combination of factors that are all statistically associated with violence perpetration. In this way, programmes can have a more comprehensive approach by specifically addressing these multiple factors that lead to violence.

Two types of violence perpetration were modeled. The first was physical or sexual IPV. This includes all types of physical violence perpetration and/or all types of sexual violence perpetration (see Chapter 4 for operational definitions). This combination of IPV does not filter out the other two types of IPV and may include some overlap of emotional and economic abuse perpetration as well. The second type of violence modeled was non-partner rape against women.

Initially bi-variate analysis was conducted on a series of factors that were measured in the study. Those factors which proved to have a direct or indirect association with either IPV or non-partner sexual violence were then combined together with the control variables age and geographic residence to generate a full multi-variable model. Using the backwards elimination technique, factors that were not statistically significant were removed until only significant and control variables remained. The terms in this model were then checked for face validity, confidence interval size, and in the case of variables that had multiple categories such as number of sex partners or frequency of quarreling, whether a 'dose response' relationship exist. If any terms did not satisfy these conditions they were removed. Once the risk factors were finalized they were then checked for any interactions.

Annex Table 3.2 shows the percentage of men reporting each variable by their perpetration of IPV and non-partner rape.

Risk and protective factors for physical and sexual IPV perpetration

Physical and sexual IPV often occur in the same relationship, therefore prevention interventions need to target both types of violence together. Figure 9.1 illustrates the full risk and protective factor model for physical and/or sexual partner violence (a table with more details including odds ratios⁸ is presented in Annex Table 3.3). All variables presented in the model are statistically significant risk/protective factors for IPV perpetration.

Men with the least gender equitable attitudes were 1.6 times more likely to perpetrate IPV, than men who had moderate or highly equitable attitudes. This suggests that having gender equitable attitudes is protective against violence perpetration. Higher levels of education were also found to be protective - men who had at least a high school level of education were almost half as likely to perpetrate IPV, compared to men who had less than high-school education.

Within the context of a relationship, frequency of quarreling between a man and his partner was found to be highly significant. Men who reported that they quarrel with their partners 'often' are nearly three times more likely to use violence than men who only quarrel 'rarely'. This is somewhat intuitive and could reflect a pathway relationship (that is quarrelling leads to violence or the quarrelling is about the violence), however it has important prevention implications (see the Discussion section).

Childhood trauma was also a significant risk factor for partner violence perpetration. Men who experienced physical abuse during childhood and men who witnessed violence between their parents were both 1.4 times more likely to have perpetrated physical and/or sexual IPV in adulthood than men who did not. Furthermore, men who were sexually abused as children were twice as likely to abuse a partner as men who did not experience sexual violence in childhood.

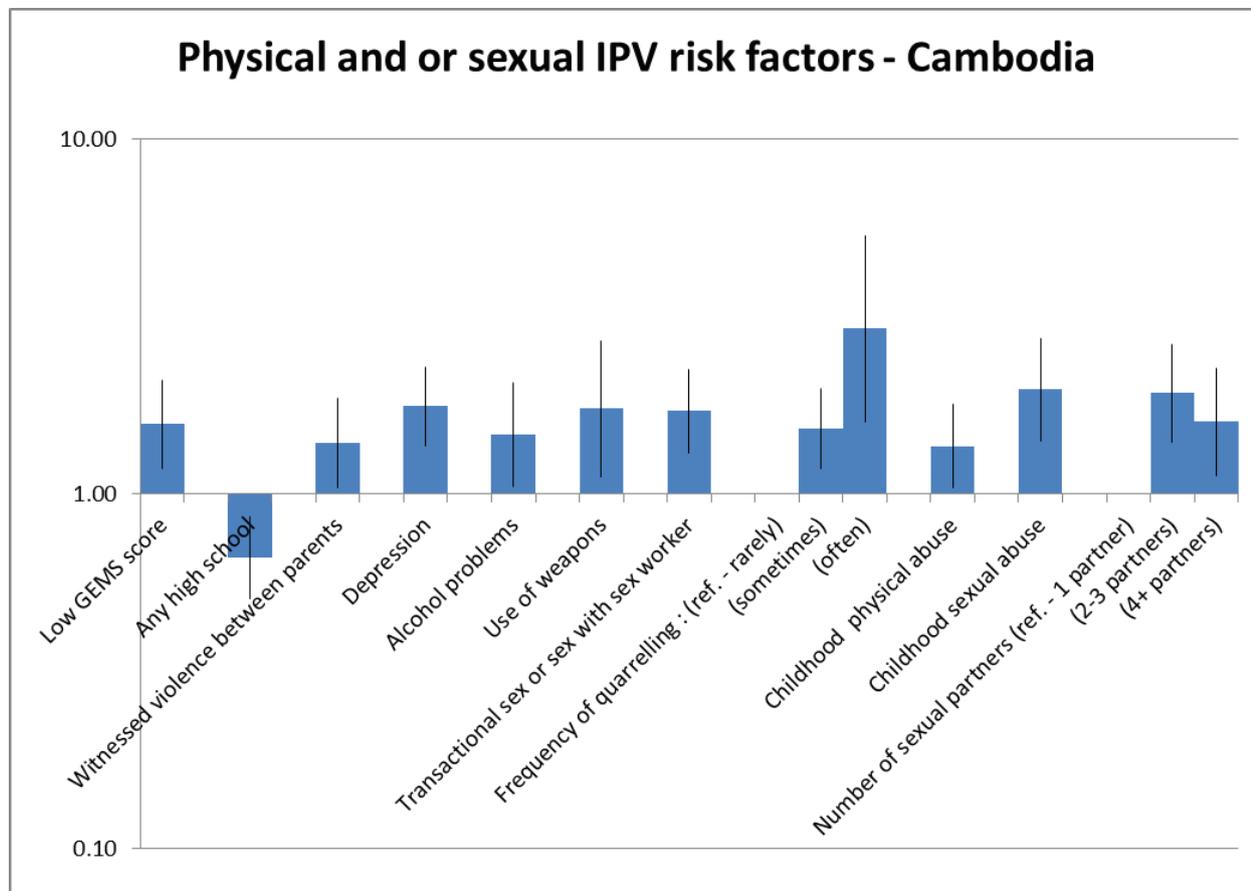
Men who had clinical depression were nearly twice as likely use violence against an intimate partner. Men who had an alcohol problem⁹ were 1.5 times more likely to abuse an intimate partner. And men who had been involved in fights with weapons were also more likely to use violence, reflecting more generalized violent practices.

Men's sexual practices were also found to be associated with their perpetration of IPV. For example, men who reported engaging in transactional sex or sex with a sex worker were 1.7 times more likely to have perpetrated IPV, than men who did not. Similarly, having multiple sexual partners also increased the likelihood that men would sexually or physically abuse an intimate partner.

8 An odds ratio tells us the increased likelihood of violence perpetration occurring if that specific variable or characteristic is present as opposed to if it is not present.

9 Alcohol problems were defined in response to a series of questions about frequency of drinking, number of drinks usually consumed, frequency of binge drinking (6+ drinks) and feelings of guilt or remorse after drinking and failure to do what was normally expected from you because of drinking.

Figure 9.1
Risk/protective factor model for IPV perpetration

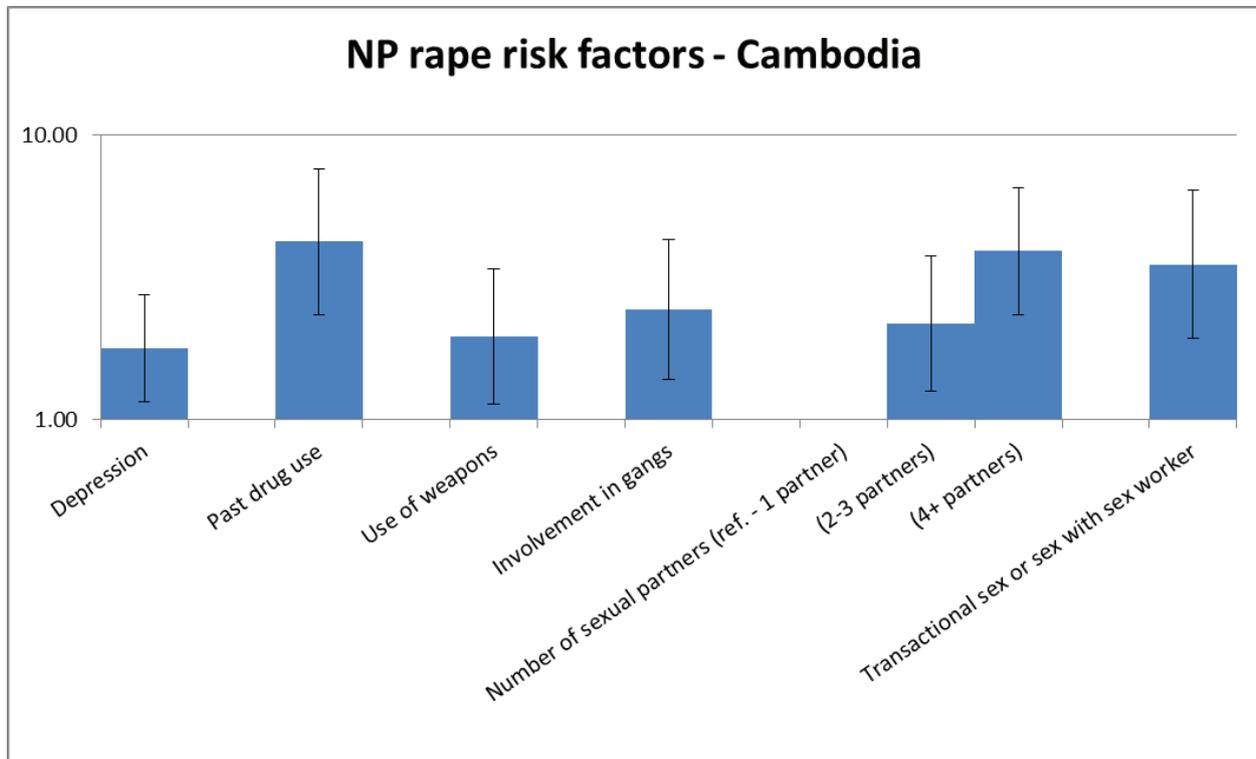


Further analysis was conducted looking at the relative importance of each risk factor in terms of prevention of partner violence. That is, if we reduced one risk factor to zero what overall impact would that have on the prevalence of violence in Cambodia. While many factors are interconnected and all need to be addressed this helps us to prioritize our interventions. This analysis of Population Attributable Fractions is presented in Annex Figure 3.5 and discussed in the discussion section.

Risk and protective factors for non-partner rape perpetration

In Cambodia understanding the determinants of sexual violence have remained largely unexplored until now. As the report shows, sexual violence including gang rape is a key issue in Cambodia and this study considerably advances the body of evidence on the risk factors for non-partner rape perpetration to be able to more effectively and systematically address this important issue. Figure 9.2 show the risk factors for non-partner rape perpetration (with more detail presented in Annex Table 3.4).

Figure 9.2
Risk/protective factor model for non-partner rape perpetration



Similar to IPV perpetration, depression was found to be a risk factor for non-partner rape perpetration – men who had clinical depression were nearly twice as likely to have perpetrated non-partner rape as men who did not have depression. Having more sexual partners, having sex with a sex worker or having transactional sex were also risk factors non-partner rape, and have a bigger effect on non-partner rape than IPV. For example, men who had sex with a sex worker were 3.5 times more likely to commit non-partner rape, but only 1.7 times more likely to commit IPV.

Other risk factors for non-partner are related to the violent context in which rape occurs. Men who perpetrated this type of violence were more likely to have been in a gang, have fought with weapons and used drugs in the past year. For example, among men who perpetrated non-partner rape 34 percent had been involved in a gang, compared to only 7 percent of men who had not committed such violence.

Discussion

Violence is a gendered phenomenon and directly related to power inequalities. Men’s gender attitudes were related to partner violence although not non-partner rape. This suggests that while changing men’s attitudes is important, it alone is unlikely to end VAW. More work is needed to address the interplay of different factors across individual, family and societal levels. It is difficult to capture gender norms in an individual survey and more research is needed in this area. Given the extremely high association between quarreling and IPV perpetration, building equal interaction between couples and improving non-violent communication skills is important for violence prevention.

Exposure to violence and trauma during childhood was a crucial risk factor for men's perpetration of physical and/or sexual IPV. This finding demonstrates that VAW is intertwined with violence against children. Other literature on VAW suggests that children who have either experienced violence themselves, or witnessed violence when growing up, are more likely to end up in a violent relationship - either as the perpetrator or as the victim (Instituto Promundo & IRCW 2011; Abramsky 2011; Jewkes and Abrahams 2002; Whitfield et al. 2003; Gil-Gonzalez et al. 2008;). The association between violence in childhood and adult domestic violence suggests that violent behaviour is learned. It is likely that children in violent homes learn to use violence rather than other more constructive methods to resolve conflicts (Lee 2007). Witnessing violent behaviour of a father against a mother as a child, can internalize a 'blueprint' of the power imbalances within intimate partner relations and family dynamics that can play out in their future relationships (Miedema, 2011). The relationship between child abuse and perpetration is not causal and the majority of boys who experience abuse as children do not go on to become perpetrators. But it is equally as important to address boy's experiences of abuse, both as a fundamental child protection issue but also as a strategy to prevent VAW. Strategies could include: parenting programmes to promote non-violent parenting practices, education programmes with young children to help them identify and report situations of sexual abuse and support services and counseling to help boys heal from abuse.

Across a variety of settings in developed and developing countries men's drinking patterns have been found to be associated with marital violence (Jewkes and Abrahams 2002; Moraes and Reichenheim 2002). Studies have also found that abuser's alcohol-use was related to a greater likelihood of physical injury (Brecklin 2002). Although it was not one of the strongest risk factors in this study in Cambodia, alcohol abuse was found to increase men's risk of IPV perpetration, although not non-partner rape.

Having more sexual partners and having had sex with a sex worker or transactional sex were found to be strong risk factors for both IPV and non-partner rape perpetration. Similar findings have been reported in China (Wang forthcoming) and South Africa (Jewkes et. al., 2012). Having a partner who had an affair has also been found to be a risk factor for women's victimization of IPV in other settings (SPC 2009; Fulu 2010). This appears to be related to emphasized heterosexual performance, the need to show dominance over women and an emotional disconnection from sex (Malamuth 2003). In light of the additional finding that most rape is motivated by sexual entitlement, this highlights the importance of addressing notions of manhood associated with heterosexual performance and developing sex education programmes that focus on building healthy consensual sexual relationships in Cambodia.

Depression is associated with both partner violence and non-partner rape in Cambodia. The direction of this relationship is not clear (whether men who are depressed are more likely to use violence or whether men who use violence are more likely to be depressed). It is likely to work both ways, though the literature does suggest that depression occurs before violence. This is an important new finding that has not been examined in other literature. It points to the need to improve mental health services for men as part of violence prevention.

According to the population attributable fraction analysis (Annex Table 3.5), in order to have the most impact on rates of partner violence, prevention interventions should prioritize addressing childhood victimization, men's depression, and men's sexual practices. The importance of quarrelling indicates that working to improve healthy, non-violent communication and conflict resolution skills within

relationships could have a big impact on physical partner violence in particular, although less so for sexual violence. The use of transactional sex is likely not a direct cause of violence itself but reflects a type of masculinity that is associated with sexual performance and dominance over women. If we changed this pattern of manhood, then this would potentially reduce perpetration of sexual only violence by about 30%. Addressing depression, increasing male education and reducing poverty would potentially have the most impact on severe partner violence that includes both physical and sexual abuse. On the other hand, alcohol problems and gender attitudes which have long been argued to be drivers of men's violence show less potential impact on most types of violence.

Non-partner rape appears to follow a different pattern of VAW than partner violence, with a different set of drivers in the Cambodia context. Non-partner rape is associated with a context of delinquent and violent behavior, including involvement in gangs, having been in fights with a weapon, past year drug use and having had sex with a sex worker/transactional sex. Other research has similarly found that exposure to trauma in childhood, delinquent peer associations, masculinities emphasizing heterosexual performance and control of women are key risk factors for rape perpetration (Jewkes et al. 2011; Abbey et. al. 2006; Malamuth et al. 1991; Jewkes et al. 2006; Knight and Sims-Knight 2003). This may reflect a context of hyper-masculinised behaviour, where hierarchy is emphasized and often directed into VAW, as well as violence against other men. This is particularly important in the context of Cambodia where male peer relationships are particularly strong and play a large role in VAW (Miedema, 2011).

The different drivers for IPV and non-partner rape strongly point to the need for different interventions for different forms of violence that are targeted specifically at the risk factors for each. For example, to address non-partner rape, it is important to target the at-risk population of young men who are, or may become, involved in related violent and delinquent behaviour. Whereas IPV prevention should focus on child protection, healthy conflict resolution skills, and addressing gender inequality, among other things.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence is the first comprehensive study on men, masculinities and violence in Cambodia. Some research on VAW has been carried out with women in Cambodia, and a prevalence study is underway, using the WHO multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence methodology. This Study on Men and Violence aims to bring new insight to this issue by exploring the perspectives and experiences of Cambodian men. The results of this study will provide an important evidence base from which the Royal Cambodian Government, civil society organizations and international development agencies, will be able to develop and implement more effective policies and programmes to prevent VAW in Cambodia.

The study was methodologically rigorous and followed international standards for ethical research on violence against women. The benefits of conducting careful and ethical research is evidenced by the high response rates (93 percent) and the majority of the male and female respondents reporting that they felt better or the same after participating in the study. The sample of 1831 men and 477 women is representative of the five sites (Phnom Penh, Siem Reap, Battambang, Kampot, and Sihanoukville) where the study was conducted.

Our findings illustrate important patterns of VAW in Cambodia, as well as contributing to a deeper understanding of the factors that increase or decrease men's likelihood to abuse intimate partner and non-partner women. There is also detailed data on men's gender attitudes, experiences of violence, health and sexual practices. These findings point to a series of recommendations to prevent VAW in Cambodia, but also have the potential to inform a broad range of policies and programmes on mental health, reproductive rights, access to justice, and child protection.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Strengthen commitments to promote gender equality and women's economic empowerment

Most Cambodian men do not support violence and, compared to previous studies, men's attitudes appear to have become more gender equitable over time. Men and women also had very high exposure to community activities on VAW and the majority was aware of the law on domestic violence. This indicates that the government, women's rights activists, and civil society organizations have been successful in raising awareness of the domestic violence law since its implementation in 2005.

However, the effectiveness of these campaigns to change men's attitudes towards VAW is questionable, with the majority of men thinking that the law on domestic violence is too harsh or having no opinion. Furthermore, although most men agree with the theory of gender equality, this often does not translate into gender equitable practices. Future gender equality activities should go beyond raising public awareness of the existence of the laws and be targeted towards more in-depth understanding and attitude change.

Although women continue to do most of the housework in Cambodian families, men whose fathers often participated in household chores had a much more equal distribution of housework within their

own homes. Gender equality programmes and campaigns in Cambodia should, therefore, promote positive parenting and support men to be gender equitable role models for their children.

Men who were not formally taught Chbab Srey/Chbab Proh were more gender equitable. Given the many gender inequitable notions promoted in these codes, and their enduring relevance to Cambodian people's lives today, efforts to promote gender equality in Cambodia should address Chbab Srey and Chbab Proh.

The very high rates of economic IPV in Cambodia, highlights the need to work on women's economic empowerment and address dominant notions of masculinity that position men as the breadwinners in control of financial resources.

Ensuring universal access to secondary education will significantly help to promote gender equality in Cambodia. Education was linked to gender equity. Men who attended secondary or higher education were also less likely to perpetrate all forms of IPV than men who had only primary education or less. Although having gender equitable attitudes alone will not change men's behaviour, this is a protective factor for men's perpetration of IPV and, therefore, efforts to promote gender equality in Cambodia should be continued and supported.

Recommendation 2: Promote healthy family environments to end child abuse

Child abuse is a serious issue in Cambodia that leads to very negative outcomes in adulthood, including the use of violence against intimate partners. Over 95 percent of men and 92 percent of women in our study experienced some form of abuse during childhood. Physical disciplining of children is widespread and normalized in Cambodia and throughout much of Asia; however our findings demonstrate that this can have considerable detrimental short- and long-term effects on the lives of boys and men. Men's childhood experiences of violence and abuse were significantly associated with later life experiences of: depression, suicidal tendencies, alcohol and drug abuse, membership in gangs and use of weapons, and perpetration of all types of violence against both men and women. Violence is also cyclical, as men who experienced abuse as children were more likely to beat their own children. Similarly, for both men and women, experiencing violence in childhood was associated with victimization of violence in adulthood.

Programmes should be supported to give parents the skills, tools, resources and support to create a healthy and safe home environment and to become better role models for their children. Given that women seem to use physical discipline against children more often than men, such programmes need to target both mothers and fathers.

The capacity of schools, NGOs and other institutions working with children should be increased to enable them to identify signs of child abuse and to provide effective support, counseling and protection for children experiencing violence. Given that child abuse is closely associated with men's poor mental health in adulthood and that, as our study found, men who suffer from depression are more likely to have perpetrated violence against partners and non-partners, providing adequate psychosocial support to abused children is especially relevant for the prevention of VAW. Programmes could also be implemented through schools to raise children's awareness of their rights and how to report abuse and seek help.

Furthermore, corporal punishment in schools was also reported by many respondents. Educational institutions should enact policies against corporal punishment and teachers and staff working in schools should be provided with training on disciplining students in non-violent ways.

More men than women reported experiencing sexual abuse and neglect in childhood. Although this finding is supported by other studies in Cambodia, abuse of boys remains a largely invisible issue and few services exist to support boys who have experienced violence. Efforts should be made to increase awareness of the prevalence and seriousness of violence against boys, among law enforcement agencies, medical facilities, schools, and communities and training. Support and resources should be provided to raise their capacity to support boys who experience abuse. These capacity-building activities must be designed specifically to support male victims of child abuse, whose experiences, needs and help-seeking behaviour will be different to those of girls.

Recommendation 3: Address men's depression and experiences of adversity

In addition to experiencing high rates of violence in childhood, many men in Cambodia face adversity in adulthood, with implications for their use of VAW. Almost half of all men in this study suffered from depression, a quarter of these were highly depressed. Depression is associated with both IPV and sexual violence perpetration. It is imperative, therefore, that efforts are made to increase the availability of counseling services for men and to encourage men to access mental health services.

Although most sexual violence is perpetrated against women, men are also raped by other men and there is a strong association between men's own experiences of rape and their perpetration of rape against women and other men. Sexual violence against men, therefore, must be addressed as a priority for men's health and well-being as well as a strategy for the prevention of violence against women.

Recommendation 4: Specifically target interventions to address different types of violence

Different types of VAW have specific patterns and are associated with unique risk and protective factors. Successful efforts to prevent VAW in Cambodia need to be tailored to effectively address each form of violence. For example, while programmes that address child abuse are likely to have a substantial impact on the reduction of IPV, they will have less direct results for curbing non-partner rape, for which drug rehabilitation programmes may be more impact. Furthermore, men reported boredom and fun as key motivations for their perpetration of non-partner rape. These were far less significant motivations for men who sexually abused their female intimate partners, effective programming needs to consider these distinctions. As different types of violence are interconnected, however, these tailored programmes should work in conjunction with each other.

Recommendation 5: Develop and implement programmes to reduce sexual violence including gang rape

Following the trend in several South-East Asian countries, sexual violence perpetration in Cambodia was more commonly reported by men than physical violence perpetration, with 1 in 5 men using sexual violence against a partner. While the Cambodian government, legal sector and civil society have

made progress in addressing physical IPV, this finding highlights the clear need to now move beyond domestic violence interventions that focus only on physical violence, and address issues around women's sexual autonomy and male sexual entitlement.

While sexual violence in Cambodia, and worldwide, is most common within intimate partner relationships, rape of non-partners also frequently occurs. In particular, gang rape emerged in our study as a critical issue in Cambodia. The prevalence is alarmingly high compared to other countries in the region. Specific programming needs to be designed to address gang rape in Cambodia, based on further research into the drivers of *bauk* and the contexts in which this takes place.

Recommendation 6: Specifically work with young boys to prevent sexual violence perpetration

In our study, more than half of all men who committed rape were teenagers the first time they did so. This finding highlights the need to work with younger boys for sexual violence prevention in Cambodia. Government and civil society actors should work with the legal sector, to ensure that the Cambodian criminal law framework has the capacity to appropriately recognize and process juvenile offenders. Sentencing for young offenders should involve substantial psychosocial support to reduce the risk of reoffending (Donovan 2013).

Recommendation 7: Address men's sexual entitlement and promote healthy sexual relationships

The most common motivation that men reported for perpetrating both sexual violence against intimate partners and non-partners was sexual entitlement - men's belief that they have the right to sex regardless of consent. This supports suggestions from other studies, that there is a connection between young men's practices of *bauk* and a lack of empathy for women, founded in gender inequitable ideals (Bearup 2003; Wilkinson, Bearup and Soprac, 2005).

Programmes should be implemented in schools and communities to promote healthy sexual relationships and teach young people to recognize what consent looks like in practice. For the most impact, these programmes should be targeted at children before they become sexually active. Steps also should be taken to address notions of masculinity tied to male sexual prowess and entitlement.

Half of all men in this study reported having had some form of transactional sex with a woman, including sex with a sex worker. This practice was highly associated with men's perpetration of both partner and non-partner rape. More must be done to further explore and address men's use of transactional and commercial sex from the perspective of male sexual entitlement.

Recommendation 8: Tackle harmful masculinities and delinquency

A very high proportion of men interviewed believed that to be a man you need 'to be tough'. This manifests in hyper-masculinized behavior that is linked to VAW. For example, activities linked to aggression and toughness, such as gang involvement and use of weapons, are associated with non-partner

rape in Cambodia and other research shows that the practice of *bauk* is often practiced in urban gangs (Bearup 2003). This suggests that most non-partner rape in the Cambodian context is driven by small groups of youth involved in other forms of violent and delinquent behaviour – a different demographic to those who are perpetrating IPV. Efforts to prevent non-partner rape in Cambodia, therefore, need to work with these groups of men in particular and provide non-aggressive masculine scripts, through the media, schools, and public role models, to help young men define their identities.

Recommendation 9: Pilot a holistic violence prevention model

The study shows that there is no single cause of violence against women, but a complex interplay of factors operating at various levels. Effective prevention therefore requires a comprehensive and integrated approach that includes various strategies working at the individual, family and community level. It is recommended that to build the evidence-based of what works, Cambodia pilots a holistic and integrated prevention approach and including a rigorous evaluation. The strategies included in such a pilot should specifically address the patterns and risk and protective factors for different types of violence as identified in this study.

Recommendation 10: Conduct further research

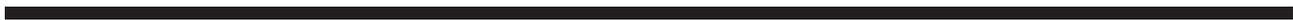
This research touched upon many serious issues that are beyond the scope of this study to investigate in further detail. Further research is needed to more accurately understand young Cambodians' attitudes towards sex and how this ties in with young men's processes of forming masculine identities, in order to inform programmes that promote healthy and consensual sexual relationships. In particular, more analysis and research should be done on the issue of gang rape, to explore the specific factors driving this phenomenon in Cambodia. Research on male victims of violence, both in childhood and adulthood, should be conducted to inform the design of effective services and facilities for men who experience sexual violence.

Efforts should also be made to build the capacity of local researchers to continue to collect and analyze data on masculinities and VAW in order to longitudinally monitor changes over time.

Table 10.1
Recommendations for preventing VAW in Cambodia

Action	Findings	Recommended program and policy steps
<i>Strengthen commitments to promote gender equality and women's economic empowerment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most Cambodian men do not support violence. • Men and women had very high exposure to community activities on VAW and the majority were aware of the law on domestic violence. • Most men agree with the theory of gender equality, but this often does not translate into gender equitable practices. • Men whose fathers often participated in household chores had a much more equal distribution of housework within their own homes. • Men who were not formally taught <i>Chbab Srey/Chbab Proh</i> were more gender equitable. • Education was linked to gender equity. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target gender equality programmes towards more in-depth understanding and attitude change. • Promote positive parenting and support men to be gender equitable role models for their children. • Efforts to promote gender equality in Cambodia should address <i>Chbab Srey and Chbab Proh</i>. • Work on women's economic empowerment. • Ensure universal access to secondary education.
<i>Promote healthy family environments to end child abuse</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Over 95 percent of men and 92 percent of women experienced some form of abuse during childhood. • Physical disciplining of children is widespread and normalized. • Men's childhood experiences of abuse were significantly associated with: depression, alcohol and drug use, membership in gangs and use of weapons, engagement in sex with sex workers and multiple partners, and perpetration of all types of violence against both men and women. • Violence is cyclical. • More men than women reported experiencing sexual abuse and neglect in childhood. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Give parents the skills, tools, resources and support to create a healthy and safe home environment and to become better role models for their children. • Build capacity of schools, NGOs and other institutions working with children to identify signs of child abuse and to provide effective support, counseling and protection. • Implement programmes to raise children's awareness of their rights and how to report abuse and seek help. • End corporal punishment in schools. • Increase awareness, and capacity to deal with, violence against boys.
<i>Address men's depression and experiences of adversity</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Many men in Cambodia face adversity in adulthood, with implications for their use of VAW. • Almost half of all men suffered from depression, a quarter of these were highly depressed. • Depression is associated with both IPV perpetration and sexual violence perpetration. • Men are also raped by other men. There is a strong association between men's own experiences of rape and their perpetration of rape against women and other men. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase the availability of counseling services for men and encourage men to access mental health services • Address sexual violence against men.
<i>Specifically target interventions to address different types of violence</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different types of VAW have specific patterns and are associated with unique risk and protective factors. • Sexual IPV reports were higher than physical IPV. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tailor interventions to address different types of violence. • Shift focus of anti-DV work from physical IPV to sexual IPV.
<i>Develop and implement programmes to reduce sexual violence including gang rape</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gang rape is a critical issue in Cambodia. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Design comprehensive programmes to specifically explore and reduce gang rape.

<i>Work specifically with young boys to prevent sexual violence perpetration</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More than half of all men who committed rape were teenagers the first time they did so. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Begin sexual violence prevention programmes with boys before the age of 15.
<i>Address ideologies of male sexual entitlement</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The most common motivation that men reported for perpetrating both sexual violence against intimate partners and non-partners was sexual entitlement. • Transactional sex and sex with a sex worker are very common and are associated with men's perpetration of IPV and non-partner rape. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implement programmes in schools and communities to promote healthy sexual relationships and teach young people to recognize what consent looks like in practice. • Explore and address men's use of transactional and commercial sex from the perspective of male sexual entitlement.
<i>Tackle harmful masculinities and delinquency</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most men and women believe that to be a man you need to be tough. • Gang involvement and use of weapons are associated with non-partner rape. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work towards providing non-aggressive masculine scripts, through the media, schools, and public role models, for young men to define their identities. • Work with at-risk delinquent teenagers to change behaviours around violence
<i>Pilot a holistic violence prevention model</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no single cause of violence against women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pilot a comprehensive and integrated prevention model in one site, based on this research, to test what works for prevention.
<i>Conduct further research</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There are many gaps in the research that require further exploration to inform violence prevention efforts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research young Cambodians' attitudes towards sex and how this ties in with young men's processes of forming masculine identities. • Conduct in-depth studies on the issue of gang rape to explore the specific drivers. • Research male victims of violence, both in childhood and adulthood, to inform the design of effective services and facilities for men who experience sexual violence. • Enhance capacities for further collection and analysis of data on VAW and masculinities to monitor changes.



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ANNEX 1: SAMPLE DESIGN

The study undertook a multi-stage cluster sampling. Ideally the sampling frame would be the list of all households and a simple random sampling would be undertaken. A random sampling procedure is the best way to achieve representativeness, as it protects against bias being introduced in the sampling process, and therefore helps in obtaining a representative sample.

However, in Cambodia, households are not enumerated and thus cannot serve as the sampling frame. As the population is quite large, a simple random sampling is not feasible with finite resources. As a result, a specific type of sampling design (described below) was undertaken to maximize resources and ensure generalizability.

This design was ideal for countries like Cambodia, where households are not enumerated. With clustering, fewer units are required to make the sample, improving the cost-effectiveness of administering surveys (as compared to simple random sampling). In addition, with random selection included in the system, selection bias can be controlled. The method optimises the balance of information precision and operational efficiency/costs. The sample is designed to be self-weighting.

This method maximized the study's fixed budget by allowing for an increased sample size and a reduced average cost-per-interview. The design involved five stage process of clustering with each subsequent cluster representing a smaller unit than the former.

Stage 1: Random selection of regions

A number of World Bank and other socioeconomic surveys have divided Cambodia's provinces into the following four geographic and socioeconomic regions. These groupings are often used for both sampling and for reporting results and trends. Annex Table 1a lists these regions and their corresponding provinces.

Annex table
1a

Region	Provinces
Plain or central zone	Kampong Cham, Kandal, Prey Veng, Svay Rieng and Takeo
Tonle Sap zone	Kampong Thom, Siem Reap, Banteay Mean Chey, Battambang, Pursat, and Kampong Chhnang
Coastal zone	Koh Kong, Kampot, Krong Preah Sihanouk and Krong Kep
Plateau/Mountain zone	Otdar Mean Chey, Preah Vihear, Stueng Treng, Kratie, Ratanak Kiri, Mondol Kiri, Kampong Speu and Krong Pailin

The two regions that were selected at random included the Coastal zone and the Tonle Sap zone, which are bolded in the table.

Stage 2: Selection of provinces

Two provinces were selected from each of the two randomly selected regions Tonle Sap zone and Coastal zone. A probability proportional to size (PPS) method was used because the sizes of each province can vary greatly within a region. PPS takes into consideration the size of the unit (province) during selection process. Depending on the size of each province, they will be assigned the appropriate number of clusters. By adjusting the number of clusters a province represents as a result of their size, those provinces that are large in population size have just as much chance of selection than provinces that are very small.

Annex Table 1b shows the selection of the final four provinces within each of the two regions.

Annex table
1b

Region	Provinces
Tonle Sap zone	Siem Reap, Battambang
Coastal zone	Kampot, Krong Preah Sihanouk

In addition to these four provinces, the capital city, Phnom Penh, was included in the sampling frame to allow for comparison internationally with other major cities in the study. As Phnom Penh is unique and not typically included in these geographical groupings, it has been considered as a fifth cluster.

Stage 3 - Selection of Villages

Within each randomly selected province, there was then a random sampling of villages, based on the most recent enumeration of villages from the 2008 Census update. Because village sizes vary greatly within a province, a probability proportional to size (PPS) method was also undertaken, following the same principles as for the provinces. In each of the 5 provinces, 25 clusters (villages) were selected via PPS, for a total of 125 villages. As the sampling was still random it allowed for unbiased estimates of population totals, by weighting sampled units according to their probability of selection.

Stage 4: Generating household list

A random walk method used to generate a household list for administering the survey. This random sampling was conducted using a modified version of the Expanded Program for Immunisation (EPI) Random Walk method. Using this method, the village population was ascertained and a sampling ratio was calculated based on the pre-determined required number of interviews, which in this case was 20. A sketch map of the village was drawn, showing approximate locations of all dwellings within the village boundaries. All roads and paths in the village were also included in the map. Four to six key intersections in the village were identified and numbered and one was chosen at random as the starting point.

Research teams began interviewing at the house closest to this chosen intersection. From this point researchers turned right and walked down the road/path selecting every nth household based on the sampling ratio. At the end of the road they turned around and returned on the opposite side of the road and continued the count. Whenever the interviewers come to an intersection they would always turn right. In this way the entire village was covered and all households had an equal chance of being included in the sample. This essentially created a systematic sampling.

Stage 5: Selection of respondents

A total of 2000 men and 500 women were needed for interview. For safety reasons, men and women were sampled in separate villages. In order to respect the confidentiality of respondents and to reduce risk to their safety, only one man or woman was interviewed within each household. Once the sampling interval had been calculated, the household selected at every third interval was a female interview. If there was more than one eligible woman or man per household a simple random sampling was used to select the respondent.

The sampling design is self-weighting, has a fixed sample size and leads to the use of simple estimators. The final sampling design is presented in Annex Table 3 below.

Annex table

1c

Annex Table 1c			
Stage	Sampling	Number	Method
1	Geographical zones	2: Tonle Sap zone, Coastal zone	Random
2	Provinces	5: Siem Reap, Battambang Kampot, Krong Preah Sihanouk, Phnom Penh	PPS within 2 regions + Phnom Penh
3	Villages	125 (25/province)	PPS
4	Household	20	Random, modified EPI Walk
5	Persons	2000 (20/village) 500 (20/village)	Random Random

ANNEX 2: CAMBODIA QUESTIONNAIRE ADAPTATION

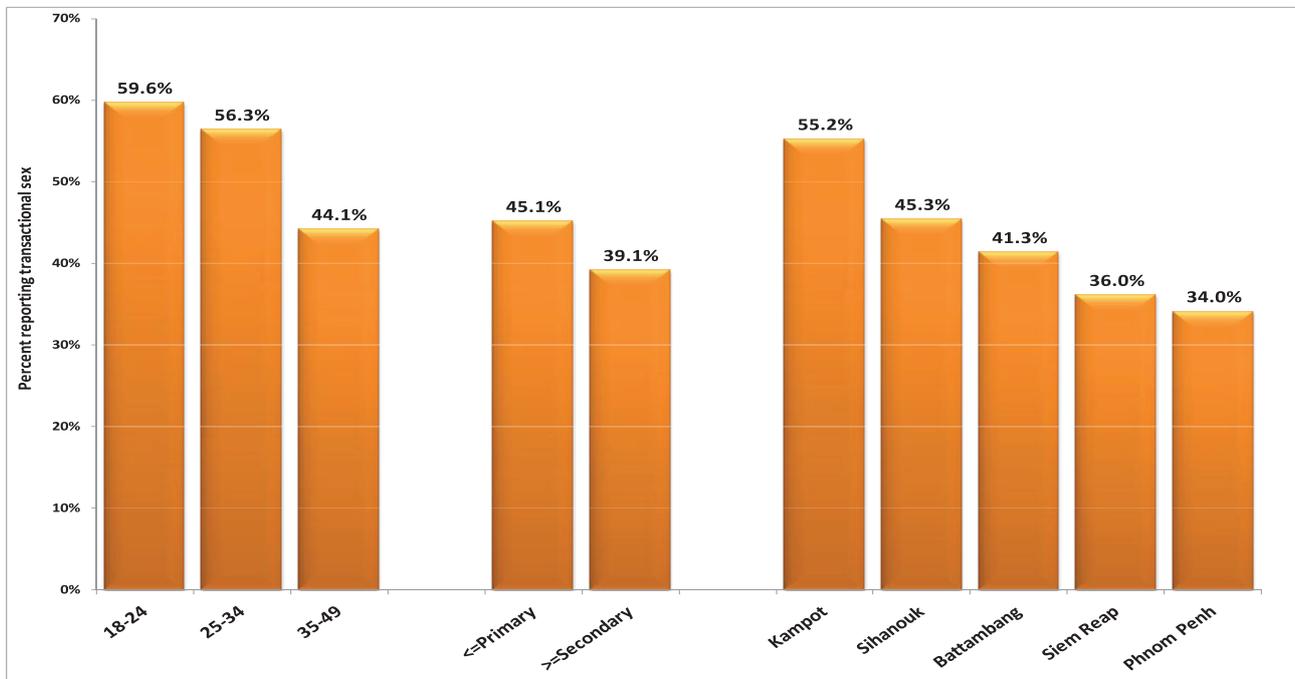
- Adaptation of response options about choice of wife or husband to capture parents' acceptance or non-acceptance and Khmer Rouge marriage.
- Addition of a question about parents' divorce.
- Removal of 301b and 301f from the GEM scale about attitudes to sex and condom use and addition of 301q to GEM scale about attitudes towards women who work in entertainment venues.
- Addition of a question about community attitudes to men's contributions to housework.
- Removal of questions about how much leave a man took when his last child was born or the reasons why he didn't take leave.
- Addition of the psychopathy scale for both men and women.
- Addition of questions about opinions on property division and child custody in divorce.
- Addition of questions about Cambodian men and women's laws (chbab proh/srei).
- Addition of question for men about peer-pressure.
- Shortening of the female questionnaire - Removal of questions about contraception use, miscarriage, abortion, sexual satisfaction, sexually transmitted infections, and HIV testing, decision-making in the home, women's injuries and help-seeking, current health, depression, and alcohol and drug use.

ANNEX 3: STATISTICAL APPENDIX

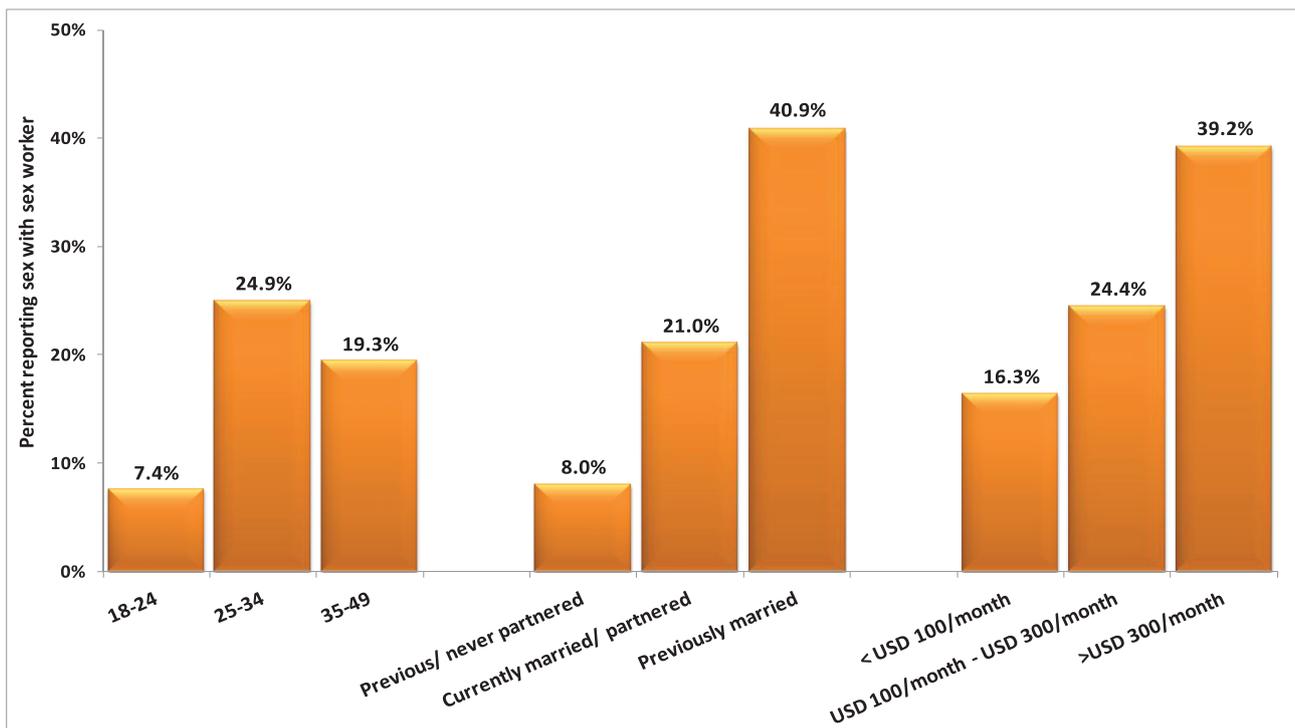
Annex Table 3.1
Men's geographic residence by key demographics

DEMOGRAPHIC CATEGORY	BATTAMBANG	KAMPOT	PHNOM PENH	SIEM REAP	SIHANOUK
Age*					
18-24	26.3 percent	22.8 percent	35.1 percent	22.1 percent	24.4 percent
25-34	36.2 percent	39.8 percent	38.4 percent	40.5 percent	37.9 percent
35-49	37.5 percent	37.4 percent	26.5 percent	37.4 percent	37.7 percent
Education*					
None	54.0 percent	60.9 percent	30.8 percent	69.7 percent	53.3 percent
Primary	42.6 percent	34.7 percent	44.5 percent	20.5 percent	41.9 percent
Secondary or more	3.4 percent	4.4 percent	24.7 percent	9.8 percent	4.8 percent
Employment*					
Employed in last year	86.0 percent	82.1 percent	74.9 percent	84.3 percent	81.0 percent
Employed ever but not in last year	4.3 percent	3.6 percent	1.5 percent	8.8 percent	6.1 percent
Never employed	9.8 percent	14.3 percent	23.5 percent	7.0 percent	13.0 percent
Income*					
< USD 100/month	68.6 percent	72.7 percent	41.3 percent	66.0 percent	51.7 percent
USD 100/month - USD 300/month	26.0 percent	27.1 percent	53.6 percent	31.8 percent	46.3 percent
>USD 300/month	5.5 percent	0.3 percent	5.1 percent	2.2 percent	2.1 percent

Annex Figure 3.1
 Demographic factors associated with men's reporting of transactional sex

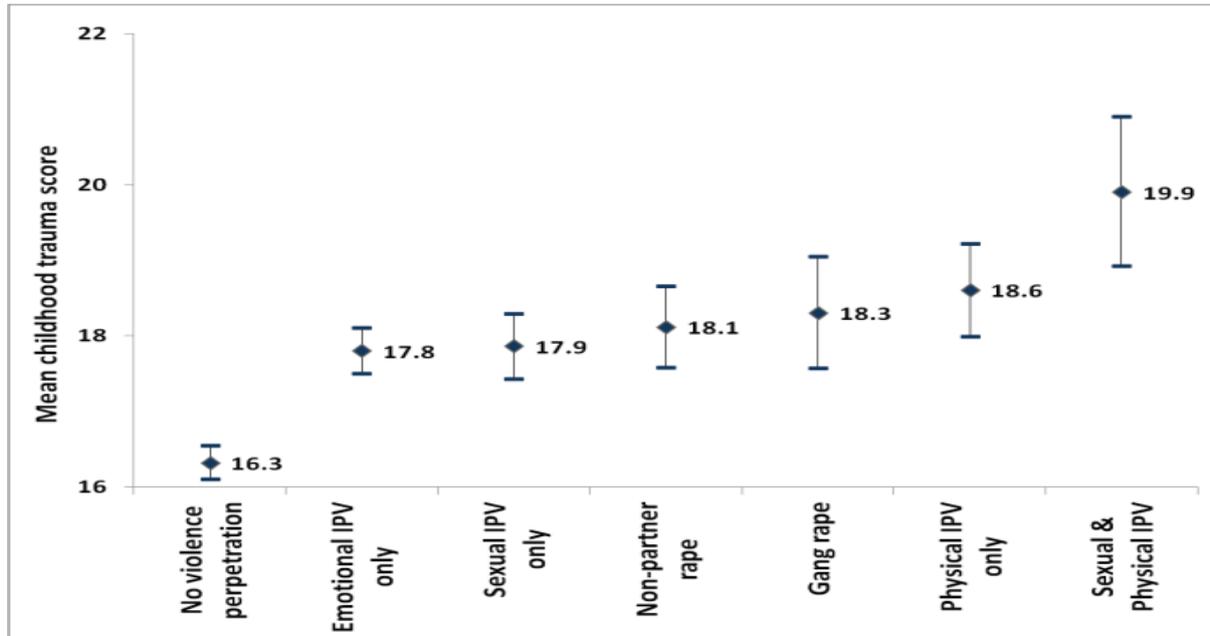


Annex Figure 3.2
 Demographic factors associated with men's reporting of having had any type of sex with commercial sex worker



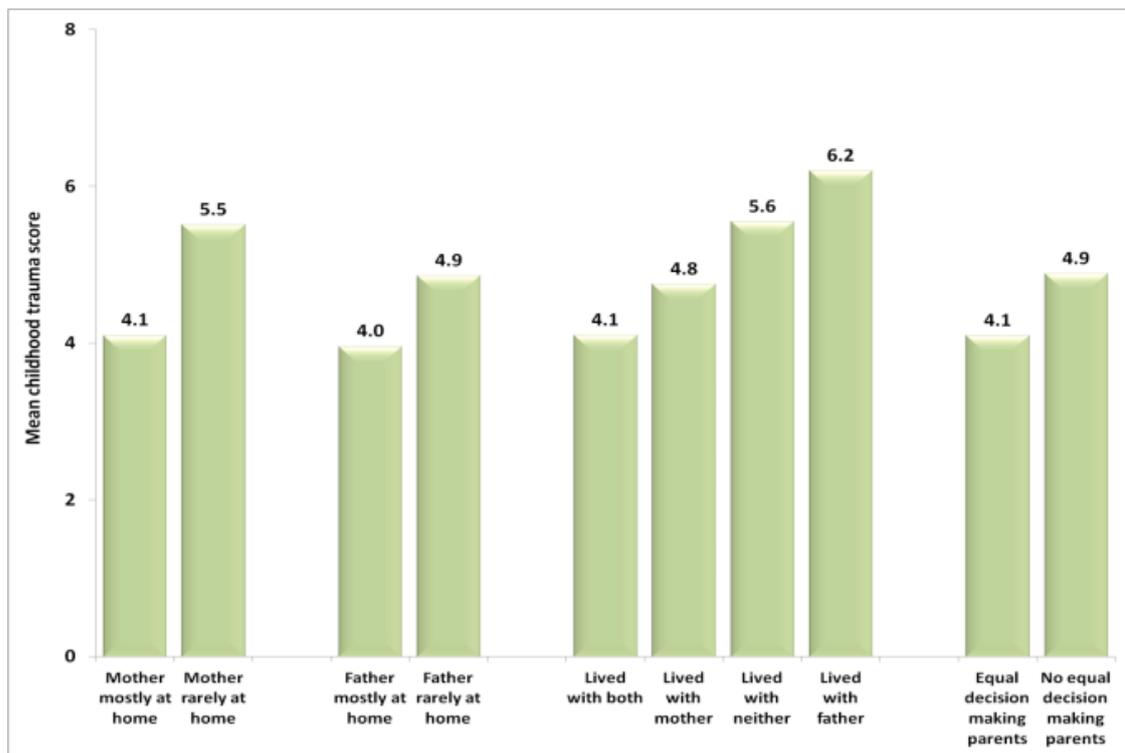
Annex Figure 3.3

Men's mean childhood trauma score by type of violence they perpetrated



Annex Figure 3.4

Men's mean childhood trauma score by respondent's parental situation



Annex Table 3.2

Risk factors outcomes by perpetration of IPV and non-partner rape

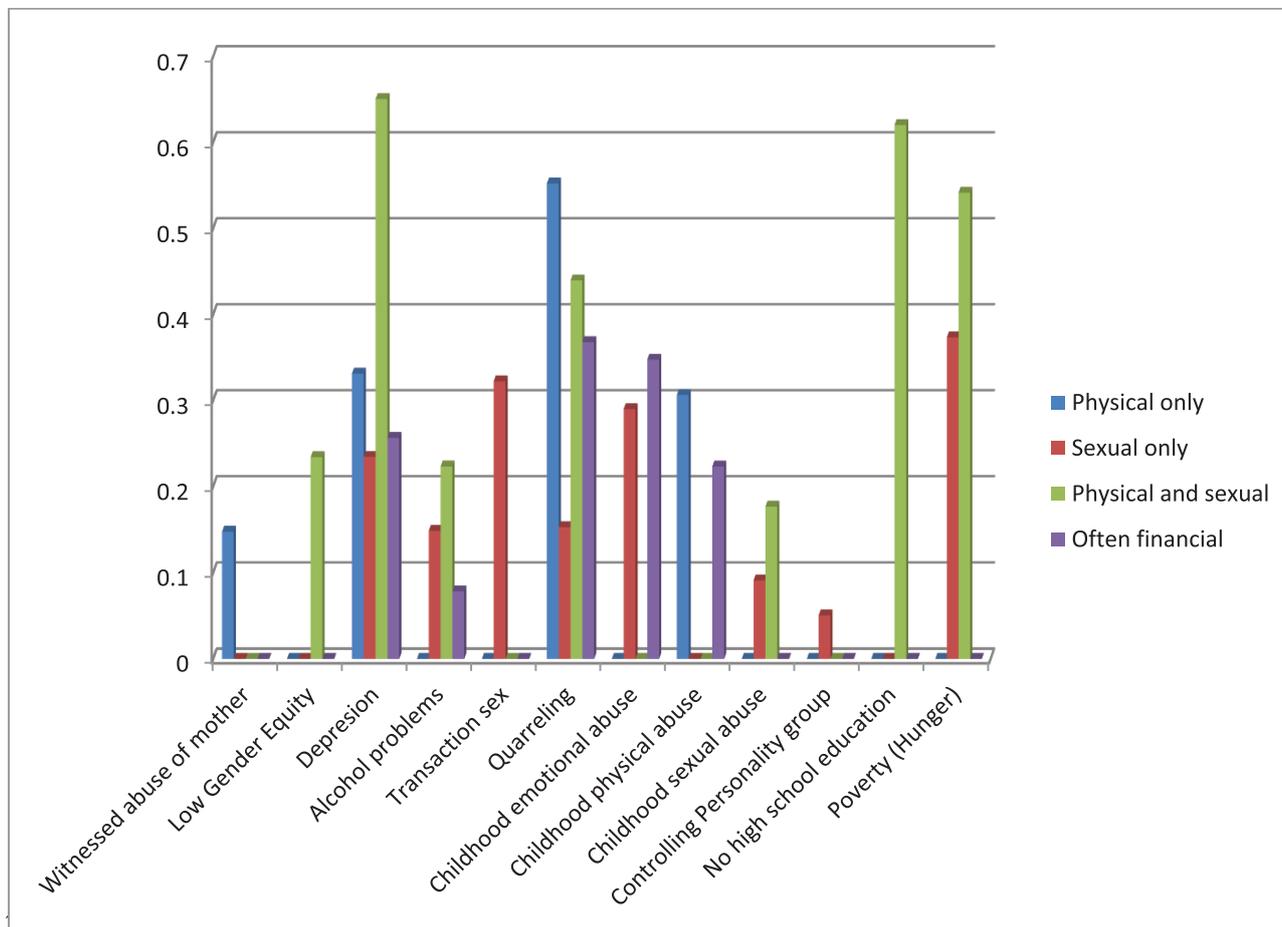
	Ever perpetrated physical/sexual IPV	Never perpetrated physical/sexual IPV	Ever perpetrated non-partner Rape	Never perpetrated non-partner Rape
Low GEMS score (percent)	44.0	36.3	39.6	35.8
Clinical levels depression (percent)	58.2	37.7	59.4	42.2
Fighting with weapons (percent)	14.6	6.2	32.1	8.2
Transactional sex or sex with sex worker (percent)	66.5	52.3	80.2	44.7
Number of sexual partners (ref. - 1 partner) (percent)	52.6	70.5	26.3	65.9
(2-3 partners) (percent)	25.6	21.8	26.3	19.4
(4+ partners) (percent)	16.2	13.4	47.4	14.7
Frequency of quarrelling : (ref. - rarely) (percent)	43.8	59.2	NA	NA
(sometimes) (percent)	48.4	38.1	NA	NA
(often) (percent)	7.8	2.8	NA	NA
Any high school (percent)	36.4	47.1	NS	NS
Witnessed violence between parents (percent)	30.2	20.2	NS	NS
Alcohol problems (percent)	22.1	11.9	NS	NS
Childhood physical abuse (percent)	71.9	61.1	NS	NS
Childhood sexual abuse (percent)	25.3	12.4	NS	NS
Past year drug use (percent)	NS	NS	34.9	3.9
Involvement in a gang	NS	NS	34.0	6.8

Annex Table 3.2

Risk factors outcomes by perpetration of IPV and non-partner rape

Annex Figure 3.5

Population attributable fractions for all significant risk factors, by type of IPV



Annex Table 3.3

Model for perpetration of IPV (adjusting by age and site)

	Adjusted Odds Ratio	95 percent confidence interval (CI)		P value
		lower	Upper	
Low GEMS score	1.57	1.18	2.10	0.002
Any high school	0.66	0.51	0.86	0.002
Witnessed violence between parents	1.39	1.04	1.86	0.026
Depression	1.76	1.37	2.27	<0.0001
Alcohol problems	1.46	1.04	2.05	0.027
Use of weapons	1.74	1.12	2.70	0.014

Transactional sex or sex with sex worker	1.71	1.31	2.25	<0.0001
Frequency of quarrelling : (ref. - rarely)	1.00	1.00	1.00	
(sometimes)	1.53	1.18	1.98	0.001
(often)	2.92	1.60	5.33	0.001
Childhood physical abuse	1.36	1.04	1.79	0.025
Childhood sexual abuse	1.97	1.41	2.73	<0.0001
Number of sexual partners (ref. - 1 partner)	1.00	1.00	1.00	
(2-3 partners)	1.92	1.39	2.65	<0.0001
(4+ partners)	1.60	1.13	2.26	0.009

Annex Table 3.4

Model for perpetration of rape of a non-partner (adjusting by age and site)

	aOR	CI		P value	
		lower	upper		
Depression	1.78	1.15	2.75	0.009	
Past drug use	4.21	2.34	7.59	<0.0001	
Use of weapons	1.97	1.14	3.40	0.015	
Involvement in gangs	2.43	1.38	4.29	0.002	
Number of sexual partners (ref. - 1 partner)	1.00	1.00	1.00		
	(2-3 partners)	2.18	1.26	3.75	0.005
	(4+ partners)	3.91	2.34	6.55	<0.0001
Transactional sex or sex with sex worker	3.51	1.93	6.40	<0.0001	



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