

World Vision

“WISE” BEFORE THEIR TIME

YOUNG PEOPLE, GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE AND
PORNOGRAPHY IN KANDAL STUNG DISTRICT



World Vision

Reducing Gender Based Violence Project,
Peace and Justice Programme,
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RESEARCH REPORT PRESENTED TO WORLD VISION CAMBODIA

by
Dr. Graham Fordham
Phnom Penh,
September 2005

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Cover Photo

Siamese fighting fish in glass bottles. These fish, when the dividers are taken away will very aggressively pose, and if together will respond to each other violently as a way of demonstrating their strength and masculinity, to assert their right to hold territory and to mate. This report highlights some of the dominant attitudes and behaviours that drive masculinity and its expression in Cambodia. The report also identifies issues that can act as the sheets of paper between the fish, to modify the social environment in order to promote and maintain harmony rather than violence.

Foreword

“Wise Before Their Time” highlights the complex links between violence, alcohol use, the use of pornography and notions of masculinity and femininity. This research, which is supported by other national level research, indicates threats levelled at individual children and which also face an entire generation in Cambodia - a generation that represents the future.

The future is threatened when 82% of boys and 84.5% of girls are exposed to pornography from a young age; the average age at which children first encounter pornography is 13.2 years. The impact of this can be highly destructive, affecting self-esteem, sexual scripts, gender norms and social, emotional and sexual development of children. We must work together to make sure that this generation is well equipped to be the peer models for a new tomorrow.

The report combines qualitative and quantitative methods that reveal serious challenges for the Government, for civil society and NGO's in Cambodia. It advocates change at the level of cultural perceptions. It points to ways that build upon the excellent work on rights and individual behaviour that has characterised the dominant response to violence and its triggers within rural Cambodia.

“Wise Before Their Time” explores male role models, and the characteristics of ideal men. Ideal men are described as “strong but not violent, men who look after their family, men who do not drink too much alcohol, men whose behaviour does not spoil the reputation of their family”. The report recommends the use of these culturally grounded notions to promote a new fictional character who embodies all the characteristics that children have pointed out as admirable in a good man, a good parent and a good neighbour.

We take new hope as we consider alternative approaches to build communities' resilience against violence; non-violent ways of conflict resolution and to promote positive heroes and role models. In a society that is built upon traditional values to promote harmony, in a society that must create an identity that reconciles the realities of the future, then the prompts for structural as well as actor orientated approaches to protect communities from violence are essential.

Be encouraged, be challenged, and be engaged in protecting children.

By
His Excellency, David Reader,
British Ambassador to Cambodia.

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List of Acronyms

ADP	Area Development Programme
ARH	Adolescent reproductive health
BSS	Behaviour surveillance survey
CCJAP	Cambodian Criminal Justice Assistance Project
CWCC	Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre
DCSC	District Community Safety Committee
DG	Discussion group
DV	Domestic violence
GAD	Gender and Development for Cambodia
GBV	Gender based violence
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HIV	Human Immuno Deficiency Disease
LICADHO	Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights
MPVAW	Male perpetuated violence against women
MWA	Ministry of Women's Affairs (formerly Ministry of Women's and Veteran's Affairs)
PADV	Project Against Domestic Violence
RH	Reproductive health
RGBV	Reducing Gender-based Violence
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Aid
VAW	Violence against women
VCD	Video cassette disk
VDC	Village Development Committee
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation
WVC	World Vision Cambodia

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Thanks is also due to the staff of the many Phnom Penh based groups working in the gender-based violence area who shared their knowledge about the problem of gender-based violence in Cambodian society. Special thanks are due to Ms. Susanne Muller of German Technical Cooperation and to Ingrid FitzGerald of UNIFEM for their willingness to share their very high quality research data.

Thanks is due to the many young men and women in the Kandal Stung district who gave of their time for focus groups and interviews. It is their views as articulated here that represent the major outcome of this research. It is hoped that this research and the interventions to which it contributes will, in concert with the work of other agencies working on the problem of gender based violence, assist these young people and others like them to develop new ways of relating to and communicating with others, and to a Cambodia with a substantial reduction in gender-based violence.

Finally, thanks is due to the generous support of DFID and World Vision United Kingdom.

សេចក្តីសង្ខេប

ទស្សនៈរួម

- របាយការណ៍នេះផ្តល់នូវការស្រាវជ្រាវអំពីអំពើហិង្សាលើផ្នែកយេនឌ័រ ក្នុងចំណោមយុវជនក្នុងស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង។ ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះប្រព្រឹត្តទៅក្នុងចន្លោះរវាងពី ខែមិថុនា ដល់ ខែសីហា ឆ្នាំ២០០៥ ហើយនេះជាការរួមបញ្ចូលវិធីសាស្ត្រស្រាវជ្រាវទាំងបែបគុណភាព និងបរិមាណ។ របាយការណ៍នេះបានប្រើប្រាស់ជាវិធីសាស្ត្រមួយដែលយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ទៅលើការវាយតម្លៃ និងវប្បធម៌នៅក្នុងការសិក្សាស្រាវជ្រាវអំពីអំពើហិង្សាលើផ្នែកយេនឌ័រនៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា។ ជំនួសអោយការបកស្រាយអំពីអំពើហិង្សារបស់បុរសដោយផ្ដោតការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ទៅលើជនល្មើសជាបុរសភេទដែលជាបុគ្គលមានឥរិយាបថហិង្សា របាយការណ៍នេះក៏ពិនិត្យផងដែរទៅលើទំហំវប្បធម៌ និងវឌ្ឍនភាពនៃអំពើហិង្សា និងបញ្ហានានាដូចជា៖ បុរសភាព និងមធ្យោបាយដែលជះឥទ្ធិពលមកលើរឿងនេះ ដោយសារបញ្ហាសុភាព រូបភាព អាសត្រាម និងកត្តាផ្សេងៗដូចជាបន្ទាត់ប្តូរតួនាទីផ្នែកយេនឌ័រនៅក្នុងសង្គមជាតិកម្ពុជា និងកិច្ចការស្វែងរកការងាររបស់បុរសនៅក្នុងតំបន់ជាច្រើនយោង ។

លទ្ធផល

- បើនិយាយអំពីអំពើហិង្សា ការស្រាវជ្រាវបានរកឃើញថា កំរិតនៃអំពើហិង្សាគួរអោយកត់ត្រាមួយកំពុងត្រូវបានប្រព្រឹត្តទៅលើយុវជនក្នុងស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹងពីសំណាក់គ្រូបង្រៀន និងឪពុកម្តាយ ។ គេបានរកឃើញថា កុមារាចំនួន ៥៦,៦% និងកុមារីចំនួន ១៩% ដែលមានអាយុក្នុងចន្លោះរវាងពី ១២ ទៅ ១៨ឆ្នាំ បានត្អូញត្អែរថា ពួកគេធ្លាប់ត្រូវបានគ្រូបង្រៀនវាយ ។ គេក៏បានរកឃើញផងដែរថា កុមារាចំនួន ៦៦,៧% និងកុមារីចំនួន ៣៨,២% បានត្អូញត្អែរថាពួកគេធ្លាប់ត្រូវបានឪពុកវាយ តួលេខខ្ពស់ជាងនេះមួយទៀតនោះគឺ កុមារាចំនួន ៧៥,៦% និងកុមារីចំនួន ៥៩,៦% បានត្អូញត្អែរថា ពួកគេធ្លាប់ត្រូវបានម្តាយវាយ ។
- ថ្វីបើមានការផ្សព្វផ្សាយនូវកម្មវិធីនានាដើម្បីបង្រៀនអំពីសិទ្ធិមនុស្សជាច្រើនឆ្នាំកន្លងមកហើយក៏ដោយ ក៏នៅតែមានតួលេខមួយខ្ពស់ ដែលបង្ហាញអំពីការប្រើអំពើហិង្សាទៅលើកុមារ។ កុមារាចំនួន ១៣,៣% និងកុមារីចំនួន ១៥,៥% បានពិចារណាថា ការវាយដំពីសំណាក់ឪពុកម្តាយ ជាប្រការត្រឹមត្រូវនិងស្របច្បាប់។ មានតែកុមារាចំនួន ៣៥,៦% និងកុមារីចំនួន ៣៦,២% ប៉ុណ្ណោះដែលបានពិចារណាថា ប្រការដែលឪពុកម្តាយវាយកូនប្រុស (កូនស្រី របស់ខ្លួន) គឺមិនត្រឹមត្រូវ ។

- ចំនួនភាគរយនៃកុមារាយ៉ាងខ្ពស់មួយ គឺ ៩៥,១% បានពិចារណាថា គួរតែមាននរណាម្នាក់ចូលធ្វើអន្តរាគមន៍ប្រសិនបើ មានឪពុកម្តាយកំពុងវាយកូនប្រុសរបស់ខ្លួន ហើយចំនួនភាគរយនៃកុមារី ខ្ពស់ប្រហាក់ប្រហែលគ្នានេះគឺ ៩៦,១% បាន ពិចារណាថា គួរតែមាននរណាម្នាក់ចូលធ្វើអន្តរាគមន៍ប្រសិនបើមានឪពុកម្តាយកំពុងវាយកូនស្រីរបស់ខ្លួន ។ បុគ្គល ដែលពួកគេគិតថាជាជនប្រសើរបំផុតសំរាប់ចូលធ្វើអន្តរាគមន៍នោះ គឺព្យាបាលសាស្ត្រ បន្ទាប់មកអ្នកជិតខាង ប្រធានភូមិ និងមន្ត្រីការពារ ។

- យុវតិជាច្រើនបានបង្ហាញនូវការយល់ដឹងអំពីបញ្ហានៃការរំលោភផ្លូវភេទ និងតំរូវការដើម្បីការថែរក្សាសុវត្ថិភាព ផ្ទាល់ខ្លួន ។ អ្នកផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹង ៦១,៤% បាននិយាយថា ការចាប់រំលោភមិនដែលកើតមាននៅក្នុងសហគមន៍របស់ ពួកគេទេ ។ ការផ្តល់ប្តូរអាកប្បកិរិយាយ៉ាងគួរអោយកត់សំគាល់មួយទំនងជាកំពុងកើតឡើង ក្នុងន័យគោរពដល់ជនរងគ្រោះដោយ សារការចាប់រំលោភ ផ្ទុយពីការស្រាវជ្រាវកាលពីឆ្នាំមុនៗ អ្នកផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹង ៧៣,៤% (កុមារា ចំនួន ៧៣,៣% និង កុមារីចំនួន ៧៥,០%) បានគូញត្រូវថាជនរងគ្រោះពីការចាប់រំលោភអាចរៀបការបាន ។ ជារឿយៗចំណេះដឹងទាំងអស់ បានបញ្ជាក់ពីសមាសភាពផ្ទាល់នៃជនរងគ្រោះ និងសិទ្ធិរបស់នាង—ជាការផ្តល់យោបល់មួយអំពីលទ្ធផលមួយចំនួន នៃ កម្មវិធីនានាដែលបានយកចិត្តទុកដាក់លើបញ្ហាសិទ្ធិមនុស្ស ។

- ការស្រាវជ្រាវបានគូសវាសនូវទំនាក់ទំនងមួយរវាងសញ្ញានៃបុរសភាព ការសេពគ្រឿងស្រវឹង និងអំពើហិង្សា ។ វាបាន ផ្តល់ប្រាប់នូវទិន្នន័យដែលវាយតម្លៃថា ដោយផ្អែកទៅលើកត្តានានាដូចជាបន្ទាត់ប្តូរម៉ាក្រូសេដ្ឋកិច្ច និងកំរិតនៃការផ្តល់ ការងារដល់បុរសមានអត្រាទាបបូករួមទាំងកំណើននៃការងារតាមរោងចក្រសំរាប់ស្ត្រី នោះគឺបានបង្ហាញអត្តសញ្ញាណ ថា បុរសកំពុងរងនូវកង្វះការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ ។ នៅក្នុងបរិបទបែបនេះបុរសៗដែលញៀន និងគ្រឿងស្រវឹងទំនងជានឹង បញ្ចេញនូវតិរិយាបទមួយផ្សេងៗដែលចេញពីចិត្តគំនិតរបស់គេ ហើយទំនងជាកាន់តែប្រព្រឹត្តិអំពើហិង្សាលើអ្នកដទៃដូចជា បណ្តាភរិយា ឬអ្នកភូមិជាមួយនៅក្នុងឱកាសបុណ្យទានផ្សេងៗ ។

- លទ្ធផលនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវដែលទំនងជាសំខាន់ជាងគេបំផុតនោះ គឺថា ចំនួនភាគរយយ៉ាងខ្ពស់មួយនៃកុមារក្នុងស្រុក កណ្តាលស្ទឹង បានឃើញរូបភាពរាសត្រាមន្ត្រីទាំងពីរយក្មេងៗ កុមារាចំនួន ១៧,៨% និងកុមារីចំនួន ១៥,៥% ពុំធ្លាប់ បានជួបប្រទះរូបភាពរាសត្រាម ។ អាយុកុមារដែលបានជួបប្រទះនឹងរូបភាពរាសត្រាមដំបូងបំផុតជាមធ្យមគឺ ១៣,២ឆ្នាំ ទោះបីជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយមានកុមារជាច្រើនបានជួបប្រទះនឹងរូបភាពរាសត្រាមតាំងពីពួកគេមានអាយុ ក្រោម១២ឆ្នាំ ។ ថ្វីបើមានអ្នកផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹង ២៨,២% បានឆ្លើយថាពួកគេអាចរកមើលរូបភាពរាសត្រាមបាននៅក្នុងសហគមន៍របស់

ខ្លួនក៏ដោយតែក៏នៅមានអ្នកផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹង ៤៧,៦% បានឆ្លើយថាពួកគេស្គាល់ទីកន្លែងដែលអាចមើលរូបភាពរាស ត្រាមបាន ។

- រូបភាពរាសត្រាមបណ្តាលមកនូវជីវិតនៃការរួមភេទរបស់កុមារមុនអាយុកាល ព្រោះវាបណ្តាលអោយពួកគេដឹងអំពី ការរួមភេទ និងចង់ក្លាយជាអ្នកប្រព្រឹត្តិការរួមភេទមុនវ័យទាំងចិត្តគំនិត រូបកាយ និងសង្គម ។ នៅក្នុងចំណោម យុវជននៅក្នុងស្រុកដែលយើងបានធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវរូបភាពរាសត្រាមទំនងជាកំពុងជំរុញបុរសភាព ក៏ដូចជាកំពុងបង្រៀន ពួកគេយ៉ាងខ្លាំងក្លានូវមេរៀនអំពីអំពើហិង្សា និងការរំលោភផ្លូវភេទហើយកំពុងបង្រៀនពួកគេថា ទាំងនេះគឺជាការធម្មតា នៃភាពជាបុរស និងជាវិធីសាមញ្ញនៃទំនាក់ទំនងផ្លូវភេទជាមួយស្ត្រី ។ ចំពោះផ្នែកយុវតិរូបភាពរាសត្រាមទំនងជាបង្ក អោយមានឥទ្ធិពលមិនល្អលើរូបកាយរបស់ពួកគេផ្ទាល់ និងធ្វើអោយពួកគេក្លាយជាជនរងគ្រោះ នៃអំពើហិង្សាពីសំណាក់ បុរស ។ ចំពោះផ្នែកយុវជនយុវតិដែលបានជួបប្រទះនឹងរូបភាពរាសត្រាមទាំងនៅវ័យក្មេងនោះ ការដឹងពុម្ពនុយុវកាល ចំពោះអារម្មណ៍ផ្លូវភេទអាចប៉ះទង្គិចដល់ការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ខាងជីវិតព្យាណូផ្លូវភេទ និងខ្លួន ពួកគេផ្ទាល់ ។

- យោងទៅលើមូលដ្ឋាននៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ និងការស្រាវជ្រាវផ្សេងៗដែលបានធ្វើឡើងនៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា វាទំនង ខ្លាំងណាស់ថា មានទំនាក់ទំនងផ្ទាល់មួយរវាងការប្រើប្រាស់រូបភាពរាសត្រាមនៅលើយុវជនមួយចំនួន និងអំពើហិង្សា ផ្លូវភេទ និងការចាប់រំលោភ — ការចាប់រំលោភក្នុងអាពាហ៍ពិពាហ៍ ការចាប់រំលោភដោយក្រុមបង្កំ (បូក) និង ជាពិសេស ការចាប់រំលោភកុមារី ពីសំណាក់កុមារាដែលពួកគេផ្តល់ជាអនិធិជន ឬគ្រាន់តែមានវ័យជិតពេញវ័យ ។

អនុសាសន៍

- សូមសំណូមពរថា ក្នុងនាមជាផ្នែកមួយនៃសកម្មភាពក្នុងគំរោងកម្មវិធីកាត់បន្ថយអំពើហិង្សាផ្នែកយេនឌ័រ (RGBV) ក្នុងស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹងរបស់អង្គការទស្សនៈពិភពលោកកម្ពុជា (WVC) កំពុងបំរើការត្រូវធ្វើការងារដាស់តឿនដល់គ្រូ បង្រៀនតាមសាលា និងឪពុកម្តាយអោយពួកគេទទួលស្គាល់ថា ការដាក់ទណ្ឌកម្មដែលគេដាក់ទោសទៅលើសិស្សខ្លួន និងកូនៗរបស់ខ្លួន គឺជាអំពើហិង្សាមួយលើផ្នែកយេនឌ័រ និងជាទង្វើមួយរំលោភលើសិទ្ធិរបស់ពួកគេ ។ សំរាប់មេឃុំ ប្រធានភូមិ គ្រូបង្រៀន និងឪពុកម្តាយទាំងអស់ បញ្ហាមិនមែនគ្រាន់តែការប្រើប្រាស់អំពើហិង្សារបស់ពួកគាត់ទៅលើ កុមារប៉ុណ្ណោះនោះទេ ប៉ុន្តែបញ្ហាគឺ ពួកគាត់ត្រូវទទួលស្គាល់ថាខ្លួនកំពុងប្រើប្រាស់អំពើហិង្សា ។

- សូមសំណូមពរអោយអង្គការទស្សនៈពិភពលោកកម្ពុជាអនុវត្តយុទ្ធនាការកាត់បន្ថយគ្រឿងស្រវឹង ដែលជាផ្នែកមួយនៃ គំរោងកម្មវិធីកាត់បន្ថយអំពើហិង្សាផ្នែកយេនឌ័រ (RGBV) ស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង ។ យុទ្ធនាការដែលពិពណ៌នាថាផ្នែកមួយ

សុភាពនឹងមានប្រសិទ្ធភាពខ្ពស់ពីព្រោះឥរិយាបថស្រវឹងស្រាគឺជា "ការមួយដែលគេបានដឹងច្បាស់ទោះខំលាក់ការណ៍យ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ" ។

គេគួរពង្រឹងសារ ដែលធ្វើការដាក់កំរិតសំរាប់ការផឹកស្រា តាមរយៈការដឹងពីជំងឺលើរាងកាយនានាដែលរងឥទ្ធិពលពីការសេពគ្រឿងស្រវឹងច្រើន ។

• របាយការណ៍នេះបានពិភាក្សាអំពីបញ្ហាទាំងឡាយ ដែលមានសារៈសំខាន់នៅក្នុងសមាសភាពជាបុរសភាពរបស់បុរស និងសញ្ញាណនៃតំលៃខ្លួន ដូចជាការលែលកដោះស្រាយ ស្វ័យភាព មនុស្សល្អ ការគិតទុកជាមុន និងផ្លូវភេទ។ សូមសំណូមពរថា ទាំងនេះគឺជាចំណុចដែលអាចនឹងលើកមកនិយាយដោយកម្មវិធីរបស់អង្គការទស្សនៈពិភពលោក កម្ពុជា (WVC) ក្នុងស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង តាមរយៈការប្រើប្រាស់កម្មវិធីជំនាញប្រចាំជីវិត និងបច្ចេកទេសរបស់អង្គការ WHO ដើម្បីជំរុញអោយបុរសយល់ដឹងកាន់តែទូលំទូលាយអំពីសម្តែងដែលកំពុងសង្កត់លើជីវិត និងអត្តសញ្ញាណរបស់ពួកគេពីសំណាក់ពិភពលោកខាងក្រៅ។ កម្មវិធីបែបនេះអាចនឹងលើកកម្ពស់ការគោរពខ្លួនឯង និងវិញ្ញាណស្វ័យភាពបុគ្គលដល់បុរសៗក្នុងគោលបំណង ដើម្បីកាត់បន្ថយនូវឱកាសដែលពួកគេមានអារម្មណ៍ថាខ្លួនកំពុងត្រូវរង ការគំរាមគំហែងនិងកាត់បន្ថយនូវលទ្ធភាពដែលពួកគេនឹងពឹងផ្អែកដើម្បីអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងន័យធ្វើបតិដ្ឋាប័ន និងការពារអត្តសញ្ញាណបុរសភាពរបស់ពួកគេ ។ សូមសំណូមពរផងដែរថា ការទប់ស្កាត់កំហឹងសំរាប់ទាំងបុរស និងទាំងស្ត្រីគួរអាចនឹងលើកមកនិយាយផងដែរនៅក្នុងកម្មវិធីរបស់អង្គការ WVC ។

• ការស្រាវជ្រាវបានយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ចំពោះរឿងគំរូតូនាទីបុរស ហើយអ្នកផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹងភាគច្រើនលើសលប់បានឆ្លើយអំពីអាកប្បកិរិយាក្នុងឧត្តមគតិរបស់បុរសៈ បុរសគឺជាមនុស្សវិញមិនមែនជាបុរសទេ បុរសគឺជាអ្នកដែលអាចថែរក្សាគ្រួសាររបស់ខ្លួន បុរសគឺជាមនុស្សដែលមិនសេពគ្រឿងស្រវឹងច្រើន បុរសគឺជាមនុស្សម្នាក់ដែលមានឥរិយាបថមិនបំផ្លិចបំផ្លាញកេរ្តិ៍ឈ្មោះគ្រួសាររបស់ខ្លួន ។ បើលើកអំពីសញ្ញាណបេស៊ីស្ត និងវប្បធម៌ទាំងអស់លក្ខណៈល្អៗ របស់បុរសយើងសូមសំណូមពរថា ប្រសិនបើគេបានធ្វើការក្នុងន័យចាប់ផ្តើមស្ថាបនា និងលើកកម្ពស់ចរិតលក្ខណៈណាមួយជាតូនាទីគំរូដូច្នោះនេះគឺជាចរិតប្រឌិតឡើងថ្មីមួយទាំងស្រុង ដែលតំណាងអោយចរិតលក្ខណៈទាំងអស់ដែលកុមារបានចម្លងបង្ហាញជាចំនុចគួរអោយស្នើសុំសេរីរបស់បុរសល្អម្នាក់ ឪពុកល្អម្នាក់ និងជាអ្នកជិតខាងល្អម្នាក់ ។

• បើនិយាយអំពីផលប៉ះពាល់មិនល្អមួយចំនួនធំនៃរូបភាពអាសត្រាមទៅលើការរស់នៅ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ជាប្រក្រតីរបស់កុមារអង្គការ WVC ត្រូវតែលើកបញ្ហានេះ ថាជាបញ្ហាមួយដែលទាមទារអន្តរាគមន៍ជាបន្ទាន់ ។ កិច្ចការនេះនឹងទាមទារអោយមានទាំងការស្រាវជ្រាវបន្ថែម និងទាំងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍នូវកម្មវិធីជាក់លាក់មួយដើម្បីប្រយុទ្ធនឹងការជំនឿ

ឥទ្ធិពលនៃរូបភាពអាសត្រាម ។ គោលការណ៍ការងារដែលមានស្រាប់នៅក្នុងកម្មវិធីសាងសង្កេតភាព ទំនងជាមិនមានលក្ខណៈគ្រប់គ្រាន់ល្អឡើយ ។

អនុសាសន៍ពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងការស្រាវជ្រាវវេទនាអនាគត

- លទ្ធផលភាគរយខ្ពស់មួយនៃការមើលរូបភាពអាសត្រាមរបស់កុមារក្នុងស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង បញ្ជាក់ថាជាបញ្ហាយ៉ាងធ្ងន់ធ្ងរមួយ ហើយទាមទារអោយធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវបន្ថែម ។ បើទោះបីជាមានការស្រាវជ្រាវបែបបរិមាណមួយចំនួនជាស្រេចដោយអង្គការ ក្រុមសុខុមាលភាពកុមារ និងអង្គការក្តីសង្ឃឹមពិភពលោក ក៏ការស្រាវជ្រាវបែបបរិមាណបន្ថែមមួយចំនួនទៀតអាចនឹងចាំបាច់ត្រូវតែអនុវត្ត ដើម្បីបង្កើតវិសាលភាពអោយទិន្នន័យពីស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹងឆ្លុះបញ្ចាំង អំពីស្ថានភាពនៅក្នុងតំបន់ដទៃទៀតក្នុងប្រទេស ។ ទោះបីយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយការស្រាវជ្រាវទាំងនៅក្នុងស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង និងនៅទីកន្លែងដទៃគួរជាការស្រាវជ្រាវបែបគុណភាព ។ ខណៈដែលកម្ពុជាទទួលស្គាល់ថាគេបានដឹងតិចតួចអំពីការប៉ះពាល់នៃរូបភាពអាសត្រាមទៅលើកុមារនៅក្នុងប្រទេសមួយ ដែលកំពុងស្ថិតនៅក្នុងដំណាក់កាលអភិវឌ្ឍន៍គេទាមទារអោយធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវជាមូលដ្ឋានគ្រឹះដើម្បីស្វែងយល់អំពីកត្តាប៉ះទង្គិចនៃរូបភាពអាសត្រាមលើកុមារទាំងនេះ និងដើម្បីអភិវឌ្ឍន៍យុទ្ធនាការប្រយុទ្ធប្រឆាំងនឹងការប៉ះទង្គិចរបស់វា ។

សេចក្តីសន្និដ្ឋាន : សង្ខេបលទ្ធផល និង វិធីសាស្ត្រទៅមុខ

សេចក្តីផ្តើម

ការស្រាវជ្រាវនិងផែនការគំរោង RGBV នៅស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង ធ្វើការផ្លាស់ប្តូរវិធីសាស្ត្រដែលផ្អែកទៅលើឥរិយាបថបុគ្គល ទៅជាវិធីសាស្ត្រដែលសិក្សាពីការយល់ដឹងអំពីរបៀបដែលប្រព័ន្ធសង្គមកិច្ចទូលំទូលាយជាងនេះ ប៉ះទង្គិចទៅលើបុគ្គលម្នាក់ៗ និង របៀបដែលវាមានឥទ្ធិពល (មិនទាន់តំបន់ច្បាស់លាស់) លើគតិយល់ដឹង និងសកម្មភាពរបស់ពួកគេ ។ ដូច្នោះហើយតាមរយៈការពិនិត្យលើអំពើហិង្សារបស់បុរស ហើយជំនួសអោយការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់តែមួយមុខលើជនល្មើសម្នាក់ៗ បុគ្គលដែលមានឥរិយាបថជាមនុស្ស "អាក្រក់" និង "ប្រព្រឹត្តិអំពើហិង្សា" ដែលចាំបាច់ត្រូវកែប្រែនោះ របាយការណ៍នេះធ្វើការពិនិត្យពីចំណុចអំពីរបៀប និង រចនាសម្ព័ន្ធ ទំហំនៃអំពើហិង្សា និងបញ្ហានានាដូចជាបុរសភាព ហើយតើបញ្ហាទាំងនេះវារងឥទ្ធិពលពីបញ្ហាមួយចំនួនដូចជា គ្រឿងស្រវឹង រូបភាពអាសត្រាម និងពិកត្តាមួយចំនួនទៀតដូចជាបន្ទាត់ប្តូរតូនាទីផ្នែកយេនឌ័រនៅក្នុងសង្គមជាតិកម្ពុជា និងកិរិតនៃការផ្តល់ការងារដល់បុរសនៅក្នុងតំបន់ដាច់ស្រយាល ។ បញ្ហាមួយចំនួនដែលរបាយការណ៍ធ្វើអនុសាសន៍យកចិត្តទុក

ដាក់មានដូចជាបុរសភាពការសេពគ្រឿងស្រវឹង និងការប្រើប្រាស់រូបភាពអាសត្រាម គឺសុទ្ធតែជាបញ្ហាសង្គមជាតិទាំងមូល ។ ការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់លើបញ្ហាទាំងនេះតាមរយៈការបំផុសមនសិការ និងការដាក់កម្មវិធីវិបាកបុរសឡើងវិញ មានសក្តានុពលដើម្បីធ្វើការកែប្រែ ជាចំហៀងលើកិរិយានៃអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង ។ ដើម្បីលើកឡើងនូវមូលដ្ឋាននរណាម្នាក់ និងវប្បធម៌ការកាត់បន្ថយអំពើហិង្សាលើផ្នែកយេនឌ័រ ត្រូវសំរាប់ស្រ្តីម្នាក់ៗនៃសហគមន៍តាមបែបដំណោះស្រាយផ្នែកលើ សិទ្ធិមនុស្សអាចជាកត្តាមួយគួរអោយជឿជាក់បានកាន់តែខ្លាំង ។

របាយការណ៍នេះទទួលបានលទ្ធផលថា នៅក្នុងរយៈពេលវែងយើងត្រូវការរៀនសូត្របន្ថែមអំពីបុរសភាព និងបុរសគល់នៃអំពើហិង្សារបស់បុរសនៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ពីព្រោះកន្លងមកនៅលើចំណុចនេះគេបានធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវតិចតួចបំផុត — ក្រៅអំពីរបៀបចំនួន និងការចងក្រងនូវប្រភេទអំពើហិង្សា។ គំរូដែលបានប្រើប្រាស់ដើម្បីស្វែងយល់អំពីធម្មជាតិនៃបញ្ហាអំពើហិង្សា មានឥទ្ធិពលយ៉ាងប្រចក្សទៅលើវិធីដែលគេបានធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវ វិធីដែលគេពិពណ៌នារូបភាពបញ្ហា និងរូបភាពកិច្ចអន្តរាគមន៍ដែលគេបានធ្វើអនុសាសន៍។ ដំណោះស្រាយមួយដែលយកចិត្តទុកដាក់លើបុរស និងមិនមានន័យថាកាត់បន្ថយអ្វីមួយពីស្ត្រីនោះទេ។ វាគ្រាន់តែជាការផ្តល់បន្ថែមនូវចំណេះដឹងចាំបាច់ថ្មី ។ យើងពិតជាយល់ដឹងតិចតួចបំផុតអំពីបុរសកម្ពុជា បើទោះបីយើងបានបំពេញការងារនៅក្នុងផ្នែក HIV/AIDS បានផ្តល់នូវព័ត៌មានលម្អិតមួយចំនួនអំពីអត្តសញ្ញាណបុរស និងស្ត្រី ក៏ដោយ ។

លទ្ធផលស្រាវជ្រាវសង្ខេប

វាទំនងថា មូលហេតុចម្បងដែលគំរោងកម្មវិធីនេះបានទទួលការជោគជ័យ ក៏ព្រោះតែយោងទៅលើវិធីសាស្ត្ររួមបញ្ចូលទាំងបែបគុណភាព និងបរិមាណ ។ មកដល់បច្ចុប្បន្នការស្រាវជ្រាវភាគច្រើនអំពី GBV នៅក្នុងប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ធ្លាប់មានជាការសំភាសបែបគុណភាពជាមួយនិងជនរងគ្រោះនៃអំពើហិង្សា ឬការអង្កេតបែបបរិមាណតាមរូបភាពផ្សេងៗ ដែលបានអនុវត្តតាមរយៈ "ការផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹងជាសំងាត់" ។ ដូច្នោះហើយការធ្វើការអង្កេតទាំងនោះបានជ្រើសរើសគំរោងពង្រាងរបស់ពួកគេ ហើយបានចុះទៅដល់អ្នកផ្ទះ និងភូមិរបស់អ្នកផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹងជាមួយនិងសំណួរដែលស៊ីជម្រៅអំពីអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងគ្រួសារ។ ការផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹងលាយឡំនិងក្តីអាម៉ាស់ចំពោះអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងគ្រួសារ គេគ្រប់គ្នាបានដឹងហើយថាវិធីសាស្ត្របែបនេះទំនងជាមិនងាយនឹងចំរាញ់បាននូវស្ថិតិឧប្បត្តិហេតុពិតហើយភាគច្រើនកំពុងបំពេញការងារក្នុងមូលដ្ឋានមួយទាំងមានមន្ទីលថា "នៅទីនោះមានអំពើហិង្សាច្រើនជាងអ្វីដែលយើងអាចរកឃើញទៅទៀត" ។

ទោះបីជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ គំរោងកម្មវិធីរបស់អង្គការ WVC នេះបានជ្រើសយកវិធីសាស្ត្រល្អ ។ ជំហានដំបូងអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវ និងអ្នកជំនួយការ ក៏ដូចជាអ្នកបកប្រែរបស់គាត់ជាដំបូងបានផ្តោតការយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ និងពិភាក្សាជាក្រុម ជាមួយនិងអ្នក

ផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹងមួយចំនួនធំ ហើយបានបង្ហាញអត្តសញ្ញាណ និងធ្វើអោយមានទំនាក់ទំនងល្អជាមុន ជាច្រើនសប្តាហ៍នៅក្នុងស្រុកដែលជាគោលដៅក្នុងការធ្វើការអង្កេត។ ដូច្នោះហើយនាខណៈពេលធ្វើការអង្កេត អ្នកផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹងមួយចំនួនធំមានអារម្មណ៍កក់ក្តៅជាមួយនិងអ្នកស្រាវជ្រាវយើង ។

លទ្ធផលនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវបែបចែកជាជំពូកសំខាន់ៗចំនួនបី គឺ ចំណេះដឹងថ្មីអំពីឧប្បត្តិហេតុនៃអំពើហិង្សា និងអាកប្បកិរិយារបស់មនុស្សចំពោះអំពើហិង្សា ចំណេះដឹងថ្មីអំពីបុរសភាព និងគ្រឿងស្រវឹង និងទំនាក់ទំនងរបស់វាជាមួយនិងអំពើហិង្សាលើផ្នែកយេន ឌ័រ ហើយនិងចំណេះដឹងថ្មីអំពីរូបភាពអាសត្រាម និងតួនាទីរបស់វាក្នុងការជំរុញសញ្ញាណនៃបុរសភាព និងសាច់រឿងផ្លូវភេទ និងទំនាក់ ទំនងរបស់វាជាមួយនិងអំពើហិង្សាផ្លូវភេទ ។

លទ្ធផលទីមួយ : ឧប្បត្តិហេតុនៃអំពើហិង្សា និងអាកប្បកិរិយារបស់មនុស្សចំពោះអំពើហិង្សា

បើនិយាយអំពីអំពើហិង្សា ការស្រាវជ្រាវបានរកឃើញថា កុមារទាំងពីរភេទនៅក្នុងស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង បានឆ្លងកាត់អំពើហិង្សាក្នុងកិរិយាខ្ពស់មួយ ពីសំណាក់ទាំងគ្រូបង្រៀន និងឪពុកម្តាយ ។ និយាយអោយចម្លែក បើលើកអំពីអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងផ្ទះ ការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះបានបង្ហាញឱ្យឃើញថា ចំនួនភាគរយមួយប្រព្រឹត្តិអំពើហិង្សាទៅលើកូនៗ ខ្ពស់ជាងភាគរយរបស់ឪពុក ។ លើសពីនេះភាគរយនៃកុមារមួយចំនួនធំបានបញ្ចេញទស្សនៈថា ការដាក់ទោសបែបហិង្សាទៅលើពួកគេគឺជាអំពើហិង្សាសមស្របតាមច្បាប់ ។ ដូច្នោះហើយ យើងសំណូមពរថា ការដាក់កម្មវិធីរបស់អង្គការ WVC នៅស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹងមិនគួរយកចិត្តទុកដាក់តែលើការដាក់ទោសលើកុមារពីសំណាក់ម្តាយ និងឪពុកប៉ុណ្ណោះនោះទេ ប៉ុន្តែត្រូវធ្វើការជាមួយកុមារដើម្បីឱ្យពួកគេមានចំណេះដឹងអំពីសិទ្ធិមនុស្ស ។

ការស្រាវជ្រាវក៏បានយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ផងដែរលើបញ្ហានៃការចាប់រំលោភ ហើយលទ្ធផលបានរកឃើញថា ឧប្បត្តិហេតុនៃការចាប់រំលោភនៅក្នុងស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹងមានយ៉ាងតិចតួចបំផុត ។

កុមារភាគច្រើនបានសំណូមពរថា ព្យាបាលស្តាប់មកអ្នកជិតខាងគួរជាបុគ្គលដំបូងបំផុតត្រូវចូលធ្វើអន្តរាគមន៍ និងជាអ្នកជួយដល់ជនរងគ្រោះ នៅក្នុងអំពើហិង្សា ។ យើងសំណូមពរឱ្យ ការងាររបស់អង្គការ WVC គួរផ្តោតទៅលើទាំងការផ្តល់ការអប់រំ និងទាំងកិច្ចគាំពារខាងផ្លូវចិត្ត ដល់ក្រុមកុមារទាំងនេះ ហើយថាកម្មវិធីដូចជា "មនុស្សល្អ" និង "អ្នកជិតខាងល្អ" អាចនឹងជាកម្មវិធីប្រកបដោយប្រសិទ្ធភាពនៅក្នុងតំបន់នេះ ។ កិច្ចអន្តរាគមន៍ត្រូវតែផ្តោតទៅលើ ការទទួលស្គាល់រូបភាពនៃអំពើហិង្សាទាំងអស់ ព្រោះការស្រាវជ្រាវបានសំណូមពរថា ជាទូទៅគេបានទទួលស្គាល់ និងឆ្លើយតបជាយថាហេតុ ចំពោះទង្វើនៃអំពើហិង្សាដែលធ្ងន់ធ្ងរភាគច្រើន ។ ទោះបីជាយ៉ាងណាក៏ដោយ អំពើហិង្សាចំពោះកុមារដែលយើងបានរកឃើញនៅក្នុងការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ គឺជាប្រភេទ

អំពើហិង្សា " កំរិតទាប " ថ្វីបើវាបានរំលោភលើសិទ្ធិកុមារ និងធ្វើអោយអស់ថយគុណភាពនៃជីវិតរបស់ពួកគេដោយវាជាប្រភេទ
អំពើហិង្សាដែលអ្នកផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹងជាមនុស្សពេញវ័យនៅក្នុងភូមិមិនបានទទួលស្គាល់ថាជាអំពើហិង្សាមួយ ។ យើងសំណូមពរថា
សំភារៈជំនាញប្រចាំជីវិត អាចមានសារៈប្រយោជន៍ខ្ពស់ក្នុងការដោះស្រាយបញ្ហាទាំងនេះ នៅក្នុងកិច្ចអន្តរាគមន៍ក្នុងភូមិអនាគត ។

នៅក្នុងពេលធ្វើការស្រាវជ្រាវ ការសំភាសន៍ជាច្រើនបានធ្វើឡើងជាមួយនិងជនជាតិលោកខាងលិច និងថ្នាក់ដឹកនាំអង្គ
ភាពជាតិអន្តរជាតិ។ ថ្នាក់ដឹកនាំលោកខាងលិចមួយចំនួនបាននិយាយយ៉ាងខ្លាំងក្លាអំពីប្រព័ន្ធដោះស្រាយអំពើហិង្សារបស់កម្ពុជា
ហើយបានពិចារណាថា បញ្ហាមួយក្នុងចំណោមបញ្ហាទាំងអស់ជាមួយនិងប្រព័ន្ធនេះ និងអាការៈរោគមួយនៃអាការៈទាំងអស់នៃការ
ខកខានរបស់ពួកគេ — គឺថា គេបានរកឃើញថា ស្ត្រីមានការពិបាកក្នុងការលែងលះនៅក្នុងប្រព័ន្ធរដ្ឋបាលមួយដែលបានត្រួតត្រា
ដោយបុរស ។ វាបានបង្ហាញជូនក្រុមប្រឹក្សានេះថា ខណៈណាដែលច្បាប់ស្តីអំពីអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងគ្រួសារត្រូវបានអនុម័តវា នឹងមាន
លក្ខណៈងាយស្រួល និងងាយរំលោភជាងសំរាប់ប្រការដែលស្ត្រីម្នាក់ធ្វើការលែងលះស្វាមីដែលរំលោភបំពាន ។ ទោះបីជាយ៉ាងណា
ក៏ដោយ បើនិយាយអំពីការដោះស្រាយអំពើហិង្សាលើផ្នែកយេនឌ័រនៅថ្នាក់ភូមិ ចំនុចមួយដែលបានលើកឡើងដោយមានទាំងប្រធាន
ភូមិ និងទាំងមេឃុំ និងដោយបុគ្គលិកកម្មវិធីកាត់បន្ថយអំពើហិង្សា ក៏ដូចជាដោយនាយកអង្គការកម្ពុជាណាម្នាក់ គឺថា នៅក្នុង
ករណីនៃការ ដោះស្រាយជម្លោះជាច្រើនស្ត្រី មិនចង់ធ្វើការលែងលះ — ចំបងបំផុតដោយផ្អែកទៅលើហេតុផល ស្លាកស្នាមមិនល្អ
ក្នុងសង្គម និងភាពលំបាកលំបិនផ្នែកសេដ្ឋកិច្ច និងជាសក្ខីភាពសំរាប់កូនៗរបស់ពួកគេផងដែរ — ប៉ុន្តែអ្វីដែលពួកគេ ចង់បានគឺ
ការបញ្ចប់នូវអំពើហិង្សាលើផ្នែកយេនឌ័រនៅក្នុងក្រុមគ្រួសាររបស់ពួកគេ ។ អត្ថបទថ្មីៗមួយនៅឆ្នាំ២០០៣ របស់ Surtees លើក
អំពីចំនុច នេះនៅពេលនាងអធិប្បាយថា " កិច្ចអន្តរាគមន៍ប្រយុទ្ធប្រឆាំងនឹងអំពើហិង្សា ដែលអាចអនុវត្តបាននៅកន្លែងផ្សេងៗ អាច
នឹងមិនសមស្របសំរាប់ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា " ។ គាត់ចង់បង្ហាញពីការសំរាប់កិច្ចអន្តរាគមន៍ថា ចុះធ្វើការជាមួយមូលដ្ឋានតាម
មធ្យោបាយជាក់ស្តែងក្នុងការដោះស្រាយបញ្ហា ធ្វើដូច្នោះយើងអាចសំរួលការកែប្រែជាប់លាប់បាន ។ បើស្រាយបំភ្លឺកត្តា
ដែលស្ត្រីកំពុងស្ថិតនៅក្នុងទំនាក់ទំនងរំលោភបំពាន ដោយចង់បង្ហាញថាជាកង្វះខាតជីវិតរបស់ពួកគេអាចចាត់ទុកថាជាការយល់
ស្មានភាពមិនបានច្បាស់លាស់ទាំងស្រុង ។ ប្រហាក់ប្រហែលគ្នានេះ បើមើលទៅលើប្រព័ន្ធពិគ្រោះយោបល់ និងផ្សះផ្សាដែលមាន
ស្រាប់ ថាខ្លះខាតពីព្រោះពួកគេសំរើមើលស្ត្រីចំពោះរយៈពេលនៃអំពើហិង្សាលើសពីនេះដែលគេ " ល្ងង់ " នៅក្នុងជំហានទី២ និងទី៣
ក្នុងការរស់នៅជាមួយស្វាមីរបស់ពួកគេ ហើយម្យ៉ាងទៀត ពីព្រោះពួកគេពន្យល់ល្បឿននៃការលែងលះ អាចចាត់ទុកថាគេយល់ស្មាន
ភាពមិនបានច្បាស់លាស់ ។ យើងសំណូមពរថា ការងាររបស់អង្គការ WVC នៅថ្នាក់ភូមិត្រូវយកចិត្តទុកដាក់អោយបានខ្លាំង

¹ R. Surtees. " ការចរចា តាមបែបហិង្សា និងអហិង្សានៅក្នុងគ្រួសារកម្ពុជា " ។ ព្រឹត្តិបត្រ និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍ ។ លេខ ១១/២ ថ្ងៃ ៣៤ ។
² សូមមើល M. Hobart. ពាក្យទៅនៃការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍តាមបែបនរវិទ្យា : ការលូតលាស់នៃភាពល្អឯទៀត ។ (London, Routledge 1993).
³ Surtees. Ibid. ទំព័រ ៣៩ ។

ទៅលើកិច្ចអន្តរាគមន៍ ដែលពង្រឹងជីវិតរបស់ស្ត្រី ហើយនៅក្នុងករណីដែលស្ត្រីដែលបានរងការរំលោភបំពានជ្រើសរើសយកការរក្សា
ចំណងអាពាហ៍ពិពាហ៍ ចូរជួយអោយពួកគាត់ចេះធ្វើការសំរេចចិត្តដែលមានលក្ខណៈសុវត្ថិភាពជាង ។ គេគួរលើកទឹកចិត្តលើតំលៃ
ពុទ្ធិវិទ្យាមួយចំនួន ដូចជាមេត្តាករុណា និងចិត្តអធ្យាស្រ័យ (តំលៃដែលមានលក្ខណៈរឹងមាំហើយស្របគ្នានឹងតំលៃរបស់
គ្រីស្ទឱវាទ) ។

លទ្ធផលទីពីរ : បុរសភាព គ្រឿងស្រវឹង និងអំពើហិង្សាលើផ្នែកយេនឌ័រ

លទ្ធផលចំបងទីពីរនៃតំរោងស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ គឺចំណេះដឹងថ្មីពាក់ព័ន្ធនឹងបុរសភាព ។ វាបានពិនិត្យពីចំណេះដឹងខ្លីមសារនៃការ
លែងលះដោះស្រាយ ការសេពគ្រឿងស្រវឹង និងបុរសភាព ស្វ័យភាព បុរសល្អ ការគិតជាមុន និងផ្លូវភេទ ។ ទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងសញ្ញាណ
នៃបុរសភាព ការសេពគ្រឿងស្រវឹង និងអំពើហិង្សា គឺជាលទ្ធផលចំបងនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ ។ គេធ្លាប់បានសំណូមពរថា ចំពោះ
សមាគមសេពគ្រឿងស្រវឹង និងដឹកនាំអំពើហិង្សា ដែលអង្គការ WVC កំពុងបំពេញការងារលើយុទ្ធនាការកាត់បន្ថយគ្រឿងស្រវឹង
ប្រហែលត្រូវដកធនធានពីអង្គការ UNICEF មកប្រើប្រាស់ ដើម្បីបង្កើតនូវបរិស្ថានពេញសមត្ថភាពមួយ ដែលប្រើប្រាស់វិធីសាស្ត្រ
ផ្អែកលើសិទ្ធិមនុស្ស មកអនុវត្តន៍កម្មវិធីកាត់បន្ថយអំពើហិង្សាលើផ្នែកយេនឌ័រឱ្យប្រកបដោយប្រសិទ្ធភាពកាន់តែខ្ពស់ ។ យើង
ធ្លាប់បានសំណូមពរថា យុទ្ធនាការដែលបង្ហាញអំពីអាការៈនៃការស្រវឹងស្រា អាចនឹងមានប្រសិទ្ធភាពខ្ពស់ដែលនាំអោយមានអំពើ
ហិង្សា។ គេគួរពង្រឹងការយល់ដឹងអំពីកំរិតនៃការហូបស្រា តាមរយៈការជំរុញដំណើរការដែលរងឥទ្ធិពលពីការដឹកនាំស្រាច្រើន ។
គំរូលើសពីនេះមួយទៀត គឺលើកទឹកចិត្តបុរសទាំងអស់ឱ្យដឹង ហើយអោយពួកគេចេះត្រួតពិនិត្យ និងកំរិតការហូបស្រា ដើម្បីថែរក្សា
សុខភាពរបស់ខ្លួន ។

ការពិភាក្សាអំពីការលែងលះដោះស្រាយ និងស្វ័យភាព បុរសល្អម្នាក់ ការគិតជាមុន និងផ្លូវភេទ ទាំងអស់សុទ្ធតែជាបញ្ហា
សំខាន់នៅក្នុងសមាសភាពនៃបុរសភាពរបស់មនុស្សប្រុស និងគំនិតយោបល់នៃតំលៃខ្លួន ហើយគឺជាចំនុចទាំងអស់ដែលបានសំណូមពរ
ថាការប្រើប្រាស់កម្មវិធីជំនាញប្រចាំជីវិតរបស់អង្គការ WHO អាចនឹងមានប្រសិទ្ធភាពខ្ពស់ក្នុងន័យផ្តល់ការយល់ដឹងកាន់តែទូលំ
ទូលាយ ដល់បុរសទាំងអស់អំពីសម្ពាធដែលកំពុងសង្កត់លើជីវិត និងអត្តសញ្ញាណរបស់ពួកគេពីភាពលោភខាងក្រៅ ក៏ដូចជាដើម្បី
ផ្តល់ឱ្យពួកគេនូវការការពារខ្លួនឯង និងវិញ្ញាណស្វ័យភាពបុគ្គល និងតំលៃខ្លួនកាន់តែខ្ពស់ ។ ទិសដៅនៃកម្មវិធីនេះ គឺដើម្បីសំរេចឱ្យបាន
នូវការកាត់បន្ថយឱកាសដែលបុរសមានអារម្មណ៍ថាខ្លួនកំពុងរងការគំរាមកំហែង និងលទ្ធភាពដែលពួកគេពឹងផ្អែកដើម្បីប្រព្រឹត្តិ
អំពើហិង្សា ក្នុងន័យបង្កបង្កើត និងការពារនូវអត្តសញ្ញាណបុរសភាពរបស់ពួកគេ។ គេធ្លាប់បានសំណូមពរផងដែរថា នៅក្នុងការ
ធ្វើកម្មវិធីការងាររបស់អង្គការ WVC គេអាចនឹងលើកឡើងនូវបញ្ហានៃការទប់ស្កាត់កំហឹងសំរាប់ទាំងបុរស និងស្ត្រី ។

ការស្រាវជ្រាវបានយកចិត្តទុកដាក់មួយចំនួនចំពោះរឿងគំរូតួនាទីបុរស ហើយអ្នកផ្តល់ចំណេះដឹងភាគច្រើនលើសលប់បានឆ្លើយ អំពីអាកប្បកិរិយានៃឧត្តមគតិរបស់បុរស។ បុរសគឺជាមនុស្សរឹងមាំប៉ុន្តែគ្មានអំពើហិង្សាទេ ។ បុរសគឺជាអ្នកដែលអាចចែករំលែកគ្នារបស់ខ្លួន បុរសគឺជាមនុស្សដែលមិនសេចក្រីក្រស្រីរឿងច្រើន បុរសគឺជាមនុស្សម្នាក់ដែលមានសិរិយាបទ មិនបំផ្លិចបំផ្លាញ កេរ្តិ៍ឈ្មោះគ្រួសាររបស់គេ។ បើលើកអំពីភាពមាំមួន និងវប្បធម៌លក្ខណៈល្អរបស់បុរស យើងសូមសំណូមពរថាប្រសិនបើគេបានធ្វើការក្នុងន័យចាប់ផ្តើមស្ថាបនា និងលើកកម្ពស់ចរិតលក្ខណៈជាតួនាទីគំរូ ដូច្នោះនេះគឺជាចរិតប្រឌិតឡើងថ្មីមួយទាំងស្រុង ដែលតំណាងអោយចរិតលក្ខណៈទាំងអស់ ដែលកុមារបានចង្អុលបង្ហាញជាចំនុចគួរអោយសើចសរសើររបស់បុរសល្អម្នាក់ ឪពុកល្អម្នាក់ និងជាអ្នក ជិតខាងល្អម្នាក់ ។

លទ្ធផលទីបី : រូបភាពអាសត្រាម និង បុរស (និងស្ត្រី)

លទ្ធផលចំបងទីបីនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះ គឺជាការរកឃើញដែលថា ទាំងកុមារ និងកុមារីនៅស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹងបានឃើញរូបភាពអាសត្រាមជាក់ស្តែង និងបែបហិង្សាខ្លាំង ក្នុងកិច្ចការយ៉ាងខ្ពស់តាមរយៈសៀវភៅ និងរឿងកុនក្នុងថាសវីឌីអូ (VDCs) ។ អ្នកធ្វើការវិភាគបានសំណូមពរថា រូបភាពអាសត្រាមច្បាស់ទាំងដុលនេះ និងរូបភាពអាសត្រាមដទៃទៀតកំពុងបណ្តាលឱ្យជីវិតរបស់កុមារមានការរួមភេទមុនអាយុកាល ហើយថាវាមិនមែនគ្រាន់តែកំពុងបង្រៀនកុមារទាំងអស់អំពីសាច់រឿងគួរអោយស្តាប់ខ្លួនខ្លាំង អំពីអំពើហិង្សា និងការរំលោភផ្លូវភេទមួយចំនួនប៉ុណ្ណោះទេ ប៉ុន្តែវាកំពុងតែបង្រៀនពួកគេផងដែរថាទង្វើទាំងនេះគឺជា បទដ្ឋានផ្លូវជាបុរស និងជាវិធីសាមញ្ញនៃទំនាក់ទំនងជាមួយស្ត្រី — ទាំងជីវិតផ្លូវភេទ និងជីវិតប្រចាំថ្ងៃ ។ ចំពោះផ្នែកកុមារី គេបានសំណូមពរថា ការមើលឃើញសំភារៈប្រភេទនេះទំនងជាមិនគ្រាន់តែបង្កឱ្យមានឥទ្ធិពលមិនល្អលើរូបកាយរបស់ពួកគេផ្ទាល់នោះទេប៉ុន្តែវាថែមទាំងទំនងជាបង្កឱ្យមានឥទ្ធិពលសំខាន់មួយលើអាកប្បកិរិយាចំពោះមុខ និងការរំពឹងដល់ការរៀបការ និងទំនាក់ទំនងផ្លូវភេទប្រក្រតី។ លទ្ធផលសំខាន់មួយ ចំពោះការមើលរូបភាពអាសត្រាមរបស់កុមារនៅស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹង គឺកត្តាដែលអាយុកុមារក្នុងចំណោមកុមារតំណាង ដែលបានជួបប្រទះរូបភាពអាសត្រាមជាមធ្យម គឺជាង ១៣ឆ្នាំ នេះគ្រាន់តែជាបរិមាណ តំណាងក្លែងបន្លំមួយប៉ុណ្ណោះ តាមពិតកុមារ និងកុមារីជាច្រើនបាន ជួបប្រទះនឹងរូបភាពអាសត្រាម ពិតប្រាកដតាំងពីមានអាយុមុន ១២ឆ្នាំម៉្លេះ ។ កត្តានេះសំខាន់ណាស់ ពីព្រោះការស្រាវជ្រាវក្នុងក្របខ័ណ្ឌអន្តរជាតិបានសំណូមពរថា នៅពេលណាដែលកុមារបានជួបប្រទះនឹងរូបភាពអាសត្រាមនៅក្នុងវ័យក្មេងពេក ពួកគេទំនងជាមើលចូចខាតជាអចិន្ត្រៃយ៍ចំពោះបញ្ហាផ្លូវភេទ និងវិញ្ញាណរបស់ខ្លួន — នោះមានន័យថា ពួកគេអាចមានទម្លាប់រំលោភតាមរយៈសំភារៈបែបនោះជាអចិន្ត្រៃយ៍ ហើយប្រហែលមិនអាចនឹងឆ្លងកាត់សេចក្តីពេញចិត្តនៃផ្លូវភេទប្រក្រតីបានក្នុងជីវិតនាពេលក្រោយ ។ ជាលទ្ធផលទំនាក់ទំនងរវាង ប្តីប្រពន្ធរបស់ពួកគេទំនងត្រូវបានចង្អុលចរិតលក្ខណៈដោយការមិនបានសំរេចកិច្ចសន្តិមួយ និងប្រហែលដោយអំពើហិង្សា និងការរំលោភផ្លូវភេទផងដែរ ។ ដូច្នោះហើយគេបានសំណូមពរថា ព្រោះតែវាជាបញ្ហាមួយក្នុងចំណោមបញ្ហាដែលត្រូវការកិច្ច អន្តរាគមន៍ជាបន្ទាន់កម្រិតរបស់

អង្គការ WVC នៅស្រុកកណ្តាលស្ទឹងត្រូវយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ខ្ពស់ចំពោះការប៉ះទង្គិចនៃរូបភាពអាសត្រាម ទាំងខ្សែវីឌីអូ និងរូបភាពព្រះពុទ្ធ លើជីវិតកុមារ ។

លទ្ធផលយ៉ាងគួរអោយកត់សំគាល់មួយនៃការស្រាវជ្រាវអំពីរូបភាពអាសត្រាម គឺជាទំនាក់ទំនងដែលការស្រាវជ្រាវនេះបានត្រួតត្រារវាងរូបភាពអាសត្រាម អំពើហិង្សាផ្លូវភេទ និងការចាប់រំលោភ — ការចាប់រំលោភនៅក្នុងអាពាហ៍ពិពាហ៍ ការចាប់រំលោភដោយក្រុមបង្កំ (បូក) និងជាពិសេសការចាប់រំលោភកុមារី ពីសំណាក់កុមារដែលខ្លួនជាអនិតិជន ឬគ្រាន់តែមានអាយុជិតពេញវ័យ ។ បើលើកឡើងអំពីចំនុចគួរអោយកត់សំគាល់នៃបញ្ហានេះ និងទុក្ខទោសនៅក្នុងសង្គមជាតិកម្ពុជាដែលបានបណ្តាលដោយសាររូបភាពនៃការចាប់រំលោភទាំងនេះវាគឺជារឿងមួយដែលទាមទារអោយធ្វើសកម្មភាពជាបន្ទាន់តាមរយៈការស្រាវជ្រាវដែលយកចិត្តទុកដាក់ខ្ពស់បន្ថែមទៀត និងការអភិវឌ្ឍន៍កម្មវិធីអន្តរាគមន៍មួយ ។

វាបានត្រួតត្រាថា ថ្វីបើចំណាប់អារម្មណ៍ និងតម្រូវការរបស់អ្នកផ្តល់ជំនួយប្រហែលទាមទារនូវការស្រាវជ្រាវបែបបរិមាណ ដើម្បីស្ថាបនាទំហំនៃបញ្ហារូបភាពអាសត្រាមចំពោះប្រទេសកម្ពុជាទាំងមូលក៏ដោយប៉ុន្តែបន្ទុកនៃកិច្ចប្រឹងប្រែងស្រាវជ្រាវលើបញ្ហានេះគួរតែជាបែបគុណភាព ដាក់ទិសដៅស្ថាបនាអំពីការប៉ះទង្គិចនៃរូបភាពអាសត្រាម អាកប្បកិរិយាចំពោះរូបភាពអាសត្រាម និងក្នុងន័យបង្កើននូវការយល់ដឹងជឿនលឿនបន្ថែមទៀតអំពីទំនាក់ទំនងរវាងរូបភាពអាសត្រាម និងបទឧក្រិដ្ឋផ្លូវភេទ ។ ជាការពិត ការស្រាវជ្រាវបែបនោះ គួរយកចិត្តទុកដាក់លើការតាក់តែងវិធានការណ៍ដើម្បីប្រយុទ្ធប្រឆាំង នឹងច្រកចូល និងការជះឥទ្ធិពល នៃរូបភាពអាសត្រាមទៅលើកុមារាកុមារី ។

PREFACE

The Kandal Stung research project discussed in this report was the largest and most important component of a broader project consisting of three separate but interrelated research activities. The title of the project, "Wise" Before Their Time, was chosen to express the considerable surprise (and sorrow) of the consultant and all associated with the project upon finding that children and young people in Kandal Stung are exposed not only to a significant level of gender-based violence, but also to a high level of pornography, some of it hard-core. They know so much about these issues while they are still so very young.

A second component of the overall project was production of a catalogue of materials and approaches addressing gender-based violence in Cambodia and south-east Asia. The research examined material dealing with Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia and the Philippines. As this part of the project progressed, it became apparent that the extensive literature dealing with gender-based violence in Thailand is mostly in the Central Thai language and thus inaccessible to most persons working in this field in Cambodia. Accordingly, the search was broadened to include the south Asian region of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, where there is an extensive literature on gender-based violence. A representative sample of works was collected on gender-based violence and interventions in these countries.

The third part of the project was to analyse NGOs', government's and other parties' work on gender-based violence and to determine gaps and potential partnerships for World Vision Cambodia in the Kandal Stung district.

This report deals only with the core research project, conducted in Kandal Stung province. However, the other components of the research were highly significant for the conduct and overall outcomes of the Kandal Stung research. First, they allowed the consultant to assess current approaches to gender-based violence in Cambodia in the light of work currently under way in south and south-eastern Asia. Second, the fact that time needed to be devoted to these activities necessarily limited the time devoted to field research and influenced research methods, survey methodologies and sample sizes.

Executive Summary

Overview

- This report presents the outcomes of research about gender-based violence among young people in the Kandal Stung district. Conducted between June and August 2005, the research breaks new ground in the study of gender-based violence in Cambodia by combining qualitative and quantitative research techniques, and by moving from an approach to gender-based violence based on notions of individual pathology to one focused on structural and cultural factors. Instead of addressing male violence by focusing solely on individual perpetrators whose behaviour must be modified, this report examines the cultural and structural dimensions of violence—issues such as masculinity and how this is influenced by alcohol, pornography and factors such as changing gender roles and limited male employment in rural areas.

Outcomes

- The research found that a significant level of violence is directed at young people in Kandal Stung by both teachers and parents. It found that 55.6 percent of boys and 19 percent of girls between the ages of 12 and 18 years claimed they had been beaten by their teacher. 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.
- Despite several years of exposure to programmes about rights, an extraordinarily high percentage of young people viewed the violence directed at them as legitimate, 13.3 percent of boys and 15.5 percent of girls considering that being hit by a parent was always legitimate. Only 35.6 percent of boys and 36.2 percent of girls considered that parents beating a son (or daughter, respectively) was always wrong.
- A very high 95.1 percent of boys considered someone should intervene if a boy was being beaten by his parents, and a similarly high 96.1 percent of girls thought someone should intervene if a girl was being beaten. The persons considered best placed for interventions were relatives, followed by neighbours, the village chief and the police.

- Young women were aware of rape and the need to maintain personal safety, although 61.4 percent of respondents said that rape never occurred in their community. Importantly, a shift in attitude appears to be taking place in respect to the victims of rape; contrary to earlier research, 73.4 percent of respondents (73.3 percent of boys and 75.0 percent of girls) said that rape victims can get married. Responses often referred to the victim's personal qualities and to her rights—suggesting some impact of programmes focusing on rights issues.
- The research drew a link between notions of masculinity, alcohol use and violence. It presented data suggesting that masculine identities are under threat from factors such as macro-economic change and low levels of male employment, in concert with the rise of factory work for women. In this context, men who are alcohol-affected are likely to perceive others' behaviour as challenging and more likely to be violent—whether towards wives or fellow villagers at festive occasions.
- Possibly the most significant outcome is the finding that a high percentage of children in Kandal Stung are exposed to pornography at an extremely young age. Only 17.8 percent of boys and 15.5 percent of girls had not encountered pornography. The mean age at which children first encounter pornography is 13.2 years; many children encounter pornography when they are substantially younger than 12. Although only 28.2 percent of respondents said that they could access pornography in their own communities, 47.6 percent knew where they could obtain it.
- Pornography causes a premature sexualising of children's lives by causing them to know about sexuality and to want to be sexually active before they are emotionally, physically or socially prepared. Among male youth in the research district, pornography is likely to be driving masculinity by teaching them violent and abusive sexual scripts, and that these are normative ways of being male and of relating sexually to women. Pornography is likely to be having a detrimental impact on the self-image of young women, normalising their role as victims of male violence. In youth who encounter pornography while still very young, their exposure to sexual sensations that they are developmentally unprepared to contend with may impair their development of a normal sense of sexuality and of self.
- On the basis of this research and other research in Cambodia, it is highly likely that there is a direct link between the consumption of pornography by young people and sexual violence and rape—rape within marriage, gang rape (*bauk*) and, particularly, the rape of girl children by boys who themselves are minors or even in early adolescence.

Recommendations

- It is suggested that WVC, as part of its Kandal Stung RGBV project, seek to sensitise school teachers and parents, both mothers and fathers, that the punishment they inflict upon their students and children is gender-based violence and an infringement of their rights. For all, from commune chiefs and village chiefs to school teachers and parents, the problem is not just their use of violence towards children, but their failure to recognise that they are using violence.
- It is suggested that WVC implement an alcohol reduction campaign as part of the RGBV project in Kandal Stung. Campaigns portraying the shameful side of drunkenness should be highly effective because the shame of drunken behaviour is a "well-known secret". Working on limiting drinking through talking about the physical ill effects of high consumption of alcohol should reinforce this message.
- This report discusses significant issues in men's constitution of masculinity and notions of self-worth, such as coping, autonomy, the good man, thinking ahead and sexuality. It is suggested that WVC programming in Kandal Stung might address these areas through the use of WHO life skills programmes and techniques in order to give men a greater understanding of the outside pressures on their lives and identities. Such programmes would give men a higher self-esteem and sense of personal autonomy, with the aim of decreasing the occasions on which they feel their self is threatened and the likelihood that they will resort to violence as a means of constituting and protecting their masculine identity. It has also been suggested that WVC programming might address anger control for both men and women.
- The research paid attention to masculine role models, and the overwhelming majority of respondents replied in terms of characteristics of ideal men: men who were strong but not violent, men who could look after their family, men who did not drink too much, men whose behaviour did not soil the reputation of their family. If work were to begin on promoting a particular character as a role model, it is suggested that that this be an entirely new fictional character who embodies all the solid and culturally grounded characteristics that the children pointed out as admirable in a good man, a good parent and a good neighbour.
- Given the extremely adverse effects that pornography has on the lives and development of young people, this issue must be addressed with some urgency by WVC. This will require both additional

research and the development of a specific programme to combat the effects of pornography. The existing section of the peace-building curriculum is unlikely to be adequate.

Recommendations Concerning Future Research

- The finding that a high percentage of Kandal Stung children are exposed to pornography is extremely serious and requires additional research. Although there is some existing quantitative research by the NGOs Child Welfare Group and World Hope, some additional quantitative research may be necessary to establish the extent to which this data from Kandal Stung reflects the situation in other areas of the country. However, both in Kandal Stung and elsewhere, the bulk of research should be qualitative. Little is known about the impact of pornography on children in a country at Cambodia's current stage of development, so very fundamental research is required to understand pornography's impact on these children and to develop campaigns to counter its impact.

Chapter One

Introduction

This chapter discusses the scope of the project, the focus of the research and the methodologies.

The Overall Research Project

The research consisted of field research conducted in the Kandal Stung district of Kandal province, in the six communes of World Vision's Kandal Stung Area Development Programme (ADP). The district is located about 45 minutes to the south of Phnom Penh.⁴ The research aimed to make a comprehensive situational analysis of gender-based violence, with a special focus on "anthropological analysis", understood as the collection of qualitative data, and the collection of baseline figures for gender-based violence among young people

The consultant for the project was a specialist in Thai society with 20 years' experience in Thailand, as well as research experience in Cambodia and a range of other diverse cultural areas, and who had specific expertise in the areas of masculinity and of alcohol use in relation to the construction of masculine identities. Following discussions between the consultant and World Vision Cambodia's senior peace and justice programme manager, the following broad research aims were clarified. First, it was intended that the research would contribute to a better understanding of Cambodian cultural ideas about gender-based violence. Second, by working with children between 12 and 18, the research aimed to gain a deeper understanding of the development of relations between the sexes, of what they saw as appropriate gender roles and of the construction of masculinity in relation to gender-based violence. A third component was a survey to collect quantitative base-line data on the incidence of gender-based violence experienced by young people, young people's perceptions of gender-based violence and their views of how individuals (and, by implication, communities) should respond to gender-based violence.

On the basis of his experience in the region, the consultant suggested that, in addition, a short section of the survey should focus on exposure to pornography, the type of pornography and young people's

⁴ The six communes are Kandaok, Kork Trab, Prek Slaeng, Boeng Khyang, Prek Roka and Trea.

responses to it. It was considered that features of contemporary life such as globalisation, MTV and the internet, were likely to have been joined by pornography in influencing contemporary young people's notions of gender, in particular young males' notions of masculinity and scripts for sexual behaviour. This hypothesis was supported by existing research conducted by the Cambodian non-government organisations Child Welfare Group and World Hope, which suggested that there is a high level of exposure of Cambodian youth to pornography, and by interviews with the staff of organisations working with female victims of violence, which suggested a strong relationship between male use of pornography and sexual and other marital violence.⁵

Although there is little or no research on the impacts of pornography in south-east Asian societies, there is a significant body of scientific literature addressing its impacts in western societies. This literature suggests that male exposure to violent pornographic materials has socially harmful consequences such as the development of callous attitudes towards rape, rape myth acceptance and the acceptance of violence against women.⁶ Moreover, when women are exposed to pornography that promotes rape myths, research suggests that they experience a decrease in self-esteem.⁷ In Cambodia, recovering from the traumas of the past 30 years and simultaneously exposed to the impacts of globalised western culture, the impact of pornography is likely to be even more harmful.

The research results in the following chapters show that pornography is highly significant in the lives of adolescents in Kandal Stung, contributes to their early sexualisation and is likely to be influential in the constitution of masculinity and femininity and sexual behaviour. It is also likely to be a major contributor to phenomena such as the rape of extremely young children by perpetrators who are, themselves, only adolescents. Since some pornography depicts various forms of forced and group sex, it is also likely to be a contributing factor (if not the determinant factor) in the rise of the Cambodian phenomenon of gang rape or *bauk*.⁸

⁵ Child Welfare Group/World Hope, *A Preliminary Study into the Accessibility by Minors of Pornography in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Child Welfare Group/World Hope, 2003).

⁶ J. Norris, "Social Influence Effects on Responses to Sexually Violent Materials Containing Violence", *Journal of Sex Research*, Vol. 28/1 (1991), pp. 67-76.

⁷ *Ibid.* Indeed, Norris claims that studies show that pornography has a greater negative effect on women than on men.

⁸ L. Bearup, *Paupers & Princes: Youth Attitudes Toward Gangs, Violence, Rape, Drugs and Theft* (Phnom Penh: GAD, 2003).

Research Methods

Qualitative Research

Although anthropological research normally uses participant observation, the relatively short time for this project precluded using this technique. Instead, the project relied on other qualitative research techniques—including focus groups, discussions, structured interviews, life cycle reasoning and dramatic skits—for data collection and in order to gain an understanding of violence, masculinity and cross-gender relationships. Because the consultant had been out of Cambodia for some years and was therefore less capable in the Khmer language, research was conducted with the aid of a translator cum research assistant.

Due to their long-term presence and personal relationships with village and commune chiefs and many of the children in the district, through the many WVC development projects, Kandal Stung ADP staff assisted in organising interviews, group discussions and focus groups. In line with best practice, participants were not paid to participate in focus groups, group discussions or one-on-one interviews. However, children who responded to the surveys were allowed to keep the pens which they used to fill in their survey forms and were given an exercise book and a cake of soap, articles they could use at school and in their daily lives.

Group discussions: These were held to assist the orientation of the consultant in the Kandal Stung district. Three discussions were held: among the members of the WVC Kandal Stung ADP staff, among the members of the Kandal Stung children's peace-building group, and among Ministry of Women's Affairs (MWA) commune-level female violence volunteers.

Focus groups: Focus groups were conducted among several groups of young people drawn from a variety of communes in the Kandal Stung ADP, among the members of commune councils and among school teachers. Mindful of recent criticism of focus group research, the groups aimed at eliciting insight into cultural practices and the structural logic underlying them, rather than the "moral" or "consensual" models of social practices that focus groups can so easily produce.⁹ Working via a translator, notes were taken directly in English, key concepts being noted in Khmer by both the consultant and research assistant. Focus groups were used to explore general issues and concepts related to violence and masculinity/femininity and to identify individuals who were willing to speak at length about the research

⁹ R. Bolton, "Rethinking Anthropology: The Study of AIDS", in H.T. Brummelhuis and G. Herdt (eds.), *Culture and Sexual Risk: Anthropological Perspectives on AIDS* (Amsterdam: OPA Publishers, 1995); G. Fordham, *A New Look at Thai AIDS: Perspectives From the Margin* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn, 2005).

topics and who seemed to be particularly thoughtful or insightful about these issues. Later some of these people were contacted for one-on-one structured interviews. Focus groups typically had seven to eight members. However, because respondents were teenagers, both focus groups and interviews were carried out in a relaxed style; in one case, a male teenager was joined by three friends who happened to be strolling past, and a one-on-one interview turned into a much more dynamic and, ultimately, highly productive small focus group. Focus groups lasted from one hour to two and a half hours, depending on group dynamics and the time of day. Focus groups conducted during the relative cool of the morning were typically longer because respondents were more talkative at this time than during the hot afternoons.

In total, 10 varied focus groups were conducted using a mix of single-sex and mixed-sex groups. One mixed-sex group was conducted among secondary school teachers. This was an extraordinarily valuable group, and both the older, more experienced, and younger, less experienced, teachers had much to contribute, particularly about the development of gender identities among their students. Focus groups were conducted with children between the ages of 12 and 18. One mixed-sex focus group was carried out among high-school students. Two single-sex focus groups were conducted among the members of the WVC Kandal Stung children's Peace Road Club. Two mixed-sex focus groups were held with "general" children drawn from two villages in Prek Roka commune. Two groups were conducted with the members and chiefs of commune councils. One was conducted among village development committee (VDC) leaders, and two with the leaders and members of VDCs.

Interviews: Structured interviews were conducted with two village chiefs and two commune chiefs (the latter alongside focus groups with members of commune councils). Structured interviews were also held with five boys aged from 13 to 15 years, and with two girls aged 14 and 16. The interviews with the village and commune chiefs were valuable, and all respondents were relatively open and forthcoming. However, it was felt that all respondents tended to minimise violence in their own village or commune, emphasising what they claimed were much greater problems in adjoining villages or communes. While all were attuned to gender-based violence that causes extreme hurt, few were equally concerned with the more frequent forms of gender-based violence that cause lower levels of physical and mental pain. The interviews with the young people were extremely valuable and were comfortable and relaxed occasions because they were conducted towards the end of the field research, after respondents had generally met the researchers on several prior occasions. Issues such as pornography and access to and use of pornography, which the researchers anticipated would be difficult to talk about, proved to be unproblematic, and much information was gained that points to possible future research in this area.

Interviews were also conducted with the directors of all the main non-governmental agencies working on gender-based violence in Phnom Penh. Having worked in south-east Asia and Cambodia over a long period, the consultant was familiar with most of these groups, and a "rolling snowball" approach was used to elicit the names of groups that had only recently moved into the field. Interviews were used to ascertain the nature of these groups' activities in GBV and in Kandal Stung district, to collect copies of research reports and position papers (or, more often, to borrow them for copying), and to inform their leaders of WVC's forthcoming RGBV project in Kandal Stung.

Circle of Life: An additional technique for eliciting data from children and young people is the circle of life. The technique is drawn from life-skills education programmes, an area in which the consultant has had extensive experience in the areas HIV/AIDS and adolescent reproductive health.¹⁰ Life skills are, as WHO put it: "skills for the enhancement of psychosocial competence: i.e. those skills that enable individuals to deal effectively with the demands and challenges of everyday life. This generic type of skills includes decision making, problem solving, self-awareness and communication skills."¹¹ Usually used as a teaching technique, the circle of life functions equally well in exploring how children and young people conceptualise their lives and relations with others as they think back to the past and then forwards to the future.

In four focus groups, a large circle was drawn on a one-metre square of paper. Participants were told that this was the cycle of their life from birth to death and asked to label what they considered important points (which differed from group to group) such as birth, five years old, 10 years old, 12 to 22, marriage, first child, later children, old age, death. They were then asked about their characteristics and behaviours at various points throughout their life cycle, and their answers were explored as a group, thereby providing material for focus group deliberation. The exercise was interesting and yielded valuable data, particularly the observation (mentioned several times by the children) that it had been a "strange" activity and they had found it difficult because "we have never thought this way before". It is likely, as I point out below, that the incorporation of life-skills training models into WVC's work among young people in Kandal Stung would assist young people to think more deeply about their daily behaviours, needs and social responses.

Role Playing in Short Dramatic Skits: A technique for research among children used by some agencies in Cambodia, and also by the consultant among street children in northern Thailand, is role playing in short dramatic skits. In this case, a mixed-sex group of secondary school children was asked to divide into couples and improvise a short dramatic skit to illustrate how domestic violence occurs and, following

¹⁰ G. Fordham et al., *A Manual For Life Skills Among Street Children* (Chiangmai: Vieng Ping Group for Children, 1995).

¹¹ WHO, *The Development and Dissemination of Life Skills Education: An Overview* (Geneva: WHO, 1994).

discussion, to replay the skit showing how the violence might have been averted. Even with the assistance of ADP personnel, the resultant skits were not particularly enlightening; in truth, the amount of prompting necessary in the acting of the skits meant that they reflected the views about domestic violence of the researcher and WVC ADP staff more than those of the children. A later assessment decided that this technique had much potential but that the time and equipment (such as video equipment) necessary to exploit it fully made it unsuitable for this project, and this way of gaining data about incidents of gender-based violence was not used again.

Quantitative Research

Survey: The quantitative component of the project was a small survey (n=103) conducted among children and young people aged between 12 and 18.¹² There are already three (slightly inconsistent) sources of violence data covering the Kandal Stung district—an issue addressed in Chapter Two. However, this survey aimed to collect data about youth who often do not feature in large surveys and to explore not only the incidence of violence, but also attitudes towards it and, in the pornography component, issues that are likely driving particular conceptions of masculinity and of male sexual behaviours. The questionnaire was based on one previously used among Cambodian youth to monitor the incidence of violence and to understand children's and adults' attitudes towards violence.¹³ A modified version of an existing survey was used to allow comparison with the pre-existing (Tearfund) data set, rather than have yet another survey that was incompatible with existing data. As is noted in Chapter Three, this comparison has been particularly valuable, because the WVC survey has provided some data in support of earlier findings, as well as some quite contrary to those findings. This raises questions about problems with methodology or the way specific questions were worded or, alternatively, some quite dramatic social changes.

After extensive discussion between the consultant and the senior programme manager for the peace and justice programme, the survey questionnaire was modified to suit the project needs. Particular attention was paid to gender equality and to the ethics of asking some of the highly personal and potentially distressing questions, particularly those in regard to violence, rape and pornography. Were the questions themselves abusive? Ultimately it was decided that it was permissible to ask these questions because those

¹² The team originally aimed for 100 responses but ended up with 103.

¹³ The survey was initially developed in conjunction between the Phnom Penh organisations Tearfund and LICADHO, and used in the work of Tearfund. See: G. Miles and Sun Varin, *Stop Violence Against Us: A Preliminary National Research Study into the Prevalence & Perceptions of Cambodian Children to Violence Against Children in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Tearfund, 2004); and Tearfund, *Exploring the Attitudes of Children and Adults to Violence Towards and by Children in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Tearfund, 2001).

potentially most invasive had already been utilised in the Tearfund survey (and, in the case of pornography, in a survey conducted by Child Welfare Group/World Hope). They had originally been developed in concert with LICADHO, and all three NGOs were experienced in the ethics of working with children. Further, the surveys would be administered by WVC staff highly experienced in working with children and young people. The survey was to be self-administered, and the responses would be voluntary and anonymous, factors providing substantial protection for children who might have found answering such questions distressing.

An additional concern in designing the questionnaire was the amount of time young adolescents could reasonably be expected to devote to it. Unlike the original survey, which had only multiple choice and yes/no questions, this survey included a number of open-ended questions in order to get more comprehensive answers. This and new questions added to the original survey made it quite long. Therefore, questions about bullying and trafficking asked in the original Tearfund survey were deleted to ensure that children could complete it in about half an hour. The final survey was drawn up in English and then, after discussion about some terminology, translated into Khmer by an experienced translator. Before the main survey began, the questionnaire was given a one-day pilot evaluation in the research district; as a result, some questions that respondents found hard to understand were reworded.

The sample was kept small because of the resources and time necessary to complete the survey and data entry. Twenty percent of the sample were selected from the children participating in the WVC Peace Road Club and the remaining 80 percent from six widely dispersed villages in Prek Roka and Kandaok communes.¹⁴ The survey was administered by WVC ADP staff highly experienced at working with children. Children were asked to meet at a central point in the village (the VDC house), and the survey was administered there. Children were given pens and forms and advised that if they could not answer any question, they should leave it blank and if they did not understand any question(s), they could ask for advice. No signs of distress were observed during administration of the survey. The above-mentioned small gifts were given to the children when they completed the survey; they were unaware that they would be given these tokens of appreciation before that.

Surveying took one week, and data base design and entry approximately two weeks.

Problems Encountered During the Research

¹⁴. Respondents were randomly selected based on house numbers.

One issue encountered throughout the research was due to WVC's long-term presence in the area and the fact that some respondents were recipients of aid or training from WVC. Because the consultant used a WVC vehicle and meetings with villagers and village officials were facilitated by WVC staff, he was perceived as being part of WVC. It was very clear, particularly during the initial stage of the research, that respondents attempted to give answers that they thought would elicit more aid or that they thought were wanted. During the initial part of interviews or group discussions, young people often prefixed their responses with statements such as, "My family is very poor, I need materials for school", or "There is much violence in my family"—the latter statement uttered prior to any questions being asked about violence. Sometimes, mid-way through discussions, children would ask the consultant to tell "NGOs" that they needed assistance in various areas.

The research timing also presented some problems. It was conducted during the hot early rainy season prior to the ploughing and planting of rice, when respondents were readily available. However, the Cambodian heat saps the energy of both locals and foreign consultants. Throughout the research period, it was found that respondents were more gregarious and data collection activities of all forms flowed more smoothly during the cooler mornings—and the consultant and his Cambodian assistant also had more energy and concentration during the mornings.

Another aspect of timing that had potential to impede the research was that it took place when WVC was restructuring, and departments were undergoing a fundamental reorganisation

The first two issues had no detrimental impacts on the research outcomes. On the first point, it was merely a matter of being aware of what was being said and guiding conversation in a more useful direction. In many cases the issue raised by the child became a springboard to more useful discussion. For example, when a child said that NGOs should stop gender-based violence, the point was used to explore why he/she thought outsiders should stop violence, rather than villagers taking ownership of and addressing their own social problems. In regard to the enervating hot season, focus groups or interviews expected to be relatively difficult or demanding for any reason were scheduled for mornings, when both respondents and researchers were at their best, and activities that were anticipated to be less difficult were scheduled for afternoons.

The fact that the research assistant/translator remained with the project following her reclassification limited the impact on the project. However, the time that she was required to devote to her new position was time away from project activities and time not available for work in Kandal Stung. As a result, the time

devoted to actual field research—for example, to conducting additional interviews and focus groups—was slightly reduced. However, the consultant believes that overall this had little impact on either the quality or the quantity of the research outcomes.

Chapter Two

Current Perspectives on Gender-Based Violence in Cambodia

The International Context

Over the past 25 years, there has been a growing recognition of the many forms of violence that plague human societies, and the social and health costs of violence. A concern with gender-based violence can be traced back as far as the 1978 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which encompassed civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. Later, in 1993, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women defined violence against women as:

any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivations of liberty, whether occurring in public life ...¹⁵

The 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo also recognised the impact of gender inequality on women's health and called for a broader approach to sexual and reproductive health that would recognise individual rights and, especially, women's rights. Two years later, in 1996, the 49th World Health Assembly adopted a resolution declaring violence a major and growing public health problem across the world, and called for a plan of action for progress towards a science-based public health approach to preventing violence.¹⁶

Between the late 1990s and the early 2000s, gender-based violence (or, as some authorities term it, "violence against women", forgetting that GBV also applies to men and boys),¹⁷ has increasingly become a focus of research and intervention campaigns in most culture regions.¹⁸ By 2005, violence and, specifically,

¹⁵. Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, *Proceedings of the 85th Plenary Meeting*, Geneva, United Nations General Assembly, 20 December 1993.

¹⁶. WHO, *World Report on Violence* (Geneva: WHO, 2002).

¹⁷. International Planned Parenthood Federation, *Improving the Health Sector Response to Gender-Based Violence: A Resource Manual for Health Care Professionals in Developing Countries* (IPPF, 2004).

¹⁸. South Asia has been a highly fertile region for the study of gender-based violence and for the development of campaigns aimed at the reduction of gender-based violence. See M. Fernandez, "Domestic Violence By Extended Family Members in India: Interplay of Gender and Generation", *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, Vol. 12/3 (1997), pp. 1–14; M. Kapil Ahmed et al., "Violent Deaths Among Women of Reproductive Age in Rural Bangladesh", *Social Science and Medicine*, Vol. 59 (2004), pp. 311–319; V. Magar, "Empowerment Approaches to Gender-Based Violence:

gender-based violence, had clearly become a mainstream concern. Even conservative medical journals now not only publish articles on gender-based violence,¹⁹ but also regularly feature scholarly editorials taking up GBV and its effect on women and on public health in general.²⁰

Most gender-based violence research and intervention focuses on women, and the bulk of work in this area has focused on male violence directed against female victims.²¹ However, gender-based violence is also understood to apply to boys, since particular categories of boys and men are also affected by violence due to their gender.²² Broadly speaking, work against gender-based violence has been conducted from one of two perspectives: human rights or public health. Unfortunately, there have been few attempts to integrate these two perspectives, and each model on its own has inherent limitations. Moreover, it is rarely recognised by those working from a public health approach that its grounding in western-based biomedicine and epidemiology gives it an extraordinarily narrow perspective that leaves little room for cultural values.²³ As a result, when attempts are made to integrate the public-health and human-rights approaches, public-health approaches invariably dominate rights-based approaches.²⁴ The challenge remains to make a workable integration of these two perspectives, and this should be particularly important for those working on gender-based violence, given Cambodia's limited skill and resource base in these areas.

Women's Courts in Delhi Slums", *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol. 26/6 (2003), pp. 509-523; U. Niaz, "Violence Against Women in South Asian Countries", *Archives of Women's Mental Health*, Vol. 6 (2003), pp. 173-184; Oxfam International, *Towards Ending Violence Against Women in South Asia* (Oxfam International, 2004); A. Talwar and S. Mahila Samity, *Women-Initiated Community Level Responses to Domestic Violence: Summary Report of Three Studies* (Washington: ICRW, 2002). The HIV/AIDS epidemic and RH issues in South Africa have also been important in stimulating research into the basis of GBV in that region, and for the development of highly efficacious interventions. For an introduction to the relationship between GBV and reproductive health and HIV/AIDS see USAID, *Gender-Based Violence and Reproductive Health & HIV/AIDS: Summary of a Technical Update* (Washington: USAID, 2002).

¹⁹ R. Jewkes, "Intimate Partner Violence: Cause and Prevention", *Lancet*, Vol. 359 (2002), pp. 1423-1433; R. Jewkes, "Preventing Sexual Violence: A Rights-Based Approach", *Lancet*, Vol. 360 (2002), pp. 1092-1093.

²⁰ G. Krantz, "Violence Against Women: A Global Public Health Issue", *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, Vol. 56 (2005), pp. 242-243; J. Richardson and G. Feder, "Domestic Violence Against Women: Needs Action From Doctors and the Health Service" (editorial), *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 311 (1995), pp. 964-965.

²¹ Fordham (1995), *op. cit.*, points out that over the past two decades, gender in the social sciences has been dominated by the work of Foucault, and that this has been to the detriment of the quality of social analysis because other competing and possibly more effective models have been neglected. In the area of gender-based violence, for example, the bulk of analysis (and therefore of social interventions) has been centred on issues of male power, with little attention being paid to other models.

²² Claudia Hasanbegovic, *Children and Gender-based Violence: An Overview of Existing Conceptual Frameworks* (Care, 2003).

²³ Iona Heath, "Treating Violence as a Public Health Problem: The Approach Has Advantages but Diminishes the Human Rights Perspective (editorial)", *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 325 (2002), pp. 726-727.

²⁴ See J. Mann et al., "Health and Human Rights", *Health and Human Rights*, Vol. 1. (1994) pp. 7-23.

The complexity of the violence issue is demonstrated by the fact that by 2002, the WHO's highly influential *World Report on Violence and Health* distinguished between many types of violence: youth violence, child abuse and neglect, violence by intimate partners, elderly abuse, sexual violence, self-directed violence and collective violence.²⁵ Perhaps, drawing on cutting-edge social theory, one other form of violence might be added: structural violence. This is the violence exerted on people by the inequitable social structures in which their lives are embedded. Its study locates the lives of individuals in large-scale social and economic structures in which their afflictions—of whatever form—are embedded. The solutions this perspective advocates derive from an understanding of those structures and the pressures they exert on individuals. Theorists such as Paul Farmer, Nancy and Vinh-Kim Nguyen and Karine Peschard,²⁶ working in areas such as HIV/AIDS, child abuse and infant death and infectious disease, are among the most prominent persons developing this approach. Over the coming decade, it is likely that those working in GBV and RGBV will move to an understanding of structural violence and how this concept can make a major contribution to RGBV initiatives. In this respect, structural violence perspectives do not preclude rights-based approaches, but rather facilitate the creation of communities in which rights-based approaches can be realised more fully.

Approaches to Gender-Based Violence in Cambodia

Although the Royal Government of Cambodia signed the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women in 1993, both before and since that time it has been apparent that women and girls (and some men and boys) suffer a considerable amount of gender-based violence. In the mid-2000s, gender-based violence encompasses many of the disparate forms of interpersonal violence that currently predominate in Cambodia, and which have occupied the attentions of development agencies here over the past two decades. Many forms of gender-based human rights abuse, domestic violence and associated issues are now often treated in terms of the broader issue of gender-based violence. These issues include rape within marriage and refusal to protect partners from sexually transmitted disease (particularly HIV), rape (including the new phenomenon of pack rape), physical violence against children, child rape by perpetrators who are minors and the trafficking of women and children. It is important to note this when seeking material dealing with GBV issues, because before approximately 2002 much of this work is referred to under earlier labels (which may not be familiar to researchers new to this area).

²⁵ WHO, *World Report on Violence* (WHO, Geneva 2000).

²⁶ Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Death Without Weeping: The Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Paul Farmer, *Infections and Inequality: The Modern Plague* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Paul Farmer, "An Anthropology of Structural Violence", *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 45/3 (2004) pp. 305-325; Vin-Kim Nguyen and Karin Peschard, "Anthropology, Inequality, and Disease: A Review", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 32 (2003) pp. 447-474.

A Survey of Landmarks in Gender-Based Violence in Cambodia

In Cambodia work on gender-based violence began in the early 1990s with a focus on domestic violence. From that time until the present, there have been a handful of studies on domestic violence that are usually cited for their statistics on gender-based violence and as studies that are landmarks in our understanding of GBV in Cambodia. Works of the Project Against Domestic Violence (PADV) have been particularly important in this respect. Time and space limitations preclude a full discussion, but in the early 1990s a number of groups formed in addition to PADV, such as the Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre (CWCC), which worked with abused women, and the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights (LICADHO), which campaigned against torture, monitored human rights violations and championed women's and children's rights. Other groups worked on issues such as the trafficking of women and children and the plight of women in commercial sex.²⁷ These groups—particularly LICADHO through its work on the abuse of children and on the rape of women and children—have also produced a number of significant reports chronicling both domestic violence and other forms of GBV.

The first landmark study in the field of domestic violence, *Plates in a Basket Will Rattle*, was conducted in 1994.²⁸ This was a six-month qualitative study conducted for PADV.²⁹ The study data were derived primarily from interviews with 50 female victims of domestic violence, with the mother of a woman killed by her husband and with a wide range of people, from village and commune officials to judges and court personnel, police, NGO workers, staff from the Ministry of Women's Affairs and medical personnel. The report was highly empirical and made no pretence of in-depth analysis or giving a statistical portrait of domestic violence in Cambodia. The report suggested that there was a high level of domestic violence, and

²⁷ From the late 1990s to the early 2000s, research in Cambodia regarding HIV/AIDS also produced a number of reports that deal with male sexual practices with both wives and prostitutes, and which make reference to issues such as sexual violence and rape. In South Africa, where work on gender-based violence is theoretically much more advanced than it is in Cambodia, these reports would most likely have been viewed as significant for gender-based violence, but to date they have been largely ignored by those working in the field. In addition to the works by Chou Meng Tarr and Ian Ramaage mentioned elsewhere in this report, these works include: Z. Greenwood, *I'm Not Afraid of AIDS, I'm Afraid of No Sex—Work, Life and Sex Among Motor Taxi Drivers in Koh Kong, Cambodia: A Report Based on Discussions and PLA Exercises with Sixty Men in Kong Town, Smachy Meanchey District, Koh Kong Province, Cambodia* (Care International, Phnom Penh 2000a) and Z. Greenwood, *Sea and Shore—An Exploration of the Life, Health and Sexuality of Koh Kong's Fishermen: A Report Based on Discussions and PLA Exercises with 116 Fishermen of Smach Meanchey and Mondol Seima Districts of Koh Kong Province, Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: Care International, 2000b).

²⁸ This Cambodian aphorism is meant to indicate that people living in close proximity will invariably encounter friction, not that they will necessarily engage in acts of violence. It finds many similar variants in other parts of south-east Asia. In central Thailand, for example, a similar aphorism refers to an inevitable clash between the tongue and the teeth. An aphorism from northern Thailand (until recently a separate country with vastly different culture and language) refers to the inability of wives to live with their mothers-in-law due to the incompatibility of their ancestral spirits. See G. Fordham, "Ancestors and Christians in Rural Northern Thailand", *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. 81/1 (1993) pp. 117-128, for a discussion of the transformation of this pattern among converts to Christianity.

²⁹ C. Zimmerman, *Plates in a Basket Will Rattle: Domestic Violence in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: PADV, 1994).

that much of the violence directed against women was extreme, ranging from “severe and unrelenting beatings, including punching; kicking; hair-pulling; whipping with ropes, bamboo canes, metal rods and cords; immolation; rape; stabbing and gunshots”.³⁰ It noted too that violence was often understated by the victims, who were ashamed of their abusive relationships, and that many victims considered that they had no way out of their situation (they stayed for their children or they had nowhere to go); they were receiving little assistance from either the private or civil (NGO) or state sectors because there was little acknowledgment of domestic violence as a social problem. Critically, the report pointed out: “There is virtually no legal intervention in cases of domestic violence. The law is rarely followed and often considered only as an afterthought.”³¹

Two years later, that groundbreaking report was followed by a second study designed to portray domestic violence in Cambodia statistically.³² It collected survey data from six provinces and Phnom Penh, the survey area covering 59.1 percent of the population of Cambodia. There were interviews conducted with 1,391 women and 1,317 men. The survey used two questionnaires for each household. One established basic demographic information on household residents, while the other was an individual questionnaire for married persons. It collected information on their attitudes and practices in regard to violent behaviour, the presence or absence of violence within their marital relationship and their attitudes about hitting children. Critically, the authors of the study specified that domestic violence was not just physical violence, but also included “forms of psychological, social, economic and sexual abuse, as well as confinement, intimidation and threats”.³³ The major findings of the survey were that Cambodians had a high level of awareness of domestic violence—73.9 percent of households knowing at least one family with domestic violence—and that 16 percent of Cambodian women and 3.1 percent of men reported having been abused. Moreover, 10.3 percent of men acknowledged using physical violence against their spouses, and 7.1 percent of women admitted using abusive behaviours against spouses; 80 percent of these women had themselves been abused. Half of the women abused by their spouses had received injuries ranging from black eyes and broken teeth to head injuries, and many had been knocked unconscious.³⁴

The general response to this report from people working in the non-government sector in Cambodia was that its finding that 16 percent of women had suffered domestic violence was very likely an underestimate

³⁰. *Ibid.*, p. v.

³¹. *Ibid.*, p. viii.

³². E. Nelson and C. Zimmerman, *Household Survey on Domestic Violence in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: PADV and Ministry of Women's Affairs, 1996).

³³. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁴. The study's authors note that wounds to the head and face were almost 50 percent of reported injuries. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

of the extent of domestic violence. The survey methodology was thought unlikely to have revealed the real extent of domestic violence because, in Cambodia as in many other societies,³⁵ domestic violence is considered shameful, something of concern only to household members and not to be revealed to outsiders. The report significantly promoted the development of domestic violence legislation—both because of its statistics about domestic violence in Cambodia and because people thought that these statistics were probably the “tip of the iceberg”, suspecting that a large amount of domestic violence was hidden behind a wall of silence.

The *Cambodia: Demographic and Health Survey 2000* was the next landmark in the development of an understanding of the extent of domestic violence in the country. Whereas the 1996 PADV/MWA survey found 16 percent of women had been subject to domestic violence, this survey found that one in every four married women (25 percent) aged 15–49 had experienced physical abuse in the household.³⁶ However, as a statistically based study, it added little to existing qualitative knowledge about domestic violence (or, as it was coming to be known by this time, gender-based violence).

From the late 1990s to the present, most assessments of social development that address domestic or gender-based violence in Cambodia refer back to these mid-1990s studies, along with statistics about GBV from the 2000 *Demographic and Health Survey*.³⁷ Thus both the 1999 Gorman *et al.* report on gender and development in Cambodia and the 2004 UNIFEM *et al.* Cambodian gender assessment take their statistical information and much of their understanding of gender-based violence directly from these works.³⁸ More recent or more accurate statistics are particularly hard to find; although the many NGOs dealing with the victims of gender-based violence do collect statistics, as do health care providers, these are often inaccurate. As a recent GTZ report points out, victims are likely to be counted a second or even more times as they pass through the hands of the various groups that render assistance.³⁹ For example, official

³⁵. Koepping makes a highly cogent analysis of this form of everyday yet secret knowledge in Malaysia. See E. Koepping, “A Game of Three Monkeys: Kadazan Dusun Villagers and Violence Against Women, *Sojourn: Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 18/2 (2003) pp. 279–298.

³⁶. National Institute of Statistics, *Cambodia: Demographic and Health Survey 2000* (Phnom Penh: National Institute of Statistics, 2000).

³⁷. *Ibid.*

³⁸. S. Gorman *et al.*, *Gender and Development in Cambodia: An Overview* (Phnom Penh: Cambodia Development Resource Institute, 1999), and UNIFEM *et al.*, *A Fair Share for Women: Cambodia Gender Assessment* (Phnom Penh: UNIFEM, 2004).

³⁹. For example, women seeking help may initially be counted at a shelter, and by the medical or legal services to whom they are subsequently referred. See D.M. Fisher and P. Egan, *A Proposal for the Ministry of Women's and Veterans' Affairs: Strategies for Monitoring Domestic Violence* (Phnom Penh: German Technical Cooperation, 2003). Critically, this report also points out that multiple reporting is to some extent encouraged by NGOs' need to maintain an ever-increasing case load in order to attract and maintain donors.

statistics on gender-based violence at village and commune level in Kandal Stung district are collected by the Ministry of Women's Affairs (from newspaper reports and on-the-ground reports by commune focal point persons); they are also part of the crime statistics collected by the district community safety committees (DCSC) instituted under the Cambodian Criminal Justice Assistance Project (CCJAP).⁴⁰ However, data based on newspaper reports are very incomplete because such reports usually cover only specific incidents of gender-based violence, but not the ensuing resolution. There is also a problem that the data collected in the community from MWA focal points and from district community safety committees are inconsistent due to differing definitions and interests, and the use of different reporting forms. As a result, as a recent report points out, it is difficult to tell from the DCSC's monthly report whether or not a given statistic is a domestic violence case.⁴¹ An additional problem in the monitoring of violence is that much low-level violence and verbal and emotional abuse is not recognised as violence and does not come to the attention even of village chiefs, let alone the commune councils and the DCSC.

New Perspectives in Cambodian Gender-based Violence Research

The above details the development of understanding about domestic violence and domestic violence research, or as most now term it, gender-based violence (with the understanding that gender-based violence also includes other forms of violence) in Cambodia over the past 15 years.⁴²

However, two new strands of work in gender-based violence research have arisen. The first follows in the line of earlier domestic violence research by including a very comprehensive statistical study of violence against women. However, it breaks new ground by also surveying respondents' attitudes towards different

⁴⁰. Cambodian Criminal Justice Assistance Project, *Kandal Province Community Safety Trust Fund Operations Manual* (Phnom Penh: Cambodian Criminal Justice Assistance Project, 2004); Ministry of Women's Affairs and German Technical Cooperation, *Monitoring Domestic Violence Cases* (Phnom Penh: Ministry of Women's Affairs and German Technical Cooperation, 2005). See also Ministry of Women's Affairs and German Technical Cooperation, *Approach and Capacity of the Provincial/Municipal (sic) of Women's Affairs* (Phnom Penh: Ministry of Women's Affairs and German Technical Cooperation, 2001).

⁴¹. Ministry of Women's Affairs and German Technical Cooperation (2005), *op. cit.* This fact should be taken into account when WVC is examining the impact of the ongoing RGBV project in the project area.

⁴². It should be noted that the concept of gender-based violence is fairly new, and as a result recent literature shows a significant degree of unease with its use, and continues to use several different terms. Thus the recent UNIFEM report *A Fair Share For Women* uses the term "violence against women" to address issues that are perhaps better understood as gender-based violence. Other works use the term "domestic violence" in the broad sense synonymous with gender-based violence as it is understood in this report, while some use it in an older and narrower sense to refer only to marital violence. Conscious of the neglect of the male part of the violence equation for the last 10 years, Giles in her 2004 PADV report also exhibits a degree of unease with the concept of GBV and uses several terms including "violence against women" (VAW), at one point suggesting the unlovely acronym MPVAW (male-perpetrated violence against women) as one way to bring men closer to centre stage, and in recognition of the fact that most perpetrators are men. See E. Giles, *Men Against Violence Toward Women: Evaluation of Phase One and Presentation of Emerging Issues and Themes*. (Phnom Penh: PADV, 2004). p. 103.

forms of violence, from verbal to the most severe. This work was conducted by GTZ, EWMI and UNIFEM between December 2004 and February 2005.⁴³ This study, designed to be loosely comparable to the original PADV violence survey, used face-to-face interviews based on a structured questionnaire to survey a representative sample of males and females (n=3,000) and local authorities (n=300) from 13 provinces, including Kandal. The study surveyed an almost equal number of males and females, whose ages ranged from 15 years to over 40. It aimed to collect a broad spectrum of baseline data on a wide range of issues, including direct and indirect awareness and experience of violence against women (including rape in marriage), attitudes towards violence, responses to violence, the social costs of violence and the acceptability of violence. In its coverage of three-fourths of the Cambodian population, its methodology and the comprehensiveness of the issues covered, this work is currently the most rigorous and authoritative dealing with violence against women in Cambodia.

The research found that while approximately 80 percent of the sample claimed to know a husband who had been violent to his wife, only 25 percent of the sample, the same figure as in the earlier *Cambodia: Demographic and Health Survey 2000* study, admitted that they themselves had received violence from their husband. The study found little difference in the statistics with respect to geographic area. Like previous research, it found that violence is universally considered a family affair. It concluded that physical abuse tended to be justified when women were perceived to be questioning male authority, while other forms of abuse such as emotional abuse and controlling behaviour tended to be attributed to women not performing their "gender role" appropriately and neglecting children and domestic duties.⁴⁴

Two outcomes of the survey give great cause for concern. First, it found widespread support for the use of violence by husbands against wives: even in cases of the most extreme violence, such as burning, choking and acid throwing, practices which 95 percent of the sample thought illegal, *one-third of the sample considered them acceptable*. Second, respondents not only considered that most causes (going out without telling spouse, food being late or not well prepared, children being neglected) justified yelling, cursing and insulting; they also considered causes such as arguing/not showing respect and questioning about spending money or girlfriends or sex workers as justifying severe abuse and murder.⁴⁵ The research also found that young people tended to see the more extreme forms of violence as acceptable. It argued that "traditional gender roles both support and are reinforced by violence and abuse", and that gender roles are static and

⁴³. German Technical Cooperation et al., *Violence Against Women: A Baseline Survey* (Phnom Penh: German Technical Cooperation, 2005).

⁴⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴⁵. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

unchanging among young people, who are “more likely [than older people] to experience/accept some forms of violence”.⁴⁶

A potentially more radical form of research and mode of GBV intervention has come from recent work by PADV in the “Men Against Violence Toward Women” project. This is a body of research about Cambodian masculinity and an associated intervention with men in a variety of rural and urban settings to attempt to change their violent behaviour.⁴⁷ The programme involved men working with men to reduce violence in 11 villages in Samraong Kraom commune, Dangkao district, Phnom Penh. It consists of separate monthly discussion groups for adults and youths with a violent history, monthly women’s discussion groups and village-based frameworks of support. The women’s discussion group is for the wives of the men participating in the adult discussion groups. The outcome of the intervention was a reduction in violent behaviour in most men (for example, a reduction in verbal violence towards other people from 87.5 percent to 50 percent); 50 percent claimed to have reduced their alcohol consumption, and gambling and wandering about with friends (*dar leng*) became less common.⁴⁸

One very important point to come out of this research was the comment by men in the focus groups that they had changed but their wives had not. They suggested that wives still tended to speak badly towards them, and since they had changed their behaviour, wives also should change theirs.

The World Vision Cambodia research and the associated RGBV project fall within this newer genre of research and intervention. Not only does it focus on the broad area of gender-based violence rather than the narrower concept of domestic violence, but it also utilises qualitative research about masculinity to understand male behaviour. Most importantly, this project is moving away from a concept of gender-based violence rooted solely in the individual pathology of “bad” individuals, towards a much more sophisticated understanding of violence as rooted in structural pathology. As Giles points out in her 2004 report on PADV’s men’s groups, “focusing on violence against women as a gender issue only is reductionist in its

⁴⁶. This finding is curious given the ample evidence in the works of Choung Meng Tarr and in her cooperative work with Peter Aggleton, which have demonstrated significant changes in sexual practices among young people. Perhaps it demonstrates one of the limitations of research that depends solely on surveys. It should be remembered, however, that cultures do not change evenly—some beliefs and practices change quite rapidly while others remain substantially the same.

⁴⁷. E. Giles (2004); J. Holdt, *Men Against Violence Towards Women: Pilot Project Phase Two July 2003–June 2004* (Phnom Penh PADV, 2004); Poch Bunnak, *Evaluation Report: Men Against Violence Towards Women Phase Three: July 2004–June 2005*. (Phnom Penh: PADV, 2005).

⁴⁸. The changes in adult male behaviour are impressive. However, they should be interpreted with care since they were obtained from only a 20 percent sample of men attending the groups, which numbered only 14 persons. Moreover, some changes were self-reported and were not quantified. The reduction in alcohol consumption was not only self-reported, but also did not specify the amount of the reduction.

approach and fails to recognise the impact of the broader cultural and social hegemonic order on this problem”.⁴⁹

⁴⁹. E. Giles (2004), *op. cit.*, p. 103.

Chapter Three

Violence Directed against Children in Kandal Stung

GBV research in Cambodia has grown dramatically over the past five years. At the beginning of the 2000s, there was little research on all forms of gender-based violence. However, as the previous chapter has noted, there is now a substantial body of research, albeit highly quantitative, dealing with GBV.

This chapter details the results of the WVC survey on violence conducted in Kandal Stung district, interpreting the results in the light of complementary data gained in focus groups and interviews. In its geographical scope and number of persons surveyed, it is much less ambitious than the surveys discussed in the previous chapter. However, this survey sought to work with a younger group of respondents than have been covered in previous large-scale violence surveys, and to elicit more fine detail in respect to gender issues. Also, as pointed out in the previous chapter, not only are there discrepancies between different sets of violence statistics depending on their source, but these statistics also catalogue only the most severe forms of violence. The violence of everyday life is often unrecognised or, if it is recognised, is accepted, and so rarely makes it into formal statistics about gender-based violence. By combining with interviews and focus groups, this survey aimed to provide not only data about the incidence of gender-based violence experienced by young people (youth between 12 and 18), but also to give a more detailed understanding of their perceptions of gender-based violence, and to ascertain their views on how individuals (and by implication, communities) should respond to it.

Based on an earlier survey conducted by Tearfund, as noted in Chapter One, this research sought data about violence in schools and in the home, and about sexual abuse.⁵⁰ The young people in the sample were aged between 12 and 18, their mean age being 15.6 (see Graph 1 below). Almost all the respondents were still at school, only four having left (ending their education at grades five, six, seven and eight). The grades of students are given in Graph 2.

⁵⁰ Some of this WVC survey data is directly comparable with the earlier Miles and Sun Varin/Tearfund survey. However, because this survey sought to disaggregate responses in respect to gender, some responses require further statistical manipulation in order to allow a direct comparison.

Violence in Schools

The survey began by asking about violence in schools. The response to the question, "Have you seen or heard of a boy being beaten by their teacher?" is given in Table 1.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Seen or heard of boy beaten by teacher (%)	Yes	91.1	77.6	83.5
	No	8.9	22.4	16.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 1: Have Seen Boy Beaten by Teacher, by Sex

A high percentage of both males (91.1 percent) and females (77 percent) had seen a boy beaten by their teacher. Interestingly, responses to the question whether they had seen a girl beaten by her teacher (Table 2) indicated that a lower level of violence is customarily directed at girls; a lower percentage of both boys (73.3 percent) and girls (62.1 percent) claimed to have seen girls subjected to physical violence by their teacher.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Seen or heard of girl beaten by teacher (%)	Yes	73.3	62.1	67.0
	No	26.7	37.9	33.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 2: Have Seen Girl Beaten by Teacher, by Sex

However, the situation was rendered somewhat more complex by respondents being asked, later in the survey, if they themselves had been beaten by their teacher. Their responses were as in Table 3.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Have you ever been beaten by your teacher? (%)	Yes	55.6	19.0	35.0
	No	44.4	81.0	65.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3: Have You Been Beaten by Teacher?, by Sex

Here, a substantially lower percentage of both males (55.6 percent) and females (19 percent) indicated that they themselves had been subject to physical violence. The most likely explanation is that school students are answering accurately in regard to their own experience, but that when queried about violence directed at other students, a general perception of a high level of classroom violence has led them to overestimate the amount. It may also be that students tend to remember specific incidents of violence directed at particular students. A comparison between these findings and the Tearfund findings is interesting in that the Tearfund survey found a lower percentage of boys (41 percent) and a higher percentage of girls (34 percent) who claimed to have been beaten by their teacher. The reason for the difference is not immediately apparent.

On the frequency of beatings in schools, 82 percent of respondents indicated that boys were beaten occasionally, while 62 percent indicated that girls were beaten occasionally. Only 4 percent of the sample indicated that boys were beaten often, while (a surprising) 8 percent indicated that girls were beaten often; 16 percent of the sample indicated that boys were never beaten, and 33 percent that girls were never beaten. Interestingly, when teachers in one secondary school were interviewed about a range of issues concerning gender-based violence, they claimed that because they now know about human rights, they no longer use physical force against their students.

When asked if a teacher beating a boy is always right, sometimes right, sometimes wrong or always wrong, there was no clear pattern in the responses according to the sex of the respondent. However, in terms of the acceptance of violence in schools, it is alarming that 15.6 percent of male and 6.9 percent of female respondents claimed that a teacher beating a boy was always right, and that only 37.8 percent of male and 34.5 percent of female respondents indicated that they considered beating a boy in school was always wrong (Table 4).

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Is teacher beating a boy right? (%)	Always right	15.6	6.9	10.7
	Sometimes right	20.0	22.4	21.4
	Sometimes wrong	26.7	36.2	32.0
	Always wrong	37.8	34.5	35.9
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4: Is a Teacher Beating a Boy Right?, by Sex

When a similar question was asked in respect to girls, the responses were as given in Table 5.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Is teacher beating a girl right? (%)	Always right	11.1	10.3	10.7
	Sometimes right	15.6	10.3	12.6
	Sometimes wrong	26.7	37.9	33.0
	Always wrong	46.7	41.4	43.7
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5: Is a Teacher Beating a Girl Right?, by Sex

The overall pattern is the same as that found for boys. A worrying 11.1 percent of males and 10.3 percent of females claimed that a teacher beating a girl was always right, and only 46.7 percent of males and 41.4 percent of females indicated that they considered that this was always wrong.

The respondents were also asked to indicate on what occasions they considered it legitimate for a teacher to beat a boy. The responses by boys indicated that 80.6 percent considered it legitimate to beat a disobedient boy, 50.5 percent considered it legitimate to beat a lazy boy, 30.1 percent considered it legitimate to beat a late boy, 62.1 percent considered it legitimate to beat a disruptive boy, and 21.4 percent considered it legitimate to beat a boy who is having learning difficulties ("is not clever", as the question put it).

When the same question was asked in respect to girls, the responses were as follows: 76.7 percent considered it legitimate to beat a disobedient girl, 46.6 percent to beat a lazy girl, 33.1 percent to beat a girl who is late, 61.2 percent a disruptive girl and 15.5 percent a girl with learning difficulties.

Two points stand out in these responses. First, there is a high rate of regarding violence against students as a legitimate tool in maintaining discipline, even as a punishment for lateness or for having difficulties in learning. Second, there is a high level of correspondence between what is viewed as acceptable punishment for boys and girls. However, such a high level of correspondence merely indicates that these young people know their culture. Or, to put it another way, after several years in school they know what the rules are and the normal punishments for various infringements.

Violence at Home

This section of the survey began with the question "Have you seen or heard of a boy being beaten by his parents?". The response was as given in Table 6 below:

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Have seen or heard of boy being beaten by parent (%)	Yes	93.3	91.4	92.2
	No	6.7	8.6	7.8
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 6: Have Seen Boy Beaten by Parent, by Sex

An extraordinary 93.3 percent of male and 91.4 percent of female respondents claimed to know of boys who had been beaten by their parents, suggesting an extremely high level of violence directed against boy children in the home. Table 7 gives the responses to the question "Have you seen or heard of a girl being beaten by her parents in your community?". The lower figure of 80 percent of male and 63.8 percent of female respondents claiming to know of girls who have been beaten by their parents indicates that a lower level of violence is directed at girl children in the home. However, the discrepancy between the responses of male and female respondents is extremely puzzling and not easily explained.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Have seen or heard of girl being beaten by parents (%)	Yes	80.0	63.8	70.9
	No	20.0	36.2	29.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 7: Have Seen Girl Beaten by Parent, by Sex

When respondents were asked if they themselves had been beaten by their father or by their mother (Tables 8 and 9), 66.7 percent of boys indicated that they had been beaten by their father, while only 38.2 percent of girls noted a beating by their father.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Have you ever been beaten by your father? (%)	Yes	66.7	38.2	51.0
	No	33.3	61.8	49.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 8: Have You Been Beaten by Your Father?

However, the situation in respect to beatings administered by mothers is slightly different.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Have you ever been beaten by your mother? (%)	Yes	75.6	59.6	66.7
	No	24.4	40.4	33.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 9: Have You Been Beaten by Your Mother?

Comparing Tables 8 and 9, it is interesting to note that in both cases a higher percentage of boys reported that they had been beaten than girls, a similar pattern to that found by the 2002 Tearfund survey. This is in accord with the logic of Cambodian culture, where violence is viewed as an appropriate disciplinary tool for children, and where a higher level of violence generally is meted out to boys than to girls. In this WVC survey, however, because parental violence was broken down by gender, it is possible to see which parent was most frequently violent towards their children. Here the responses of both girls and boys indicated that a higher percentage of children had been beaten by their mother than by their father, 75.6 percent of boys and 59.6 percent of girls indicating that they had been beaten by their mother, compared with 66.7 percent of boys and 38.2 percent of girls who had been beaten by their father.⁵¹ Moreover, while fathers were much less frequently violent toward their daughters than towards their sons, there was a much smaller difference in the frequency of violence toward sons and daughters from mothers. However, as the survey used the generic term “hit” when asking about parental violence, it is not possible to draw conclusions about the relative severity of the violence that mothers and fathers inflict on their children.

This finding is an important outcome. Over the past two to three years, research on gender-based violence in Cambodia has sometimes treated issues in overly simplistic terms. Thus, as was pointed out in Chapter Two, women have been cast in the role of victims with little or no agency, while men have almost always been demonised as violent aggressors. Yet, these data show that the reality is more nuanced. At least while children are in school, and likely afterwards, mothers are more frequently violent towards them than are fathers, and they use violence towards their daughters considerably more frequently than

⁵¹ The 2004 Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports *Youth Risk Behaviour Survey* found the reverse pattern, that a higher percentage of girls than boys were beaten by their parents. Miles and Sun Varin attribute this to the fact that this survey included both youth in and out of school, and argue, “Girls are expected to help around the home whereas boys are expected to work or be left to play out of the home so there may be less time and opportunity for the mother to be angry.”

do fathers. Smith-Hefner’s recent ethnography of Cambodian families points out not just the prevalence of parents using violence against children in order to discipline them, but also that both mothers and fathers use violence against children of both sexes.⁵²

On the frequency of parents beating their children, 85.4 percent of respondents indicated that sons were beaten occasionally, while 67 percent indicated that daughters were beaten occasionally. Only 6.8 percent indicated that boys were beaten often, and an even smaller 3.9 percent that girls were beaten often. One boy said that he was beaten daily, and 6.8 percent of both boys and girls indicated that they were never beaten.

Respondents’ responses about the legitimacy of boys being beaten by their parents are given in Table 10. As in the case of the legitimacy of teachers beating children, there is no clear pattern to the responses. However, as in the earlier question, the high percentage of children viewing violence inflicted upon them as legitimate is cause for concern, 13.3 percent of boys and 27.6 percent of girls answering that a parent beating a son is always right.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Is parent beating a son right? (%)	Always right	13.3	27.6	21.4
	Sometimes right	22.2	20.7	21.4
	Sometimes wrong	28.9	24.1	26.2
	Always wrong	35.6	27.6	31.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 10: Is a Parent Beating a Son Right?, by Sex

⁵² N.J. Smith-Hefner, *Khmer American: Identity and Moral Education in a Diasporic Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1999). Smith-Hefner (p. 145), quotes a 47-year-old Cambodian woman living in the United States who bemoans her inability to discipline her children (due to US law): “I have to hit my children so they will listen to me ... Now if I hit my son who is thirteen, he will hit me back. And my daughter (who is fifteen), if I hit her, she gets a knife ... If they did that in Cambodia I would tie them up and hit them. I would hit them until they had a scar on their body. But in the United States, it is very hard to do that.” Thus, maternal violence (like the violence of fathers) is considered to be a normal and highly effective means of disciplining children.

To the same question asked about girls, the responses were as given in Table 11.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Is parent beating a daughter right? (%)	Always right	11.4	15.5	13.7
	Sometimes right	11.4	22.4	17.6
	Sometimes wrong	34.1	25.9	29.4
	Always wrong	43.2	36.2	39.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 11: Is a Parent Beating a Daughter Right?, by Sex

As in the previous case, Table 11 indicates that a high proportion, 11.4 percent of boys and 15.5 percent of girls, viewed violence inflicted upon girls by parents as legitimate. There are two other significant points in the two tables. One, a comparatively high percentage of boys (43.2 percent) responded that parents beating a girl was always wrong—likely reflecting the cultural value that a lower level of violence should be directed girls than at boys. Second, more than twice as many girls (27.6 percent) as boys (13.3 percent) say that a parent beating a son is always right. This likely relates to girls' awareness of the role of mothers in disciplining children. Additionally, it may reflect the frustrations of adolescent girls with the antics of teenage brothers.

Asked if someone should stop the beating when a boy was being beaten by his parents, a total of 95.1 percent answered yes (with almost no difference between male and female respondents). When the same question was asked in regard to daughters, a similar 91.6 percent answered that someone should do so. Asked who that person should be, and given a choice of several options as well as the opportunity to add other persons (an opportunity which no respondent took advantage of), respondents answered as follows (Table 12): 48.9 percent of boys and 46.6 percent of girls chose relatives as their first choice for intervention, 17.8 percent of boys and 32.8 percent of girls chose neighbours, 15.6 percent of boys and 15.5 percent of girls chose village chiefs, and 17.8 percent of males and 5.2 percent of girls chose police. Religious leaders were not viewed as important in the resolution of this form of violence. When the responses of boys and girls are aggregated, it can be seen that there was a clear preference for interventions by relatives followed by neighbours, with village chiefs and the police being choices of last resort.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Who should stop beating—first choice? (%)	Relative	48.9	46.6	47.6
	Neighbour	17.8	32.8	26.2
	Police	17.8	5.2	10.7
	Village chief	15.6	15.5	15.5
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 12: Who Should Stop the Beating of a Boy—First Choice for Intervention?

When this question was asked in regard to the beating of female children, the answers were almost exactly the same—with the exception that this time police were chosen by a slightly higher percentage of respondents (17.5 percent) than village chiefs (14.6 percent). The reversal here is likely a product of sample size. Overall, these responses suggest that children have a highly realistic appreciation of who is most likely to make an immediate intervention. Some have suggested that it is unrealistic to target relatives to intervene in situations of violence because they are likely to support the perpetrator, yet the survey data lend little support for this view, since relatives were chosen as a first point of intervention by a high proportion of respondents.

To the question of who can help boys and girls after they have been beaten, the pattern was similar to that above, respondents choosing relatives, neighbours, village chiefs and the police in that order.

However, the pattern was somewhat different when respondents were asked to indicate who they thought should help their parents understand that beating their child was wrong. As is clear from the data in Table 13, an almost equal proportion of respondents chose relatives, neighbours and police as their first choice to help parents understand that beating a child is wrong. Village chiefs were the first choice of a smaller percentage of respondents.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Who should help parents know about wrong actions—first choice? (%)	Relative	42.2 percent	39.7 percent	40.8 percent
	Neighbour	41.5 percent	39.3 percent	40.2 percent
	Police	37.8 percent	40.4 percent	39.3 percent
	Village Chief	25.0 percent	34.7 percent	30.6 percent
	Religious leader		1.7 percent	1.0 percent

Table 13: Who Can Help Parents Know Their Actions are Wrong—First Choice?

Responses to this question were interesting in that a number of respondents made no more than the first two or three choices—perhaps suggesting that beyond calling on relatives and neighbours, and then possibly the village chief, children were unsure who might best fulfil this role. It may also indicate some ambivalence about relying on authority figures outside of the family or those living in the immediate locality.

However, it is highly encouraging for agencies working in RGBV that children indicate that it is legitimate to call on neighbours in addition to relatives or authority figures to assist in issues of violence. Outside of immediate family members, neighbours are best placed to deliver immediate intervention in cases of GBV—and it is suggested that villagers in the role of “neighbours”, in addition to village chiefs, be given support to boost their willingness to intervene in situations of violence against children and to advocate against it. Possibly an intervention along the lines of “the good neighbour” might be developed, and this might be developed in concert with “the good man” intervention discussed in Chapter Four.

The survey asked an open-ended question about how these persons could help parents understand that it is wrong to beat children. The answers reinforce the interpretation above, that beyond calling on relatives and neighbours and, then, possibly on chiefs, children are unsure as to who should intervene. Respondents repeatedly noted that relatives and neighbours should “explain” and “tell” parents that their violence was wrong; some mentioned that parents should be told why violence is wrong. However, beyond a handful of responses mentioning the effect of violence on a family’s reputation, children’s rights and the illegality of violence, no response explained clearly what parents should be told about why violence is wrong.

It is worthwhile considering the extent to which this reflects a confusion that has arisen at this stage of Cambodian anti-violence programming due to conflicting messages (or, at least, messages that are not mutually supportive) by the many agencies that have begun anti-violence campaigns in recent years. Close to Phnom Penh, Kandal Stung has been the focus of a wide range of anti-domestic violence programmes conducted by PADV and the MWA, as well as by other agencies including WVC. As a result, main roads and eating houses in each small town are plastered with anti-violence signs. The electronic media are clearly received in Kandal Stung, so anti-violence campaigns conducted by this means also have a high penetration. It is suggested that alongside continuing support for campaigns dealing with the rights of women and children and emphasising the illegality of violence, the messages for WVC RGBV campaigns in Kandal Stung should clearly specify culturally based reasons why violence is wrong, such as: it ruins

relationships in the family, destroys health, destroys the family’s reputation and that of the perpetrator and hurts the family’s economy. It is emphasised that such messages will not dilute messages about rights or law, but on the contrary will likely encourage a higher level of acceptance of them.

Rape and Sexual Abuse

Questions about rape were, as is noted in the introduction, approached with some fears about their possibly abusive nature. The consultant also had some fears about how freely young people, young women in particular, would talk about this issue. However, the HIV/AIDS pandemic of the past generation has provided some direction on these issues. Universally it has been found that when issues concerning sexuality are approached directly and informants are treated with respect, they are almost always willing to provide the required information, particularly when they are aware that the issue is one of concern to them.⁵³ In contemporary Cambodia there is a very high awareness of rape. The prevalence of rape is such that articles about it, complete with photographs of the rape victim and her attacker(s), feature almost daily in most popular newspapers. During interviews it was found that young women and their families are acutely conscious of the possibility of rape: all girls interviewed noted the increasing care that has to be taken with personal (sexual) safety as they mature. As a result, as the research proceeded, it became clear that, taking all due care, there was no problem discussing these issues.

The first question was “Have you heard of girls being raped in your community?” The responses are given in Table 14 below.

	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Have you heard of girls being raped in your community? (%)	Yes 44.4	31.0	36.9
	No 55.6	69.0	63.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 14: Have You Heard of Girls Being Raped in Your Community?

As this shows, 44.4 percent of boys and 31 percent of girls indicated that they had heard of girls being raped. By comparison, the Tearfund 2004 survey asked respondents if they knew any children who had been raped by adults and found that 63.8 percent responded in the affirmative. Some personnel from other agencies working on GBV commented that this figure seemed extraordinarily high and possibly

⁵³. See G. Fordham (2005), *op. cit.*; M. J. VanLandingham, J. Knodel, Chanpen Saengtienchai and Anthony Pramularatana, “Aren’t Sexual Issues Supposed to be Sensitive?”, *Health Transition Review*, 4:1. (1994).

reflected the fact that the Tearfund sample included urban areas where children would be more exposed to media and a large number of contacts in large urban schools, and thus the results were artificially inflated. Interestingly, in the WVC survey, a higher percentage of boys than girls claimed to have heard about rapes in their communities. Possibly this reflects adolescent male discourse about sex and the role that rape and the physical strength implied by the ability to rape plays in the constitution of masculinity for young Cambodian men.

Table 15 assists with understanding how Cambodian young people view rape. Asked “How frequently does the rape of girls happen in your community?”, 57.8 percent of males, and 63.4 percent of females said that rape never occurred in their community. Only 2.2 percent of males and 5.4 percent of females nominated rape as a frequently occurring event (compared with 1.1 percent of boys and 3.4 percent of girls in the Tearfund survey). The remainder, 40 percent of males and 30.4 percent of females, responded that the rape of girls happened occasionally. In the Tearfund survey, 41.3 percent of boys and 43.6 percent of girls said that rape was an occasional occurrence. The WVC survey found that younger respondents (in the 12–14 age group) were more likely to say that rape never occurred in their communities, while older respondents (15–17) were more likely to say that rape happened occasionally—suggesting, perhaps, a greater awareness of the dangers of rape on the part of pubescent girls, a point emphasised by girls in focus groups.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
How frequently does the rape of girls occur in your community? (%)	Never	57.8 percent	64.3 percent	61.4 percent
	Occasionally	40.0 percent	30.4 percent	34.7 percent
	Often	2.2 percent	5.4 percent	4.0 percent
Total		100.0 percent	100.0 percent	100.0 percent

Table 15: How Frequently Does the Rape of Girls Occur in Your Community?

Asked an open-ended about the impact rape has on girls, respondents gave answers highly similar to those in the earlier Tearfund survey—that girls are ashamed, they become weak mentally and physically, and their bodies become tired and thin. As the writers of the Tearfund report commented, such symptoms are related to general depression.

When respondents were asked who can help a girl after she has been raped, the persons listed as the first choice are detailed in Table 16. As this shows, 46.7 percent of male respondents and 46.6 percent of female respondents, 46.6 percent overall, chose a relative as their first choice for assistance.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Who can help a girl following rape—first choice? (%)	Relative	46.7	46.6	46.6
	Neighbour	20.0	20.7	20.4
	Police	22.2	24.1	23.3
	Village chief	11.1	8.6	9.7
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 16: Who Can Help a Girl Who Has Been Raped—First Choice?

Following this, 23.2 percent chose police, 20.4 percent chose a neighbour, and 9.7 percent chose the village chief. The logic of this choice is most likely that a parent or relative provides immediate assistance, but because rape is known by most to be a criminal offence, the police are the second choice for assistance, above either neighbours or the village chief. This interpretation is given substantial support by the following open-ended question asking respondents how those persons can best help. About half the responses made some direct reference to the criminal justice system; often, even when relatives or others were chosen as the first point of assistance, the great majority of responses said that these people could help by: “reporting the rape to the police”, “by catching the offender to be tried in court”, “by catching the offender and sending him to the police”, “by filing a lawsuit against the offender” and similar variants. Another form of response was directed to comforting the victim: “they can help by encouraging the victim and giving advice”, “by encouraging her and telling her not to commit suicide”, “by telling her not to think [about it] too much”.

A final issue investigated was marriage following rape. Cambodian culture has traditionally placed a high value on female chastity prior to marriage. Although this value is changing, it is still important for many and is especially important in rural areas, where values tend to be more conservative.⁵⁴ Two associated beliefs are: first, that a girl who has been raped has not only been publicly shamed, but also been spoiled in a

⁵⁴ See Chou Meng Tarr, *Study of Contextual Factors Affecting Risk-Related Sexual Behaviour Among Young People in Cambodia* (Phnom Penh, 2001), and Chou Meng Tarr and P. Aggleton, “Young People and HIV in Cambodia—Meanings, Contexts and Sexual Cultures”, *AIDS Care*, 11/3 (1999) pp. 375–384.

fundamental manner and is no longer suitable for marriage—if she can marry, it will not be a “good” marriage but one to someone such as an older man or a widower, anyone who will have her; second, that the rapist should be forced to make a bride payment to her parents and marry the victim. This has led to a situation where men may resort to rape in order to marry a woman they desire, because parents may force a daughter to marry her rapist, regardless of her wishes. In some cases men, particularly those from wealthy families, are able to expiate rapes merely through payment of a sum of cash to the victim’s parents.⁵⁵

However, responses to the question “Can a girl who has been raped get married?” were particularly encouraging. Overall (Table 17), 74.3 percent of respondents answered by saying that rape victims can get married and, as revealed in the accompanying open-ended question asking respondents to explain their response, the marriage they referred to was not the “marriage of last resort” of the past, but a normal marriage due to the girl’s own innate good qualities. This response suggests not only changing social values, but also that rights education is having an impact. Interestingly, a higher percentage of girls (23.2 percent) than boys (17.8 percent) responded that a girl who has been raped cannot get married.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Can a girl who has been raped get married? (%)	Yes	73.3	75.0	74.3
	No	17.8	23.2	20.8
	Maybe	8.9	1.8	5.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 17: Can a Girl Who Has Been Raped Get Married?

Responses to the open-ended question were particularly interesting. Those respondents saying that rape victims could not marry, both male and female, tended to give highly stereotypical and unreflective responses referring to rape’s effect on the girl’s reputation, such as: “No, because she lost her virginity”, “No, she cannot get married because her reputation is ruined”, “No, because men never want to marry a girl who was raped”, “Her reputation is ruined”, “No, because her reputation is ruined and she feels ashamed of herself”, and “No, because everyone knows she was raped”. By contrast, the responses of

⁵⁵ It is well known at the village level, that the speed of response of police to a rape case is in direct proportion to the potential the case offers for them to take the role of an intermediary, negotiating an expiation payment between the rapist and the victim’s parents (with a sum paid to the police for their efforts in the settlement). A rape occurred in the Kandal Stung district during the research period, and the response of the police was particularly tardy, verging on disinterest. The consultant commented on this and was particularly struck by the prosaic response of all concerned: “What do you expect? She’s poor and has no parents; there’s nothing in it [financially] for the police if they become involved.”

both males and females who answered that a girl could marry following rape tended to be less stereotypical and more reflective, and to refer to issues such as rights and the girl’s personal qualities. They included: “Yes, she has rights”, “Yes, she is the victim, so we should not look down on her”, “Yes, because she is still a woman and maybe she is a good woman in the community”, “Yes, she has the right to marry”, “Yes, because she has a good attitude”, “She has the same right as others to marry”.

If this issue is addressed in WVC programming, it is suggested that activities in this area should be directed to both boys and girls, since the results clearly demonstrate that it is not solely a matter of men discriminating against women who have been raped, but rather that women and girls, through a slavish adherence to an outmoded cultural value, are participating in their own subordination.

A final issue addressed was the rape of boys. During surveying, most respondents exhibited some surprise at this question, and only two boys (4.4 percent) and three girls (5.2 percent) answered that they had heard of boys being raped in their community (Table 18).

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Have you heard of boys being raped in your community? (%)	Yes	4.4	5.2	4.9
	No	95.6	94.8	95.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 18: Have You Heard of Boys Being Raped in Your Community?

Asked how frequently the rape of boys occurs in their community, an overall 95.1 percent (males 95.6 percent, females 94.7 percent) said never. The same 4.9 percent of respondents who indicated that they had heard of the rape of a boy indicated that it occurs occasionally.⁵⁶ An open-ended question asking what happens to a boy who has been raped indicated that this was beyond realm of imagination for many respondents. “I don’t know” was a very common response. One male stated categorically, if inaccurately, “Man cannot rape man”, another claimed, “It never happens” and another, “Boys are never raped”. Other responses were very similar to those given to the question asking what happened to a girl who was raped, and focused on issues of repute. Examples of such responses are: “Loses his reputation and maybe carries disease”, “He feels ashamed with friends and maybe it affects his family’s reputation”, “His reputation is ruined”. A few responses made a clear delineation between the reputations of boys and girls: “When a

⁵⁶ Given the extremely small number of positive responses to this question, responses to other questions concerning the rape of boys are not discussed in this report.

boy loses his virginity, it isn't as serious as when a girl loses hers", "It is not so bad for the boy who is raped", "Nothing serious happens to the boy victim". These responses suggest that there is clear room in programme development for working to eradicate this double standard through a rights-based approach for all victims of rape.

The rape section of the survey concluded by asking respondents, "Have you ever been raped?". No respondent indicated that they had been raped—and given the stigma attached, it is extremely unlikely that children would admit to having been raped in a survey context. However, it is interesting to note that the Tearfund survey, a much larger survey (n=1,314), found that 1.8 percent of boys and 0.6 percent of girls claimed that they had been raped by an adult.

Concluding Comments

It is clear from the above data that there is a significant amount of violence inflicted upon children in the research district. However, when violence was raised during interviews with village and commune chiefs, the answer was always that there was no violence in that village or that commune. In each case when this assertion was pursued further, respondents admitted that there were occasional episodes of violence but that they were usually confined to the same four or five problem families. The problem, then, is not solely stopping violence, but that the use of violence to discipline and even to teach children is considered so normal that it is not recognised as violence. As a result, it is not redressed and appears nowhere in the crime statistics. Not only this, but a high proportion of respondents approve of the use of this violence, as the GTZ research discussed in the previous chapter demonstrates.

An allied issue is the high rate of assent by children to the violence inflicted upon them by both teachers and parents. During interviews children (like adults) said that they knew about rights, yet less than half of the sample thought that violence was always wrong. Making violence visible and building indignation is a matter that should be addressed in WVC programming at the village level.

An interesting point in respect to violence and rape is that, although many questions in the survey allowed respondents to add their own response in the "other" box, none did so. Given the 2002 formation of commune councils and the role which recent research has shown them to play in dispute resolution,⁵⁷ including the resolution of GBV issues, it is surprising that no respondents pointed out commune councils (and their members) as another potential assistance with GBV issues. It may be that the relative youth of

⁵⁷ Kim Ninh and R. Henke, *Commune Councils in Cambodia: A National Survey on their Functions and Performance, With a Special Focus on Conflict Resolution* (Phnom Penh: Asia Foundation and Centre for Advanced Study, 2005).

respondents means their outlook is primarily directed to their own village, and the relatively new status of commune councils may mean that they just did not enter the children's consciousness at the time of the survey. Regardless, it is suggested that WVC RGBV activities in Kandal Stung work at developing village-commune links and at ensuring that youth (and adults) are well aware of the role that the commune council can play in violence resolution.

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Chapter Four

The 'Good Man'—Masculinity, Alcohol and Behaviour

In the 1990s, research about gender-based violence in Cambodia focused mainly on the violent acts of individual abusive men. However, as pointed out in Chapter Two, in the 2000s, research by PADV and some other groups developed a more sophisticated understanding of the issue by drawing a link between male violence and masculinity. Within the time and infrastructural limits of the project, this WVC research aimed at providing a yet more finely tuned understanding of the relationship between masculinity and male violence by uncovering some of the logic of the construction of masculinity among young Cambodians. It was hoped that a deeper understanding of what are considered paradigmatic masculine activities would pin down points of intervention, so that violent and socially disruptive male behaviours might be curbed through WVC's Kandal Stung RGBV project.

Modelling Masculinity and Violence

Approaches to masculinity are primarily based on one of two broad models. One model uses a concept of individual pathology, while the other, considerably more sophisticated, model emphasises economic and social conditions and cultural values. When examining masculinity in Cambodia, it is important to keep this distinction in mind, because research programmes that seek to explain gender-based violence are working with one of these two fundamental approaches, regardless of whether they specify the model. In practice, most works dealing with masculinity in Cambodia use the individual pathology models discussed below.

The first explanatory model for violence, which was most popular in the 1990s and early 2000s, held, to put it crudely, that particular men were made violent by their experience of the Khmer Rouge period.⁵⁸ The Nelson and Zimmerman study of 1996 included a caveat that this explanation should not be used to explain all violence.⁵⁹ However, since the time of the *Plates in a Basket* study (1994), domestic violence has often been, at least partially, attributed to the social conditions Cambodians experienced during 1975–

⁵⁸. A more sophisticated version of this model has appeared recently. This holds that parents brought up during the Khmer Rouge period did not learn to form close relationships or parenting skills, so they in turn brutalise their children today.

⁵⁹. Nelson and Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

1979, the upheavals and social dislocation as the country was reorganised during the 1980s and early 1990s and the culture of impunity that accompanied this.⁶⁰ It is certainly true that Cambodians have endured much brutalisation over the past 30 years and, particularly, during the Khmer Rouge period, when people became accustomed to violence, and physical force was often necessary to survive. In the west there is long tradition of psychological and other social science literature dealing with the problems of men following demobilisation. The traumas of US and Australian veterans from the war in Vietnam are a recent example of this genre of research—and these traumas were those of men reintegrating into relatively stable societies. The traumas in Cambodia might be expected to be much more severe and to have had a correspondingly more severe impact on society. However, the attribution of all gender-based violence in Cambodia to the tribulations of the Khmer Rouge period is highly problematic; it deflects attention from other issues that may also be important in explaining and curbing gender-based violence. For example, until recently that approach has obscured a growing amount of qualitative and quantitative evidence that, in many respects, in Cambodian culture it has been acceptable for both men and women to use violence in a wide range of social contexts to achieve their ends, both during and after the Khmer Rouge period.⁶¹ Most likely, Cambodia's developmental path since decolonisation has prevented its culture from evolving into gentler and more egalitarian gender values. Regardless of the reasons, Cambodian culture is now significantly out of step with many contemporary values based on human rights, including social and gender values rooted in a concept of equal rights for men and women.⁶²

A second individual pathology model that is still current as an explanation for male violence is the "warrior" model of Cambodian masculinity. This is considerably more sophisticated than the Khmer Rouge model. However, it is still overly simplistic and virtually ignores political and economic factors and the impact of global processes. The warrior model of Cambodian behaviour was possibly first popularised in a small book published in 1991 and widely available in Cambodia. This small (self-published) volume, *The Warrior Heritage: A Psychological Perspective of Cambodian Trauma*, claims to make a psychological analysis of Cambodian behaviour.⁶³ Its popularity is indicated by the fact that, during the conduct of this research, several people working in GBV suggested that the consultant might find it useful. However, its popularity

⁶⁰. Similar explanations have been utilised by those analysing the physical and mental health problems that Cambodian refugees have suffered in countries such as Australia and the United States. See C.A. Stevens, "Perspectives on the Meanings of Symptoms Among Cambodian Refugees", *Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 37/1 (2001) pp. 81–98.

⁶¹. Any of the standard histories of Cambodia reveal a colonial and post-colonial past in which the use of political and interpersonal violence to achieve one's ends has been normal.

⁶². It is interesting that while many have been unwilling to recognise the normative nature of violence and force in Cambodian society, some authors have taken the opposite perspective. Thus Prasso paints a particularly unappetising and violent portrait of Cambodia and Cambodian culture. See, S. Prasso, "Cambodia: A Heritage of Violence", *World Policy Journal*, Vol. 11/3 (1994) pp. 71–77.

⁶³. Seanglim Bit, *The Warrior Heritage: A Psychological Perspective of Cambodian Trauma* (El Cerrito: Seanglim Bit, 1991).

may be due less to the quality of its analysis than to the paucity of alternative anthropological and sociological analyses of Cambodian culture over the past 40 years. Briefly, the warrior model of male behaviour views men as acting in a manner analogous to Cambodian warriors of the past. As the author puts it, "History has presented Cambodians with a self-image of the warrior and expectations of warrior behaviour".⁶⁴ Thus, in respect to gender-based violence, analysts view men hitting wives as attempting to exert their culturally legitimate (warrior) power.

However, perhaps reality is more complex and more nuanced, and perhaps the warrior model is no more accurate or determinative of male actions than is the contrasting model noted in the introduction to Seanglim Bit's volume: "There was a time not so long ago when Cambodia was referred to as the 'Gentle Land of Smiling People'". Both models depend on highly simplistic orientalist stereotypes.⁶⁵ An alternative approach might be that taken by Ovensen *et al.*, a highly experienced team of researchers, including two anthropologists with experience in the region. They point out that in Cambodian society there are no cultural traditions for reconciling contrary opinions or accepted rules for resolving conflicts and that, in situations of potential conflict, loss of face must be avoided at all costs. They argue, highly persuasively, that men are acting out of frustration when they resort to violence, rather than emulating the warrior model:

their "cultural heritage" offers no other way out of a humiliating, conceptually or socio-economically difficult situation. In most situations an act of violence is preferable to the loss of face.⁶⁶

Similarly, Luco notes what he calls the "mental-block response in the face of conflict".⁶⁷ Additionally, as discussed at length below, alcohol use, which causes people to be more easily irritated and more likely to interpret others' actions as aggressive, makes actions and outcomes even more potentially explosive, as do

⁶⁴. *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁶⁵. E. Said, *Orientalism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985). Orientalism refers to western discourses and simplistic stereotypical (and homogenising) portraits of the countries and peoples of the "orient" constituted as an exotic "other". These often taken-for-granted portraits distort not just how we view these societies but also how we relate to them. Common orientalist images often refer to the rapacious sexuality of the oriental "other", of weak pliant women vs strong and often violent men or, alternatively, they are portrayed as rather childlike—as a happy smiling people who, like children, have few thoughts or cares about their lives or their futures. Under the British in Burma, in Thailand during its 19th century economic colonisation by western powers and in Cambodia under the French protectorate, the image of a happy smiling people was that most commonly chosen to portray the indigenous peoples. This image often remains in contemporary literature about these countries, distorting our perspective.

⁶⁶. J. Ovensen, *When Every Household is an Island: Social Organization and Power Structure in Rural Cambodia* (Upsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology No. 15, Upsala: Department of Cultural Anthropology, Upsala University, 1996) p. 42. The possibility of an alternative modelling of the context of gender-based violence is important because it allows for the possibility of developing a more efficacious intervention.

⁶⁷. F. Luco, *Between a Tiger and a Crocodile: Management of Local Conflicts in Cambodia: An Anthropological Approach to Traditional and New Practices* (Phnom Penh: UNESCO, 2002) p. 99.

the stress and desperation caused by poverty.⁶⁸ This point is significant and warrants detailed consideration by those working on gender-based violence.

Working with the warrior model of Cambodian masculinity, the recent GTZ *Violence Against Women: A Baseline Survey* report concluded by suggesting that a key strategy for changing static gender roles among young people (if indeed these are static) is "Challenging men's right to dominance and control".⁶⁹ However, this analysis takes as its foundation the warrior individual pathology model of Cambodian masculine identities. On the basis of the Kandal Stung research data, this report argues for a different model of masculinity and a very different approach in programming. Indeed, other researchers have made a similar point. Gorman, for example, makes a very subtle and profound point in the conclusion of her analysis of gender issues in Cambodia when she says, "Cambodian women are far from passive victims of male oppression, but rather active agents operating within a constrained environment".⁷⁰

The Kandal Stung Research and New Approaches to Masculinity and Violence

Having discussed the most popular, if highly stereotypical, models for analysing masculinity in Cambodia, this report now moves on to suggest a more highly textured and nuanced approach. The data discussed below derive from the "cycle of life" discussions and from focus groups. Issues identified as important to the children were followed up in in-depth interviews with children who seemed particularly insightful and vocal about these issues. They are discussed below in connection with the various themes that arose during both the cycle of life discussions and the subsequent interviews. It is not likely that WVC will be able to address all areas of masculinity in its programming, so it is the most salient themes that are addressed here.

Coping

One theme that emerged through the interviews was coping. As part of maturation, boys learn that they should grow into men who can cope with making a living that will allow them to support their family, and men believe that their ability to do this is a source of personal pride and feelings of self-worth. Unfortunately, there seemed to be a significant disjunction between children's statements and the social reality: boys state that when they reach their late teens and early 20s they will marry and have a family and

⁶⁸. N. Hicks, *Cambodian Women Report 2004: The Situation of Cambodian Women*. (Phnom Penh: LICADHO, 2004) p.12, and C. Zimmerman, *Qualitative Survey Summary of Plates in A Basket Will Rattle* (Phnom Penh: PADV/MWA). In respect to the relationship between alcohol use and violence, see Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, *Cambodian National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey* (Phnom Penh: Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2004) p. 13.

⁶⁹. German Technical Cooperation *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

⁷⁰. Gorman *et al.*, *op. cit.*

will work to support that family (and girls similarly confirm that “a woman wants a man who will support her”), but a high proportion of young unmarried and married women of the district work in garment factories in Phnom Penh, and there is a high rate of male unemployment. Thus, in fact it is female income that supports many families.⁷¹ When this issue was raised during interviews, all respondents (both boys and girls, and adults) claimed that there is no conflict between the belief that men should be able to support their wives and the reality in this district that, in many cases, it is women who are supporting families. Yet it was not so much that there was no conflict between belief and practice, but rather that in the current economic context, men have no choice but to accept that their wives are the family breadwinner. This is shown in one middle-aged male respondent’s statement of resignation: “They [men] have to eat, and if they don’t accept it, they cannot eat.” Giles in her 2004 report on PADV’s project among violent offenders also identifies this issue. She notes: “In the changing social and economic climate in Cambodia the traditional mores that ascribe men the role of provider are becoming more of a matter of tradition and less grounded in reality as a greater number of women assume or share the role of financial provider within many families”. Critically, she points out that “a number of the men in our Project [sic] who were not, in reality, the main source of income and support for their families continued to rationalise their behaviour in the light of their position as head of the family by virtue of being the income earner”.⁷²

Other work too has identified the coping theme and the contemporary failure of many men to cope in the traditional way. Thus, under the heading of “Weak Man Strong Man”, Giles in an older PADV work on masculinity points out that strong men must be able to “solve the problem”, not walk away.⁷³ Yet the problems afflicting villagers throughout Cambodia are in many respects problems that relate to global issues that no one person can control.

It is suggested that, due to globalisation and rapid social change, Cambodian men’s position within their families has undergone dramatic change, and a significant reversal of the traditional situation in which men could support their family—could cope—is exerting emotional pressure on them. Very likely the pressures on men are impelling them to even greater (yet ultimately futile) efforts to show that they can cope through controlling behaviours within the family—as one respondent put it, “Men want to

⁷¹. This issue may be accentuated in the Kandal Stung area due to its proximity to Phnom Penh. Whereas several village and commune chiefs estimated that 80 percent of young women are employed in factory work, both prior to and subsequent to marriage, in other regions of Cambodia factory work is less readily obtained. Nevertheless, this issue is no less real and no less significant.

⁷². Giles (2004), *op. cit.*

⁷³. E. Giles, *Masculinity: Results of Focus Group Discussion* (Phnom Penh: PADV, 2002).

demonstrate their power, to show who is boss in the family”—and even through increased alcohol consumption.⁷⁴ WVC programmes at the village level might well take up this issue in discussion groups so that this privately shaming issue might be dealt with publicly and villagers might gain a greater understanding of the pressures affecting their lives—and be empowered to this extent at least. The Oxfam Womyn’s Agenda for Change has run highly successful programmes for young female factory workers to empower them by giving them a greater understanding of the global forces affecting their world, and these might well be used as a model for an analogous programme in this context.

Alcohol Use and Masculinity

Considerable previous experience by the consultant in the area of alcohol in relation to masculinity, and of the impact of excessive alcohol consumption on behaviour, led him to suspect that alcohol consumption would be significant for both the constitution of strong masculine identities and gender-based violence. The survey did not address questions such as the frequency or amounts of alcohol consumption, which would have made it too long (and also because of the youth of the respondents). Instead, this was addressed extensively in interviews. Briefly, all respondents claimed that it was natural for men to drink, a normal part of male social life. One female respondent put it: “Because of society [in the sense of sociality with others], because it’s natural, they are like this because they like to socialise”. Asked if it was possible for a man not to drink, respondents almost grudgingly admitted that it was possible, and that such a man would be a good man, but their response suggested they did not think this option particularly likely. Indeed, it is through beginning to go about with friends (*dar leng*), starting to learn to drink alcohol, going to karaoke with friends and beginning to have sex (most often with commercial sex workers, but also with girlfriends) that young men signify their transition to a grown-up masculine status—a point that was clearly made by participants in PADV’s project with violent offenders.⁷⁵ The time when boys begin to go about with friends and to drink alcohol was always marked as a significant point by respondents when discussing the “wheel of life”. Ramage’s *Strong Fighting* makes a similar point about the central role alcohol plays in male culture and the socialisation of young men, and the manner in which peer pressure and drinking games encourage not just drinking but drunkenness. He points out, “In Cambodia, alcohol is plentiful, cheap and there are no religious, cultural or legal restrictions on drinking”, and notes that drinking to drunkenness has no major negative connotations.⁷⁶ Indeed, respondents pointed out that untoward events that take place due to drunkenness can be forgiven: “You can forgive a friend for actions when he’s drunk,

⁷⁴. For an analysis of a similar context in northern Thailand in the late 1980s and early 1990s and the pressures it exerted on men in the rural and urban underclass, see Fordham (2005), *op. cit.*

⁷⁵. Giles (2004), *op. cit.*, p.78.

⁷⁶. I. Ramage, *Strong Fighting Men: Sexual Behaviour and HIV/AIDS in the Cambodian Uniformed Services* (Phnom Penh: Family Health International/Impact, 2002) p.23.

because you are friends”, “People who are drunk are to be forgiven, but people without education cannot forgive and cannot control their anger”. I take up the issue of the control of anger below.

The significance of alcohol as one root cause of much domestic and community strife should not be underestimated. As Poch Bunnak puts it in her recent PADV report, “Changes in men’s negative social behaviours ... may well be related to changes in men’s relationships with their families and their community. For example a man who is able to stop drinking has more time and more money for his family”.⁷⁷ Virtually all adult respondents, when asked about the root cause of violence, linked it directly or indirectly to alcohol. Ministry of Women’s Affairs (commune level) domestic violence volunteers were adamant that alcohol was the root cause of much gender-based violence. They pointed out that not every drunk man will resort to violence, but that those who do are more likely to be affected by alcohol than not. In addition, some respondents pointed out that it is not just male drinking that is the problem, but that many women also drink, and their sharp voices and tempers also provoke disharmony and violence. Importantly, many respondents noted that it was not always drunkenness *per se*, but rather the context of drinking, that was a root cause of violence. They pointed out that when men drink, they often gamble with friends, and when they lose their money they go home and demand more from their wives. Irritable and upset already, due to their gambling losses, men are prone to respond with violence when wives are unwilling or unable to provide them with additional household funds to squander. No respondents made the point directly, but the situation is likely to be exacerbated in the case of working wives or daughters who are asked to supply funds for their husbands/fathers. Indeed, one respondent did point out that daughters become frustrated that sometimes the fruits of their labours in Phnom Penh’s garment factories are eaten up by their parents’ debts. However, unfortunately, the opportunity to ask whether the respondent meant gambling or other debts was overlooked.

International scientific literature on alcohol studies cites considerable evidence that the consumption of alcohol is associated with violence. For example, screening of patients in accident and emergency departments has shown that up to 86 percent of those involved in assaults are intoxicated at the time. In half of 28 published studies, alcohol has been consumed by one or both partners in 60 percent of murders. And, of great significance to this Cambodian research and intervention project, this international literature also shows that when stressed people drink, they tend to become violent, and that alcohol intensifies defensive activity and increases the likelihood that young men will perceive the behaviour of

⁷⁷. Poch Bunnak, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

others as challenging.⁷⁸ Critically, the recent 2005 GTZ violence study showed that the major issue that provoked male violence was men’s *perception* that their wives had challenged their dominance and autonomy (their masculinity), and instances in which wives were perceived as failing to give due respect to husbands were nominated as justifying severe violence.⁷⁹

The literature on Cambodian domestic violence as far back as the *Plates in a Basket* study of 1994 noted that alcohol is a factor contributing to domestic violence, and many recent studies also draw a link between alcohol use and domestic violence. LICADHO’s 2004 report noted that 65 percent of women cite alcohol as contributing to domestic violence.⁸⁰ The Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport’s *Cambodian National Youth Risk Behaviour Survey 2004* gives a similar figure of 65 percent of respondents blaming alcohol for domestic violence.⁸¹ The recent UNIFEM Cambodian gender assessment, *A Fair Share for Women*, also notes that alcohol use is strongly associated with domestic violence.⁸² Also, as noted in Chapter Two, recent PADV interventions with violent offenders showed a decrease in violence when there was also a decrease in alcohol consumption. Due to the small size of the sample and self-reported nature of the data, it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions beyond noting the association. However, the project report notes of the violent offenders of the target group: “Problem drinking was a factor in the lives of every man, within the Project [sic], who had a history of consistent violence within and outside the family. This was particularly evident in situations where alcohol was consumed as a response to stress or to financial or family problems.”⁸³ Other Cambodian research also shows a direct relationship between alcohol consumption, and abuse and violence directed towards women.⁸⁴ A recent CARE report on beer girls shows a significant degree of harassment and verbal and physical abuse directed towards them by drunken clients. The report notes that 54 percent of beer girls suffered physical abuse, 60 percent have been forced or threatened—sometimes at gunpoint, and 38 percent have had to perform a coerced sex act in the workplace.⁸⁵

⁷⁸. Editorial, “Alcohol and Violence,” *Lancet*, Vol. 336 (1990) pp. 1223–1225.

⁷⁹. German Technical Cooperation *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁸⁰. Hicks, *op. cit.*

⁸¹. Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, *op. cit.*

⁸². UNIFEM *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁸³. Giles (2004), *op. cit.*, p. 86.

⁸⁴. There is a relationship not only between alcohol and violent behaviour, but also a well-established relationship between alcohol use and participation in commercial and unprotected sex and thus a higher probability of contracting HIV.

⁸⁵. L. Bury, *A Report on the Situation of Beer Promoting Women in the Workplace, Cambodia: Results of a Harassment and Abuse Survey* (Phnom Penh: CARE, 2005).

Given the significant association between alcohol use and violence of all forms, GBV in particular, why has the issue of high alcohol consumption and socially disruptive drunkenness not been addressed in the past? For example, over the past two decades, HIV/AIDS programmes have acknowledged the need to create a safer environment for decision making and to reduce the likelihood that individuals will take risks. Perhaps the failure to adopt a similar approach regarding violence can be explained by the fact that, over the past decade, virtually all areas of programming have adopted an intensive focus on women's rights. PADV, for instance, with the aim of emphasising the denial of women's rights and the abuse of male power, used the campaign message "Poverty, being drunk and illiteracy are not the causes of domestic violence" in 1998, and "Alcohol is not the real cause of domestic violence" in 2001.⁸⁶ During interviews with adults, it sometimes happened that when the issue of alcohol and violence was broached, the respondents would recite a litany of violence caused by drunken men and then repeat the well-learned campaign message that alcohol does not cause domestic violence, rather power does. It is likely that for some men, messages that emphasise that alcohol does not cause violence have legitimated both their continued alcohol consumption and their violence.

It is suggested that as part of its work in the project area, WVC might well engage in a programme to encourage villagers and young people to restrict their alcohol intake. Life skills programme materials might be used, as might anti-alcohol materials recently produced by UNICEF Cambodia.⁸⁷ Since there are few sanctions on drinking in Cambodian culture, campaigns might focus on the impact of alcohol on health, and on the dishonouring potential of drunken behaviour. It is emphasised that alcohol reduction campaigns do not dilute the rights-based approach, but rather help to create an environment in which rights can most effectively be realised.

There is another good reason why WVC might choose to engage in an alcohol reduction programme as part of its RGBV activities in Kandal Stung. Cambodia is currently viewed as a growing market by alcohol producers, as Thailand was 15 years ago, and is currently being targeted by a number of new brands of alcoholic beverage.⁸⁸ Increasing media pressure for higher levels of alcohol consumption, glamorised in advertising by linking drinking with symbols of high status and material and social success, will in the future lead to a higher level of alcohol consumption among all social strata—and to increased social and health

⁸⁶ PADV, *10 Years of Project Against Domestic Violence* (Phnom Penh: PADV, 2005).

⁸⁷ A copy of these materials has been placed in the WVC violence collection.

⁸⁸ The newspaper *Cambodia Daily* in its edition of 17 August 2005, p. 1., reports that the Danish brewer Carlsberg had entered the Cambodian market and that the company chose "to enter the Cambodian [beer] market because of its great potential."

problems due to excessive drinking.⁸⁹ Given the association between violence and alcohol consumption (health and alcohol consumption are an additional factor), it is suggested that a RGBV campaign in Kandal Stung is likely to be more effective in the long term if it addresses excessive alcohol consumption now, rather than waiting for it to become an even more intractable problem.⁹⁰

Autonomy

Another theme that emerged during conversations about masculinity and the cycle of life was that as boys make the transition to being men, they become increasingly autonomous and begin to wander about with friends (*dar leng*). Informants portrayed the *dar leng* period as beginning around the age of 15, and that ideally the habit should cease or decline following marriage and the birth of children. One young man put it that *dar leng* is something you do with friends whom you trust: "We feel relaxed when we *dar leng* with friends, because with people we know it's easy for us to understand their feelings, and if it's with someone we do not know, we do not know about their heart and their feeling, and someone we do not know might take us to a bad place". This period of freedom as young men grow up, and before they begin to shoulder adult responsibilities, is very common in peasant societies. To *dar leng* to other villages, to visit parties and temple fairs in nearby districts, is a means of looking for potential spouses. It is simultaneously a rite of passage, as young men display boldness in their willingness to travel from home and demonstrate their strength and innate power through their ability to face the unknown and to control their lives in a range of social contexts. In the present day, these contexts range from temple fairs and parties in remote villages where they face potentially hostile local young men (themselves under the same pressures to prove themselves) to construction sites in the urban wilderness of Phnom Penh, where they live far from family and trusted friends.

None of these behaviours are abnormal, and young men in Thailand and Laos exhibit very similar behaviour. Indeed, these sorts of activities are necessary rites of passage if young men are to constitute themselves in the social world as real men. It is only as boys get older or marry that village elders become critical of activities such as *dar leng* and begin to view them as a waste of time that could be better used in looking for work so that young men can save money for their future.⁹¹ However, changes in wider Cambodian society have led to these practices causing problems that were not present in the same way or to the same extent in the past. The present stage of economic development in Cambodia means that there is a high rate of unemployment and of consequent frustration in young men who cannot access the

⁸⁹ Tarr and Aggleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 375–384. See p. 380.

⁹⁰ WVC now has excellent base-line data about violence in Kandal Stung, and if data about alcohol consumption were collected, meaningful correlations might be drawn with the original survey.

⁹¹ Giles (2004), *op. cit.*, pp. 84–85.

“good life”. For example, during the research the consultant heard countless stories of the frustration of young men who wanted a motorcycle—not just a status symbol but a symbol of freedom and autonomy—but had no money to purchase one themselves, and their disappointment and dissatisfaction when their request that their parents buy them one met a refusal due to family poverty. The uninhibiting effects of alcohol, combined with its distortion of perceptions, make it likely that when young men drink alcohol at parties, their frustrations will be released in belligerent and aggressive behaviour.⁹² Moreover, young men are unemployed and in a context where the status symbols of the good life—shiny motor vehicles, beautiful clothes, mobile phones and the like—are largely denied. In this situation, drinking and fighting are not merely centred on the release of frustration, but are some of the few activities young men have for the constitution and proving of strength and prowess. Drinking alcohol also vests the drinker with the image (from advertising) associated with the brand of alcohol consumed.⁹³ Indeed, recent research records gang behaviour in which young men in small groups use internal group norms to boost self-esteem, and young men who attend parties or nightclubs and sometimes knock against other dancers as a means of courting fights in order to demonstrate their prowess.⁹⁴

World Vision Cambodia’s programming in Kandal Stung might contribute to a decrease in these problem behaviours by, first, expanding job creation so that a greater percentage of young men have both an income and less time on their hands, and have an arena for building self-esteem. Second, it is recommended that sporting activities and hobbies be encouraged in order that young men have alternative ways of filling in their time and creating self-esteem, and as arenas for the constitution and display of masculine prowess. The consultant has watched with interest as angling has boomed as a masculine hobby in neighbouring Thailand over the past two to three years. This has become not just an activity to catch fish for the table; it is also a field in which men can become knowledgeable about equipment and sophisticated techniques and have some part of their lives and abilities that they feel good about and feel they have control over.⁹⁵ Some rod fishing equipment is now being imported into Cambodia, and this might be one hobby explored by WVC. WVC’s job creation activities might well be conducted in concert with CCJAP, which is already working in this area in Kandal Stung.

Thinking Ahead

⁹² The evidence suggests that defensive activity, developed to deal with anxiety-provoking events or behaviour, is increased by alcohol, so violence becomes more likely.

⁹³ See Tarr and Aggleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 375–384.

⁹⁴ Bearup, *op. cit.*, p. 79–83.

⁹⁵ Unlike in Britain or the US, where angling can be an expensive hobby, the availability in Thailand of cheap and relatively well-made Chinese equipment puts this hobby within reach of all but the poorest.

Much time was spent with young people, both male and female, talking about the cycle of life. As the consultant and his assistant worked through the life cycle (drawn on a large sheet of paper placed on the ground, around which the researchers and group participants sat and talked), asking children to plot in what they considered to be the important points in their lives, points of change and the behaviours appropriate to each age and stage, the consultant was struck by the response. Almost all children, particularly boys, said that they found it difficult, that it was strange and that they had not thought about their lives in that way before. Attempts to pursue this—in what way it was strange and why—foundered. The consultant was left with the realisation that he and the respondents were thinking about life very differently.

The reasons for respondents’ response are likely very complex. However, the response suggests not only that children have not thought about their lives in this structured and planned manner, but that they also feel they have little control over their lives and futures, and for this reason are not planning ahead. When one has little choice about the future, as is the case for many of these rural children, why bother thinking about it too much? Some researchers have argued that the specific historical trajectory of Cambodia since World War II, particularly the past 30 years, has led to widespread insecurity and a reluctance to engage in planning of any kind. Life skills programmes help children think about their current choices and recognise what choices there may be in their lives, and assist in planning the creation of alternative choices. They help children take control of their lives and result in an increased self-esteem and general mental well-being and happiness (factors likely reflected in positive physical outcomes). It is suggested that project managers investigate some of the WHO life skills material, and possibly the commercial package “Stepping Stones”.⁹⁶

Gambling was not investigated by this research. However, during interviews with both children and adults it became clear that gambling and money lost in gambling (and the general context of drinking and gambling) are a significant cause of gender-based violence.

One additional issue in particular that should be addressed in these programmes is appropriate response—payback and revenge, the nature of *kum*. *Kum* is the Cambodian practice of repaying a slight or personal damage with interest. As Haing Ngor puts it, “*Kum* is a word for a particular Cambodian mentality of revenge—to be precise, a long-standing grudge leading to revenge much more damaging than

⁹⁶ An electronic copy of one WHO life skills manual has been placed in the WVC Violence Collection.

the original injury ... it is the infection that grows on our national soul".⁹⁷ In terms of this project, *kum* is of interest as a deep-structural cultural model for action; as Hinton puts it, *kum* is a "template for violence", implicit cultural knowledge learned by children from an early age.⁹⁸ *Kum* is such a part of the taken-for-granted cultural landscape that it was never directly brought up by respondents. However, when the issue was broached, it became clear this was important to masculinity and that this and anger *per se* have an important role in much Cambodian violence. Asked "What is anger like?", one respondent said, "Sometimes when people hit you, you want to hit back", and another, "Most men want to express anger by hitting".

Life skills programmes give children the space to think about and practise responses to issues they will meet in the future. They can play a major role in assisting children and young people to take control of their lives and behaviour and to make good choices about issues such as gambling, drinking and, in respect to *kum*, how they respond to provocations. As experience in the HIV/AIDS and reproductive health fields shows, life skills programmes also empower children to make good decisions about sexuality.

The Good Man

The research paid particular attention to discovering people's perceptions of "the good man", a role model that might be used as a vehicle for campaign messages. Asked who they admire as a good man, no respondent chose Jackie Chan or film stars or karaoke singers, figures many western agency staff have suggested would constitute good role models. They often agonised over the question and ended up talking about the qualities of the good man, rather than any specific individual. It was clear from their comments that to be a good man is a status that is highly desired. Who, then, is a good man?

According to respondents, a good man is one who does not drink too much. It would be ideal if he did not drink at all, but as all have to mix in society, it is difficult not to drink on some occasions. However, a good man will not drink too much or get drunk and shout or disturb others. He will not be violent towards either his wife and family or his neighbours. The good man is, as was suggested in an earlier chapter, a good neighbour. He is also a man who speaks well to others and who gives respect to his parents and village elders. He helps his neighbours and speaks well to them; he respects his wife (who should, in turn, respect him by fulfilling her role and cleaning the house and cooking for him), and he also respects Cambodian traditions. Asked if a good man had to be rich, all informants alluded to the karmic

⁹⁷ Haing Ngor, *A Cambodian Odyssey* (New York: Macmillan, 1987).

⁹⁸ A.L. Hinton, "A Head for an Eye: Revenge in the Cambodian Genocide", *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 25/3 (1998) pp. 352-377.

nature of the world, where things are subject to change. As one respondent put it, a good man does not have to be wealthy because we do not know if he will lose his wealth later in life and, conversely, even if one marries a good man who is poor, later in life he may become rich. Showing a traditional rural mistrust of the wicked city, many respondents noted that some men in the city might have a lot of money but that they might do many bad things.

A good man is one who has control of his emotions, particularly anger. Working with the life skills model of development and growth, it was noticeable that all respondents indicated that maturity was not only a matter of physical maturation but also of gaining a greater control of emotions due to increasing age and practice. Children were described as having little control of anger, and as gradually gaining control as they matured. As one respondent put it, "Between 20 and 40, people have much jealousy but can control their feelings, but in the 18-to-20 age group, people have little control of their feelings. At this stage children just do not think [before they act], and they have limited experience". She continued, "Between 40 and 80, there is less anger than before, as people can control their feelings more than previously, they can consider things, and the bad mood disappears, and they can also go to the temple." Another point of interest made by another female respondent was a comparison between male and female anger. She pointed out that normally female anger is lighter (*saroul*) than that of males; however, "When they are really angry, their anger can be worse than males' because they have no control at all. For example, if a husband beats his wife every day, one day she will be so angry that she will either commit suicide or kill him". This is of interest because one point made by male participants in PADV men's violence research was that if men change their behaviour, then women must change too—and should not speak in a way that will provoke male anger. Given this, it is likely that anger control programmes directed at both men and women would be highly effective, particularly as the pre-existing cultural belief is that control of anger is a learned and practised activity and that the ability to control anger is typical of a good person.⁹⁹

It is suggested that models of "the good man" not rely on real people, who may well have a "use by date" when their public persona wanes. A "generic" good man, such as "Vuthy", the modern farmer/wage labourer, might be built up using the sorts of characteristics specified here (Vuthy might also be a good neighbour). It is particularly noticeable in rural villages that there are few realistic role models for young men; all the advertising posters portray people and scenes that exude a sense of middle-class (or more) urban sophistication.

⁹⁹ It is likely that GTZ will implement an anti-domestic-violence programme using a sign shaped like a stop sign with a hand in the middle of the sign and "STOP" written across the sign. This might well be used in an anger/gender-based violence control programme.

Sexuality

During in-depth interviews, the consultant was struck by the amount of knowledge the young subjects displayed about sexuality: men taking mistresses, prostitution, rape and so on were treated quite openly. Yet there was a deep conservative streak running parallel with this knowledge, as Phnom Penh with its discos and prostitutes was portrayed as a place of sin and depravity in comparison with the moral life of the country, where Khmer culture was kept alive. Young female respondents spoke of bad “sexy girls” who wear “short dresses, expose the skin on their arms [and wear] short shorts”. They described them as girls who made themselves attractive to please men so that they could get money from them, or who might lure men with their beauty and drug them to steal their money. The best wives, all respondents agreed, were to be found “in rural areas, because in rural areas society is normal and in the city it is modern, different”. All respondents agreed that wives should be virgins prior to marriage. Change in Cambodian society due to the impact of western culture surfaced many times during discussions. Respondents spoke of the new styles of western clothing that city people wore and how Cambodians living in the city now act differently than in the past, due to their adoption of western habits.

Sexuality is addressed more extensively in the following chapter in the context of a discussion of the use of pornography by children in Kandal Stung. The research revealed that young people in Kandal Stung have a high degree of exposure to pornography, and that it likely plays a major role in the formation of masculine identities and in teaching sexual scripts to young men (and young women).

Pornography, Masculinity and Gender-Based Violence

Pornography, Masculinity and Violence—the Links

As noted in the introduction, the youth violence survey included questions dealing with exposure to pornography in order to understand whether and how this is impacting young Cambodian men’s notions of masculinity, their scripts for sexual behaviour and other male-female interactions and the type of sex acts they expect in normal marital sexual relations. However, equally importantly, pornography has serious impacts upon women. Again as noted in the introduction, research in western contexts has found that women had a significant decrease in self-esteem following exposure to pornography that promoted rape myths. Due to young Cambodian women’s limited exposure to pornography prior to this time, and the secondary status they already occupy in society, it is highly likely that such decreased self-esteem will be even more pronounced among them.

Pornography was included in the questionnaire because the consultant’s experience led him to believe that—alongside other contemporary imports from the west and south-east Asia—the print and video pornography available throughout Cambodia was likely to be influencing young people’s notions of gender, in particular young males’ notions of masculinity and scripts for sexual behaviour. Research, discussed more fully below, has suggested that there is a high level of exposure of Cambodian youth to pornography, and those working with female victims of violence have frequently pointed to a strong relationship between male use of pornography and sexual and other marital violence.

Like the other research questions, those about pornography were derived from the Child Welfare Group and World Hope survey. But in this case, they were only loosely based on the earlier survey, because the prime interest was not to find out where young people in Kandal Stung were purchasing or viewing pornography, but whether they had access to it, at what ages they first accessed it and, in their own words, how it affected them. A more detailed investigation would have asked questions about the type of pornography, the sex depicted and so on and, possibly, would also have broached the issue of the extent

to which informants felt compelled to act out the sexual scripts they saw on film.¹⁰⁰ However, given the ages of the young people involved, it was decided that the ethical issues raised by asking such detailed questions of youth did not, at least at this time, justify their use. Yet it may be that such questions could be asked more easily than in western contexts. Following initial analysis of the survey results, pornography was then included in interviews with children. To the surprise of the consultant and his research assistant, both young men and women respondents addressed the questions seriously, with few traces of embarrassment. Indeed, their attitude was rather prosaic; when one young man was asked if people buying pornographic books or VCDs felt shy, he replied, "If they want to buy it, they want to see it, so they do not feel shy." Similarly, young women, when interviewed with care and tact, exhibited few signs of shyness.¹⁰¹ One possible explanation for this response is that the ubiquity of pornographic materials in Cambodia—available in newspaper stalls, sold by itinerant vendors in the cafes where men drink beer and at markets everywhere—means that reading and viewing pornography are considered normal activities and arouse little or no embarrassment.

There are two important implications of this point. First, if the viewing of pornography is considered so normal that it arouses no embarrassment, then it is highly probable that the various sexual activities portrayed in it are also considered normal—and thus a model of masculine practices to be emulated by young Cambodian men. Secondly, if pornography and its viewing/reading arouse no particular embarrassment, then further research in this area is likely to be less difficult than it might be in some western societies where notions of shame are attached to consuming pornography.

The normality of pornographic materials was apparent to some extent in interviews where it became clear that boys of 14 to 16 have been exposed to enough pornography to allow them to develop an aesthetic of it—and that girls are also aware of this aesthetic. Even in the limited amount of time to pursue this aspect of the research, the researchers learned that western films were highly appreciated for particular sex acts, as were films that showed a wide variety of sexual positions.¹⁰² Acts of kissing and sucking/licking of

¹⁰⁰. Child Welfare Group and World Hope defined pornography as "any form of communication that portrays sexual behaviour in a manner that only intends to cause sexual excitement". (Child Welfare Group/World Hope, *op. cit.*, p. 3. The World Vision Cambodia survey used the term *arapea* for pornography (the same as that used by the Tearfund survey), thus *seopauroparapea* for pornographic book. Survey participants found no problems understanding this term and definition, and their responses when asked what effect looking at such material had, confirmed this. See below.

¹⁰¹. The past 20 years of HIV/AIDS research have exploded earlier myths about how difficult it is to conduct research about sex. When treated with respect by researchers, people in almost every culture, even those considered shy or prudish, have proven that they are willing to discuss sexual issues

¹⁰². See Ramage, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

various types are highly eroticised in Cambodia, a point also noted in Ramage's *Strong Fighting Men*, and informants indicated that pornography featuring these acts was highly valued.¹⁰³

The most surprising overall finding of the research was the sheer number of Cambodian young people, some much younger than 12, who have been exposed to pornography. As Table 19 shows, of the research sample of 103 persons, only 16.5 percent had not encountered pornography; the remaining 83.5 percent had either viewed or read pornography. There was little distinction between male and female responses, 17.8 percent of males and 15.5 percent of females claiming not to have encountered pornography.

		Sex		Total
		Male	Female	
Have you ever seen a pornographic book or film? (%)	No	17.8	15.5	16.5
	Seen book	48.9	51.7	50.5
	Seen film	24.4	25.9	25.2
	Seen book and film	8.9	6.9	7.8
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 19: Percentage of Children Who Have Seen a Pornographic Film or Book

The figures are interesting in that the percentage of young women who claim to have accessed pornography is much higher than that found in the 1992 Child Welfare Group/World Hope survey. This found that although 61.7 percent of males had viewed pornographic materials, only 36.5 percent of females had done so. Possibly the difference reflects an increasing amount of pornography entering Cambodia since the earlier survey and hence an easier availability to young people. Certainly, as I take up at some length below, this reflects an increasing sexualisation of young people's lives, and an increase in yet another indirect pressure to become sexually active at an increasingly early age. Thus this issue is not just one of significance for the problem of gender-based violence but also for reproductive health and HIV/AIDS.

Given that the survey respondents were children living in relatively poor villages where they were likely to have only limited access to computers and VCD players (apart from those available in coffee shops in nearby market towns), it is not surprising that the bulk of respondents nominated pornographic books as more significant than pornographic movies. Half of the respondents (50.5 percent) had read a pornographic book, while only 25.2 percent had viewed a pornographic movie. Only 7.8 percent had done

¹⁰³. *Ibid.* See also Tarr and Aggleton, *op.cit.*

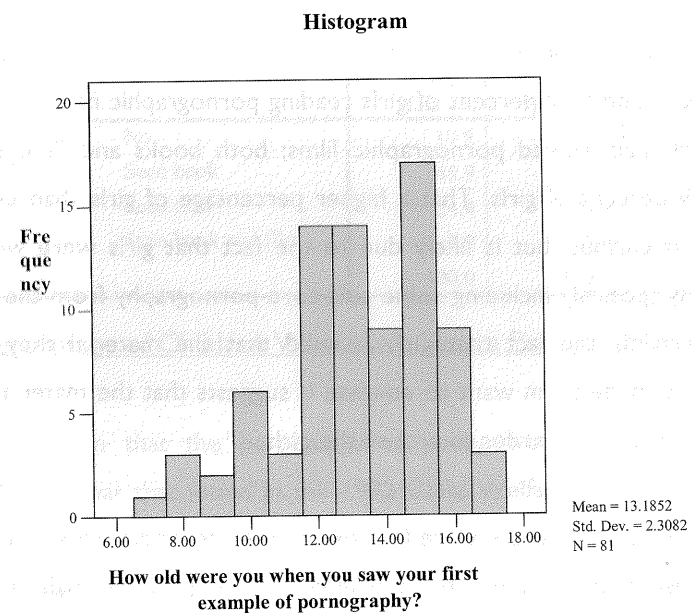
both. By contrast, the Child Welfare Group/World Hope survey found pornographic movies twice as attractive as books, likely reflecting the fact that this survey included both rural areas and urban areas of Phnom Penh and some other provinces, where there is much easier access to video pornography in coffee shops and via the internet. This was confirmed in interviews in which informants expressed a preference for the "action" and excitement of video pornography but noted the easy accessibility of pornographic books. Possibly, given that they also noted that it was customary for boyfriends to show pornographic materials to their girlfriends to arouse their ardour, the ease of use of print-based pornography such as stories and photographs might also account for its popularity in this district.

There was little distinction between male and female preferences for the type of pornographic materials used, 48.9 percent of boys and 51.7 percent of girls reading pornographic materials; 24.4 percent of boys and 25.9 percent of girls had viewed pornographic films; both books and films had been used by 8.9 percent of boys and 6.9 percent of girls. That a higher percentage of girls than boys claim exposure to pornographic materials is curious, but is likely due to the fact that girls were working with a broader definition of pornography (possibly including some soft-core pornography from the rear sections of some popular magazines). Certainly the fact that girls claimed that the material they were reading/viewing excited them sexually and made them want to emulate it suggests that the material was pornographic, as does the fact that boys provide it in order to arouse the girls.

The overall mean age when young people were first exposed to pornography was 13.2 years. However, as Graph 3 shows, some respondents claimed to have seen pornographic materials at a much earlier age. By age 10, 14.8 percent had been exposed to pornography, and by age 12, 35.8 percent. During interviews, respondents noted that sometimes children encountered their father's pornographic books in the home, and possibly such cases of extremely early exposure occurred in this way. Alternatively, they may be accessing pornography belonging to siblings or the friends of siblings.

Regardless of how they obtain them, if young children are exposed to pornographic materials, it is a matter of great concern. It is not merely that young people exposed to pornography are more likely to engage in sexual experimentation at an early age, but also that pornography introduces children prematurely to sexual sensations they are developmentally unprepared to contend with. This awareness of sexual sensation can be confusing and overstimulating, and has the potential to "short-circuit" or distort normal personality development, supplying misinformation about a child's sexuality and sense of self and

body, leaving the child confused, changed and damaged.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, Cline argues that if a boy's early sexual stimulus is pornographic photographs, then he may be conditioned to become aroused solely through such photographs and this conditioning will make it difficult for him to experience normal sexual satisfaction in later life.¹⁰⁵ In the Cambodian context, how and to what extent the viewing of pornography at very young ages might predispose children to become involved in the sex industry or to being trafficked also warrants consideration.

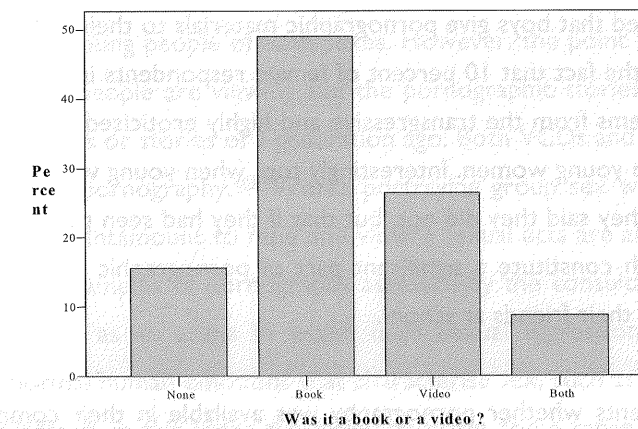


Graph 3: Age When First Saw Pornography

For 48.5 percent of Kandal Stung children, the form of pornography to which they were first exposed was books, which is not surprising given the lack of VCD players in rural villages and the extremely low price of pornographic books. Sometimes pornographic books can be obtained for only 2,000–3,000 riels (50–75 US cents). Films constituted the first exposure to pornography for 26.2 percent of the sample, while another 8.7 percent of children said their first exposure to pornography was via both books and film (Graph 4). It is not clear what they meant by this, and it may indicate that these respondents misunderstood the question, or it may mean just what they indicated, that their first exposure to pornography was from both films and books at roughly the same period in their lives.

¹⁰⁴ S.J. Kavanagh, *Protecting Children in Cyberspace* (Springfield, VA: Behavioral Psychotherapy Center, 1997) pp. 58–59.

¹⁰⁵ V.B. Cline, *Pornography's Effects on Adults and Children* (New York: Morality in Media, 1990). p. 11.



Graph 4: First Saw Pornographic Video or Book

The survey also asked some elementary questions about how pornography was used. After questions about exposure to pornography, respondents were asked if it was of more interest to boys or girls. The overwhelming majority, 94.2 percent, indicated that it was of more interest to boys, while only 5.8 percent claimed that it was of more interest to girls. Interestingly, those claiming that pornography was of more interest to girls were female, representing 10.3 percent of female respondents.

Respondents were also asked to write a short sentence about the responses of boys and girls to the viewing and reading of pornography. Boys almost universally said that reading/viewing pornographic materials made them “want to have sex”, “to do bad things to other people”, “to have sex before marriage and sometimes to do things that society hates” and that they “feel sexually aroused”. Girls, by contrast, indicated that exposure made them feel shy, but like boys a high percentage of girls indicated that regardless of any feelings of shyness, they were sexually aroused—“have [sexual] mood”, “want to imitate” and “cannot study”. A desire to “act out” sexual scripts learned from pornography is universally considered one effect that pornography has on children. Critically, the messages sent by pornography are that sexual activity is normal and risk free, and that sexual activity without responsibility is acceptable and desirable.

Interestingly, one female respondent indicated that pornography has more impact on girls than on boys. Possibly this is because of the transgressive nature of young women acknowledging their own sexual feelings. As Parker points out, “transgression” of the rules that define acceptable sexual practices, in this

case the cultural belief that young unmarried women do not have sexual desires, may be part of the "ideology of the erotic" and may, thus, be highly eroticised.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, during face-to-face interviews, one female respondent noted that boys give pornographic materials to their girlfriends (*songsar*) to arouse their ardour. Possibly too, the fact that 10 percent of female respondents indicated that pornography was of more interest to girls stems from the transgressive and highly eroticised nature that the act of viewing pornography represents to young women. Interestingly too, when young women were asked if they took books to school to share, they said they did not, but that if they had seen pornographic materials or read pornographic stories (which constitute a significant part of pornographic works available in Cambodia), then they tell the stories to their friends at school.

The survey asked respondents whether pornography was available in their communities, and only 28.2 percent of respondents indicated that they could access pornography there, while 71.8 percent of respondents indicated that pornography was not available in the community. However, 47.6 percent of respondents reported that they knew where to obtain pornography, while 51.5 percent indicated that they did not know how to do so. Thus, responses here indicate a substantial amount of sharing of pornographic materials, imported from outside the community, a fact that was verified during face-to-face interviews. There was little difference between the sexes in whether they knew where to obtain pornographic materials, 45.5 percent of boys and 50 percent of girls indicating that they knew where to do so.

During interviews, some respondents indicated that even if pornography was not available in their own village, friends who went to Phnom Penh, some 30 km away, would bring materials back from the city. During interviews, one 16-year-old male was asked, "Do some children feel knowledgeable about sex due to their experience with pornography?" His comment was, "If they watch and read a lot, it means they know a lot about sex", suggesting not only that pornography constitutes a trade good for teenagers,¹⁰⁷ but that possession of a store of pornography and the imputed knowledge about sex that this implies confers on the possessor some status as a "man" of knowledge and, possibly, even of strength. This point, and whether the possession of, or desire for such status, impels boys to demonstrate their knowledge about sex by forcing girls into unwanted sexual activity, warrants further investigation.

¹⁰⁶ R.G. Parker, "Sexual Diversity, Cultural Analysis and AIDS Education in Brazil", in G. Herdt and S. Lindenbaum (eds.), *The Time of AIDS: Social Analysis, Theory, and Method*. (Newbury Park: Sage, 1992) pp. 225–242. See also G. Fordham, "Whisky, Women and Song: Men, Alcohol and AIDS in Northern Thailand", *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 6/3 (1995).

¹⁰⁷ See J. Collman, *Fringe-Dwellers and Welfare: The Aboriginal Response to Bureaucracy* (Brisbane: UQP, 1988) for an analogous point regarding the use of alcohol as a trade good in 1980s central Australia.

The Social Impact of Pornography: Why it is an Issue of Major Significance for this WVC Project

Pornography and its social effects are of direct relevance to this WVC project because of its effects on the behaviour of adult men and young people of both sexes. However, the point first needs to be made clear that the pornography young people are viewing and the pornographic stories they are reading today are not the risqué movies, pictures or stories of a generation ago. Both VCDs and pornographic books feature extremely hard-core violent pornography.¹⁰⁸ Works portraying group sex with several teenage couples, various forms of forced sex tantamount to rape and violent sexual acts are all common. Overall, perhaps the "ethos" of the several examples of pornography assessed by the consultant could be summarised by saying that they feature sex as an arena in which male sexual aggression is directed against female bodies.¹⁰⁹ None of the normal human emotions that characterise sex, such as love, caring, tenderness and so on, are depicted.¹¹⁰ Instead, in this arena the male sex organ and a range of oversized sex "toys" are used as weapons against the female body. The stories (and the accompanying grainy photographic images) in the pornographic books on sale in Cambodia are as violent and sexually abusive as the images portrayed in VCDs, and allow full play to the individual imagination in a way that VCDs do not.

The effect of pornography, in summary, is to present both women and men in crude, simplistic and highly misleading sexually focused stereotypes. Pornography objectifies women as insatiable sex machines, ready to accommodate every possible sexual request. They have no personal sexual needs, and their role is solely to please men. If they say "no", this is just a token resistance legitimately overcome by force. In pornography the typical woman is always ready and available. Men are portrayed as being solely concerned with having sex with as many women as possible in as many ways as possible—regardless of issues of consent or the use of force. Relationships, marriage and respect and mutual responsibility are totally irrelevant, as are notions of fidelity to one's spouse and sexual safety.

At its present stage of development, Cambodia has many pressing social problems, a great number of which are associated with gender-based violence. These include domestic violence and marital rape, the

¹⁰⁸ In practice, with video pornography in contemporary Cambodia, any distinction between hard-core and softcore pornography is irrelevant. Informants explained that purchasers normally buy video pornography solely by the photograph on the front of the VCD packet. Because Thai, Chinese, Japanese and western films are labeled in Thai, Chinese, Japanese and English, the majority of Cambodian purchasers are unlikely to be able to read them. Moreover, as with illicit software, the pornographic VCD in the pack does not always match the title on the cover—with the result that purchasers are frequently misled and can easily find themselves viewing hard-core pornography, regardless of their original intentions. Interview respondents suggested that purchasers of pornography seek the "most exciting" (thus hard-core) material

¹⁰⁹ The Teafund survey also found that pornography depicting women engaged in sex with animals (bestiality) was available at 25 percent of the outlets surveyed in Phnom Penh.

¹¹⁰ Bolton, *op. cit.*, pp. 285–314.

rape of children by persons who themselves are minors, gang rape and other forms of forced sexual activity (including coerced unprotected sex in the case of HIV discordant couples), the trafficking of women and children and several other forms of violence. The fact that young Cambodian men and women are exposed to pornography from the age of 12 and 13 years, while they are still schoolchildren (it is likely that many children younger than this are exposed to pornography, but earlier age cohorts were not included in the survey) should be viewed with the utmost alarm and made a priority for action.

As noted in Chapter One, research in other countries suggests that the social effects of male exposure to sexually violent pornography has a wide range of detrimental consequences for both men and women. These include the development of callous attitudes towards rape, rape myth acceptance and the acceptance of violence against women.¹¹¹ Additionally, research suggests that when women are exposed to pornography that promotes the rape myth, they experience a significant decrease in self-esteem.¹¹² In countries such as Cambodia, still recovering from the traumas of the past 30 years, and simultaneously exposed to the impacts of globalised western culture, the impact of pornography is likely to be even more detrimental.

Cambodian Men and Pornography

Recent research on the sexual practices of Cambodian men points out that they make a fundamental distinction between alternative sexual practices and positions that they are able to experience in the commercial sex sphere with Vietnamese prostitutes (this is an ethnic stereotype that does not match the reality, since Cambodian prostitutes perform the same services) and what they complain is the plain and unfulfilling sex which they have with their wives.¹¹³ Such a distinction between marital and extramarital sex is common in other south-east Asian cultures. For example, research among married men in Thailand shows that sexual acts performed with the ethnic “other” are always veiled in an aura of heightened eroticism, and that men conceptualise the domestic sphere of sex within marriage and the sphere of commercial sex in the brothel or guesthouse as fundamentally distinct and possessing fundamentally different erotic potentials.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹. Norris, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–76.

¹¹². *Ibid.* Norris claims that studies show that pornography has a greater negative effect on women than on men.

¹¹³. Tarr, (2001), *op. cit.*; Ramage, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁴. G. Fordham, “Anthropology and HIV/AIDS Research in Thailand: Drinking Rituals and the Construction of Masculinity”, in S. Toussaint and J. Taylor (eds.), *Applied Anthropology in Australia* (University of Western Australia Press, 1999). pp. 88–110.

It is likely that Cambodian men also conceptually distinguish between these spheres, and that they do so by discriminating between the sex acts they consider appropriate to each. Indeed, one recent work on Cambodian male sexuality notes that at the same time as men complained about its unfulfilling nature, they simultaneously claimed that “normal position” sex was the only appropriate sex between a husband and wife.¹¹⁵ It is likely that this cultural value has developed as a result of young men learning about sex and sexual scripts in the sphere of commercial sex and then, following marriage, feeling that they cannot engage in similar (satisfying) sexual acts with their wives because this would be to treat them as if they were prostitutes. In the time of AIDS, it is extraordinarily unfortunate that Cambodian sexual culture should have developed in this direction. Also, these values and practices represent an extremely dysfunctional cultural *cul-de-sac* as far as sexual relations within marriage are concerned—one (as is pointed out below) that leads to frustration and violence. Sex education programmes for youth might well be developed into programmes that focus on young married people, and which address the emotional and physical needs of husbands and wives.

However, sexual scripts do change over time, and it appears that such changes are taking place in contemporary Cambodia. Conducting research on male sexuality in early 1990s northern Thailand, this consultant observed the gradual entry of Japanese, Thai and western video and print pornography into quite remote northern villages. Like those of Cambodian men, the northern Thai male sexual scripts used in the domestic sphere had been fairly conservative until that time, basically the Cambodian “normal position” with slightly more variations available in the sphere of commercial sex. The viewing of video pornography by young men exerted considerable strains on marital relationships as men who watched illicit videos in friends’ houses or coffee shops went home and demanded similar forms of sex from their highly conservative wives. There were countless cases of arguments and domestic violence, and in many cases marriages broke up, due to wives being unwilling to accommodate a husband’s new desires—in many cases desires that even prostitutes were unwilling to fulfil.

Just as the amount of drugs flowing into Cambodia from Thailand has increased in the past five years, the amount of pornography coming in seems also to have increased and to be more widely available than it was only a few years ago.¹¹⁶ Both print and video porn are, as one 13-year-old male interviewee pointed out, “extremely cheap”. VCDs are now more portable and more easily hidden than the video cassettes of the 1990s, and periodic government crackdowns on pornography have had little impact on its availability.

¹¹⁵. Ramage, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁶. Child Welfare Group/World Hope, *op. cit.*, provides data about the accessibility of pornographic material in Cambodia.

Recent research conducted by Child Welfare Group and World Hope suggests a high level of exposure of Cambodian men and youth to pornography.¹¹⁷ Discussions with members of organisations providing care to female victims of gender-based violence also suggest that the viewing/reading of pornography leads men to experience dissatisfaction with their sex lives, and to their wanting more sex and/or different forms of sexual experience with their wives. These informants claim that this is a significant causative factor in marital violence.¹¹⁸ Recent scholarly research among Cambodian victims of marital rape also identifies male watching of pornography and later demanding that wives perform the sexual acts seen in the pornography as a major cause of gender-based violence.¹¹⁹ Similarly, during interviews with village chiefs and other community leaders in the research district, respondents repeatedly identified women's failure to meet husband's sexual desires—whether because of tiredness or for other reasons—as a cause of marital violence.¹²⁰

Pornography, then, creates unreal (and unrealisable) expectations in men's minds in regard to their sex lives, the frequency of sexual activity and the acts performed, as well as in regard to responsibility and sex and the role of wives in fulfilling men's needs. It is not only a causative factor in marital violence but—given the emphasis Cambodian men place on sexual performance as an indication of their masculinity—also places men under stress and leads them to place yet more significance on sex. In a closing of a vicious circle, yet more pressure is exerted on wives for more sex and more varieties of sex, leading to more instances of marital rape and GBV within marriage.

Cambodian Youth and Pornography

The use of pornography by Cambodian children and adolescents is of great concern, perhaps far greater than in the case of adults. Working on masculinity issues and having made an intensive long-term study of male sexual scripts in the Thai domestic and commercial sex arenas over the past 15 years, the consultant had observed the increasing social impact of pornography as scripts in both VCDs and print pornography gradually became more violent, with portrayals of various forms of forced sex and rape, and as they moved from relatively simple sexual scenarios involving couples or implausible solo acts with sex “toys” to scenarios involving group sex and a range of sex tools seemingly directed at inflicting pain as much as

¹¹⁷. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸. CWCC, PADV, *op. cit.*

¹¹⁹. Sour Salan, “Marital Rape Among the Poor Women in the Slum of Urban Phnom Penh, Cambodia”, MA thesis, Mahidol University, Bangkok, 2005.

¹²⁰. Interestingly, no adults were aware of young people's use of pornography, and although they often identified local markets in adjoining towns as sources of pornography (in coffee shops and so on), they denied the presence of pornography in their own villages. It is the perception of the consultant that respondents were not merely “covering up” but that they genuinely were not aware of some of their children's activities.

pleasure. Unwanted pregnancy and abortion among students in secondary schools and universities, as well as among young female wage workers, has been a problem in Thailand for more than a decade.¹²¹ In the past these have generally been the result of monogamous relationships, in many cases the results of inexperienced young women believing the promises of lovers who disappeared when they found their girlfriends were pregnant. However, in the present day a new teenage sexual script has arisen. Replicating the sexual scenarios depicted in the pornographic materials available in early 2000s Thailand, in a studied defiance of all social norms, groups of male and female students hire a hotel room and, replete with food, alcohol and other drugs, engage in group sex and various forms of unprotected sex that only a few years ago would have been absolutely unthinkable. Importantly in terms of the point being made here, these are not isolated acts but are part of a broader social pattern, an indication of a major shift in Thai teenage sexual culture. Over 2004–05, Thai language newspapers published several reports of school truancy officers raiding dormitory and hotel rooms to find these teenage “orgies”. The electronic media have addressed the issue on numerous occasions, and at least one popular and widely available book is purported to have been written by a participant.

There is substantial evidence that in Cambodia of the mid-2000s, in a manner analogous to the situation in Thailand a few years ago, young people are being affected by pornography in ways which alter their sense of self and gender identity, and cause their lives to be sexualised at increasingly early ages. The bulk of research conducted over the decade of the 1990s in regard to young Cambodians' sexual practices was carried out in connection with HIV/AIDS or adolescent reproductive health issues. This work demonstrated that, regardless of older Cambodians' memories in regard to “traditional” sexual behaviour and notions of pre-marital chastity, in the present day there is considerable sexual activity among young unmarried people of both sexes.¹²² However, a more recent genre of early 2000s research has moved on to addressing some other problems raised by young people's sexual activity. Two problem sexual behaviours stand out due to their horrific and violent nature and the absolute lack of care and empathy for others that they indicate: gang rape¹²³ and the rape of extremely young prepubescent girls by boys who themselves are often very young.¹²⁴ For example, a recent report by LICADHO gives examples of a seven-

¹²¹. Fordham (2005) *op. cit.*

¹²². G. Fordham, *Adolescent Reproductive Health in Cambodia: Status, Issues, Policies and Programs* (Phnom Penh: Policy Project, 2003). Chou Meng Tarr, “People in Cambodia Don't Talk About Sex, They Simply Do It”, paper for UNAIDS presentation, Phnom Penh, 30 August 1996; Tarr, (2001), *op. cit.*; Tarr and Aggleton, *op. cit.*; D.J. Wilkinson and G. Fletcher, *Sweetheart Relationships in Phnom Penh: Love, Sex & Condoms in the Time of HIV* (Phnom Penh: PSI, 2002).

¹²³. Bearup, *op. cit.*; Tong Soprach, *Gang Rape: The Perspective of Moto-Taxi Drivers Across Cambodia* (Phnom Penh: CARE, 2004); Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport, *op. cit.*

¹²⁴. D. O'Connell, *Rape and Indecent Assault in the Community*, (Phnom Penh: LICADHO, 2001); LICADHO, *Briefing Paper* (Phnom Penh, 2005) p. 6; Hicks *op. cit.*, p. 14. Hicks notes that of all the rape cases investigated in 2002 and

year-old girl raped by a 13-year-old boy, an eight-year-old girl raped by a 14-year-old, a four-year-old raped by a 13-year-old—and the Khmer-language daily newspapers continue to provide similar examples.¹²⁵ These cases are in no way isolated examples but part of a broader societal pattern.¹²⁶ Those working closely with the victims of such rapes (and the victims of other forms of rape) draw a direct link to easy access to pornography in a context of limited sex education, which has led to young boys and men having unhealthy and highly erroneous views about sex, women and relationships with women.¹²⁷ One highly respected and experienced Phnom Penh non-government organisation working with the victims of rape and other forms of gender-based violence has argued that there is a strong causal relationship between an increase in the number of video parlours showing pornographic material and an increase in the incidence of rape.¹²⁸

In summary, the pornographic materials that young Cambodians, both male and female, are exposed to have the potential to cause them substantial harm. They impel young people to become sexually active before the appropriate time, increase the risk that young boys will rape or sexually assault children and girls as a form of sexual experimentation and increase the risk that young men will contract HIV/AIDS from commercial sex workers. When boys are exposed to pornography at an early age, it is likely to cause damaged and distorted emotional development such that as adults they may not be able to have a normal and satisfactory sex life.

Concluding Comments

It has already been noted that pornography has the potential to cause a further decrease in young Cambodian women's self-esteem. However, one additional point should be made in regard to the impact of pornography on young Cambodian women. Although girls are exposed to sex education via the social studies curriculum in school and via the AIDS education activities of a range of non-government organisations, many of these educational activities are rather theoretical. The result is, as many working in this field pointed out during the research, that young Cambodian women have an extremely limited

2003, victims aged between 11 and 15 represented 38.3 percent of the total. She notes also that a number of victims were not merely under 11 years old, but that in 2002 and 2003 respectively, in 6.4 percent and 8.7 percent of these cases, the victims were less than five years old.

¹²⁵ Many of these, while reported in Khmer-language newspapers, are not reported in Phnom Penh's daily English-language newspaper, nor in the "Police Blotter" column of the local fortnightly English-language paper. See note 51. See also P.S. Hill and Heng Thay Ly, "Women are Silver, Women are Diamonds: Conflicting Images of Women in the Cambodian Print Media", *Reproductive Health Matters*, Vol. 12/24 (2004) pp. 104-115.

¹²⁶ O'Connell, *op. cit.*

¹²⁷ Hicks *op. cit.*, p. 17; LICADHO, *op. cit.*

¹²⁸ Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre, *Annual Report January–December 2002* (Phnom Penh: Cambodian Women's Crisis Centre, 2002) p. 8.

practical understanding of sexuality and the mechanics of their own bodies. It is likely, too, that there is operating here an additional process of "denial" or "forgetting" about things associated with sex, which Sik Ying Ho and Ka Tat Tsang point out is engaged in by young girls as part of their socialisation when they are raised in cultures where good girls are expected to be sexually inexperienced.¹²⁹ As a result, instead of learning about the emotional and physical aspects of sexuality and male-female relationships from authoritative sources, most young women rely for information on romantic movies, love stories in cheap "penny dreadfuls" and popular magazines. These depict an overly romanticised, unrealistic and often highly erroneous portrait of marriage and sexuality—a fantasy world.

Exposure to pornography during their teenage years exposes young women to another fantasy world, albeit one much less pleasant. It teaches that the sexual scripts and the violent and often highly perverted sexual acts portrayed in pornography are normal sexual practices in normal male-female relationships. It is clear that young women already have highly ambivalent attitudes towards marriage. When asked, "Is marriage something to be feared or something to be looked forward to for most young women?", one 16-year-old girl put it like this: "They feel afraid, feel afraid and happy at the same time; afraid that maybe their future husband will be violent and happy when they think that they will get married with a gentle man." Interviews with agencies working with young women similarly suggest that the latter hold highly ambivalent attitudes towards sexuality and marriage. The sexual scripts and sex acts portrayed in the pornography found in contemporary Cambodia should not be the material from which young women derive their expectations about sex and marital relations.

¹²⁹ P. Sik Ying Ho and A. Ka Tat Tsang, "The Things Girls Shouldn't See: Relocating the Penis in Sex Education in Hong Kong", *Sex Education*, Vol. 2/1 (2002).

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Summary of Results and the Way Forward

Introduction

In order to show how this WVC research and intervention relate to earlier work on GBV, this report began by examining how a focus on domestic and later gender-based violence developed in the international sphere over the past 25 years and in Cambodia over the past 15 years. Then, through a systematic examination of earlier works on domestic and gender-based violence, it analysed the models that have informed research and interventions in these areas in Cambodia over the past decade. The report showed that approaches to violence in Cambodia initially focused on domestic violence, and were primarily oriented to the collection of statistics to establish the magnitude of the problem, and to providing medical care for abused women, as well as assisting them with divorce and separation matters. From this point, work in the area developed a stronger rights-based approach, focusing on education about women's right not to be subject to GBV and on the need for male behavioural change. As the report has shown, approaches to understanding male violence have been based on, and largely remain mired in, a model of individual pathology—a focus on individual violent offenders—and have paid little attention to the structural basis of violence.

Thus it has been shown that this research and the planned RGBV project in Kandal Stung really do break new ground, in that they move from approaches grounded in individual pathology to approaches informed by an understanding of how the broader social system impacts on individuals and how it influences (not determines) their perceptions and actions. By looking at male violence and instead of focusing solely on individual perpetrators whose “bad” and “violent” behaviour must be modified, this report examined the cultural and structural dimensions of violence—issues such as masculinity and how this is influenced by alcohol, pornography and factors such as changing gender roles and limited male employment in rural areas. The issues that this report recommends be addressed by WVC—masculinity, alcohol use and the use of pornography—are society-wide issues. However, addressing them even in a small way through consciousness raising and reprogramming male behaviour has the potential to make major changes in the level of violence in Kandal Stung. Critically, it has been pointed out that addressing the structural and cultural basis of GBV does not preclude rights-based approaches, but rather facilitates the creation of communities in which rights-based approaches can be more fully realised.

The report has argued that in the long term we need to know more about masculinity and the roots of male violence in Cambodia because there really has been very little research into this area beyond attempts to count and catalogue violent activity. As was argued in Chapters Two and Four, the models used to understand the violence problem have a determining effect on how research is conducted, how the problem is portrayed and what form of interventions are recommended.¹³⁰ However, while many agencies are coming to recognise this point, there is a countervailing tendency in some sectors due to an inadvertent adoption of a zero sum approach. That is, some fear that adopting an approach that focuses on men will take something away from women. This is not the case, just as structural violence perspectives will not take something away from rights-based approaches. It will add essential knowledge to the GBV equation that for the last 15 years has, quite bizarrely, been passed over and left out. It has to be emphasised, once again, that we really know very little about Cambodian men, except in reports couched in terms of social pathology, even though work on HIV/AIDS has provided some details about both male and female identities.

Summary of Findings

Focusing on Kandal Stung district, this research has elicited new data about gender-based violence in Cambodia—new both in respect to incidence and in terms of our understanding of the factors that are significant in its causation and our understanding of indigenous perceptions of this form of violence.

It is likely that a major reason the project has succeeded in this manner was the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. To date most research about GBV in Cambodia has been either qualitative interviews with the victims of violence or various forms of quantitative surveys conducted through “cold knocking” on respondents’ doors. Those conducting the surveys selected their sampling frame and directly approached respondents with highly personal questions about domestic violence in their village and their household. Given the shame attached to domestic violence, all have been aware that this approach was unlikely to elicit the true incidence, and most working in the field have been content to do so with the implicit understanding, “There is much more violence out there than we can find”.

This WVC project, however, adopted an alternative approach. The researcher and his assistant/translator first conducted focus and discussion groups with a large number of respondents and were visible in the district for several weeks prior to surveying. Thus, by the time surveys were conducted, a high percentage

¹³⁰ It is likely that many persons who have worked on the issue of domestic violence or gender-based violence in Cambodia have had little awareness of the implications of the theoretical models that informed their activities.

of respondents were comfortable with the researcher and neither “clammed up” due to a reluctance to talk nor responded in terms of what they thought WVC wanted to hear because of an identification of the researcher with WVC. Then, subsequent to the surveying, the researcher and his assistant/translator returned to the research district for a subsequent three weeks of one-on-one interviews in order to clarify focus group and survey data..

The findings have been discussed in detail above, and it is unnecessary to repeat them at length here. However, by way of a brief summary of the major findings on the incidence of violence, it may be noted that there were three major outcomes: new knowledge about the incidence of violence and people’s attitude to it, new knowledge about masculinity and alcohol and their relationship to gender-based violence and new knowledge about pornography and its role in driving notions of masculinity and sexual scripts and its relation to sexual violence.

Outcome One: Incidence of Violence and People’s Attitude towards Violence

The research revealed that young people of both sexes in Kandal Stung experience a high level of violence from both school teachers and parents. Critically, the research showed that a higher percentage of mothers are violent towards their children than are fathers. Additionally, a high percentage of young people viewed the violence inflicted upon them as legitimate. Thus it is suggested that WVC programming in Kandal Stung should not only address the level of violence inflicted upon children by *both* mothers and fathers, but that it work with children so that they have more than a theoretical knowledge of rights.

The research also addressed rape, and the outcome revealed a very low incidence of rape in Kandal Stung.

The issue of who children thought should intervene in violent situations is of great significance; a majority of children suggested that relatives, followed by neighbours, should be the initial persons to intervene in violence and to aid the victim. It has been suggested that WVC might focus on providing both education and moral support to these groups and that programmes such as “the good man” and “the good neighbour” might be effective in this area. Interventions should also focus on the recognition of all forms of violence. The research suggested that the most severe acts of violence are generally recognised and eventually responded to, but that “low level” violence such as the violence against children revealed by this survey was not recognised as violence by adult respondents in the village, although it violates children’s rights and impairs their quality of life. Life skills materials may be of use in addressing these problems in future WVC village interventions.

During the course of this research, many interviews were conducted with both western and Cambodian agency leaders. It was clearly apparent that some of the western leaders were highly critical of existing Cambodian violence resolution systems and considered that one of the problems with the systems—and one of the symptoms of their failure—was that women found it too difficult to get a divorce in a male-dominated administrative system. It was pointed out to this consultant that once the new domestic violence legislation is passed, it will be much easier and quicker for women to divorce abusive husbands. However, in respect to solving gender-based violence at the village level, a point made by both village chiefs and commune chiefs, and by village violence volunteers as well as by some (ethnic) Cambodian agency directors, was that in most cases of dispute resolution, women *do not want* to be divorced—due mainly to social stigma and economic hardship, and also for the sake of their children—but that what they *do want* is an end to gender-based violence in their family. Surtees in a 2003 paper makes this point highly cogently when she notes that “anti-violence interventions that are feasible elsewhere *may* [my emphasis] be inappropriate in Cambodia”.¹³¹ She points out the need for interventions that work with local cultural ways of doing things so that lasting changes are facilitated.¹³² Interpreting the fact that women stay in an abusive relationship as an indication of their lack of agency, their lack of choice, may often be a total misreading of the situation.¹³³ Similarly, to view existing systems of counselling and conciliation as failing because they expose women to the risk of further violence in second and third “tries” at living with their spouse and because they slow a divorce may, once again, be a misreading of the situation. It is suggested that work by WVC at the village level might well focus on interventions that reinforce women’s choices and, in cases where abused women elect to remain in their marital relationship, assist in making that decision a safer one. Cambodia in past decades has experienced enough violence and social strife rooted in retribution, and there are some good Buddhist values such as compassion and forgiveness (which are in strong accord with Christian values) that might well be encouraged.

Outcome Two: Masculinity, Alcohol and Gender-Based Violence

The second major outcome of this research project was new knowledge in respect to masculinity. The research unpacked the models that have underpinned existing research on Cambodian masculinity, in order to show how this WVC research takes a new structural approach. It then examined the themes of coping, alcohol use and masculinity, autonomy, the good man, thinking ahead and sexuality. The link between notions of masculinity, alcohol use and violence is a major outcome. It has been suggested that the association of alcohol use and violence warrants WVC working on an alcohol reduction campaign,

¹³¹. R. Surtees, “Negotiating Violence and Non-violence in Cambodian Marriages”, *Gender and Development*, Vol. 11/2, p. 34.

¹³². See M. Hobart, *Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance* (London: Routledge, 1993).

¹³³. Surtees, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

perhaps drawing on UNICEF resources to do so, in order to create an enabling environment in which a rights-based approach to gender-based violence can be implemented more effectively. It has been suggested that campaigns showing the shameful side of drunkenness should be highly effective because this is a "well-known secret". Talking about the physical ill effects of high consumption of alcohol should reinforce this message. An additional model for the massaging of drinking patterns is to encourage men to know how much they have drunk and to have them monitor and limit drinking for their health's sake.

Discussions of coping and autonomy, the good man, thinking ahead and sexuality, all issues important in men's constitution of masculinity and ideas of self-worth, are all suggested areas where WHO life skills programmes might be used effectively to give men a greater understanding of the pressures on their lives and identities from the outside world, and also give them a higher self-esteem and sense of personal autonomy and self-worth. The aim of such programmes would be to decrease the occasions on which men feel that their self is being threatened and the likelihood that they will resort to violence as a means of constituting and protecting their masculine identity. It has also been suggested that anger control for both men and women might be addressed in WVC programming.

The research paid some attention to masculine role models, and the overwhelming majority of respondents replied in terms of characteristics of ideal men: men who were strong but not violent, who could look after their family, who did not drink too much alcohol, whose behaviour did not spoil the reputation of their family. Given these solid and culturally grounded notions about what good men are, it is suggested that if work were to begin on building up and promoting a new character as a role model, this be an entirely new character who embodies all the characteristics that children have pointed out as admirable in a good man, a good parent and a good neighbour.

Outcome Three: Pornography and Masculine (and Feminine) Scripts

The third major outcome of the research is the finding that both young boys and girls in Kandal Stung district are exposed to a high level of highly explicit and violent pornography in books and films on VCDs. The analysis suggested that this hard-core pornography and other pornography is causing a premature sexualising of children's lives, and that it is teaching young men not only some very distasteful, violent and abusive sexual scripts, but also that these are normal ways of being male and relating to women, both sexually and in day-to-day life. It has been suggested that exposure to this denigrating material is likely to have a detrimental impact on the self-image of young women, and also likely to have a major prejudicial influence on their attitudes towards and expectations of marriage and sexual relations. An important finding is that although the mean age at which children in the Kandal Stung sample encountered

pornography was 13.2 years, this was an artefact of the sample, and many boys and girls encounter pornography well before 12 years of age. This is important, because research in the international sphere has suggested that when boys encounter pornography at a very young age, they are likely to be permanently damaged in respect to their sexuality and sense of self; they may be permanently conditioned to be aroused through such material and may not be able to experience normal sexual satisfaction in later life. As a result, their marital relationship is likely to be characterised by a high level of frustration and possibly also by violence and sexual abuse. Thus it has been suggested that, as a matter of some urgency, WVC programmes in Kandal Stung devote attention to the impact of both video and print-based porn on the lives of young people.

A very significant outcome of the research about pornography is the link between pornography, sexual violence and rape—rape within marriage, gang rape and, particularly, the rape of girl children by boys who themselves are minors or even in early adolescence. Given the significance of this issue and the harm caused in Cambodia by these forms of rape, it warrants immediate action through further highly focused research and the development of a programme of intervention. The existing section of the peace-building curriculum is unlikely to be adequate to the task.

Although donor interests or needs may require quantitative research to establish the magnitude of the pornography problem in Cambodia as a whole, the bulk of research effort in this area should be qualitative, aimed at establishing the impact of pornography, attitudes towards it and a more sophisticated understanding of the relationship between pornography and sexual crime. Such research should, of course, also focus on developing means for combating access to and the influence of pornography on young people.

Appendix I: The Survey Instrument

The English-language version of the survey appended in the following pages was five pages long. Translated into Khmer, as set out on the page it comprised six pages. Filling in the survey took approximately half an hour.

World Vision Cambodia Reducing Gender Based Violence Survey

(Kandal Stung Survey, surveying young people between the ages of 12 and 18)

Survey Number:

This survey is being conducted by World Vision so that we can understand more about the lives of young people in your district. We would like to ask your point of view about some issues.

We will not ask your name, and all your answers are confidential and we will not tell your answers to any parents, teachers or any other person.

Involved with World Vision peace building programme or not? yes no

Personal Data

1. Are you a boy or a girl? Male Female

2. How old are you?

3. What is your religion?

4. If you are at school what grade are you in?

5. If you have finished school what was your highest grade completed?

School Experience of Violence

6. Have you seen or heard of a boy being beaten by their teacher?

7. How often does this happen in your school?

Never Occasionally Often Every day

8 Do you think beating a boy is

Always right Sometimes right Sometimes wrong Always wrong

9. Have you seen or heard of a girl being beaten by their teacher?

9. How often does this happen in your school?

Never Occasionally Often Every day

10. Do you think beating a girl is

Always right Sometimes right Sometimes wrong Always wrong

11. When should a teacher beat a boy child?

- a) When the child is disobedient yes no
- b) When the child is lazy yes no
- c) When the child is late yes no
- d) When the child is disruptive yes no
- e) When the child is not clever yes no

12. When should a teacher beat a girl child?

- a) When the child is disobedient yes no
- b) When the child is lazy yes no
- c) When the child is late yes no
- d) When the child is disruptive yes no
- e) When the child is not clever yes no

Home Experience of Violence

13. Have you seen or heard of a parent beating a boy child in your community? yes
no

14. How often do parents beat their sons in your community?

- Never Occasionally Often Every day

15. Do you think beating a boy child is:

- Always right Sometimes right Sometimes wrong Always wrong

16. Should someone stop the beating? yes no

17. Who should that person be?

- a) relative b) neighbour c) police d) village chief e) religious leader
- f) other.....

18. And afterwards, who can help the boy?

- a) relative b) neighbour c) police d) village chief e) religious leader
- f) other.....

19. Have you seen or heard of a parent beating a girl child in your community? yes
no

20. How often do parents beat their daughters in your community?

- Never Occasionally Often Every day

21. Do you think beating a girl child is:

- Always right Sometimes right Sometimes wrong Always wrong

22. Should someone stop the beating? yes no

23. Who should that person be?

- a) relative b) neighbour c) police d) village chief e) religious leader
- f) other.....

24. And afterwards, who can help the girl?

- a) relative b) neighbour c) police d) village chief e) religious leader
- f) other.....

25. After parents have beaten their children, who should help the parent understand that their actions are wrong?

- a) relative b) neighbour c) police d) village chief e) religious leader
- f) other.....

26. How can they help?-----

27. Have you ever been bullied? yes no

28. Have you ever been beaten by your teacher? yes no

29. Have you ever been beaten by your mother? yes no

30. Have you ever been beaten by your father? yes no

Sexual Abuse

31. Have you seen or heard of girls being raped in your community? yes no

32. How frequently does the rape of girl children happen in your community?

Never Occasionally Often Every day

33. What happens to girl children after they have been raped? -----

34. Who can help a girl after she has been raped?

a) relative b) neighbour c) police d) village chief e) religious leader f) other.....

35. How can they best help? -----

36. Can a girl who has been raped get married? yes no

Explain-----

37. Have you seen or heard of boys being raped in your community? yes

no

38. How frequently does the rape of boy children happen in your community?

Never Occasionally Often Every day

39. What happens to boy children after they have been raped? -----

40. Who can help a boy after he has been raped?

a) relative b) neighbour c) police d) village chief e) religious leader f) other.....

41. How can they best help? -----

42. Can a boy who has been raped get married? yes no

Explain: -----

43. Have you ever been raped? no

Details:-----

44. In your opinion, how serious are these types of violence?

a) teachers beating girl children
Extremely serious Very serious Fairly serious Not serious

b) teachers beating boy children
Extremely serious Very serious Fairly serious Not serious

c) parents beating girl children
Extremely serious Very serious Fairly serious Not serious

d) parents beating boy children
Extremely serious Very serious Fairly serious Not serious

e) the rape of girl children
Extremely serious Very serious Fairly serious Not serious

f) the rape of boy children
Extremely serious Very serious Fairly serious Not serious

Exposure to Pornography

45. Have you ever seen:

a) a pornographic book b) a pornographic film

46. How old were you when you saw your first example of pornography-----

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