

VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN
2009 FOLLOW-UP SURVEY

Cambodia 2009 - **Final Study Report**

**Violence Against Women
2009 Follow-Up Survey**

Final Study Report

Cambodia
2009

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FOREWORD

In 2005, a nation-wide baseline survey was conducted to gain insight into the attitudes towards, as well as occurrence of, domestic violence in Cambodia. This survey revealed that no less than 64% of the population knew a man who abused his wife, confirming that domestic violence is a serious problem affecting the majority of the country.

The impact of domestic violence extends far beyond the individual pain of each victim. Abuse severely affects victims' physical and emotional wellbeing, in turn affecting their ability to function and contribute to the household, which causes harm to the entire family. The social impact and ensuing economic loss has a negative effect on the prosperity and wellbeing of the entire Kingdom of Cambodia as well.

As this follow-up survey shows, important progress is being made. After four years of educational and awareness-raising efforts by the Ministry of Women's Affairs, local NGOs, and international organizations, this follow-up survey was created with the intent of documenting attitudinal and behavioural changes in Cambodian society. As the following pages will illuminate, there have been many encouraging results.

For example, the percentage of the population who know an abusive husband has significantly decreased to 53% (11% fewer than in 2005). This number remains, however, at over half of the population, suggesting that there is still much work to be done.

In particular, the results of this survey reveal that the belief about the rights of husbands to maintain unquestioned authority within their households persists until today. This also shows that the concept of gender equality is not yet widely understood or accepted as a necessary part of our society's development. The Ministry of Women's Affairs therefore will continue to advocate for and provide support to further initiatives aiming for substantial and foremost sustainable behavioural change in Cambodian society.

This follow-up survey would not have been possible without the support of numerous individuals and the commitment of our development partners. I would especially like to thank the organizations that funded and implemented this important follow-up study. Deep thanks are thus extended to the Promoting Women's Rights Project of GTZ, UNFPA, the Partnership for Gender Equity under UNDP, and UNIFEM, as well as to the Australian Government that supported the publication of this survey together with the above organizations.

Phnom Penh, April 2010

Her Excellency
Dr. Ing Kantha Phavi
Minister of Women's Affairs



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German Technical Cooperation (GTZ)

The Promotion of Women's Rights Project is a bilateral programme implemented by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH in cooperation with Ministry of Women's Affairs of Cambodia, funded by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The programme aims to build capacity within the Ministry of Women's Affairs and other relevant actors in order to implement the *Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and the Protection of the Victims* effectively, namely through awareness raising, supporting counselling services for victims and improving the respective legal framework.

United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)

UNFPA, the United Nations Population Fund, is an international development agency that promotes the right of every woman, man and child to enjoy a life of health and equal opportunity. UNFPA supports countries in using population data for policies and programmes to reduce poverty and to ensure that every pregnancy is wanted, every birth is safe, every young person is free of HIV/AIDS, and every girl and woman is treated with dignity and respect.

United Nations Development Program (UNDP) under the Partnership for Gender Equity (UNDP/MoWA/PGE)

United Nations Development Program (UNDP) supports the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA) through the UNDP/MOWA *Partnership for Gender Equity, Phase II (2006-2010)* project. The project supports strengthening of staff capacity and organizational development of MOWA to fulfil its mandate of advocating for, coordinating and monitoring gender mainstreaming in national policies, sector strategies and national reform programs, as well as for aid management. The project also works on developing sustainable institutional models for women's economic empowerment and supports research and strategies to address societal gender values through communication and advocacy.

United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

The United Nations Development fund for women (UNIFEM) is dedicated to advancing women's rights and achieving gender equality. UNIFEM works on several fronts towards ending violence against women and girls including tracking its root cause of gender inequality. Initiatives range from the development of legal frameworks and specific national actions, to supporting prevention at the grassroots level, including in conflict and post-conflict situations. UNIFEM also supports data collection on violence against women, facilitating new learning on the issue. UNIFEM manages the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women and has supported innovative projects to prevent and respond to violence against women in Cambodia. UNIFEM has a longstanding relationship of cooperation and support with the Ministry of Woman's Affairs.

Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID)

The Australian Government has zero tolerance to violence against women and recognises that reducing violence against women is crucial to achieving the global gender equality and delivering good development outcomes. The Australian Aid Program, AusAID works in Cambodia through the Cambodia Criminal Justice Assistance Project (CCJAP 3). CCJAP 3 aims to strengthen the criminal justice system in Cambodia with a focus on youth and women. The project supports the Cambodian Ministries of Interior, Justice and provincial authorities to improve police and court responses to women experiencing violence. AusAID also supports services provided by NGOs targeted at women in the justice system, including legal aid, counselling, health and housing services.

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ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ADHOC	Cambodian Human Rights & Development Association
BC	British Columbia
BMZ	German Federal Ministry For Economic Co-operation & Development
CAMBOW	Cambodian Committee Of Women
CDHS	Cambodian Demographic & Health Survey
CEDAW	Convention On The Elimination Of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CGA	Cambodian Gender Assessment
CIM	Centre For International Migration & Development
CMDG	Cambodian Millennium Development Goal
COMBI	Communications For Behavioural Impact
DFID	Department For International Development
DoP	Department Of Planning
DV-Law	Law On The Prevention Of Domestic Violence & The Protection Of Victims
DV	Domestic Violence
EWMI	East West Management Institute
GAD	Gender & Development
GAD/C	Gender & Development For Cambodia
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GTZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical Co-operation)
GTZ GE	Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical Co-operation) (German Office)
GTZ KH	Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical Co-operation) (Cambodian office)
GTZ PWR	Deutsche Gesellschaft Für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Technical Co-operation) Promotion of Women’s Rights
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IRL	Indochina Research Cambodia Limited
LA	Local Authority
LICADHO	Cambodian League For The Promotion & Defence Of Human Rights
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoEYS	Ministry of Education, Youth & Sports
MoH	Ministry Of Health
MoI	Ministry Of Interior
MoJ	Ministry Of Justice
MoP	Ministry Of Planning
MoWA	Ministry Of Women’s Affairs
NAP	National Action Plan

NIS	National Institute Of Statistics
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PADV	Project Against Domestic Violence
PGE	Partnership For Gender Equity
PLG	Partnership For Local Governance
PPS	Probability Proportional To Size
PWR	Promotion Of Women's Rights
RGC	Royal Government Of Cambodia
SEILA	A Khmer Language Word Meaning "Foundation Stone" The Decentralised Planning, Financing & Management Of The Rural Development Programme Of The Royal Government Of Cambodia
SPSS	Statistical Product & Service Solutions
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TG	Target Group
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Fund For Children
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund For Women
UQAM	University Of Quebec In Montreal
US	United States
USAID	United States Agency For International Development
VAW	Violence Against Women
WHO	World Health Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

VAW has a serious impact not only on those who experience it, but on the country's social and economic situation as well. To address the serious toll that DV takes on Cambodia, the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) has made reducing DV a priority. In particular, the RGC is focused on addressing the Cambodian Millennium Development Goal (CMDG) 3, which aims to “promote gender equality and empower women” and overall target 8 within this goal, which is to “reduce significantly all forms of VAW and children.” This report contributes evidence in support of the RGC's strategy to reduce DV.

The East West Management Institute (EWMI), UNIFEM and the GTZ PWR project, in co-operation with the MoWA, initiated a baseline survey in 2005 to gather a broad spectrum of data to help assess the situation and formulate effective solutions. This final study report contains the analysis of the findings of a 2009 follow-up.

The follow-up study phases included:

- Identifying profiles of respondents' backgrounds, with a view to eventually developing typologies of attitudes towards violence;
- Obtaining numerical data regarding the interviewees' direct and indirect awareness and experience of VAW; gaining knowledge of the sample's attitudes and opinions regarding a list of behaviour that can be considered violent and specifically, evaluating to what extent such acts are considered unethical/socially unacceptable/criminal;
- Evaluating the experienced social impact of violence, particularly in terms of direct and indirect costs;
- Determining which are the existing services for victims of violence, their perceived quality and the awareness the interviewees' have of them;
- Examining the interviewees' expectations regarding the future evolution of the phenomenon.

To meet these aims, this follow-up study report is structured to provide a brief history of DV policies and implementation activities in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 reviews the study methodology. Chapter 3 presents single-year survey findings for the 2009 follow-up study and comparative analysis between the 2005 and 2009 studies. Percentage changes in respondent perceptions and reported behaviour of more than 20% since the 2005 survey, whether positive or negative, have been a particular focus and thus highlighted through summary text boxes throughout the chapter. Chapter 4 further discusses implications for these findings and provides programme and research recommendations for future efforts. Annex A provides supplementary findings which were not as dramatic in difference between the 2005 and 2009 surveys as those presented in the body of the report, but that are nonetheless interesting for programme evaluation purposes. Annex B includes profiles of survey respondent samples. Annex C includes survey questionnaires. Annex D, the technical supplement annex report, contains a complete data set of all the statistical test results for the 2009 follow-up survey.

Key findings from the 2009 survey, as well as positive and negative changes between 2005 and 2009, are summarised below.

KEY CHANGES BETWEEN 2005 & 2009 DATA

Attitudes about DV

- For both genders, fewer respondents perceived violent acts as acceptable compared to 2005, whilst recognition of violent acts as illegal was on the rise for all categories.
- Since 2005, all respondents, especially women, were generally expressing a much lower tolerance for all categories of violence.
- More than 50% of all respondents felt that a wife behaving in an argumentative, disrespectful or disobedient manner warranted a violent response by her husband, even of the life-threatening type. Wives questioning husbands about spending money or visiting girlfriends or sex workers elicited the highest percentage of responses that extreme violence was justified by husbands (ranging from 16%-22%).
- Most of the findings confirmed that deeply entrenched and unequal gender relations, underpinned by male domination and control, continues to drive attitudes of most men and women towards the use of violence.
- As in 2005, people from urban areas were more likely to see severe violence as acceptable when a wife questioned her husband about going to sex workers or girlfriends than those in rural areas.
- Both men and women reported that women's attitudes are greatly influenced by the lack of law enforcement (55% and 52% for men and women, respectively).

Experience of DV

- In all categories reported by victims of abuse, levels of abuse by partners have decreased from 2005 levels.
- A significant difference existed between reports of circumstances which lead to violence from "all respondents" (highlighted in section 3.1.1), when compared to reports from victims only. There is a marked rise in reported instances of less abusive interactions (e.g. yelling, cursing and throwing) for women who are perceived by their spouses as failing in their assumed gender roles (e.g. child rearing, house cleaning, food preparation, etc.)
- There is a clear correlation between the prevalence of DV in households where members had parents who engaged in DV. Reports of own behaviour tend to generally follow reports of parental behaviour in all categories except yelling.

Impact of Physical Violence by a Spouse: Economic, Health & Well-Being

- More than half the sample reported emotional distress in some form.
- Women, the poor and young people's physical health and sense of well-being were most affected.
- Only 14% of men reported physical illness or weight loss as a result of domestic conflicts, whilst 25% of women did.

The Role of Alcohol in DV

- 8%-10% more women in the sample are drinking occasionally compared to 2005, whilst men are drinking at about the same rate, with only a 3%-4% reported increase in occasional drinking.
- When questions related to frequency of abusive behaviour were matched across reports of spousal drinking, 88%-93% of spouses reported yelling occurring at least once a week, whilst 47%-59% respondents reported cursing occurring at least once a week. 12%-18% of respondents reported throwing occurring at least once a week (an increase of 6%-12% from 2005 data), whilst tying up and beating occurred once a week for 4%-5% of respondents (this represents a 3%-4% increase from 2005). 8%-11% of respondents reported being threatened with a knife at least once in a week period (a 7%-10% increase from 2005). For individuals living with more frequent drinkers, all types of lesser abuses appeared to be a frequent and consistent experience for spouses.

Male Anger

- A higher percentage of women than men felt anger was justified in all behavioural scenarios presented.
- In particular, a woman's neglect of the children, spending money without telling her husband and neglecting housework received higher response rates than non-household gender-based activities.
- It is clear that women hold much stronger attitudes about the appropriateness of their behaviour as wives than their male partners, so future educational campaigns should be sure to consider how to best dialogue about differences in male and female expectations related to gender-based household roles.

Controlling Behaviour

- Compared to 2005, 12% more men in 2009 indicated accusations of unfaithfulness towards their wives were rather unjustified. 35% more women felt a man accusing his wife of unfaithfulness was rather or very unjustified. 32% more women reported it was rather unjustified or very unjustified to not allow wives to see their girlfriends.
- Women were more likely than men to say it was justifiable for a man to forbid his wife to wear certain clothes, or to insist on knowing where his wife is at all times.
- 47% of women reported feeling men's efforts to keep a wife from seeing her family as justified, compared to 45% of men.
- There was a 17% increase in men feeling it was rather justified to know where their wife was at all times and a 7% drop in those feeling it was rather unjustified, demonstrating men feel knowing their wife's whereabouts at all time is an increasingly justifiable activity.
- There was a 10% increase in women who agreed that a man insisting on knowing where his wife is at all times is rather justified.

Rape (General) & Rape in Marriage

- The vast majority of respondents said that rape should be punished by jail for more than three years, unless it was committed by a boyfriend or sweetheart. This is in keeping with 2005 findings, where 73%-92% of respondents preferred prison terms of over 3 years for all rapists except boyfriends or friends. More than half the sample preferred lower penalties for boyfriends. In the case of rape by a boyfriend, 47% of 2005 respondents preferred jail terms of 3 or more years, 14% preferred jail terms of up to 3 years and 21% preferred compensation.
- 33% of the sample said a woman may justifiably refuse to have sex with her husband in case he had HIV/AIDS, compared with 49% of respondents in 2005. 33% of respondents in 2009 reported a husband having a sexually transmitted disease (STD) was a justifiable reason, whilst 56% of respondents in 2005 had said it was. 26% of the sample in 2009 said a woman was justified in refusing sex when her husband has had sex with other women, compared to 35% in 2005.
- Family members were reported as committing rape 28% of the time for total cases reported. Fathers and step-fathers accounted for 9% of this total. Friends or acquaintances accounted for 47% of the total number of perpetrators. These findings support the need for enhanced “acquaintance rape” and “date rape” education for children, teenagers and young men and women. Education should be directed at both genders.
- There have been almost no changes (all less than 3%) in any categories related to punishment for rape between 2005 and 2009.
- Only 10% of poorer respondents accepted having HIV/AIDS as a justifiable excuse to refuse sex, compared to 39% of higher income earners (versus a 33% aggregate total).
- 7% less men felt a husband having sex with another woman was a justifiable excuse to refuse sex (compared to a 10% drop in women in the same category).
- 20% less men believed a wife having just given birth was a legitimate excuse to refuse sex (compared to an 11% drop in women in the same category).

Available Options for Seeking Help for DV & Rape

- Over 97% of respondents identified commune authorities or the police as readily available resources in cases of crisis, similar to the 2005 survey.
- Rape is the only form of abuse where women actively seek help and retribution from the perpetrator. In stark contrast with other cases of VAW, only 6% said that the woman they knew who had been raped kept quiet and did nothing. This is down 5% from the 2005 survey.
- 64%-65% of men and 55%-56% of women reported women going to the police or courts or commune authorities in such cases, compared to 69% of men and 47% of women in 2005.
- There was a 9% increase in victims approaching the family of the perpetrator for compensation (men only reported a 2% increase).
- Only 8% cited the courts, which are often located far away from their place of residence, whilst 15% of respondents reported non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and agencies offering counselling and support as the third most available source of services.
- In 2009, 87% of all respondents reporting direct involvement in a rape incident reported seeking no help (95% of men and 91% of women reported never sought help for such problems.)

Seeking Help in Other Cases of Abuse

- 83% of men and 81% of women reported doing nothing when they knew about abuse, whilst 9% of men and 14% of women disclosed they had reported abuse to the commune authorities or village elders. 8% of men and 11% of women shared incidents with relatives or friends. Only 2% of men and 4% of women went to the police or courts.
- In 2009, men reported doing nothing 23% more often than in 2005, whilst women reported doing nothing 29% of the time. Reports of men talking to friends or relatives about the incident dropped 27%, whilst women dropped 22%. Men reported a drop of 13% in reports to the commune authorities or village elders, whilst women's reporting only dropped 2%.

The Respondents' Own Experience in Seeking Help

- Women were more likely to go to the commune authorities or village elders (14% of women compared to 9% of men responding to this question), followed by telling friends or relatives (11% of women compared to 8% of men). Only 2% of men and 4% of women reported going to the courts or police.
- Keeping quiet and doing nothing was by far the most common response to physical abuse by a spouse.

LAs' & Police Attitudes about DV

- In comparison to 2005 responses, the greatest shifts in perception have occurred regarding what LAs feel is acceptable behaviour in response to women arguing, not obeying or showing disrespect to their husbands.
- LAs' perception that cursing or insulting a wife was an acceptable response to such wife behaviour dropped by 17%, whilst respondents' selection of "throwing something at the other or pushing" as an acceptable response dropped by 32%.
- 17% more responses were recorded in the "don't know/not sure" category for appropriate behaviour responding to wife questioning a husband about girlfriends/going to sex workers.
- Selection of "throwing acid, stabbing or shooting" as an acceptable response fell by 26% in the "wife argues with him, does not obey or show respect" category, by 14% in the "wife neglects the children" category, by 16% in the "wife questions him about spending money" category and by 15% in the "wife questions him about girlfriends/going to sex workers" category.
- In 2009, 35%-45% of LA's felt that a husband was justified in engaging in the most extreme types of violence (e.g. tying up and hitting, threatening with knife or machete, burning or choking, throwing acid, stabbing or shooting) if wives argued with husbands, did not obey him or did not show respect.
- In 2009, in the case of a wife questioning a husband about visiting girlfriends or sex workers, 21% of officials indicated burning or choking was an acceptable response, whilst 28% indicated that acid throwing/threatening with a gun was acceptable.

LAs' & Police Views on Seeking Help

- 52%-84% of LAs and police proposed that a person could turn to the police to seek support in times of domestic crisis.

- 90%-100% of all authorities selected “seeking help from commune or village authorities” as the best response in times of crisis.

LAs’ & Police Views of Legal Status of DV

- More than 50% of the LAs and police indicated they knew that physical violence is illegal, in contrast to 80% of the general population.
- 96%-100% of the general sample knew that the most extreme forms of violence are illegal, compared to 70%-100% of different categories of local officials.

LAs’ & Police Views on Cultural Influences on Men

- 63% of local officials were inclined to cite the lack of law enforcement as influencing men’s attitudes towards women, as compared to 58% of the general population, which represents a rise in this category of 6% since 2005.

LAs’ & Police Views on Crime in General

- Since 2005, there has been a 38% increase in LAs reporting that women are “very rarely/never” raped where no complaint is made.
- In 29% more cases, rapists very rarely or never pay compensation. However, these same respondents indicated that in 10% more cases, rapists are very rarely or never jailed.
- District authorities have improved their ranking of DV by 10%, while the police have increased their ranking by 6%. (Commune authorities only increased their ranking by 3%).

Experience of LAs & Police with DV

- Between 2005 and 2009, reports of wives being beaten by their husbands decreased in all reporting categories (between 3%-9%). 50% of LAs said they received 1-4 complaints from women whose husbands had beaten them in the preceding year. 20% of the officials said they received from between 5-10 complaints during this period and 7% reported receiving 10-20 complaints.

Rights Identified as Important to Cambodian Citizens, Knowledge of DV Law

- 96% of male respondents considered the DV law very helpful/helpful, whilst 98% of women agreed. For respondents earning under \$20 United States (US) a month, this figure dropped to 95%, whilst 99% of higher earners (over \$200 US per month) report it as very helpful/helpful. 3% of poor respondents ranked it as ineffective and 3% ranked it as harmful. Please note: This question was not asked in 2005.
- The “right to equity” was named as an important right by only 11% of men and 19% of women.
- Since 2005, there has been an increase of 22% in respondents selecting the “right to live and to survive” as the most important freedom.

Perceptions about Inequality

- 95% of men and 91% of women indicated knowledge of a Cambodian law against DV. Worth noting in the 2009 findings is the fact that only 76% for poorer respondents (under \$20 US monthly income) were aware of this law, in contrast to 96% of higher earners (over \$200 US monthly income). Please note: This question was not asked in 2005.
- 18% of respondents reported that men have more rights than others. When asked whether men are entitled to different rights than women, 15% of men said yes, whilst 20% of women said yes.
- Both men and women believe men have more right to be the main decision-makers in their family and participate in ideas in the family than women. These similar response percentages differ greatly from response categories in 2005, where nearly three times as many women as men gave men more rights than women.

Seeking Help to Protect Rights

- 19% more high income earners identified the commune authorities as helpful.
- Since 2005, men's selection of the media as a helpful conduit for accessing rights has dropped by 16%, while women's selection dropped 7%. There was an 18% drop in poorest respondents selecting the media.

INTRODUCTION

VAW has a serious impact not only on those who experience it, but on the country's social and economic situation as well. To address the serious toll that DV is taking on Cambodia, the RGC has made reducing DV a priority. In particular, the RGC is focused on addressing the CMDG 3, which aims to "promote gender equality and empower women" and overall target 8 within this goal, which is to "reduce significantly all forms of VAW and children." This final report contributes evidence in support of the RGCs strategy to reduce DV.

The EWMI, UNIFEM and the GTZ PWR project, in co-operation with the MoWA, initiated a baseline study in 2005 to gather a broad spectrum of data to help assess the situation and formulate effective solutions. The final study report contains the analysis of the findings of the 2009 follow-up.

Additional support to this 2009 follow-up survey was given, with the expectation that new comparative data would enable partners to assess the impact of interventions at survey sites, identify the type and scope of further interventions needed and their target groups (TGs) and formulate evidence-based and measurable indicators with an existing benchmark.

DV in Cambodia takes place within a complex web of attitudes and values about gender roles, social relations and violence in general. VAW in Cambodia has been the subject of several studies in the course of the past ten years, but this two-part study is the first systematic national survey that deals with attitudes towards DV. The follow-up study thus contributes to understanding of the current DV climate by examining current levels of DV, as well as the attitudes and impact linked to this problem. The study also explores deeper elements of this situation, including women's acceptance of violence, views of DV as a private, family matter and the disproportionate impact of violence reported by the poor.

1.1 FOLLOW-UP STUDY BACKGROUND

The 2009 follow-up survey has been conducted to assess progress in the eradication of DV in Cambodia.

The RGC has included the fight against DV into its national development targets, the CMDGs:

Overall Target 8: Reduce significantly all forms of VAW & children

- Target 3.16: Developing and implementing laws against all forms of VAW and children according to international requirements and standards by 2005.
- Target 3.17: Collecting annual statistics to monitor VAW by 2005.
- Target 3.18: Increasing the population percentage aware that VAW is wrongful behaviour and a criminal act to 100 by 2015.
- Target 3.19: Developing and implementing a Prevention Plan by 2005.
- Target 3.20: Increasing the proportion of cases of DV counselled by qualified personal to 100 by 2015.

In 2010, the RGC will have to report again on its progress in the implementation of the CMDGs. The survey report aims to assist the RGC in assessing the degree of progress in relation to the CMDGs related to VAW and children.

1.2 FOLLOW-UP STUDY OBJECTIVES

IRL was commissioned to conduct the follow-up survey to the baseline survey of 2005 "VAW in Cambodia," also conducted by IRL. The results of the follow-up survey reflect the progress on the commitment of the RGC to the above-mentioned CMDGs (as compared against the 2005 baseline).

Thus, the baseline and follow-up surveys have been conducted in such a manner as to inform discussions and decisions on DV and other social programmes among key stakeholders, including the RGC, donors, the judiciary and police, legal professionals, various institutions, researchers and civil society at large. In keeping with these aims, the follow-up survey's design, research methodology, questionnaires, fieldwork planning, fieldwork quality control, data processing and data analysis have been replicated from the baseline survey as exactly as possible (see VAW - A Baseline Survey, Phnom Penh 2005).

The overall methodology and structure of the survey were designed to provide continuity, as much as possible, with the Project Against DV (PADV) survey conducted in 1996 and the GTZ baseline survey, VAW, conducted in 2005, in order to allow for comparison. Specifically, this survey measures the same categories of verbal and physical violence measured by the 1996 and the 2005 baseline surveys.

Violence involves complex interactions of cultural, social and economic factors. In a country with gender-hierarchical traditions and a unique history like that of Cambodia, such interactions can be particularly difficult to identify and unravel. Therefore, the baseline and the follow-up survey approach the problem from several perspectives, in order to achieve the following objectives:

- To create two data points for measuring awareness, attitudes and practices regarding VAW. These data points can contribute to ongoing monitoring of DV trends in Cambodia in the foreseeable future, as well as evaluate the responses of the government and other agencies to such issues.
- To create an up-to-date knowledge base, describing the extent of violence, which can be used by agencies, donors and government to assess the situation as it stands, in support of achieving the CMDGs.
- To provide insight into Cambodian culture and social perceptions and derive strategies to influence persistent behavioural and cultural patterns which serve as obstacles to the development of Cambodian women.

In particular, the study seeks to gain a comprehensive perspective of the following factors:

- Precise numerical data regarding the interviewees' direct and indirect awareness and experience of VAW.
- Data on violence experienced outside the family, such as violence at the hands of friends, strangers, the police and military.
- Detailed knowledge of the sampled population's attitudes and opinions regarding a list of behaviour, both verbal and physical, including rape and marital rape, including attitudes

about whether violent acts are considered socially unacceptable or criminal, and attitudes about causes of violence.

- The social impact of violence, particularly in terms of indirect costs (lost time/earnings/opportunities etc) and direct costs (medical, police, judiciary etc).
- An assessment of the existing services for victims of violence, their perceived quality and public awareness of them.
- An examination of the interviewees' expectations regarding the future evolution of the phenomenon.
- Precise profiles of all respondents' backgrounds, which will aid in efforts to develop typologies of attitudes toward violence in the future. Precise profiles of all respondents' backgrounds, which will aid in efforts to develop typologies of attitudes toward violence in the future.

1.3 THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR DV IN CAMBODIA

Constitution

The following provisions included in the Constitution lay the foundation for protecting women and children from DV:

- The right to life, personal freedom and security (Article 32).
- The law shall guarantee there shall be no physical abuse against any individual (Article 38).
- The right to equality of men and women before the law (Article 31).
- Protection from discrimination based on gender (Article 45).
- Protection of the rights of children (Article 48).
- The health of the people shall be guaranteed (Article 72) (RGC, Constitution, 1993).

The Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and the Protection of the Victims (2005)

The MoWA, other government institutions and civil society organisations co-operate to implement the DV-Law, passed in 2005. The law aims to ensure institutional infrastructure that enables victims of DV to protect their rights but also to prevent DV in the future.

The 2005 DV-law was passed to promote a culture of non-violent behaviour. The law defines violence as including acts affecting life, physical integrity, tortures or cruel acts as well as sexual aggression. DV is referred to as violence that happens and could happen towards a husband or wife, dependent children or any other person living under the roof of the house who is a dependent of the household.

Passing the law provided the basis for building relevant capacities at individual and institutional levels, but at the same time offered a new legal framework which may contribute to a change in social norms. Backgrounds, concepts and guidelines for the interpretation of the law have been published in the Explanatory Notes on the DV-Law in 2007.

Correlations between the Penal Law & the DV-Law

The DV-Law does not focus on punitive measures, but on prevention. It must be noted that the DV-Law is neither a general nor a special penal law, thus the law does not contain any substantial penal provisions which define crimes or which set out particular punishments.

Thus, in the case of DV, a criminal investigation, prosecution and conviction is possible, but not on the basis of the DV-Law but instead pursuant to the Penal Code, especially as many kinds of actions of DV are criminalised by the Penal Code.

Consequently, the principle of mandatory prosecution is applicable (see Articles 42, 43, 44 and 45 of the Penal Procedure Code). The principle of mandatory prosecution obliges the prosecuting authority to take action if there is the slightest suspicion a crime has been committed. Thus, in general, the prosecuting authority has to open a judicial investigation, no matter if there is a request by the victim or somebody else and regardless of the affected person's will. This principle might create a "barrier" for reporting DV. Often, a victim will not report an incident and seek legal protection, as the victim wants to prevent the perpetrator - often a family member - from being prosecuted or convicted.

Although the DV-Law primarily aims to prevent violence and to protect the victim, it cannot privilege perpetrators of DV by hindering prosecution though, especially as the DV-Law shall not create any conflicts with other laws such as the Penal Code. However, the legislator of DV-Law was aware of this "dilemma". Thus, Article 36 of the DV-law states that criminal prosecution shall not be possible if there is a request from a victim who is an adult, due to the fact that the offences are minor misdemeanors or petty crimes. Through this, victims of DV shall be encouraged to make use of the legal protection provided by the DV-Law.

Reporting Procedures for DV

Reporting of DV under the DV-Law can take place in several ways:

- If officials intervene they are required to make a clear record about the incident and report it immediately to the prosecutors in charge.
- If officials who have already earned the legal qualification as the judiciary police are absent - the local police, police agents, Royal Gendarmerie, LAs in the commune/Sangkat (LA in the city), officials of the MoWA, as well as village chiefs who have intervened, can make a record to the court. The record has the same value as the record made by judiciary police officials.
- Authorities who have the role to serve the interests and protect the welfare of the children have an obligation to report DV against children. In severe cases, the authorities in charge shall file the case to the court. Any responsible person assigned by the court, including the prosecutors, shall take charge of conducting a follow up of the situation of the children and make a report about this situation to the court.

Implementation

As demonstrated above, according to the DV-Law, many acts of DV will also constitute a criminal liability according to the Penal Code. This can deter some women and children from reporting violence, thus forming a serious barrier for seeking help under the DV-Law, particularly if the

perpetrator contributes the sole income of the household. Most women do not want to see their husbands in jail and children do not want to lose their father, even if there is violence in the home. In numerous focus group discussions, village and commune authorities reported that even in serious cases of violence women asked that their husbands not be prosecuted and the authorities obliged.

As well, some key informants interviewed for the baseline study reported that the specific manner for children and women to report DV is not spelled out in this law, nor has the law's definition of violence and scope been communicated to all stakeholders.

According to the Cambodian League for the Promotion and Defence of Human Rights (LICADHO) Report on Violence against Women (2006), the DV law had not yet been widely implemented at the time of their report publication in 2006 in Cambodia. Not at least a lack of enforcement as well as "engrained attitudes" amongst members of the authorities, that still see DV as a private matter that should not be interfered with by the public, were named as obstacles.

1.4 THE CURRENT POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR DV IN CAMBODIA

In 1992, Cambodia ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women (CEDAW). Thus, Cambodia is required to take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men. In the Constitution of 1993, the state has committed to eliminating all forms of discrimination against women.

In April 2004, the RGC supplemented the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with a national objective on the issue of VAW. It calls for a significant reduction of every form of VAW and children by 2015. Cambodia is thus the first country in the world to make reducing VAW an indicator of its national development (Woods 2008).

In the Rectangular Strategy and in the National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP) of the Royal Government of Cambodia, gender equality is a prominent target. The government's strategy to promote gender equality is laid out in MoWA's strategic plan, the Neary Rattanak. This plan is subject to constant revision and further elaboration to fulfil these targets effectively. The adoption of the DV-Law in 2005 as well as the Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation in 2008 are only examples for tangible results. Not least "the fair share for women", a comprehensive gender assessment conducted in 2008 by MoWA, provided the basis for more analysis and policy adjustment.

Consequently, in October 2009 the National Action Plan (NAP) to Prevent Violence On Women (NAPVW) was launched. The Action Plan is a four-year-plan (2009-2012). Its core objective is to encourage the participation of relevant institutions, different competencies in the government and to encourage the enforcement of the law to prevent and to reduce all forms of VAW. Strategies and activities that are mentioned in this plan are the results of the government's and relevant stakeholders' efforts at all levels.

In particular, the strategic areas for future programming are:

- Raising public awareness and the distribution of laws to the public.
- Creating and improving social, health and legal services.

- Developing and improving policies and related laws.
- Strengthen the capacity of competent officials and relevant services.

Last but not least, the NAPVW stresses the need for a standardised system for data collection from different sources to monitor the frequency and extent of VAW and children.

1.5 KEY POLICY ACTIONS RECOMMENDED

The study's findings represent a significant step forward in understanding of patterns of attitudes and behaviour in Cambodia which contribute to DV. In particular, the survey examines current levels of DV, as well as the attitudes and impact linked to this problem. It also explores deeper elements of this situation, including women's acceptance of violence, views of DV as a private family matter and the disproportionate impact of violence reported by the poor.

However, it is important to note that such data is only as useful as far as it is integrated into national policy debates and implemented into actionable agenda items at the sub-national and local community levels.

Key recommendations are as follows:

- 1) **Develop a Long-Term Strategy for Investing in Primary Prevention:** The comparative analysis clearly indicates the need for a priority focus on behaviour change and investing in socialisation processes of boys, men, whole family units and local officials and the police. Most of the current actions are more focused on the response to DV and less on primary prevention.
- 2) **Prioritise Behaviour Patterns that Need to be Targeted:** Enhancing knowledge and skills in effective behaviour and attitudinal change interventions based on the priority issues identified in the survey. These include:
 - Broad scale dissemination of the costs of violence to individuals, families, communities and society at large.
 - Analysis of harmful practices from socio-cultural perspectives, as well as consideration of the consequences of these practices from the rights' and equity perspective.
 - Women's empowerment programmes to inform on structural inequity, rights, information on services and support networks.
 - Men's accountability on violent behaviour, information on women's and girls' rights and the consequences of violence on them and their families.
 - Sensitisation of young boys and youth on respect for women and girls, gender equity and rights and the consequences of violence.
 - Targeted education for rural and urban residents, both rich and poor.
- 3) **Focus on Rights-Based Education:** Rights-based education and deeper qualitative research to understand basic socio-cultural values underlying understandings of DV are critical components of future policy intervention activities. As well, more preventative education programmes are needed which develop out of these enhanced understandings. Innovative programming should be developed to make better use of a range of media outlets. Community-based services, especially crisis-oriented services, preventative educational materials and dialogues to enhance

community members' understanding of their responsibility to report DV and support victims should be the focus of local programming efforts.

- 4) **Target Women's Acceptance of Violence as a Significant Attitude to Shape with Future Policy Interventions:** Women's continued acceptance of violence is also a critical area where significant policy interventions should be directed. Acceptance, tolerance and rationalisation of such abuse is deeply embedded in traditional Cambodian socio-cultural value systems which must be further explored in such a manner as to develop educational programmes which leave positive traditional values in place, whilst allowing both women and men alike to re-evaluate beliefs which might perpetuate cycles of abuse within Cambodian households.
- 5) **Focus on Strengthening the Legal System:** Much more attention to strengthening the legal system is also a critical component of enhancing the package of DV services available to victims in Cambodia. As long as victims feel that reporting such instances is a waste of time, a critical link in support and service provision is lost. Other studies have documented the "environment of impunity" surrounding acquaintance rape (Cambodian Gender Assessment (CGA) 2004), even in the case of gang rape of those who are perceived as "modern women", a disturbing and rising national trend.
- 6) **Improve Local Access to Victim Services:** Better access for victims to local and district services should be made available. Local and district-level programmes to provide specific services for DV sufferers need to be addressed. Partner and stakeholder consultations to agree on interventions and strengthen an integrated response (e.g. public awareness, social, medical and legal services, policies and related laws and training and capacity building). Courts should be provided with educational and crisis-related materials for walk-in victims seeking support. Education for LAs and police should be greatly enhanced, both in terms of understanding the legality of certain acts, as well as rights-based education to address the socio-cultural norms police and LAs hold about women's and men's rights in general.
- 7) **Increase use of Media Outlets, Expansion to more Creative Programming & Conduits for Education:** The survey indicates that over 70% of men and women believe that the media can inform them about their rights. How can more DV education be streamlined into popular shows, highlighted on social networking sites and made a focus of public service announcements?
- 8) **Build Capacity:** Through the introduction of a Communications for Behavioural Impact (COMBI) strategy for selected stakeholders, including cascade training and development of strategies. Enhancing knowledge and skills in effective behavioural and attitudinal change interventions. Such interventions should include training for: 1) stakeholders in the design and use of the COMBI strategy and 2) selected stakeholders as COMBI trainers. A third suggestion would be for stakeholders and partners working on DV in Cambodia to design their own COMBI strategies.
- 9) **Strengthen Men's Involvement in DV Prevention Efforts:** Setting up men's groups at the community level as an added dimension in promoting positive values for men in general and youth. Men's involvement with gender-based violence (GBV) programmatically should be complementing women's groups' efforts. Consultative mechanisms on what women need and want for men to do is an essential area of designing and planning men's interventions.

METHODOLOGY

2.1 SAMPLING FRAME

A general population sample has been constructed to be representative of the Cambodian population and reproducible in future surveys. In keeping with the baseline survey sampling strategy, a multi-stage stratified proportional cluster sample was constructed for the follow-up survey, ensuring that the sample composition matched known distributions within the Cambodian population.

The follow-up survey sample is representative of the Cambodian population aged 15 years and over, which constitutes the survey's main TG 1. The minimum suggested sample size for TG 1 was 3,000 (as it was in the baseline survey), with a total of 3,040 respondents making up the final sample. Two additional samples of interviewees were required for the study: at least 150 police representatives (TG 2) and at least 150 representatives of the LAs (TG 3). Together, these samples actually totalled 311 people. These two smaller target groups were included to cover the need for specific information about attitudes and behaviour of law enforcement agencies and their knowledge of the law.

All samples were equally distributed across selected provinces and chosen at random. The sample was large enough to allow dis-aggregation into sub-samples that would remain statistically significant. This was not only for the crucially important task of creating a representative sub-sample of women, but also for further dis-aggregation of the women's sub-sample, as well as the entire sample by urban or rural location, educational level and income.

Both the baseline and follow-up surveys' sample stages included:

- 13 provinces randomly chosen by PPS (Probability Proportional to Size), covering three quarters of the Cambodian population.
- 13 provinces stratified by urban, rural and remote districts ("remote" is defined as ≥ 10 inhabitants per sq km) and a total of 59 districts chosen at random, again by PPS.
- Each district stratified by gender and age group, proportional to the population. (The list of districts by province and the details of population stratification by district were both made available to the PWR project prior to commencement of the field work.)
- Individual interviewees chosen at random according to the above criteria and using appropriate techniques (e.g. Kish Grid).

It should be kept in mind that the higher the proportion of clusters which are sampled over all the clusters in the survey area, the smaller the design effect. In the baseline survey, the proportion of provincial clusters was greater than 50% of the national sample and the actual sampling was from 75% of the population. In the follow-up survey, the proportion of provincial clusters was also greater than 50% of the national sample and the actual sampling was from 79% of the population. The aim of the follow-up survey was to achieve confidence intervals comparable to the baseline survey (at 95%, $P = p \pm 2.5\%$).

Demographic data, specific sample selection criteria and formerly agreed sample sizes for each target group were submitted by IRL to the GTZ PWR project staff for their approval prior to the commencement of the field work.

2.2 QUESTIONNAIRE DISSEMINATION METHODOLOGY

The questionnaires for all TGs can be found in Annex C, Follow-Up Survey Questionnaires. They have been replicated exactly, with the exception of variations suggested and/or agreed to by the PWR project. These include the addition of two new questions or pieces of data:

- q40a_76: Does Cambodia have a law against DV?
- q40b_77: Do you think that for the victims of DV this law is helpful?
- q38a: Have you ever sought help for these kinds of problems? (Data only collected in 2009).

All the questionnaires were written and delivered to the respondents in the Khmer language. Survey results were then translated into English from Khmer, which explains why some formulations of questions and answers might sound unnatural or confusing in English. The Khmer text of the follow-up questionnaires was quality assessed to ensure the text was identical to that of the baseline survey instruments.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted, using one of three structured questionnaires (each TG had a slightly different one). All interviewers had prior interviewing experience, were specifically briefed on the interview procedures for the follow-up survey dissemination process and spent at least two days receiving interviewer training on DV issues.

The centralised training and briefing session was organised by IRL in Phnom Penh prior to the field work. Training was undertaken by IRL project staff with the GTZ PWR project staff directly conducting training sessions and observing all training activities over a period of eight days. GTZ PWR project staff also joined and observed interviews with respondents during field work and provided feedback to IRL and the GTZ PWR project. All interviews with women were conducted by female interviewers.

After the primary field work, 30% of the general population interviews were randomly re-selected from the province total after all teams had completed the full number of general population interviews in each province. (The 30% general population re-sample covered all districts and communes surveyed in the original sample.) Different interviewers then returned to these locations and repeated key sections of the interview with each respondent, following a re-sampling procedure agreed upon by the GTZ PWR project prior to field work commencement.

The repeated interview responses were checked against the original responses and were scored according to an "accept/reject" methodology based on response variance criteria agreed upon by the GTZ PWR project. Reject interviews were cancelled and a replacement interview was undertaken with a different respondent of the same age/sex TG in the same location. The LAs'/police sample was not re-sampled, as agreed from the beginning with the GTZ PWR project.

2.3 DATA ANALYSIS & DATA CLEANING METHODOLOGIES

The IRL Data Analysis Team designed a database using Statistical Product and Service Solutions (SPSS), which facilitated analysis of the follow-up survey data, as well as a comparison of the 2005 baseline survey with the 2009 results. The SPSS Data Entry Builder Programme was used to enter and key punch the data. Throughout this process, the data team conducted logic and consistency checks on each question to find possible errors. All questionnaires were checked (in

total) to make sure they were complete and valid before data entry and key punching. 10% of the total sample was randomly double entered during the data entry and key punching stage to ensure quality control. During the data cleaning process, the team used written syntax in SPSS to check the possible errors in the database and in order to maintain the good quality of the data. (Please note that "N/A" (e.g. "data not applicable") responses in the comparative data sets occur because of open-coded data that was collected in one year but not another, as no rate comparison could be made over time.)

Data analysis was conducted by using SPSS and engaging several descriptive statistical analysis and inferential statistical tools within this software, such as frequency counts, cross-tabulations, chi-square analysis and t-tests.

Analysis of all the findings was conducted by Dr Jenny Knowles Morrison, a development policy and survey/qualitative research specialist, who has been working in Cambodia over the past 5 years. Dr Jenny Knowles Morrison is intimately familiar with local-level policy implementation strategies and systems in Cambodia, as well as having experience in the analysis of women's public policy issues.

2.4 STUDY LIMITATIONS & SUGGESTED MODIFICATIONS FOR FUTURE DATA COLLECTION

DV is a traumatic experience and it is difficult for those who have experienced it to discuss it, particularly with researchers who are unknown to them. Researchers therefore estimate that people tend to under-report their own experiences and this may consequently have affected the results (World Health Organisation (WHO) 2001). In addition, although many questions were posed to a sample representation of the Cambodian population, some were directed only to smaller sub-samples, for example those who had personal experience of violence. Thus, these sub-samples should not be construed as representative of the Cambodian population.

The interviewers were trained in DV and gender awareness. However, such training always has limitations, so unintentional insensitivities to the subject matter might have influenced interviewees' responses. It is also possible that some interviews might not have been conducted in complete privacy, due to the nature of interview locations, so this might have affected interviewees' responses as well. Finally, it is possible that transcription or translation errors might have occurred during the data transfer process.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

The following information highlights the key findings of the 2009 follow-up study, followed by comparisons of the 2009 data with the 2005 baseline report. All questions described in Sections 3.1 - 3.4 and 3.6 were posed to the general population sample, whilst Section 3.5 is made up of LA and police responses, highlighting the particular role played by the LAs and police. More detailed sub-sample findings and percentage changes are included in the annexes. *Please note that all survey question numbers (not table numbers) correspond with the 2005 survey table numbers, as well as the raw data tables provided in Annex D of this report. Occasionally, table data are presented in a different order from the 2005 study for ease of analysis, but have maintained their place in the original sub-section titles for ease of comparison. All data discussed that is not presented in the presented tables can be found in the annexes.*

The survey examined attitudes about violence between husbands and wives, as well as about violence by other family members (Section 3.1). Respondents were asked to consider both acts of verbal violence, such as yelling and cursing and different forms of physical violence (e.g. throwing something at another person) to the most extreme acts of violence (e.g. throwing acid, stabbing or shooting). Respondents then assessed forms of abusive emotional and controlling behaviour by partners (Section 3.2) before being questioned about rape (Section 3.3) as a form of violence, with a special focus on rape in marriage. Throughout these three sections, influences on men's attitudes towards women and on women's acceptance of male behaviour are highlighted.

Section 3.4 focused on respondents' knowledge of outlets for seeking help for abuse and rape and assessed the extent to which respondents have actually used such services. Section 3.5 analyses police and LA attitudes towards DV, their perceptions of the degree to which help services are available and accessible to victims and general attitudes about male anger and cultural influences effecting incidences of GBV. Their own experience with providing services or observing service usage are documented and efforts are made to document LAs' understanding of the legal system. Section 3.6 includes data collected relating to Cambodian perceptions of rights, especially those related to DV. Respondents highlighted their understanding of the laws that apply to violence and outlets for seeking help. LAs' and police views on the same issues conclude the chapter.

For Chapter 3 findings, each sub-section includes:

- A first table where key findings from the 2009 follow-up study are presented.
- A second comparative table is provided which includes percentage changes in response categories where there are marked differences from the 2005 baseline survey data.
- At the end of each major thematic section (e.g. 3.1 Physical Abuse, 3.2 Emotional Abuse etc.), summary boxes are included which highlight the most dramatic percentage changes in data between 2005 and 2009. Further explanation for such changes is provided within the text, especially for unexpected or inconsistent results, before recommendations for possible future policy actions are elaborated. A summary set of all key findings and recommendations are reproduced and further elaborated in Chapter 4 of the report.

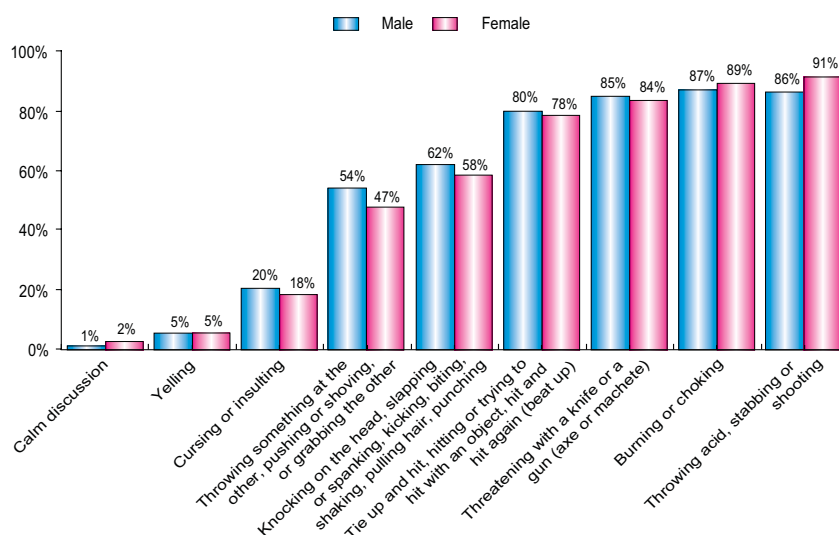
3.1 PHYSICAL ABUSE

3.1.1 Attitudes about DV

When questioned about physical violence, respondents rated the acceptability of different types of violence on a scale ranging from acceptable to unacceptable. These acts ranged from calm discussions to the most extreme forms of violence, which can result in death. Specifically, respondents rated different types of behaviour on a scale of one to five, with one representing acts that are always acceptable and five representing acts that are never acceptable. Of note, as the level of violence increased, the respondents were more likely to rate these acts as unacceptable.

Responses to questions about attitudes varied amongst the different sub-groups and are detailed in Annex D. As Table 1 demonstrates, for all levels of violence, in 2009 women are showing about the same acceptance of violence as men. In contrast, in 2005, women expressed a much higher tolerance for all but the most extreme category (acid throwing/stabbing/shooting).

Table 1: Question 8a – Is it ever acceptable for a husband to do this to his wife? (No, never response category, N=3040)



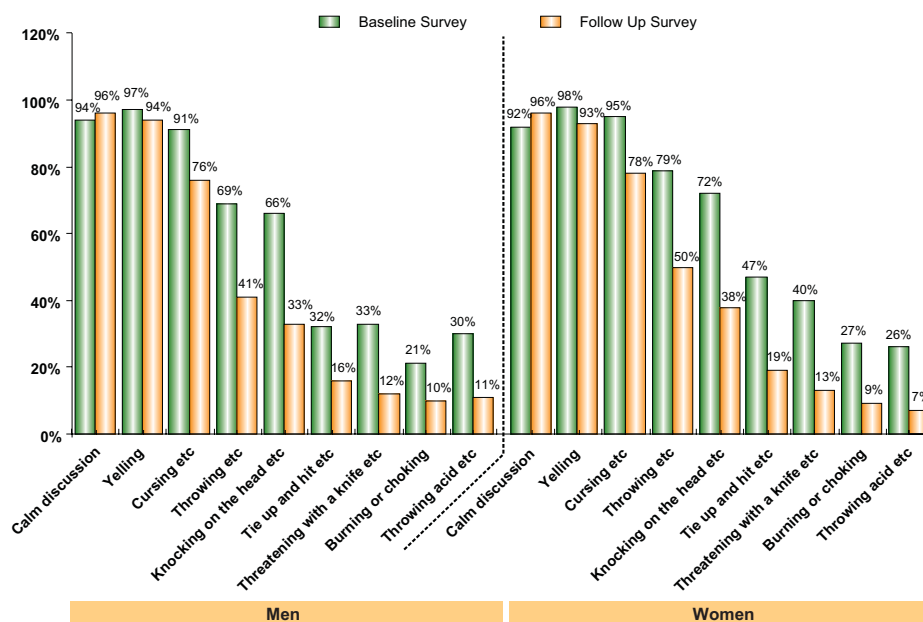
As Table 1 also highlights, a significant number of all respondents said that violence by husbands toward wives is sometimes acceptable. In 2009, at least 80% of women and 91% of men found the most extreme types of violence (hitting, threatening with a knife or machete, burning or choking and throwing acid, stabbing or shooting) never acceptable acts. However, 30% of male and 26% of female respondents in 2009 indicated that they believe that these types of life-threatening violence are sometimes acceptable. This acceptance of violence was also demonstrated with regard to less severe acts as well. For example, 62% of the men and 58% of the women said that knocking on the head, slapping, kicking or punching are never acceptable, but 13% of the total sample in 2009 still believe this behaviour is sometimes acceptable.

It is unclear why more severe acts of violence are sometimes considered acceptable by almost twice as many respondents than the less severe categories of violence. Further in-depth questioning in an interview setting would be required to understand the logic behind these response patterns. Is it possible that there are common social beliefs about certain activities

that warrant severe punishment or retribution? Do lower numbers of acceptance of less severe forms of violence (e.g. knocking on the head, slapping, kicking and punching) indicate that educational messages are making their way into the Cambodian social psyche for lesser and more common violent acts? Yet extreme violence is still considered an appropriate response for activities perceived as more “extreme” as well (e.g. adultery, a wife showing a husband a lack of respect etc.) With such a trend documented, future policy responses should include more attention to identifying cognitive linkages in the minds of violent partners, between perceived offences and the severity of retribution they believe appropriate. Secondly, more educational efforts should be aimed at discussing the consequences – both emotional, physical and legal, for all parties involved in the most extreme forms of life-threatening violence. Assuming previous perpetrators of such acts might be incarcerated directing educational materials towards prisons might also be helpful to avoid future instances of the most extreme forms of violence.

In general, a lessening of tolerance for many types of violence can be seen across the categories, indicating a major success for educational efforts made in the field of DV during the past five years. Based on these optimistic findings, it would seem continuing similar policy activities, but also expanding them to more communities, would be the way forward.

Table 2: Comparison Table for Question 8a – Is it ever acceptable for a husband to do this to his wife?
(Yes, Acceptable response category)
(Men: Baseline N=1450 & Follow-Up 1440)
(Women: Baseline N=1580 & Follow-Up N=1600)



As Table 2 indicates, comparisons between 2005 to 2009 data indicate several significant percentage changes of note. Highest percentage changes include a 27% drop in respondents reporting that cursing or insulting was occasionally acceptable. In 2009, 25% less respondents agreed that it was occasionally acceptable to “throw something, push or shove or grab the other.” Even more promisingly, 35% more of 2009 respondents reported that it was never acceptable to do these things.

Less than 27% of respondents reported that it was occasionally acceptable to “knock a partner on the head, slap or spank, kick, bite, shake, pull hair or punch,” whilst 40% more 2009 respondents than in 2005 reported that it was never acceptable to do these things. For the category “tie up and hit, hitting or trying to hit with an object, hit and hit again (beat up),” 23% more respondents reported that it was never acceptable to engage in this behaviour.

For the category, “threatening with a knife or a gun (axe or machete),” 13% less respondents reported they believed this behaviour to be acceptable occasionally, whilst 27% stated that such an activity was never acceptable. Regarding burning or choking, there was only a 6% decrease in respondents reporting this behaviour occasionally acceptable, whilst 15% more respondents than 2005 reported that this was never an acceptable alternative. 10% less respondents agreed that throwing acid, stabbing or shooting were occasionally acceptable, whilst 21% more reported than during 2005 that this was never an acceptable activity. Such large percentage changes across most categories associated with DV indicate a consistent shift in attitudes across a range of respondents. For more detailed analysis of sub-group responses, see Annex D.

3.1.1.1 Attitudes towards Justifications for Violence

Sections 3.1.1.1 to 3.1.1.3 significantly expand and understanding of the attitudes which support justifications for violence, for both men and women. For all categories, both men and women were asked to respond to statements justifying husbands’ violence against wives, giving a sense of the kinds of activities wives engage in that are viewed by a wide section of Cambodian citizens as meriting a violent response (please see Annex A.9 for data comparisons by sub-groups divided by gender, location, wealth and education and also the report conclusion for discussion of the major differences noted).

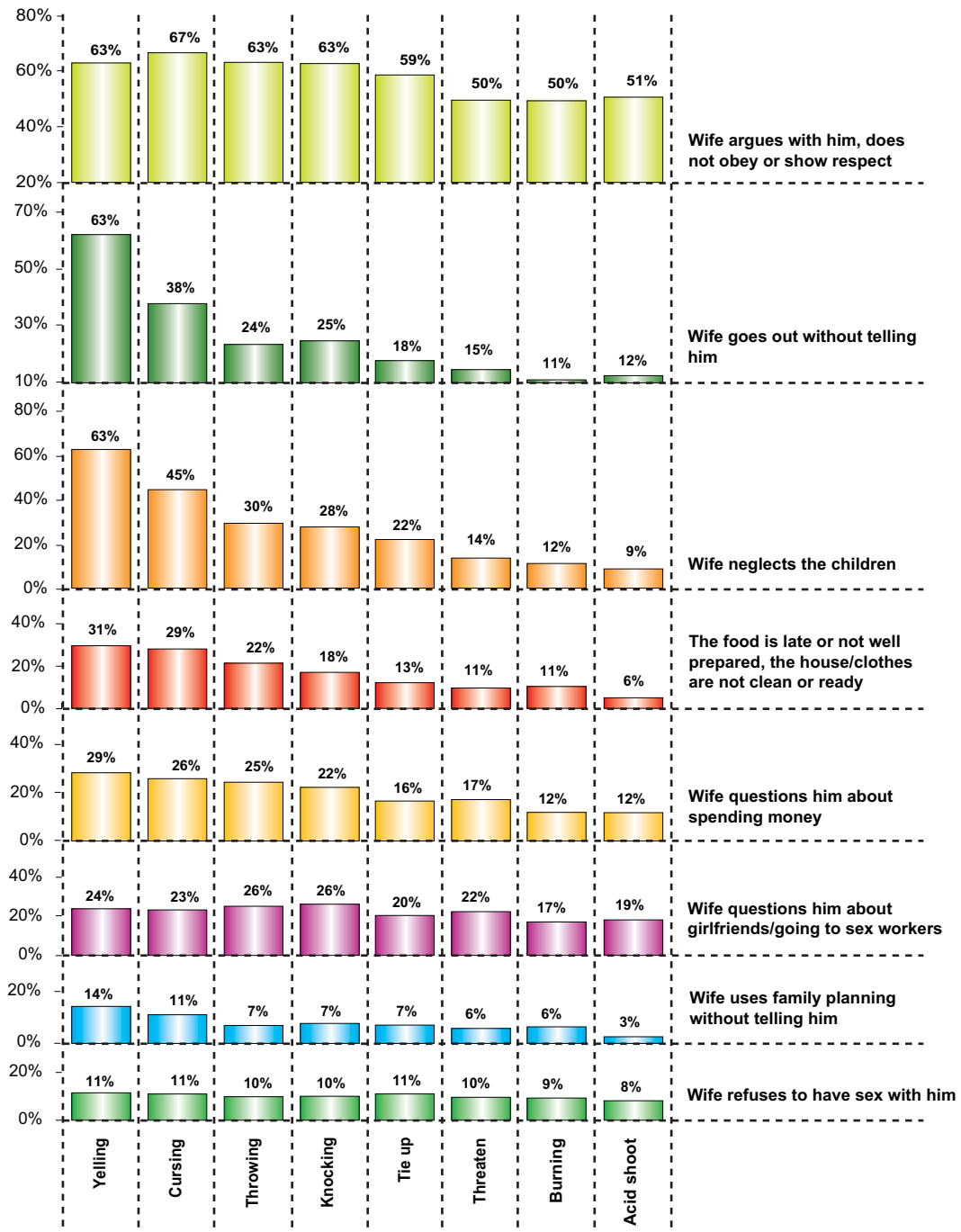
Tables 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 are related to attitudes justifying violence and further analysis is also included below each table.

The survey asked those respondents who indicated that violence is “sometimes to always acceptable” in earlier survey questions, to identify in which circumstances they felt violence was justified by a husband. As Table 3 below indicates, a consistently high number of 2009 respondents felt that a wife behaving in an argumentative, disrespectful or disobedient manner warranted a violent response by her husband. Over 50% of respondents felt violence was warranted, even of the life-threatening type.

Significant numbers of those who thought extreme violence is sometimes justified said that arguing, not obeying or questioning a husband about spending money or girlfriends or sex workers was justified abuse. Of note, 7% of those who said violence was sometimes acceptable indicated that when a woman argues or does not obey or show respect to her husband, it is acceptable for him to throw acid, shoot or stab her, which is a drop of more than 43% over the 2005 figures. Yet 17-26% of the females of this sub-sample said that when a wife questions her husband about girlfriends or going to sex workers, it is acceptable for him to use these extreme forms of violence. 12% to 22% also indicated more extreme forms of violence were acceptable in cases of questioning husbands about spending money.

In contrast to Table 1, where 2009 respondents were asked about levels of violence not related to specific wife behaviour (which reported much lower percentages of respondents reporting that the most extreme violent types of behaviour were ever acceptable), 50% of 2009 survey

Table 3: Question 8b – Under which of the following circumstances is a husband justified in behaving this way to his wife?
 (Yelling N=2881, Cursing N=2468, Throwing N=1519, Knocking N=1212, Tie Up N=650, Threaten N=477, Burning N=365, Acid/Shoot N=345)



respondents felt that a husband was justified in engaging in the most extreme types of violence (e.g. hitting, threatening with a knife or machete, burning or choking and throwing acid, stabbing or shooting) if wives argued, did not obey or show respect to husbands. Wives questioning husbands about spending money or visiting girlfriends or sex workers elicited the highest

percentage of responses that extreme violence was justified by husbands (ranging from 16%-22%).

It is also interesting to note that in cases where the wife challenges her husband's domination, those who report they believe extreme violence is "sometimes acceptable" indicated that such a reaction is more justified when a wife challenges her husband's behaviour than when she fails to fulfil her gender-specific roles related to child care, house cleaning and food preparation.

Clearly, a very strong and consistent belief about the rights of husbands to maintain unquestioned authority within their household is held across the whole of Cambodian society. Additional in-depth interviews or focus group discussions could be conducted to assess whether it is warranted to reconsider the foundational beliefs related to husband-wife relationships and the rights of women to question their husbands' activities. If it was found that this was necessary, it would be imperative that any future policy interventions were introduced gradually, stemming from a Cambodian-driven policy formulation process and the implementation of educational campaigns which were highly participatory in nature.

As in 2005, people from urban areas were more likely to see severe violence as acceptable when a wife questions her husband about going to sex workers or girlfriends than those in rural areas. This finding may be due to greater access to sex workers in urban areas or it might indicate a strong difference between urban and rural attitudes towards a husband's rights to such activities. Might a man's earning capacity or geographical closeness to sources of higher income and power justify his involvement in extra-marital sexual activities? Also of note, those with the lowest incomes were more likely to see violence - but not the most extreme violence - as acceptable, for example when a wife refuses sex.

Educational campaigns specifically targeting men and women living in urban locations could alleviate this discrepancy, although additional in-depth interviews would be required to better understand the reasons for this difference of opinion based on rural or urban location.

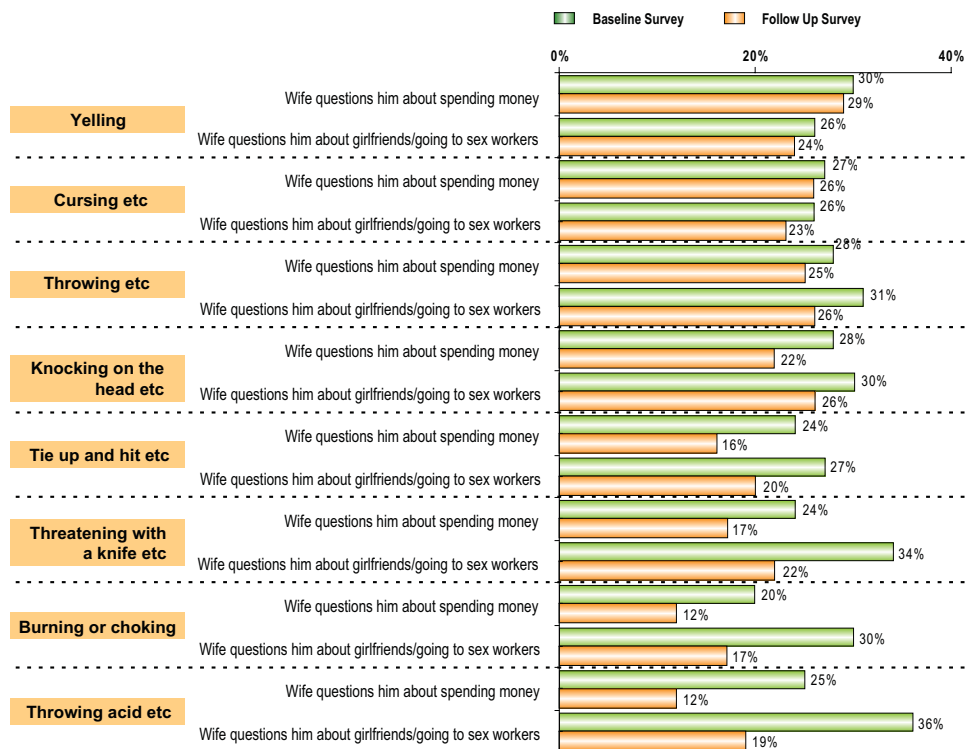
Although some respondents in 2009 reported that it was acceptable for husbands to engage in some violent types of behaviour, views of the acceptability of such behaviour in reaction to wives questioning husbands about spending money or visiting girlfriends or sex workers dropped in all categories.

As demonstrated in Table 4, in the case of the four most extreme categories of violence (tying up and hitting, threatening with a knife, burning/choking, and throwing acid), percentage drops are even greater. Respondents who indicated that men are justified in such extreme reactions to wives questioning them about money dropped by 8% for all categories except acid throwing, which dropped by 13%.

In response to wives questioning husbands about visiting girlfriends or sex workers, similar percentage drops are recorded. 7% less respondents reported a man is justified in tying up and hitting his wife for this kind of questioning, whilst 12% and 13% less respondents believe threatening with a knife or burning/choking, respectively, is justifiable. For throwing acid, the numbers drop even more, by 17%.

This survey also offers some insight into factors that may influence these attitudes. The survey asked several questions about the respondents' awareness of laws regarding DV, as well as cultural influences.

Table 4: Comparison Table for Question 8b - Under which of the following circumstances is a husband justified in behaving this way to his wife?
(Baseline Survey: Yelling N=3018, Cursing N=2966, Throwing N=2558, Knocking N=2392, Tie Up N=1498, Threatening N=1348, Burning N=896, Throwing Acid/Shooting N=972)
(Follow-Up Survey: Yelling N=2881, Cursing N=2468, Throwing N=1519, Knocking N=1212, Tie Up N=650, Threatening N=477, Burning N=365, Throwing Acid/Shooting N=345)



Most people in the sample acknowledged that violent acts, although sometimes acceptable are also illegal, which demonstrates that laws have a limited influence on attitudes. Less than 5% of all respondents indicated that burning or choking, as well as throwing acid, stabbing or shooting, were illegal. These statistics stand in stark contrast to the number of respondents who said that these forms of violence were sometimes acceptable.

The relationship between reports of acceptance of violence in contrast to awareness of its illegal status is further highlighted in Tables 5 and 6. It is interesting to note that between 2005 and 2009, respondents continue to show a tolerance for violence, despite their acknowledgement that it is illegal.

In 2009, questions regarding the difference between determinations of abusive behaviours as acceptable or legal yielded interesting results. In the categories of “cursing,” “throwing objects” and “knocking on the head,” typically 20% more of the respondents identified these activities as “acceptable” over “legal,” demonstrating a strong cultural or social tendency to believe such activities are acceptable, even if illegal. As respondents were asked to determine these differences for the most violent kinds of activities, the gap between acceptability and legality dropped to below 10%.

Table 5: Questions 11, 8a - Which of the following acts is a crime? Is it ever acceptable for a man to do this to his wife? (Q11: N=3040; Q8a: N=3040)

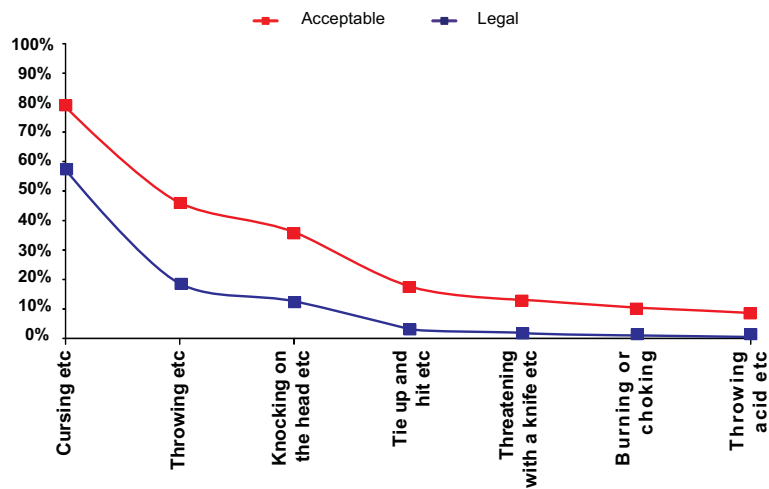
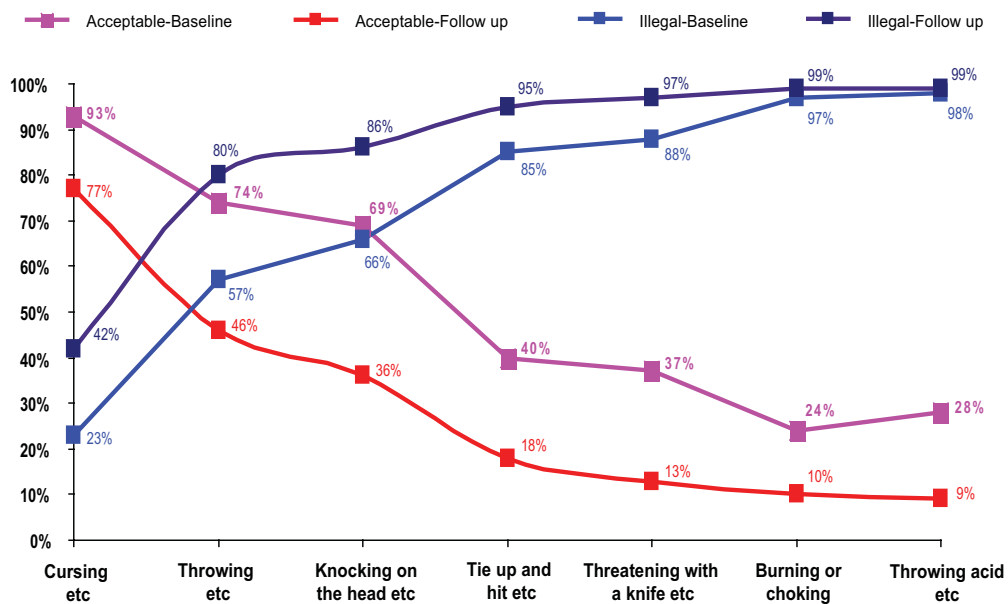


Table 6: Comparison Table for Questions 11, 8a - Which of the following acts is a crime? Is it ever acceptable for a man to do this to his wife? (Baseline: Q:11 & Q:8a N=3030) (Follow-Up: Q:11 & Q:8a: N=3040)

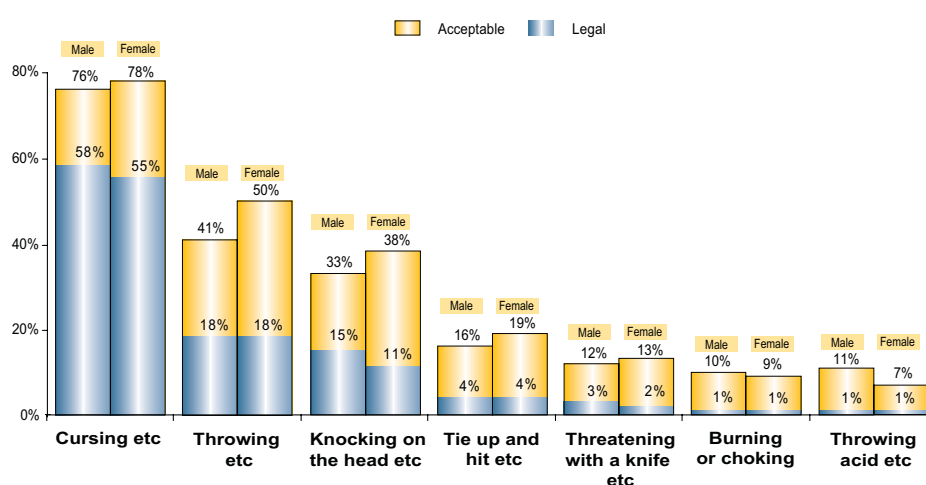


For all categories, significant drops were reported between what was identified as acceptable behaviour in 2005 and 2009, as highlighted in Table 6 above. Seventy seven percent of 2009 respondents felt cursing was acceptable, but only 42% considered it legal. Eighty percent identified throwing something as illegal, but 46% consider this activity acceptable. Eighty six percent identified knocking a wife on the head as an illegal behaviour, yet 36% found it acceptable. Sixteen percent of male respondents reported believing that tying up their spouse and hitting her is acceptable, even though 96% acknowledged such an activity as an illegal behaviour. For burning/choking and throwing acid, 10% and 11% of male respondents, respectively, identified such behaviour as acceptable, even though 99% identified it as illegal

behaviour. These differences show a wide discrepancy between cultural beliefs and acknowledgement of the illegality of such acts.

Most telling are the drops in the most violent activities identified as acceptable between 2005 and 2009. There was a 19% drop in respondents who identified throwing acid as an acceptable action between 2005 and 2009. Similarly, 14% fewer respondents in 2009 identified burning or choking as an acceptable act and 24% less of 2009 respondents identified tying up and hitting as an acceptable act. Similarly encouraging, 45% less respondents identified knocking on the head as acceptable.

Table 7: Questions 11, 8a (by gender) - Which of the following acts is a crime? Is it ever acceptable for a man to do this to his wife? (N=3040)

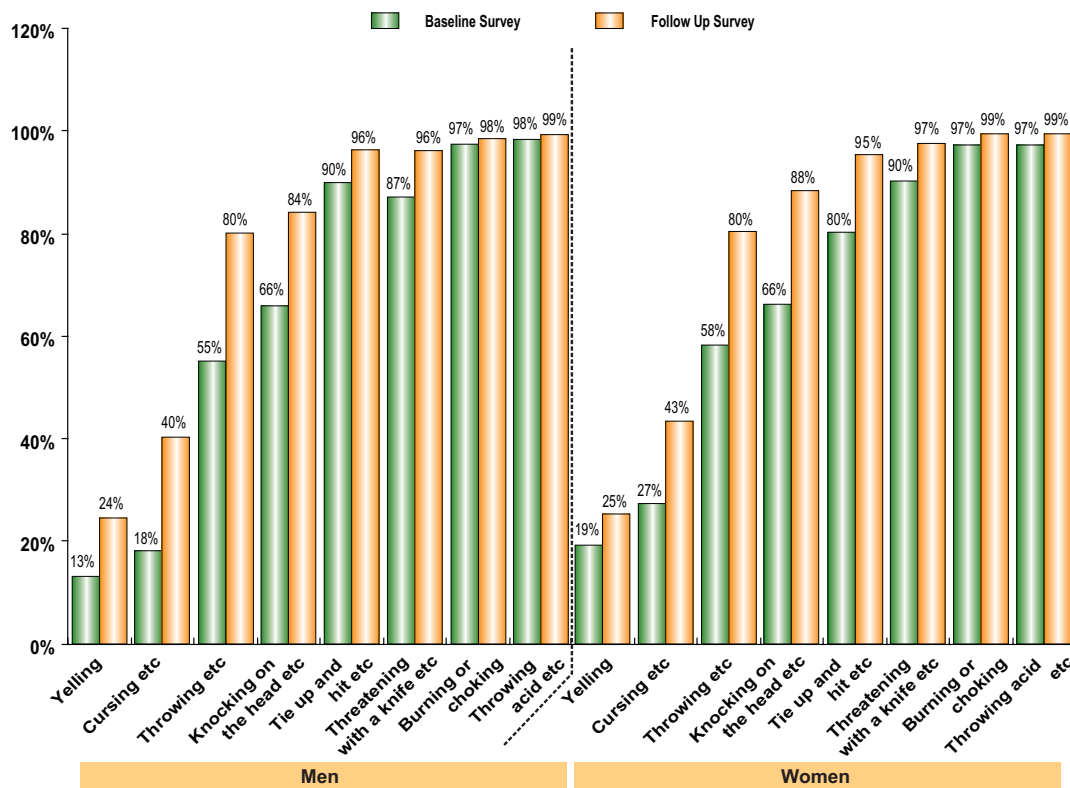


As Table 7 demonstrates, comparing men's and women's responses for these categories for 2009 identifies significant drops across all categories for assessment of violent activities as either acceptable or legal. Differences between male and female respondents are not large except in the case of 50% of female respondents reporting throwing as an acceptable activity, compared to 41% of men. Also, 11% of men identified throwing acid as an acceptable act, whilst only 7% of women did. For the final three categories, less than 3% of either gender group identified these activities as legal. The significant and consistent drops across categories indicating declining perceptions of both the acceptability and legality of violent acts is very promising, indicating current educational campaigns are indeed effective and should be continued.

These differences might be due to the fact that women are most often the victims of acid attacks, whilst women might throw things as a self-defence mechanism in a domestic argument, so such throwing is thought of balancing the confrontation field, whilst female respondents see acid attacks as wholly imbalanced in favour of the person throwing the acid.

Between 2005 and 2009, the most significant changes for male respondents were recorded in the following categories: 11% more men identified cursing/yelling as criminal behaviour than in 2005, whilst 25% more identified "throwing something at the other, pushing or shoving or grabbing the other" as criminal. 18% more men chose "knocking on the head, slapping or spanking, kicking, biting, shaking, pulling hair, punching" as illegal behaviour. 9% more men selected "threatening with a knife or a gun (axe or machete)" as criminal.

Table 8: Comparison Table for Question 11 (by gender) - Which of the following acts is a crime? (Baseline N=3030 & Follow-Up N=3040)

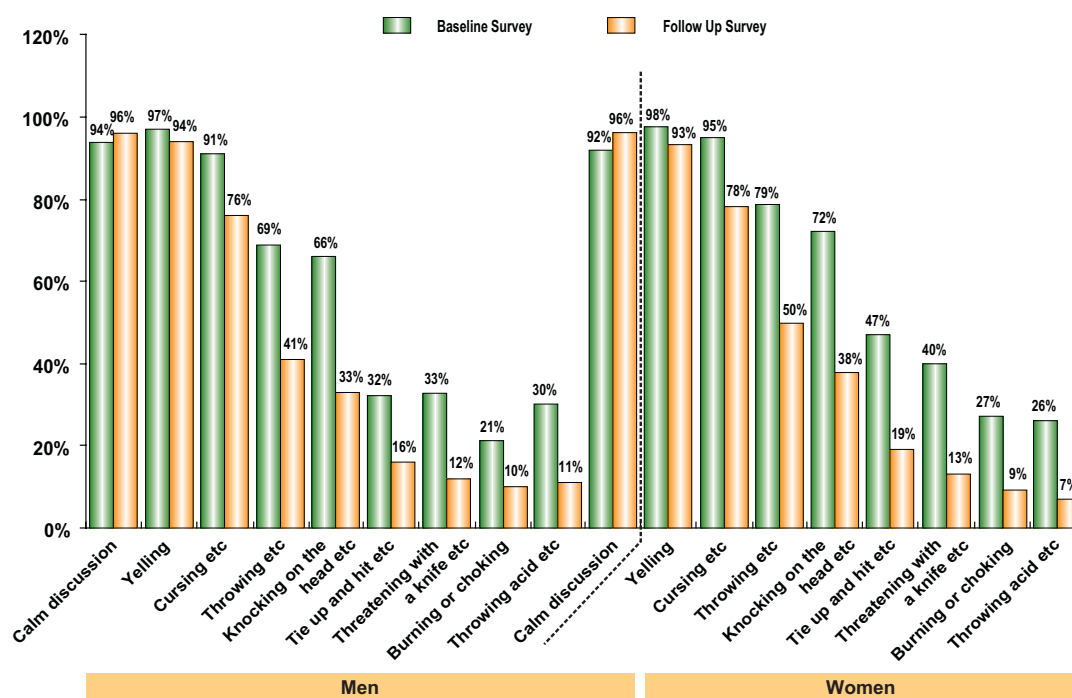


Between 2005 and 2009, the most significant changes for female respondents were recorded in the following categories: 16% more women identified cursing or insulting as illegal in 2009. 22% more women identified "throwing something at the other, pushing or shoving or grabbing the other" and "knocking on the head, slapping or spanking, kicking, biting, shaking, pulling hair and punching" as illegal. 15% more women identified "tie up and hit, hitting or trying to hit with an object, hit and hit again (beat up)" as criminal.

For both genders, it appears that education around the legality of less violent crimes is having an impact, although it is worth noting that many more respondents now categorise yelling as a criminal act. Thus, specific content of educational programming might be assessed to consider whether the all embracing messages related to the legality of certain types of DV have missed the mark if respondents consider calm discussions, cursing and yelling as illegal activities.

As Table 9 highlights, several notable drops in perceptions of acceptability of violent acts can be reported for both genders. 15% less men identified cursing as acceptable, whilst 17% less women identified cursing as acceptable. 28% less men identified throwing things as acceptable whilst 29% of women responded similarly. For "knocking on the head," 33% less male respondents and 34% less female respondents identified this as acceptable. 16% less men reported "tie up and hit" as an acceptable activity, whilst 29% less women responded in a similar fashion. 21% less men reported threatening with a knife as acceptable, whilst 27% less women reported this as acceptable. 11% less men reported "burning or choking" as acceptable behaviour and 18% less women responded similarly. 19% fewer men and women selected acid throwing as an acceptable activity.

Table 9: Comparison Table for Question 8a (by gender) - Is it ever acceptable for a man to do this to his wife?
(Baseline N=3030 & Follow-Up N=3040)



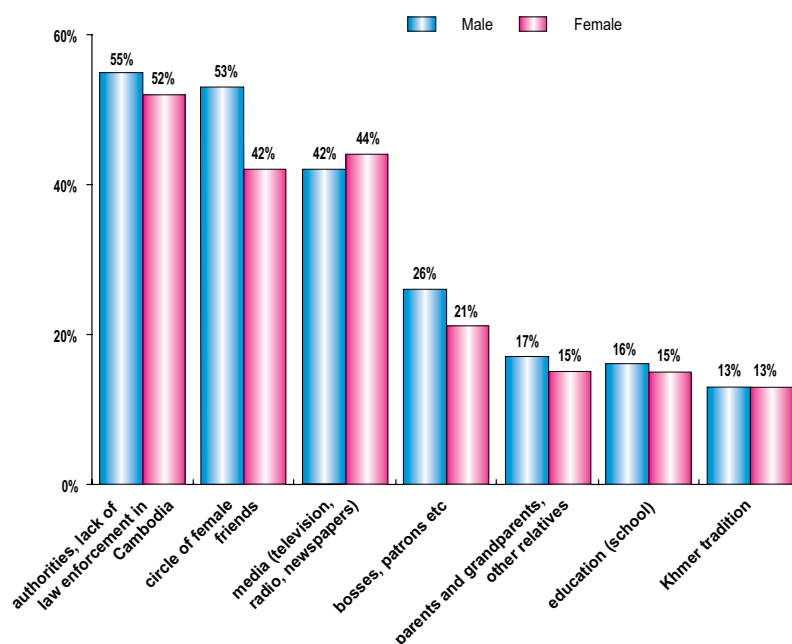
Such drops in what is considered acceptable behaviour are some of the most promising of the study, although the substantial differences between what is considered criminal and what is considered acceptable represent an area in need of much further education. For instance, 96%-99% of men identify threatening their partner with a knife, burning/choking or throwing acid as criminal behaviour, but only 10%-12% reported it as an acceptable behaviour. Such findings represent ongoing discrepancies between cultural and/or social understandings of violent behaviour, even as respondents acknowledge their understanding of its illegality/criminality. However, such large percentage drops in identification with what is considered acceptable are very promising. In general, women's responses in 2009 represent much more congruence between the two categories than in 2005. However, for the four most extreme violence categories, 7%-19% of women still report such behaviour as acceptable, so there is room for additional education on women's rights to freedom from DV.

3.1.1.2 External Influences on Women's Attitudes about Male Behaviour

Respondents were asked to assess a range of external influences on women's attitudes about male behaviour. Tables 10 and 11 show that groups of male and female respondents both reported similar types and degrees of influence. Of note in Table 10 is the finding that both men and women report that women's attitudes are greatly influenced by the lack of law enforcement (55% and 52% for men and women respectively). Also interesting is the fact that men rank women's friends as 11% more influential than women do.

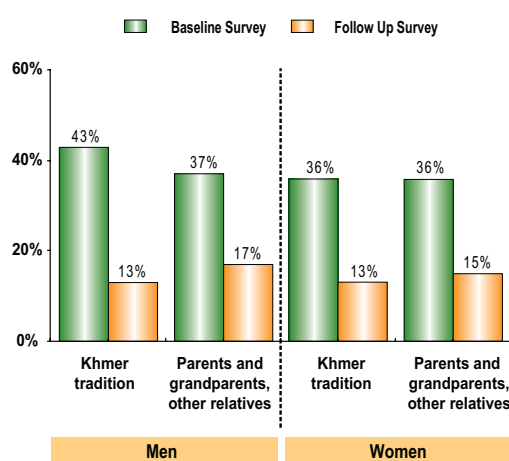
Improvements in enforcement efforts and women's understanding and access to such outlets should thus be a critical focus of future policy interventions.

Table 10: Question 33b - Are women's attitudes towards male behaviour influenced by the following (factors)? (N=3040)



Differences in reports on influential sources on women's attitudes between the 2005 and 2009 survey are quite different for men and women alike, especially regarding reports of Khmer tradition and parents/grandparents as influential sources on women's attitudes (see Table 11 below).

Table 11: Comparison Table for Question 33b - Are women's attitudes towards male behaviour influenced by the following (factors)? (Men: Baseline N=1450 & Follow-Up N=1440) (Women: Baseline N=1580 & Follow-Up N=1600)



30% less male and 23% less female 2009 respondents reported Khmer tradition as influential, whilst 20% less men and 21% less women reported parents/grandparents as less influential than in the 2005 survey.

Of interest from a policy standpoint would be to better understand what specific media influences are replacing the older generations and traditional Khmer beliefs on these issues. Also worth exploring would be why education (schooling) is not reported as a significant influence on women's attitudes related to men's behaviour.

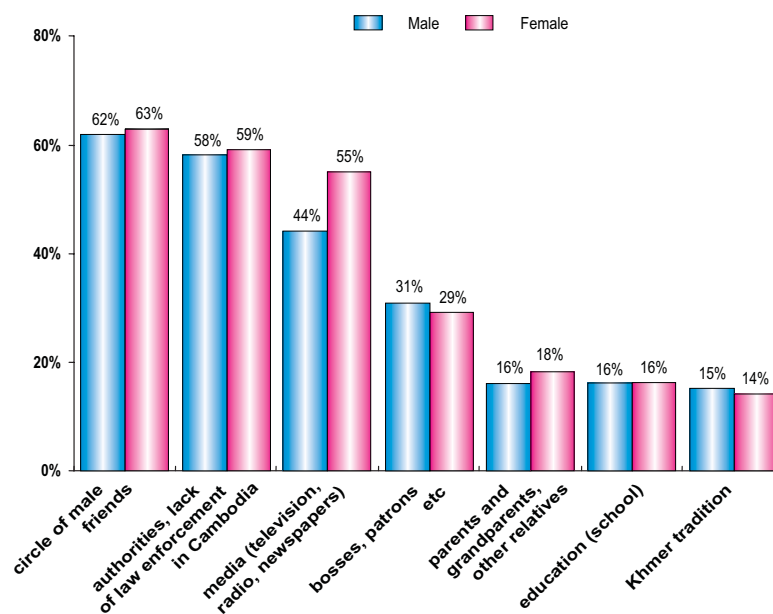
3.1.1.3 Influences on Male Behaviour towards Women

Tables 12 and 13 below provide evidence of influences on male behaviour toward women, with "circle of male friends" receiving a 4% higher response rate than "lack of law enforcement," which was the most predominant influence cited in 2005.

The survey showed similar reports of influences on men's behaviour as those reported for women's attitudes about male behaviour (see Tables 9 and 10), with some notable exceptions, as shown in Table 12 below.

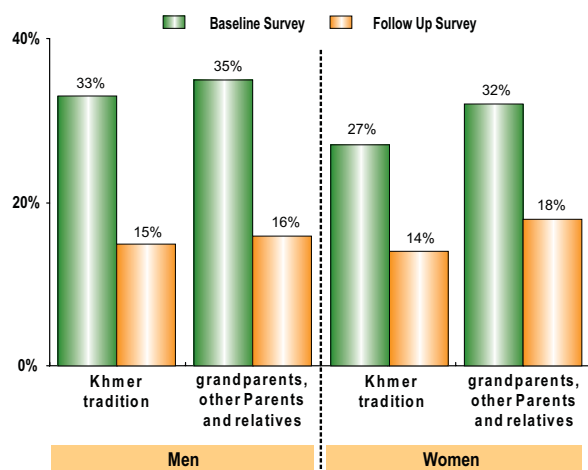
Of note, men and women tend to be in similar agreement on what influences men's behaviour towards women, although 11% more female than male respondents reported media sources as influential.

Table 12: Question 33a - Is men's behaviour towards women influenced by the following (factors)? (N=3040)



When comparing data from the 2005 survey, several of the response percentages for these categories demonstrate significant changes for both male and female respondents. 18% fewer male respondents in 2009 identified Khmer tradition as influential on male behaviour, whilst 19% less identified parent/grandparent influence as significant. 13% less women reported Khmer tradition as influential, whilst 14% less women identified parents/grandparents as influential on men's behaviour.

Table 13: Comparison Table for Question 33a - *Is men's behaviour towards women influenced by the following (factors)?*
(Men: Baseline N=1450 & Follow-Up N=1440)
(Women: Baseline N=1580 & Follow-Up N=1600)



Again, of interest from a policy standpoint would be to better understand what more specific influences are replacing the older generations and traditional Khmer beliefs on these issues.

Summary Box 1: Attitudes about DV

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + Several notable drops in perceptions of acceptability of violent acts can be reported for both genders, whilst recognition of violent acts as illegal is on the rise.
- + All respondents and especially women are generally expressing a much lower tolerance for all categories of violence.
- + There are precipitous drops in acceptance of all categories of the most extreme forms of physical violence. However, respondents continue to show higher levels of tolerance for violence in contrast to their acknowledgements that it is illegal.
- + There is some indication that awareness-raising efforts have increased knowledge about forms of violence, issues of legality and changes in attitude towards women's mobility.
- Over 50% of all respondents felt that a wife behaving in an argumentative, disrespectful or disobedient manner warranted a violent response by her husband, even of the life-threatening type. Wives questioning husbands about spending money or visiting girlfriends or sex workers elicited the highest percentage of responses that extreme violence was justified by husbands (ranging from 16%-22%).
- The comparative analysis indicates a clear, though marginal shift in the level of acceptance by women of various forms of violence. The analysis also indicates a continued higher degree of acceptance of violence by more women than by men.
- Most of the findings confirm that deeply entrenched and unequal gender relations, underpinned by male domination and control, continue to drive the DV attitudes of most men and women.

- Continued condoning of extreme violence when the traditional gender division of labour or male sexual mobility is questioned by wives continues to be a problem, indicating the lack of bargaining power and empowerment of women within the household that persists as a constant factor.
- As in 2005, people from urban areas were more likely to see severe violence as acceptable when a wife questioned her husband about going to sex workers or girlfriends than those in rural areas (detailed in Annex D).
- Differences in reports on influential sources on women's attitudes between the 2005 and 2009 survey are quite different, especially regarding reports of Khmer tradition and parents/grandparents as influential sources on women's attitudes and male behaviour.
- Both men and women report that women's attitudes are greatly influenced by the lack of law enforcement (55% and 52% for men and women, respectively).

3.1.2 Experience of DV

Since DV experts point out that most people under-report their own experience by about 50%, the most reliable indicator of prevalence is reports about other people (WHO, 2001). WHO thus cautions researchers to minimise this tendency with carefully worded questions (avoiding language implying value judgements) and well-trained interviewers. Thus, the survey measured the experience of DV in several ways. In order to ensure accuracy, interviewers asked participants if they knew of other people who acted in violent ways and also whether they themselves had either acted violently or suffered violence from another person.

3.1.2.1 Reports of Violence Experienced by Other People

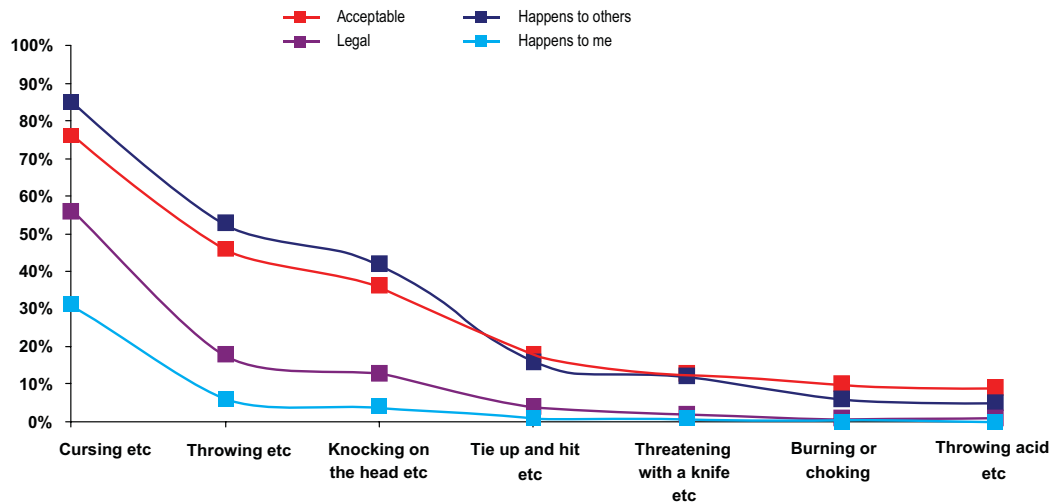
Overall trends in reporting violence can be found in a comparison of various answers. The reported figures of actual cases of DV show a sharp drop from the number of persons who "knew someone else who acted violently" to the number of people who admitted to being in a violent situation themselves. For example, as shown in Table 14, 58% were aware of others who threw things at their spouse, or engaged in hitting or shoving, but only 8% reported experiencing this behaviour.

When combining four question categories to compare responses related to "acceptable" and "legal" against "happens to others" versus "happens to me" there are some telling results. Another clue to prevalence is in the respondents' reported attitudes in Table 14, where respondents accepted violence at higher rate than they acknowledged its legality and far above the level of violence that they said they had experienced.

For the three lesser violent crimes (cursing, throwing and knocking on the head), respondents reported more people having such actions happen to them than they reported such behaviour as socially acceptable. Each of these figures represents significantly higher percentages for what is deemed acceptable over what is deemed legal. However, when reporting on tying up and hitting behaviour, as well as the remaining most violent crimes "happens to others" drops below what respondents in the "acceptable" category have reported, signifying that such activities are within socially accepted limits. In general, as expected according to the WHO

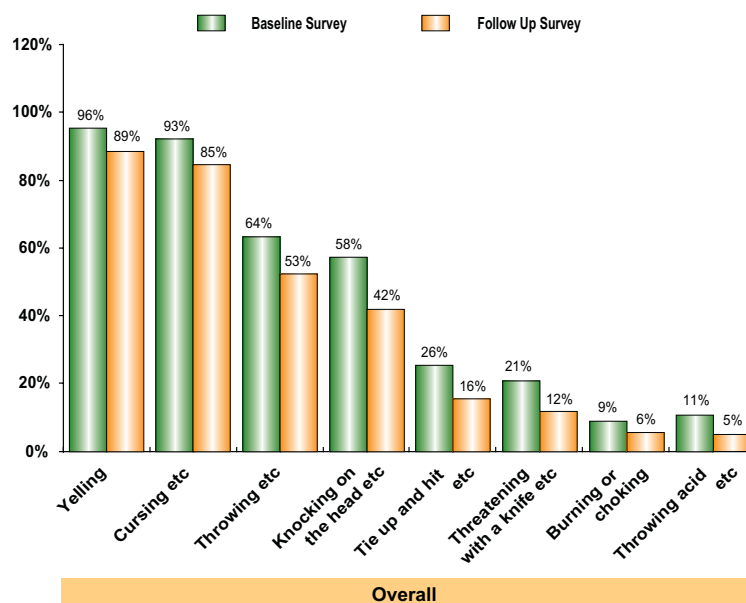
(2001) report, respondent reports of violent activities "happening to me" are quite low, as might be expected when asking respondents sensitive questions about their personal affairs.

Table 14: Questions 11, 8a, 12a, 16a - Is it ever acceptable for a man to do this to his wife? Which of the following (acts) is a crime? Do you know a husband who does any of the following to his wife? Has your spouse ever done any of the following to you? (N=3040)



As Table 15 shows, comparisons between the baseline and follow-up surveys found that in all categories of reports where respondents said they knew a husband who did the following to his wife, all report categories were lower. Largest percentage drops occurred for knocking on the head, a 16% drop. "Tying up and hitting" was a 10% drop, whilst "threatening with a knife" was a 9% drop. The "throwing acid" category dropped by 6% as well.

Table 15: Comparison Table: Question 12a - Do you know a husband who does any of the following to his wife? (Baseline N=3030 & Follow-Up N=3040)



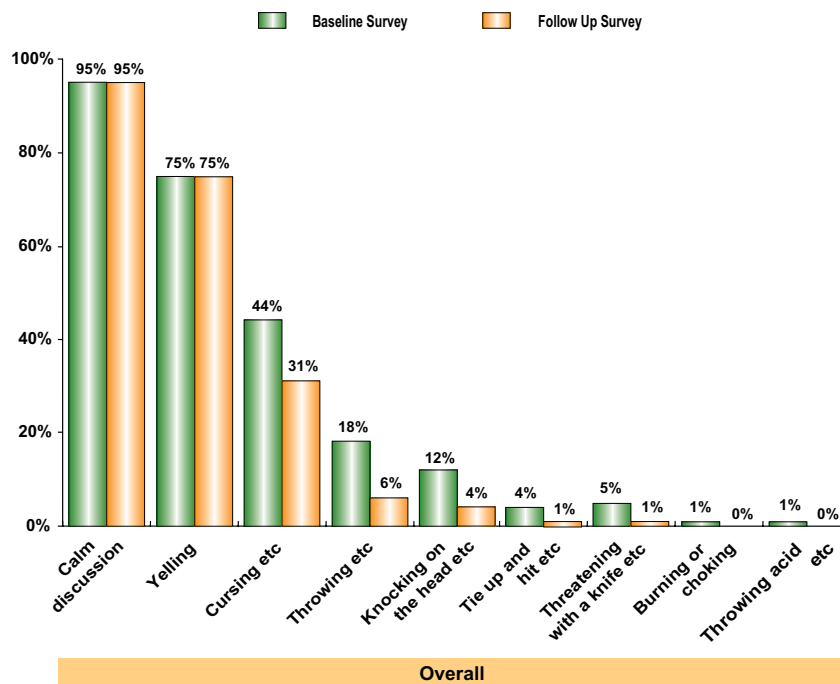
Policy interventions aimed at encouraging victims to be more open about reporting their own experiences with violence, as well as creating new forums for support and dialogue with such victims, may be appropriate courses of action in the future.

3.1.2.2 Violence Experienced by the Respondents: Spousal & Family Abuse

As previously noted, fewer respondents were prepared to admit that they had used or experienced violence than compared to the number who reported knowledge of other people's violence. As to be expected, reporting percentages drop dramatically when respondents report on their own spouse's behaviour (WHO 2001). Only 6% of respondents admitted their spouse has thrown something (a drop of 12% from the 2005 survey) and only 4% admitted their spouse knocking them on the head (an 8% drop from 2005). 1% or less of respondents reported such behaviour for more violent categories of violence and 4% less respondents acknowledged their partner has threatened them with a knife.

Comparing several categories of respondents' own experiences to that of their reports of others' experience produces a clear sense of difference in reporting patterns. As Table 16 highlights, although 42% of women reported knowing someone who had been knocked on the head, only 4% reported the same happening to them. 16% reported knowing someone who had been tied up and hit, whilst only 1% reported such an action occurring to them personally. 12% knew a wife who had been threatened with a knife, although only 1% reported such a thing happening to them. Reports of cursing, throwing and knocking on the head decreased between 2005 and 2009 by 8%-13%. All other categories remained about the same.

Table 16: Comparison Table for Question 16a - Has your spouse ever done any of the following to you? (Baseline N=1984 & Follow-Up N=2029)



Without in-depth and confidential interviews, it would be hard to know how much reports of "others" mask reports of "own" experience. Improving data collection in this area would be crucial for future surveys.

The survey asked respondents who reported violent acts what factors may have led to the abusive behaviour. Challenging the husband's dominance or his right to do as he pleases was linked to the most severe violence. Table 17 shows these response categories in detail.

As Table 17 below highlights, when categories of behaviour are broken down more distinctly, more interesting information emerges, although smaller sample sizes for some categories influences the strength of the reporting categories. (Note: for questions of this nature, small sample sizes are due to the fact that many respondents reported no observance of such activities, so did not answer related questions.) In the case of wives arguing/not obeying/showing respect, respondents reported acid throwing occurring 57% as a response to such behaviour and tying up and hitting occurring 70% of the time.

As seen in earlier findings, but now reported by victims themselves, arguing/not obeying/not showing respect appeared to elicit the most consistent and abusive responses, whilst neglect of children also resulted in abusive behaviour across all categories (from 10% reporting acid throwing to 53% reporting yelling).

A significant difference exists between reports of circumstance which lead to violence from "all respondents" (highlighted in Section 3.1.1), when compared to reports from victims only. There is a marked rise in reported instances of less abusive interactions (e.g. yelling, cursing and throwing) for women who are perceived by their spouses as failing in their assumed gender roles (e.g. child rearing, house cleaning, food preparation etc.) Specifically, perceptions of such chores not being managed well resulted in more reported instances of extreme abuse, with 8%-10% of victims reporting acid throwing as punishment.

Questioning husbands about girlfriends/sex workers or how money has been spent were also categories where observed abusive behaviour increased significantly. In particular, reports of acid throwing rose to 31% for questions regarding involvement with other women and 18% regarding how money had been spent.

Additional education for both victims and perpetrators of violence alike needs to be carried out to help adjust traditional assumptions about women's roles in the house in such a manner as to decrease violent episodes. Such education could also include dialoguing about power imbalances created by deeply ingrained underlying belief systems.

However, reported behaviour in Table 17 has either generally stayed at the same levels as 2005 or decreased, especially in the case of less violent types of behaviour. Of note the following categories of wife behaviour recorded the greatest drops in reported reactions by husbands: 8% less throwing in case of wife arguing or showing disrespect and 10% less throwing in cases of wife going out without telling her husband and 10% less victims reported "tying up and hitting" as a response to questioning husbands about girlfriends/sex workers. 14% less of respondents reported this response after questioning their husbands about money and 19% less of respondents reported tying up and hitting as a response to "wife arguing/showing disrespect."

For the threatening with a knife category, 13% less respondents reported this happening as a result of wives questioning their husbands about girlfriends/sex workers. For this same wife behaviour, 24% less of respondents reported being burned or choked and 11% less reported acid throwing. 8% less people reported acid throwing or threatening with a gun in response to a wife questioning husbands about how they spend money.

However, three categories tended to increase across several of the more violent activity categories: "wife using family planning without telling husband," "wife argues or shows disrespect" and "wife questions about spending money." For "wife neglects children," reports of "throwing something" were up 3% and "knocking on the head" was up 6%.

Table 17: Question 12b - In which of the following circumstances did that happen?
(Yelling: N=2714; Cursing: N=2591; Throwing: N=1614; Knocking on the head: N=1290; Tie up and hit: N=491; Threatening with a knife N=356; Burning or choking N=197; Throwing acid N=138)

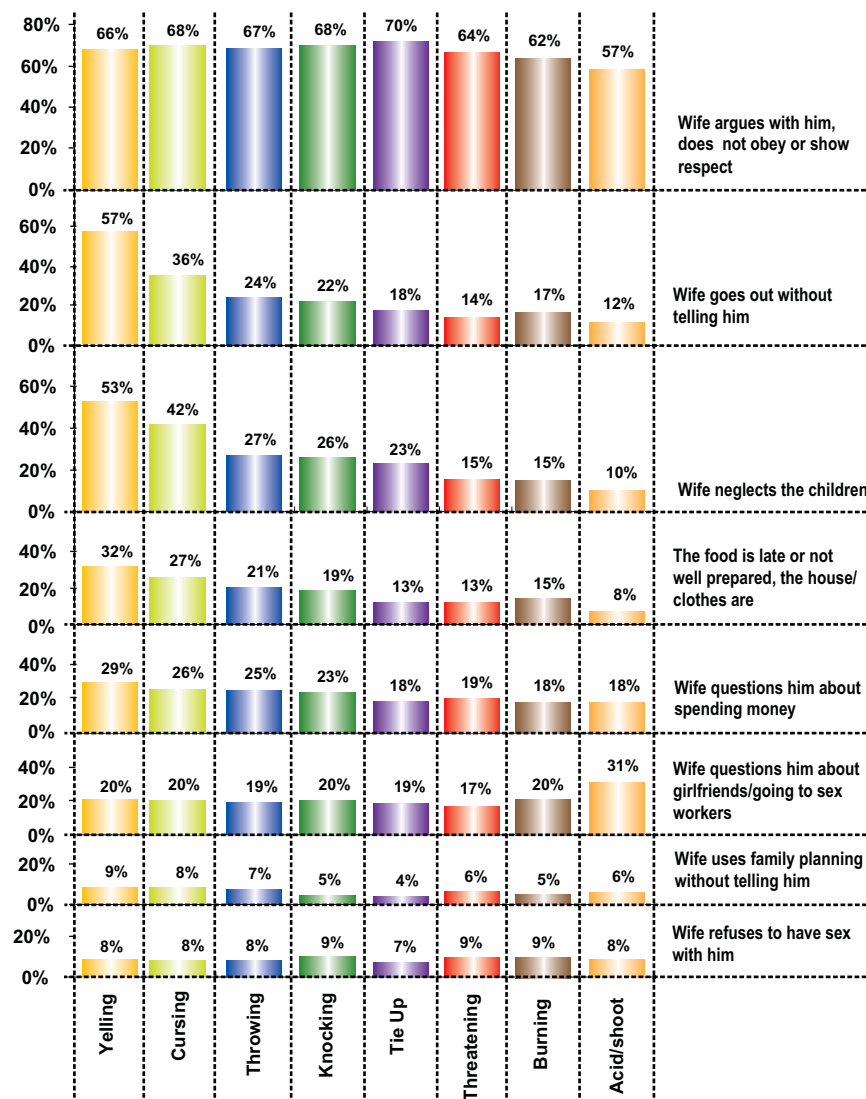


Table 18: Comparison Table for Question 12b - In which of the following circumstances did that happen?

(Baseline: Yelling=2910, Cursing=2803, Throwing=1936, Knocking=1772, Tie up=775, Threatening=632, Burning=279, Throwing acid=319)

(Follow-Up: Yelling=2714, Cursing=2591, Throwing=1614, Knocking=1290, Tie up=491, Threatening=356, Burning=197, Throwing acid=138)

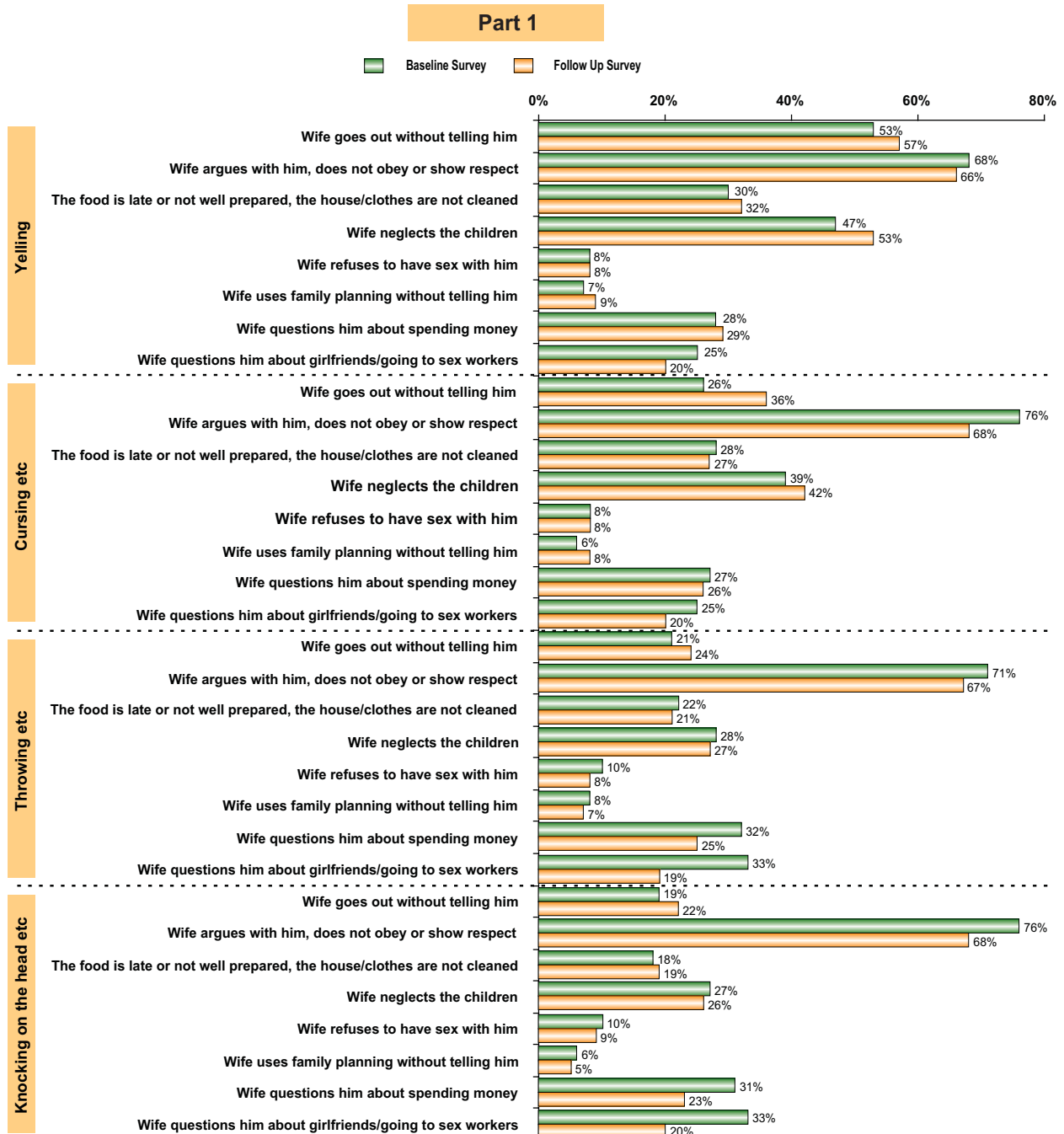


Table 18 includes only respondents who reported having seen their father and mother abuse each other. Results are telling, as Table 19 shows a strong correlation between violence by respondents' parents and respondent's own experiences across all of the categories.

Part 2

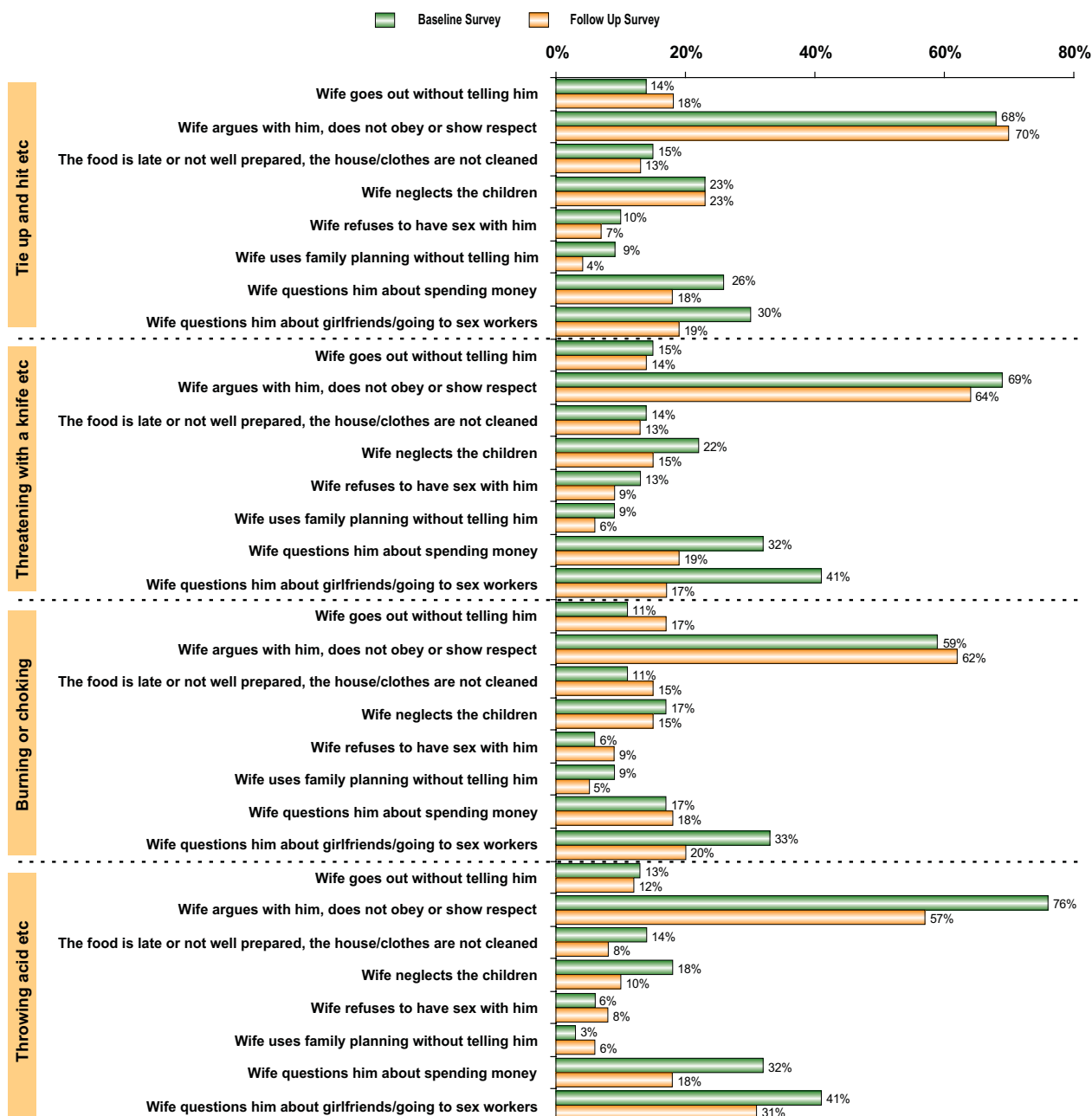
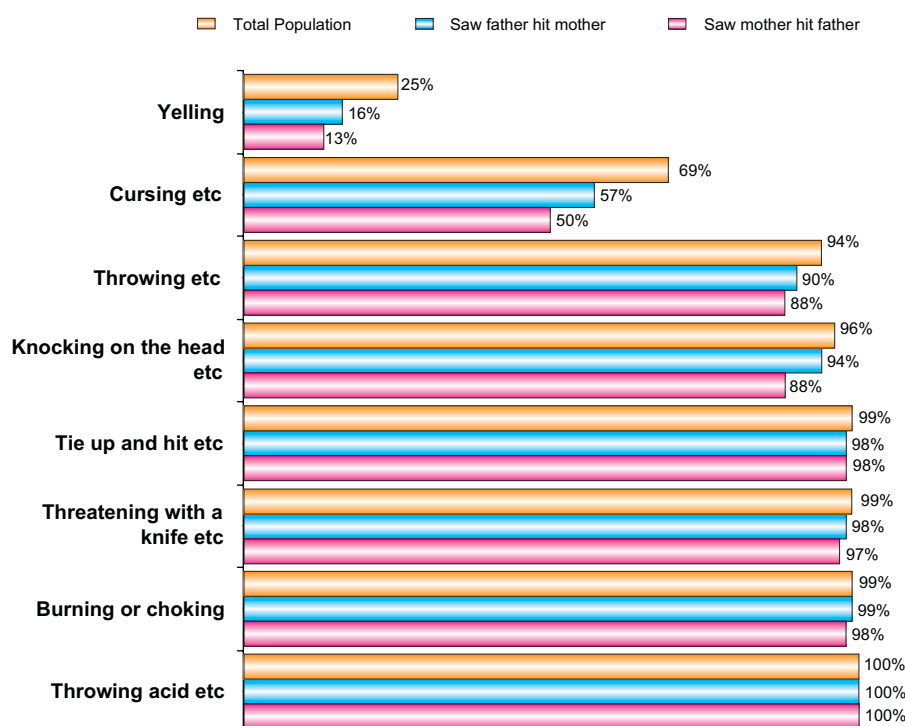


Table 19: Questions 16a, 34a, b - Has your spouse ever done any of the following to you? Did you see your father hit your mother? Did you see your mother hit your father? (Q:16a: N=2029; Q:34a, b N=3040)
(Note response categories in Q16a: Yes & in Q34a, b: Yes)



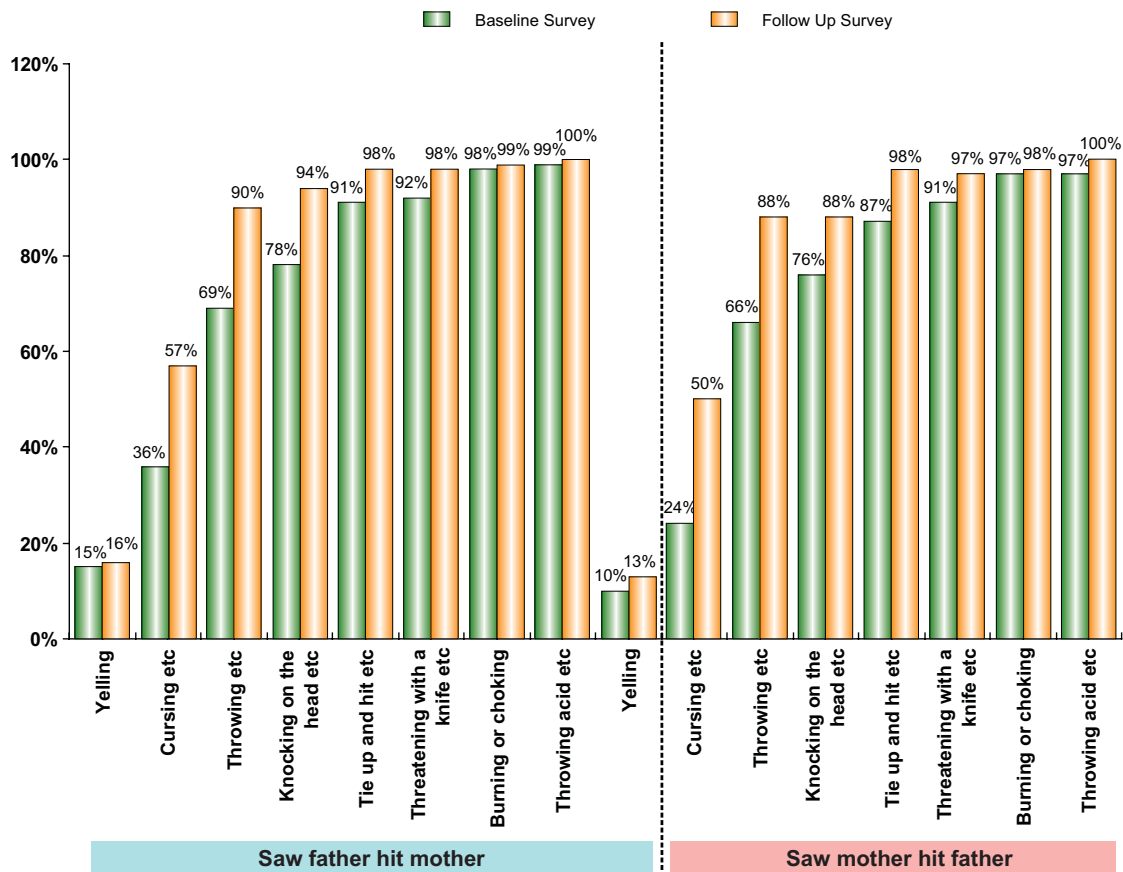
Comparing Tables 19 and 20 produced interesting comparative results. Between 2005 and 2009, 21% more respondents who reported seeing fathers hit their mothers and 26% who reported seeing their mothers hit their fathers reported experiencing their own spouse yelling at them. 21% of respondents reporting either their mother or father abusing their spouse reported their own spouse engaged in throwing something. 7% more respondents who reported seeing their father abusing their mother reported being tied up and hit by their own spouse, whilst those who saw their mother abuse their father increased their own reports of being tied up by 11%. For both categories, reports of threats with a knife by one's own spouse went up 6%. However, answers about respondents' own experiences are often unreliable, so this information must be viewed in that context. (Note: as noted in the 2005 survey report as well, DV experts estimate that people under-report their own experience by about 50%, so the most reliable indicators of prevalence are reports about other people. These numbers might actually be much higher than self-reported.)

Although ingrained patterns of abuse are already at play for current victims of DV who come from households with similar histories of abuse, educational efforts to reduce current violence in such households should help to reduce this pattern in the future.

Table 20: Comparison Table: Questions 16a, 34a, b - Has your spouse ever done any of the following to you? Did you see your father hit your mother? Did you see your mother hit your father?

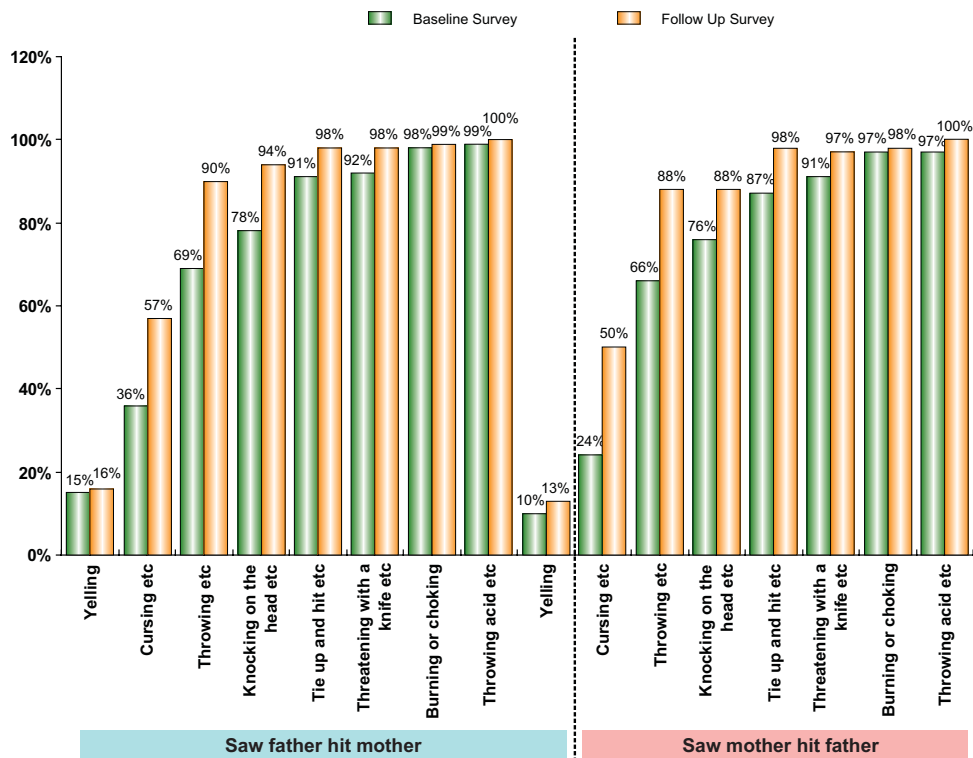
(Saw father hit mother: Baseline N=434, Follow-Up N=314; Saw mother hit father: Baseline N=175, Follow-Up N=94)

(Note response categories in Q16a: No, never & in Q34a, b: Yes)



Many respondents reported that someone other than their last or current spouse - including people outside the family - had acted violently toward them. Most people identified other family members, in particular parents and siblings as the most common perpetrators, as shown in Table 21. The table also highlights which family members tend to display abusive physical behaviour (e.g. particularly hitting) the most frequently. For both male and female respondents, parents' abusive activities were reported as occurring approximately 80% of the time, whilst siblings were reported to engage in such behaviours between 41% (as reported by males) and 48% of the time (as reported by females). Men reported observing friends engaged in abusive behaviours at a much higher frequency than women - 43% compared to women's 23%. Reports on in-laws' behaviour make up 14% and 11% of observed behaviour for men and women, respectively. There were no appreciable differences between the 2005 and 2009 responses in these categories so a comparative table has not been included.

Table 21: Question 17b - Who did that?
(N=2926)



3.1.2.3 Violence Committed by the Respondents

The survey also asked respondents about their own violent behaviour toward their spouse and compared that with observations of their own mother's and father's physical abuse. Again, the survey found a high correlation between the number of respondents' reporting their experience with violence and those reporting parental violence, as shown in Table 22 below. Reports of own behaviour tend to generally follow reports of parental behaviours in all categories except yelling, where respondents reported their own yelling at a 21% frequency whilst only 13% reported seeing their father yelling at their mother and 11% seeing their mother yelling at their father. 66% of those who reported their own cursing behaviour reported seeing their parents abusing each other at a rate of 52%-54%. In all other categories, 90% or more of the reports of own violent behaviour corresponded with 90% or more of the reports of parental abuse.

Although correlations between previous experiences with DV and current experiences of DV remain high, there is good news since for all categories reports of respondents abusing their partners has decreased between 2005 and 2009. Table 23 highlights that for those reporting observing their father hitting their mother, yelling has dropped by 4%, cursing has dropped by 21%, throwing dropped by 23%, knocking on the head by 14%, tying up by 4% and threatening with a knife by 8%. Other more violent categories represented only a 1%-2% change.

For those who reported observing their mother hit their father, yelling has dropped by 3%, cursing has dropped by 27%, throwing dropped by 21%, knocking on the head by 20%, tying up by 8% and threatening with a knife by 7%. Other more violent categories represented only a 2%-3% change.

Table 22: Questions 15a, 34a, b - Did you ever do any of the following to your spouse? Did you see your father hit your mother? Did you see your mother hit your father?
(Q:15a: N=2029; Q:34a,b: N=3040)

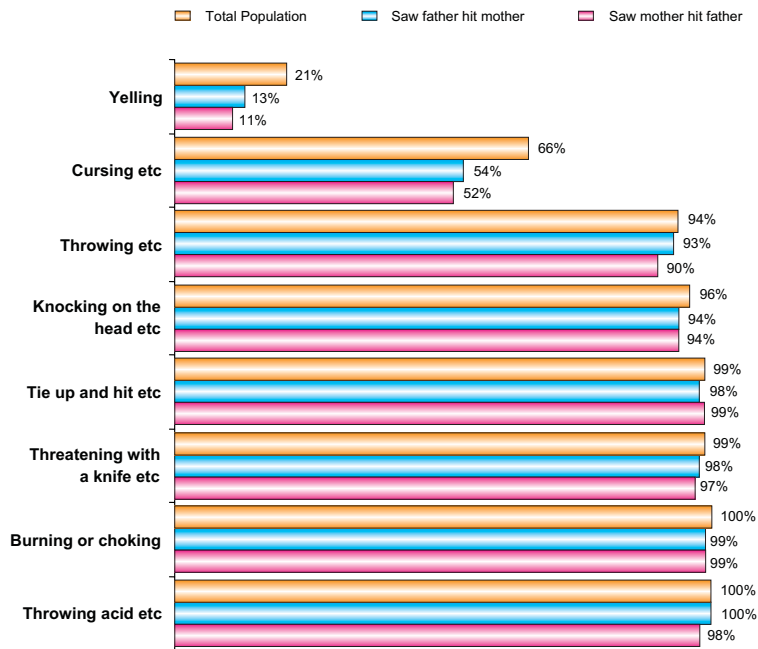
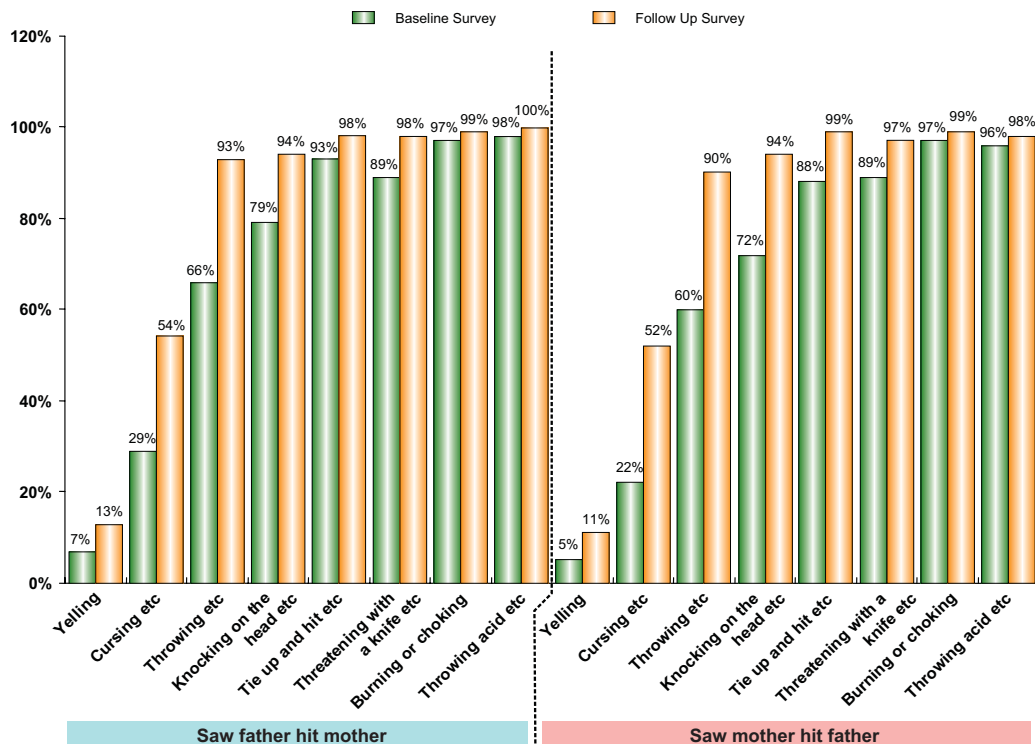


Table 23: Comparison Table: Questions 15a, 34a, b - Comparison of those who had seen father hit mother and mother hit father who answered "yes" to the question: Did you ever do any of the following to your spouse?
(Saw father hit mother: Baseline N=434, Follow-Up N=314; Saw mother hit father: Baseline N=175, Follow-Up N=94) (Note response categories in Q15a: Yes & in Q34a, b: Yes)



Summary Box 2: Experience of DV

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + Comparisons between the baseline and follow-up surveys found that in all categories of reports where respondents said they knew a husband who abused his wife, all reports of violence were lower.
- + Individual reports of violence by self-identified victims are much higher than "general respondents" but there is an overall decrease in some forms of lesser abuse.
- + In all categories reported by victims of abuse, overall levels of abuse by partners have decreased from 2005 levels.

- A significant difference exists between reports of circumstance which lead to violence from "all respondents" (highlighted in Section 3.1.1), when compared to reports from victims only. There is a marked rise in reported instances of less abusive interactions (e.g. yelling, cursing and throwing) for women who are perceived by their spouses as failing in their assumed gender roles (e.g. child rearing, house cleaning, food preparation etc.) Specifically, perceptions of such chores not being managed well resulted in more reported instances of extreme abuse, with 8%-10% of victims reporting acid throwing as punishment.
- Questioning husbands about girlfriends/sex workers or how money was spent were also categories where observed abusive behaviours increased significantly. In particular, reports of acid throwing rose to 31% for questions regarding involvement with other women and 18% regarding how money was spent.
- There is a clear correlation between the prevalence of DV in households where members had parents who engaged in DV. Reports of own behaviour tend to generally follow reports of parental behaviour in all categories except yelling.

3.1.3 Impact of Physical Violence by a Spouse

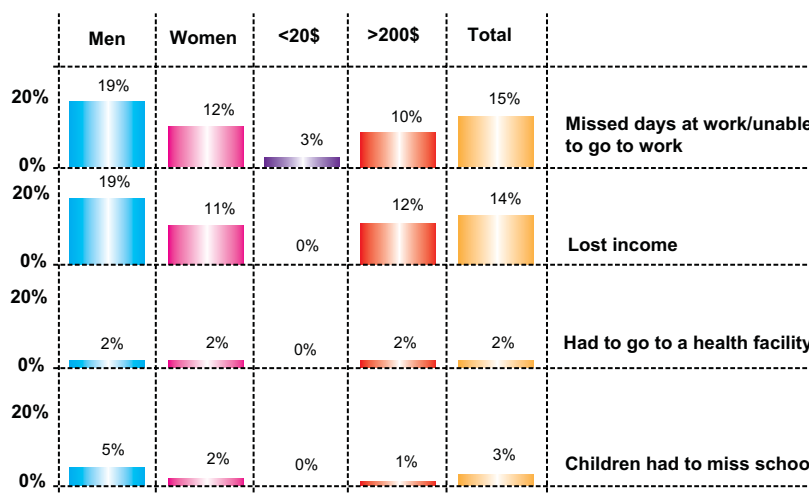
Physical violence has significant economic, physical and psychological effects on those who experience it, in both rich and poor families. Physical violence causes serious injuries requiring medical treatment, damage of property and the loss of ability to work and earn an income. Victims report that they constantly monitor and modify their behaviour to try to prevent their husbands from becoming violent. Women in abusive situations suffer lifelong psychological effects which impairs their ability to function. The following material provides evidence of the impact of DV on economic, health and general well-being.

3.1.3.1 Economic Impact

The most common economic impact of violence by a spouse is missed work or lost income, with 14%-15% of all respondents reporting such losses (see Table 24 below). For individuals reporting income over \$200 US per month, 10% reported missed days as a result of violent episodes, compared to 3% of those earning \$20 US or less of monthly income. Lost income was reported in 12% of the cases of those with income over \$200 US monthly, whilst no respondents making under \$20 US reported lost income. (Note: this reporting is most likely due to the poorest respondents being self-

employed and/or not being able to easily access a tabulation of lost wages during the interview.) No substantial differences emerged in reporting between 2005 and 2009.

Table 24: Question 19a - Did any of the following things ever happen to you? (N=1531)



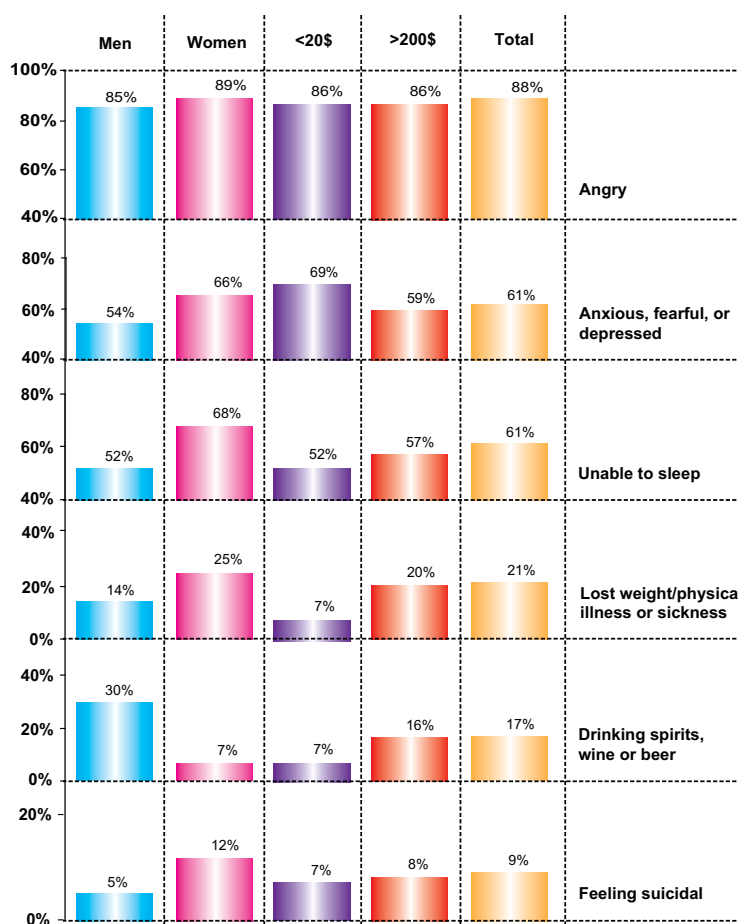
3.1.3.2 Impact on Health & Well-Being

Physical violence had a significant impact on the respondents' health and well-being. Such outward manifestations of stress are telling signs of the influence DV are having on the physical well-being of family members. More than half the sample reported emotional distress in some form. They highlighted being angry, unable to sleep, anxious, fearful or depressed as the most common effects of DV, as elaborated in Table 25 below. Women, the poor and young people were most affected. Women were more likely to get angry than men and four times as many men as women said they drank alcohol as a result of violence. However, women tended to suffer from more negative effects on their health in every other category in the survey.

In contrast to more outward symptoms of violence in the home, such as missed work days, income and children school days, respondents reported substantial negative emotional manifestations of abusive behaviour. Table 25 demonstrates that both men and women, rich and poor, reported manifestations of anger in the 85%-89% range. Women and the poor experienced the highest degrees of anxiety (66% and 69% respectively), with 54% of men reporting anxiety symptoms. Higher income earners (over \$200 US monthly) reported anxiety at a rate of 59%.

Interestingly, a higher proportion of the poor showed signs of physical, mental and emotional stress in the category of anxiety/fear/depression, but higher income earners reported feeling more stress than the poor in all other categories (in ranges between 1%-13% more). Surprisingly, 20% of higher income respondents reported losing weight whilst only 7% of lower income earners reported losing weight as a result of stress related to DV.

**Table 25: Question 20a - Did you ever experience the following?
(N=1531)**



Specifically, men reported sleeplessness 52% of the time whilst women reported such a response 68% of the time. Only 14% of men reported physical illness or weight loss as a result of domestic conflicts, whilst 25% of women did. 7% of the under \$20 US a month income earners drank alcohol whilst 20% of the over \$200 US monthly income earners reported drinking. 12% of women felt suicidal, compared to only 5% of men. Regardless of income, respondents reported feelings of suicide 7%-8% of time.

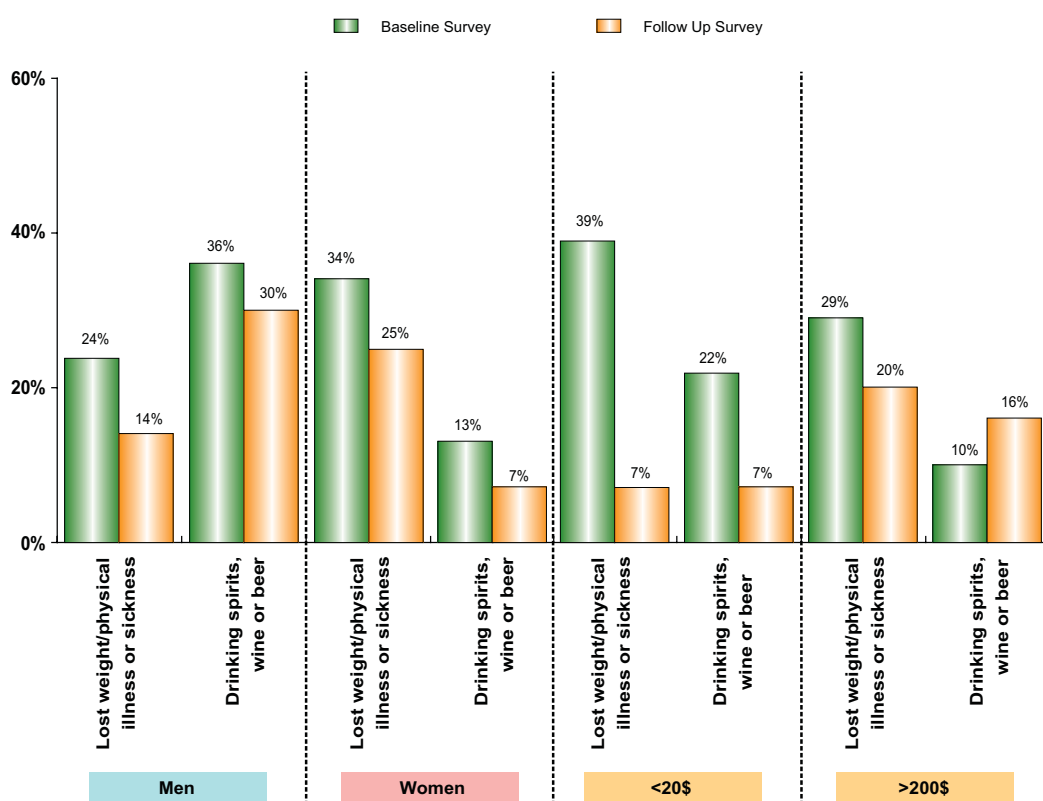
These various indicators of long-term stress indicate a great need to vastly improve mental health support services for ongoing sufferers of DV, in addition to providing such victims basic education on DV. Interventions could include anxiety and stress-management techniques such as visualisation, meditation and breathing to combat urgent symptoms. Alcohol and drug awareness education should also decrease the incidence of victims and perpetrators alike turning to such escapist outlets. Education related to healthy eating techniques and specific foods which enhance mental stability and physical well-being (e.g. proteins, green leafy vegetables, limited sugar and caffeine intake) could also assist certain segments of the Cambodian population with managing the worst of their mental health symptoms.

Due to the design of the baseline and follow-up surveys, a clear sense of the degree to which alcohol induces violence is not possible. Future survey instruments should be designed to further explore possible correlations between these variables.

As Table 26 shows, for combined respondent categories, between 2005 and 2009, reports of all coping behaviour decreased substantially across all categories except the drinking of spirits by earners of an income over \$200 US. In general, reports of alcohol consumption decreased by 6% for male respondents and 6% for female respondents.

10% less men and 9% less women in 2009 reported weight loss than in 2005, whilst for poorer income earners (under \$20 a month), 28% less respondents reported weight loss and 15% less reported drinking spirits, whilst 9% less higher earners (over \$200 US a month) reported weight loss. Such findings might be related to improved nutritional intake in general in Cambodia over the course of the study.

Table 26: Comparison Table: Question 20a - Did you ever experience the following? (Baseline N=1514, Follow-Up N=1531)



Extreme fear was another impact reported by many people who experienced violence in the sample. Table 27 compares reports of feeling fearful across various categories of respondents. 24% of men reported fearing for their lives, compared to 36% of women. 25%-26% of both men and women reported fearing for the lives of other family members. In particular, 36% of men reported fearing for the lives of their children, whilst 42% of women experienced this fear.

Women were more likely than men to report that they feared for their own lives and the lives of their children. Men were more likely to report that they feared for the lives of other family members. The poor said they were more fearful in every category and half of the poor said they feared for their lives. Young people aged 15 to 19 were more likely to say that they feared for their lives.

Table 27: Question 20b - Did you ever experience the following? (N=1531)

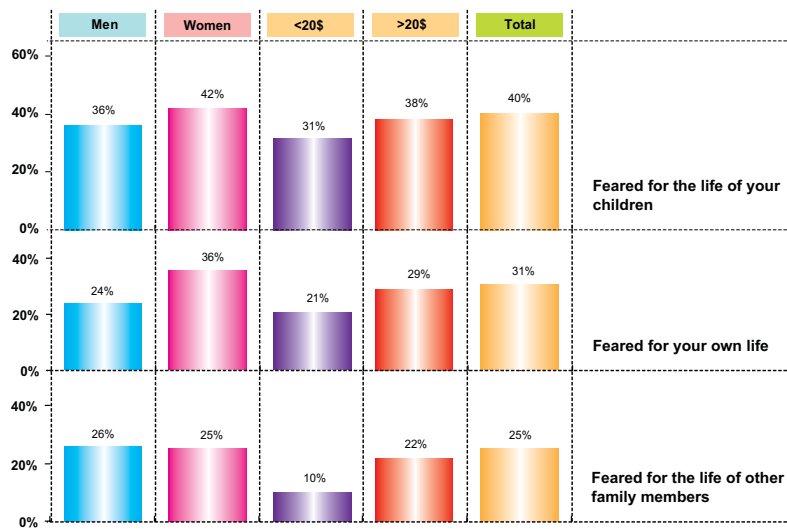
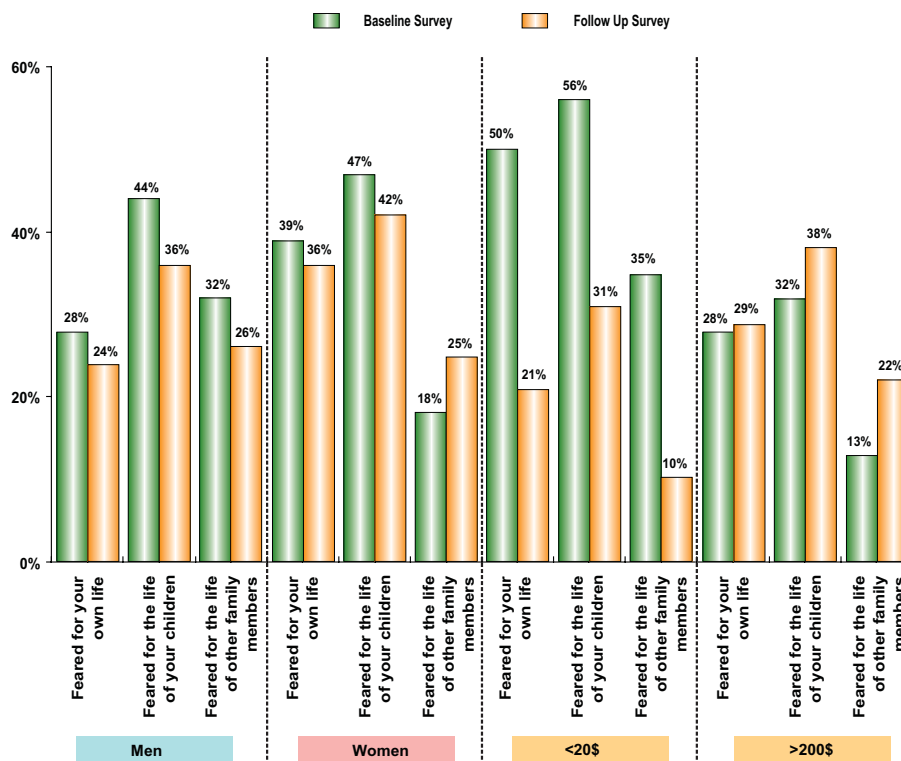


Table 28 shows how reports of the same fears dropped between 2005 and 2009 in all categories except high income earners (over \$200 US per month), where all fears actually rose between 1%-9% and women who reported a 7% increase in their fear for the life of other family members.

Improved community support services and better access to LAs should improve these indicators in the future.

Table 28: Comparison Table: Question 20b – Did you ever experience the following? (Baseline N=1514, Follow-Up N=1531)



Summary Box 3: Impact of Physical Violence by a Spouse: Economic, Health & Well-Being

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + Table 28 shows how reports of the same fears dropped between 2005 and 2009 in all categories except high income earners (over \$200 US a month), where all fears actually rose between 1%-9% and women who reported a 7% increase in their fear for the life of other family members.
- + Reports of all categories of fear associated with DV dropped between 2005 and 2009 in all categories except high income earners and women.
- More than half the sample reported emotional distress in some form.
- Women, the poor and young people's physical health and sense of well-being were most affected.
- Women were more likely to suffer from long-term anger than men.
- Four times as many men as women said they drank alcohol as a result of violence.
- Women tended to suffer from more negative effects on their health in every category of the survey except alcohol consumption.
- Women and the poor experienced the highest degrees of anxiety (66% and 69% respectively) with 54% of men reporting anxiety symptoms. Higher income earners (over \$200 US a month) reported anxiety at a rate of 59%.
- Men reported sleeplessness 52% of the time whilst women reported sleeplessness 68% of the time.

Only 14% of men reported physical illness or weight loss as a result of domestic conflicts, whilst 25% of women did.

3.1.4 The Role of Alcohol in DV

Drinking alcohol often decreases self-control, which can lead people to lose their inhibitions and behave in destructive ways. Therefore the survey measured the use of alcohol among respondents and their spouses and compared the level of DV among groups according to the drinking habits of respondents.

The survey focused on the use of alcohol both by asking respondents about their own drinking habits and about those of their spouses. As noted in the Tables 29 and 31 below, there is a large gap between genders and a large gap between reports about the respondents themselves and about their spouses. Researchers often find answers about "other people" to be more credible, which indicates that about 62% of the men drink at least occasionally (see Table 31).

The experience of violence reported by respondents is directly correlated with the frequency of the spouse's use of alcohol, as shown in Table 33, although it is not clear from the data collected whether violence occurred as a result of alcohol consumption. (More targeted questions will need to be added to future surveys). Spouses who drank alcohol the most often - twice a week or more - were also reported to be more violent.

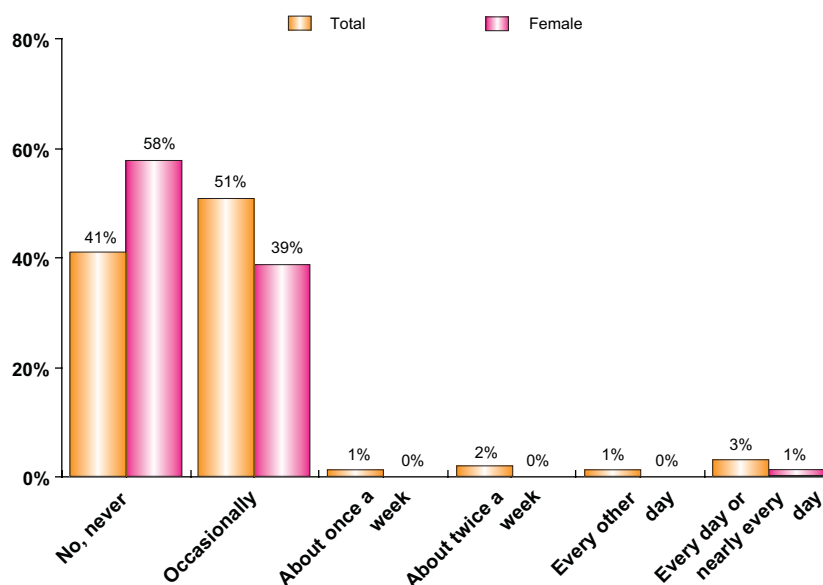
As Table 29 highlights, women's drinking patterns closely follow those of the general population, although 58% of women report not drinking at all, which is 17% less than the general population total (41%). Women report occasional drinking at the rate of 39%, as compared to 51% of the total sample.

Table 30 shows that 13% less women reported "never drinking" in 2009 than in 2005, whilst 13% more report occasional drinking. 40% less men reported "never drinking" in 2009, as compared to 2005, whilst 2% more men reported "occasional drinking" in 2009 than 2005. 3% more men in 2009 indicated they drink every day or nearly every day.

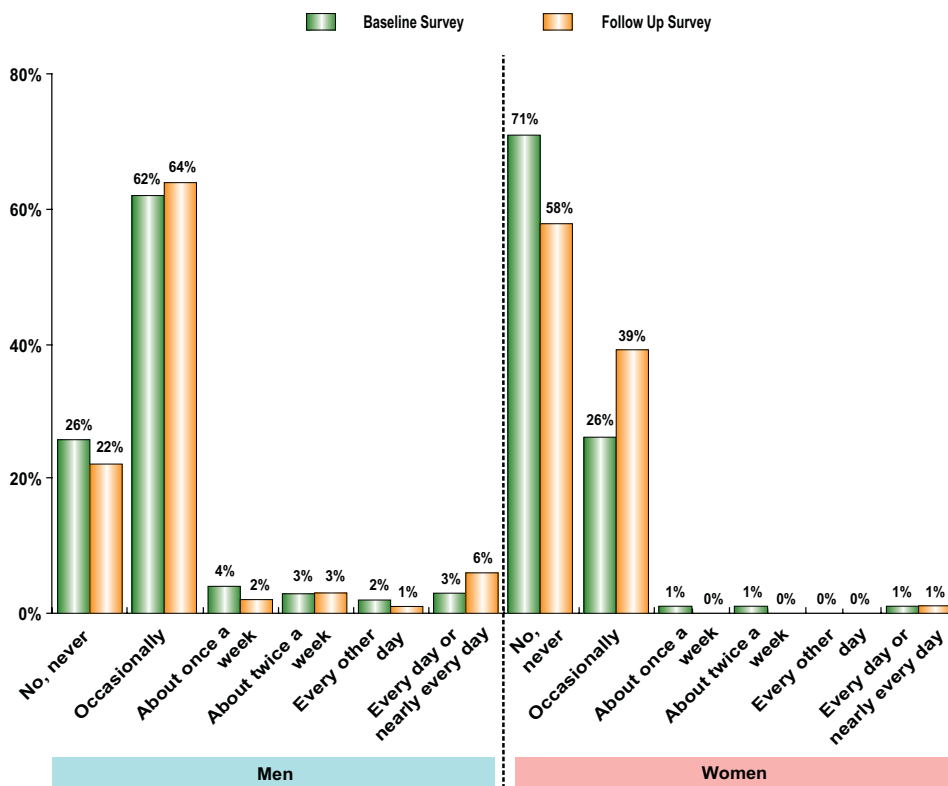
As reported in Table 31 and similar to the numbers reported in Table 30, 19% of wives indicate their husbands never drink, compared to the 22% of men who self-reported for this category in 2009. 62% of wives reported occasional drinking by their spouse, compared to 64% of men's self-reporting on this category in 2009.

Between 2005 and 2009, men report a drop of 8% in spouses never drinking, whilst reporting an increase in occasional drinking by 10%. Women reported a 3% decrease in men never drinking and a 4% increase in occasional drinking. These figures support the conclusion that about 8%-10% more women in the sample are drinking occasionally than in 2005, whilst men are drinking at about the same rate, with only about a 3%-4% increase in occasional drinking.

Table 29: Question 7a – Do you ever drink wine or beer or spirits? (N=3040)



**Table 30: Comparison Table: Question 7a - Do you ever drink wine or beer or spirits?
(Baseline N=3030, Follow-Up N=3040)**



**Table 31: Question 7b - Does your spouse ever drink wine or beer or spirits?
(N=2029)**

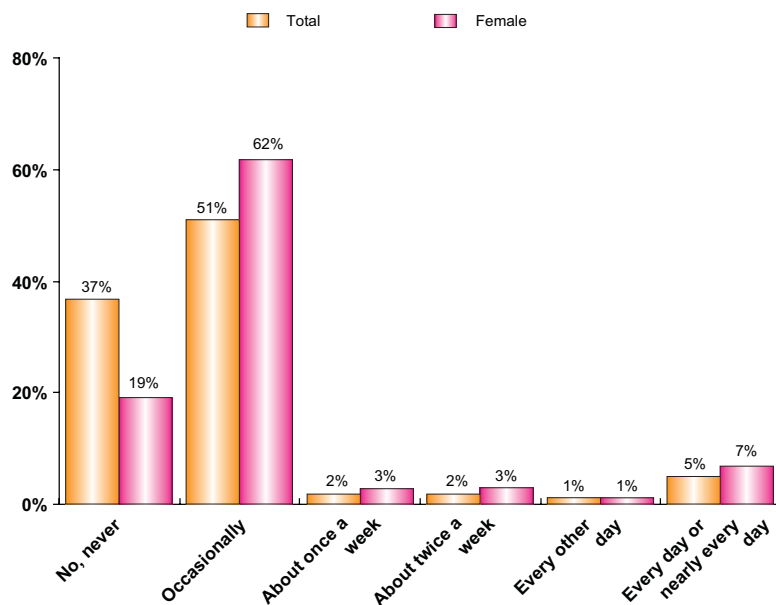
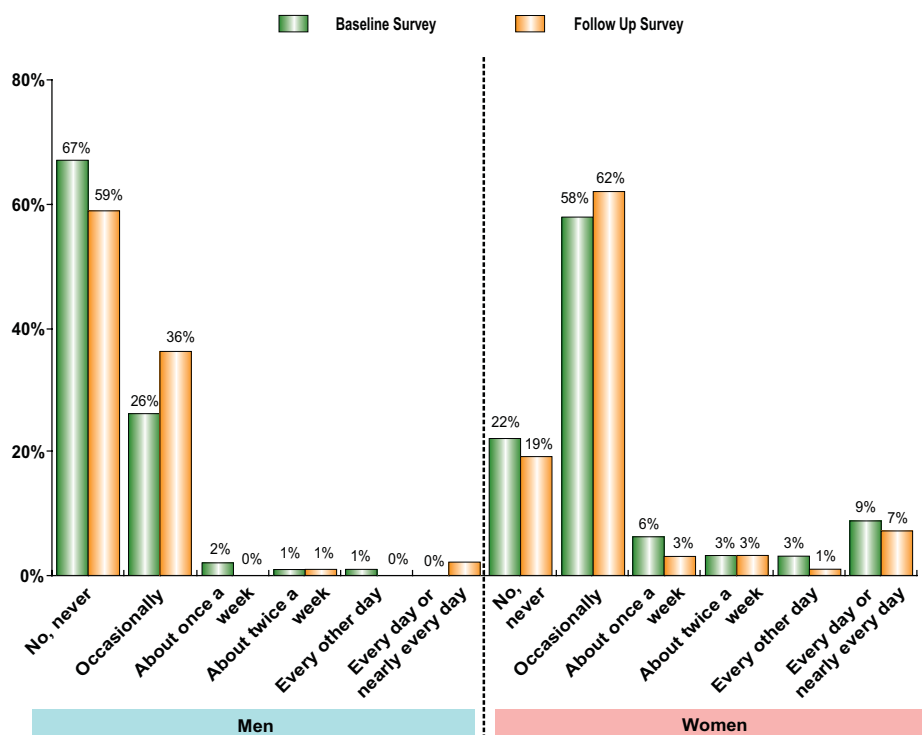


Table 32: Comparison Table: Question 7b - Does your spouse ever drink wine or beer or spirits? (Baseline N=1995, Follow-Up N=2029)



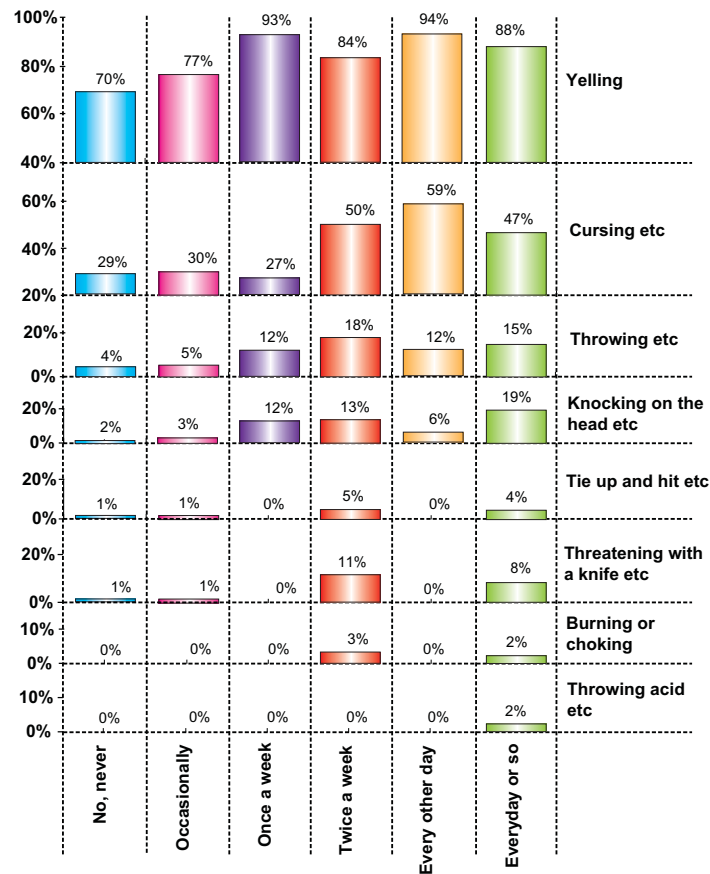
When questions related to frequency of abusive behaviours were matched across reports of spousal drinking, 88%-93% of spouses reported yelling occurring at least once a week, whilst 47%-59% respondents reported cursing occurring at least once a week. 12%-18% of respondents reported throwing occurring at least once a week (an increase of 6%-12% from 2005 data), whilst tying up and beating occurred once a week for 4%-5% of respondents (this represents a 3%-4% increase from 2005). 9%-11% of respondents reported being threatened with a knife at least once in a week period (a 7%-10% increase from 2005).

Compared against Table 16 findings, Table 33 shows that almost all categories of violent behaviour increased in relationship to reports of spousal drinking, although because of the limitations of questions, a direct correlation between alcohol consumption and violent episodes can not be made.

Table 34 shows that reports regarding alcohol consumption and frequency of beatings between 2005 and 2009 were somewhat similar, except in the case of “occasional cursing,” which dropped by 18%. Reports of “yelling on a weekly basis” rose by 23% and reports of “once a week cursing” dropped by 22%.

Between the 2005 and 2009 surveys, respondents reported a drop in all “twice weekly” abusive behaviours by 3%-18%. Although yelling stayed consistent, cursing and throwing objects’ categories both dropped by 18%. Knocking on the head dropped by 12%. For every other day behaviour, yelling again stayed consistent, but reports of cursing and throwing objects both dropped by 17%. Threatening with a knife reports dropped 12% to almost 0%. For reports of every day behaviour, yelling stayed about the same frequency, but again, cursing dropped by

Table 33: Questions 16a by 7b – Has your spouse ever done any of the following to you? Does your spouse drink beer or wine or spirits? (Q:16a: N=2029; Q:7b: N=2029)



21%. Throwing things dropped by 21% and knocking on the head dropped by 11%, whilst threatening with a knife dropped by 7%.

When spouses were asked to report on the frequency of their abusive behaviour whilst drinking, 82%-96% of spouses reported yelling occurring at least once a week, whilst 33%-54% respondents reported cursing occurring at least once a week. Yet, numbers dropped as more violent behaviour was considered. Self-reports of throwing objects occurring at least once a week fell to 6%-9% of respondents in 2009, whilst weekly or more frequent tying up and beating activities fell to 3% of respondents. Only 2% of respondents reported threatening their spouse with a knife at least once during a week period.

Again, comparing findings in Table 35 to Table 16, frequency of incidents are typically higher for abusers who also drink alcohol, indicating a strong need to group DV and alcohol awareness education into a similar policy vehicle.

Table 34: Comparison Table: Questions 16a by 7b - Has your spouse ever done any of the following to you? Does your spouse drink beer or wine or spirits? (Baseline N=1982, Follow-Up N=2029)

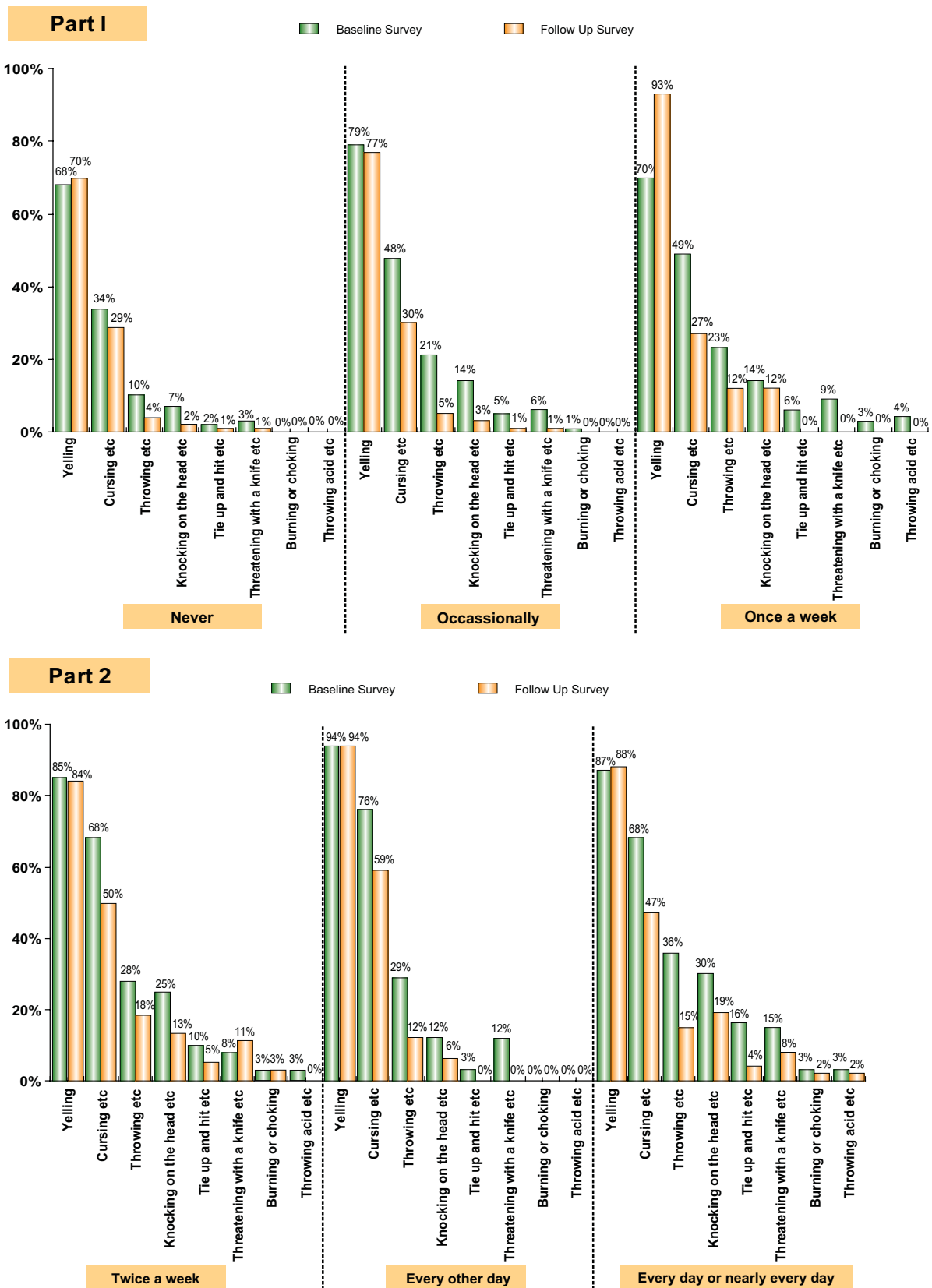
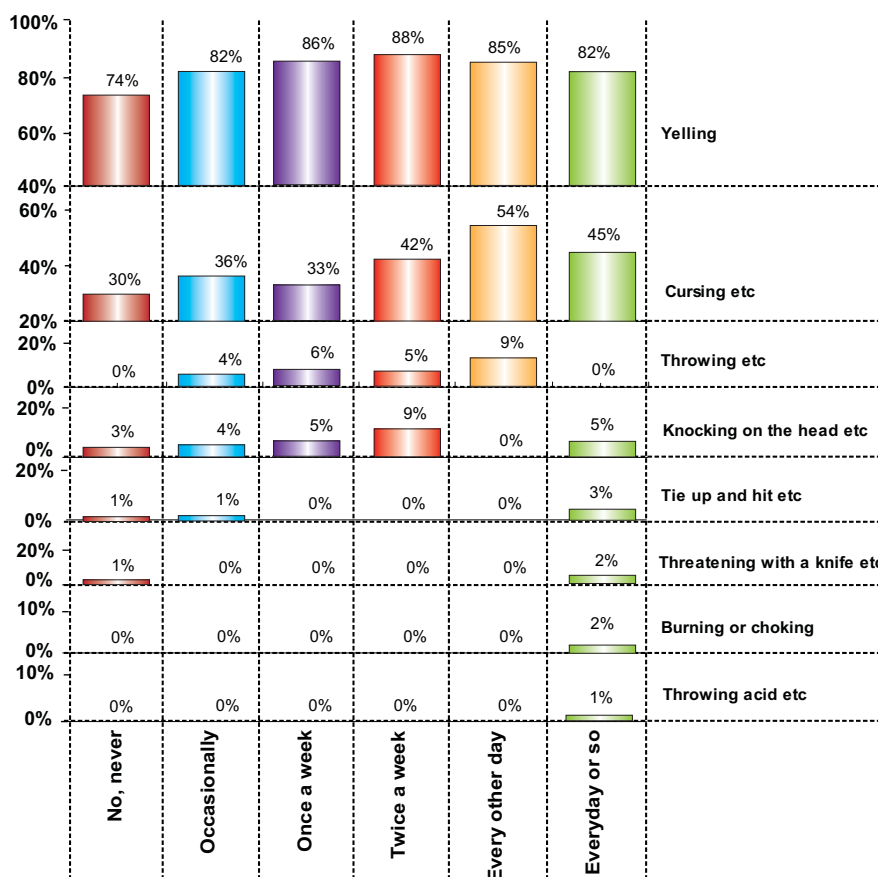


Table 35: Questions 15a by 7a – Did you ever do any of the following to your spouse? Do you drink wine or beer or spirits?
(Q: 15a: N=2029; Q7a: N=3040)

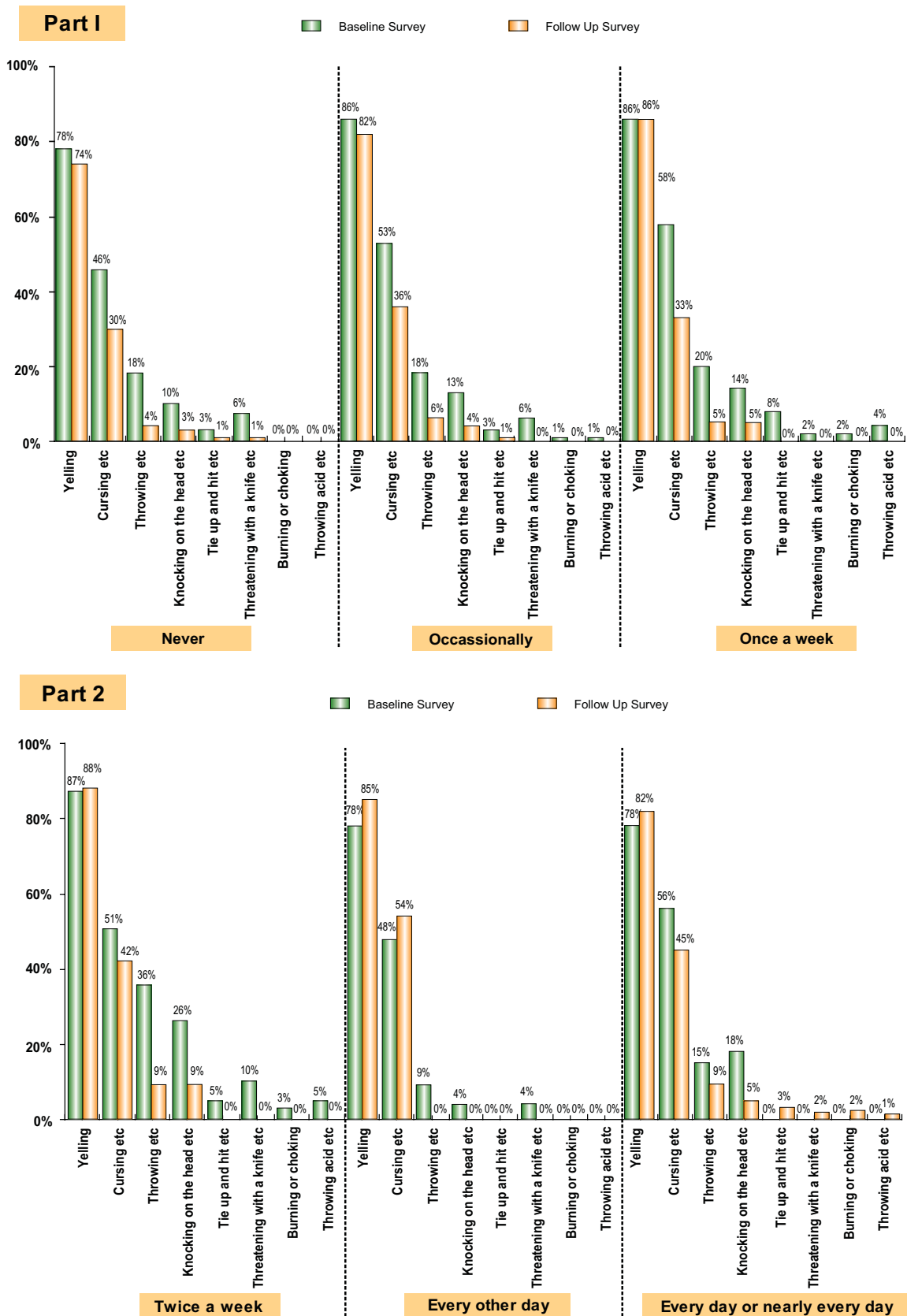


As Table 36 demonstrates, for spouses reporting occasional to frequent drinking in 2005 and 2009, occasional cursing dropped by 17% and throwing dropped by 12%. For behaviour reported as weekly, a 25% decrease in yelling, a 15% decrease in throwing objects and a 9% decrease in knocking on the head were reported.

For twice weekly behaviour, cursing dropped by 9%, throwing dropped by 27%, and knocking on the head dropped by 17%. Threatening with a knife dropped by 10%.

For every other day behaviour, yelling increased by 8% and cursing rose by 6% whilst threatening with a knife dropped 4%. For every day/nearly every day behaviour, yelling increased by 4%, but cursing dropped by 12%, throwing dropped by 14% and knocking on the head dropped by 13%.

Table 36: Comparison Table for Questions 15a by 7a - Did you ever do any of the following to your spouse? Do you drink wine or beer or spirits? (Baseline N=1995, Follow-Up N=2029)



Summary Box 4: The Role of Alcohol in DV

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + When violent behaviour was matched against reports of alcohol consumption, results are mixed. However, the most violent behaviour appears to be on the decrease.
- 8%-10% more women in the sample are drinking occasionally than in 2005, whilst men are drinking at about the same rate, with only a 3%-4% reported increase in occasional drinking.

When questions related to frequency of abusive behaviour were matched across reports of spousal drinking, 88%-93% of spouses reported yelling occurring at least once a week, whilst 47%-59% respondents reported cursing occurring at least once a week. 12%-18% of respondents reported throwing occurring at least once a week (an increase of 6%-12% from the 2005 data), whilst tying up and beating occurred once a week for 4%-5% of respondents (this represents a 3%-4% increase from 2005). 8%-11% of respondents reported being threatened with a knife at least once in a week period (a 7%-10% increase from 2005). For individuals living with more frequent drinkers, all types of lesser abuses appear to be a frequent and consistent experience for spouses.

3.2 EMOTIONAL ABUSE

DV often includes emotional abuse as well as physical abuse. Emotional abuse occurs when a husband brings enormous pressure on his wife to obey him and to conform to his views on how she should behave and how she should perform her gender roles. This pressure can cause the wife to lose confidence and serve to instil fear, anxiety and depression. This may become more intense due to anger over the abusive behaviour and since it is not acceptable to express this anger outwardly, it may be turned inward, resulting in low self-esteem, self-contempt and hopelessness. This inward anger can also result in a number of physical symptoms such as anxiety, long-term anger management issues and sleeplessness, as explored in the previous sections.

This study focused only on two types of emotional abuse: husbands who become angry with their wives, most often for failing to perform their gender roles and husbands who try to control their wives, by controlling what they wear or where they go or who they see. DV experts report that this type of marital control is often linked to a higher risk of emotional, physical and sexual violence in the marriage. The survey examined both of these types of cases and asked respondents how to resolve them. Much of this material has been sub-divided by gender sub-groups to better assess major differences in how men and women view such behaviour.

3.2.1 Male Anger

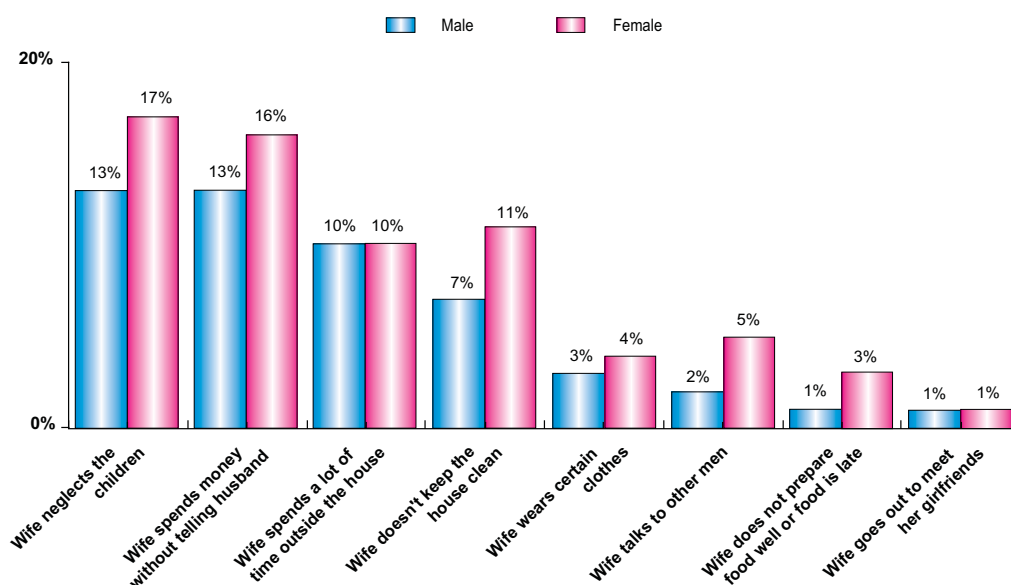
Respondents rated the acceptability of male anger on a scale ranging from acceptable to unacceptable. Specifically, respondents rated male anger in different situations on a scale of one to five, with one representing situations where anger was "very justified" and five representing situations where anger was "very unjustified."

When presented with a range of circumstances and asked whether husbands are justified in getting angry, men and women tended to follow similar answer trends. Interestingly, in all instances, a higher percentage of women than men felt anger was justified.

More than half of the respondents said that a husband is justified or very justified in becoming angry when his wife fails to perform certain domestic duties. However, activities unrelated to household duties, such as wives talking to other men, wives going out to meet girlfriends or wearing certain clothes, did not elicit as strong a reaction from respondents.

In contrast to physical abuse, where the most extreme forms of violence tend to be justified when women question male authority, emotional abuse and controlling behaviour tend to be justified when a wife neglects her children and domestic duties. In particular, a woman's neglect of the children, spending money without telling her husband and neglecting housework received the highest response rates, as shown in Table 37 below. Women and those with the lowest incomes showed a greater acceptance of male anger in these situations.

Table 37: Question 21a - Is a husband justified in getting angry in the following circumstances? (Very justified) (N=3040)



26% of men felt that their wife talking to other men was a rather or very justified reason to get angry, whilst 39% of female respondents replied similarly. Only 11% of men felt a wife going out to meet girlfriends warranted an angry reaction (56% of men felt it a rather unjustified reason to be angry) whilst 12% of women felt an angry reaction was warranted and 83% felt it was a rather unjustified excuse. 50% of men felt a wife wearing certain clothes justified an angry response, whilst 62% of women felt the same way.

76% of men believe anger is rather or very justified if a wife spends money without telling her husband, whilst 83% of women responded similarly. 74% of male respondents felt an unclean house was justification for anger, whilst 83% of women responded similarly. 84% of men felt neglect of children warranted anger, whilst 88% of women felt anger was justified. 21% of men felt poorly prepared or late meals justified an angry response, whilst 38% of women felt this was justified.

Whilst 60% of men deemed a wife spending a lot of time outside the house worthy of an angry response, 70% of women felt the same way.

Differences between 2005 and 2009 respondents clearly show changes in thinking regarding women's roles and what justifies anger. There was a 29% increase in men who believe not keeping the house clean is a rather justified excuse to be angry, compared to a 14% increase in women who felt anger was rather justified in cases of an unclean house.

In contrast, there was a 14% increase in men who feel poorly prepared or late food was a rather unjustified excuse for being angry, compared to a 9% increase in women who felt anger was rather justified when food was not prepared well or late.

14% more men reported anger as "rather justified" or "very justified" in instances where the wife was spending a lot of time outside of the house. In comparison, 19% more women than 2005 felt anger was rather justified for spending a lot of time outside the house.

Although men's responses did not change dramatically, changes in women's beliefs in the following categories are worth noting. There was a 13% increase in women who felt anger was rather unjustified in cases where they were talking to other men. As well, there was an increase of 11% of women who felt going out to meet girlfriends was a rather unjustified reason for anger (although worth noting this percentage increase mainly came from a 9% drop in women who felt it was a very unjustified reason). 13% more women indicated they think anger is rather justified when a woman wears certain clothes.

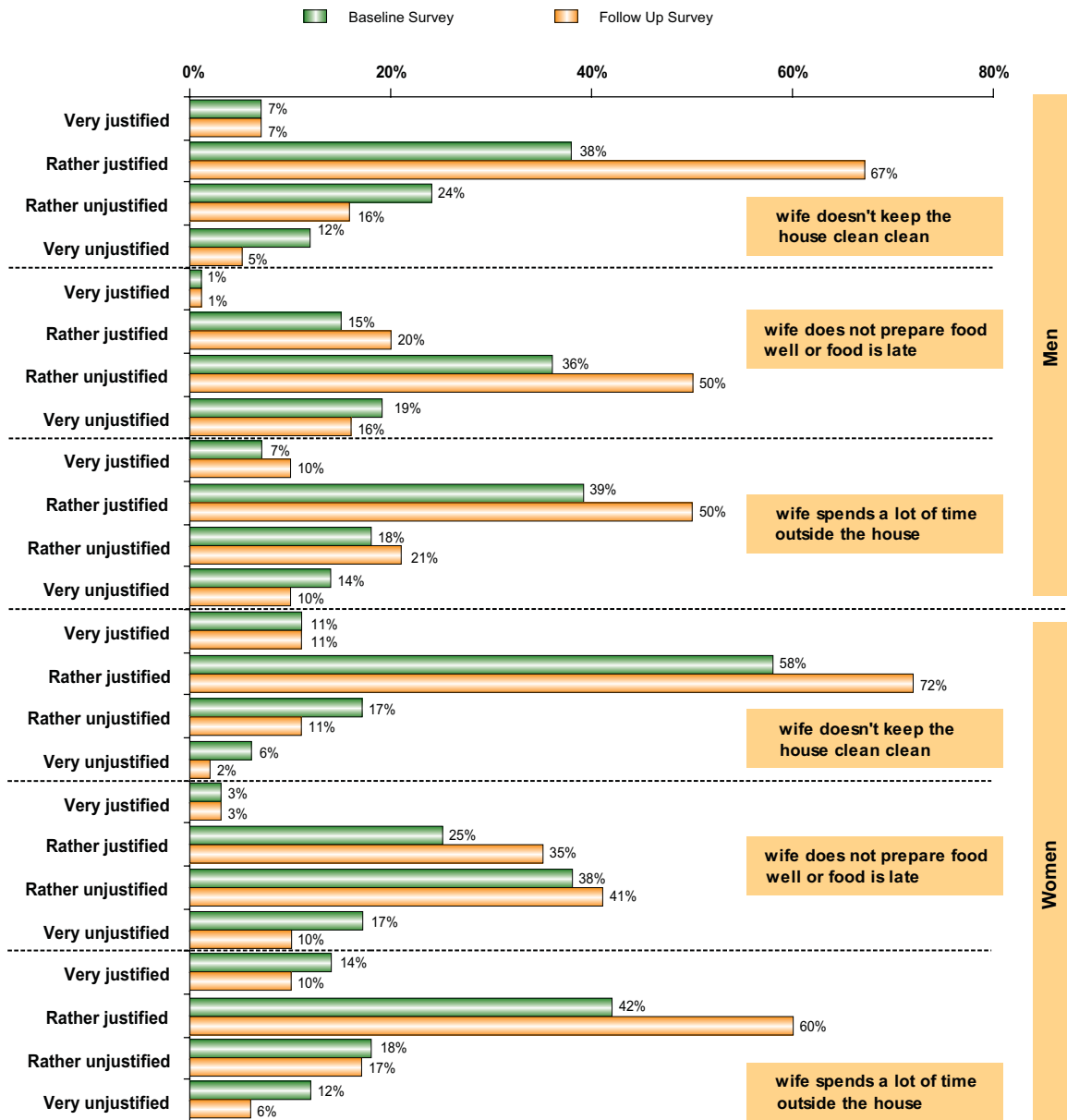
For instances of neglect of children, there was a 10% increase in women who felt such an act warranted rather justified anger (although worth noting this percentage increase comes from an 8% drop in women who felt neglect was a very justified reason for anger). Table 38 highlights categories with greatest percentage changes in responses.

It is clear that women hold much stronger attitudes about the appropriateness of their behaviour as wives than their male partners, so future educational campaigns should be sure to consider how to best dialogue about differences in male and female expectations related to gender-based household roles.

Taking such scenarios one step further, the survey asked men and women whether husbands were actually justified in acting out against such activities by wives. 11% of men and 8% of women felt men were justified in forbidding a wife to wear certain clothes and 18% of men and 14% of women felt it justifiable for a man to accuse his wife of being unfaithful. 18% of men and 15% of women felt a man was justified in insisting on knowing where his wife was at all times.

30% of men and 23% of women felt it was appropriate for a husband to not permit a wife to meet her girlfriends. 33% of both men and women felt not giving a wife any money was justifiable, whilst 34% of men and 25% of women felt not allowing a wife to leave the house was acceptable. In a similar vein, 45% of men and 47% of women thought a man not allowing his wife to see her family was justifiable behaviour.

Table 38: Comparison Table for Question 21a - Is a husband justified in getting angry in the following circumstances? (Very Unjustified) (Baseline N=3030, Follow-Up N=3040)



Summary Box 5: Male Anger

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- A higher percentage of women than men felt anger was justified in all the behavioural scenarios presented.
- In particular, a woman's neglect of the children, spending money without telling her husband and neglecting housework received higher response rates than non-household gender-based activities.
- Women and low-income respondents showed a greater acceptance of male anger in the selected situations.
- Women are really self-monitoring much more so than men, most likely the main reason for continuation of such strong feelings about women's gender roles.
- It is clear that women hold much stronger attitudes about the appropriateness of their behaviour as wives than their male partners, so future educational campaigns should be sure to consider how to best dialogue about differences in male and female expectations related to gender-based household roles.

3.2.2 Controlling Behaviour

Respondents rated the acceptability of men acting to control their wives on a scale ranging from acceptable to unacceptable. Specifically respondents rated different types of controlling behaviour on a scale of one to five, with one representing situations where this behaviour was "very justified" and five representing behaviour that was "very unjustified."

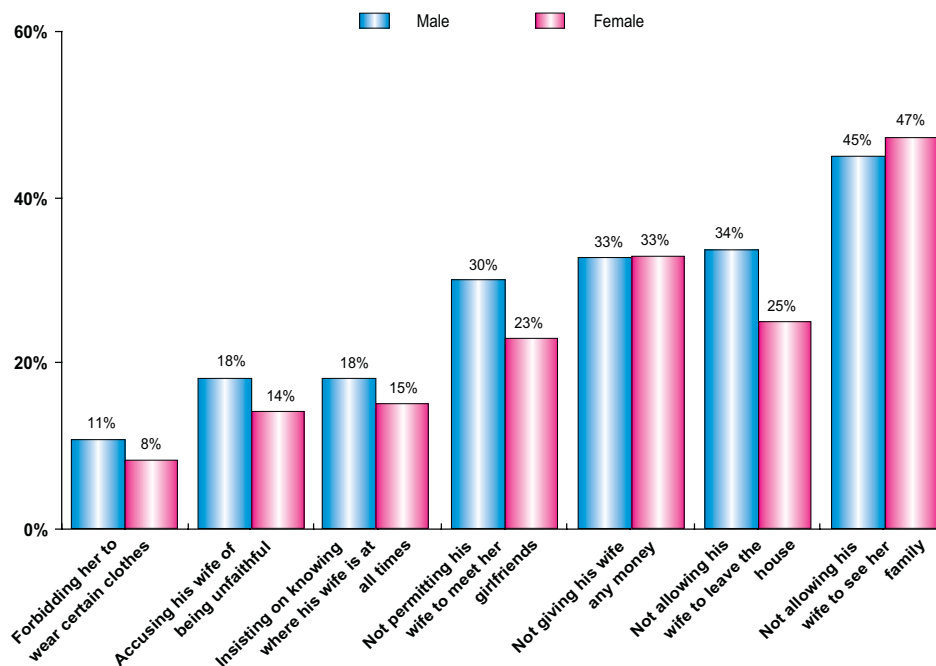
The survey of both men and women's support for men acting out to control their wives, especially regarding enforcing gender roles is shown in Tables 39 and 40 below. Of note, women were more likely than men to say it is justified for a man to forbid his wife to wear certain clothes, or to insist on knowing where his wife is at all times. In most cases, people with the lowest incomes were more likely to see controlling behaviour as justified.

47% of women reported feeling men's efforts to keep a wife from seeing her family as justified, compared to 45% of men. 33% of both male and female respondents reported it was very justifiable for a man not to give his wife money. For all other categories, on average, men found controlling behaviour 3%-9% more justifiable than women.

Similar to suggestions made for addressing issues related to male anger, deeper consideration of how to address men and women's ingrained beliefs around women's rights as members of a household and men's right to exert control over their wives, needs to be addressed by individual Cambodian citizens at the community level, with the support of LAs or NGOs.

Between 2005 and 2009, perceptions about some of these activities changed considerably. 12% more men indicated accusations of unfaithfulness were rather unjustified. As well, there was a 10% drop in men agreeing that the forbidding of wives to wear certain clothes was very unjustified, whilst there was an 11% increase in those reporting it was rather unjustified and a 10% increase in those who feel it was rather justified.

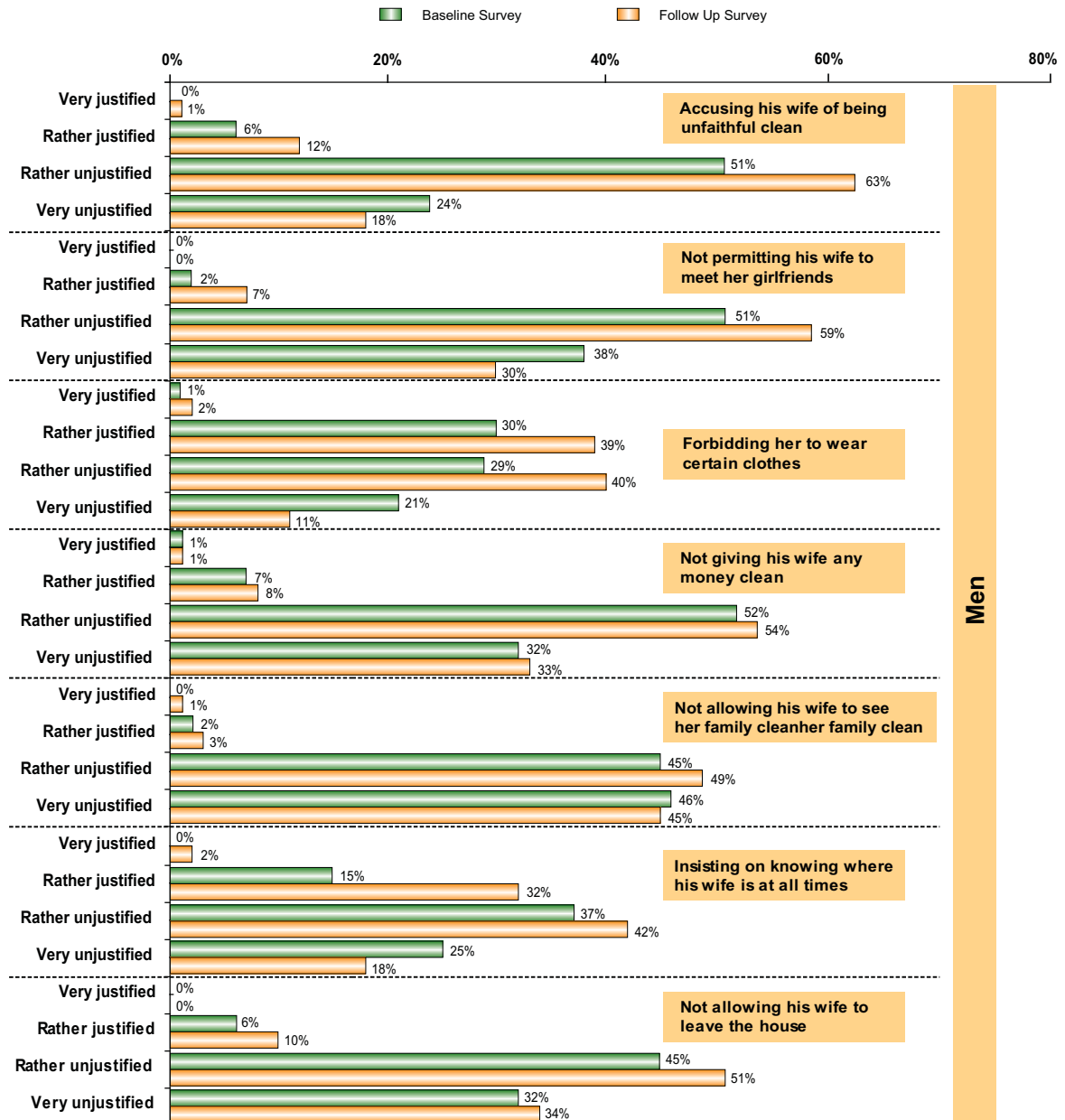
Table 39: Question 21b – Is a husband justified in behaving in the following ways? (Very Justified) (N=3040)



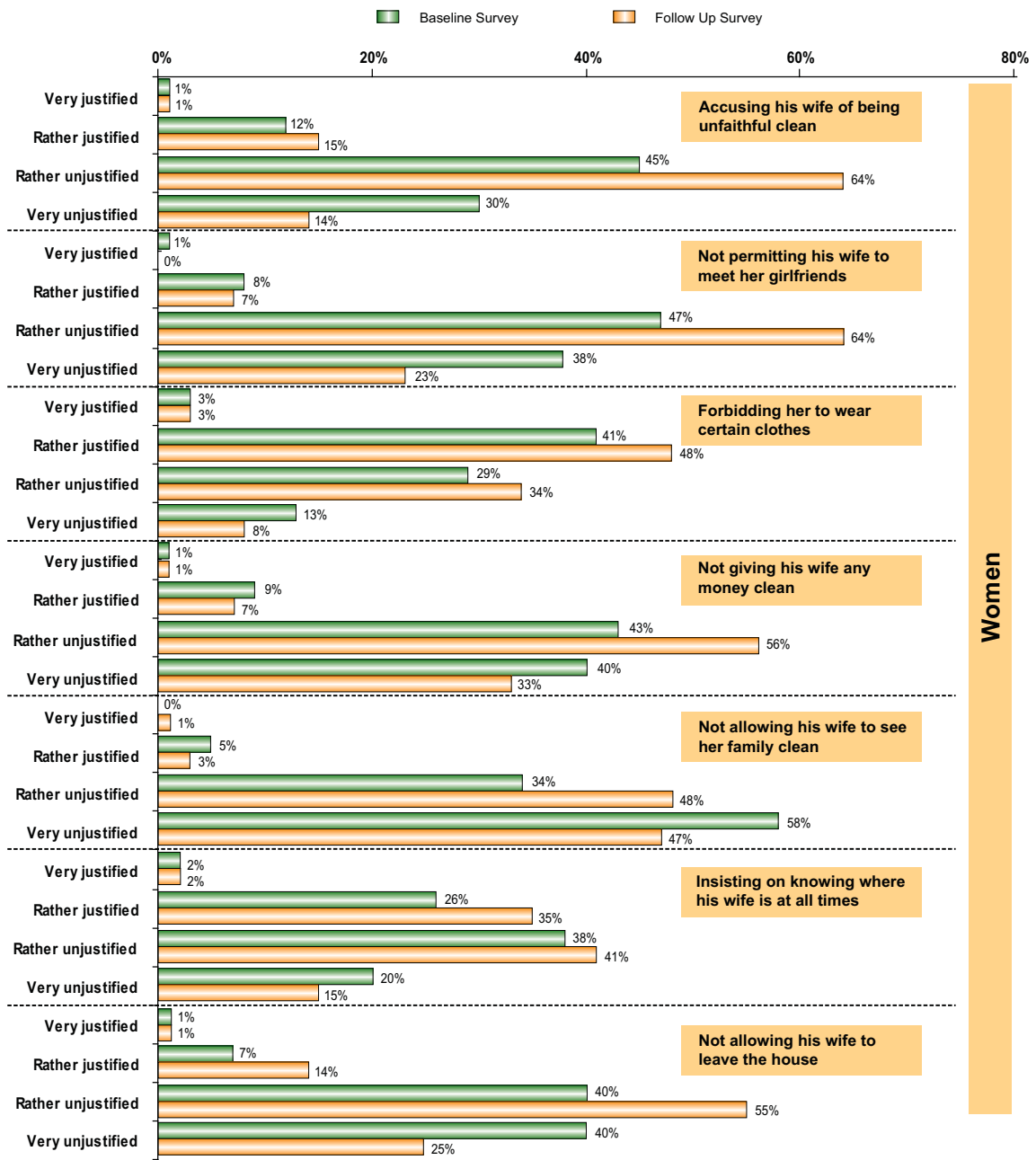
There was a 17% increase in men feeling it was very justified to know where their wife was at all times and a 7% drop in those feeling it was rather unjustified (and a 16% drop in I don't know/unsure category), demonstrating men feel knowing their wife's whereabouts at all time was an increasingly justifiable activity.

For female respondents, percentage changes looked a bit different. 19% of women felt a man accusing his wife of unfaithfulness was rather unjustified (following a 16% drop in the very unjustified category). 17% more women reported it was rather unjustified to not allow them to see their girlfriends (following a 15% drop in the very unjustified category). 13% more women felt not giving a wife money was rather unjustified and 14% more women felt not allowing a woman to see her family was similarly unjust. In contrast, there was a 10% increase in women who agreed that a man insisting on knowing where his wife is at all times was rather justified (following a drop of 8% who didn't know compared to 2005 and a 5% drop in those who felt such a request was very unjustified in 2005). Finally 15% more women felt it was rather unjustified to not allow a wife to leave the house, following a 15% drop in women reporting such an act was very unjustified.

Table 40: Comparison Table for Question 21b - Is a husband justified in behaving in the following ways?
 (Baseline N=3030, Follow-Up N=3040)



Men



Summary Box 6: Controlling Behaviour

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + Between 2005 and 2009, 12% more men indicated accusations of unfaithfulness were rather unjustified.
- + Since 2005, 35% more women felt a man accusing his wife of unfaithfulness was rather or very unjustified.
- + 32% more women reported it was rather unjustified or very unjustified to not allow wives to see their girlfriends.
- + 13% more women felt not giving a wife money was rather unjustified and 14% more women felt not allowing a woman to see her family was similarly unjust.
- + Finally, 15% more women in 2009 felt it was rather unjustified to not allow a wife to leave the house. (At the same time, there was a 15% drop in women reporting such an act was "very unjustified" so this might indicate a small movement of perception from one category to another).

- Women were more likely than men to say it is justified for a man to forbid his wife to wear certain clothes, or to insist on knowing where his wife was at all times.
- In most cases, people with the lowest incomes were more likely to see controlling behaviour as justified.
- 47% of women reported feeling men's efforts to keep a wife from seeing her family was justified, compared to 45% of men.
- There was a 10% drop in men agreeing that the forbidding of wives to wear certain clothes was very unjustified, whilst there was an 11% increase in those reporting it was rather unjustified and a 10% increase in those who felt it was rather justified.
- There was a 17% increase in men feeling it was rather justified to know where their wife was at all times and a 7% drop in those feeling it was rather unjustified demonstrating men feel knowing their wife's whereabouts at all time is an increasingly justifiable activity.

There was a 10% increase in women who agreed that a man insisted on knowing where his wife is at all times was rather justified.

3.3 RAPE & RAPE IN MARRIAGE

3.3.1 Rape: General

The survey asked respondents about appropriate punishment for rape, the results of which are detailed here. The survey also asked how women sought help for rape and tracked the outcome of these cases, results of which are elaborated in Section 3.4.

Rape was generally viewed as a serious matter by all sub-groups across the entire sample and was viewed differently than other types of DV in the survey. Rape was viewed as a crime deserving imprisonment or a fine, except in two exceptions: rape within marriage and rape by a boyfriend or sweetheart (See Table 41 and Annex D for further details).

The vast majority of respondents (75%-94%) said that rape should be punished by jail for more than three years, unless it was committed by a boyfriend or sweetheart (only 49% report 3 or more years of jail term in this case). A total of 97% preferred prison terms of more than three years for members who committed gang rape and 91% preferred such prison terms for fathers who raped their daughters.

But rape by boyfriends and sweethearts was viewed differently as demonstrated in Table 41 below. In contrast to the overwhelming preference for prison terms of more than three years for other rapists, in cases of rape by boyfriends, monetary compensation of over \$200 US was preferred by 20% of respondents. These views are also in keeping with perspectives on punitive measures for rape in marriage, which is discussed in the next section. It appears boyfriends and sweethearts are viewed in a similar manner to husbands, rather than as family members or strangers who commit rape. Such findings support the notion that both men and women believe that male romantic partners are entitled to sexual domination over their partner and that there is an implied sense of existing ownership of women by husbands or boyfriends.

Family members were reported as committing rape 28% of the time for total cases reported (See Annex A.5, Table 24). Fathers and step-fathers accounted for 9% of this total. Friends or acquaintances accounted for 47% of the total number of perpetrators. These findings support the need for enhanced "acquaintance rape" and "date rape" education for children, teenagers and young men and women. Education should be directed at both genders.

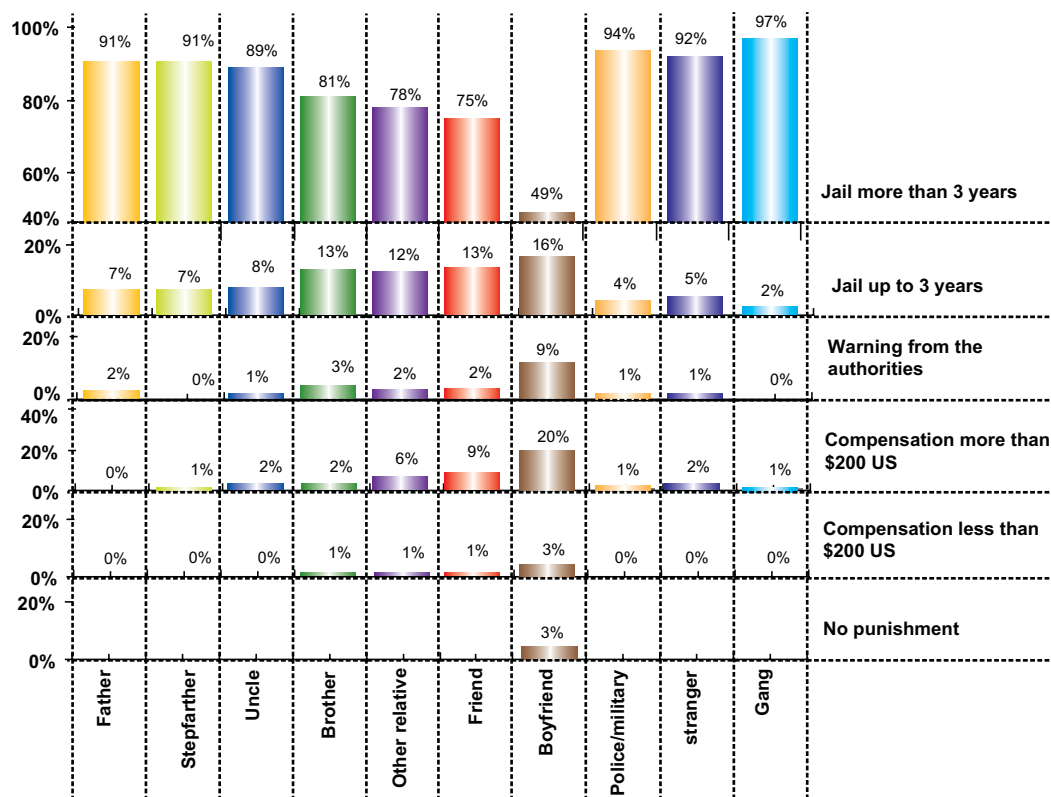
In 2009, over 90% of all respondents felt that a jail sentence of more than 3 years was warranted in the case of rape by a father, step-father, police/military official, stranger or gang. 7%-13% of the rest of the respondents felt a jail sentence of up to 3 years was warranted if a relative committed the rape, whilst 13% indicated a friend/acquaintance should receive such a punishment and 16% felt a boyfriend should receive such punishment.

75% of respondents felt friends/acquaintances should receive 3 year or more jail terms and 49% felt boyfriends should receive the same punishment. 9% of respondents felt a boyfriend/sweetheart should receive a warning only in such cases. 20% felt boyfriends should compensate victims more than \$200 US, whilst only 9% felt a friend/acquaintance should be required to provide such compensation. 3% of remaining respondents felt boyfriends/sweethearts should receive no punishment for committing a rape, although all other categories indicated some punishment was due.

There have been almost no changes (all less than 3%) in any categories related to punishment for rape between 2005 and 2009, except a 7% increase in respondents indicating friends/acquaintances should be jailed for more than 3 years, an increase of 6% of those indicating police/military should receive the same punishment and a 7% increase indicating strangers and a 5% increase indicating gang members should also be jailed for 3 years or more.

These figures indicate rape is a policy area where heightened attention needs to be paid to educational campaigns, as well as developing better tracking methodologies for incidences of rapes and final disposition of the cases.

Table 41: Question 31a – If a rape is committed by any of the following persons, how should it be punished? (N=3040)



Summary Box 7: Rape (General)

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + The vast majority of respondents (75%-94%) said that rape should be punished by jail for more than three years, unless it was committed by a boyfriend or sweetheart (only 49% report 3 or more years of jail term in this case).
- + A total of 97% preferred prison terms of more than 3 years for members who committed gang rape and 91% preferred such prison terms for fathers who raped their daughters.
- + In 2009, over 90% of all respondents felt that a jail sentence of more than 3 years was warranted in the case of rape by a father, step-father, policy/military official, stranger, or gang.
- Family members were reported as committing rape 28% of the time for total cases reported (See Annex A.5, Table 24). Fathers and step-fathers accounted for 9% of this total. Friends or acquaintances accounted for 47% of the total number of perpetrators. These findings support the need for enhanced "acquaintance rape" and "date rape" education for children, teenagers and young men and women. Education should be directed at both genders.
- There have been almost no changes (all less than 3%) in any categories related to punishment for rape between 2005 and 2009.

3.3.2 Rape in Marriage

The survey found that rape by a husband is viewed differently than rape by another perpetrator. Rape in marriage is a sensitive subject and as such, these questions were by far the most difficult part of the survey, for interviewers and interviewees alike. Therefore, it is possible that such questions were less likely to generate honest answers. Therefore, the 2005 survey did not ask about direct experience with rape but the 2009 survey did. Both surveys focused on perceptions about marital rape experienced by other people and on attitudes about marital rape and ways to seek help.

The survey showed more acceptance of rape in marriage than of rape by other perpetrators. A total of 12% of the sample said that a husband has the right to force his wife to have sex against her will. When those who indicated a husband has this right were asked why, 95% said "because they are married." This demonstrates that 12% of the respondents believed a husband has property rights over his wife.

Respondents showed strong agreement on reasons why a woman may be justified in refusing to have sex with her husband, as shown in Table 43 below. The most common reason that a woman was justified for refusing to have sex with her husband was if she was tired or ill. Just giving birth was cited by 63% of respondents as a justifiable excuse. In all categories except "wife is tired or ill" women were consistently less likely than men to say that a wife was justified in refusing sex. Similarly, people with higher incomes were also more likely to say that a woman was justified in refusing sex with her husband.

33% of the sample said a woman may justifiably refuse her husband in case he has HIV/AIDS or another STD. 26% of the sample said a woman is justified in refusing sex when her husband has had sex with other women.

These answers varied according to gender, income and where the respondents lived. Similar percentages of males and females concurred on which circumstances a wife is justified in refusing sex with her husband. Where percentages differed dramatically was between income categories. For poorer respondents (under \$20 US monthly income), acceptable justifications dropped significantly, especially as compared to higher income respondents (over \$200 US monthly income). For instance, 74% of poorer respondents felt a woman being tired or ill was a justifiable excuse, whilst 92% of higher income earners agreed (compared to 90% aggregate total). Only 48% of poorer respondents felt having just given birth was an acceptable excuse to refuse sex, whilst 69% of higher income respondents felt this was justifiable.

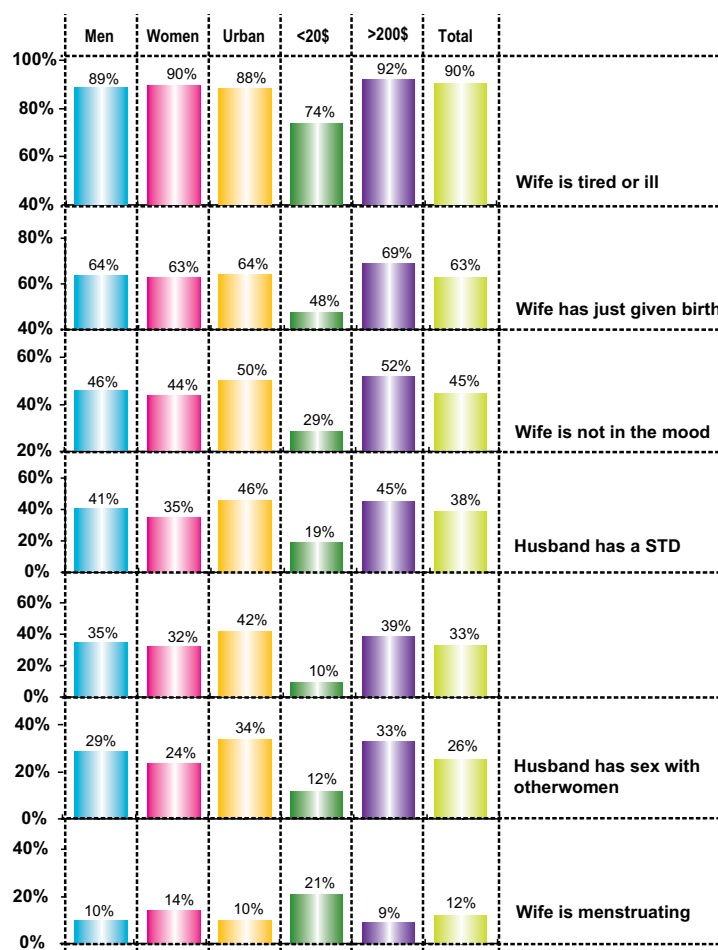
A most troubling statistic is the fact that a husband carrying an STD was only accepted by 19% of poor respondents as a legitimate excuse to avoid sex, compared to 45% of higher income earners (38% aggregate total). Having HIV/AIDS was seen as an even less legitimate excuse, with only 10% of poorer respondents accepting this as a justifiable excuse, compared to 39% of higher income earners (compared to 33% of the aggregate total).

Husbands having sex with other women were considered a justifiable excuse by only 12% of lower income respondents, whilst 33% of higher income earners agreed (compared to 26% of the aggregate total). Menstruation was considered acceptable by 10% of poor respondents, compared to 21% of wealthier respondents, compared to 12% of the aggregate total.

The most troubling of the statistics cited above related to the lack of acceptance by women that they have a right to refuse sex when their physical safety is at risk, such as in the case of an HIV

positive partner, a husband carrying an STD or a partner having sex with other women. Further education is needed for women to help protect themselves from the threat of HIV/AIDS. Sharing of resources that women could use to improve their protection (e.g. female condoms, condoms, spermicides etc.) should also be considered.

Table 42: Question 27c - In which of the following circumstances is a wife justified in refusing to have sex with her husband? (N=3040)



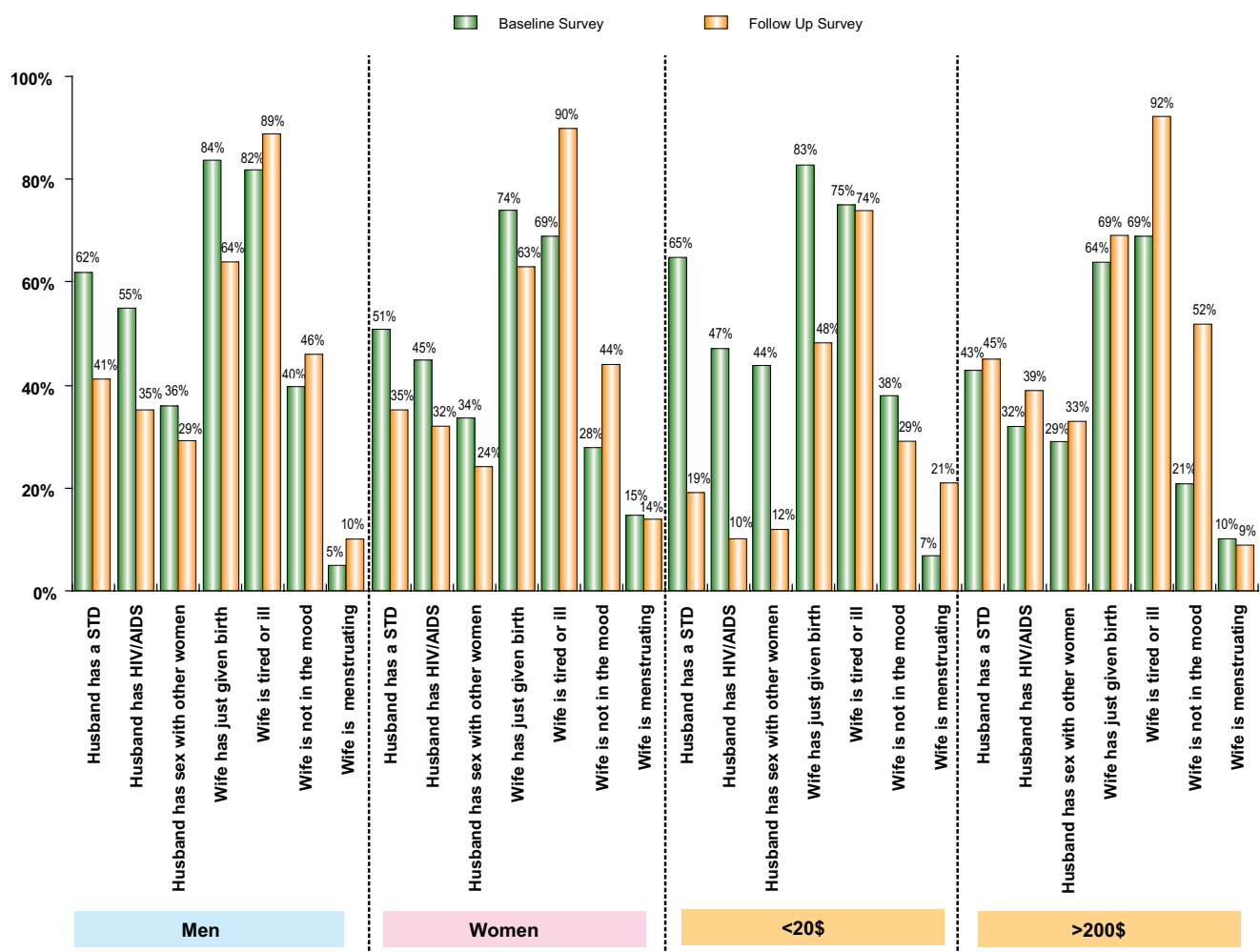
Significant changes in perspectives between 2005 and 2009 are worth noting in several categories (see Table 44). 21% less men felt that an STD was a justifiable excuse to refuse sex (compared to a 16% drop in women in the same category), whilst 20% less men felt a husband having HIV/AIDS was a reason to refuse sex (compared to a 13% drop in women in the same category). 7% less men felt a husband having sex with another woman was a justifiable excuse to refuse sex (compared to a 10% drop in women in the same category). 20% less men believed a wife having just given birth was a legitimate excuse to refuse sex (compared to an 11% drop in women in the same category). However, there was a 21% increase in women who felt a wife being tired or ill was a justifiable excuse and a 15% increase in women who felt women not being in the mood justified a refusal for sex.

When comparing across income categories, again, some very large discrepancies emerge. For poorer respondents, there has been a 46% drop in respondents (both male and female) who reported

feeling that an STD is a justifiable excuse to refuse sex, whilst 37% less respondents felt having HIV/AIDS was a legitimate excuse for a wife to refuse.

32% less poor respondents felt a husband having sex with another woman was a justifiable excuse to refuse sex whilst 36% less poor respondents believed a wife having just given birth was a legitimate excuse to refuse sex. Yet, there was also a 14% increase in these same respondents indicating a wife's menstruation period was an acceptable excuse to refuse sex.

Table 43: Comparison Table for Question 27c - In which of the following circumstances is a wife just?ed in refusing to have sex with her husband? (Baseline N=3030, Follow-Up N=3040)



Summary Box 8: Rape in Marriage

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + 33% of the sample said a woman may justifiably refuse her husband in case he had HIV/AIDS or another STD. 26% of the sample said a woman was justified in refusing sex when her husband has had sex with other women.
- + There was a 21% increase in women who felt a wife being tired or ill was a justifiable excuse and a 15% increase in women who felt women not being in the mood justified a refusal for sex.
- + There was a 14% increase in poor respondents indicating a wife's menstruation period was an acceptable excuse to refuse sex.

- Where percentages differed dramatically was between income categories. For poorer respondents (under \$20 US monthly income), acceptable justifications dropped significantly, especially compared to higher income respondents (over \$200 US monthly income). For instance, 74% of poorer respondents felt a woman being tired or ill was a justifiable excuse, whilst 92% of higher income earners agreed (compared to 90% aggregate total). Only 48% of poorer respondents felt having just given birth was an acceptable excuse to refuse sex, whilst 69% of higher income respondents felt this was justifiable.
- A husband carrying an STD was only accepted by 19% of poor respondents as a legitimate excuse to avoid sex, compared to 45% of higher income earners (and 38% of the aggregate total).
- Only 10% of poorer respondents accepted having HIV/AIDS was a justifiable excuse to refuse sex, compared to 39% of higher income earners (compared to 33% of the aggregate total).
- Husbands having sex with other women were considered a justifiable excuse by only 12% of lower income respondents whilst 33% of higher income earners agreed (compared to 26% of the aggregate total).
- 21% less men feel that an STD was a justifiable excuse to refuse sex (compared to a 16% drop in women in the same category), whilst 20% less men felt a husband having HIV/AIDS was a reason to refuse sex (compared to a 13% drop in women in the same category).
- 7% less men felt a husband having sex with another woman was a justifiable excuse to refuse sex (compared to a 10% drop in women in the same category).
- 20% less men believed a wife having just given birth was a legitimate excuse to refuse sex (compared to an 11% drop in women in the same category).
- For poorer respondents, there has been a 46% drop in respondents (both male and female) who reported feeling that an STD was a justifiable excuse to refuse sex, whilst 37% less respondents felt having HIV/AIDS was a legitimate excuse for a wife to refuse.
- 32% less poor respondents felt a husband having sex with another woman was a justifiable excuse to refuse sex whilst 36% less poor respondents believed a wife having just given birth was a legitimate excuse to refuse sex.

3.4 SEEKING HELP

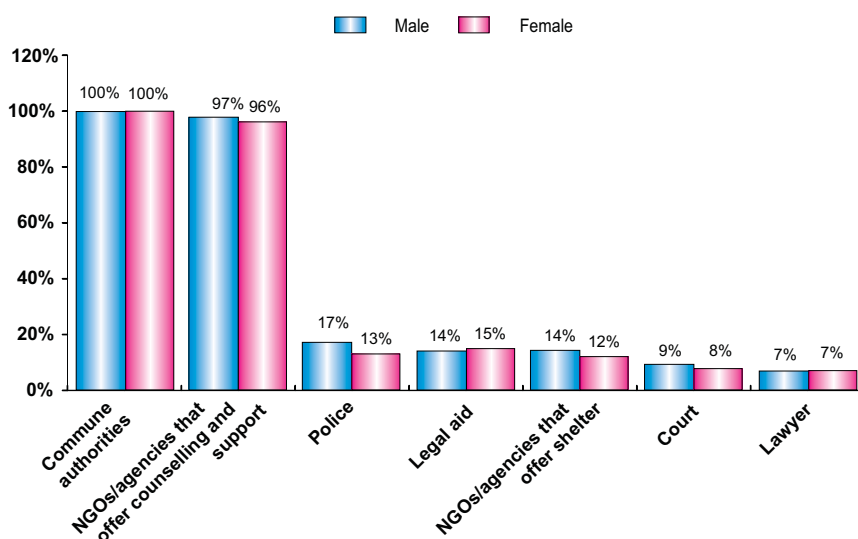
The survey asked respondents about avenues for seeking and getting help for general DV, rape and physical abuse cases, as well as about the outcome of these cases. As in other parts of the survey, respondents were asked about their perceptions about these issues, about options for help available used by other people and options that they pursued themselves.

3.4.1 Available Options for Help

The respondents' ability to get help when they are being abused is limited to options that are available or perceived to be available to them. Respondents made it very clear that the only two avenues that they identified as readily available to them were commune authorities or the police (over 97% of all respondents identified these two resources as an available service). Only 8% cited the courts, which are often located far away from their place of residence, whilst 15% of respondents reported NGOs and agencies offering counselling and support as the third most available source of services. Legal aid was cited as available by 14% of respondents as well, whilst lawyers were identified as available by 7% of respondents.

Educational campaigns should be focused on advising citizens of the location of the nearest courts and the services offered by these courts and the Ministry of Justice (MoJ). As well, NGOs and legal aid associations offering help in times of DV crises should be supported in their efforts to disseminate information about their programmes as well. The RGC or international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) might consider developing financial resources to support private lawyers who are willing to take on pro bono work to support victims of DV.

Table 44: Question 35a - In your commune/ village, which of the following services are available? (N=3025)



Summary Box 9: Available Options for Help

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + Over 97% of respondents identified commune authorities or the police as readily available resources in case of crises.
- Only 8% cited the courts, which are often located far away from their place of residence, whilst 15% of respondents reported NGOs and agencies offering counselling and support as the third most available source of services.
- Legal aid was cited as available by 14% of respondents as well, whilst lawyers were identified as available by 7% of respondents.

3.4.2 Seeking Help for Rape

In 2009, 87% of respondents involved in a rape incident reported seeking no help. (Please note: data was not collected on this question in 2005. When this question was asked to the entire survey sample, regardless of identified involvement in a rape incident, 95% of men and 91% of women reported never seeking help for such problems).

Table 45: Question 38a - Have you ever sought help for these kinds of problems?
(N=392) (Note: Data only collected in 2009)

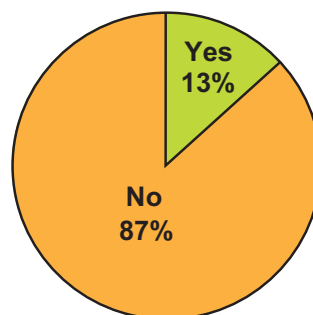
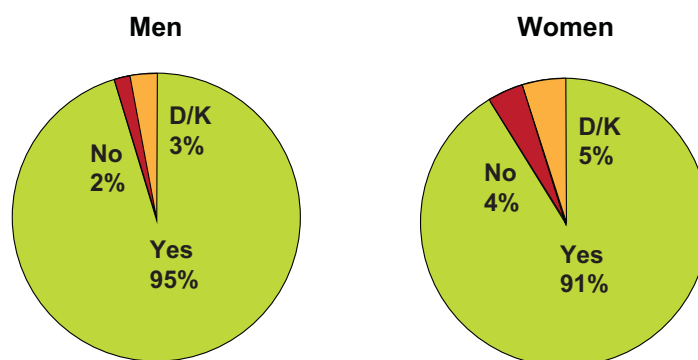
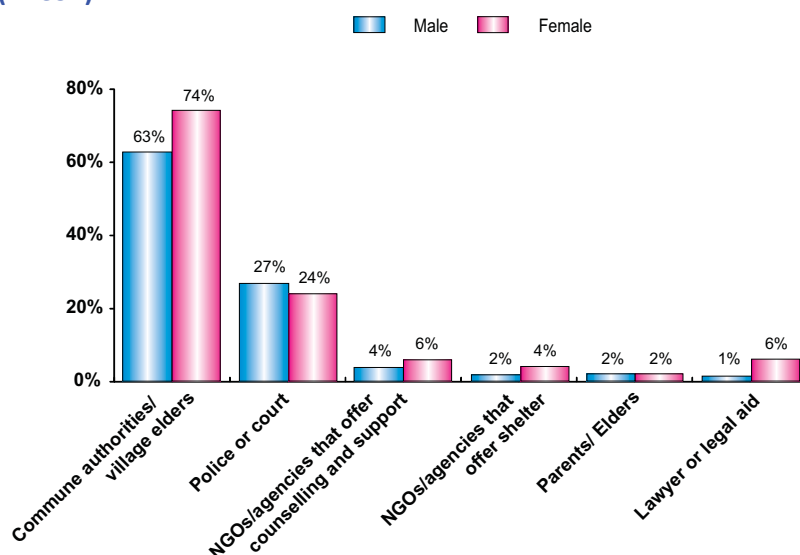


Table 46: Question 38a – Have you ever sought help for these kinds of problems?
(Follow-Up N=3040) (Note: There is no data for 2005)



When asked about seeking actual help from agencies related to such problems (beyond just having awareness of agency services, as asked in Table 45), it was found that 43% of men and 51% of women had sought help from commune authorities or village elders. 18% of men and 17% of women had contacted the police or courts. Only 1%-4% of either gender had consulted an NGO, lawyer or legal aid.

Table 47: Question 38a - Have you ever sought help from the following agencies for these kinds of problems? (N=392)



Since 2005, men’s seeking help from commune authorities or village elders has risen 9% and for women 12%. All other categories have remained the same or have dropped between 1%-4% except for the category of women seeking help from the court system, which has risen by 2%.

Rape is the only form of abuse studied where women actively seek help and retribution for the perpetrator, as shown in Table 50 below. In stark contrast with other DV cases, only 6% said that a woman who had been raped kept quiet and did nothing. 64%-65% of men and 55%-56% of women reported women going to police or courts or commune authorities in such cases, whilst 57% of men and 60% of women reported such victims sought help from friends and relatives. Around 25% said that a woman had gone to a hospital or medical provider and a slightly smaller number said a woman sought compensation from the rapist (17% for male respondents reported and 27% for female respondents).

Several findings in 2009 demonstrate a range of different propensities for women regarding the reporting of rape. 12% less male respondents observed women telling relatives or friends about the rape whilst 3% more women reported such behaviour. 4% less men reported women going to the police or courts, whilst women reported an increase of 8% in such activities.

Men reported a 7% increase in women they knew contacting commune authorities in such situations and that 4% more women went to hospitals or doctors than in 2005. Women reported a drop of 9% of reports to commune authorities and a decrease of 3% in visits to health care facilities or practitioners. Male respondents also reported that 7% less women they knew accepted compensation to keep quiet about a rape incident. Women reported a drop by 5% of women keeping quiet in return for compensation, but an increase by 9% in approaching the family of the perpetrator for compensation (men only reported a 2% increase).

Table 48: Comparison Table for Question 38a – Have you ever sought help from the following agencies for these kinds of problems? (Baseline Survey N=330, Follow-Up Survey N=392)

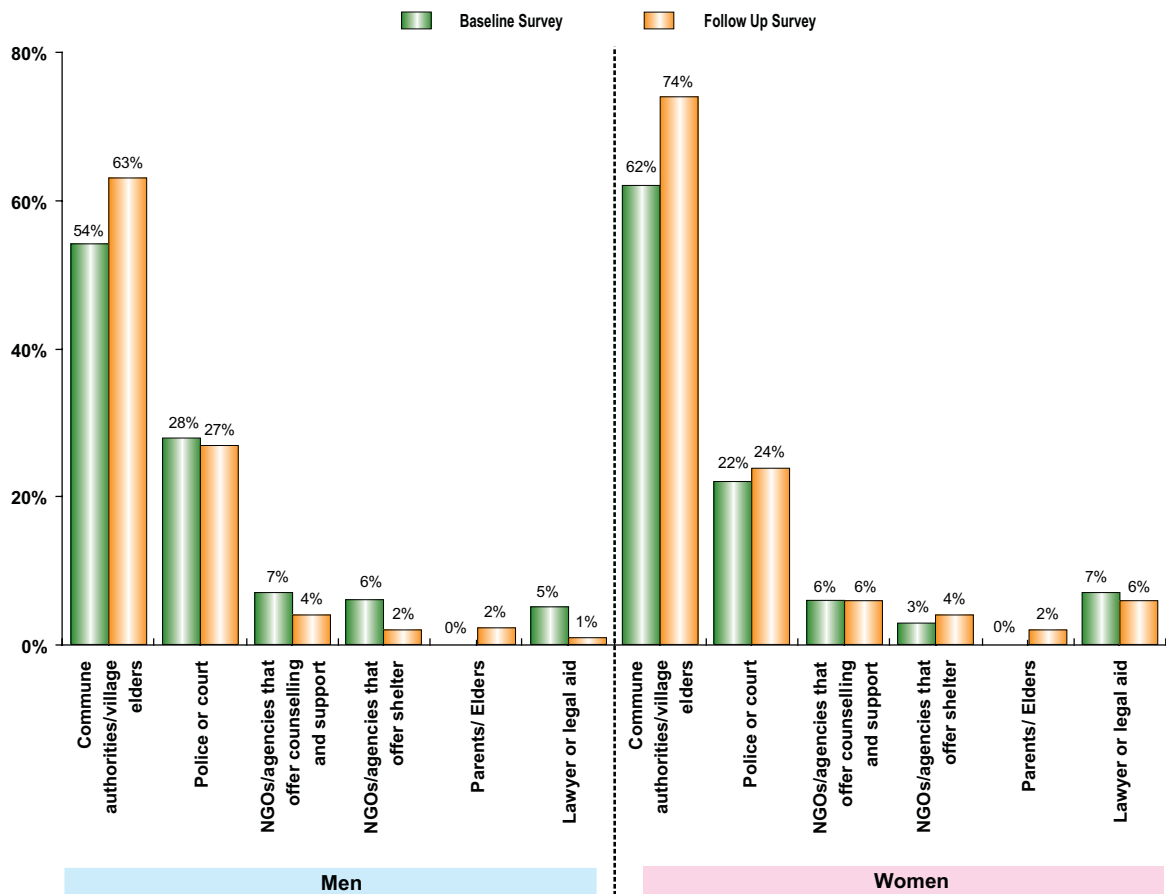


Table 49: Question 32c - Did the woman do anything after this happened (after she was raped)? (N=441)

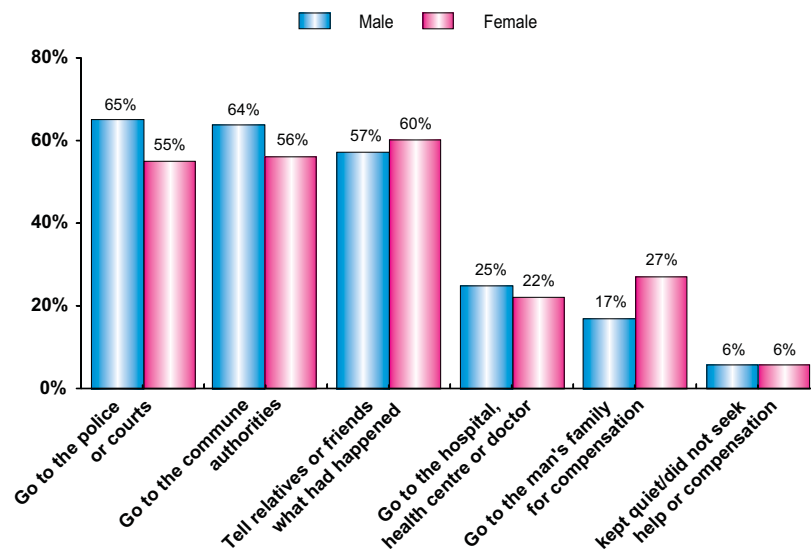
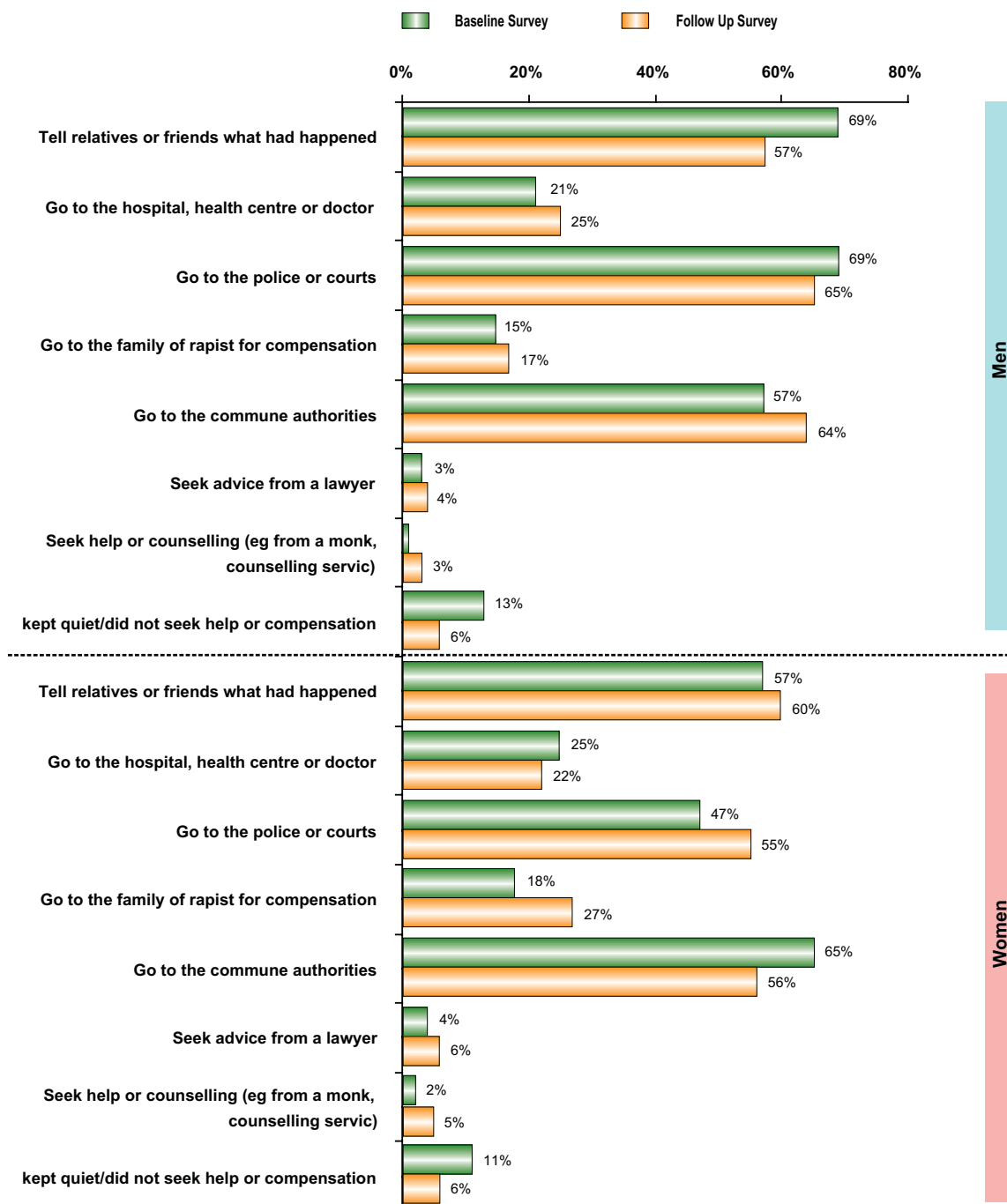


Table 50: Comparison Table for Question 32c - Did the woman do anything after this happened (after she was raped)?
(Baseline N=820; Follow-Up N=441)



Summary Box 10: Seeking Help for Rape

Noteworthy Changes in Data between 2005 and 2009 Data:

- + Rape is the only form of abuse studied where women actively seek help and retribution for the perpetrator. In stark contrast with other DV cases, only 6% said that the woman they knew who had been raped kept quiet and did nothing.
- + 64%-65% of men and 55%-56% of women reported women going to police or courts or commune authorities in such cases.
- + 57% of men and 60% of women reported such victims sought help from friends and relatives.
- + Around 25% said that the woman had gone to a hospital or medical provider and a slightly smaller number said the woman sought compensation from the rapist (17% for male respondents and 27% for female respondents).
- + Men reported a 7% increase in women they knew contacting commune authorities in such situations and that 4% more women went to hospitals or doctors than in 2005.
- + Women reported a drop of 9% of reports to commune authorities and a decrease of 3% in visits to health care facilities or practitioners. Male respondents also reported that 7% less women they knew accepted compensation to keep quiet about a rape incident.
- + There was a 9% increase in victims approaching the family of the perpetrator for compensation (men only reported a 2% increase).

- In 2009, 87% of all respondents reporting direct involvement in a rape incident reported seeking no help (95% of men and 91% of women reported never seeking help for such problems.)
- Women reported a drop by 5% of women keeping quiet in return for compensation.

3.4.3 Seeking Help in Other Cases of Abuse

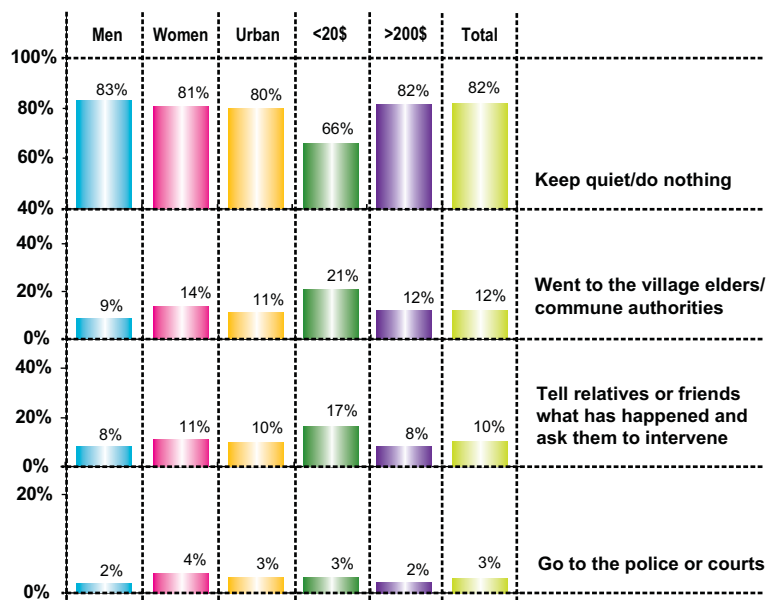
Respondents were asked to report on their own behaviour when they were aware of verbal or physical abuse by a spouse. 83% of men and 81% of women reported doing nothing. 9% of men and 14% of women disclosed they had reported abuse to commune authorities or village elders, whilst 8% of men and 11% of women shared incidents with relatives or friends. Only 2% of men and 4% of women went to the police or courts.

Interestingly, poorer respondents (income under \$20 US monthly) reported a higher propensity to share information with commune authorities (21%) or talk to relatives or friends (17%), as compared to the aggregate averages in each category: 12% and 10% respectively.

In general, building up social capital within communities to encourage protecting all members of society from acts of violence should be a key focus of future educational efforts. DV should be seen as a problem of interest for the whole community, not just isolated to the victim and immediate family. Incidents of violence in one household spreads across communities as children of DV households act out violently towards other children as well as suffering long-term psychological damage from observing and being party to household violence. As well, other perpetrators of violence act out when there is a community norm that violence in private households is an accepted activity. Economic productivity for both abused women and abusers decreases as a result of ongoing

incidents. Focusing public information campaigns at the community level in order to increase reporting rates is thus a vital component of any DV campaign.

Table 51: Question 16c - Did you do anything to stop this behaviour (with regard to verbal or physical abuse by a spouse)? (N=1531)



Changes between baseline and follow-up survey responses are troubling. Men reported doing nothing 23% more often than the baseline, whilst women increased this behaviour 29%. Reports of men talking to friends or relatives about the incident dropped 27%, whilst women dropped 22%. Men reported a drop of 13% in reports to commune authorities or village elders, whilst women's reporting only dropped 2%. All other reported behaviour fluctuated negligibly (between only 1%-2%).

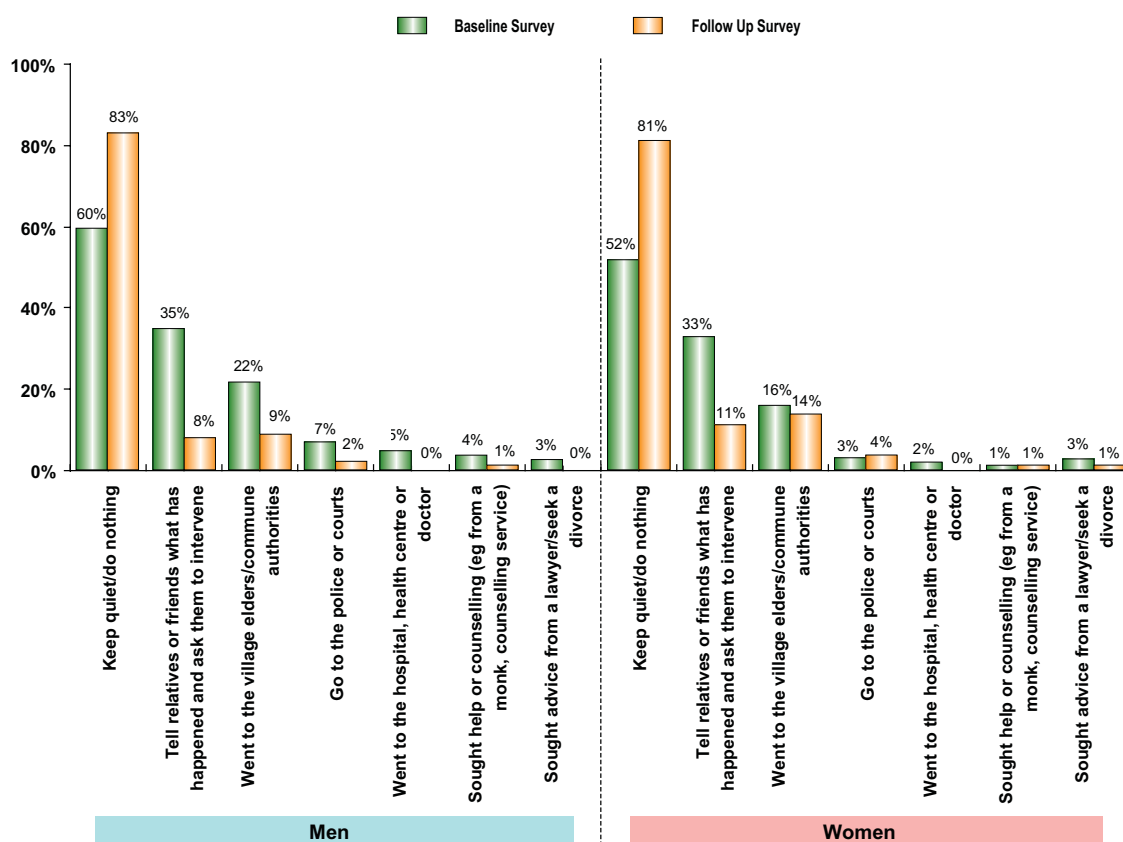
Based on these early reports, it appears women might be receiving messages about DV and acting out on this information, whilst men are less likely to report. Messages directed towards each gender should be re-evaluated in light of this finding.

Ratings for the likelihood of a woman seeking help for physical abuse or injury or emotional abuse are much higher than for those who have been raped or raped within their marriage. In the case of rape within marriage, 52% of female and 60% of male respondents reported women telling relatives or friends, whilst 54% of men and 32% of women reported such victims sought help from the commune authorities or village elders. 14% of men and 8% of women reported women approaching the police or the courts. Despite this, 20% of men and 36% of women reported victims kept quiet in such cases. 3%-6% of respondents said that a woman had sought help from an NGO offering counselling or support.

These findings should be evaluated in light of access to public authorities and NGOs.

Table 31 in Annex A.6 shows that divorce is a rare remedy in cases of DV. Only 28% of respondents reported this as an outcome of physical abuse and 38% reported it as an outcome of emotional abuse, whilst only 9% reported this outcome in instances of forced sex.

Table 52: Comparison Table for Question 16c - Did you do anything to stop this behaviour (with regard to verbal or physical abuse by a spouse)? (Baseline N=1961, Follow-Up N=1531)



Summary Box 11: Seeking Help in Other Cases of Abuse

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- 83% of men and 81% of women reported doing nothing when they knew about abuse, whilst 9% of men and 14% of women disclosed they had reported abuse to the commune authorities or village elders. 8% of men and 11% of women shared incidents with relatives or friends. Only 2% of men and 4% of women went to the police or courts.
- In 2009, men reported doing nothing 23% more often than in 2005, whilst women reported doing nothing 29% of the time. Reports of men talking to friends or relatives about the incident dropped 27%, whilst women dropped 22%. Men reported a drop of 13% in reports to the commune authorities or village elders, whilst women's reporting only dropped 2%.
- In the case of rape within marriage, 52% of female and 60% of male respondents reported women telling relatives or friends, whilst 54% of men and 32% of women reported such victims sought help from the commune authorities or village elders. 14% of men and 8% of women reported women approaching the police or the courts. Despite this, 20% of men and 36% of women reported victims kept quiet in such cases. 3%-6% of respondents said that a woman had sought help from an NGO offering counselling or support.

3.4.4 The Respondents' Own Experience in Seeking Help

In contrast to answers about what someone could do in theory, far fewer respondents reported that they themselves had sought help. The survey asked the respondents several questions about their efforts to get help (see Annex D for source data). First, respondents were asked what they did to stop verbal or physical abuse from their spouses. Keeping quiet and doing nothing was by far the most frequent answer. Along with the difference between theory and practice, this shows a difference in perceptions about what other people do and what respondents do themselves. Of note, 66% of poorer respondents reported keeping quiet, whilst 21% went to village elders, 17% went to relatives and 3% went to the police or courts. In contrast, 82% of higher income respondents reported keeping quiet/doing nothing, whilst 12% went to village elders and 10% reported the behaviour to relatives. Only 3% went to the police/courts.

These findings demonstrate that there is a propensity for victims in higher-income groups to keep quiet about their abuse, particularly when considering that many higher-income respondents have ready access to public authorities and services since they are most likely to live in urban areas. Thus these differences require further attention to educational campaigns for higher-income and urban residents.

Within the group of respondents who had sought help, women were more likely to go to the commune authorities or village elders (14% compared to 9% of men), followed by telling friends or relatives (11% of women compared to 8% of men). Only 2% of men and 4% of women reported going to the courts or police.

In general, the survey consistently confirms that women are ill-informed and socio-cultural norms colour their limited use of health and protection services. There is poor progress of women seeking assistance from the police and even less from health services. Traditional local leaders are still the main source of support. The challenges are therefore two-fold. Firstly, there is very limited faith and knowledge in seeking external services for addressing DV and secondly, the services are negligible and poorly resourced. In view of this, responses need to focus on both long-term and short-term aspects of:

- Improving public knowledge of the quality and value of social protection services for domestic/GBV, through public advocacy campaigns.
- Assessment of health and protection systems to identify the gaps in infrastructure, resources, management and institutional mechanisms that restrict quality service delivery.
- Capacity building of health and protection service providers on issues related to DV, including gender equity training.

Summary Box 12: The Respondents' Own Experience in Seeking Help

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- Women were more likely to go to the commune authorities or village elders (14% of women compared to 9% of men responding to this question), followed by telling friends or relatives (11% of women compared to 8% of men). Only 2% of men and 4% of women reported going to the courts or police.
- Keeping quiet and doing nothing was by far the most common response to physical abuse by a spouse.
- 66% of poorer respondents reported keeping quiet, whilst 21% went to village elders, 17% went to relatives and 3% went to the police or courts.
- 82% of higher income respondents reported keeping quiet/doing nothing, whilst 12% went to village elders and 10% reported the behaviour to relatives. Only 3% went to the police/courts.

3.5 LAs & POLICE

In order to gain insight into the particular role played by the LAs and the police, the baseline and follow-up studies surveyed a group of 300 LAs and police on the same topics included in the general survey. An additional set of questions related to their unique functions was also included. This sample is not a representative sample of all the LAs and police in Cambodia, but does include a mix of district and commune authorities, police lieutenants and higher ranking officers, as well as lower ranking police officers. Thus, a strong sense of public officials' general attitudes of various forms of male behaviour, abuses and perceptions of victims and their rights, comes to light. Please see Annex A and D for more of the raw survey data related to this discussion.

3.5.1 LAs' & Police Attitudes about DV

The survey showed that LAs and police share many of the same values held by the general population, but there are interesting differences. Police and LAs' ratings of the acceptability of certain violent acts showed some variation from the general sample. Of note, the ratings of the four groups of the most extreme acts of violence were in the same range as the ratings from the general sample, but the LAs and police were more accepting of other types of violence, including throwing something (42% compared to 54% of men in the general sample) and knocking on the head (51% compared to 62% of men in the general sample). (See Table 1 in the main report and Annex A.8 for comparison of data in this section).

LAs and police said that the most extreme forms of violence (e.g. throwing acid, stabbing/shooting, threatening with a knife or gun and tying up and hitting) were "never acceptable" in roughly the same proportions as the general sample. However, of note, for all of these categories, "never acceptable" responses by officials have increased by 30% (see Annex A.8, Table 37 for further details).

Among the LAs and police who said that violence is "sometimes acceptable," views on wives' behaviour as justification of violence by her husband (shown in Table 54 below) were similar to those in the general sample (see Tables 2 and 3 for further comparison). As with the general sample, the LAs and police said that violence by husbands is often justified when a wife challenges her

husband's dominance or right to do as he pleases in some way. Similarly, these officials made few distinctions among the acceptability of more or less extreme violence when the husband's dominance was at issue. The proportion of officials who said that violence is justified did decrease when they were asked about more extreme acts of abuse that can cause death, which differs from 2005 findings, where a consistency was found across acceptance of violent behaviour when the man's dominance was questioned.

In 2009, fewer respondents said a husband was justified in acting violently when his wife neglected her domestic duties to tend the children and the house or went out without telling him. As with the general sample, this type of behaviour was linked more closely with verbal abuse, not physical abuse. Of note, the important factor in these cases was seen to be the wife's behaviour, not the violent behaviour by the husband.

As in the general population, the most common justification for a husband's more violent behaviour was seen in three categories: when a wife argued with her husband/does not obey or respect him, when wives questioned husbands about relationships with sex workers/girlfriends and when wives questioned men about spending money. In contrast to the 2005 report, where a higher percentage of local officials identified violent behaviour as acceptable in contrast to the general population, this report found local officials are now reporting the opposite, with numbers decreasing across the most violent categories.

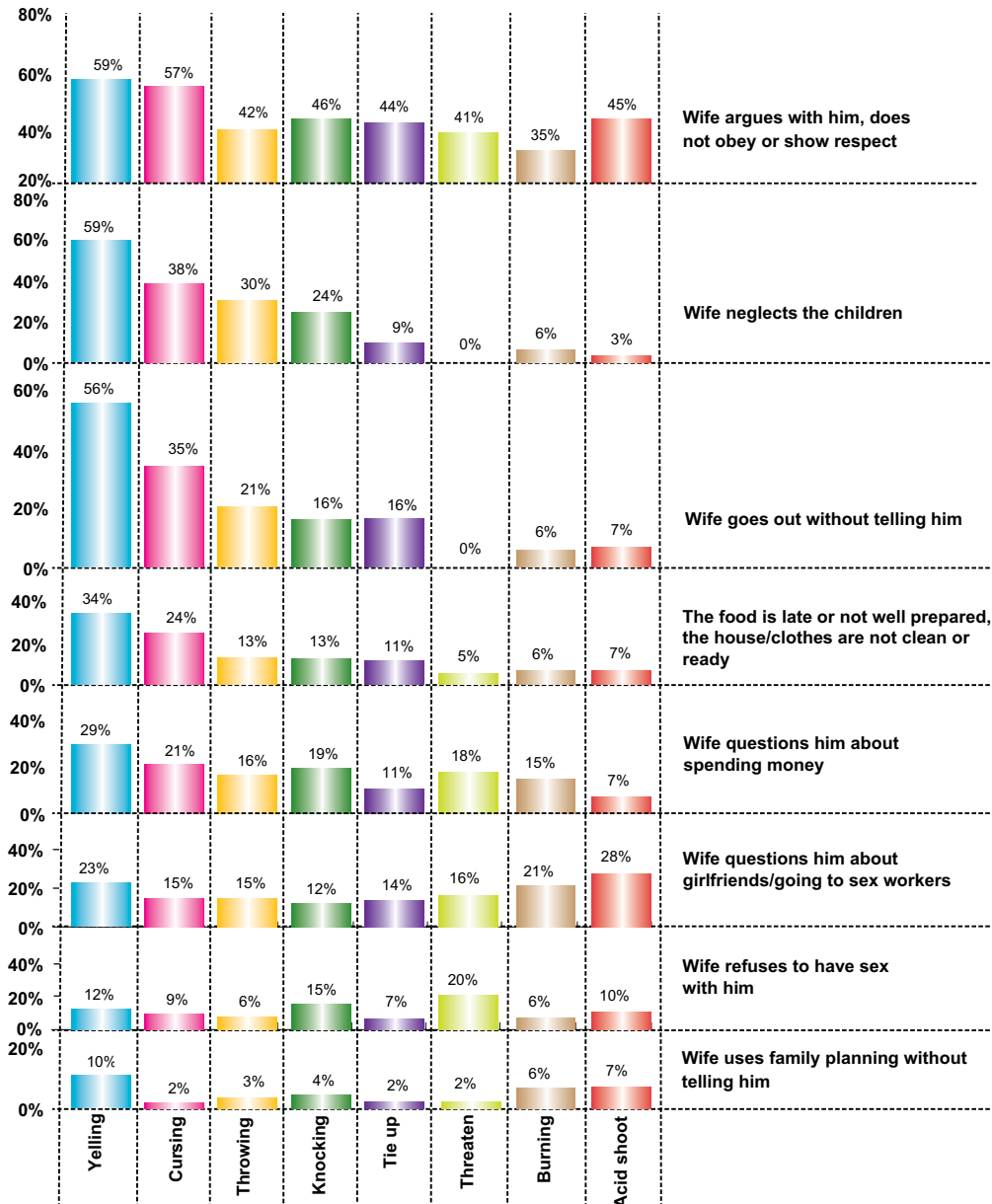
However, in the case of a wife questioning a husband about visiting girlfriends or sex workers, 21% of officials indicated burning or choking was an acceptable response (compared to 17% of general population), whilst 28% indicated that acid throwing/threatening with a gun was acceptable (compared to 19% of population). In the case of a wife questioning a husband about spending money, 15% of officials stated burning/choking was a justified response, compared to 12% of the general respondent population.

Most importantly, 35%-45% of LAs felt that a husband was justified in engaging in the most extreme types of violence (e.g. tying up and hitting, threatening with knife or machete, burning or choking and throwing acid, stabbing or shooting) if wives argued with husbands, did not obey him, or did not show respect.

In comparison to 2005 responses, the greatest shifts in perception have occurred regarding what LAs feel is acceptable behaviour in response to women arguing with husbands, not obeying or not showing disrespect. LAs' perception that cursing or insulting a wife was an acceptable response to such wife behaviour dropped by 17%, whilst respondents' selection of "throwing something at the other or pushing" as an acceptable response dropped by 32%. 32% less LAs selected knocking on the head, slapping or spanking or kicking as acceptable responses to wives disrespecting their husbands, whilst 24% less LAs felt tying up and hitting, hitting or trying to hit with an object was an acceptable response. Threatening with a knife or a gun (axe or machete) was selected 25% less than in 2005, whilst throwing acid, stabbing or shooting was selected 26% less and the burning or choking category was selected 37% less of the time than 2005. 20% less LAs felt throwing something at the other or pushing was an acceptable response to wives questioning husbands about girlfriends/going to sex workers, whilst 18% less of LA's selected threatening with a knife or a gun (axe or machete) as an acceptable response.

Also of note was a 17% increase of "don't know, unsure" responses when asked about appropriate husband behaviour for responding to wives questioning their husbands about girlfriends or going to sex workers. As well, 15% more LA's selected "don't know/not sure" for the acid throwing category

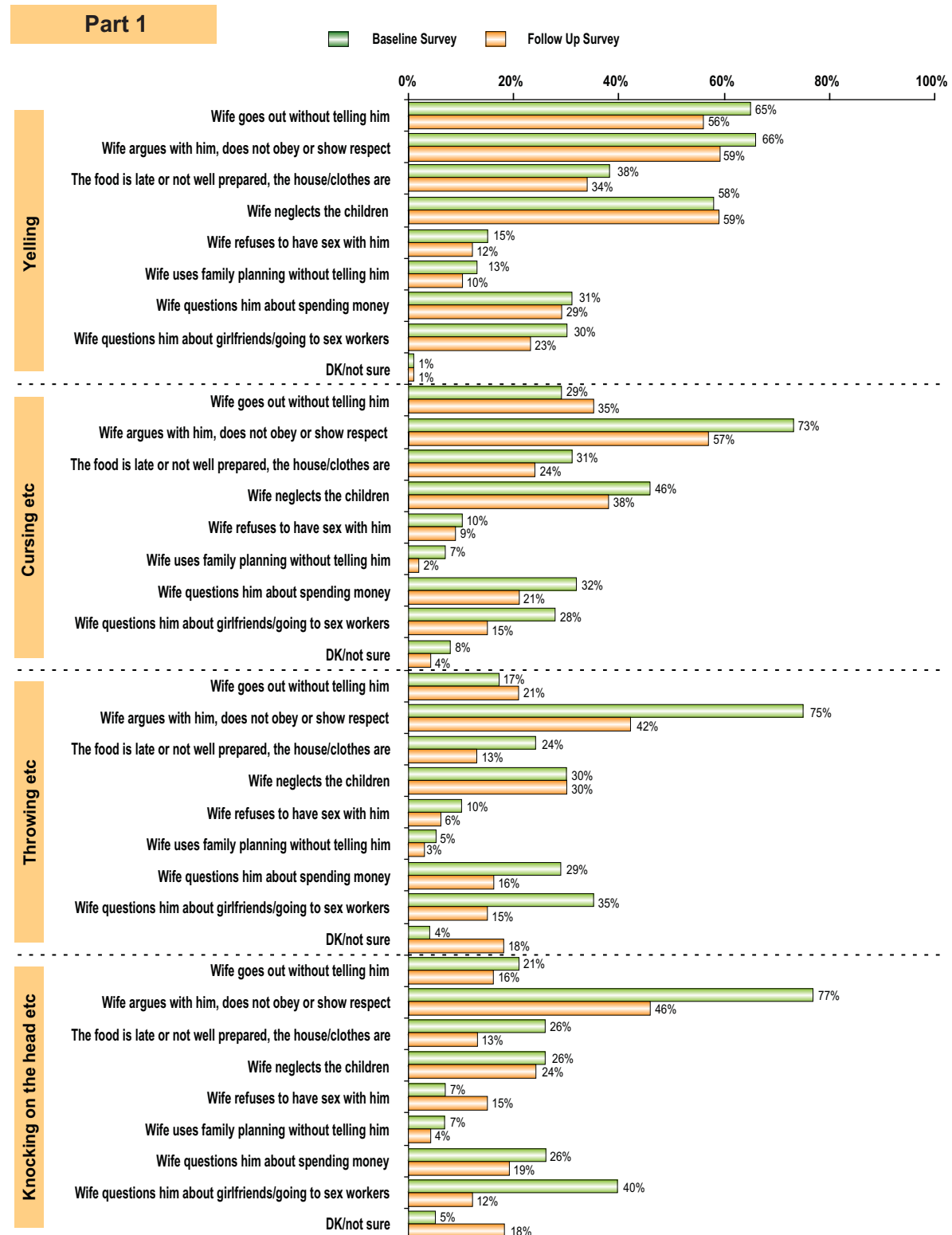
Table 53: Question 8b (to LAs & police) - Under which of the following circumstances is a husband justified in behaving this way toward his wife?
 (Yelling N=297, Cursing N=242, Throwing N=179, Knocking N=153, Tie up N=57, Threaten N=44, Burning N=34, Acid shoot N=29)



as a response to a wife's refusal to have sex than in 2005. These shifts to uncertain responses might indicate a softening of attitudes, but also indicates a lack of certainty of what is an appropriate response. Thus, this area represents an urgent area where additional dialogue and education would enhance police and LAs' understandings on these issues.

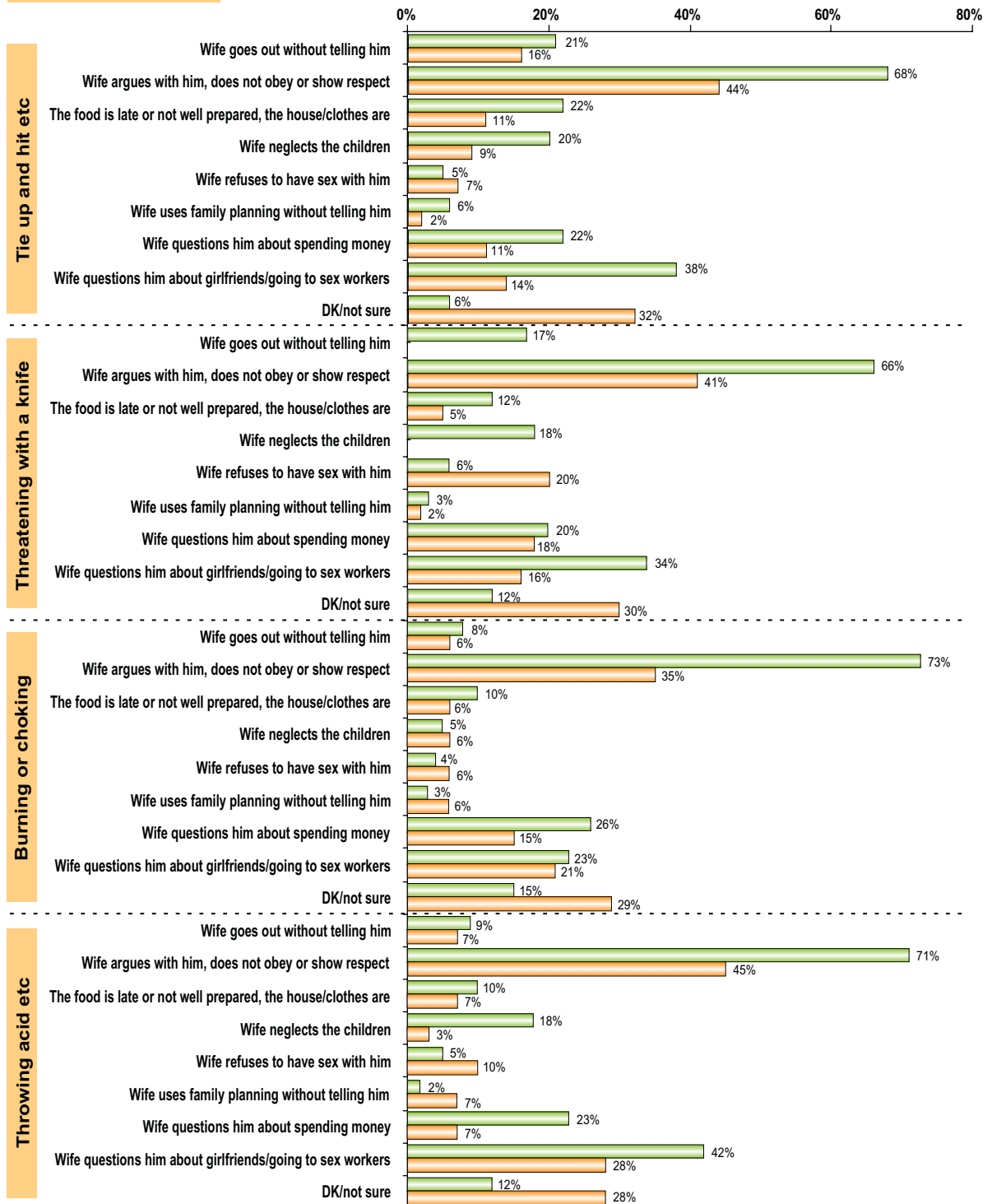
Promisingly, LA's selection of "throwing acid, stabbing or shooting" as an acceptable response fell by 26% in the "wife argues with him, does not obey or show respect" category, by 14% in the "wife neglects the children" category, by 16% in the "wife questions him about spending money" category and by 15% in the "wife questions him about girlfriends/going to sex workers" category.

Table 54: Comparison Table 28a: Question 8b (to LAs & police) - Under which of the following circumstances is a husband justified in behaving this way toward his wife?
(Baseline: Yelling N=301, Cursing N=294, Throwing N=251, Knocking N=242, Tie Up N=165, Threaten N=157, Burning N=110, Acid Shoot N=106)
(Follow-Up: Yelling N=297, Cursing N=242, Throwing N=179, Knocking N=153, Tie Up N=57, Threaten N=44, Burning N=34, Acid Shoot N=29)



Part 2

■ Baseline Survey ■ Follow Up Survey



However, two categories increased marginally: 6% of LA's felt that a wife refusing to have sex with a husband was justified with acid throwing/stabbing/shooting and 5% thought a wife using family planning without telling her husband justified the same response.

Although there are many improved attitudes related to DV, the raw 2009 data demonstrates there is still much more education to be delivered to public officials.

Summary Box 13: LAs' and Police Attitudes about DV

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + In comparison to 2005 responses, the greatest shifts in perception have occurred regarding what LAs feel is acceptable behaviour in response to women arguing with husbands, not obeying or not showing disrespect.
- + LAs' perception that cursing or insulting a wife was an acceptable response to such wife behaviour dropped by 17%, whilst respondents' selection of "throwing something at the other or pushing" as an acceptable response dropped by 32%.
- + 32% less LAs selected knocking on the head, slapping or spanking or kicking as acceptable responses to wives disrespecting their husbands.
- + Threatening with a knife or a gun (axe or machete) was selected 25% less than in 2005, whilst throwing acid, stabbing or shooting was selected 26% less than in 2005.
- + 20% less LAs felt throwing something at the other or pushing was an acceptable response to wives questioning husbands about girlfriends/going to sex workers, whilst 18% less of LA's selected threatening with a knife or a gun (axe or machete) as an acceptable response.
- + 24% less LAs felt tying up and hitting, hitting or trying to hit with an object was an acceptable response.
- + 17% more responses were recorded in the "don't know, unsure" category for appropriate behaviour responding to wife questioning a husband about girlfriends/going to sex workers.
- + 15% more LA's selected "don't know/not sure" for the acid throwing category as a response to a wife's refusal to have sex than in 2005.
- + Selection of "throwing acid, stabbing or shooting" as an acceptable response fell by 26% in the "wife argues with him, does not obey or show respect" category, by 14% in the "wife neglects the children" category, by 16% in the "wife questions him about spending money" category and by 15% in the "wife questions him about girlfriends/going to sex workers" category.
- In 2009, 35%-45% of LAs felt that a husband was justified in engaging in the most extreme types of violence (e.g. tying up and hitting, threatening with a knife or machete, burning or choking, throwing acid, stabbing or shooting) if wives argued with husbands, did not obey him, or did not show respect.
- In 2009, in the case of a wife questioning a husband about visiting girlfriends or sex workers, 21% of officials indicated burning or choking was an acceptable response, whilst 28% indicated that acid throwing/threatening with a gun was acceptable.
- In 2009, in the case of a wife questioning a husband about spending money, 15% of officials stated burning/choking was a justified response.
- Two categories increased marginally: 6% of LA's felt that a wife refusing to have sex with a husband was justified with acid throwing/stabbing/shooting and 5% thought a wife using family planning without telling her husband justified the same response.

3.5.2 LAs' & Police Views on Seeking Help

The LAs and police had a somewhat different view of the options available for those who are abused by their spouses (see Annex A.8, Table 40 and Table 41 for further details). They cited similar avenues as in the general sample, but in different proportions. The most striking difference was that LAs and police were much more likely to say that a person could turn to the police (52%-84% of police). This compares to only 27% of men and 24% of women in the general sample who cited this as an option for help (see Table 48). As in the general sample, however, the most commonly cited option, ranging from 90% to 100% of all levels of authorities, was going to the commune or village authorities (compared to 63% of men and 74% of women in the total sample). (See Table 48).

Summary Box 14: LAs' & Police Views on Seeking Help

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + 52%-84% of LAs and police proposed that a person could turn to the police. 90% to 100% of all authorities selected "seeking help from communal or village authorities" as the best response in times of crisis.

3.5.3 LAs' & Police Views of Legal Status of DV

As with the general population, the LAs and police accept DV in certain situations, even though they know these acts are illegal. In some cases, these authorities were more aware about the laws that apply to DV cases than the general population. Specifically, more than 50% of the LAs and police indicated they knew that physical violence was illegal, in contrast to 80% of the general population. A higher proportion of the general sample (96%-100%) knew that the most extreme forms of violence were illegal (see Tables 5 and 6), compared to 70%-100% of different categories of local officials (see Annex A.8, Table 42).

Summary Box 15: LAs' & Police Views of Legal Status of DV

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + More than 50% of the LAs and police indicated they knew that physical violence was illegal, in contrast to 80% of the general population.
- 96%-100% of the general sample knew that the most extreme forms of violence are illegal, compared to 70%-100% of different categories of local officials.

3.5.4 LAs' & Police Attitudes about Male Anger

The LAs and police were also in tune with the general population in their attitudes about male anger used as a form of emotional abuse. Justifications for a husband's anger toward his wife were very similar to the ratings assigned by the general sample (see Table 37 and Annex A.8, Tables 36 and 37 for comparison).

Summary Box 16: LAs' & Police Attitudes about Male Anger

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

None

3.5.5 LAs' & Police Views on Cultural Influences on Men

The LAs and police have differing views from the general population for several cultural influences on men's attitudes toward women, as well as several perceptions which are increasingly in line with that of the general population.

As shown in Table 56 below, 61% of local officials were just as likely to cite male friends (peer pressure) as influential, similar to 62% of the men and 63% of the women in the general sample (see Table 12). This represents a drop of 10% since 2005. In 2009, 63% of local officials were inclined to cite the lack of law enforcement as influential on men's attitudes towards women, as compared to 58% of the general population. This represents a rise in this category of 6% since 2005.

In 2009, local officials and police were less likely to cite media (41%) than the general sample (44%-51%), which also represents a 20% drop from the 2005 findings for local officials. Local officials were also more likely to cite the influences of family (32%) and Khmer tradition (22%) than the general population (14%-15% in these categories).

Compared to the 2005 figures, there have been significant changes in several categories, with a 13% drop in local officials citing Khmer tradition, a 9% drop in citing parents and grandparents, a 10% drop for male relatives and a 6% drop in citing education as influential factors on male behaviour.

Similar to the general sample, it is not clear why these drop in trends are occurring, although it is clear that migration patterns, demographic shifts due to changing family structures and increasing work hours could limit time spent with families, which could have respondents decreasing their perception of family influence on behaviour. Like the general sample, it is unclear why education is seen as less influential than 2005. Considerations of how to introduce education related to GBV into the classroom could be a crucial element of the national strategy to improve attitudes and behaviour associated with VAW.

Table 55: Questions 18a (to LAs & police) - Is men's behaviour toward women influenced by the following? (N=311)

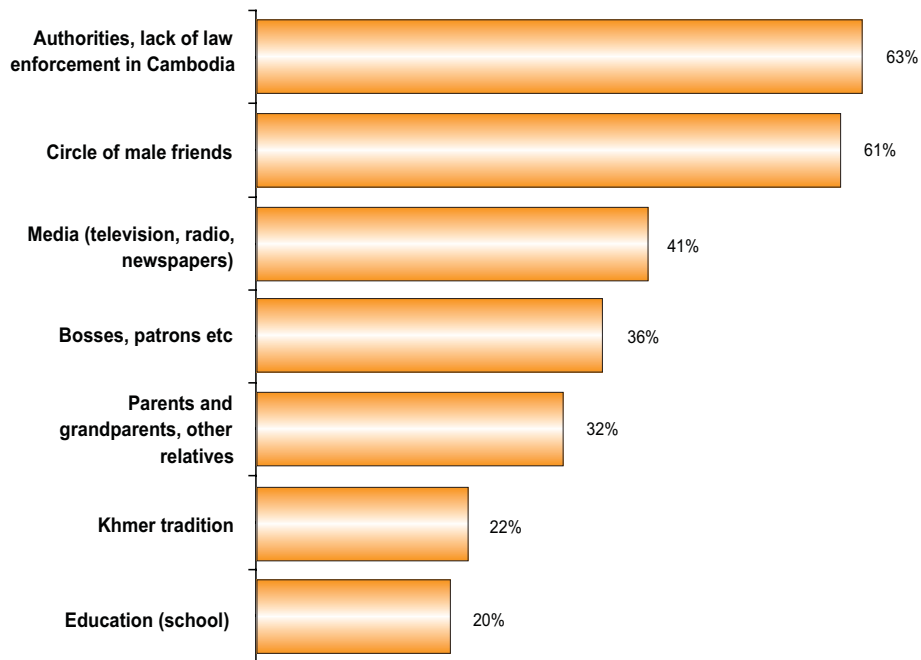
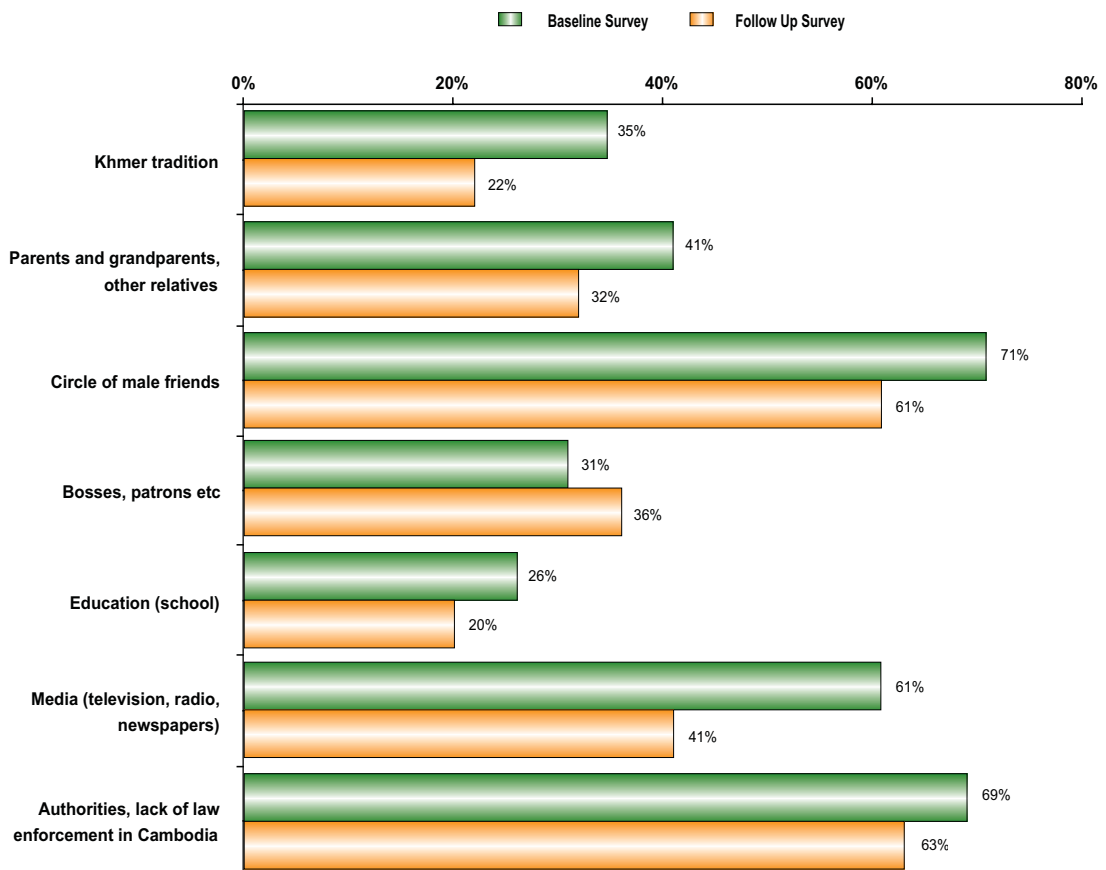


Table 56: Comparison Table for Questions 18a (to LAs & police) - Is men's behaviour toward women influenced by the following? (Baseline N=301, Follow-Up N=311)



Summary Box 17: LAs' & Police Views on Cultural Influences on Men

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + 63% of local officials were inclined to cite the lack of law enforcement as influential on men's attitudes towards women, as compared to 58% of the general population, which represents a rise in this category of 6% since 2005.
- + Local officials were also more likely to cite the influences of family (32%) and Khmer tradition (22%) over the general population (14%-15% in these categories). However, there has been a 13% drop in local officials citing Khmer tradition, a 9% drop in citing parents and grandparents, a 10% drop for male relatives and a 6% drop in citing education as influential factors on male behaviour.
- 61% of local officials were just as likely to cite male friends (peer pressure) as influential, similar to the general sample but a drop of 10% since 2005.
- Local officials and police were less likely to cite media (41%) than the general sample (44%-51%), which represents a 20% drop from 2005.

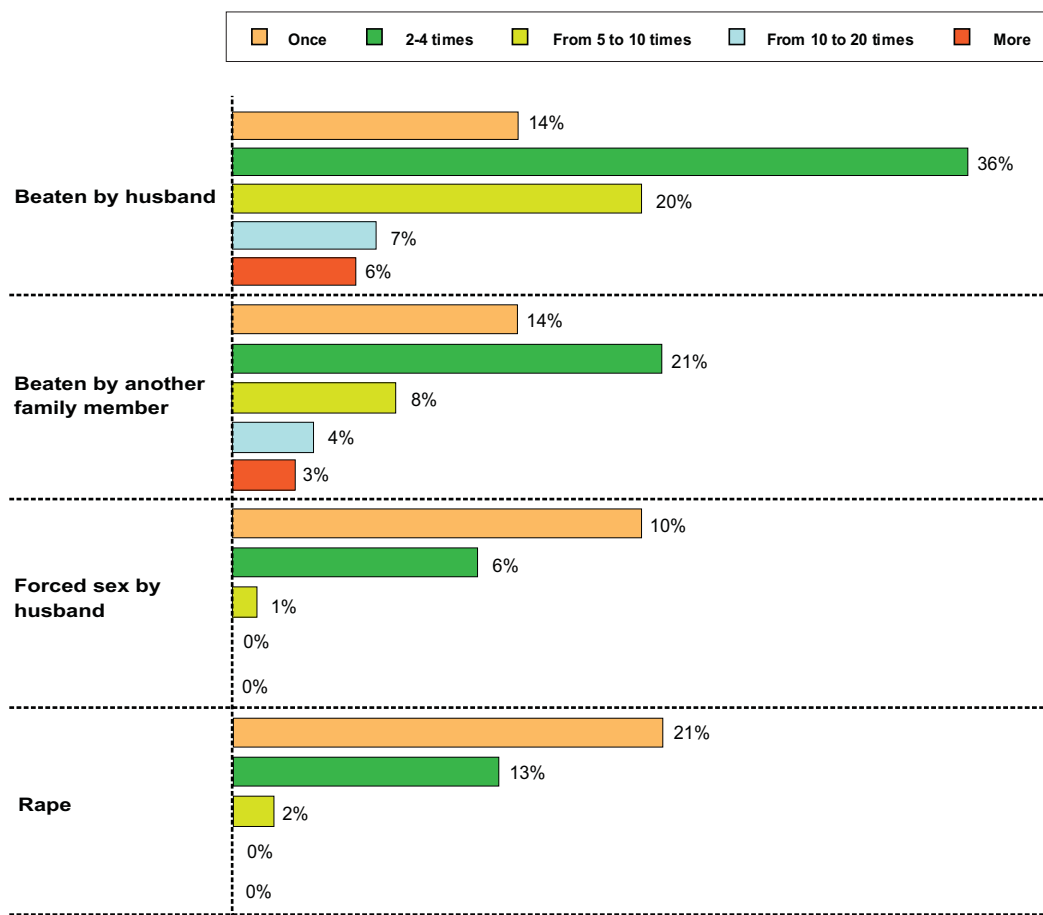
3.5.6 Experiences of LAs & Police with DV

LAs provide important data of women's propensity to contact them regarding DV situations. 50% of LAs said they received 1-4 complaints from women whose husbands beat them in the preceding year. 20% of the officials said they received from between 5-10 complaints during this period and 7% reported receiving 10-20 complaints. Complaints about beatings from other family members were somewhat less frequent, with 35% of LAs receiving 1-4 complaints of such beatings in the previous year. 16% of LA respondents reported receiving 1-4 complaints of forced sex by husbands in the preceding year, whilst 34% received 1-4 complaints of rape.

Between 2005 and 2009, reports of wives being beaten by their husbands decreased in all reporting categories (between 3%-9%). Reports that wives had been beaten by other family members, been forced to have sex against their will or been raped also decreased in all categories.

It is unclear if this is due to less attacks or women being less willing to report such assaults to local officials or a decrease in rape. Additional data would need to be collected to determine women's decision-making related to reporting (see Annex D for full reporting categories).

Table 57: Question 24 (to LAs & police) - How many complaints from women did you have in the last 12 months? (N=311)



Summary Box 18: Experiences of LAs & Police with DV

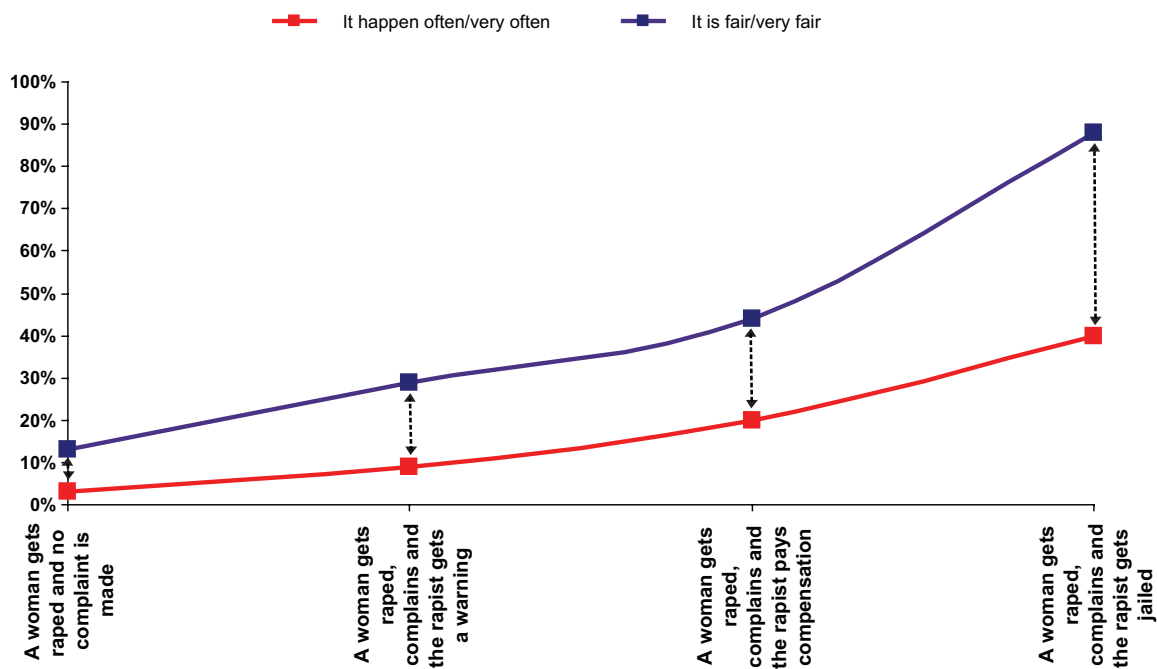
Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- 50% of LAs said they received 1-4 complaints from women whose husbands beat them in the preceding year. 20% of the officials said they received from between 5-10 complaints during this period and 7% reported receiving 10-20 complaints. Between 2005 and 2009, reports of wives being beaten by their husbands decreased in all reporting categories (between 3%-9%).
- Complaints about beatings from other family members were somewhat less frequent, with 35% of LA's receiving 1-4 complaints of such beatings in the previous year. 16% of LA respondents reported receiving 1-4 complaints of forced sex by husbands in the preceding year, whilst 34% received 1-4 complaints of rape. Reports that wives had been beaten by other family members, been forced to have sex against her will or been raped also decreased in all categories.

3.5.7 LAs' & Police Views on Crime in General

LA respondents indicated that in 40% of rape cases, rapists were jailed. 88% of LA and police respondents believed this was a fair or very fair outcome. In about 10% of cases, LAs indicated the rapist paid compensation and 40% of respondents indicated this was a fair outcome. In 5% of cases, LA's indicated the rapist got a warning, whilst 29% indicated they felt this was fair/very fair. LAs also reported that they believed only 3% of rapes go unreported, without a complaint filed. 14% of LAs indicated they thought this was fair.

Table 58: Questions 27a, b (to LAs & police) - What happens often or very often (in rape cases)? What should happen (in rape cases)? (N=311)



Since 2005, there has been a 38% increase in LAs reporting that women are "very rarely/never" raped where no complaint is made. Similarly, LAs reported that in 20% more cases than in 2005, "very rarely or never" are rapes reported where only a warning is issued. They also reported that in 29% more cases, rapists very rarely or never paid compensation. However, these same respondents indicated that in 10% more cases, rapists are very rarely or never jailed. The following table reports the differences for those respondents selecting the "it happens often/very often" category.

Since 2005, several changes have been documented in the categories related to a sense of fairness indicated by LAs. In 2009, 9% more LA respondents indicated that in the case of a rape where no complaint is filed, this is a nearly always an unfair outcome. 9% more respondents than 2005 indicated they felt this was nearly always a fair outcome. In the case of a rapist getting a warning, 17% more respondents indicated this was nearly always an unfair outcome (while 12% more felt this was nearly always fair). In the case of a rapist being required to pay compensation, 20% more LAs felt this was nearly always unfair, whilst 9% felt it was nearly always fair. In the case of rapists being jailed, only 1% more LAs than 2005 felt this was nearly always unfair, whilst 19% more respondents indicated this was nearly always fair.

Table 59: Questions 27a,b (to LAs & police) - What happens often or very often (in rape cases)? What should happen (in rape cases)?
(Baseline N=301, Follow-Up N=311)

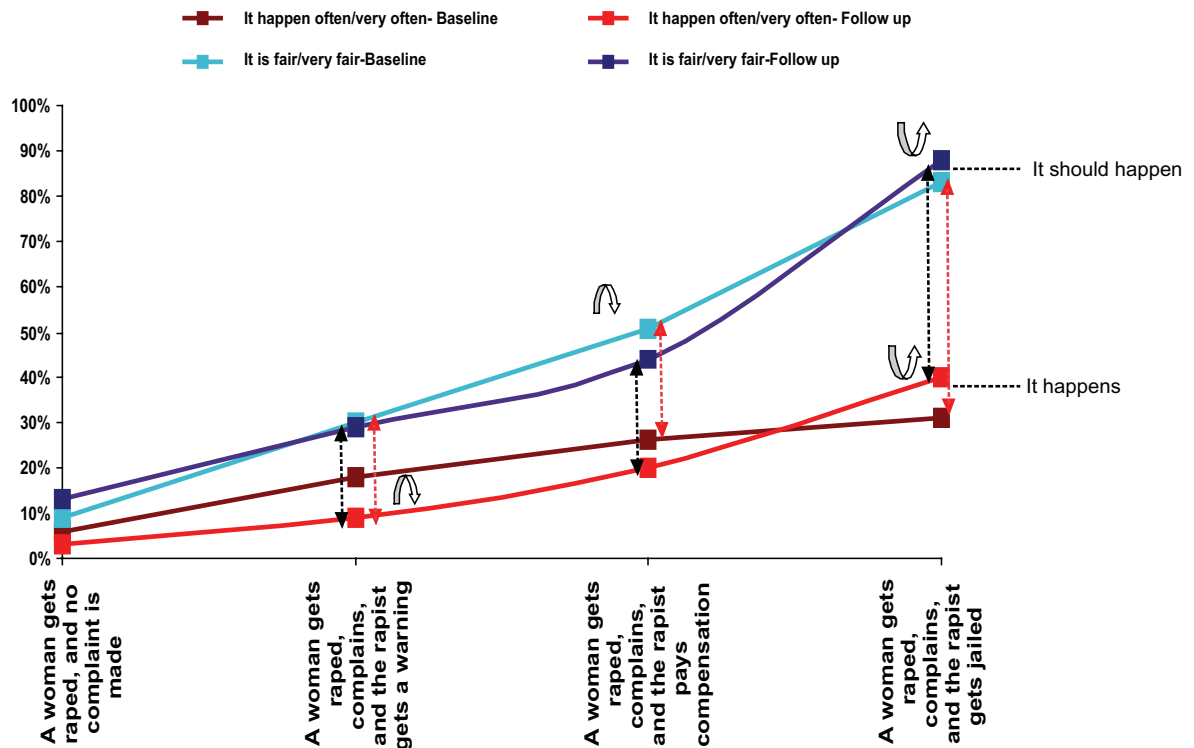
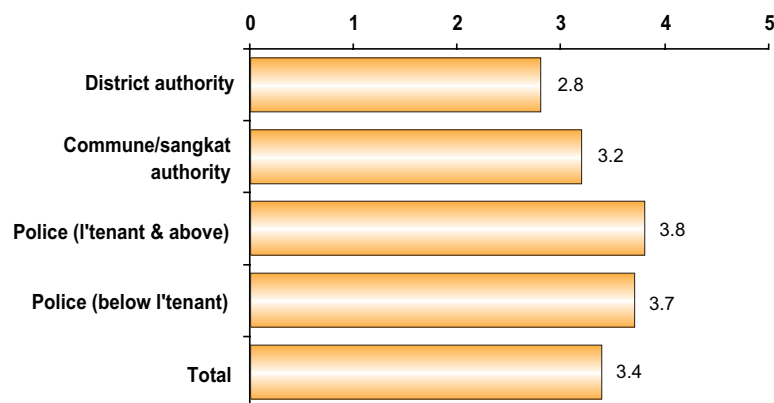


Table 61 demonstrates that commune and district authorities are more critical of the DV situation (ranking of 2.8-3.2) than police officers (ranking between 3.7-3.8). On average across all categories of LAs, satisfaction is ranked as 3.4.

Table 60: Question 32a (to LAs & police) - Ratings of the DV situation from "very unsatisfactory" to "very satisfactory."
(N=311) (1 is very unsatisfied, 7 is very satisfied)



Since 2005, district authorities have increased their ranking of the DV category by 0.3 points, whilst the opinions of police officers ranked below lieutenant stayed the same. Police officers ranked above lieutenant have improved their ranking of the DV situation by 0.8 points. Only commune authorities have decreased their ranking, by 0.3 points. Thus, very little changes in assessments of the DV situation have occurred in 4 years. It is unclear how to interpret this data. It would be suggested in future surveys to ask more specific questions about components of police DV activities to have a better understanding of their opinions.

Table 61: Comparison Table for Question 32a (to LAs & police) - Ratings of the DV situation from "very unsatisfactory" to "very satisfactory." (Baseline N=301, Follow-Up N=311) (1 is very unsatisfied, 7 is very satisfied)

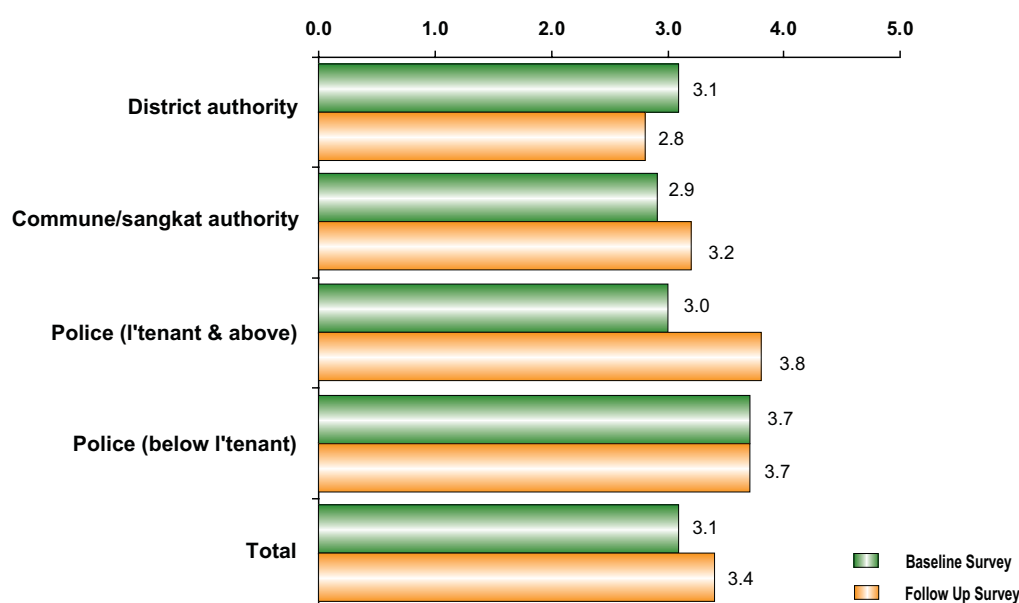


Table 63 shows that LAs and police rank all law and order problems as of relatively high importance, between 6 and 7 on a scale of 7. Of note, district authorities give less ranking to issues of petty crime, divorce/separation or child abandonment and land disputes (all close to 6 points) than other categories.

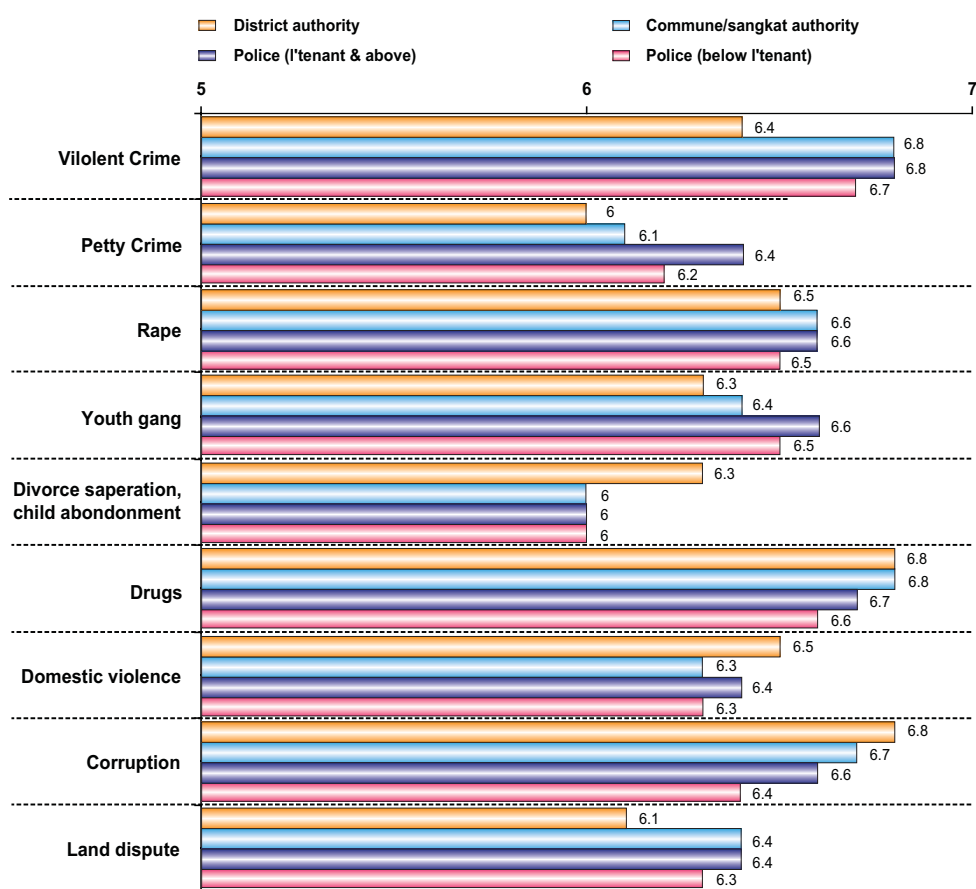
Most importantly, all categories of respondents rank petty crime, divorce/separation or child abandonment as the least important issues on the list. This ranking might be a telling indicator of general perceptions around the importance of violence and crime within households, even though DV receives a ranking of 6.3-6.5 across all groupings of officials.

As shown in Table 64 below, district authorities have increased their ranking of divorce/separation by 15%, whilst commune authorities increased their ranking by 7% and both police groups increased their ranking by 10%-11%.

District authorities have improved their ranking of DV by 10%, whilst police have increased their ranking 6% (Commune authorities only increased their ranking by 3%).

District authorities did not improve their ranking of rape, but the commune authorities increased it by 4% and the police from 5%-7%.

Table 62: Question 22 (to LAs & police) – Rankings of law and order problems from “not at all important” to “very important.”
(N=311) (1 is not at all important, 7 is very important)



Since 2005, 11% more police lieutenants and above ranked divorce/separation/ child abandonment as a very important problem, whilst 15% more district authorities responded similarly. 10% more district authorities ranked DV as an important problem, with all police ranking it as 6% more important than as reported in 2005.

Table 63: Comparison Table for Question 22 (to LAs & police) - Rankings of law and order problems from "not at all important" to "very important."

	Percentage Change			
	District authority	Commune/sangkat authority	Police (1'tenant & above)	Police (below 1'tenant)
Violent crime (murder, armed robbery)	-4%	6%	3%	2%
Petty crime (mugging, bag-snatching, thieving)	-2%	5%	10%	11%
Rape	0%	4%	7%	5%
Youth gangs	-3%	2%	2%	6%
Divorce, separation, child abandonment	15%	7%	11%	10%
Drugs	0%	3%	1%	1%
Domestic violence	10%	3%	6%	6%
Corruption	4%	3%	4%	1%
Land disputes & land-grabbing	6%	6%	12%	10%

Summary Box 19: LAs & Police Views on Crime in General

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + Since 2005, there has been a 38% increase in LA's reporting that women are "very rarely/never" raped where no complaint is made.
- + LA's report that in 20% more cases than in 2005 "very rarely or never" are rapes reported where only a warning is issued.
- + In 2009, 9% more LA respondents indicated that in the case of a rape where no complaint is filed, this is a nearly always unfair outcome. 9% more respondents than 2005 indicated they felt this was nearly always a fair outcome.
- + In 29% more cases, rapists very rarely or never pay compensation. However, these same respondents indicate that in 10% more cases, rapists are very rarely or never jailed.
- + In the case of a rapist getting a warning, 17% more respondents indicated this was nearly always an unfair outcome (while 12% more felt this was nearly always fair).
- + In the case of a rapist being required to pay compensation, 20% more LA's felt this was nearly always unfair, whilst 9% felt it was nearly always fair.
- + In the case of rapists being jailed, only 1% more LAs than 2005 felt this was nearly always unfair, whilst 19% more respondents indicated this was nearly always fair.
- + District authorities have increased their ranking of divorce/separation by 15%, whilst commune authorities increased their ranking by 7% and both police groups increased their ranking by 10%-11%.
- + District authorities have improved their ranking of DV by 10%, whilst police have increased their ranking 6% (Commune authorities only increased their ranking by 3%).
- + District authorities did not improve their ranking of rape, but commune authorities increased it by 4% and police from 5%-7%.
- + Since 2005, 11% more police lieutenants and above rank divorce/separation/ child abandonment as a very important problem, whilst 15% more district authorities responded similarly. 10% more district authorities rank DV as an important problem, with all police ranking it as 6% more important than as reported in 2005.

3.6 CAMBODIANS & THEIR RIGHTS

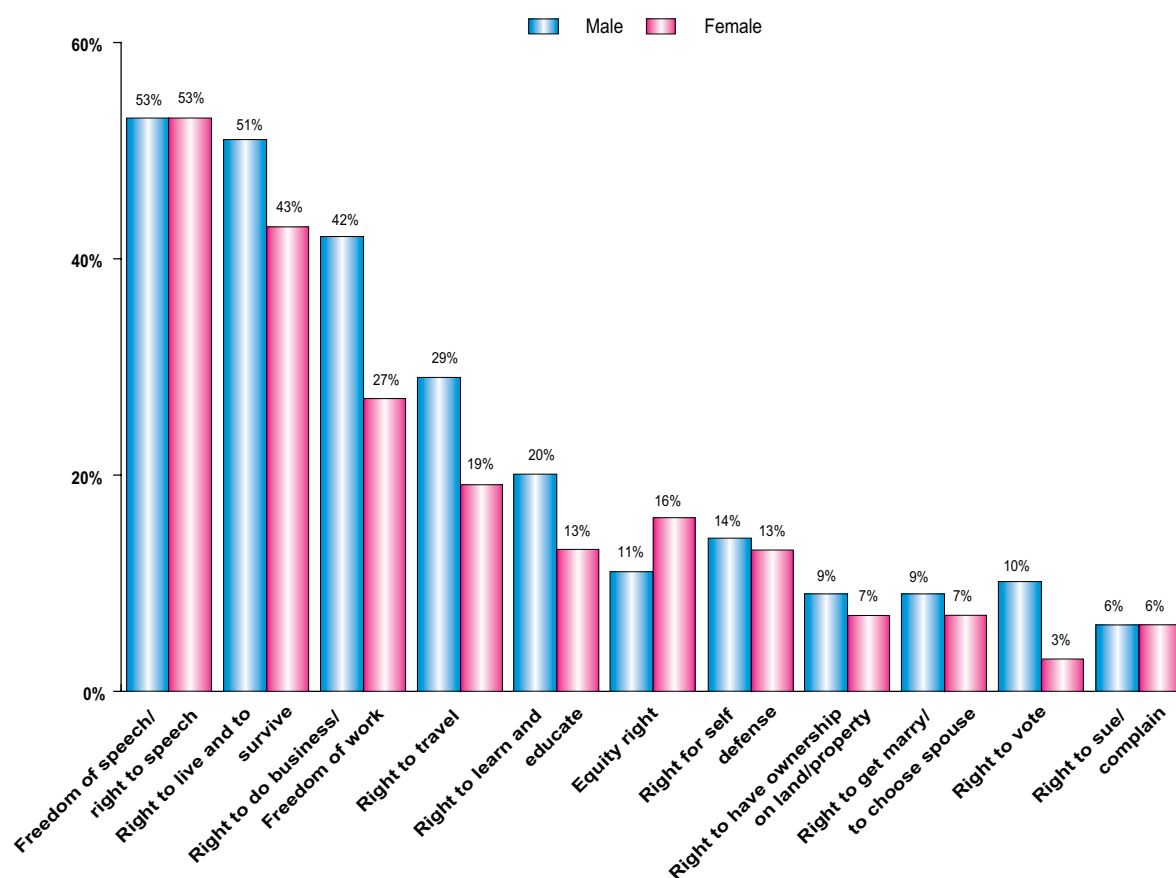
Please note, all of the following questions were answered by the general population.

Attitudes and behaviour surrounding DV do not take place in a vacuum. Tolerance of DV, as well as decisions to seek help, are profoundly shaped by a person's most basic views of their own rights in society and their views on protecting those rights. Therefore, the study has probed into underlying awareness of individual rights and ways to protect these rights to improve understanding of how such views might shape understanding of DV by a range of groups of Cambodian citizens.

3.6.1 Rights Identified as Important to Cambodian Citizens, Knowledge of DV Law

When the survey asked respondents to name their most important rights as citizens, both freedom of speech and the right to live and survive were the only two rights recognised by at least half of the

Table 64: Question 41a - In your opinion, what are the most important rights that people have as citizens? (N=3040)



sample, as noted in Table 65 below. In all categories except "equity rights," men tended to cite higher percentages of agreement on "important rights" than women.

Rights which could help to prevent VAW were cited by very few of the respondents. For example, the right to equity was named by only 11% of men and 19% of women. The right to learn and educate was cited by only 20% of men and 13% of women. The right to marry or choose a spouse was cited by only 9% of men and 7% of women.

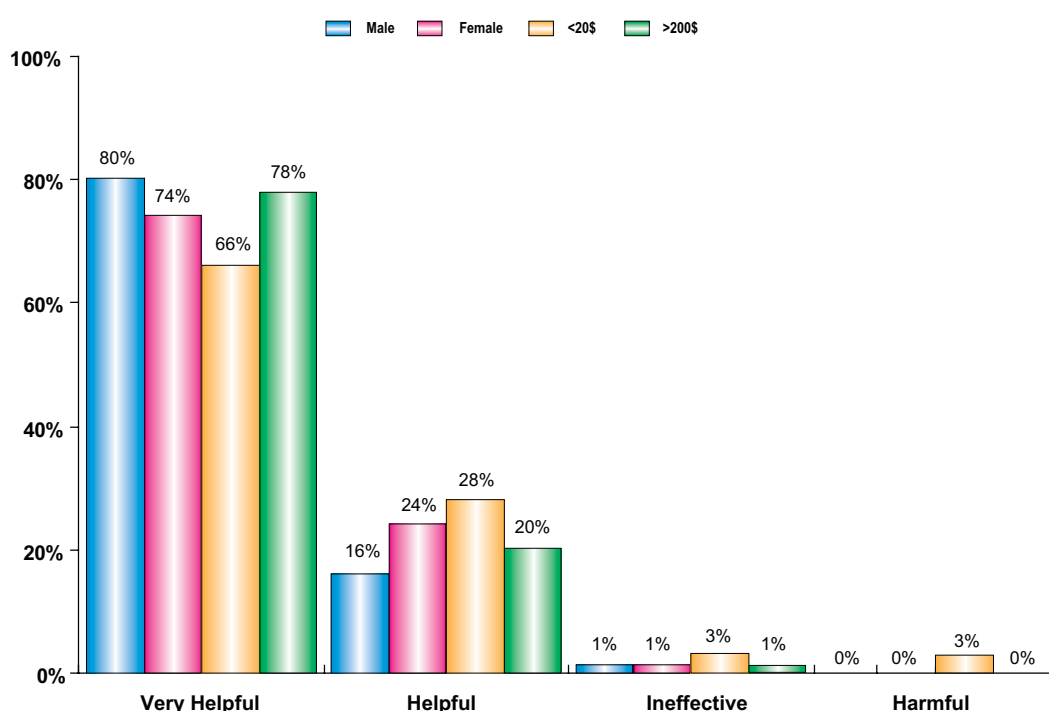
Comparing the 2005 to 2009 findings, it was found that there was an increase of 22% in respondents selecting the "right to live and to survive" as the most important freedom, followed by an increase of 9% of respondents selecting "freedom of speech/right to speech" and another 8% selecting "right to do business/freedom of work" as most important.

When asked whether men are entitled to different rights than women, 15% of men said yes, whilst 20% of women said yes. 20% of higher income earners (over \$200 US monthly) also indicated they felt men were entitled to different rights. On average across all respondents, a 4% increase in beliefs that men are entitled to more rights was recorded. Men's response rates in the affirmative increased 8% and women's response rate in the negative increased by 2%. Compared to 2005, 9% more poorer respondents (income under \$20 US monthly) felt men had more rights than women, whilst 7% more respondents indicated men did not have more rights than women.

As long as a segment of the Cambodian population, especially women, feel that men are entitled to different rights than women, it will be difficult to address issues of equity and safety for female members of households.

Rights-based education would thus be an important activity to include in future policy interventions. Adding more specific linking questions between understandings of basic rights and rights experienced within individual households would add important new knowledge to understanding of these relationships in the future.

Table 65: Question 40b_77 - Do you think that for the victims of DV this law is _____?
(N=2817)
(Note: Respondents were asked to answer this question by scaling from "very helpful" to "harmful.")



As Table 66 shows, 96% of male respondents consider the DV-Law very helpful/helpful, whilst 98% of women agree. For respondents earning under \$20 US monthly, this figure drops to 95% whilst 99% of higher earners (over \$200 US monthly) report it as very helpful/helpful. 3% of poor respondents rank it as ineffective and 3% rank it as harmful.

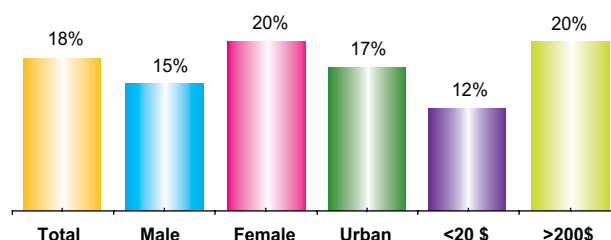
Although only 3% of low-income respondents rank the law as ineffective or harmful (compared to 66% of low-income respondents who rank it as very helpful and 28% who rank it as helpful), it is worth noting that a small portion of poor respondents feel that DV victims are excluded or even damaged, by the law. Additional questions would need to be added to the survey to better assess why the law is consider ineffective or harmful. It is possible that asking questions about direct experiences with the reporting of DV incidents and the resulting police reactions would illuminate these response categories. Most importantly, such information would help to assess the treatment of poor DV victims in comparison to better-off members of society.

Summary Box 20: Rights Identified as Important to Cambodian Citizens, Knowledge of DV Law

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + 96% of male respondents consider the DV-Law very helpful/helpful, whilst 98% of women agree. For respondents earning under \$20 US monthly, this figure drops to 95% whilst 99% of higher earners (over \$200 US monthly) report it as very helpful/helpful. 3% of poor respondents rank it as ineffective and 3% rank it as harmful.
- The "right to equity" was named as an important right by only 11% of men and 19% of women.
- The "right to learn and educate" was cited as important by only 20% of men and 13% of women.
- The "right to marry or choose a spouse" was cited as important by only 9% of men and 7% of women.
- Since 2005, there was an increase of 22% in respondents selecting the "right to live and to survive" as the most important freedom.
- There was also an increase of 9% of respondents selecting "freedom of speech/right to speech" and another 8% selected "right to do business/freedom of work" as most important.

Table 66: Question 40e – Are men entitled to different rights than women? (N=3040)



3.6.2 Perceptions about Inequality

As Table 67 shows, 18% of respondents reported that men have more rights than others. When asked whether men are entitled to different rights than women, 15% of men said yes, whilst 20% of women said yes. 20% of the higher income earners (over \$200 US monthly) also indicated they felt men were entitled to different rights. Compared to 2005, 9% more poor respondents felt men had more rights than women. The 20% of women and high income earners who felt men had more entitlement to rights than women raises questions about their own experiences.

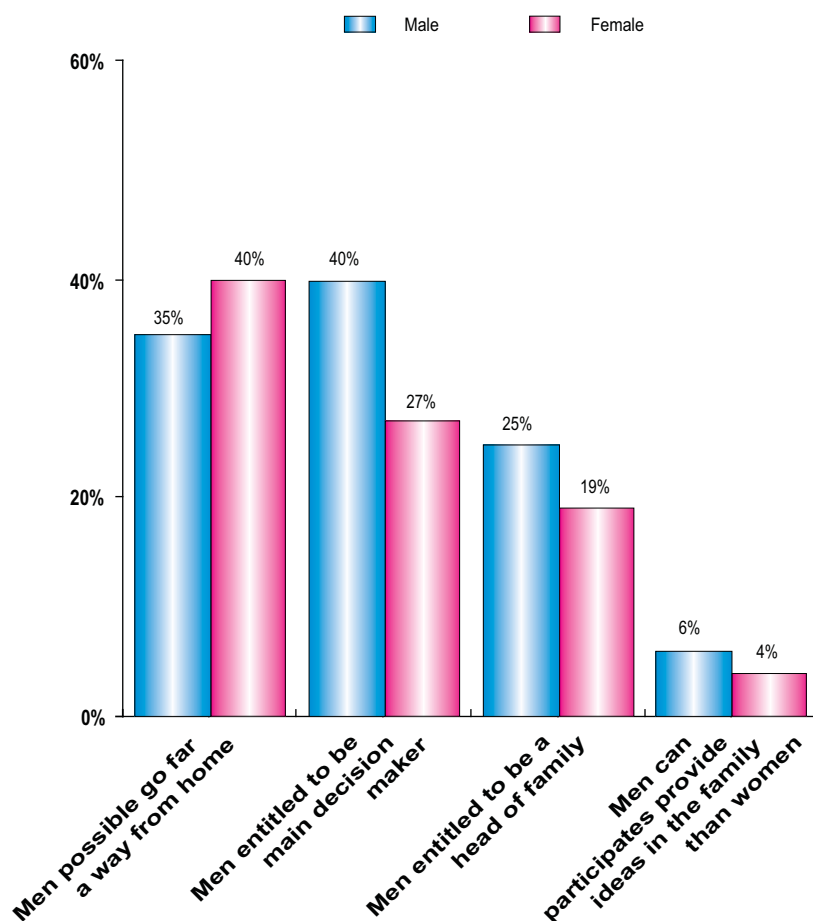
Table 68 shows respondents believe men have more right to be the main decision-makers in their family and participate in ideas in the family than women. Noticeably, men and women responded in similar proportions to these questions. These more similar response percentages differ greatly

from response categories in 2005, where nearly three times as many women as men gave men more rights than women. Thus, there is a dramatic shift in women's willingness to be assigned lesser rights than men.

When respondents were asked to identify specific rights, 35% of men and 40% of women identified travel as a common right, which represents a 7% increase over 2005 responses for this category for both genders. 40% of men and 27% of women responded that men were entitled to be the main decision-maker in a family, which represents a 4% increase over 2005 responses for this category. 25% of men and 19% of women identified being head of the family as a key right. When combining men's and women's responses, the "head of family" figure represent a 28% drop in this category from the 2005 survey.

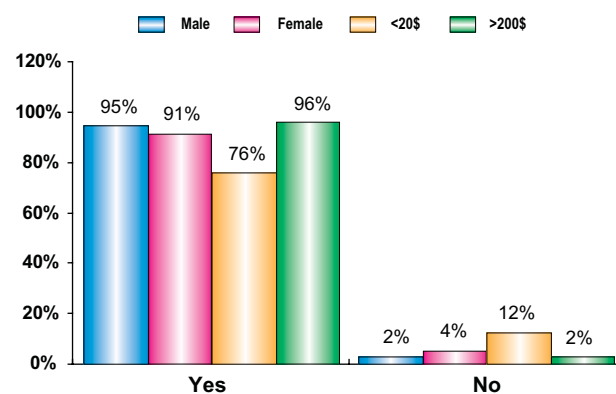
These core beliefs surrounding who holds decision-making and leadership authority within the household holds important clues for why certain activities by husband are accepted by their spouses. Further research into how exactly base beliefs inter-relate to acceptance of DV should be a critical component of a follow-up survey.

Table 67: Question 40f - What rights are these? (E.g. specifically, what rights are men more entitled to than women?) (N=536)



95% of men and 91% of women indicated knowledge that Cambodia has a law against DV. Worth noting is the drop to 76% for poorer respondents (under \$20 US monthly income) whilst 96% of higher earners (over \$200 US monthly income) were aware of this law.

Table 68: Question 40a_76 - Does Cambodia have a law against DV?
(N=3040)
(Please note this question was not asked in 2005)



Summary Box 21: Perceptions about Inequality

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + 35% of men and 40% of women identified travel as a common right, which represents a 7% increase over 2005 responses for this category for both genders.
- + 25% of men and 19% of women identified being head of the family as a key right. Combining men's and women's responses, the "head of family" figure represented a 28% drop in this category from the 2005 survey.
- + 95% of men and 91% of women indicated knowledge that Cambodia has a law against DV. Worth noting is the drop to 76% for poorer respondents (under \$20 US monthly income) whilst 96% of higher earners (over \$200 US monthly income) were aware of this law.
- 18% of respondents report that men have more rights than others. When asked whether men are entitled to different rights than women, 15% of men said yes, whilst 20% of women said yes.
- 20% of the higher income earners (over \$200 US) also indicated they felt men were entitled to different rights.
- Compared to 2005, 9% more poorer respondents felt men had more rights than women.
- Both men and women believe men have more right to be the main decision-makers in their family and participate in having ideas in the family than women. These more similar response percentages differ greatly from response categories in 2005, where nearly three times as many women as men gave men more rights than women. Thus, there is a dramatic shift in women's willingness to be assigned lesser rights than men.
- 40% of men and 27% of women indicated that men were entitled to be the main decision-maker in a family, which represents a 4% increase over 2005 responses for this category.

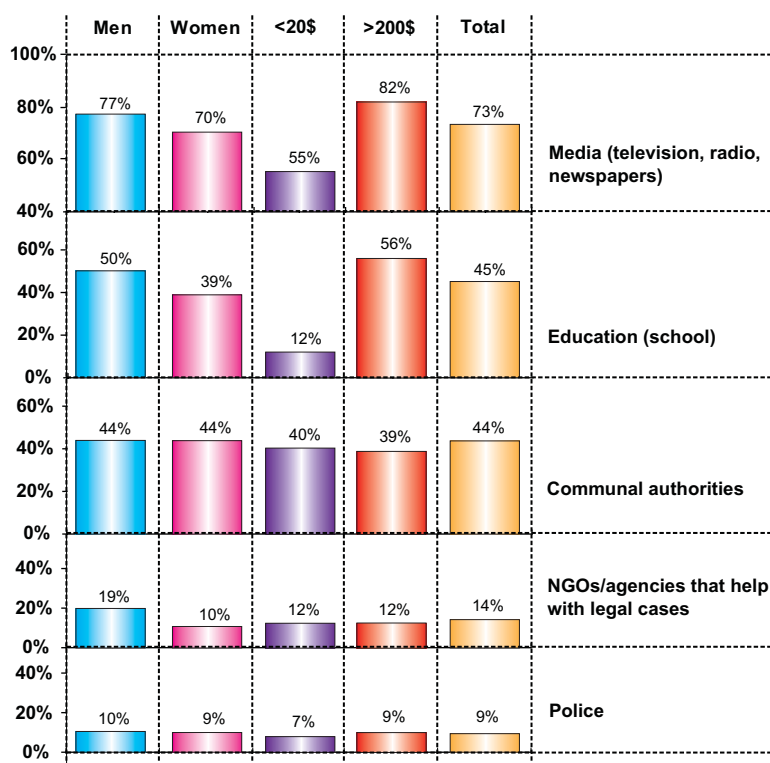
3.6.3 Seeking Help to Protect Rights

Table 70 shows that 44% of respondents believe that commune authorities and the police helped them gain access to their rights. 77% of men and 70% of women report that media sources can help them access their rights, whilst 50% of men and 39% of women identified education as a source of access. Only 19% of men and 10% of women selected NGOs as a helpful source in these matters and only 9% of all respondents selected the police as a source of access to rights.

These identified sources represent key outlets for future educational and policy-dissemination efforts. Based on reported percentages, media should be the main conduit for such information in the short-term. Improving the efforts of local officials, police and NGOs should be of secondary focus to enhance the community-government relationship in combating DV.

For those earning \$200 US or more per month, only 39% reported commune authorities as a source for accessing rights. For the poorest, education was cited as a source of help in accessing rights from only 12%, compared to 45% of the general sample respondents.

Table 69: Question 41b - Who can help you to access your rights? (N=3040)



Of note since 2005, men's selection of media as a helpful conduit for accessing rights has dropped by 16%, whilst women's selection dropped 7%. There was an 18% drop in the poorest respondents selecting media. (See Annex D for raw data) As well since 2005, there was a 25% decrease in male respondents selecting education, whilst 12% less women selected this category in 2009. There was a 40% drop in the poorest respondents selecting education.

Men's ranking of the commune authorities dropped by 8% whilst women's ranking increased by 5%. 11% fewer poorest respondents selected yjr commune authorities as helpful, the same percentage drop for the poor selecting the police as helpful. However, in contrast, highest income earners increased their selection of the commune authorities as helpful by 19%.

The significant, negative shifts in opinion of helpful conduits found in local communities appear to hold important knowledge about the state of community-government relations at the local level. Thus, more intensive questioning in a focus group discussion format or through the inclusion of open-ended interview questions in the survey would be recommended in future rounds of research. Because of the significant change in perceptions of these relationships, immediate follow-up on these findings would be beneficial.

Summary Box 22: Seeking Help to Protect Rights

Noteworthy Changes in Data:

- + Highest income earners increased their selection of the commune authorities as helpful by 19%.
- Since 2005, men's selection of media as a helpful conduit for accessing rights has dropped by 16%, whilst women's selection dropped 7%. There was an 18% drop in the poorest respondents selecting media.
- Since 2005, there was a 25% decrease in male respondents selecting education, whilst 12% less women selected this category in 2009. There was a 40% drop in the poorest respondents selecting education.
- Men's ranking of the commune authorities dropped by 8% whilst women's ranking increased by 5%. 11% fewer of the poorest respondents selected commune authorities as helpful, the same percentage drop as for the poor selecting the police as helpful.

3.6.4 LAs' & Police Views on Individual Rights

LA and police attitudes and experiences are most definitely linked to their views on the rights of Cambodians, as are their sense of their roles in protecting these rights. Officials held strong views about rights in general.

Several differences exist in LAs' perceptions of rights from the general population (see Table 65 and Table 43 in Annex A.8 for comparison purposes). The biggest difference between the two populations was that these officials were much more likely to cite the right to free speech (67% compared to only 53% of the general population). Local officials cited three categories of rights more frequently than the general population: the right to live and survive (75% of officials compared to 47% of the general population), the right to vote (10% of officials compared to 6% of the general population).

These findings, when considered in light of the police and LAs ranking of all crimes as important, contrasting against their less robust beliefs around the causes and consequences of DV requires further exploration to better target educational interventions for this unique target group in the future.

Summary Box 23: LAs' & Police Views on Individual Rights

Noteworthy Trends in Data:

- + LAs' propensity to cite certain rights are consistently higher than the general population in the following categories: the right to free speech (67% compared to 53% of the general population), the right to live and survive (75% of officials compared to 47% of the general population), the right to vote (10% of officials compared to 6% of the general population).

CONCLUSION: Comparative Typologies, Policy Implementation Strategies & Next Steps in Research

This study's findings represent a significant step forward in understanding of patterns of attitudes and behaviour in Cambodia which contribute to DV. In particular, the survey examines current levels of DV, as well as the attitudes and impact linked to this problem. It also explores deeper elements of this situation, including women's acceptance of violence, views of DV as a private family matter and the disproportionate impact of violence reported by the poor. However, it is important to note that such data is only as useful as far as it is integrated into national policy debates and implemented into actionable agenda items at the sub-national and local community levels.

Thus, this report's conclusion has been organized to assist policymakers in more deeply understanding the complexities of the DV climate by providing a final comparison of eight key sub-groups to assist in targeting future policy interventions. As well, specific recommendations made throughout the report have been summarized by thematic category. Finally, specific research limitations have emerged over the course of the 2005 and 2009 data collection process which are detailed to facilitate stronger data analysis in subsequent rounds of research.

Exploration of fundamental attitudes related to behaviours associated with DV make up the core of this research, as attitudinal states are a significant indicator of the potential for abusive behaviours (Hindin & Adair 2002). This is true for both men's attitudes and beliefs which influence their relationships with women, as well as women's attitudes of themselves and their understandings of the rights of husbands (Boonzaier 2008).

This follow-up report has highlighted both positive and negative trends in attitudes and behaviour related to DV over the past 5 years. Although two data points are not enough to establish long-term trends, it is an important beginning in tracking changes in DV attitudes and behaviour across Cambodia. It is worth noting that significant and rapid economic, political, migratory, educational and social developments have occurred between 2005 and 2009, which need to be considered when initial findings are evaluated. As well, it is important to keep in mind that major shifts in attitudes and behaviour cannot be achieved in a short span of time. Initial report findings thus need to be further analysed within the broader context of the socio-cultural norms and practices that exist in Cambodia and which influence the basic attitudes and behaviour supporting ongoing patterns of abuse and violence.

When considering these findings against a longer history than just the previous five year period, many results are promising, yet much work remains to be done. Of most concern though, is the fact that this comparative analysis indicates a clear though marginal increase in women's level of acceptance of various forms of violence. As well, most of the findings confirm that deeply entrenched unequal gender relations with male domination and control, continue to underpin the attitude of most men and women. Both men and women continue to condone various levels of extreme violence when wives question traditional gender division of labour or male sexual mobility. It appears that a consistent factor between 2005 and 2009 is women's ongoing lack of bargaining power and empowerment within the household, something women continue to accept at higher rates than men.

This second survey is timely given that the broader environment is responsive to policy reform and programme development on DV and there are several opportunities to develop new linkages and dimensions in programmes in order to improve Cambodia's comprehensive response to DV. The tracking of widespread attitudes and cultural norms which indicate acceptable degrees of impunity in the case of VAW also highlight an important component of future research in this area and are critical for shaping future policy initiatives.

To be sure, these findings must be considered preliminary. Correlations between much of the reported data is unclear at this stage. Increasing reports of violence may be due to successful victim education efforts. Communities might be expressing more support for such victims and which is empowering some victims to report abuse more frequently.

The legacy of silence and shame many victims of DV live with, their sense of obligation to keep DV hidden in order to keep their family's reputation intact (CGA 2004) also could be seriously confounding the data. Only longer-term study of this issue will provide a better sense of long-term trends that are emerging as a result of ongoing policy interventions.

4.1 SUMMARY OF KEY POLICY ACTIONS RECOMMENDED

- 1) **Develop a long-term strategy for investing in primary prevention:** The comparative analysis clearly indicates the need for a priority focus on behaviour change and investing in socialisation processes of boys, men, whole family units and local officials and police. Most of the current actions are more focused on the response to DV and less on primary prevention.
- 2) **Prioritise behaviour patterns that need to be targeted:** Enhancing knowledge and skills in effective behavioural and attitudinal change interventions based on the priority issues identified in the survey. These include:
 - Broad scale dissemination of the costs of violence to individuals, families, communities and society at large.
 - Analysis of harmful practices from socio-cultural perspectives, as well as consideration of the consequences of these practices from a rights and equity perspective.
 - Women's empowerment programmes to inform on structural inequity, rights, information on services and support networks.
 - Men's accountability on violent behaviour, information on women's and girls' rights, consequences of violence on them and their families.
 - Sensitisation of young boys and youth on respect for women and girls, gender equity and rights, consequences of violence.
 - Targeted education for rural and urban residents, rich and poor.
- 3) **Focus on Rights-Based Education:** Rights-based education and deeper qualitative research to understand basic socio-cultural values underlying understandings of DV are critical components of future policy intervention activities. As well, more preventative education programmes are needed which develop out of these enhanced understandings. Innovative programming should be developed to make better use of a range of media outlets. Community-based services, especially crisis-oriented services, preventative educational materials and dialogues to enhance community member's understanding of their

responsibility to report DV and support victims should be the focus of local programming efforts.

- 4) **Target Women's Acceptance of Violence as a Significant Attitude to Shape with Future Policy Interventions:** Women's continued acceptance of violence is also a critical area where significant policy interventions should be directed. Acceptance, tolerance and rationalisation of such abuse is deeply embedded in traditional Cambodian socio-cultural value systems which must be further explored in such a manner as to develop educational programmes which leave positive traditional values in place, whilst allowing both women and men alike to re-evaluate beliefs which might perpetuate cycles of abuse within Cambodian households.
- 5) **Focus on Strengthening the Legal System:** Much more attention to strengthening the legal system is also a critical component of enhancing the package of DV services available to victims in Cambodia. As long as victims feel that reporting such instances is a waste of time, a critical link in support and service provision is lost. Other studies have documented the "environment of impunity" surrounding acquaintance rape (CGA 2004), even in the case of gang rape of those who are perceived as "modern women", a disturbing and rising national trend.
- 6) **Improve Local Access to Victim Services:** Better access for victims to local and district services should be made available. Local and district-level programmes to provide specific services for DV sufferers need to be addressed. Partner and stakeholder consultations to agree on interventions and strengthen an integrated response. (E.g. public awareness, social, medical and legal services; policies and related laws and training and capacity building). Courts should be provided with educational and crisis-related material for walk-in victims seeking support. Education for LAs and police should be greatly enhanced, both in terms of understanding of the legality of certain acts, as well as rights-based education to address the socio-cultural norms police and LAs hold about women's and men's rights in general.
- 7) **Increase use of media outlets, expansion to more creative programming & conduits for education:** The survey indicates that over 70% of men and women believe that the media can inform them about their rights. How can more DV education be streamlined into popular shows, highlighted on social networking sites and made a focus of public service announcements?
- 8) **Build capacity:** Through the introduction of a COMBI strategy for selected stakeholders, including cascade training and development of strategies. Enhancing knowledge and skills in effective behaviour and attitudinal change interventions. Such interventions should include training for 1) stakeholders in the design and use of the COMBI strategy and 2) selected stakeholders as COMBI trainers. A third suggestion would be for stakeholders and partners working on DV in Cambodia to design their own COMBI Strategy.
- 9) **Strengthen men's involvement in DV prevention efforts:** Setting up men's groups at the community level as an added dimension in promoting positive values for men in general and the youth. Men's involvement with GBV programmatically should be complementing women's groups' efforts. Consultative mechanisms on what women need and want for men to do is an essential area of designing and planning men's interventions.

4.2 KEY TRENDS IN THE DATA & RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TARGETED POLICY ACTIONS

Attitudes About DV

Issue: Many findings highlight the fact that women are increasingly apt to accept abusive and violent behaviour from husbands, especially in cases where women question their husband's sexual freedom or believe they are not fulfilling their traditionally gender-linked domestic roles.

Recommended Action: Additional in-depth interviews or focus group discussions could be conducted to assess whether there is a need to address the foundational beliefs of the rights of men and women within the household, especially the rights of women to question their husbands' activities. If it was found that this was necessary, it would be imperative that any future policy interventions were introduced gradually and stemmed from a Cambodian-driven policy formulation process. To improve citizen buy-in of such policies, the implementation of educational campaigns should be highly participatory in nature.

Issue: As in 2005, people from urban areas were more likely than those in rural areas to see severe violence as acceptable e.g. when a wife questions her husband about going to sex workers or girlfriends.

Recommended Action: Educational campaigns specifically targeting men and women living in urban locations could alleviate this discrepancy, although additional in-depth interviews would be required to better understand the reasons for this difference of opinion based on rural or urban location.

Issue: Although there are precipitous drops in the acceptance of all categories of the most extreme types of physical violence, respondents continue to show higher levels of tolerance for violence in contrast to their acknowledgements that it is illegal. Importantly, recognition of violent acts as illegal is on the rise.

Recommended Action: Such drops in what is considered acceptable behaviour are some of the most promising of the study, although the substantial differences between what is considered criminal and what is considered acceptable represent an area in need of much further education. Such findings represent ongoing discrepancies between cultural or social understandings of violent behaviour, even as respondents acknowledge their understanding of its illegality/criminality. Based on these optimistic findings, it would seem warranted to continue similar educational activities and expand them, but focus more on engaging the underlying value systems which support abuse and violence in household relationships.

Issue: Differences in reports on influential sources on women's attitudes between the 2005 and 2009 survey are quite different, especially regarding reports of Khmer tradition and parents/grandparents as influential sources on women's attitudes and male behaviour.

Recommended Action: From a policy standpoint, of interest would be the development of better understanding of what specific influences are replacing more traditional Khmer beliefs on these issues.

Issue: Both men and women report that women's attitudes are greatly influenced by the lack of law enforcement.

Recommended Action: Improvements in enforcement efforts, as well as women's understanding of and access to such outlets should be a critical focus of future policy interventions.

Experiences of DV

Issue: A significant difference exists between reports of circumstance which lead to violence from "all respondents" (highlighted in section 3.1.1), when compared to reports from victims only. There is a marked rise in reported instances of less abusive interactions (e.g. yelling, cursing and throwing) for women who are perceived by their spouses as failing in their assumed gender roles (e.g. child rearing, house cleaning, food preparation etc.) Specifically, perceptions of such chores not being managed well resulted in more reported instances of extreme abuse, with 8%-10% of victims reporting acid throwing as punishment.

Issue: Questioning husbands about girlfriends/sex workers or how money has been spent were also categories where observed abusive behaviours increased significantly. In particular, reports of acid throwing rose to 31% for questions regarding involvement with other women and 18% regarding how money had been spent.

Recommended Action: Additional education for both victims and perpetrators of violence alike needs to be carried out to help adjust traditional assumptions regarding appropriate behaviour of a wife in order to decrease the frequency of the most violent episodes. Such education could also include dialoguing about power imbalances created by deeply ingrained underlying belief systems.

Issue: There is a clear correlation between the prevalence of DV in households reporting that their parents also engaged in DV. Reports of own behaviour tend to generally follow reports of parental behaviour in all categories except yelling.

Recommended Action: Educational efforts should specifically target survivors of long-term abuse.

Impact of Physical Violence by a Spouse on Health & Well-Being

Issue: More than half the sample reporting exposure to DV also reported emotional distress as a result. Women, the poor and young people's physical health and sense of well-being were most affected. Women tended to suffer from more negative effects on their health in every category of the survey except alcohol consumption. Four times as many men as women said they drank alcohol as a result of violence. Women and the poor experienced the highest degrees of anxiety. Higher income earners reported higher rates of anxiety than the general population. Specifically, men reported sleeplessness half the time, whilst women reported such a response 68% of the time. Only 14% of men reported physical illness or weight loss as a result of domestic conflicts, whilst 25% of women did.

Recommended Action: Educational and medical interventions should be targeted by the most significantly affected populations. These various indicators of long-term stress symptoms indicate a great need to vastly improve mental health support services for ongoing sufferers of DV, in addition to providing such victims basic education on DV.

Issue: Reports of all categories of fear associated with DV dropped between 2005 and 2009 in all categories except high income earners and women.

Recommended Action: Improved community support services and better access to LAs should improve these indicators in the future.

The Role of Alcohol in DV

Issue: About 8%-10% more women in the sample are drinking occasionally than in 2005, whilst men are drinking at about the same rate.

Recommended Action: Educational campaigns about the ill effects of drinking (both physical and psychological) should be targeted to women.

Issue: When questions relating to frequency of abusive behaviour were matched across reports of spousal drinking, 88%-93% of spouses reported yelling occurring at least once a week, whilst 47%-59% respondents reported cursing occurring at least once a week. 12%-18% of respondents reported throwing occurring at least once a week (an increase of 6%-12% from 2005 data), whilst tying up and beating occurred once a week for 4%-5% of respondents (this representing a 3%-4% increase from 2005). 8%-11% of respondents reported being threatened with a knife at least once in a week period (a 7%-10% increase from 2005). For individuals living with more frequent drinkers, all types of lesser abuses appear to be a frequent and consistent experience for spouses.

Recommended Action: Alcohol awareness and treatment programmes should be a major focus of community and district-level educational efforts, especially programmes that can be initiated and overseen by community members or better, delivered discretely to individual abusers.

Male Anger & Controlling Behaviour

Issue: In particular, a woman's neglect of the children, spending money without telling her husband and neglecting housework received highest response rates from the general sample. Women and those with the lowest incomes showed a greater acceptance of male anger in these situations.

Recommended Action: More education directed at women and poorer citizens to consider expectations related to gender-based roles would help moderate more extreme views of such roles and lessen angry reactions. It is clear that women hold much stronger attitudes about the appropriateness of their behaviour as wives than their male partners, so future educational campaigns should be sure to consider how to best dialogue about differences in male and female expectations related to gender-based household roles.

Issue: Women were more likely than men to say it was justified for a man to forbid his wife to wear certain clothes, or to insist on knowing where his wife was at all times. In most cases, people with the lowest incomes were more likely to see controlling behaviour as justified. 47% of women reported feeling men's efforts to keep a wife from seeing her family as justified, compared to 45% of men.

Recommended Action: Similar to suggestions made for addressing issues related to male anger, deeper consideration of how to address men and women's ingrained beliefs around women's rights as members of a household and men's right to exert control over their wives, needs to be addressed by individual Cambodian citizens at the community level, with the support of the LAs or NGOs.

Issue: There was a 17% increase in men feeling it was rather justified to know where their wife was at all times and a 7% drop in those feeling it was rather unjustified. This demonstrates that men feel knowing their wife's whereabouts at all times is an increasingly justifiable activity.

Recommended Action: More education directed at men which facilitates their consideration of expectations related to gender-based roles would help moderate more extreme views of such roles and hopefully lessen angry reactions.

Rape (General) & Rape in Marriage

Issue: A total of 97% preferred prison terms of more than three years for members who committed gang rape and 91% preferred such prison terms for fathers who raped their daughters. However, the vast majority of respondents (75%-94%) said that rape should be punished by jail for more than three years unless it was committed by a boyfriend or sweetheart, wherein only 49% of female respondents indicated that a 3 or more year jail term is an appropriate response. Family members were reported as committing rape 28% of the time. Fathers and step-fathers accounted for 9% of this total. Friends or acquaintances accounted for 47% of the total number of perpetrators.

Recommended Action: Education about girl's and women's sexual rights and their right to refuse sex with people they know should be more strongly emphasised in educational material. Considerations of what age children are introduced to such material should be reconsidered as well, as data indicates very young children are just as prone to forced sex as adult women. Education should be directed at both genders.

Issue: There have been almost no changes (all less than 3%) in any categories related to punishment for rape between 2005 and 2009.

Issue: In 2009, 87% of 2009 respondents involved in a rape incident reported seeking no help.

Recommended Action: These figures indicate rape is a policy area where heightened attention needs to be paid to educational campaigns. However, just as important in this field is the need to develop better tracking methodologies to record incidences of rape and their final disposition. Campaigns should be developed to educate communities about women's sexual rights and rape should be considered as a serious and common public health issue, where victims need ongoing community support.

Issue: 33% of the sample said a wife may justifiably refuse her husband in case he has HIV/AIDS or another STD. 26% of the sample said a woman is justified in refusing sex when her husband has had sex with other women.

Issue: Percentages differed dramatically between income categories. For poorer respondents (under \$20 US monthly income), acceptable justifications dropped significantly, especially compared to higher income respondents (over \$200 US monthly income). For instance, 74% of poorer respondents felt a woman being tired or ill was a justifiable excuse, whilst 92% of higher income earners agreed (compared to 90% of the aggregate total). Only 48% of poorer respondents felt having just given birth was an acceptable excuse to refuse sex, whilst 69% of higher income respondents felt this was justifiable. A most troubling statistic is the fact that a husband carrying an STD was only accepted by 19% of poor respondents as a legitimate excuse to avoid sex, compared to 45% of higher income earners (a 38% of the aggregate total). Only 10% of poorer respondents accepted having HIV/AIDS as a justifiable excuse to refuse sex, compared to 39% of higher income earners (compared to 33% of the aggregate total). Husbands having sex with other women were considered a justifiable excuse by only 12% of lower income respondents, whilst 33% of higher income earners agreed (compared to 26% of the aggregate total).

Issues: Significant changes in perspectives between 2005 and 2009 are worth noting in several categories (see Table 44). 21% less men feel that an STD is a justifiable excuse to refuse sex (compared to a 16% drop in women in the same category), whilst 20% less men feel a husband having HIV/AIDS is a reason to refuse sex (compared to a 13% drop in women in the same category). 7% less men feel husbands having sex with another woman is a justifiable excuse to refuse sex (compared to a 10% drop in women in the same category). 20% less men believe a wife having just given birth is a legitimate excuse to refuse sex (compared to an 11% drop in women in the same category). For the poorer, there has been a 46% drop in respondents (both male and female) who report feeling that an STD is a justifiable excuse to refuse sex, whilst 37% less respondents feel having HIV/AIDS is a legitimate excuse for a wife to refuse. 32% less poor respondents feel a husband having sex with another woman is a justifiable excuse to refuse sex whilst 36% less poor respondents believe a wife having just given birth is a legitimate excuse to refuse sex.

Recommended Action: There is a clear downturn in most categories related to sexual rights in marriage, for both men and women. The most troubling of the statistics cited above relate to the lack of acceptance by respondents that women have a right to refuse sex when their physical safety is at risk. Further education is needed for women to help protect themselves from the threat of HIV/AIDS and STDs. Sharing of resources that women could use to improve their protection from sexually transmitted infections (e.g. female condoms, condoms, spermicides etc.) should also be considered.

Seeking Help: Available Options for Help

Issue: The vast majority of general respondents identified the commune authorities or the police as readily available in times of crisis, but only 8% cited the courts, which are often located far away from their place of residence, whilst 15% of respondents reported NGOs and agencies offering counselling and support as the third most available source of services. Legal aid was cited as available by 14% of respondents as well, whilst lawyers were identified as available by 7% of respondents.

Recommended Action: Educational campaigns should be focused on advising citizens of the location of the nearest courts and the services offered by these courts and the MoJ. As well, NGOs and legal aid associations offering help in times of DV crises should be supported in their efforts to disseminate information about their programmes as well. The RGC or INGOs might consider developing financial resources to support private lawyers who are willing to take on pro bono work to support victims of DV.

Seeking Help in Other Cases of Abuse

Issue: 83% of men and 81% of women reported doing nothing when they knew about abuse, whilst 9% of men and 14% of women disclosed they had reported abuse to the commune authorities or village elders. 8% of men and 11% of women shared incidents with relatives or friends. Only 2% of men and 4% of women went to the police or the courts.

Recommended Action: In general, building up social capital within communities to encourage protecting all members of the society from acts of violence should be a key focus of future educational efforts. DV should be seen as a problem of interest for the whole community, not just isolated to the victim and immediate family. Incidences of violence in one household spreads across communities, as children of DV households act out violently towards other children. These same children suffer long-term psychological damage from observing and being party to household violence. As well, other perpetrators of violence act out when there is a community norm that violence in private households is an accepted activity. Economic productivity for both abused women and abusers decreases as a result of ongoing incidents. Focusing public information campaigns at the community level in order to increase reporting rates is thus a vital component of any DV campaign.

Issue: In 2009, men reported doing nothing 23% more often than in 2005, whilst women reported doing nothing 29% of the time. Reports of men talking to friends or relatives about the incident dropped 27%, whilst women dropped 22%. Men reported a drop of 13% in reports to commune authorities or village elders, whilst women's reporting only dropped 2%.

Recommended Action: Based on these early reports, it appears women might be receiving messages about DV and acting out on this information, whilst men are less likely to report. Educational messages directed towards each gender should be re-evaluated in light of this finding.

Issue: In the case of rape within marriage, 52% of female and 60% of male respondents reported women telling relatives or friends, whilst 54% of men and 32% of women reported such victims sought help from the commune authorities or village elders. 14% of men and 8% of women reported women approaching the police or the courts. Still, 20% of men and 36% of women reported victims kept quiet in such cases. 3%-6% of respondents said that a woman had sought help from an NGO offering counselling or support.

Recommended Action: These findings should be evaluated in light of actual access to public authorities and NGOs for the communities sampled, in order to better understand why these rates drop significantly for the courts and NGOs.

The Respondents' Own Experience in Seeking Help

Issue: Keeping quiet and doing nothing was by far the most common response to physical abuse by a spouse. 66% of poorer respondents reported keeping quiet, whilst 21% went to village elders, 17% went to relatives and 3% went to police or courts. Of note, 82% of higher income respondents reported keeping quiet/doing nothing, whilst 12% went to village elders and 10% reported the behaviour to relatives. Only 3% went to the police/courts.

Recommended Action: These findings demonstrate that there is a propensity for victims in higher-income groups to keep quiet about their abuse, particularly when considering that many higher-income respondents have ready access to public authorities and services since they most likely live in urban areas. Thus, these differences require further attention to educational campaigns for higher-income and urban residents.

Issue: Women were more likely to go to the commune authorities or village elders (14% of women compared to 9% of men responding to this question), followed by telling friends or relatives (11% of women compared to 8% of men). Only 2% of men and 4% of women reported going to the courts or police.

Recommended Action: In general, the survey consistently confirms that women are ill-informed and socio-cultural norms colour their limited use of health and protection services. There is poor progress of women seeking assistance from the police and even less from health services. Traditional local leaders are still the main source of support. The challenges are therefore two-fold. Firstly, there might be limited knowledge about such services. There also appears to be very limited faith in external services located outside the immediate community for addressing DV. Secondly, the services are negligible and poorly resourced. In view of this, responses need to focus on both long-term and short-term aspects of:

- Improving public knowledge of the quality and value of social protection services for domestic/GBV, through public advocacy campaigns.
- Assessment of health and protection systems to identify the gaps in infrastructure, resources, management and institutional mechanisms that restrict quality service delivery.
- Capacity building of health and protection service providers on issues related to DV, including gender equity training.

LAs' & Police Attitudes about DV, Views on Seeking Help & Views on Cultural Influences on Men

Issue: LAs and police were found to be more accepting of some types of violence than the general sample, including throwing something and knocking on the head. Also of note, there was an increase by 17% of responses in the "don't know, unsure" category when asked about appropriate husband's behaviour in response to a wife questioning about a husband's girlfriends or visiting sex workers. As well, 15% more LAs selected "don't know/not sure" for the acid throwing category as a response to a wife's refusal to have sex than in 2005. In 2009, 35%-45% of LAs felt that a husband was justified in engaging in the most extreme types of violence (e.g. tying up and hitting, threatening with knife or machete, burning or choking or throwing acid, stabbing or shooting) if wives argued with husbands, did not

obey him, or did not show respect. In 2009, in the case of a wife questioning a husband about visiting girlfriends or sex workers, 21% of officials indicated burning or choking was an acceptable response, whilst 28% indicated that acid throwing/threatening with a gun was acceptable. In 2009, in the case of a wife questioning a husband about spending money, 15% of officials stated burning/choking was a justified response.

Recommended Action: Although there are many improved attitudes related to DV, the raw 2009 data demonstrates there is still much more education to be delivered to public officials. Shifts towards "uncertain" response categories might indicate a softening of attitudes, but also indicate a lack of certainty of what is an appropriate response. Thus, this area represents an urgent area where additional dialogue and education would enhance police and LAs' understandings on these issues.

Issue: More than 50% of the LAs and police indicated they knew that physical violence is illegal, in contrast to 80% of the general population. For the most extreme forms of violence, 96%-100% of the general sample knew that the most extreme forms of violence were illegal, compared to 70%-100% of different categories of local officials.

Recommended Action: Police and LAs should be much more knowledgeable about what is legally defined as a criminal act, so this should be a key area of educational intervention in the immediate future.

Issue: 61% of local officials were just as likely to cite male friends (peer pressure) as influential, similar to the general sample but a drop of 10% since 2005. Local officials and police were less likely to cite the media (41%) than the general sample (44%-51%), which represents a 20% drop from 2005.

Recommended Action: More research is required to understand why police and local officials are citing specific categories as less influential and which they consider most influential.

Experience of LAs & Police with DV

Issue: Between 2005 and 2009, reports of wives being beaten by their husbands decreased in all reporting categories (between 3%-9%). Reports that wives had been beaten by other family members, been forced to have sex against her will or been raped also decreased in all categories.

Recommended Action: Further in-depth research is required to understand why reporting frequencies have decreased. Is this because there is less DV or because people have less motivation to report? For instance, this might be due to a decreasing belief in the law enforcement's capacity or willingness to address DV crimes. Or, as legal protection increases, victims are less willing to report family members to LAs. Finally, perpetrators fearful of new legal action against them might be increasing threats of retribution if their victims approach LAs.

Issue: Since 2005, 11% more police lieutenants and above rank divorce/separation/child abandonment as a very important problem, whilst 15% more district authorities responded similarly. 10% more district authorities rank DV as an important problem, with all police ranking it as 6% more important than was reported in 2005.

Recommended Action: These core beliefs surrounding who holds decision-making and leadership authority within the household holds important clues for why certain activities by husbands are accepted by their spouses. Further research into how exactly base beliefs inter-relate to acceptance of DV should be a critical component of a follow-up survey.

Issue: Local officials were also more likely to cite the influences of family (32%) and Khmer tradition (22%) than the general population (14%-15% in these categories). However, there has been a 13% drop in local officials citing Khmer tradition, a 9% drop in citing parents and grandparents, a 10% drop for male relatives and a 6% drop in citing education as influential factors on male behaviour.

Recommended Action: Similar to the general sample, it is not clear why these drops are occurring, although it is clear that migration patterns, demographic shifts due to changing family structures and increasing work hours could limit time spent with families, which could have respondents decreasing their perception of family influence on behaviour. Like the general sample, it is unclear why education is seen as less influential by LAs than in 2005. Considerations of how to introduce education related to GBV into police training could be a crucial element of the national strategy to improve attitudes and behaviours associated with VAW.

Rights Identified as Important to Cambodian Citizens, Knowledge of DV Rights, Perceptions about Inequality, Seeking Help to Protect Rights

Issue: In almost all categories of basic rights questioned for the survey, there were drops in respondents' identification of them as important. Of note, the "right to equity" was named as an important right by only 11% of men and 19% of women, the "right to learn and educate" was cited as important by 20% of men and 13% of women and the "right to marry or choose a spouse" was cited as important by 9% of men and 7% of women.

Recommended Action: As long as a segment of the Cambodian population, especially women, feel that men are entitled to different rights than women, it will be difficult to address issues of equity and safety for female members of households. Rights-based education would thus be an important activity to include in future policy interventions. Adding more specific linking questions between understanding of basic rights and rights experienced within individual households would add important new knowledge to understanding of these relationships in the future.

Issue: 18% of respondents reported that men have more rights than others. When asked whether men are entitled to different rights than women, 15% of men said yes, whilst 20% of women said yes. Specifically, 20% of the higher income earners (over \$200 US monthly) also indicated they felt men were entitled to different rights. Compared to 2005, 9% of poorer respondents felt men had more rights than women. Both men and women believe men have more right to be the main decision-makers in their family and participate in ideas in the family than women. These more similar response percentages differ greatly from response categories in 2005, where nearly three times as many women as men gave men more rights than women.

Recommended Action: Although many response categories dropped in frequency, there is a dramatic shift in women's unwillingness to be assigned lesser rights than men. This

possibly indicates that rights-based education is working, especially for women, so should be more widely disseminated.

Issue: Since 2005, men's selection of the media as a helpful conduit for accessing rights has dropped by 16%, whilst women's selection dropped 7%. There was an 18% drop in poorest respondents selecting media. Since 2005, there was a 25% decrease in male respondents selecting education, whilst 12% less women selected this category in 2009. There was a 40% drop in poorest respondents selecting education. Men's rankings of commune authorities as helpful dropped by 8% whilst women's ranking increased by 5%. 11% fewer of the poorest respondents selected commune authorities as helpful, the same percentage drop as for the poor selecting the police as helpful.

Recommended Action: More research is needed to understand why there are drops in reporting of certain informational and support outlets as helpful, especially for the poor. There is a sense that the poorest respondents appear to feel more marginalised from a variety of social and educational outlets in general, expressing a potential general upswing in the poor's marginalisation as a group.

Issue: 44% of respondents believe that commune authorities and the police helped them gain access to their rights. 77% of men and 70% of women report that media sources could help them access their rights, whilst 50% of men and 39% of women identified education as a source of access.

Recommended Action: These identified sources represent key outlets for future educational and policy-dissemination efforts. Based on reported percentages, the media should be the main conduit for such information in the short-term. Improving the efforts of local officials, police and NGOs should be of secondary focus to enhance the community-government relationship in combating DV.

Issue: 96% of male respondents consider the DV-Law very helpful/helpful, whilst 98% of women agree. For respondents earning under \$20 US monthly, this figure drops to 95% whilst 99% of higher earners (over \$200 US monthly) report it as very helpful/helpful. 3% of poor respondents rank it as ineffective and 3% rank it as harmful.

Recommended Action: Although only 3% of low-income respondents rank the law as ineffective or harmful (compared to 66% of low-income respondents who rank it as very helpful and 28% who rank it as helpful), it is worth noting that a small portion of poor respondents feel that DV victims are excluded, or even damaged by the law. Additional questions would need to be added to the survey to better assess why the law is considered ineffective or harmful. It is possible that asking questions about direct experiences with the reporting of DV incidents and the resulting police reactions would illuminate these response categories. Most importantly, such information would help to assess the treatment of poor DV victims in comparison to more well-off members of society.

Issue: Both men and women believe men have more right to be the main decision-makers in their family and participate in ideas in the family than women. These more similar response percentages differ greatly from response categories in 2005, where nearly three times as many women as men gave men more rights than women. Thus, there is a dramatic shift in women's willingness to be assigned lesser rights than men. 40% of

men and 27% of women indicated that men were entitled to be the main decision-maker in a family, which represents a 4% increase over 2005 responses for this category.

Recommended Action: These core beliefs surrounding who holds decision-making and leadership authority within the household holds important clues for why certain activities by husbands are accepted by their spouses. Further research into how exactly base beliefs inter-relate to acceptance of DV should be a critical component of a follow-up survey.

4.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH STREAMS

4.3.1 Timeline for Next Round of Data Collection

Survey data should continue to be collected every five years. However, more in-depth qualitative research focused on providing new sub-group data to improve the targeting of policy interventions should continue on a much more frequent basis.

4.3.2 Future Research Streams

In general, more qualitative research of an in-depth nature is recommended to better understand the traditional socio-cultural value systems that continue to drive GBV. Observation of focus group discussions or review of focus group discussion transcripts by highly-skilled qualitative researchers could also assist in observing how group norms around women's roles in households, husbands' rights and acceptance of types of abuse perpetuate household violence. Focus group discussions targeted at specific demographic samples, such as teenagers, young adults or older citizens could provide a rich source of data on how basic values and attitudes are changing in Cambodian society. Men-only focus group discussions or groups composed of only LAs and police might also elicit deeper understanding of the different values driving various sub-group attitudes and behaviour.

Developing in-depth, open-ended interview questions would also allow deeper exploration of some issues where limited knowledge exists, like women's access to support services and their choices to seek such help. As well, such in-depth interviews could be conducted with older people to capture a sense of traditional Khmer value systems driving people's attitudes and behaviour.

Conducting in-depth interviews with women who have entered battered wife facilities (where available) would also provide a source of rich data from victims. Whilst interviewing those in immediate crisis, could allow researchers access to immediate recall of events which might deepen understanding of specific aspects of abuse. Such interviews could be designed with three intentions, not only to extract data from victims, but to provide support and education to them whilst in crisis. Obviously, highly trained social workers would need to be employed for such interviews, possibly as a travelling team that could move between shelters on a regular basis.

A more radical approach would be to develop co-operative inquiry groups where groups of victims were allowed to establish their own research agendas on specific manifestations of DV in their own communities. For instance, one group of victims might like to observe their own husband-wife dynamics for a period of time in order to report back to the group on their own self-reflections as they more systematically observe their own behaviour and that of their husband in such situations. As well, such groups could be asked to develop public health interventions and educational strategies that they feel would be most appropriate for their

community. These experimental models could later be further developed to be disseminated nationwide.

The cited studies below should be consulted to consider how to enhance the 2005 and 2009 base surveys to capture more variables, especially more psycho-social and health-related ones. As well, adding more targeted questions that ask respondents to assess specific policy interventions would assist in evaluating successful efforts.

4.3.3 Current Study Limitations & Recommended Methodological Improvements for Future Studies

Reports of Own Experiences with DV

Because of the sensitive nature of questioning victims on the frequency and intensity of their own abuse, surveyors have instead asked respondents to report on "observations of others' abuse." However it would be helpful to ask respondents about their own experiences of abuse. In this way, over time, researchers could track the willingness to discuss this sensitive matter.

Comparing several categories of respondents' own experience to their reports of others' experience produces a clear sense of difference in reporting patterns. For instance, although 42% of women reported knowing someone who had been knocked on the head, only 4% reported the same happening to them. 16% reported knowing someone who had been tied up and hit, whilst only 1% reported such an action occurring to them personally. 12% knew a wife who had been threatened with a knife, yet only 1% reported such a thing happening to them.

Without in-depth and confidential interviews, it would be hard to know how much this reporting of "others" masks as reports of "own" experience. Improving data collection in this area would be crucial for future surveys.

Improved Sampling & Targeted Questions Addressing Concerns of Most Vulnerable Groups

Although only 3% of low-income respondents rank the law as ineffective or harmful (compared to 66% of low-income respondents who rank it as very helpful and 28% who rank it as helpful), it is worth noting that a small portion of poor respondents feel that DV victims are excluded, or even damaged, by the law. Additional questions would need to be added to the survey to better assess why the law is considered ineffective or harmful. It is possible that asking questions about direct experiences with the reporting of DV incidents and the resulting police reactions would illuminate these response categories. Most importantly, such information would help to assess the treatment of poor DV victims in comparison to more well-off members of society.

These core beliefs surrounding who holds decision-making and leadership authority within the household holds important clues for why certain activities by husband are accepted by their spouses. Further research into how exactly base beliefs inter-relate to acceptance of DV should be a critical component of a follow-up survey.

The significant, negative shifts in opinion of helpful conduits found in local communities appear to hold important knowledge about the state of community-government relations at the local level. Thus, more intensive questioning in a focus group discussion format or through the inclusion of open-ended interview questions in the survey would be recommended in future

rounds of research. Because of the significant change in perceptions of these relationships, immediate follow-up on these findings would be beneficial.

The 2009 sampling frame addresses inclusion of diversity in rural/urban, education and income levels, but there is no reference to ethnicity in the analysis. Since developing typologies of attitudes to violence is a core objective of this research, obtaining disaggregation of respondents and analysis on social and economic dimensions of vulnerability, as well as ethnicity would be useful. Being able to track the forms and types of violence, as well as attitudes, that vary by migrant populations, ethnic minorities, women headed households and sex workers, to name a few key sub-groups, would be helpful to the targeting of future policy interventions.

Improvements to Capacity of Field Workers Collecting Primary Data

Experiences from other countries that have carried out research in DV and GBV have clearly indicated that comprehensive preparation of the researchers is an essential pre-requisite for quality of data that is both quantitative and qualitative. The orientation of researchers continued to be only two days, an insufficient time to prepare field workers for the difficult data collection tasks at hand. The implications of this limited capacity could directly influence the quality of survey data, given that many questions touch on sensitive attitudes and behaviour of men and women. It is therefore recommended that there should be a clear agreement on the content and duration of preparation of investigators for any future studies, per international standards and an adequate budget for more extensive training provided. Trainings should contain significant opportunities for observing sensitive questioning techniques and trainees should be allowed ample time to role model questioning and receive feedback from highly qualified training facilitators.

In addition, the challenges faced by the field research team should be better documented, whilst they are still in the field to enhance the credibility and reliability of survey findings.

Better Understanding of Alcohol-Induced Violence

Due to the design of the baseline and follow-up surveys, there is not a clear sense of the frequency of which alcohol-induced violence occurs and at what frequency. The relation between alcohol consumption and the use of force could be identified more clearly. It is not sufficiently clarified how and if alcohol consumption influences the readiness to use violence. Specifically, as the survey is currently constructed, questions are asked about frequency of abuse and frequency of alcohol intake, but respondents are not asked to report on how the two behaviours inter-relate. Future survey instruments should be designed to further explore possible correlations between these variables.

Better Understanding of Base Beliefs Related to Rape

Although in the current survey, data related to forced sex is collected for husbands, other family members, friends and romantic partners and strangers, questions asked of husbands and "others" do not allow comparisons of perspectives on punishment between the husband and other categories.

There is no survey question that asks respondents to identify their direct experiences of rape. Although such a question is sensitive, beginning to track such information now is critical to track changes in reported rapes in the future, even if only a small percentage of victims are

willing to report such experiences. Increases in reporting rates over time could indicate that rape education and sensitivity training are working.

As previously noted, fewer respondents were prepared to admit that they had used or experienced violence than compared to the number who reported knowledge of other people's violence. As to be expected, reporting percentages drop dramatically when respondents report on their own spouse's behaviour (WHO 2001). Only 6% of respondents admit their spouse has thrown something (a drop of 12% from the 2005 survey) and only 4% admit their spouse knocking them on the head (an 8% drop from 2005). 1% or less of respondents reported such behaviour for more violent categories of violence and 4% less respondents acknowledge their partner has threatened them with a knife.

Comparing several categories of respondents' own experiences to reports of others' experiences produces a clear sense of difference in reporting patterns. Although 42% of women reported knowing someone who had been knocked on the head, only 4% reported the same happening to them. 16% reported knowing someone who had been tied up and hit, whilst only 1% reported such an action occurring to themselves personally. 12% knew a wife who had been threatened with a knife, although only 1% reported such a thing happening to them.

Without in-depth and confidential interviews, it would be hard to know how much reports of "others" mask reports of "own" experience. Improving data collection in this area would be crucial for future surveys

Two more areas requiring further attention in future research streams include attention to assessing perspectives of most vulnerable groups. (Current questions and analysis are presented in terms of poverty but not by marginalised communities, ethnic minorities and other vulnerable groups such as sex workers). In order to do much finer analysis by such groups, adequate resources would need to be included for additional analysis in the future.

As well, there needs to be increased analysis and therefore inclusion of questions, related to violence and reproductive health linkages, such as abortion or pregnancy-related impacts of the violence perpetrated on the women.

Since 2005, district authorities have increased their ranking of the DV category by .3 points, whilst the opinions of police officers ranked below lieutenant stayed the same. Police officers ranked above lieutenant have improved their ranking of the DV situation by .8 points. Only commune authorities have decreased their ranking, by .3 points. Thus, very little changes in assessments of the DV situation have occurred in 4 years. It is unclear how to interpret this data. It would be suggested in future surveys to ask more specific questions about components of police DV activities to have a better sense of their opinions.

Between 2005 and 2009, reports of wives being beaten by their husbands decreased in all reporting categories (between 3%-9%). Reports that wives had been beaten by other family members, been forced to have sex against their will or been raped, also decreased in all categories. It is unclear if this is due to less attacks or women being less willing to report such assaults to local officials or a decrease in rape. Additional data would need to be collected to determine women's decision-making related to reporting.

Similar to the general sample, it is not clear why these drops are occurring, although it is clear that migration patterns, demographic shifts due to changing family structures and increasing

work hours could limit time spent with families, which could have respondents decreasing their perception of family influence on behaviour. Like the general sample, it is unclear why education is seen as less influential than 2005. More specific questions would need to be asked in the education category. Considerations of how to introduce education related to GBV into the classroom could be a crucial element of the national strategy to improve attitudes and behaviour associated with VAW.

As long as a segment of the Cambodian population, especially women, feel that men are entitled to different rights than women, it will be difficult to address issues of equity and safety for female members of households. Rights-based education will continue to be an important activity to include in future policy interventions. Adding more specific linking questions between understandings of basic rights and rights experienced within individual households would add important new knowledge to understanding of these relationships in the future.

4.3.4 Suggestions from Similar Research in the Region

A number of studies have been conducted in Cambodia and in other Southeast Asian countries in the past five years which can contribute to future research design. Of note is Yount and Carrera's (2006) study of "DV Against Married Women in Cambodia" and Brickell's 2008 study of ""Fire in the House": Gendered Experiences of Drunkenness and Violence in Siem Reap." In both cases, deeper exploration of non-western views of GBV have been conducted, providing new evidence of how Cambodians' deeply embedded and unique socio-cultural value systems drive the experience of DV for perpetrator and victim alike. Findings from the Yount study indicate that lower household standard of living was negatively associated with physical DV, as were certain early life experiences, including observations of DV against mothers. Brickell's study focuses on the "context of transition" which Cambodian society finds itself in currently. Taking data collected from both rural and urban households in Siem Reap, her study examines how both men and women relate alcohol consumption with violence, contributing new understanding of the deeper socio-cultural constructions supporting such relationships. Her findings of perceived associations between alcohol and violence provide support to her interpretation that attitudes and dynamics supporting GBV are best examined as exemplars of the fundamental struggle for equality amongst everyday Cambodians at the core of many instances of DV. She also examines instances of alcohol-fuelled violence by and against local officials to better understand their attitudes and related actions and how they are influenced by alcohol consumption.

International comparative studies of note include Malley-Morrison's "International Perspectives on Family Violence and Abuse: A Cognitive Ecological Approach" (2004). This book presents evidence from seven geographical regions, including Asia and the Pacific. Her work examines underlying belief systems driving family violence in India, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines and Australia. Unfortunately, no Southeast Asian countries were included in her sample but her regional typologies are an attempt to integrate more traditionally westernised understandings of DV into more culturally appropriate frameworks.

An interesting stream of research is also emerging out of the field of feminist psychology, with the recent publication of Floretta Boonzaier's study of the relational construction of women's abuse (2008). Such a study, examining individual narratives of violent episodes, focuses on partner construction of their relationship and deeply examines how married partners attribute meaning to a man's perpetration of violence against female partners. Such an approach is an

excellent epistemological and methodological template for future in-depth qualitative study of similar topics in the Cambodian context.

As well, Sarah Wendt's "Constructions of Local Culture and Impact on DV in an Australian Rural Community" (2009) provides data around how aspects of rural culture in an Australian context influence how men and women perceive violence. Certain variables she developed for her study could be used in future in-depth qualitative studies of violence in Cambodia. Potentially promising variables include attitudes related to self-reliance, pride, privacy and senses of closeness and belonging in small rural communities. For additional sources of construction of national surveys and policy responses in different countries, see Kocacik's presentation of results from a field study in Turkey (2007).

Studies providing new variables and methodologies for consideration in future studies of DV in Cambodia, see the following studies conducted in the Southeast Asian, East Asian and South Asian regions. These include Scott et al's 2007 study, "Gender Research in Vietnam: Traditional Approaches and Emerging Trajectories," Tang et al's 2000 study, "Exploring How Chinese Define VAW: A Focus Group Study in Hong Kong," and Hyder et al's 2007 study, "Intimate Partner Violence among Afghan Women Living in Refugee Camps in Pakistan." Hyder's study is especially interesting for further consideration of the Cambodian case, since it specifically explores attitudes and behaviour supporting DV in conflict and post-conflict environments.

In 2002, Hindin and Addair developed a typology of factors associated with intimate partner violence in the Philippines, using data from a longitudinal health and nutrition survey. This model is an excellent template for expanding future survey research of DV in Cambodia to include assessment of a number of socio-economic and health indicators, allowing further theorising in the future of how they relate to instances of DV and vice versa. Naved et al (2006) provides deeper understanding of disclosure and help-seeking behaviour of women in Bangladesh, which provides new perspectives and specific variables worth including in future DV surveys in Cambodia. For considerations of ways in which women's property status might influence rates of DV, see Panda and Agarwal's 2005 study, "Marital Violence, Human Development and Women's Property Status in India." As well, Naeem et al's 2008 study of the prevalence of psycho-social factors influencing DV in Pakistan provides further variables to include in future surveys.

For a deeper understanding of the long-term physical and psychological effects of DV on victims, examined from a multi-country comparative perspective, see Fischbach and Herbert's 1997 study, "DV and Mental Health: Correlates and Conundrums Within and Across Cultures." For examination of DV as a public health issue in developing countries, see Heise et al's 1994 study, "VAW: A Neglected Public Health Issue in Less Developed Countries." For a study focused specifically on the connections between poor women's choices related to reproductive health and DV, see Kishor and Johnson's 2006 study, "Reproductive Health and DV: Are the Poorest Women Uniquely Disadvantaged?" For policy options targeting long-time survivors of DV, see Evans and Lindsay's 2008 study, "Incorporation Rather than Recovery: Living with the Legacy of DV."

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