

LIFE OUTSIDE OF THE HOME

INTERROGATING MEN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR

ROLES

IN CAMBODIA

**A thesis submitted to Victoria University of Wellington on partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of Masters in Development Studies**

SYNODA SOKHAN

2015

School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences

Supervisors: Carol Harrington and Sara Kindon

LIFE OUTSIDE OF THE HOME

INTERROGATING MEN'S UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR

ROLES

IN CAMBODIA

A thesis submitted to Victoria University of Wellington on partial fulfillment
of the requirements of the degree of Masters in Development Studies

SYNODA SOKHAN

2015

School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences

Supervisors: Carol Harrington and Sara Kindon

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To all participants, for sharing stories, understanding the importance of this project and devoting their time to participate, thank you. I really appreciated your willingness, commitment and friendship.

Thanks to Carol and Sara, for your support and encouragement to me as an international student who is new to the thesis program. To the teaching and support staff of Victoria University of Wellington, a very big thank you as without your knowledge and services I would not have been able to complete this thesis.

To the New Zealand Aid Program, thank you for your financial support to me and my friends from Cambodia to learn ideas around best practice in New Zealand. Due to this program, I have gained more knowledge in development studies and greater understanding and general knowledge about living in today's modern society.

To my family, my spouse and children, who gave me the opportunity to learn and who supported me in a difficult situation.

Many thanks to all of you from my heart.

Synoda Sokhan

ABSTRACT

This study aims to investigate some men's understanding of their roles, especially in their life outside of the home. It also investigates the life experiences of some men who have alternative views from the majority of men in Cambodia's patriarchal society.

This study's research design used mixed methods. A questionnaire with 60 men generated quantitative data. In addition, six focus groups and six case studies were used to generate qualitative data. Both rural and urban areas were selected for this study, including Phnom Penh city and the province of Siem Reap, which is the poorest province in Cambodia.

The findings focus on men's perspectives of being a good man/husband, and their domestic roles. My analysis draws attention to the characteristics of participants and their ideas concerning decision making in families. Importantly, these findings show that certain activities outside of the home, particularly the use of alcohol, is commonplace for many men. I describe the life experiences of men with alternative views from the dominant Cambodian views men hold regarding their ideas of being a man. I point out men's concerns for their children's behaviour and their opinions concerning the next generation. The two groups of men in the study, "dominant view men" and "alternative view men" have a shared understanding of their roles and of what it means to be a good man despite their differences. The problem is that men who hold the dominant views do not seem to perform well in their daily lives, while alternative view men tend to apply their understanding of their roles to their everyday life and have greater success.

A noticeable finding of the study is that of alcohol abuse. It is a very common activity to drink to excess and this can lead to many problems in families. Most of the respondents drank heavily and regularly. However, the men who held alternative views regarding their roles as men spent less time drinking alcohol than the dominant view men. Many problems which were present among dominant view men were caused by drinking, including arguments and domestic violence. The life experiences of alternative view men seem to show that family stereotypes and background are important in moulding men's behaviour. Furthermore, beliefs, commitment to marriage and religion have positive effects on men's behaviour. A significant point in this study is that life skills can have a great impact on men's behavioural change.

The findings showed that decision making in the families was affected by the views men held. Although there is still some imbalance of gender roles in decision making, this finding presents a positive result of women being encouraged to make decisions in their families.

This shows the effects of a gender mainstreaming education program changing social and cultural values.

These findings can contribute to strategies in existing men's projects in Cambodia which aim to bring about behavioural changes in men. In turn, these will better support gender equality. It is hoped that the results will be introduced and inform NGO projects in Cambodia and contribute to men's understanding of their roles. Men need to understand that they have a role to play in women's empowerment, livelihood projects and educational programs. This thesis is an important canvassing of society in a time of immense change and hopes to add to the improvement of gender equality in Cambodia,

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT.....	iii
CONTENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	vii
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	ix
KEYWORDS.....	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	7
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	25
CHAPTER 4: MEN’S PERSPECTIVES OF THEIR ROLES AT HOME	35
4.1 Men’s perspectives of being a good man/husband	35
4.2 The thoughts and the practices of men in relating to their roles at home	37
4.2 Decision-making roles	44
4.3 Understanding participant characteristics and roles: two kinds of men.....	46
CHAPTER 5: LIFE OUTSIDE OF THE HOME	49
5.1 Alcohol as an issue.....	50
5.2 Girls outside of their marriages.....	55
5.3 Gambling.....	60
5.4 Time with families	61
5.5 Migration.....	63
CHAPTER 6: LIFE EXPERIENCE	67
SECTION 1: Alternative views and life stories.....	67
6.1 The feeling of difference.....	67
6.2 Education and knowledge of family relationships	71
6.3 Religious influence	78
6.4 Family stereotypes and inspiration from their experiences.....	79
6.5 Personal commitment and confidence	81
SECTION 2: Men’s roles and the next generation	85
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION.....	91
1. The important implications, challenges of this study and suggestions for future GAD projects in Cambodia:	94
2. Suggestions for future study:	100

3. Personal thoughts	102
APPENDIX 1: Questionnaire	103
APPENDIX 2: Topic guide: Male discussion group.....	107
APPENDIX 3: Topic guide: In-depth interview.....	109
APPENDIX 4: Participant Information sheet.....	111
APPENDIX 5: Participant Consent form.....	115
REFERENCES	119

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

List of figures:

Figure 1.1: Location of data collection.....	4
Figure 1.2: Image urban Phnom Penh city, Cambodia.....	5
Figure 1.3: Image rural Cambodia, Siem Reap province, Cambodia.....	5
Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework.....	24
Figure 3.1: Data collection.....	27
Figure 3.2: Participants' jobs.....	29
Figure 4.1: Men's perspectives and men's actual practices of their roles.....	38
Figure 4.2: Male incomes (US\$) in the city and province.....	42
Figure 4.3: Men and women's involvement in decision-making.....	44
Figure 5.1: Relationship outside of marriage.....	56
Figure 5.2: Men's income in both groups, dominant and alternative group.....	64
Figure 6.1: Dominant and alternative view groups' education.....	72

List of tables:

Table 3.1: Number of participants.....	26
Table 3.2: Participants'age categories.....	28
Table 3.3: Participants' education level.....	28
Table 3.4: Participants' income.....	29
Table 4.1: Provincial and city men's practice of their roles.....	41
Table 4.2: Participant viewpoints to determine their grouping.....	46
Table 5. 1: It is normal for men to enjoy relationship outside of marriage.....	55

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACR/CA:	ACR/Caritas Australia
AHDEL:	The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, Fourth Edition
CMN:	Cambodian Men's Network
GAD:	Gender and Development
GADC:	Gender and Development for Cambodia
HIV/AIDS:	Human immunodeficiency virus and acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ILO:	International Labor Organization
IRBC:	Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada
IWDA:	International Women's Development Agency
MWA:	Ministry of Women's Affairs
NIPH:	National Institution of Public Health
NIS:	National Institute of Statistics.
STI:	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

KEYWORDS

Masculinities: considered as “the pattern of social behaviour and practice which gives men’s position in society based on gender relations. Some literature has defined masculinity as male identity or gender identity. The definitions of masculinity change over time, because masculinity is a social definition and it is not fixed by biology. Different cultures define masculinity differently and multiple patterns of masculinity can exist within one culture” (Connell, 1995 p. 44).

Gender: refers to “the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in families, society and culture. The concept of gender includes the expectations of help about the characteristics, aptitude and behaviour of both men and women (femininity and masculinity). Gender roles and expectations are learnt and they can change over time and differ between one culture to another. Systems of social differences such as political, culture, class, ethnicity, physical and mental disabilities, age and more modify gender roles” (UNESCO, 2003 p. 8).

Gender equality: UNESCO (2003) describes gender equality that “women and men have equal opportunities for realizing their human rights and these rights contribute to and benefit from social, economic, culture and political development. Gender equality is the equal valuing by society of the differences and similarities of men and women including the roles and responsibilities. These are based on the relationship in home, community and society (p.9).

Gender Mainstreaming: ILO (2012) states that gender mainstreaming is “the process of accessing the implication of women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all level. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and social spheres so that women and men benefit, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality” (p.1).

Patriarchy: is a social system in which the role of the male as the primary authority figure is central to social organization, and where fathers hold authority over women, children, and property (AHDEL, 2009.).

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In Cambodia, much research has been conducted on women and their role in society. Cambodia is considered to be a highly patriarchal society in Southeast Asia where men have been expected to be powerful, strong and dominant, while women have been expected to be subordinate and compliant (Eng et al. 2010).

The majority of men display a dominant behaviour set, and engage in alcohol abuse, extra marital sexual activities and are the decision-makers in their families. Women have been expected to be silent and remain at home. Because of this inequality, many studies and projects focus on encouraging women to understand and claim their rights in this male dominant society.

To date, there is limited literature on men's perspectives, and not much research has been conducted with men on this imbalance of gender roles and power relationships in their families and society. Furthermore, there is a gap in the research concerning some men who have alternative views to those of the wider patriarchal society about gender ideas and relationships. Some researchers have shown the importance of involving men in different ways in the development of gender equality, and they are in the process of looking for the best strategies to work with them.

One of the obvious gaps in gender and development studies literature is a much needed approach to working with men and learning from their life experiences about how to develop strategies to improve relationships between the genders. For example, Cornwall (1997) argued that we should move beyond generalizations of what it means to be a man and to work with men and from their personal experiences to open up space for change. It is time to think about involving men in improving women's situations, rather than to keep considering men as the "problem". This is because understanding personal change can have a wider impact on any constitutional changes or societal changes and promote greater equality (Cornwall, 1997; Sandys, 2008).

For these reasons, this study will investigate:

- Male perspectives of their roles, especially life outside of the home.

- Life experiences of men who have different perspectives from the majority of men in society.

In this thesis I present Cambodian men's perspectives of their roles and their perspectives of being a man. Importantly, I investigate their everyday life experiences, especially life outside of the home and present some of the reasons why some men have alternative views to that of the dominant views regarding gender roles.

Understanding the life experiences and the impact of masculinities on men and family relationships is a crucial topic that can help development workers to seek appropriate interventions for future generations. Male perspectives of their roles can play a key role to developing strategies for change, and investigating real life experiences is crucial in the current context of promoting gender relations and roles.

Living in a patriarchal society where men and women are not valued equally can create many problems. This social construct can cause long term emotional and physical issues which needs attention and learning from men. Furthermore, gender study is on-going as social changes and gender issues will occur differently and will need strategies to deal with problems in appropriate ways based on different situations. Therefore, this research has been developed in order to study and learn more about these realities and so is important for future study.

The study used mix-methods, including questionnaires, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews to generate information from men who held the dominant view and the life experience of men who held an alternative view. In the findings chapter I discuss men's perspectives of being a good man/husband, their domestic roles and their ideas of decision making in families. Importantly, the findings present life outside of the home, particularly the use of alcohol and the life experience of men with alternative views. Lastly, I discuss men's concerns for their children's behaviour and their opinions concerning the next generation.

This study will be used for the purpose of completing a Master's degree in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. Furthermore, a brief summary of the report is intended to be used for the purpose of improving men's projects in Cambodia. It is hoped that this research will contribute to improving the understanding of 'alternative masculinities' and the role they might play in women's

empowerment, livelihood projects and educational programs, especially with organizations I have worked and collaborated with, such as Caritas Australia and Gender and Development for Cambodia.

The data collection for this study was conducted in Cambodia. I had several reasons for choosing Cambodia. First, it is my home country and I have a good understanding and experience of Cambodian traditions and social constructions. From my upbringing I know of the various social stereotypes that exist, that are portrayed and supported in cultural texts such as traditional poems, Khmer proverbs from the older generations, and other such cultural texts. The majority of people interpret these in a way that I do not support. Second, from my past working experience as program officer at Caritas Australia I know that many families face relationship problems which result in poor decision-making and this can adversely affect their family life and incomes. I have worked in rural Cambodia to improve the living standards of poor families by providing loans and skills such as agricultural techniques, livestock improvement and business management skills.

From this experience, I have found that some families were successful because both the husband and wife have been involved in the business together and so could have a deeper understanding of their roles and responsibilities. In contrast, some families were not successful, for even though they had the required skills and received loans, their relationships in their families were problematic. Some men took the loans and incomes to pay for alcohol and other activities which brought problems and led to violence in families, especially from men who had business or work far from their villages. This is a gap in the understanding and implementing of livelihood projects. Thus the effort should be made to work towards integrating gender relationship education in order to promote better outcomes for families.

The final reason I carried out this study is that I found my brother's outlook on social roles different from that of other men. He does household chores, does not enjoy life outside the home, and does not care about others' perspectives on his behaviour which is seen by some as being like a woman. This encouraged me to study the different life experiences that can help to promote social changes (Cornwall, 1997). My brother's difference with regard to the Cambodian social norms regarding gender roles in many ways sparked the impetus for this study.

Phnom Penh city and two villages (Kok Ampil and Otrach) in Chikreing district, Siem Reap province were the locations for the data collection. The reason that both urban and rural areas were targeted is because questions around gender issues and family relationships occur in both urban and rural areas. This study provides a comparison between men’s understandings of gender roles in rural and in city areas respectively, where social class, education, and family incomes are different. Siem Reap province was targeted because it is the poorest province in Cambodia and faces many problems including difficult family relations and violence.

Figure 1.1: Location of data collection



Source: Canby Publications

 Research areas

Figure 1.2: Image urban Phnom Penh city, Cambodia



Figure 1.3: Image rural Cambodia, Siem Reap province, Cambodia



The next chapter of this thesis, Chapter two presents the literature review concerning gender, masculinities and development, especially in Cambodia. Chapter Three explains the research methodology and Chapters Four to Six discuss the findings of the project regarding men perspective of their roles at home, life outside of the home and exploring life experience of alternative view men. The last chapter, Chapter Seven is the conclusion which includes the important implications and suggestions for the next study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review gives an overview of the intersection of literature on gender, development and masculinity, especially of studies focusing on dominant and alternative masculinity. It discusses studies concerning masculinities, gender and development in Cambodia, and new role models and challenges for men. Lastly, it will provide the study's conceptual framework which was influenced by other studies canvassed in the literature review.

1. Masculinities, gender and development

In development practice, much literature gives attention to women in relation to race, class and sexuality (Jones, 2006). Some people have said that gender issues are women's issues. In fact, they are not only a women's issue, and should also concern men and should engage men's participation as well as that of women (Sandys, 2008). Gender issues are raised in the public mostly by women, so that it is certainly true that gender inequality appear to women. This is so even though researchers agree that men play important roles in promoting gender equality. Hearn (1998, p.786) notes "Men are implicitly talked of, yet rarely talked of explicitly. They are shown but not said, visible, but not questioned". "Masculinity is defined as the pattern of social behaviour or practice that is associated, in a given society, with the position of men in gender relation" (Sandys, 2008 p. 4). As Connell points out "nothing like one-way determination of the social by the biological can be sustained" (Connell, 1995 p. 47). The biological could not determine the social. However, Klein (1995) shows that it does not stop men from "artificially attaching all manner of power and privilege to biological differences" (p. 5). The set of common characteristics of dominant masculinity are described as strength, breadwinning, attractiveness, protectiveness, leading, and decision making within the household and in public (Brickell, 2008; Connell, 1995; Courtenay, 2000; GADC, 2010; Soprach, 2008). Clay (2012) and Sandys (2008) show that the existing definition of masculinity is limited and creates misunderstandings about men.

The United Nations' International Conference on Population and Development (2008) noted that men control the resources and make decisions about most of the important tasks across society. Men exercise power roles in many spheres of life, starting from personal decisions in the family to the policy decisions at all levels of

government, including economic assets, political power, cultural authorities, and the armed forces. Because of women's underrepresentation in decision making and because men often execute power, this can lead some men to struggle with controlling their emotions. In turn, these result in the absence of nurturing relationships with children, exposure to many health risks, narrowing educational opportunities and relationship problems with women (Sandys, 2008).

Gender construction in society can be seen as very powerful, defining what femininity and masculinity are understood to be. A research study in the United States found that there was a limited code of masculinity that linked male roles with aggressive behaviour (Hong, 2000). The connection between violence and masculinity is a key contemporary issue. Gender violence is important in understanding global conflict and developing strategies for peace (Connell, 2003). A case study on approaches to prevent violence in the United States pointed out that this gender-related nature of violence means that men tend to be three to five times more violent than women because of the predominant male socialization process. Men are more likely to adopt beliefs and behaviour that increase risk than women (Hong, 2000). Engaging in alcohol consumption is a social behaviour that can show this risk-taking behaviour of men. According to Courtenay (2000) "health-related beliefs and behaviours, like other social practices that men and women engage in, are a means for demonstrating femininities and masculinities"(p.1385). Much literature analyses alcohol consumption as connected with masculinity and men's health problems.

In the United Kingdom, research on alcohol consumption and masculinity identifies young men's demand for alcohol and the reasons why some men drink excessively (De Visser & Smith, 2007). De Visser and Smith found "some men believed that alcohol consumption is a marker of masculinity and behaved accordingly" (p.2). Drinking behaviour is influenced by social, peer and individual factors (De Visser & Smith, 2007). Further to this, heart disease, emotional and physical problems have been found in relation with alcohol consumption and masculinity (Courtenay, 2000; De Visser & Smith, 2007; Gefou-Madianou, 2002). Poverty and unemployment are also pointed out in relation to family conflicts, gender-based violence and alcoholism in Guatemala, Colombia (García, Gómez, Bannon, & Correia, 2006) and Latin America (Moser & McIlwaine, 2004).

Men have a role to seek employment in order to support their families that has become difficult for men to fulfil. Men have experienced difficulty in earning enough money for their families. Although this obligatory role creates pressure, it encourages men to have confidence and self-reliance, especially when they face issues. Furthermore, this pressure on their role has an influence on violent behaviour, aggression and risk-taking.

It can be seen that global market relation, migration and ethnic cultural conflict are important to understand gender issues (Connell, 2005). Men tend to be interested in activities outside of the home, Allen, Herst, Bruck, and Sutton (2000) mention the conflict between work roles and other life roles in the United States, especially work-family conflict which can lead to divorce. However, they also pointed out the need for future study into individual experience and family conflict. This is an area that should be focused on as many increasing family relationship problems occur.

Cambodia's recent history and gender roles

In Southeast Asia, men are considered strong and women are considered weak (GADC, 2010). These norms are reflected in policies and law enforcement systems. Even though some countries in Southeast Asia such as Singapore and Philippines have a good practice of gender equality in education and health sectors, other countries like Cambodia and Laos still face many challenges relating to power relations and dominant patriarchal views toward women (UNDP, 2011).

Cambodia is considered a poor nation in the world and in the region. The population is 14.7 million, and the population below the poverty line is 31 per cent (MOP, 2009). Furthermore, the life expectancy of women is 65.13 years, while for men it is 60.31 years (UNICEF, 2010) and the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is 154th in the world and the lowest in Southeast Asia (USAID, 2010). Even though it is a relatively poor developing nation, Cambodia is currently experiencing a time of peace and growth.

Cambodia has experienced colonial rule, civil war and market liberalization within the past two centuries. During the French Colonial Rule (1863-1954), Cambodia had an uprising of peasants and saw an increased use of police and the paramilitary on civil disobedience (Tully, 2002). Cambodians then experienced a period of peace and development during Sihanouk's regime (1954-1970). Following this, Lon Nol's coup

in 1970 created a civil war in the country and increased the number of armed forces which caused the death of 600,000 to 700,000 Cambodians (Slocomb, 2010). This militarized regime continued ruling in Democratic Kampuchea (1975-1979). The Vietnamese invasion in (1979-1993) brought Cambodia into violent confrontation with both the Vietnamese and each other and people lived with fear and disruption. This history of colonisation and civil war gives some explanation for the level of violence and traumatisation that is experienced by people today. It is also a main reason that Cambodia is considered a highly patriarchal society in Southeast Asia (Eng et al. 2010). Men have been in violent forms of leadership for most of the recent history, creating negative role models for them in society.

In 1993, Cambodia took its first steps toward peace and democracy (Slocomb, 2010). Today, Cambodia is in the process of improving economic stability, education, health and living standards. In terms of economic development, education and health, Cambodia has made many improvements when compared with the last decade (1990-2000). The government has revised and adopted new policies to improve the situation in the country. Non-government organizations (NGOs) also play important roles in promoting gender and race equality. However, these improvements are still small and have some limitations if compared with other Southeast Asian nations.

Education is considered an important sector in Cambodia with the current literacy rate at 64.1 per cent for women and 84.7 per cent for men. The number of boys and girls enrolled in schools is high and there is also a balance between both sexes (91 per cent of girls and 93 per cent of boys are enrolled in primary education) (UNICEF, 2010).

The number of female students enrolled in primary schools is similar to boys, but in high school this percentage drops gradually, and declines significantly at university as girls do not pursue their education. Reasons for this include girls returning home help their families to look after brothers and sisters, to assist parents in their businesses, or girls' security problems in getting to school (if school is far from home) and marriage at a young age. Social norms are changing, and 55 per cent of women disagree with the statement 'that it is better to educate a son rather than a daughter' (UNICEF, 2010) whereas previously people believed that education was not important for girls, and that daughters should do household chores and look after children at home. This attitude is now seen as outdated by many.

In the health sector, many policies have been introduced to help men and women have equal access to health services in the country. Unfortunately the policies and practice in reality are not the same. There is a big lack of skilled birth attendants, especially in rural areas and a lack of facilities and problems with existing facilities. Only 58 per cent of all babies are delivered by a skilled birth attendant and 39 per cent of all babies are delivered in health care facilities (USAID, 2010). Maternity care is still poorly serviced by the health sector.

A significant point that should be raised is that the proportion of women who have HIV/AIDS is increasing: 52 per cent more women than men have the disease, especially housewives who have caught HIV/AIDS from their husbands (USAID, 2010). This problem is connected to the social norm that men can have sexual relations with others even though they are married. Therefore, relationship issues can bring serious negative effects to the health of women.

With respect to economic factors, the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISAS) (2009) considered that encouraging women to increase their involvement in economics has been successful. Women are often village sellers, entrepreneurs based on their skills and 75 per cent of women are involved in agriculture force. In total, 60 per cent of adults were engaged in agriculture work (Ratanak, 2011), however, Dasgupta and Williams (2010) state that women are paid 30 per cent less than men for the same work and the number of women and men who are self-employed is high: 83 per cent of women compared to 76 per cent of men are self-employed. This data seems to show that women have the opportunity to be involved in business, but Ratanak (2011), Hausmann, Tyson, and Zahidi (2008) and Dasgupta & Williams (2010) argue that the situation in Cambodia is not that good for women in the economic sector. They note that 89 per cent of domestic workers are women and they are often faced with exploitation and have no job or safety protection, while only 64 per cent of domestic workers are paid.

In the garment industry, 90 per cent of factory workers are women from rural areas and during the financial crisis in 2009, 70,000 jobs were lost in the garment factories and this mostly affected women. In terms of knowledge and the ability to access a loan for business, 54 per cent of women know about credit and 15 per cent of them have taken a loan for business, whereas 40 per cent of loans were paid for food and healthcare (Hausmann et al., 2008). Even though women borrow money for the

intended purpose of business, most often this loan is used for other emergency needs in their families. Such emergency needs can limit women's potential to grow in their business and can create a stigmatization whereby women are not encouraged to start their own business or improve their current status.

In political positions in Cambodia, men dominate all branches and levels of government. Moreover, they get paid more than women for the same work. Women often have to prove their capabilities more than men. USAID (2010) showed that 22 per cent of parliamentarians and 15 per cent of commune councillors and 4 per cent of commune chiefs were women, which showed that Cambodia is still underestimating women's involvement in politics. Cambodia is a signatory to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and hopes to reach 30 per cent female representation for all levels of government. The Ministry of Women's Affairs is the only public sector that has a majority of women staff at 72 per cent (USAID, 2010). Leadership for women in Cambodia is difficult but it is a goal of the government to encourage women in leadership positions.

Since the 1980s Cambodia has been identified as practicing "high modernism" which combines culture and socio-legal hybridity in marriage (Brickell & Platt, 2013). The culture and socio-legal hybridity are "the resonance of localised culture and religious ideals has often taken significance above and beyond that of the state laws which are relatively new by comparison" (Brickell & Platt, 2013. p.4). There are concerns about marital status. First, most quantitative academic studies on Cambodia do not show the differences between informal and formal marriages. There is no distinction made between separation and divorce. The statistics at national level show the rate of divorce is low. On the other hand, no clear information exists about separation. Secondly, the official sources of information of people entering into and exiting out of marriage are lacking. People may move in and out several times without official confirmation. Third, there is lack of reporting on numbers and culturally informal marriages and dissolutions. Only one third of married women had signed marriage certificate. This lack of regulation and change in the institution of marriage reflects wider societal changes occurring in Cambodia.

Several studies have also depicted the perspectives of men related to their responsibilities and their wives' responsibilities. 50 per cent of male respondents in a survey by IWDA (2008) thought that women could work outside the home to

generate incomes. NIPH & NIS research (2006) found that 20 per cent of women thought that married women should stay at home doing household chores rather than working outside the home. These perspectives can differ depending on where people live, in rural or urban areas (GADC, 2010). People who live in urban areas are more likely to accept the idea of women working outside of the home more than in some rural areas.

Several studies discuss Cambodian norms for men which are contained in *Chbab Proh* (rules for men). *Chbab Proh* and *Chbab Srey* (rules for women) are taught at school to boys and girls in Cambodia in an early age (Brickell, 2008; GADC, 2010). These rules are not strict and provide freedom for men to make decisions. Brickell's qualitative study showed that the experiences of drunkenness had a connection to the rules for men and women. Brickell (2008) found out that the rules for men are good and teach them how to behave positively, but the majority of men in Cambodia behave differently from the rules. 'Rules for Men' which is a short book of rules to live by is written by Krom Ngoy (Ngoy, 1998). These rules have been taught at school in order to encourage boys to behave positively.

Chhbab Proh (Rules for men) written by Krom Ngoy, translated by Partnership Against Domestic Violence (PADV):

“This is prum katet (thought/idea) it is a traditional or idea to advice and it is organized as a story to tell, keep it as a new law to remind you. Keep it for next generations, to listen so that you don't forget, teaching women and men to keep it within yourself walk as a dragon, be concerned with your behaviour, you need to do in accordance with morality, you should behave without mistake. You need to follow the rule, don't be aggressive to the other and your speech to other must be polite.

Don't be too nasty and too gentle, be quick. Don't be too afraid and don't be too brave, you have to ponder though you are sleeping, you have to wake up earlier than the elder and then wash your face and you need to look after your property before you go to sleep.

You have to ensure that you have firewood in your kitchen. You have to be hard working to fill the water into the giant urn. Don't allow your urn to run dry out of water.

Make your day as useful as possible, or use your time as useful as possible. You have to look after your property, your rice and don't be too kind to other. You have to be thrifty with your rice and look after all your things by yourself.

You should have some amount of the things you need to live, and even if you have so little you have to be hard working and try to find more you cannot just do nothing. You need to be careful with your spending when you give something away you need to think.

When you work you don't need to be worried, don't complain, regardless of your strength, even if weak you do according to your capacity. Just don't just say you are weak.

When you want to sell something discuss with your wife and children. Don't just think that you are a man and then you spend something without thinking and do the things without agreement from your wife. You have to be honest so that no one criticizes you. You have to be confident with what you are doing and not hide it from other people.

Madness with gambling:

None of Cambodia people rich because of gambling, but property destruction by gambling. Don't be too confidence in your gambling, all kinds of gambling are inconsistent. Those people tie your feet sometimes they hang you upside down to torture you to get the money back.

Madness with women:

Madness with women is the thing that you should avoid because it always makes you absentminded and forget what is right and what is wrong. You forget good deeds and bad deeds and the handcuff that can lead you to death if the other women belong to other man you might be put in jail for adultery or killed by her husband. You create the difficulty or burn your happiness into anger and quarrelling. You create revenge, you don't care for the death of yourself. Don't be careless with passion, it drive you into unhappiness, don't fail to think about its bad impact.

Madness with alcohol:

Don't get drunk with alcohol because it leads you to lose the control of your spirit, you forget good deed or bad deed. Drinking never makes your mind constant. We are small but we consider others as small as our thumb even though our physical force is equal to lice (although we think it is equal to tiger) and never afraid of other. You become arrogant, you are proud just because the alcohol is in your body, never afraid of other, use arrogant word to provoke the quarrelling. As drinker don't say that you are in control, you think you are in control, but actually you are drunk in four forms: you poor but you say you are rich, the gentle person become the cruel one, and the frightened one becomes the brave one, and we violate what is right and poison yourself with bad deeds. The drinker is in sin and then loses the honor and won't get happiness, better not drink wine that would lead to destruction and go to hell" (Ven, 2008).

Chbab Srey (rules for women) has applied to women and include women should stay at home to do household chores and to look after children. When women have problems in their families, especially domestic violence, they cannot talk about it to others (Brickell, 2008; MWA, 2008).

a. Dominant and Alternative views in Cambodia

Gender and Development for Cambodia (GADC) (2010) show the results from 12 discussion groups and 20 individual interviews in rural and urban areas of Cambodia that there are two perspectives of masculinity which are dominant and alternative. Some examples of dominant masculinity are the right to discipline women, the right to control women and lack of partnership in relationships (GADC, 2010, p.26). Examples of alternative masculinity are valuing women, valuing the family, showing mutual understanding and standing up for others (bystander intervention) (GADC, 2010, p.26).

Besides the GADC research which shows both of these perspectives, many studies present only negative aspects of views regarding masculinity. In Cambodia, traditionally, men are considered as the head of the household while women are considered the followers in decision-making or are considered as financial managers that manage household finance (IWDA, 2008; MWA, 2008; NIPH & NIS, 2006). Although women have the right to make decisions in their families, men are the key

people, in charge of making final decisions (MWA, 2008; NIPH & NIS, 2006). Men have to be the head of the household and control everything, even though some men have disabilities. Women cannot make any decisions independently. It is very interesting to note from a quantitative study, a questionnaire survey in Cambodia that 53 per cent of women agreed with the statement that men should make the decisions in families (MWA, 2008).

In Cambodia, this idealization of masculinity as the head of the household still continues. Men and boys are still supposed to be strong and the breadwinners. For this reason, men manage all the decisions in their families and this flows on to wider society, to the exclusion of women (GADC, 2010).

Similar to their role as head of households, men were expected to be breadwinners who were responsible for earning income to support their families. Some men reported that to fulfil this task caused lots of pressure (IWDA, 2008). Many studies show that men are expected to be strong mentally and psychologically even though they may not be like that characteristically (Brickell, 2008; MWA, 2008). This creates pressure and can lead to drunkenness and violence in the family. To fulfil the task as the breadwinner is stressful and some men reduce this stress by drinking rice wine, which later creates problems with their wives. If they are not getting drunk, their problems are less likely to occur (Brickell, 2008).

Moreover, based on qualitative research conducted by GADC (2010) some men (alternative view men) defined the word masculinity differently and also behaved differently from other men. They felt stress and were not satisfied with their traditional male dominance. They helped their wives, doing household chores, and did not support male socializing by enjoying their lives outside of the home. However, they could not speak about their views openly. Peer pressure made them hide their good behaviour inside their home. They could not show it because they feared their friends would laugh at them. Men reported in individual interviews, in research on reproductive health, that they faced much peer pressure which influenced them to exhibit negative behaviour, especially alcohol abuse and sex outside of marriage (Tong, 2009). Peer pressure is also a serious issue in regards to masculinity in Cambodia. It is an important factor to note in understanding some men's perspectives, and in encouraging them to ignore peer pressure. Looking beyond

women's problems, men who are 'gentlemen' and do not support the norms of patriarchal society are living under intense social pressure (GADC, 2010).

Apart from social pressure on masculinity, some studies provide evidence of the differences between male perspectives and male behaviour in Cambodia. Men are supposed to be "gentle, polite, respectful and loving" (IWDA, 2008). Most men said that to behave with positive behaviour as a gentle and strong person is not difficult. In spite of this, research conducted by Giles (2004) and the GADC (2010) present the contrast between male perspectives and behaviour; even though men think that to behave as a gentle man is not difficult, most of them do not show this behaviour. The Cambodian proverb "men are gold, women are cloth" shows that sexual freedom is valued in men while women would lose value if they engaged in sexual freedom, and be forever stained (IWDA, 2008). The idea here is that when a white cloth has another color on it, no one wants to use it anymore. While gold even though it falls into mud or fire retains its own value after cleaning. Therefore, most men behave according to the proverb "men are gold" by enjoying sexual freedom with other partners even though they have a wife (GADC, 2010; Giles, 2004; IWDA, 2008).

The misunderstanding of masculinity and peer pressure have influenced men's behaviour. For example, respondents in Brickell's (2008) research agreed that men should avoid three kinds of behaviour: drinking wine, gambling and having sex with many partners outside of marriage. However, Giles (2004) argues that men who did not exhibit these kinds of behaviours (drinking alcohol, gambling and relationships outside of marriage) were considered abnormal. Men have to show power as the head of the household by managing all decisions in the house. Furthermore, they can be violent towards their children and wives when they have not completed their duties such as cooking food and cleaning the house. Men can complain about their wives' behaviour, but women cannot suggest any changes for men or give any ideas, especially related to men's decision making and their dominant behaviour (Giles, 2004).

Furthermore, in Cambodian society men are more likely to go out at night to drink beer or wine. Most of them do not take their wives and they can sometimes drink too much and enjoy time with other women (Gorbach et al., 2003). This attitude is not accepted by all men because it brings problems to their lives, such as safety at night when they travel back home, and health problems. Some of them worry about loyalty

to their wives when they have sex with girls, but because of peer pressure they need to take part in these activities (GADC, 2010). These findings also confirmed that men who did not drink alcohol, gamble or have sex outside marriage were considered to be feminine by other men.

Apart from that, a study in Cambodia shows that some men think that they and their wives have equal rights, and so they share household chores, look after children and support their wives' work outside the home (IWDA, 2008). This kind of male behaviour is against social norms, and breaks the cultural rules of masculinity from many male perspectives (GADC, 2010). One man reported that if he wanted to help his wife wash the clothes he needed to do it at the back of the house because if his friends saw him they would tell others and called him "a gni". A gni is a kind of animal and refers to a man who does household chores which are supposed to be women's jobs (GADC, 2010). This is a barrier for some men to become involved in activities which are different from other men's. Some men live with the derogatory term "a gni" for their whole life (GADC, 2010).

These studies present the difference between various points of views and behaviour of men in Cambodian society. Misunderstandings of masculinity can result in the long term impact of gender stereotypes, and as Hilton (2008) notes research on boys' reproductive health and violence confirms that children are likely to primarily learn this behaviour from their fathers.

b. Masculinity and Domestic Violence in Cambodia

The link between Masculinity and Domestic Violence is a key issue in society. The Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada (IRBC) (2013) wrote in the report of the observation on domestic violence, including state protection and support services in Cambodia, that cases of domestic violence were linked to male negative behaviour outside of the home such as alcohol abuse, drug abuse and gambling, as well as being linked to poverty and stress arising from landlessness. Violence against women has been a sensitive topic in research in Cambodia in the past 10 years, and the idea that the husband is a controller is still a hot topic of debate in this society (Eng, Li, Mulsow, & Fischer, 2010; GADC, 2010; MWA, 2009). The GADC research in rural and urban areas showed that because of the idea that the "husband is a controller", many people thought that domestic violence is "sometimes acceptable", but others have argued that violence is "unacceptable" (GADC, 2010). Domestic violence in

some cases is not viewed as a crime, but as a private issue or domestic issue. The perspective that men are head of the household also has an effect on domestic violence. While men are expected to be the head of the household, women are expected to be responsible for all tasks in the home and to take care of the children. Due to their different responsibilities, men and women have different perspectives of the outside world and the home. The majority of men think that household tasks are for women and if women cannot fulfil these tasks they should be punished (Brickell, 2008; MWA, 2008). The conflicts and violence within the home is viewed as shameful. For this reason, women are expected to be silent about these issues (Brickell, 2008; GADC, 2010; IRBC, 2013).

Besides the lack of reliable information about marriage Brickell (2008), in a qualitative study on gendered experiences of drunkenness and domestic violence in Cambodia, also described the problems in married life as a “fire in the house”. Women are supposed to be silent when they face problems in the home, especially domestic violence. Further to this, research in Cambodia by IRBC (2003) provided evidence that one in six women was a victim of violence. Alarmingly, 10 per cent of men agreed that they were violent to their wives, thus a culture of violence was still present. The IRBC (2013) still considers domestic violence as of the highest concern. Cambodia has policies and legal frameworks to address Violence against Women (VAW) and the government has also developed strategies to implement this policy. On the other hand, the strategies to implement these policies effectively and efficiently are limited (Sokbunthoeun, 2013).

Because gender inequality and domestic violence are very real concerns in Cambodia, many gender studies have focused on reducing violence and the empowerment of women (Brickell, 2008; IRBC, 2013; MWA, 2008), but there are few studies which document traditional male roles. In his research, Hilton (2008) notes that most studies focus on issues of gender-based violence and rape. He argues there is a lack of research on how masculinity influences these phenomena.

c. Masculinity and alcohol in Cambodia

As noted above in Cambodia, many studies have pointed out the link between alcohol and domestic violence which leads to mental and physical health problems (Brickell, 2008; Giles, 2004; IRBC, 2013). Besides that, two studies mentioned other health problems related to alcohol consumption among men such as Sexually

Transmitted Infections (STI) and HIV/AIDS (Aveling, 2012; Soprach, 2008). A current sensitive topic in the HIV/AIDS issue is the infection of HIV/AIDS in married women by their husbands (Aveling, 2012). This problem arises from men's behaviour outside of the home, including alcohol consumption and sexual activity (Aveling, 2012; Soprach, 2008).

Obvious evidence that alcohol consumption has a link with male behaviour in Cambodia society is shown throughout the entertainment places where many urban men can access alcohol and sex outside of marriage. There are around 1800 entertainment places in Phnom Penh city (USAID, 2014). For rural men, engaging in alcohol can be found in their villages, especially public places near their homes (Brickell, 2008).

d. Masculinity and migration in Cambodia

In Cambodia, many men migrate for the purpose of fulfilling their roles to support their families (Jolly & Reeves, 2005; UNIAP, 2008). Because there is a lack of jobs and only low incomes for labour in their hometowns, men decide to travel from rural areas to cities or to neighbouring countries to look for better paid jobs (Jolly & Reeves, 2005; UNIAP, 2008). In Cambodia, most migrant men work as construction workers, motor taxi drivers, factory workers and small business owners in the new places where they face many challenges (UNIAP, 2008).

Some studies discuss the problems of migrant men in Cambodia related to health, such as HIV/AIDS, STI, drug use, trafficking and violence (Chhea & Lui, 2007; Jolly & Reeves, 2005; Sokbunthoeun, 2013; Walston, 2005). Many migrant men have problems related to reproductive health, such as STI, HIV/AIDS and some risky sexual behaviour (Catalla, Sovanara, & van Mourik, 2003; Jolly & Reeves, 2005). Jolly and Reeves (2005) agree that "HIV/AIDS risk increases due to separation from regular sexual partners for those who migrate and those who are left behind" (p. 24).

Some migratory men have commitments to work and save money to support their families back home. On the other hand, many factors have influenced male thinking and make them forget their roles and responsibilities. Based on NIPH & NIS health report in Cambodia, it was shown that most migrant men who live in Phnom Penh city visited clinics for STI treatment and some of them have HIV/AIDS (NIPH & NIS, 2006). Moreover, peer pressure among those undertaking migration have been

shown to influence men in negative ways such as some of them using drugs (NIPH & NIS, 2006). Away from their familiar home environments, migrant men take risks that they might not otherwise take.

Furthermore, Giles (2004) mentions that families who have experienced violence often have experiences in migration. Many factors such as lack of financial support and relationship problems contribute to arguments in families and lead to violence. This phenomenon is common around the world, not just in Cambodia. For this reason, The Association for Men Against Violence in Nicaragua have developed a handbook to encourage men to think about masculinity and relationships with their partners and children in migratory families in order to improve men's behaviour (Jolly & Reeves, 2005).

e. Masculinity and Buddhism in Cambodia

A qualitative study, including a discussion group and individual interview methods in London showed that masculinity is not only influenced by social, peer and individual factors, but also has an influence from religion (De Visser & Smith, 2007). In the Cambodian context, the influence of Buddhism on masculinity should be considered because the majority of Cambodians respect and follow Buddha's principles (Aveling, 2012; Marston & Guthrie, 2004). The imbalance of gender roles appears in Buddhism, where women have had limited voices and places since early Buddhism (Cabezón, 1992).

In Cambodia, poor young men in rural areas spend some years in the monkhood or stay in temples in order to study. There is no school in the poor villages, so boys have to move to live in Buddhist temples for their education before marriage while young girls do not have this opportunity to live in Buddhist temples because of the restriction of the Buddha's principle that girls cannot stay in temples if they are not nuns. Nuns cannot do anything besides preparing foods for monks and studying Buddha's rules (Kent & Chandler, 2008). Moreover, Kent and Chandler (2008) also point out that a man who was a monk can change his status in the community; he can become mature and ready for marriage. Furthermore, men who served a longer period in the monkhood are respected in their community and may become a leader such as commune chief, village chief and group leader.

f. New male role models and challenges

The important role of men and boys in promoting gender equality has been addressed in International meeting (Connell, 2003). Further to this, the study of Masculinity and challenges men face could contribute to strategy of behaviour changes. In 1994, two United Nations global conferences started to discuss the engagement of men and their responsibilities in strengthening gender equality. This was followed by other conferences on integrating gender into education, health and other sectors (Sandys, 2008). To support men and boys in achieving gender equality, an online discussion on the roles of men and boys in the world of work in 2004 received more than 300 participants who registered from 70 different countries, and more than 80 postings describing local experiences and good practices. A large number of the recommendations were to promote men's involvement in gender equality efforts by building capacity, raising awareness and education, and the empowerment of women. Starting from this achievement, Sandys (2008) suggested researchers find strategies to encourage men to become involved in gender relationships in order to build a culture of peace. The meeting includes "The 1995 World Summit on Social Development and its view session in 2000", the meeting on "Male roles and masculinities in the perspective of a culture of peace", "Action Plan for Men and Gender Equality" in 1997 by the Nordic Council of Ministers (Connell, 2003). Further to this, Connell (2003) also discussed masculinity and thinking about the future of men. Significantly, the connection between violence and masculinity is important to present the society's conflict and looking for the strategies to promote peaceful life.

Currently, there are several projects being implemented which target male groups in Cambodia. For instance, the Cambodian Men's Network (2011) implements a project for men against domestic violence by showing positive behaviour as something of value, as well as teaching negotiation skills to help them to ignore negative peer pressure. However, these projects still face many challenges, especially in terms of challenging deeply rooted cultural practices. *Safe cities for women* is a project implemented by Actionaid. This project aims to stop domestic violence against women, especially in public places such as beer gardens and night clubs. This idea was created after research found that men, who like to spend time outside of the home, committed violence against women at entertainment places. Further to this, the number of cases of domestic violence has not reduced much even though many

NGOs have implemented educational programmes on domestic violence. Importantly and unfortunately, the serious cases have increased (Actionaid, 2014).

The PRASIT project, funded by USAID, is implementing the “You Are The Men” project by using strategic behavioural communication to change gender norms in Cambodia. This TV program broadcasts new male roles and responsibilities via television and outreach activities in order to respond to the perspective that “Cambodian gender roles reflect the country’s hierarchical social structure” (Spratt & Kundu, 2011,p.3). However, the project evaluation report mentions the challenge that some men who are targeted as risk groups miss the program broadcasts on TV (Spratt & Kundu, 2011). Furthermore, education sessions with men at entertainment places are short and face many obstacles. Therefore, the study of attitudes and activities in order to understand high risk groups should be considered for project improvement and success.

Research conducted by Oxfam GB also found that their livelihood project in Cambodia and some other countries were less effective because of the misconduct of men. This challenge to project progress resulted from drunkenness and domestic violence (Ruxton, 2004). Similarly, the ACR/Caritas Australia annual report (2011) also pointed out that one of the key obstacles to their livelihood project was that the living standards of some of the poorest families did not change significantly because men were not involved in generating income, and continued alcohol abuse and domestic violence. Where men made a change in their living standard, it was because they were not involved in negative behaviours (ACR/CA, 2011; Ruxton, 2004).

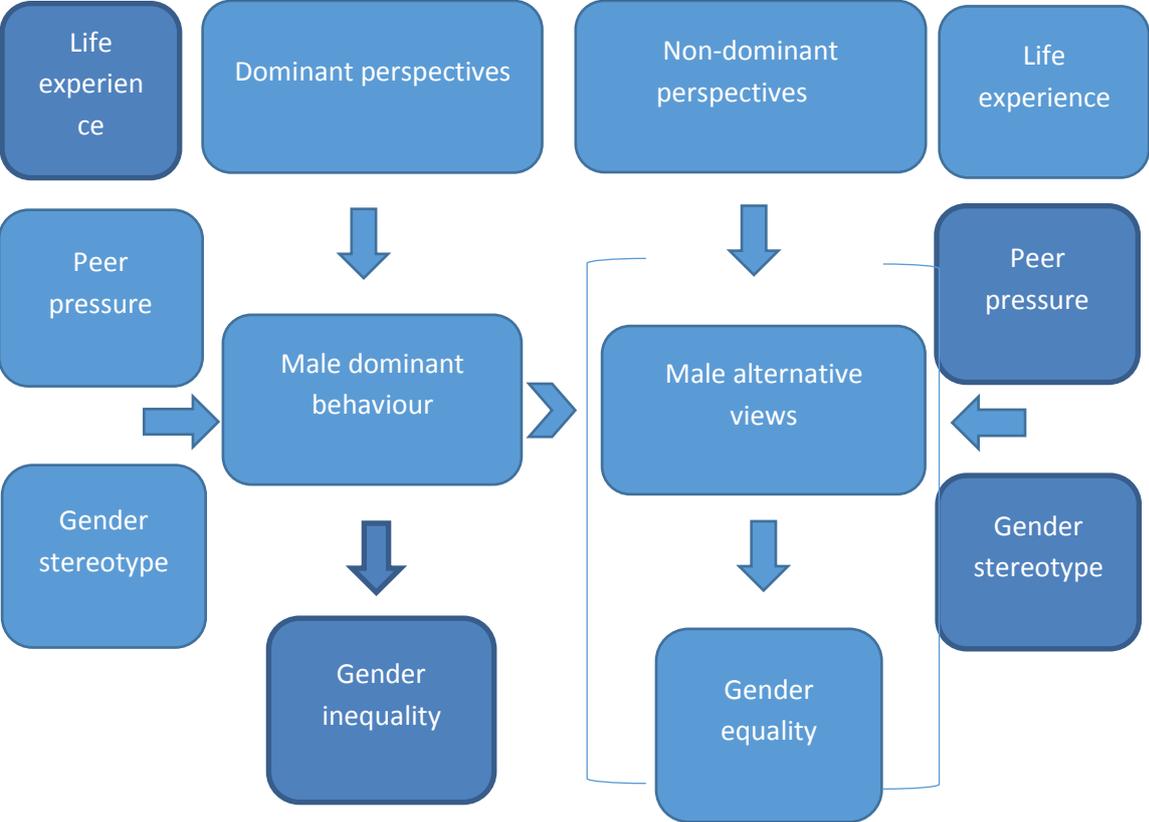
As male roles and behaviour can impact relations with women, understanding dominant behaviours can lead not only to reducing violence, but more importantly, the building up of good relationships (GADC, 2010). Therefore, masculinity should be considered as central to discussions of gender and development.

Conceptual Framework

Interrogating both the dominant and alternative views of men’s understanding of their roles is the focus of this thesis. The review of the literature suggests that traditional perspectives, peer pressure, gender stereotypes and life experience influence the dominant and non-dominant views of men in Cambodia. Therefore, this study will explore the reasons why men have different views on masculinity,

especially focusing on the alternative view that some men have and their experiences in order to know the main reasons that make them different from the dominant views towards gender roles. Furthermore, this study will suggest ways that can help to improve the dominant view that men hold towards women and gender roles within Cambodian society. Figure 2.1 brings together the various elements in this inquiry as reflected in the literature. I have designed this conceptual framework to illustrate the various influences on both the dominant view and the alternative views held by men in this study. It can be seen that there appear to be similar influences, but as this study will demonstrate, they are subtly different to the extent that they affect the view held by the men.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I present the chosen methods to collect the data needed to answer the research questions. I also describe the data collection process, the participants' demographic information and my own epistemology. Included are also the limitations of the study, research ethics that informed this study and my processes for analysing the data.

This study has as its purpose, to investigate with the context of Cambodia:

- Male perspectives of their roles, especially life outside of the home.
- Life experiences of men who have different perspectives from the majority of men in society,

I choose mixed methods, both qualitative and quantitative, as they can provide a good understanding of the research problem. Gender relations falls within the arena of socially constructed knowledge and so I was interested in hearing from the male participants how they understood their roles in society (Creswell & Clark, 2007). The first stage of the research required the recruitment of 60 married men to complete a questionnaire. In the second stage some of these men were invited to participate in focus groups. In the final phase, in-depth interviews were conducted with alternative view men. This process included the field observations. This wide spectrum of methods provided a range of data from which to make careful analysis of the issues. This data led to a deeper understanding of the problems and issues in the context of the study (Creswell & Clark, 2007).

1. Data collection

Sixty questionnaires were distributed to married men randomly chosen from a list of married men obtained from village chiefs. I visited individual houses to request them to participate in the research. Questionnaires were used in order to get a better understanding of men's perspectives about their roles, their education and family incomes. This was used to explore the connection between their family status and their understandings of masculinity (Creswell & Clark, 2007). Since the participants mostly could not read, the questions were read to respondents and the researcher ticked the answers for them. Questionnaires had screening criteria to decide which men could be

invited to attend a subsequent group discussion, alternative view group and dominant view group (please see Appendix 1 for questionnaire).

Table 3.1: Number of participants

Viewpoint of Participants	Questionnaires		Discussion Group		Individual interview	
	City	Province	City	Province	City	Province
Men (dominant views)	37 p	23 p	2 groups (total 12 p)	2 groups (total 16 p)	0	0
Men (alternative views)			1 group (5 P)	1 group (10 P)	2 p	4 p
TOTAL	60 participants		6 groups (43 p)		6 participants	

At first, I planned to survey 30 participants in the province and 30 participants in the city. However, due to the fact that the number of households in the village (local administrative unit) in the city is nearly three times higher than the number of households in the village in the province, I decided to select 37 participants in the city and select 23 participants across two villages in the province.

Six discussion groups were conducted in rural and urban areas. There were three groups in the city and three groups in the province. The group discussion is a good way to seek information related to the level of understanding of socially constructed knowledge, and can give an opportunity to participants to share their ideas with others (Liamputtong, 2009). In view of the sensitivity of different perspectives, the participants were separated into two groups: those holding the dominant views and those holding alternative views. After the questionnaire, men who had different views from others, could decide to be involved in the group discussion or if they preferred to have a confidential interview (an in-depth interview) directly.

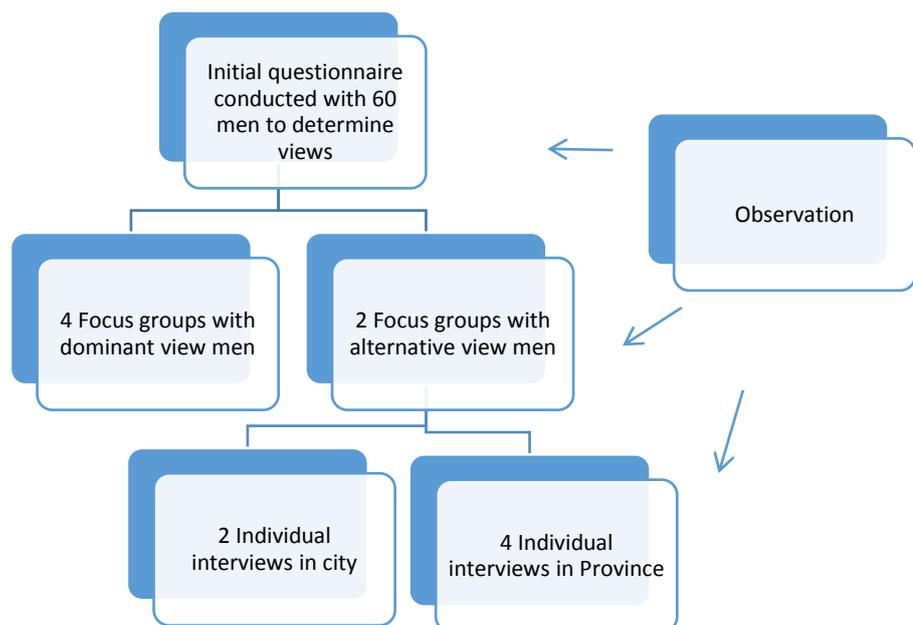
During the group discussions, one man from each of the groups of alternative views, who showed a notable interest and understanding of the issues, was asked if he could participate further in an in-depth interview. As mentioned above, only one respondent was directly involved in an individual interview without also being involved in a

discussion group. This was due not only to time limitations, but because of his level of knowledge. He was different from others in the village (he is a well-educated doctor and NGO volunteer while other participants had only a primary and secondary school background). It was a valuable addition to have an individual interview with this person (please see Appendix 2 for topic guide to the questions asked).

During the data collection, I could not identify who were different from the majority from the criteria contained in the questionnaires. The reason for this is that both groups have a similar normative understanding of men's roles. Therefore, the information from villagers and NGO staff was important in this research to gain a greater selection of alternative view participants.

After the discussion groups, six individual interviews were conducted with alternative view men. These in-depth interviews investigated men's real life stories as case studies of alternative masculinity in Cambodia (Stephen & Marylynn, 2012; Yin, 2009) (please see Appendix 3 for the in-depth interview guide that was followed). Further to this, participant observation and a field work diary were kept to record my positionality, emotions and reflexivity as these matters can have some effect on the research process (Sultana, 2007). In particular as this research involved working with men, there were some interesting things to describe relating to my positionality and emotions as a named woman, carrying out research in this area.

Figure 3. 1: Data collection



2. Participants' information

Participants were men who were married and held dominant views or alternative views of their masculinity. Most of them have children. Only six respondents had not had a child.

Table 3.2: Participants' age categories

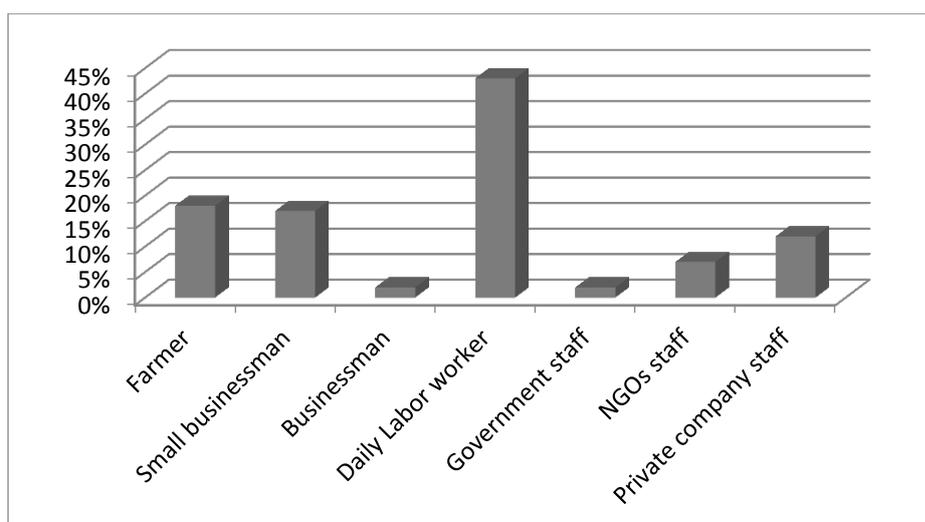
Age	Number of participants
25-34	22
35-44	16
45-54	13
55-70	9
Total	60

Table 3.3: Participants' education level

Education	Number of participants	Percentage
Never attended school	14	23
Attended school but cannot read and write	8	13
Primary school	15	25
Secondary school	7	12
High school	7	12
University	7	12
Master's degree	2	3
Total	60	100

The respondents' level of education was ranked from people who never attended school, to those who have attained a postgraduate qualification. Fourteen, or 23 per cent of respondents had never attended school while 25 per cent of them had attended primary school and they can read and write. Of this, 13 per cent of them had attended primary schools for one to three years but they could not remember how to read and write. The percentage of respondents who had attended secondary schools, high schools and university was similar, around 12 per cent. Only two people had a higher degree.

Figure 3.2: Participants' jobs



The 60 participants came from a variety of employment types. Most of them (43%) earning an income by daily labour work on farms and in construction. They did not have their own land for agriculture or funds for their own businesses. In the province, they were often farmers, daily labour workers and small business men. In the city, married men generally worked in the private sector, government, small businesses, and some of them were daily labour workers.

Table 3.4: Participants' income

Income/per month	Number of Participants
less than US\$50	14
US\$50-100	14
US\$100-199	20
US\$200-299	5
US\$300-399	3
US\$400-499	1
more than US\$500	3
Total	60

The data collection started in May and finished at the end of June, 2014 and I spent about a month for transcribing the discussion groups and individual interviews. For quantitative data, the design and data entry spent about half month, including checking the error data entry.

The data collection process was going as plan. In case researcher doing research and learning, the process will be take longer than this. I have some experienced of doing research for the whole process, so that it was completed as I expected.

3. Epistemology

This part discusses some ways of knowing men's perspectives of their roles, and my motivation to develop the study.

My understanding and interpretation of the issue is shaped by my personal experience in Cambodia's patriarchal society. It is important to explore and confirm how my understandings of society have contributed to the collection and analysis of the data.

This study is based on feminist epistemologies which can be defined as a theory of knowledge (Letherby, 2003). The feminist epistemology considers the ways that gender roles may influence our concept of knowledge. It questions ways that dominant conceptions and practices of knowledge often systematically disadvantage women and subordinated groups. A feminist epistemology questions why structures that favour one gender over another are in place.

The reason I have chosen this epistemology is that I understand social constructions, gender-based inequalities and power relations, especially in my home country. Cambodia is considered to be a patriarchal society where the majority of men are dominant. In the context of development, gender issues lead to challenges in development, especially in relation to education, livelihood and health (UNDP, 2011). These areas are important in promoting people living with dignity. From this view point, the need to understand these problems and how social constructions of gender affect them has motivated this work.

4. Limitations of the study

Since this study is based on a small non-representative sample of men, it cannot represent the issues of family relationships in Cambodia as a whole. Furthermore, some information is specific to the target areas. This study focused only on one main city and one province out of 24 provinces and 2 main cities in Cambodia. This study focused on married men while other groups of men, particularly single men were not considered.

Mixed- method studies through questionnaires and focus group discussion sometimes give contradictory information (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Quantitative data

provided exact percentages and numbers. The qualitative data however, may be flexible since it is based on participants sharing ideas. The information from focus groups might differ occasionally from the questionnaires for various reasons. In this study, the information about how men spend time outside of the home obtained from questionnaires and what was obtained from focus group discussions showed contrasting results. This point reveals a limitation in the use of mixed methods which needed careful attention during the data collection and analysis. I had to cross check the information in order to have a clear picture of the issues.

In some cases, mixed-methods cannot make it clear to the readers the contrast between the number of participants holding each viewpoint obtained from qualitative data and the number obtained from the statistics in quantitative data. For example, the participants understood clearly their roles and responsibilities at home in discussion groups. They described that they helped their wives looking after children, cooking, washing clothes, cleaning the house, fetching water and earning an income. On the other hand, because there are many tasks to do, the percentage presented in quantitative data is not clear - such as 70 per cent help in cooking, 20 per cent washing clothes, 40 per cent look after children, 80 per cent earning an income, 33 per cent clean the house and 33 per cent fetch water.

On the other hand, the advantage of a mixed-method approach is that it provided an in-depth understanding of the study besides the numbers and percentage which are shown in the quantitative data. The qualitative information generated an understanding of the research questions more effectively, especially with respect to life outside of the home, alcohol abuse, and extra marital affairs.

5. Ethical issues

This research was submitted for ethical approval from the Victoria University Human Ethics Committee. It was approved on 22 April, 2014, ethics approval number: 20848.

An information sheet and an informed consent form were prepared. Participants had the opportunity to ask questions and be able to reject participation at any stage (Munhall, 1988). The informed consent form stated the purpose of the research, the time frame, the request for tape recording, photo taking, and publication (please see Appendix 4 for the participant information sheet).

Confidentiality is of major importance in this study because it is about people's personal life experience and views. I informed the participants about confidentiality. Besides that, participants had the right to choose the place for discussion groups and individual interviews in relation to their safety, comfort and confidentiality. I gave them two or three options: NGO's office, the village's office or, if they preferred at their home or neighbour's home where they were more confident to speak. Most of the discussion groups were conducted at the NGO's office, at pagodas and in village meeting halls. Permission for audio recording and photo taking were requested. Photos were shown to participants immediately after being taken. Participants could request these to be deleted if they wished. Photos will be used in presentations and reports. These photos focused only on the process of interviews, not on individual faces. In addition, two years after this research report is completed, all documents, transcripts, questionnaires and other tape records will be destroyed (Hobson & Townsend, n/a).

6. Analysis of data

This study drew on both quantitative and qualitative data which both required different forms of analysis. Questionnaires provided quantitative data about men's perspectives of their roles, so these used closed questions, no open ended questions were asked. Furthermore, the quantitative study gave information relating to participants' education, jobs, income and family status. Understanding the connection between education, family incomes and the participants' views of masculinity was carried out using a quantitative analysis from the questionnaires (Creswell & Clark, 2007). The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) program was applied to test this data.

Focus group discussions and individual interviews completed the qualitative analysis. I transcribed to all discussions and interviews in the Khmer language and translated the important information for quotations for evidence in this thesis. Data analysis for qualitative data took longer time than quantitative data. I used the highlighter to highlight the information and categorized information with different colour.

The qualitative data analysis looked for reasons, and for detailed information to confirm the understanding of men's role in Cambodia. This analysis also shed light on the life experiences that influence men's roles. I analysed these by grouping information based on the main questions in the topic guides, using quotations from the participants. Discussion and comparison of similarities and differences between groups was a part of this analysis.

The information received from focus group discussions was compared to confirm the information from questionnaires following the mixed method approach (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Additionally, the analysis also studied the differences between the men's ideas and their practices. In-depth interviews explored life experiences of alternative view men in order to provide a deeper understanding of their perspectives and their life skills. This data needed careful analysis. This involved coding, and classifying qualitative data from observation and other sources. I described my own observations, including my positionality with regard to information received from participants.

7. Data presentation

In this thesis, the first part of the findings presents the overall views of masculinity which come from the quantitative data and from the discussion groups. The second part focuses on life outside of the home. The third part relates to life stories of individual participants. The last part makes suggestions and experiences that are a concern for men's roles for the next generation. In each part, I also put in some of my own observations and opinions for readers to consider. The findings are presented in following chapters.

CHAPTER 4: MEN'S PERSPECTIVES OF THEIR ROLES AT HOME

This research explores Cambodian men's perspectives of their roles, especially life outside of the home. Before understanding life outside of the home, this study investigated men's understanding of their roles at home. Life outside of the home and the influential factors that shape their perspectives will be discussed following this. Importantly, in order to promote behaviour change, life stories of individual alternative view men who act differently from others will be investigated. These life experiences can give ideas relating to the reasons why they are different. These men are going against social norms in Cambodia and it is useful to hear from them as to their experiences of doing so. Furthermore, these findings consider the ways to strengthen men's, and the next generation's, behaviour and this is described in the final section of this chapter.

In Chapter 2 I discussed that there are two kinds of attitudes held by Cambodian men which are similar to those attitudes found in other countries. The dominant view is that men should do less domestic work and spend more time outside of the home, and the alternative view is that men do a lot of domestic work and spend less time outside of the home with their friends.

First, this chapter explores an overview of men's perspectives on being a good man/husband and their roles at home. In particular the thoughts and practices of these men are given as this is a useful context for understanding their viewpoints. Secondly, this chapter presents men's view about women working outside of the home and about family decision making. Personal characteristics, life experiences and education have a connection to each other and can give some explanation for the reasons why men have these perspectives of their roles in society and in relation to women.

4.1 Men's perspectives of being a good man/husband

Dominant view men and alternative view men have similar ideas about being a good man/husband. They both reported in questionnaires and focus groups that men

should be involved in housework, and avoid negative behaviour such as alcohol abuse and gambling. 67 per cent of participants in questionnaires responded that it was not acceptable for men to not do household chores. More importantly, men should understand, help and discuss all challenges and opportunities with their wives before making decisions. Participants also thought about the role of being a good father and husband by encouraging children to study. The quotation below shows the perspectives of one man in alternative views of the good role model for men.

To be a good husband, we should understand our wives' hearts by helping her to do housework and look after children. We should explain to children about hygiene and other tasks, so that wife will respect him. She respects him (Discussion group, alternative view N6, Ang Dong, Phnom Penh).

Besides alternative view men's perspectives, dominant view men also expressed that a good man should take care of and love his wife. In addition to this, a man should avoid domestic violence and negative behaviour.

A good man should understand his wife's heart, so that she will be happy to live with him. Besides that he should not commit violence against women Tong Tang Tong Tang (the sound of hitting her) if so, she will finish her relationship with him. I don't know what to say while some men after drinking wine cannot control their activities. They do not know what they are doing is wrong. They hit pots and containers, and throw away dishes. If we know we are wrong because of drinking alcohol we should go to sleep (Discussion group, dominant view N1, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

All of the participants described the details of their responsibilities to become a good man with confidence. Men should be responsible for caring for their family including earning an income, feeding animals, farming, and doing household chores such as fetching water, cooking and looking after children.

It can be seen that both the dominant view group and the alternative view group expressed similar opinions about being a good man. They could define good and bad behaviour and understood the effects of these behaviours on family relationships. However, there were some interesting differences between these groups relating to the contrast between their perspectives and practices, specifically men's role at home.

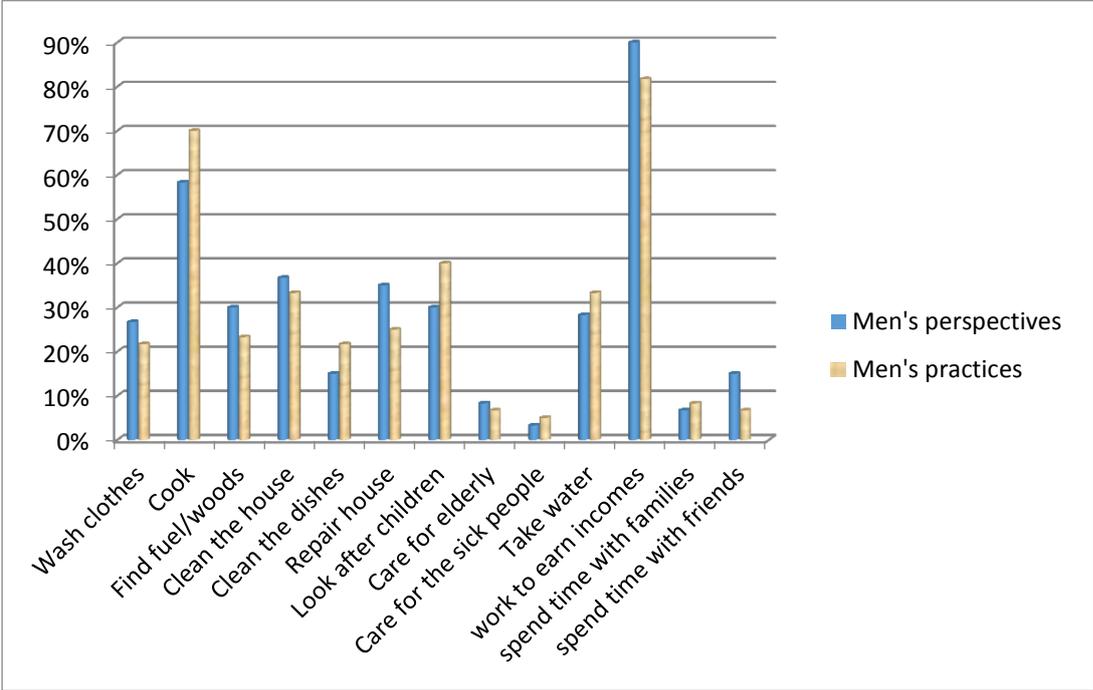
4.2 The thoughts and the practices of men in relating to their roles at home

This section presents the differences between men's spoken perspectives and their practices in daily life concerning their roles at home. The evidence in the chart below (Figure 4.1) provides information on male perspectives about their roles and their practices from all questionnaire respondents.

The majority of men understood what their roles to be a good husband entailed. Men agreed that they had two important tasks in order to fulfil their roles. First is looking after their families at home and second is generating an income. To fulfil their task at home, men considered helping their wives doing household chores and looking after children. All of them mentioned at one point that men had an important role in earning an income for their families. Nearly 90 per cent of men responded that they also had a role in looking after their families by earning an income. Both the questionnaires and group discussions showed similar results, that earning an income was the most vital responsibility. The percentage of men's perspectives on earning an income was the highest among other tasks which was around 90 per cent and it was higher than the actual practice by around 10 per cent.

In contrast, the percentage of men's perspective of their roles as a cook was 12 per cent lower than their practices. This was reflected in the conversations in the discussions, as some men thought that cooking was not part of their role, but, they had to do it because their wives often do not have enough time for doing it. If they could choose, they would not do this task.

Figure 4.1: Men's perspectives and men's actual practices of their roles



Even though the reasons for helping are different, all of them helped their wives in the home. Some men in the dominant view group described their practices of helping their wives as only when their wives have health problems or were busy. Typically these included when the women faced times of tiredness, pregnancy and during the postnatal period after birth and it was at these times that they actively helped out in the home. One man in the discussion group shared that he cooked rice when his wife took the children to school, but normally, he spent most of his time earning an income. The following two extracts from the discussion group explore this perception of only doing housework when the woman could not.

“I don’t have much time to do household chores because I need to work to earn an income. I can help in cooking when my wife busy with my children” (Discussion group, Dominant view N3, Otrach village, Siem Reap).

“Men should not do housework but I have to do it if I don’t do it who will help my wife when she has a small baby and is busy with the baby?. If I thought about men’s roles and I didn’t do it we wouldn’t have food to eat when my wife is busy” (Discussion group, Dominant view N3, Otrach village, Siem Reap).

Another reason that men have to do household chores became evident in the study. Many men have to travel far from home to work. As they have to live by themselves, some men thought that men should learn how to cook and do other tasks, such as their own laundry.

However, it is important to point out that alternative view men spend time doing household chores regularly as their daily activities. They look after babies and children by sharing the tasks with their wife every day. From the extract below, there is evidence that a separation of chores was not necessary.

“Men should never refuse to do household chores and think that household chores and cooking are for women, cooking. Everything should be shared together. Men can cook, fetch water and so on. We are men, we can do what women can do”
(Individual interview, alternative view N4, Otrach village, Siem Reap).

It is important to pay attention to these ways of thinking. This participant has different view from others; his commitment and practices are against the traditional norm and similar to the prevailing women’s viewpoint in the current context that ‘women can do what men can do’ in terms of relating to responsibility as head of the household. I respect his idea and find it interesting to learn his life experience which I will discuss more in the life story chapter.

Besides earning an income and cooking, men help to do many kinds of work at home such as looking after children, cleaning the house, fetching water and washing clothes. The findings showed that men thought they should do something, but the report suggests that they did it slightly less than they thought they should. In other words, they had high ideals of performing many tasks often, but the reality was slightly lower. For example, while 27 per cent of men thought that washing clothes is a man’s task, approximately only 20 per cent of them said they actually did it. Similarly, 37 per cent of men considered cleaning the house as a man’s responsibility, but only 33 per cent of men reported doing this task regularly.

As shown in Figure 4.1, it can be seen that men did not think they had responsibility for looking after the elderly or caring for sick people in their families. This is also reflected in practice as men only spent a small percentage of their time doing those tasks. Only seven per cent of participants responded that men’s role is to look after the elderly and five per cent agreed that men’s role is to look after sick people.

Normally, these tasks are expected to be a woman's responsibility. Previous research in this field has mentioned that women have complained about excessive tiredness that they experience in looking after the elderly and sick relatives by themselves (ACR/CA, 2011).

It is important to point out that there were some statistical differences between the thoughts or intentions of the men and their actual practices. Many responses showed similarity between thoughts and practices in the questionnaires compared to their answers provided in the discussion group, but others had some big differences. Only 15 per cent of participants said that men should spend some time with friends. On the other hand in reality, many of them in the dominant group had arguments with their wives because of their spending time with friends. All members in the dominant view group had a common view that their obvious problems happened because of going out with friends a lot. This practice had a link to the lack of spending time with family. Most of the men did not give priority to the happiness of their family; about seven per cent thought that having time with families was part of their roles and a similar eight per cent of them said that they actually did spend time having fun with their families.

Based on the data presented in the chart, men seem to give priority to work that can reap benefits and the results of which can be easily measured in a quantitative manner, rather than doing work that has more abstract and less tangible results, such as family happiness and love. For instance, caring for the sick people, caring for the elderly, and having fun with families are women jobs while earning an income, collecting water and finding fire wood are men's tasks.

4.2.1 The effect of wealth in devaluing housework

Importantly, participants described other men's practice in housework as influenced by wealth. Some respondents said that they had time to help their wives because they were not yet rich. Men who were rich would not do these tasks anymore. In line with such ideas, it can be assumed that housework is not a priority task for men. The extract over the page illustrates this.

“Somebody who is rich they don’t care about helping their wives doing housework. Their wives have to do those tasks or they can hire somebody to help them, so husbands will not be involved with it.” (Discussion group, alternative views, N6, Angdong village, Phnom Penh).

This idea can be seen clearly if we compare men in the province and the city. The percentage of men who lived in the Siem Reap province that helped their wives doing household chores was higher than the percentage of men in Phnom Penh city. This included washing clothes, cleaning the house, cleaning dishes, looking after babies, looking after children, and caring for the elderly and sick people. Table 4.1 on the next page shows some clear differences in their practices.

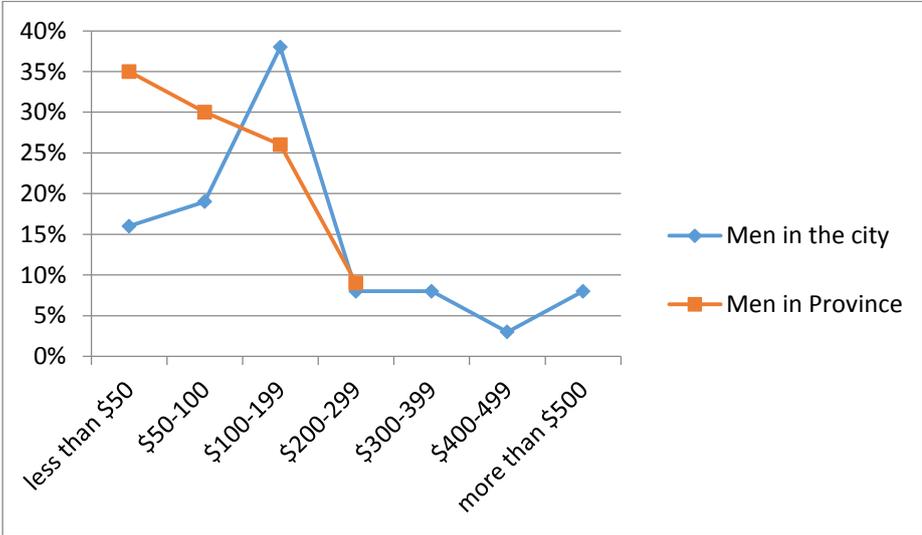
Table 4.1: Provincial and city men’s practice of their roles

Types of work	Provincial male practices	City male practices
Fetch water	87%	0%
Work to earn an income	74%	87%
Cook	74%	68%
Find fuel/woods	61%	0%
Look after babies	39%	19%
Look after children	52%	32%
Wash clothes	35%	13%
Clean the house	30%	35%
Clean the dishes	26%	19%
Household maintenance	22%	27%
Spend time with families	13%	5%
Care for elderly	9%	5%
Care for the sick people	9%	3%
Buying household stuffs	9%	3%
Spend time with friends	9%	5%
Attend community meeting	4%	0%

It is important to point out the link between housework and income. Men’s income in the province was consistently lower than men’s income in the city. Men from the

province reported earnings in the range of \$50 to \$299 a month while men’s incomes in the city were from less than \$ 50 to more than \$500. It is a noticeable point that where the standard of living is high the percentage of doing household chores is low.

Figure 4.2: Male incomes (US\$) in the city and province



The percentage of men in the city that earned an income and did household maintenance was higher than in the provinces. Whereas 22 per cent of men in the province did household maintenance, 27 per cent of men in the city did so. In addition, 87 per cent of men in Phnom Penh city earned an income compared to 74 per cent of men in Siem Reap province.

In some cases, the percentage of men in the province who helped in the home was high if compared to men in the city but not because of their behaviour, but because of the accessibility of some commodities. For example: 61 per cent of men in the province spent time finding fuel/wood and 87 per cent fetched the water for cooking. None of men in the city mentioned these tasks. Thus, the men in the province were required to do more household tasks due to items not being readily available.

Most participants in the discussion groups accepted that their wives could manage their time doing both jobs or business and housework on a regular basis. Many of them revealed that their wives had the capacity to manage tasks three times better than they did. Furthermore, wives rarely forgot their tasks while, men needed someone to remind them. Often it was the women who reminded the men what to do. Some men seemed to show some disappointment because their wives blamed them when they forgot to do their tasks.

It can be seen that women take a lot of the responsibilities at home onto themselves, more than men have done. Although women increasingly work outside of the home and earn an income, the challenges that women face are often around the demands of housework. While men, who could earn much more income, reduce most of their tasks at home and begin to spend time outside including more fun time, and women have struggles with their responsibilities as an obligatory kind of sacrifice. This point will be discussed further in the next chapter, *life outside of the home*.

4.2.2 Perspectives around women working outside the home

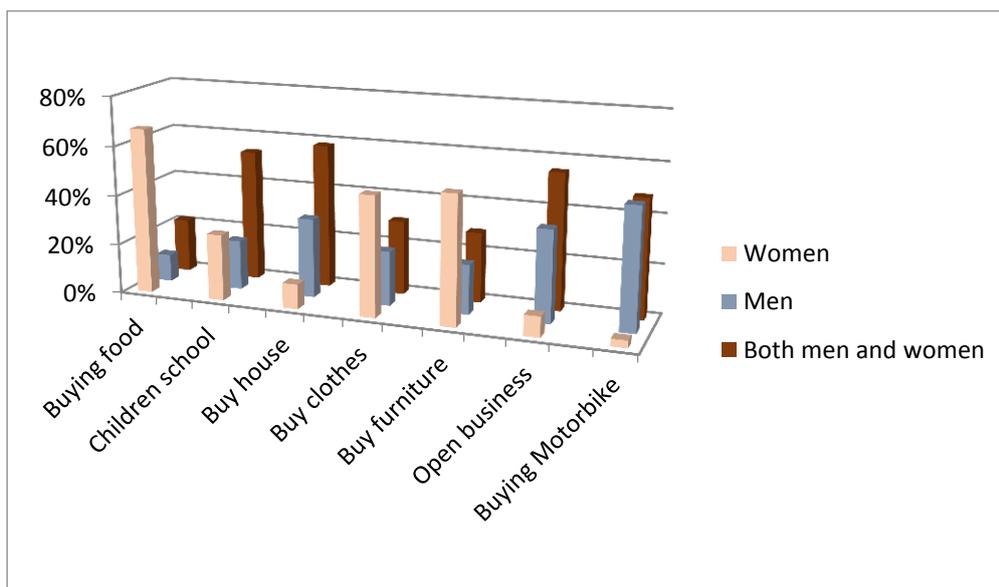
From the questions that asked men their opinions on women working outside of the home, and the idea that they both work to earn an income together, many men gave the impression that they found it hard to choose between both ideas. Even though 78 per cent of respondents supported women working to earn an income, they had their personal perspectives as well, some of which contradicted this. When women had a job or business outside, they could not complete the tasks at home so well. To compensate, women could earn an income to support families and the families might not have financial problems. In contrast, when women stayed at home, the house was tidy, children were well managed and food was ready when men came back home. This state of domesticity also brought happiness to their families, but certainly affected their financial situation and led to other arguments. Many of the men respected women's rights in participating in society although they prefer to have their wives at home. This is similar to the situation in New Zealand relating to family satisfaction of working and the effect of work on psychological well-being and negative relationships (O'Driscoll, Brough, & Kalliath, 2004).

To make a significant change, men should be encouraged to break the traditional roles, and men should encourage themselves to become more involved in housework, more than they have done previously. However, the obstacle in this type of family relationship is the idea that housework is only women's responsibility. Compared to literature in this study men's improvement in relation to household chores seems to show the significant success of new concepts concerning gender roles that are starting to become mainstream in Cambodia. If there is no significant change, this might lead to work and family conflict which has been shown in many studies (Amstad, Meier, Fasel, Elfering, & Semmer, 2011; Greenhaus & Beutell, 1985).

4.2 Decision-making roles

Previous studies have presented men as having the power to make all decisions in the families when women were considered as housewives (Brickell, 2008; GADC, 2010). Therefore, the questionnaire and discussions investigate current viewpoints on the involvement of men and women in decision-making. The chart below shows the percentage of men's views in making decisions, including important and less important tasks.

Figure 4. 3: Men and women's involvement in decision-making



Generally speaking, decision making in the families is significantly positive in terms of how men viewed women's roles. There was involvement between the husband and wife in making decisions in many tasks. The decision to buy houses, the selection of children's schools and working in a business all of which were considered as important tasks have been decided together by both the man and the woman for most of the participants. There were only a few tasks which men strongly suggested that women should be the sole decision makers, like purchasing furniture and food. These kinds of tasks from the men's perspectives are small tasks which do not need their involvement. On the other hand, purchasing a car or motorbike was seen as a man's responsibility.

This division of gender roles seems to show there is still an imbalance of defining the tasks and the perspective of keeping women to smaller matters concerning the house.

However, this finding provides significant data relating to the high percentage of women's involvement in many decisions which are considered big family tasks in Cambodia. Nearly 60% of men reported that they decided together with their wives when they bought a house, and around 55% said that opening a business was a task that should be considered together. Furthermore, 53% of men agreed that decision about their children's future and schools were both the husband and wife's responsibility.

Traditionally in Cambodian society, a woman was considered the main money manager for a household. Even so, she could not make any decision about money spending on her own. Her task was to spend money for food and some tasks at home, whereas spending large sums of money was left to the men. These perspectives remain the same in the literature review which considered women as managers. Around 83% of the participants in this study thought that women were the main money managers in the families. Despite this, 67% mentioned that women should be the people who made decisions relating to cooking and 51% of them suggested that purchasing furniture should be a women's task. Whereas, the major decisions need their both involvement, the minor items could be left to women.

As mentioned in previous studies, men were the head of the household, and controlled the decisions in the family and women were the followers. This situation brought many mental problems and exhaustion to many women (Brickell, 2008; GADC, 2010). Currently, there are some laws, along with education, to make Cambodians understand that both women and men have equal rights within a marriage. The Neary Rattanak program was implemented by the Ministry of Women Affairs in response to the Cambodian national policy in promoting women in decision making at all levels. Women's empowerment in economics and education, combating violence against women, and the development of related laws with other partners have been implemented (MWA, 2009). These programs and policy implementations have provided some basic knowledge to men, as some men in the dominant group were talking about their understanding of current laws and educational programs that they had learned from TV, awareness education in the villages, and posters. This education program will be discussed more in the section, *next generation*.

4.3 Understanding participant characteristics and roles: two kinds of men

From the data collection, it can be seen that there are some differences and some similarities between men. Those differences and similarities can identify men's characteristics and be divided into two groups. There are some men who stay in between. Because of this, men were categorized based on negative behaviour. If a man's negative behaviour outweighs his positive behaviour, he was identified as belonging in the dominant view group, especially with regards to concern about three kinds of negative behaviour, including violent behaviour.

Table 4.2: Participant viewpoints to determine their grouping

Dominant viewpoint group	Alternative viewpoint group
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Help their wives doing some household chores when they are free. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Do many kinds of household chores regularly such as cooking, washing clothes and finding firewood.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Like to spend time outside of the home with their friends. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Spend time with families more than friends.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Like to communicate and make friends. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Like to smile and think more than speaking; don't like to speak a lot.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Have many friends, especially friends who like to drink alcohol and enjoy life outside of the home. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Don't have many friends especially, friends who like to drink alcohol and enjoy life outside of the home.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Prefer to spend time with friends more than earning an income for their families. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Prefer to spend time with their families after work.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Friends and relatives have a great influence on their jobs and lives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Confident of their own perspectives of their jobs and future. Their own determination is a priority; relatives, friends do not have much influence on their decision-making.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Some of them have violent behaviour. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ No violent behaviour.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Have many problems in families relating to misconduct such as spend much time drinking alcohol. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Understand female characteristics and behaviour.

○ Often drink alcohol	○ Rarely drink alcohol except at special events and have negotiation skills to reject drinking. Some of them seem don't care if they appear rude if they refuse to continue drinking.
○ Some of them gamble	○ Don't like gambling
○ Understand the causes and effects of having fun with girls outside their marriage, but some of them have extra marital affairs.	○ Understand the causes and effects of have fun with others girls and apply ideas of loyalty and love to their marriage.
○ Keep some income for having fun outside of their home.	○ Provide all of their income to their wives to manage.
○ Migrate to cities when they feel unhappy with their wives.	○ Migrate with the whole family when they cannot earn enough income in their villages.
○ Have a good understanding of gender roles. They can identify the good behaviour and bad behaviour of each.	○ Have good understanding of gender roles. They can identify the good behaviour and bad behaviour of each.
○ Have not applied their understanding of roles and responsibilities to their daily lives.	○ Apply their understanding of roles and responsibilities to their actual lives.
○ Their way of speaking shows the power of being a man (observation).	○ Their way of speaking is polite (observation)

The analysis of the data shows that men in both groups have a good understanding of gender roles, especially what masculinity is and means. They can identify good behaviour and bad behaviour as a man. For example, approximately, 67 per cent of men did not agree with the statement that it is normal for men not to do household chores, but 33 per cent did.

What can be seen from the statistics and discussion groups is that men in the dominant group have not applied their understanding of their roles and responsibilities to their daily lives, while men in the alternative view group applied their understanding of roles to their daily lives.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed two kinds of men in Cambodia, those who hold the dominant views regarding gender roles and those with alternative or more progressive views. The characteristics, attitudes and ideas on family decision making were presented. Men in the dominant group, similar to the literature review, pointed out their interest in spending time outside of the home, and stressed the inequality of gender roles in the families. While men are involved in many kinds of housework, they still consider these tasks for women and give priority to earning an income. To clarify the findings of the literature review about the alternative view group, it is confirmed that this male group spends less time outside, and are interested in working at home near their families.

This study also found that the more income men earn, the less they are interested in housework. On the other hand, their wives who work outside to earn an income, still complete their tasks at home. Another interesting point which is in contrast to much of the literature is women's involvement in decision-making. The percentage of women involved in decision making is significantly higher in this study compared to others. Many men seem to understand that women are important in family decision making, especially the important decisions. Few men are more likely to confine women to the household decision-making items only, such as buying furniture and food. Increasingly, women have, and are expressing their own views in regards to many decisions. This view point clearly is a positive sign of the effectiveness of the gender education program in Cambodia which was mentioned by participants.

CHAPTER 5: LIFE OUTSIDE OF THE HOME

This chapter explores life outside of the home which is an important part of the study. In Cambodia life outside of the home raises concerns as described in the literature review, and so the first chapter of the findings relate to relationship problems. In this chapter the positive and negative lives experienced outside of the home by the participants will be discussed.

According to respondents, life outside of the home, included: spending time to generate income, drinking alcohol, having fun with other girls, gambling, having a fun time with their family, and migration to other towns and cities. Significantly, drinking alcohol was frequently discussed, while having fun with other girls was not openly discussed so often, if at all. Some of the participants talked about girls freely, whereas some of them ignored this aspect, deeming it a form of bad behaviour.

For the purposes of this research, the term 'girls' refers to young women in entertainment places such as Karaoke bars and beer gardens (informal sex workers), or poor girls from rural areas who work in town and need support from men and agree to be their second wives. For all of these kinds of girls, men have to pay money in order to have sex with them. Some girls are mistakenly led to believe that the men they are dating are single. These kinds of girls or women often think about long term relationships with men and hope that the men will marry them until they find out that the men have wives already. However, some girls/women decide to separate while some still continue this relationship because of love or children.

Overall, 73 per cent of respondents understood that to enjoy life outside of the home, by having a mistress girl outside of their marriage, was not a good thing. Added to this, 53 per cent of them rejected the idea that men should get involved in gambling. Many agreed that spending much time outside the home created many problems for their family, especially financial problems and those connected with family relationships. These problems often led to domestic violence and divorce. Although they accepted that drinking alcohol can create many problems in their family, in Cambodian society, drinking alcohol is a fairly acceptable social activity. Thus, of the participants, 80 per cent of them, including the alternative view group, agreed

that drinking alcohol sometimes was not an issue. With such an emphasis on alcohol, this aspect is the first major issue.

5.1 Alcohol as an issue

Alcohol was identified as a key challenge in family relationships. Overall, men pointed out that drinking alcohol is a common habit that could be acceptable. Different types of alcohol were identified in this research. For the participants, their choices included wine, rice/white wine, beer and local wine which was made from palm juice. Rice wine and local wine (palm juice) were the most common products in the target areas in Siem Reap province and Phnom Penh because it was easy to find and had reasonable prices. Brand products of beer and wine were their choice when they had a bit more money to spend.

There are two kinds of places for drinking alcohol in the provinces and poor villages in the city. First, men arranged a public place in their villages to be a party area. This common place would be organized for a small party in the evening after work or at the weekend. Food and drink would be brought from home. Second, there were places that men had to pay money for food and space, such as a restaurant or night club. When discussing their first time drinking, many men said that at first their friends recommended alcohol at parties for events such as a house warming, birthday or wedding. After that they enjoyed drinking and it became a habit. Even without any specific party to attend they went to public places where they could meet each other. Approximately 82 per cent of men spent most of their time earning an income and after work joined in groups for drinking alcohol, with 80 per cent reporting that they often became drunk.

Participants talked about some men who enjoyed drinking and encouraged them to drink by giving them many glasses of wine without caring for their health. Furthermore, from their own encouragement they continued drinking as it seemed like having fun. The quotation below illustrates this.

Q: Could you tell me about your first time drinking alcohol?

A: I told you already that my friends introduced me. I saw others drink, it seemed so happy. Therefore, I tried it, but it was not happy. After 2 glasses I could not control myself. I did not know what I did, but the next time after that I enjoyed alcohol (Discussion group, dominant view N 4, Andong Village, Phnom Penh).

Because they understood that others' encouragement in drinking alcohol was not good behaviour, men often complained about Cambodian society which they said had too many kinds of celebrations and parties. A few men said that if there was no party the chance to drink was greatly reduced.

I am invited to weddings and ceremonies so often, it is nearly every day and it is not good if I go there and I do not drink. I have to drink before coming back home (Discussion group, dominant view N3, Otrach village, siem Reap).

Peer pressure and peer encouragement can create the habit of drinking alcohol more often in the dominant view group. On the contrary, although the alternative view men agreed that partying and peer pressure could encourage them to drink, they could control themselves by leaving the party early or rejecting drinking for many reasons. The majority of men in the dominant view group said that they respected others when they were invited to drink alcohol and did not leave the group before the party was finished. This was the reason why they continued drinking alcohol.

All drunken men are always like that! I do not allow others to leave early. We have to go together, so I give them more glasses of wine and don't let them go when they've finished their glasses (Discussion group, dominant view N1, Kok Am Pil, siem Reap).

All of the men in the alternative view group reacted differently to such peer pressure. They appeared to have good skills to deal with neighbours and friends who invited them to drink by telling them they were very busy with their businesses, helping their wives doing house work or going to visit relatives. In cases where there was pressure to accept the invitation, they just drank only a small amount and then left the group as early as possible.

My friends drunk a lot in the party and invited me to drink. I just drank only a glass and told them that I was busy, if I did not do so I could not come back home (Discussion group, alternative view N2, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

It is very common that alternative view men seem to have a strong personality which enables them to refuse the proposals and to ignore the disappointment of friends. It can be surmised that alternative view men have a high confidence in their own perspective on drinking and this perspective and behaviour can lead to other good decision making. It appears that rejecting the peer pressure to drink was easier for the alternative group men.

Drinking alcohol outside of the home created the biggest problem in their relationships at home for dominant view participants. Additionally, both groups agreed that they have had bad experiences in drinking alcohol. Even though their experiences of drinking were different, in general they had had this bad experience in their lives. About 80 per cent of respondents shared their experience of drunkenness.

Further, in addition to peer pressure, alternative view men described their drinking habits in different ways. Besides friends' encouragement at a party, they enjoyed drinking a small amount with their family at home during dinner which helped them later to have a good sleep. All of the alternative view men rarely spent time drinking with friends as they mostly drank at home with their wives. Even though the percentage of drinking alcohol in total is high, the reasons as to where and with whom is important.

When I am not well or tired after work I ask my wife for 100 riel to buy wine and I drink at dinner time after drinking a small amount I feel better and sleep well (Individual interview, alternative view N3, Otrach, Siem Reap).

From the discussions that focused on drinking alcohol, it became clear that alternative view men understood the disadvantages of drinking and so resisted becoming too involved with this habit. Dominant view men seemed to recognize the negative effects of alcohol, but they did not seem to have the commitment to stop the habit.

Drinking alcohol doesn't help.. Most of the time it creates more problems, wastes money, causes family arguments and makes us feel ashamed (Discussion group, alternative view N2, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

I saw some people stop drinking wine completely. I do not know how they can stop and why I cannot stop. I think that someone who has commitment they can stop drinking, but for me, I do not want to stop as I still have karma with wine (Discussion group, dominant view N1, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

Reflecting on these men's stories of peer pressure recalls my own observations of male friends and family who always consult their friends about decisions rather than their wives and seemed unable to make decisions on their own. I have noticed that some men, who discuss things with their wives can make decisions without their friends' involvement. My observation in this research show that personalities dependent on drinking alcohol can reflect on to other tasks. It is certainly true that alternative men have a strong personality and more confidence than dominant men in decision making, especially about bad behaviour. While dominant view men have a strong personality, their decisions are based on friends' encouragement. Alternative view men seem to be able to decide based on their own perspectives of the common good.

5.1.1 Alcohol and domestic violence

Alcohol and domestic violence have some connection to each other as many men in the dominant group, who enjoy drinking, accepted that problems occurred when their wives asked them to go back home while they were drinking with their friends. This is similar to an article about violence cases in 2012 which stated that one of the obvious causes of violence in Cambodia is alcohol abuse (IRBC, 2013). In the current study, the reason was because some men seemed unready to go back home, but their wives still requested this, asking several times until the men could not control their emotions. In this situation, they would swear, by starting to say some bad words, and so arguments began. In some cases, physical violence occurred. All men in the dominant view group reported arguments with their wives because of time spent drinking and about half of the respondents in the dominant view group accepted that they had acted violently against women, due to their drinking. This also

had some negative effects on their wives' behaviour as some of the women behaved violently because of their husband's drinking.

I like to drink alcohol, I was wrong, I could not say anything when my wife was angry with me, but when I could not control my emotions I kicked her hard. (Discussion group, dominant view N5, Angdong village, Phnom Penh).

For me alcohol, gambling and girls, I like them all after my friends introduced me at first and I followed them. I knew many gambling games. I knew three kinds of bad behaviour, but now I cannot do them because when I went to those places my wife went there to find me with a knife. When I sat down in the group a knife was thrown at me. So when I saw her shadow through the window I came back home (Discussion group, dominant view N4, Angdong village, Phnom Penh).

This kind of conflict is one that they have lived with for many years and it will likely continue. This complex relationship should be a central discussion in Cambodia rather than thinking only about domestic violence. It is necessary to draw attention to men's perspectives, behaviour and to family relationships.

Besides arguments caused by alcohol, many participants mentioned arguments caused by hangovers and missing work. I knew of this issue before commencing this research. In the introduction I stated that most of my project beneficiaries at ACR-Caritas Australia could not succeed in their businesses, and this was not because of their lack of skills, but because of their behaviour and relationship problems. Some men could not go to work because of drunkenness, and some women have health problems because of their violent husbands' mistreatment of them which meant that they could not work. This situation encouraged me to investigate the causes of this behaviour and relationships and seek appropriate solutions if possible.

In contrast with the dominant view group, men in the alternative group had arguments with their families because of children or businesses, rather than as a result of drinking alcohol. Spending time with friends outside of the home had not created problems in their family because going out and making friends was not their favourite past time. A positive point for the alternative view group is that violence has not occurred in their family. Although they agreed that there were some arguments, domestic violence did not happen. All of them reported that negotiation and discussion are the solutions for solving any family problems.

However, 50 per cent of men in the study thought that women should not tell others when their husbands acted violently towards them. Furthermore, a significant point is that 40 per cent of alternative view men supported this statement as they think that this is a family issue. This idea should not continue anymore because many serious cases of domestic violence happen in Cambodia because many people think that women should not tell others. It was too late for them when they were killed by their husbands. In 2012, there were 1089 cases of domestic violence against women and children, including domestic violence killings. These cases were also linked with alcohol abuse, drug use, gambling and landlessness (IRBC, 2013).

5.2 Girls outside of their marriages

Men (dominant and alternative views) accepted that having girls outside is not good behaviour. 73 per cent of men disagreed with this relationship of having girls outside of marriage.

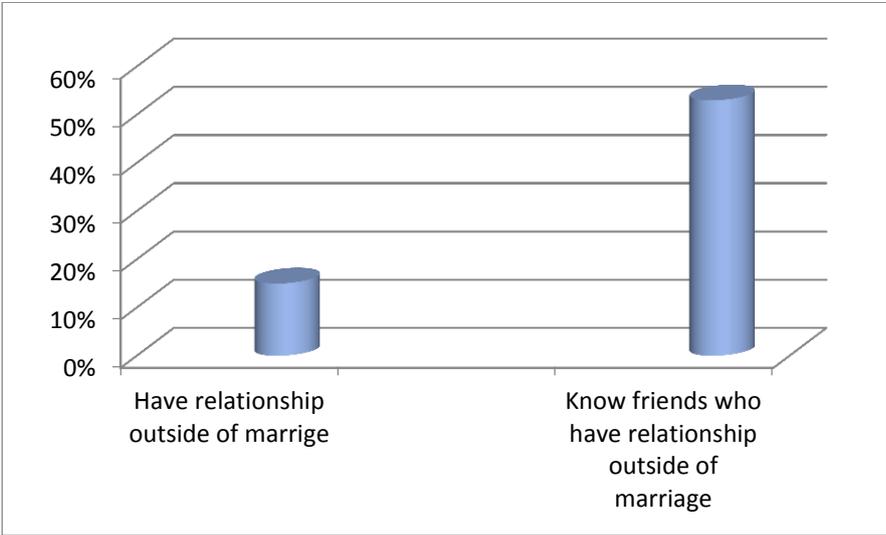
Table 5. 1: It is normal for men to enjoy relationship outside of marriage

Is it normal to have relationship outside of marriage?	Frequency	Per cent
Agree	13	22
Disagree	44	73
Don't Know	3	5
Total	60	100

Questions related to husbands having girls or mistresses outside of marriage are a sensitive issue which it is difficult to get answers about from men, probably in any setting. Only 15 per cent of men admitted that they used to go out with their friends to obtain girls outside of their marriage. Most of them were aware that having a relationship outside marriage was inappropriate behaviour which could not be easily forgiven. Additionally, they understood that this behaviour could have adverse effects on them personally such as diseases, as well as problems in their own family. This behaviour may even affect the development of their children. While only 15 per cent of them acknowledged that they had sex outside marriage, 53 per cent of them knew friends who engaged in this behaviour. These comparative answers show a hesitation to provide personal information.

The chart shows the comparison of men who have relationship outside of marriage and the men who know friends having mistresses outside of marriage.

Figure 5.1: Relationship outside of marriage



I believe that some men were telling the truth about their relationship with other girls. They answered this sensitive question with confidence. Some men seemed hesitant to answer this question. They agreed that they knew friends who like to go out and have sex with other girls and their friends have invited them to go with them, but most of them rejected the opportunity.

As has been discussed, participants mentioned about the link between the law and relationships. Cambodia’s lack of legal clarity around the marriage relationship creates a complex and ambiguous situation for many couples. Due to many issues happening in the last few years, which began with poor men and moved to more senior ranking government officers, related to marital issues a new policy has been developed. Many men have mistresses and this creates problems in their families, including domestic violence. Some men marry two or three women in different provinces. In some cases of divorce, wives do not receive much property because men work to generate more income than women. Importantly, the law does not state clearly matters concerning the division of property and responsibilities after divorce. Therefore, women become victims and some women decide to stay in these complex couple relationships because they cannot support children’s schooling and daily expenditure independently.

In 2007 a law was passed by the National Assembly clarifying the part of family relationship and marriage, relating to “the single wife”. Recently, in 2007, it was authorized that a man who has a spouse may not marry another wife again. However, this does not fully apply in reality due to the lack of understanding of the law among local authorities (Hor, Kong, & Menzel, 2012). Although this family law has not been well implemented, because there is limitation in regarding to explaining it to people, having this policy should contribute to strengthening this complex family relationship and reduce hardship in the near future.

Despite the new law, many women still accept that men can have relationships with other women even though they are married. In traditional culture, men have many wives or have only one wife, but may have many relationships with other girls. This has become the traditional norm which makes people assume that it is normal for men to have other girls outside of their marriage. Although women feel pain at this situation, they have often had to accept this male tradition, as expressed in this Khmer proverb:

“Nov Phates Bdey yeung, Nov Krauv Bdey Ke “(He is my husband at home and another girls’ husband outside of the home), Khmer proverb.

The younger and more globalized new generation of girls and women do not always accept this behaviour. For example, Cambodian actress, Laura Morm, who is living in the United States, was interviewed about her future marriage plans in *Popular* magazine when she visited her home country in 2014. She seemed not want to accept marriage to any Cambodian man as she is aware of many relationship problems. Laura Morm expressed the view that she felt that some men had not understood the word loyalty (Moeun, 2014). This problem has contributed to her decision. This decision is similar to other young Cambodian women who have a good understanding of gender and relationships, as revealed by what they have posted in Facebook and in blogs. From Cambodian women’s perspectives, men are often cheating, violent and selfish; therefore many women now prefer to marry foreigners or Cambodian men who have lived abroad where Western culture has influenced their thinking (Sophea, 2011). Some girls have posted statements on Facebook about how to be a good man/husband and suggested to their male friends to perform well toward their girlfriends. Some girls have complained directly to their boyfriends (Chetra, 2014; Sophea, 2011).

The number of participants in this study who claimed to have never had relationships with other girls seemed high based on my experience and observations. For example, many women whom I know, have complained about their husbands' behaviour relating to girls. Further to this, many newspapers and magazines reveal information relating to betrayal, where women have found their husbands in a hotel with girls. When a woman knows that her husband has a date with a girl, she goes there. After that the argument happens and the police and journalists visit them. In some cases, women invite police and journalists to the hotel in order to have evidence for divorce and to destroy the offender's reputation. This is because some men, after having problems with their wives, move to a new area and cheat with another woman or, later on marry again without a prior divorce.

Despite their hesitation, I am pleased with what the participants did share considering my positionality as a woman and researcher that may possibly have been a hindrance to their openness. I appreciate their stories as at first I did not feel confident to ask them about their life experience outside of the home and so I did not expect much from them. After friendly discussion I have learned something more interesting about this topic which is inspiring me to continue to work in this area.

In discussion with the dominant view group, some men accepted that they had girls outside their marriages when they were young (most of the respondents were 40-56 years old).

<p>When I were young I was handsome, more than actors, so when I knew girls I never waited 'til tomorrow but now everything is finished girls are not attracted to me anymore (Discussion group, dominant view N1, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).</p>
--

From the extract above we can see that there are various reasons that make this man think that girls are not attracted to him because he thinks he is old now and that there are many things that he has to be responsible for.

Importantly, children are an essential factor in encouraging such men to stop having relationships with girls. Most of them feel guilty when they have grown up children, as this behaviour will bring shame to their children. This is a topic that I will discuss further in the next section due to its importance for educational programs.

The young men in the group rejected having had relationships with other girls. Only one respondent, who is in the older age category, acknowledged that he has a second

wife. Some men reject having relationships besides their wives because of their financial problems as they have no money to support other girls. Furthermore, some respondents thought that men should only entertain girls outside of their marriage if they have money to do so.

For me girls outside of the home are not important, but for others they have money they want to have fun. It is up to them. For me, I don't have money I cannot behave like them (Discussion group, alternative N6, Andong village, Phnom Penh).

Based on observations in both the province and city, there are many entertainment places which are similar to brothels. They have restaurants, girls and hotels. Many girls come from poor villages to earn money by working as prostitutes. Many modern cars and other motorcycles are often parked outside these places. These places are expensive and poor men cannot afford to go there. This is confirmed by the answer from the participants that money is an important factor in men's behaviour. Similar to some women's opinion is given in an informal discussion that, their husbands changed to have fun outside when their financial situation was secured. This is a common view held by both men and women that money can make people change their behaviour, especially relating to relationship with girls.

Most of the participants commented on the strong relationship between alcohol consumption and relationship with girls. A participant in a discussion group discussed his friend's habit follows:

I have a friend, he is a motor taxi driver, when he went to eat buffalo meat and wine near the royal palace after 3-4 dishes he felt like having sex, so he went to Wat Phnom (A place where he can find sex workers). (Discussion group, dominant view N4, Andong village, Phnom Penh).

Despite the idea that money can make men change their behaviour, several men in the villages agreed that there were some poor men who could find another 'lady' without having money, because they kept their marriage status secret. This creates a misunderstanding that these men are single. Some men said that a few women knew they had wives, but they still agreed to be involved in this complex type of relationship.

In contrast, men in the alternative group stated that loyalty to one's wife, fear of venereal diseases and problems in their own families were the main reasons for not having relationships outside of marriage.

Having girls outside of the home is not good. It is not only leads to arguments, but also violence. One man in our village had a second wife and after his wife found out they had fierce argument and then he got violent with his wife. His wife did not report him to the police, but he felt so guilty he committed suicide just a few days ago (before I went there, May, 2014). All because he didn't think short term fun would ruin his life (Discussion group, alternative N2, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

Currently, the situation in Cambodia is that there are many challenges, including poverty, landlessness, natural disasters and political issues, and these problems cause many people to keep relationship problems unresolved. In my own experience, working in rural areas, relationship problems could have adverse effects on poverty and an influence on other areas. Poverty also has a negative influence on family relationships as stated by the participants. Similar information is presented in Oxfam GB's research that gender issues make livelihood projects less effective (Ruxton, 2004).

It is important to encourage people to create businesses and it is also essential to encourage husbands and wives to be involved in businesses together and to integrate knowledge of family relationships. An understanding of the effects of alcohol on family relationships should be promoted. This will not only help to achieve better income, but also encourage family happiness. Some men spend much more time drinking alcohol than in their business, and more seriously, as this research has found, their behaviour of being faithful often changes after their financial situation becomes better.

5.3 Gambling

Gambling was not reported as an important activity for both groups of men in this study although they accepted that some people in their village gamble. Most participants were not interested in playing cards, lotto or other games with betting money. They thought that gambling would destroy them. Most of the respondents believed in the Khmer proverb that:

“La being Teing Vi neas (gambling will destroy life) ”, Khmer proverb

Even though 48 per cent of the men knew how to play cards, lotto and some other games, they did not do this. 53 per cent of them understood that it is not acceptable for men to indulge in gambling. Although gambling is not perceived as good, a few participants acknowledged that they gambled during New Year holidays with betting money. It is a tradition that during New Year members in families or friends enjoy time together by gambling, but that after the celebrations they do not continue in this activity. The reasons that they were not interested in gambling was because they saw others arguing with their families and they could see that no one becomes rich by gambling.

5.4 Time with families

In discussion, having fun with families outside of the home was not considered as life outside of the home. Most participants thought about time with friends, girls and earning an income. There were several men who mentioned taking their children to a playground and visiting relatives. In the dominant group, few of them talked about having fun with families outside such as a fun time with family at a public park, having dinner at a restaurant, and playing with children at a playground. However, they said that money restricts their recreation time with family and it is expensive to go out as a family.

Men from the dominant group could save money by not drinking alcohol but they seemed unwilling to do this for the sake of their families. Many of them reported that their wives always want to manage their money, and so they are reluctant to give their money to their wives because it is hard to get it back when they ask for money to go drinking. Therefore, they have to hide some money for personal use, especially, for drinking.

I have a problem with my wife because I asked her for some money, but she did not agree. She knew that I took it for drinking alcohol. Therefore, I told her that I wanted to buy something else such as chicken or fishing materials. After that she gave me money and I took some for alcohol. No one tell their wives the true price of chicken or fishing materials (laugh!!) (Discussion group, dominant view N3, Otrach, Siem Reap).

Concerned with such an idea, men give priority to their own personal fun time more than to family happiness. This is a key reason that can cause conflict in family relationships as it puts a strain on couples. Many people thought alcohol is the cause of problems in the family, but I argue that behind alcohol, are the men's thoughts and attitudes and that these are the causal factors. Men have their personal perspectives which they learn from generation to generation; it is a stereotype that men have to be the head of the household. This idea has an influence on male behaviour which gives priority to their position and ensures a selfish attitude to the detriment of their families.

In contrast, men in the alternative views group talked about free time with families outside and inside of the home. Most of their free time was with their family and they spent money on family fun based on their budget allocation. All of them thought that spending money and time for alcohol is useless, and spending time with their family is priceless.

Q: When you have free time what did you do?

A: When I am free I stay at home or have fun with my daughter and wife.

Q: Why don't you go out with friends?

A: No I don't like to because some friends will lead us to bad ways (to be involved in bad behaviour).

Q: How can you know that they will lead you to bad ways? Did they invite you?

A: No I saw them invite other friends. I stay home with my daughter and wife it is better, we enjoy singing together (Individual interview, alternative N3, Angdong, Phnom Penh.)

The different view of alternative view men from the majority may be because alternative view men's perspective was heavily influenced by childhood experiences and learning. Their ideas were not influenced by the traditional stereotypes that men are the boss. This contrasting behaviour and perspectives are important in this new era of a revision of gender relations in regards to marriage in Cambodia.

5.5 Migration

Many studies in Cambodia show that men are expected to be strong mentally and psychologically (Brickell, 2008; MWA, 2008). Because of this emphasis men are encouraged to migrate in order to get a job to show their responsibility as breadwinners (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Cranford, 2006; Jolly & Reeves, 2005). For the participants in this study migration was perceived differently, “migration for families and migration for leaving the families”. Furthermore, the analysis of the talk found that migration may be a consequence of alcohol and couples’ relationship problems.

Migration is a part of life outside of the home that brought many problems to the dominant men group. Some of them said that when they were not happy with their wives after complaints about their time drinking, so they became very angry and decided to migrate to cities or other neighbouring countries for a few months. This separation enabled them to have some free time away from their wives. Some of them also reported that many of their friends who did this come back home with HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections (STI) and using drugs. A few of them knew friends and relatives who had found a second wife after their journey. Other research has also confirmed these matters relating to men and the reproductive health of their wives. Some of the migrating men carry diseases which they then pass on to their wives (Catalla et al., 2003; Chhea & Lui, 2007).

The idea of migrating for a short time to leave the family’s problems was not present among all men in the dominant view group. Some of them said that even though spending time with alcohol created family conflicts, they still decided to migrate with their wives. This was because they understood that living far away was not the best solution. Many of them accepted that they could not live without alcohol, but they also had a loyalty to their wives.

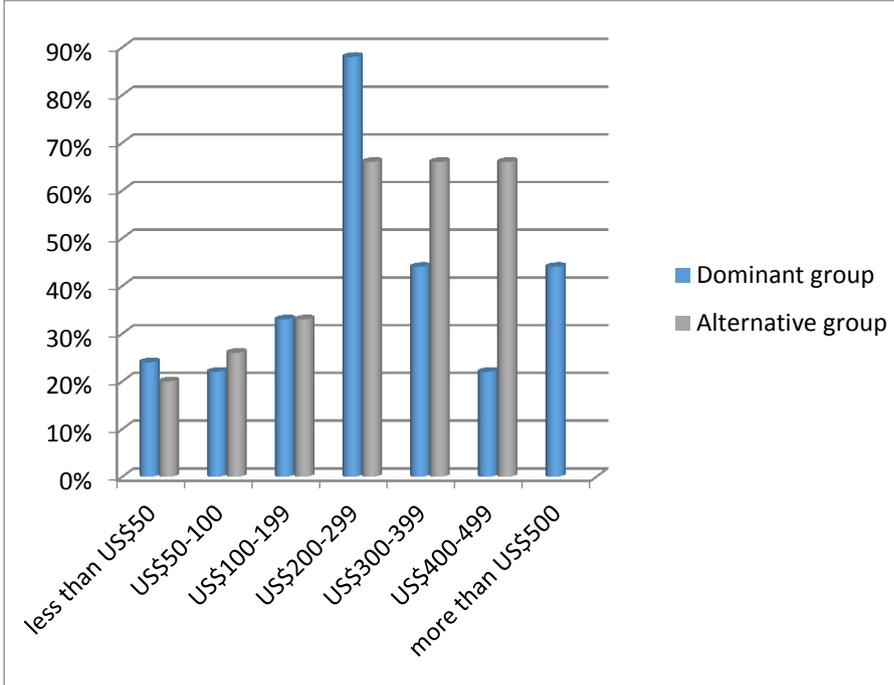
I used to work far away from home but I didn’t have any girls because we went together (husband and wife) and I only like drinking alcohol, I don’t like girls (Discussion group, dominant view N1, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

In the previous section, there seems to be a link between alcohol and girls outside of the home, but this cannot be applied to all men in the dominant group. More positive views and behaviour had been shown during the discussion as seen in the above quotation. In line with this idea, it seems important to acknowledge that men in the

alternative view groups rarely spent time outside without their wives. They either all migrated or not at all.

Half of the men in the dominant group preferred to migrate without their wives while all men who have alternative views prefer to migrate with their family. A noticeable point is that most of the respondents in the alternative view group were working in their villages more than men in the dominant group and that their living standards were good. In fact, the dominant group in lower income brackets did not earn much more than the alternative view group men. Thus their interest in migration did not arise from economic pressures alone but also from a desire to spend time away from their family.

Figure 5.2: Men's income in both groups, dominant and alternative group



Conclusion:

On the basis of these findings several conclusions can be drawn. First, that life outside of the home is a central part of a man’s life and can lead to a behaviour change. This section focused on the different activities men undertake outside of the home including positive and negative ones. The most common two activities the participants mentioned were: spending time outside to earn an income, and drinking. Additionally, it shows the link between alcohol and girls outside of marriage, and

reasons for migration. Migration was considered as a problematic journey with a different perspective from the two groups. In the dominant men's group, migration was a way of leaving the family problems behind and for the alternative perspective group it was something done together.

It seems not surprising for Cambodians, but it is important to acknowledge that the issue of alcohol is still a sensitive topic but should be discussed. Due to the detrimental effects of alcohol on family life, social change is needed. As drinking is connected to many kinds of negative behaviours such as violence, being unfaithful, and diseases, there needs to be a more effective policy regime controlling its availability. From this study, though, it cannot be generalized that alcohol is the cause of violence and other problems. It is clear that alcohol could be a contribution to the problems.

Gambling was not considered as a serious problem as most participants did not have any interest in gambling. This was a positive sign. Furthermore, the participants in this study expressed a noticeable point that should be a concern, which is the lack of family fun time. This can lead to family issues and conflicts. The next chapter looks at how men from the alternative view group have different perspectives.

CHAPTER 6: LIFE EXPERIENCE

SECTION 1: Alternative views and life stories

While the previous two chapters have presented information relating to men's roles and life outside of the home (both dominant and alternative view groups), this chapter focuses only on the alternative view group, especially on factors that have an influence on men's perspectives such as societal rules for men, education and knowledge of family relationships, family stereotypes, personal commitment and religious influence. To engage with the ideas in depth, the life stories of participants who hold alternative views will be described. These stories provide the best understanding of the men who hold the non-dominant perspectives regarding gender roles in Cambodia.

6.1 The feeling of difference

This part explores the feelings of difference when men in the alternative view group realize that they are different from others. These men feel proud to be different. This realization contrasts with the finding from GADC (2010) that men who have alternative views feel a certain shame about showing their feelings because others will laugh at them. This finding presents different information in that alternative view men prefer to be different, and they know that some other men are similar to them.

Some people said that when we have higher education we look down on others, but for me I often explain that people have different perspectives. I never feel angry with them. I mostly think that no one knows me better than myself. My happiness is different from some men's group, but similar to another men's group too. I am not alone (Individual Interview, alternative N6, Ang dong, Phnom Penh).

Moving back to the dominant group, some of them said that they hate men with alternative views because when they drink the alternative view men might complain about their behaviour. Some of them believe that no alternative view men like drunken men.

It seems like a public discussion as each group complains about the other without any evidence. In reality dominant view men know that when they drink, it was men who hold alternative views who often brought them home when they were unconscious and could not find their house. With the question ‘what do you think about someone who does not like to drink and what did they say to you?’, dominant view participants described their experiences:

I know that some people complain about drunkenness. They ask why somebody drinks every day and doesn't care for their families, but for me no one said anything besides taking me home when I was drunk and could not find my house. Discussion group, dominant view N3, Otrach, Siem reap.

Besides others, my wife also complains about my drunkenness. Somebody who does not like to drink they will feel bored to see us like this, but for me getting a glass of wine make me feel better and strengthens my power. I am happy to see other men have commitment and perform well. For me, if they organize a drinking group near my house I have to drink (Discussion group, dominant view N1, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

In line with this idea, alternative view men also agreed that many of the men in the dominant group used to tell them that they appreciated alternative view men who were involved in housework regularly. Dominant men did not help their wives as regularly as alternative view men did.

Some alternative view men said that when they help their wives with work at home many villagers appreciate their activities. There are only a few people who think that they make other men feel shameful and that they are losing their male dominance. It is noticeable that men who complained about alternative view men are of similar ages and often neighbours. They can be friends, but not close friends. All alternative view men have the similar idea that friends and neighbours have the right to express their opinions. The point is that if they listen to those people, they cannot have a happy family. Those people would not help them when problems occur in their families.

If there is someone who said that what I do (housework) is not good, I don't care. If they don't help their wives they will have problems in their families. If we listen to such the complaints and stop doing it, it is up to us. In fact, it is our responsibility. However, some neighbours are happy to see us help our wives (Discussion group, alternative N6, Ang Dong village, Phnom Penh).

I never heard someone complain directly about my activities relating to helping my wife doing housework, but the elderly in the village told me frankly about their appreciation of the help I give my wife in doing housework, business and washing clothes. For my friends, I don't know what they say about this (Individual interview, alternative N 4, Otrach, Siem Reap).

In conclusion, the feelings of shame and the complaints from different groups seem like gossip, except when it comes directly from friends who make a joke about their activities. What alternative view men hear from the elderly, villagers and neighbours is an appreciation of being a good man. Importantly, the voicing of appreciation from the dominant perspective group to alternative view men is a positive sign showing that more men are beginning to understand alternative and more positive male responsibilities.

6.1.1 Rules for men:

Men in the alternative view group believe that they can be good men if they encourage themselves to respect the rules of behaving well that have been taught by their parents and through Buddhism. Alternative view men have positive opinions relating to male performance, and this may lead to positive behaviour and practices. Many of the men in the alternative view group respect the advice given from their parents, which came from the 'Rules for Men' which is a short book of rules to live by, written by Krom Ngoy (Ngoy, 1998). These rules have been taught at school in order to encourage boys to behave positively.

This poem by Krom Ngoy is a set of rules for moral behaviour. However, dominant view men behave differently from the rules (Brickell, 2008).

Madness with gambling:

None of Cambodia's people are rich because of gambling, but their wealth is destroyed by gambling. Don't be too confident in your gambling, all kinds of gambling are inconsistent. Those people tie your feet, sometimes they hang you upside down to torture you to get the money back.

Madness with women:

Madness with women is a thing that you should avoid because it always makes you absent-minded and forgetful of right and wrong. You forget good deeds and bad deeds and the handcuff that can lead you to death. If the other woman belongs to another man you might be put in jail for adultery or killed by her husband. You create the difficulty or burn your happiness into anger and quarrelling. You create revenge, you don't care for your own death. Don't be careless with passion, it drive you into unhappiness, don't fail to think about its bad impact.

Madness with alcohol:

Don't get drunk with alcohol because it leads you to lose control of your spirit, you forget the difference between good and bad behaviour. . Drinking never makes your mind constant. We are small but we consider others as small as our thumb even though our physical force is equal to lice (although we think it is equal to a tiger) and are never afraid of another. You become arrogant, you are proud just because the alcohol is in your body, never afraid of another, using arrogant words to provoke arguments.

As a drinker don't say that you are in control, you think you are in control, but actually you are drunk in four forms: you are poor but you say you are rich, a gentle person become a cruel one, and a frightened one becomes a brave one, and you violate what is right and poison yourself with bad deeds. The drinker is in sin and then loses their honor and won't get happiness, better not drink wine that would lead to destruction and send you to hell" (Ven, 2008).

These perspectives have the effect of promoting men to be different from the majority and make them diverge from the three kings of negative behaviour (drinking alcohol, relationship outside of the home and gambling). In practice, dominant view men misunderstand the rules (Brickell, 2008). For example: the rules

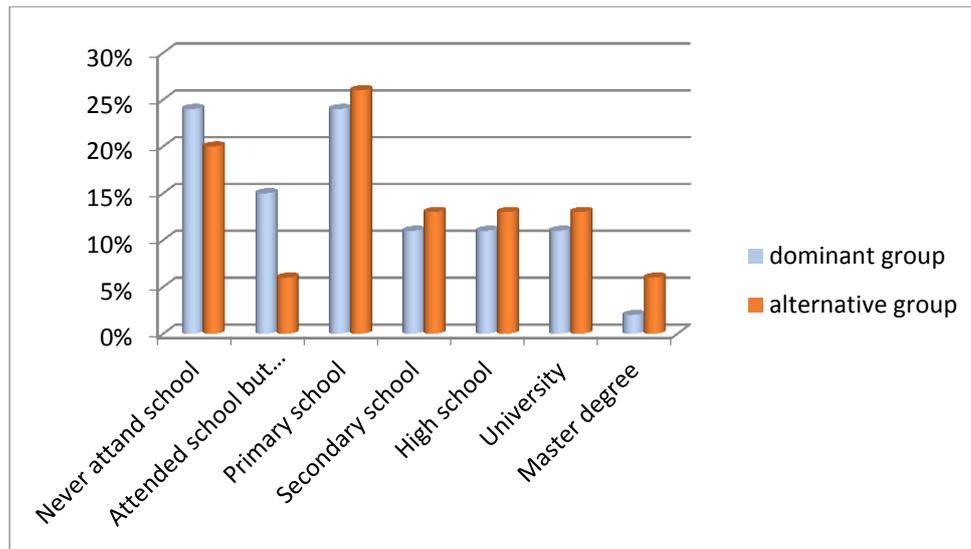
state that when men go out they should bring a knife for cutting vegetables back home, but dominant men bring a knife and use it when they have quarrels.

6.2 Education and knowledge of family relationships

In Cambodia, education has a link with domestic violence and it is a concern which impacts on family relationships (IRBC, 2013). Education and life skill knowledge, particularly in family relationships also have a connection to each other and this can cause confusion for some people. This section will explore the relations between education, life skills and domestic violence. Some villagers said that men have violent behaviour because they are illiterate. However, some people who are literate also commit domestic violence. The question is whether greater education reduces violent behaviour. Previous research has shown that domestic violence is found more often in rural areas where literacy rates are low which show that this family issue has a connection with poverty and education (IRBC, 2013). In this research, the comparison of both groups' education level is analysed to confirm the previous research and to investigate the differences.

The graph below shows the percentage of alternative view men that had higher education than the dominant view men. The percentage of dominant view men who never attended school or had attended school, but could not read, was higher than the percentage of alternative view group. In the other categories the alternative view percentage was higher than the dominant view percentage. There were only slight differences between the attainments of primary school, secondary school, high school, university and master degrees. The percentage of those dominant view men who never attended school was higher than the alternative view group by about 5 per cent. Furthermore, dominant view men attended school, but seemed not to give priority to their study as the percentage shows 15 per cent of dominant view could not read compared to alternative view men of whom only 5 per cent were illiterate after schooling. Alternative view men are better educated than the dominant view group. As this areas of the data collection have a high domestic violence rate (both target areas in city and province), it can be concluded that men who committed violence have a low level of education. As mentioned earlier in section two, dominant view men behave violent behaviour, so it can be surmised that a low literacy rate, violent behaviour and dominant view men have a connection with each other.

Figure 6.1: Dominant and alternative view groups' education



Despite this, the graph does not represent the reality completely, as revealed by the discussions with men. This does not mean that all men with a low level of education are violent and face family problems. Some men who have a low level of education may be very positive in their domestic behaviour because they have a high knowledge of family relationships based on their experience which is a source of knowledge that many people have not recognized. Previous research argued that the quality of family relationships has a strong connection with education levels (IRBC, 2013). However, this might not mean that all people who have a low level of education have low knowledge of family relations. People's behaviour is influenced by where they live and by the experiences that they have faced. Environment has an impact on people's attitudes (Collins, 2012).

Therefore, this next part details the life stories of two men who have low education, but have high knowledge in family relationships because of their social experiences. These life stories not only focus on education and relationships, but also describe the experiences which have a link to family stereotypes, inspiration and religious ideas about family life.

Pros' story:

Pros (a given name) is a 30 year old man, who stopped studying at grade 3 because of his family situation; he cannot read and write. When he was young, Pros lived in a domestically violent family as his father was a drunken man and committed domestic violence against his wife until she died when Pros was a young boy. After that his father had a second wife and had many children. Pros lived with his father's new family, including his two brothers with the same mother. Pros spent most of his time trying to earn an income to support his family and forgot about studying. When his siblings grew up and could look after themselves, Pros decided to marry at a young age as he felt lonely and he needed a family to compensate a lost happiness in his childhood. Now he has a warm and lovely family, a wife and a cute son.

Pros does not talk much as he seems have a bad memory of his earlier life. The way he talks about his parents is slowly, but clearly. His eyes got little wet, sometimes, with his sad face Pros does not hesitate to describe his past experiences.

However, I can see his smile when we talk about his recent family, particularly about his free time with his son. Pros often complains of himself, as an illiterate man during the discussion. On the other hand, Pros expresses his goals and family commitment in a different way from his own experience. Pros promised himself that he will not follow the way of his father as he sees the bad effects of domestic violence, drunkenness and the misconduct of his father. Pros works to earn an income and spends time looking after his son and family. Pros said that he never breaks his promise relating to domestic violence and drunkenness and he strongly believes that he can do it. Pros gives priority to his family as he understands the feeling of child sadness, the tears of a woman who he called mother and, he never forgets those painful memories in his life. These bad experiences of childhood have brought Pros to understand the value of family. Pros thanks to this bad experience has made him create a small happy family although he is not rich materially.

Pou Ra's story:

Pou Ra (a given name), 46 year old man lives near a slum area in Phnom Penh city. He had lived in the countryside when he was young and moved to Phnom Penh city when he was a teenager. Pou Ra had bad memories about his education. When he was seven years old, his mother died because of illness. After that he lived with his sister and his father who was in the army. At that time, his sister played the role of mother to look after him. One day, she gave him 10 riel for school, after leaving school he bought pencil, ruler and other school materials which spent nearly all money he had. When he came back home, his father did not ask him about what he spent it on, but only knew that he spent all the money. Because this amount was a lot for children to spend in a day, his father was angry and beat him seriously. Then, his father decided not to let him go to school anymore. After that bad day, Pou Ra was not allowed to school and had to go to the farm with his father until his adulthood. Pou Ra does not understand why his father did this to him, but he did not dare to ask. Pou Ra never forgets this violence which has had a negative effect on his life.

When he moved to work in a small company in the city as a construction worker, his boss told him that he felt sorry that Pou Ra could not read and did not have any degree. If he could, the boss would promote him to be a group leader as the boss knows his talent, capacities and commitment. Although Pou Ra cannot read he understands about child development well. He told his wife that if children do something wrong, to be a mother, you should listen to them first, let them explain and forgive. Pou Ra tells me his story with tears in his eyes. For myself as a researcher, it was a poignant moment. . It was the first time in my life as a researcher that I saw a man cry in front of me. It is certainly true that this experience brought him bad memory which he cannot forget. Even so, he wiped his tears and still continued to tell me his story even though I asked him to rest for a while.

Pou Ra encourages his children to study and understand the value of education. Furthermore, he knows the effect of the environment to child development. He decided to leave the slum area where have many people gamble, drink alcohol and act in other negative ways. Pou Ra takes care of his child's feeling and goals. His decisions make possible a bright future to his children, as all of them do not involve in those negative activities. Two of them have jobs and one of his sons is still learning cooking skills in a Non-Government Organization (NGO).

Pou Ra, does not like to drink alcohol and spend time outside of the home with friends. Pou Ra said he does not have many friends because he told them frankly about his behaviour when friends bought drink and food to visit him. He told them that next time when you visit me don't bring alcohol here. He said because of these only friends who do not like alcohol still visit him.

Pou Ra now is a guard in a NGO which works with adolescents. He plays a role not only as a security guard, but also the observer. He helps to look after children and informs the NGO staff about children's behaviour, especially if they are involved in gambling.

Higher education does not always mean that men have positive attitudes. As shown in the previous section, dominant men tend to have violent behaviour and some of those men are literate. Looking back at the graph, the percentage of educated men in the dominant group is slightly lower than those in the alternative view men group. However, this percentage is not that significant, so it cannot be assumed that the person who has a high education has a good understanding of life knowledge and people who have low education have a low knowledge of life skills.

It is also acknowledged that men who have alternative views do not always have bad memories in their early life. This study also presents that the majority of alternative view men in this study are literate. The stories below will show educated men with positive life experience. A significant point is that the alternative view men who have higher education mostly become service providers or educators in their villages.

Here I explore two stories of alternative view participants. First is a man who lives in Siem Reap province and the second is a man who lives in Phnom Penh city.

Leng's story, Siem Reap province:

Leng (a given name), 27 year old man, finished high school in his commune, Siem Reap province, and become a teacher in his village. Besides that, Leng is a volunteer in a non-government organization which working on rural development projects. Adding to this, Leng helps his wife doing a small business and work at home. Leng does not like life outside of the home. Leng said that he does not have enough time to look after his family and business, so life outside of the home is too much to think about.

Leng has a good family background, his father is a health provider in the village, his mother stays at home to look after children. Leng follows his parent's guide in studying and the most significant factor is that his father does not like drinking alcohol and does not like to go outside of the home. Leng's father does not talk much, but he always asked about Leng's study progress while his mother often taught him on how to be a good person in society.

Leng spent 7 years of his study time at the pagoda (there is no school in his village, so he has to move to stay in a pagoda near school in another village because he does not want to spend money to rent a room. This is a common practice in provinces). He accepted that some knowledge of being a good person has been influenced by Buddhism which he was taught by the monks at the pagoda. Leng explained clearly the rules of Buddhism on the bad effects of alcohol abuse, gambling and having girls out of marriage all of which identify as negative behaviours in Buddha's religious teachings. To be the follower, Leng respects the principles of common good in Buddhism's book.

Leng does not like drinking wine. He tells the reason that he does not like to do as the majority of men he saw in many families in his village have domestic violence, family relationship issues and this leads them to poverty. Leng does not have many friends because of his refusing to go out with friends. Normally, he spends time to help his wife with business at home.

Leng said that he does not like gambling, but sometimes, he jokes with friends who gamble and walk past his house. He never complains to them directly and never gives direct advice to them. The reason Leng rejects giving advice to others as he feels he is too young.

Currently, Leng has two children. Leng is committed to looking after children well before the confidence to give other advice. As an observation because of his hard working, Leng's family can be identified as a demonstrating a good standard of living family.

Pou Chet Story, Phnom Penh city:

Pou Chet, a 44 year old man who is currently living in Phnom Penh city. Pou Chet is a health provider in his village and he holds a post graduate degree from a Cambodian university. Pou Chet often meets many people in the village and knows of many good and bad stories of his villagers because they are his clients.

Pou Chet's father died since he was 10 and his mother died when he finished high school. Even though he is an orphan, his family situation is better than others. He lived with his older sister who always guided him to be a good person. Pou Chet said that he appreciates his relatives as he lives in a good family environment. All of them do not like to be involved in bad behaviour, including drinking wine and he observes and follows the family norms of being a good person.

When he was young, Pou Chet's mother asked him to bring cakes to sell in the village, and every day as he walked from one public place to another which had many drunken men and gambling groups. His mother said that this selling cake was not for the money, but for him to learn the environment around him. From this observation, he has to create his own perspectives of defining for himself how to live. This is a life lesson that Pou Chet thought he might not have had at school.

Pou Chet has known of many instances of bad behaviours to affect people from his area since he was young and including from his current clients. He said he often explains them the negative effects of involving in bad behaviour. However, some of them listen to his suggestions and some are not interested in his advice and come back again and again with reproductive health diseases and some diseases from alcohol consumption. Pou Chet expresses his feeling that knowledge is not always started at school, but from people's observation of their environment. Furthermore, because of his work as a health provider who has more information, he is able to live differently from social norms. Pou Chet currently has two children who follow his guidelines and his wife is a teacher. Pou Chet hopes that his children will learn and understand the positive attitudes about living in wholesome manner.

6.3 Religious influence

In this study, it can be seen that religion has some contribution to participants' behaviour and practices. It cannot be generalized that religion has much influence for all of Buddha's followers, but the finding shows the advantage of Buddhist teachings in men's perspectives. Four out of six of the alternative view men who participated in individual interviews had learnt and lived by Buddha's principles. Two of them were monks who gave advice to others and followed Buddha's rules of being a good person. Some men who were involved in discussion groups had learned Buddha's principles and had stayed in the Pagoda. Normally, man who lives in poor family decides to become a monk in order to study Buddha's principles. Moreover, they chose to stay at pagoda where is near school or university, so that they can study another subjects. On the other hand, for rich man become a monk is only for respecting and learning Buddha's principle.

I used to be a monk and often gave advice to Buddhists, so after I was released from the monkhood I still respect the principles. It is not good if we ignore this principle after leaving the monkhood. I don't want others to say that the people who used to be the monks do not respect the rules. I respect and follow the rules in my daily activities (Individual interview, alternative view N2, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

It is important to point out some philosophies of Buddhism's principle of becoming a good person that participants were taught. Examples include the following:

Alcohol can bring negative effects to our lives, people should reject involvement in drinking.

People should know that truthfulness is an important sign of a good person.

Don't go cheating others, as the karma will follow you in this life and next life. You will pay them back for what you did to them.

When you do good, you will receive good when you do bad, you will receive bad. It is a circle of life.

Don't love another's wife, if so, someone will betray you. You should have loyalty to your wife and yourself. Loyalty will bring a bright future to people.

People have to control our emotion, when you do something bad out of anger you will feel sorry for your actions later.

You have to learn how to forgive and how to forget. If you do not then you will not understand what happiness is.

Understand others, help, share and give to others who need support. It is not important how rich you are, but it is important how kind you are.

Alternative view men in the discussion group also seemed to have a good understanding of the Buddha's principles of common good. They were able to clearly describe the ideals of being a good person in this religious context. On the other hand, few of the men in the dominant group had ever lived in a monastery and they seemed not to understand clearly these principles. They said that they know the principle is good, but they cannot remember what it is talking about. This point is also related to commitment. If they do not think that it is important, and if they do not have the willingness to learn, it seems useless to learn this principle. Therefore, it is important to build a strong belief and commitment to such principles while integrating the ideas of the common good. Many participants declared that they mostly received advice from their relatives who were Buddhist followers. Similar answers from participants who are Buddhist followers said they often gave advice to their relatives.

My sister always gives me advice. She does not want me to drink alcohol and gamble. She is my sister and she is a Buddhist nun (Alternative view men, Discussion group, dominant view N5, Ang Dong village, Phnom Penh).

Buddhism is not the most important factor that encourages people to be good, but it can be seen that religion has an influence on people's behaviours. There are many factors that have an impact on people's thoughts and practices, and one of those is religious ideas and principles.

6.4 Family stereotypes and inspiration from their experiences

The stories presented help us to understand the influence of education on men's behaviour and practices, but also explore the inspiration that can be gained from painful early life experiences. This learning from life provides the best perspectives

for the alternative view men. Pros' story tells of the bad memory of his mother's death which was caused by domestic violence. The painful memories encouraged Pros to become a different man. Pou Ra's story confirms that the suffering arising from bad memories in his early life promote a different behaviour in future. On the other hand, it is not always true that people who have painful memories will change to become good men. Most of the men in the dominant view group described their negative family background, yet they continued to apply these bad behaviours to their current family, particularly drunkenness and domestic violence.

This stereotype of being the drunken man who misbehaves still continues because the bad memories may not be touching their hearts, and they do not critically think or reflect about the influence of those behaviours on their lives. A common view revealed in both stories (Pros and Pou Ra) shows that when people are affected strongly by their past experience they will make a big change in their lives. In contrast, when people have had a bad experience which may not touch their hearts, the stereotype will continue into their present lives. This was the case for many dominant view group men who grew up with domestic violence and alcohol abuse in the family, but who have no motivation to change.

Based on this research, participants confirmed in discussion groups that 3 out of 4 children followed father's example and 1 out of 4 children rejected family stereotype. It can be seen that while approximately 30 per cent of men from a negative or abusive family background do not accept their family stereotype, the majority follow their father's example. On the other hand, around 70 per cent of people who have come from good family backgrounds respect the example of their parents. This good father role model includes their educational background. However, a father who has low literacy may also encourage his children to perform well as explored in Pou Ra's story. It is certainly true that family background and family role modelling of behaviour are important in identifying how men establish their views on being a man. This information is important in this current context as parental role models and life skills are key factors in contributing to behaviour changes in Cambodian men. The quotation below shows the evidence family stereotype has as an influence on men's perspectives.

I don't like drinking alcohol as I did not see my parents like it since I were young until I grew up, so wine is not important for me. When I was in grade 7, I asked my parents if I could stay at the pagoda/temple, Sam Rong Andet Pagoda. Five years later, I decided to leave the monkhood, my father told me that I should behave well and not cause gossip that someone who knows the Buddha's rules behaves badly and my mother said she hates such bad behaviour. For this reason, among my three brothers no one likes wine. (Individual interview, alternative view N2, Kok Ampil, Siem Reap)

6.5 Personal commitment and confidence

It is important to point out that personal commitment and confidence resulting in a change of behaviour often appears in the alternative view group's opinions. People who make a change do so not only because of a bad experience touching their heart, but because of their personal commitment and beliefs. A painful experience inspires people to create their own perspectives, but it does not have any impact if the commitment to change and the confidence to do so are weak. Whereas some people receive a lot of influence from their peers forming negative attitudes, the men with stronger personalities can walk away from this and achieve their goals. Thus commitment and confidence truly impact the achievement of goals men set themselves (Hill, 2008; Peale, 2007).

Furthermore, this personal commitment can bring about change to society. All of the respondents in the alternative view group have similar ideas about social change. Alternative view men do not believe that they can change others, but they believe in making a difference by themselves being a good man.

To be a good man one must respect the love from one's wife, and we should look after children, and help our wife with the housework. When we have problems in the family we have to control our emotions. When the wife is strong, the husband has to accept and follow her sometimes. This will prevent serious problems. Besides that, when discussing our finances we have to inform our wives about how much we have earned and give money to our wives to save. (Individual interview, alternative view N4, Otrach, Siem Reap).

Personal commitment is important to promote behaviour change. Most of the men in both the alternative view group and the dominant view group understand the importance of their own perspectives and commitment in leading to success in changing their attitudes.

This presents the prospect that in order to encourage men to change, the first thing to do is to begin building their confidence, including a commitment to their beliefs and strengths in order to be able to ignore the influence of social norms and peer pressure. As a participant pointed out, his strong commitment in a serious peer pressure case meant he could solve the problems and refuse to drink by giving them money instead.

I have some reasons that I don't want to drink alcohol because I saw others when they drunk. They were unconscious and had arguments in their family. My wife told me that if I want to drink, I should buy it to drink at home, but I don't like it and it is not good for my health. When I ride my bicycle and met with the group, they always ask me to drink, but I told them that I am busy and have to go to charge the battery. Sometimes they don't agree and then I have to give them money, 1000-2000 riel to buy food or more drink, in order to leave the group (Individual interview, alternative view N2, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

Alternative view men thought that there are many ways to reject the invitation to drink. In contrast, dominant view men accept that they have no commitment to change although they appreciate others who have the values of confidence and commitment. As mentioned in the previous section, some dominant view men blame their bad performance on karma in order to reduce their feeling of guilt when they know themselves that they do not have the confidence and commitment to change. From the evidence of this study it seems that dominant men admire the values in others but know (and feel guilty) that they are too weak to change themselves.

We all drink wine but not because of our parents drinking, but because we cannot control ourselves. Some people said it is because of our grandparents, actually it is not because of others. It is our tradition that men should drink. If we stop or do not stop drinking, it is because of ourselves (Discussion group, dominant view N1, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

Men in the dominant group do not believe that there is a good man in this world. The commitment to be a good man is, according to them, unachievable. They think that all men are the same – that is, they like to spend time with friends, especially while drinking alcohol and enjoying some other activities without their wives. Although they know friends who help their wives by working in the home, and they appreciate them, dominant view men still have a negative belief that there is “No good man in this world”. They seem to have very negative and narrow stereotypes of men.

Honestly, in our society we do not have a 100% good man. Like my father-in-law he is good and responsible in many tasks, but he gambles. I think we cannot find a good man (Discussion group, dominant view N5, Ang dong, Phnom Penh).

It is certainly true that it may be hard to find a perfect person or a perfect man in this world. It can be like a ‘self-fulfilling prophesy’ or a law of attraction in that when people think that there is no good man, then there is none.

From my own view point, people’s success may be determined from intrinsic factors such as a self-drive to improve. People should not complain about their own failure and blame it on peer pressure, social norms or other related factors. This point is mentioned because the evidence from alternative men’s practice is that they understand patriarchal society, and understand peer pressure, but these factors have a limited influence on their decision making as they have a strong personal commitment to make a difference. From this commitment, they can create the strategies to achieve their goals, such as shown in the last section in that they refuse their friends’ proposals by having the common sense to leave the group early.

Many men in the dominant view group accepted that they could see different ways to behave in order to ignore drinking, but they found that this was difficult.

It is like this now how can I change? What can I do to change it? I think that I cannot change, I tell you the truth. We have to be like this. I saw many people promise to change by cutting their hair, but after that they do it (drink) more than before (Discussion group, dominant view N1, Kok Am pil, Siem Reap).

For this reason, the strong argument here is that people will be good if they “Believe, have commitment and behave”. If people do not believe, they have no commitment to change and no reaction. This might be the reason that nothing changes in this

patriarchal society. As the men in the non-dominant group explain, it can be seen that all men believe in a common good, and the traditional norm of male power is no longer acceptable to them. Alternative view men have learnt dominant views, but have concluded that although it is traditional, it is not the best way and they are willing to change their ideas about being a man. This idea is similar to the conclusion of the Oxfam GB study in many developing countries, particularly Cambodia, that the lack of gender project progress is because the dominant view group remains secure in their views that changing behaviour is something unnecessary and unachievable (Ruxton, 2004).

Bad experiences in life can encourage men to change by themselves, including building their commitment and confidence. In different situations for dominant men who have had bad experiences, they are not inspired to change, so building commitment and confidence are important factors to promote behaviour change. Showing the results of the good practices of the alternative view men is a good example for them. It can be shown that negative experiences may not have an impact on some dominant view men. Therefore, education programs like presenting the negative behaviour of others may not motivate them to change. It would be better to promote the good practices of alternative view men to attract their attention.

Conclusion:

This section has focused on the alternative view perspectives rather than dominant views and importantly, this section describes the alternative view men's feelings of being different. Life stories can provide the understanding of the link between education and life skills, including the bad and good motivation arising from the participants' life experiences and family stereotype to their present activities. This includes the commitment and confidence to change. Further to this, the influence of Buddhism on men's behaviour has also been discussed.

Alternative view men accept that they are different from others and more importantly they prefer to be different. Although some know they will receive complaints from friends, they seem not to care about this. This finding is different from the previous findings that men seem to feel ashamed to be different. A possible cause of this is that the target areas of this study have had many non-government organizations implementing projects there, including education about gender and domestic violence. Thus, these programmes can be seen to be influencing the ideas men might

be having about their role in society and how they should behave. This section also discussed literacy and life skill knowledge. It can be seen that illiteracy does not strongly affect how people behave, but life skill knowledge can have a great influence on male behaviour. Additionally, family background and advice from parents and others are important in Cambodian society. Most of the alternative view men had had a good role model in their family, particularly their father, while their mother played a role as an adviser. Interestingly, the father's role model had a greater influence on their perspectives and practices than advice from other sources.

This study has clearly shown that to promote social change an important factor is giving men the confidence to commit to change. This important factor was identified by all of the participants in both groups. Some have not changed because they do not have the willpower to change. Alternative view men however clearly demonstrate their commitment and beliefs, and apply their perspectives to practice without hesitation. Thus, self-confidence to resist peer pressure and a belief in oneself is very important.

In addition to this, Buddhism was found to play an important role in promoting positive perspectives and practices. Although it does not apply to all Buddhists, we cannot reject this important factor. It would be good to strengthen the principles and encourage the Buddha's followers to be the role models in the future. The next section explores men's roles and the concern for the next generation.

SECTION 2: Men's roles and the next generation

Thinking about the next generation is important in order to promote social change as many men in the discussion groups raised concerns about their children's future. When talking about the next generation, some participants showed their hope and some expressed their hopelessness. Many participants expect that their children will live in similar situations to themselves because they were born in this society and the stereotypes are very influential on their behaviour. On the other hand, some of respondents hope that the next generation will have a better understanding of gender roles and relationships than they did, and the experiences that they have learned will be shared with their children for a better life. An alternative view man suggested guiding children when they are young.

We should guide children when they are young. If they grow up, it is difficult to explain things to them and we cannot beat them. We have to tell them to study and do housework such as washing clothes. If we tell them, they do not do it, we should do it instead of them to be a role model, 2 -3 times later they will understand. We have to give them advice as now my children understand and help me a lot, like watering the vegetable garden. When I wake up, my son has finished his tasks (Discussion group, alternative view N2, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

From the research aspect about their life story it was clear that parents' guidance and advice has an impact on children's attitudes. In addition to this, as mentioned earlier in the previous section, two thirds of participants who were children from good performing families showed their experience in having a better understanding of appropriate performance and they applied these perspectives to their own lives. Only one third of children who live with bad memories are committed to moving away from their bad environment, while two thirds continue to repeat the situation in their current families.

Family stereotypes are a key point that would be good to mention in education programs. Good family role models may inspire men to change for the sake of their children and to lead better lives. Some of the men who have changed their behaviour recognize this important point.

I was involved in all three kinds of bad behaviour (alcohol, girls and gambling) when I was young. Now I stop because my children are growing up. I feel ashamed to do such things. I am old now, I cannot have girls outside of the home and lose control because of drinking. It is not good as our children become adults now (Discussion group, dominant view N4, Ang Dong, Phnom Penh).

Furthermore, many participants described how their father spent time outside of the home and did not have much time to teach or provide any advice to them. Usually the mother played this role. Most participants followed in their father's footsteps. This point shows that role modelling is more important than just giving advice. Children observe their father's actions and copy them rather than listen to their mother's advice.

Apart from that, respondents complained about gambling groups around schools that created a bad role model of negative behaviour for some children. Even though,

some children observed and understood its bad impact, some have not seen the full disadvantage of gambling dens and so get involved with these kinds of behaviour. One respondent pointed this out about his son's activity.

My son, when he comes back home, he does not take a bath and put his clothes away. After that he says he is going outside for just a minute, but actually he tells a lie, he is going gambling. I try to tell him, but he does not listen to me and I do not want to beat him because it is against the law (Discussion group, dominant view N1, Kok Am Pil, Siem Reap).

This quotation is from the dominant group. It shows that some dominant men seem to not know how to encourage their children to become better men. They seem to blame their children's misbehaviour on social norms and the environment around them.

Besides blaming, participants mentioned educational programs in the villages as exercising a great influence on children's development and their perception about good behaviour. Furthermore, many participants reported that the current law relating to punishment against domestic violence has encouraged the reduction of domestic violence in their families. Some of them were afraid that their wives would report them to the police. The decrease in domestic violence in the family might have some effects on children's observation and thoughts about family life.

Furthermore, some of the respondents mentioned posters, TV shows and education programs aimed at reducing domestic violence. Many mentioned NGO educational volunteers in the villages as those who provided the best understanding of gender roles and relationship issues. Most respondents talked about law and punishment, but there was no one in the group who talked about how to intrinsically create role models for being a good man or good person for this society. The lack of an appropriate role model is one of the root causes of the complex relationships in an unequal and patriarchal society. Cambodia is mentioned as the most highly patriarchal society in Southeast Asia (Eng et al., 2010).

Because of this lack and the prevalence of negative stereotypes, some people do not have the confidence to teach their children to become good people. However, they believe in the messages of non- government organizations which work in improving

children's education. Some of them send their children to learn skills and stay at the NGO schools' accommodation.

I brought my children to study at the NGO called Friend International that can provide skills for their future and I moved from my previous house to rent a house here because I want my children to leave the gambling environment. When they come back from school, they eat and then, go back to study. If I had stayed there, I'm afraid I could not look after them well (Individual interview, alternative view N5, Ang Dong, Phnom Penh).

Public schools and the environment around them should be a concern in relating to the current situation of many people. Participants expect NGOs to encourage their children to be good people, but they are concerned about public schools and the environment around their areas.

A significant finding is that alternative view men pay more attention to their children's education and the environment in order to encourage their children to be good people. They have not blamed society or peer pressure. Many of them related their experiences of discovering the best way for their children. In contrast, dominant view men complained about this society and thought that there was no good way to live in society. There is a sense of despondency in the dominant view men and a sense of hope in the alternative view men.

In the current context of Cambodian society revising ideas about gender roles, understanding the practices of each group, and finding solutions for the next generation is a crucial task. Men from the dominant view groups did not appear to have any solutions to these problems. From this finding I conclude that the solutions presented by the alternative view men for improving the next generation should be central to discussions concerning changes in society.

Conclusion:

This section has focused on men's concern for the next generation and its attitudes, and has discussed the importance of role models in daily life. The next generation can be better if it has men's active involvement in change. Fathers play important roles in creating good role models. These findings show that the majority of men from good backgrounds seem to show positive attitudes, while only one out of three of the children with a bad family background become a good person. This is because

they suffer from their fathers' bad examples. This is an essential point for future gender strategy for Cambodia. By encouraging fathers to be positive role models based on the experience that alternative view men enjoyed, a solution to the family problems in the next generation can be found. A father, who prefers to stay at home and spends time with family, encourages his children to study, gives the example of doing housework, and controls any aggressive behaviour, will have more well-adapted and successful children than the father who behaves badly towards his family.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This conclusion summarizes the findings from this study concerning male perspectives of their roles, especially life outside of the home and the life experiences of men who hold alternatives view in Cambodia. In particular, I discuss the findings which are important for any gender mainstreaming programs. I further present strategies that may make improvement to possible existing practices. In addition, I also provide suggestions for future research projects relating to gender and development and relationship issues.

The first part of the thesis traced the history and the background of this research topic and the need for integrating the results into Cambodian projects. It also included a literature review of the current problems, and noted the lack of information relating to the roles of men, and of their lifestyles outside of the home. Research question were developed to explore this issue and data collection was carried out in Cambodia in Phnom Penh city and Siem Reap province.

The data collection used a mixture of methods, both quantitative and qualitative. In the first stage, questionnaires were introduced. Then, in the second stage, focus groups were conducted. Lastly, individual interviews were conducted. Important in this research was the time spent in learning about the life experience of minority groups of men. This was greatly facilitated by the friendships which developed between myself and the participants. In my data analysis of their responses, SPSS data analysis was used to illustrate the information from questionnaires. Qualitative analysis was based on information arising from the stories and anecdotes gleaned from discussion groups and individual interviews.

Due to the differences in men's activities and beliefs, the study of different target male groups and the reasons that make them different were considered in order to explore the life experiences which create these differences. According to these purposes, the first part of the findings, chapter four, presented the men's perspectives of what it means to be a good man and their views on male roles at home. It included the characteristics of the two groups of participants, the dominant view and alternative view groups. Dominant view men were in the majority, while the alternative view men were the minority. This chapter explored the ideas of defining roles in housework and the real day to day practices of home life such as looking

after children, cooking and doing the laundry. Moreover, it pointed out male perspectives on women roles, especially with regard to decision making.

Both dominant view and alternative view men understand that they have a role to look after their family at home and generate income. Most of them give priority to earning an income more than helping their wives doing household chores. Dominant view men do housework when their wives are busy while alternative view men share their housework with their wives regularly. Concerning decision making, women and men discuss and make decisions together in their families, including important tasks such as buying a house and opening a business. Besides that, less important tasks such as buying food or furniture are kept for women. Moreover, men acknowledge that their wives can manage work at home and outside of the home better than them.

Chapter Five focused on information about life outside of the home, including positive behaviours and negative behaviours. The importance of information about life outside of the home such as alcohol abuse, relationships outside of marriage, gambling, earning an income and family fun time became apparent. The findings showed the link between alcohol and girls outside of marriage, and the problems which result from the misconduct of men, especially their part in domestic violence.

The positive activities outside of the home are family fun time and earning an income. It can be seen that alcohol abuse is the most challenging issue with dominant view men. 80 per cent of participants experienced drinking alcohol. Alternative view men agreed that drinking alcohol is acceptable if they do not drink heavily. The second significant activity in the dominant view men's group is having a mistress outside of the home. Many of them behaved in this negative behaviour when they were young (around 25-35 years). Alternative view men reject this behaviour and they are concerned with faithfulness and reproductive health diseases. The negative behaviour of life outside of the home leads to domestic violence and migration. Some dominant view men accepted that they committed domestic violence against their wives whereas violent behaviour did not appear in the alternative view men group. Migratory journeys, from the dominant view men's perspective, are an opportunity to be able to leave their family problems behind. On the other hand, alternative view men prefer to work in their villages or migrate with their wives.

Section one of Chapter Six focused on the perspectives of the alternative view men, especially of how they differ from the majority in a patriarchal society. Furthermore,

it presented the impact of education and life skill knowledge on life stories. It also explored the importance of family stereotypes, family background and the influence of religion on men's behaviour in their life experiences. It is clear that some men make the commitment to promote themselves as good persons.

Alternative view men know that they are different from the majority and they are proud to be different. As participants' life stories showed, life skill knowledge influenced men's behaviour, although literacy was still important. Significantly, religion, family stereotypes and backgrounds, as well as personal commitments have a greater impact on men's perspectives and practices. Two thirds of children follow their fathers' examples. Only one third behave differently by being influenced by peer pressure and social norms. Personal commitment is an important factor in building up the confidence to change behaviour.

The last part, Section Two of Chapter Six, drew attention to the concerns and suggestions of participants for the next generation. This section described the various practices of the alternative view men to guide their children to become good people. It also drew attention to the influence of the environment and the important roles NGOs and social media play in family relationships.

Participants raised concerns relating to their children's future even though the dominant view men did not think they could change themselves, they expect to make a change for their children. Alternative view men expressed some experience to encourage their children to become a good person in the future by taking care of their children's education and environment, such as reducing peer and negative neighbours' behaviour. Further to this, alternative view men show positive behaviour as a role model in their families. On the other hand, dominant view men expect their children to become good people, but they do not have any strategies in place promoting their children to change.

1. The important implications, challenges of this study and suggestions for future GAD projects in Cambodia:

Here, I raise some important implications of this study and the challenges that should be considered for GAD projects. Furthermore, I also point out some suggestions for project improvement. However, there are no direct recommendations, there are only suggestions. Development workers should design strategies based on their local context as I know that gender and development projects need strategies to deal with different situations in different areas. The important factor is that development workers acknowledge the key ideas in this study for project designs.

This study gives an overview of the aspects of men in their various roles. Both groups have this similarity: they both have an understanding of their roles at home and outside of the home, especially earning an income. Further, both groups express their perspectives of being good men clearly. However, the difference is that those who belong to the dominant view group seem hesitant to apply their understanding to everyday life and practices, whereas the alternative view group reported that they applied most of their understanding to real life situations. Although, of course, the members of the alternative view group could not fully apply their understanding to everyday practices, it cannot be denied that what they could do was acceptable behaviour.

It is thus important to point out those men in both the dominant view and the alternative view groups understand their roles and know what positive behaviour is. The problem is that the dominant view men do not apply their understanding to their daily lives. Therefore, encouraging men to apply their perspectives to everyday practices is the key solution to issues relating to, and arising from men's roles.

Social norms, peer pressure and power relationships still have a great influence on men and their perspective of their roles. Most of the dominant men think that the domestic tasks should be the responsibility of the women, but these men are prepared to do these tasks when their wives are busy. From the perspectives of dominant men, the most important task is earning an income. It can be shown that the more income that men can earn, the less likely it is that they are involved in housework. Another point worth noting is that men seem to give priority to work which can be profitable. They are less likely to be involved in abstract work that has less tangible financial

results. This point should be highlighted to men in education programs in order to attract their attention to men's domestic role. Men should be encouraged to ponder this point, as it will have a bearing on their understanding of their roles in the home.

A significant matter in this study relates to decision making in the family. This study contrasts information from previous studies about men's control over decision making in the family. Accordingly, this study presents the case that men do consider it important that women be involved in decision making, especially in important family tasks such as buying a house and/or opening a business. This is a positive point in gender relations in Cambodian society. On the other hand, there are a few tasks that men think women can decide on their own because they are less important. These tasks include decisions for purchasing furniture and food. This approach, in which some tasks are seen as less important than others and so are left to the decision of women, seems to show, to some extent, the imbalance of power in families.

Encouraging men to understand their roles in these situations so that they change their behaviour requires time and effort. Thus, a gender education program is a long journey because social norms and stereotypes exert much influence on peoples' activities. It is hoped that some education which will make men aware of their roles will be promoted. The results can be shown by the degree of men's commitment and of their perspectives. If the willingness among men to demonstrate the positive behaviour in practice is high, this will show the significance and importance in promoting these gender education programs.

The aspects of life outside of the home that participants identify as positive are the generating of an income and fun time with the family. The negative activities of life outside of the home are enjoying drinking alcohol, having relationships outside of marriage, and gambling. This negative behaviour also leads to some extent to migration. Migration has both positive and negative aspects. People may migrate to leave their problems, or migrate in order to improve the living standard of their family. A noticeable point in this study is that the members of the dominant view group spend time enjoying negative behaviour more than the alternative view men. Alternative view men spend time at home, and doing business, rather than spending time outside of the home engaged in negative activities.

A concern is that both groups seem not to recognize that time spent outside of the home with family is important. Only a few alternative view men consider this outside the home activity as adding to their happiness.

The most challenging and serious of activities outside of the home is alcohol abuse. The majority of participants in the study have had experience involving this activity, and of having fun with girls outside of their marriage. Alcohol is a concern in changing men's behaviour. It would be good to encourage men to understand that alcohol is not a factor to strengthen them in being a man. Alcohol can often lead to violent behaviour. It is important to acknowledge that a good man is a man who can make his family happy, not the man who shows his power as a head of household over his wife and children.

In contrast, the respondents in the study considered gambling as a less important issue. The concern is alcohol and relationships outside of marriage. Furthermore, these two activities not only have connections with each other, but they also bring complexity to family relationships as they lead to quarrels and domestic violence. In addition, these activities also affect the family livelihood and so lead to poverty.

Although policy makers are encouraged to develop effective policies and implement them, these problems cannot be solved easily. Many serious cases of domestic abuse still happen. The strengthening of men's perspectives and their understanding of their roles and behaviour should be given priority. However, while most participants in the study may be able to clearly describe their understanding of the laws, in their actual everyday practice it is a different matter.

It is important to point out these concerns as both have to be integrated into everyday practice and implemented together in order to get significant changes. Encouraging only the policy does not work well while personal perspectives and practice are limited. Behaviour and the surrounding environment have similar importance in promoting social changes. It is essential to strengthen the laws. But, on the other hand, personal attitudes cannot be overlooked, for positive personal attitudes encourage the changes more effectively. The practice of alternative view men may be a good example to those in the dominant view men group. Alternative view men also live in this patriarchal society and they can make changes. This may be reflected in the building up of confidence and commitment in the dominant view group.

Furthermore, it is important to consider another aspect of life outside of the home, migration. Besides migration by alternative view men for family income purposes, migration is also an option for dominant view men as an effective solution to solve family relationship issues. Many participants in the study chose this option to leave their relationship problems. This choice, migration, can bring more complexity to a family as social norms have influence on men's attitudes. Men can have relationship with girls outside of the home. Therefore, many men come back home with many diseases and problems. It is necessary to raise this point in education programs about migration. The decision to migrate should be made in consideration of, and with an understanding of the causes and effects of these diseases and issues. Another point is that the decision to migrate, made because of anger, should be a central consideration in discussions among groups of men during awareness education programs in the villages.

The feeling of being different is also a noticeable point. Alternative view men seem to feel proud to be different because their fellow villagers appreciate their activities. Encouraging men, through their speech to express their feelings of being proud should be a different strategy to be considered as it could motivate other men to understand and to think critically about their own activities. Men, of either the dominant or alternative view group like people to appreciate their activities. It is reasonable to assume that some men in the dominant group will show their power to others because they mistakenly think that their behaviour will make others appreciate them. People, however, appreciate men's behaviour in different ways. They prefer positive behaviour rather than someone who shows their power in a threatening or violent manner. So expressing real examples of appreciation of the behaviour of others should be a choice.

The fact that education and life skill knowledge has influenced the outlook of alternative view men is an important point to note. Although most alternative view men have had a higher education than dominant view men, low educated men may still exhibit positive behaviour based on their life skills. This point may encourage men who have had low education to change their perspectives that their low level of education limits the effectiveness of their lives. Learning from experience and exercising commitment can help lead men to create and display new aspects of what it means to be a good man.

This study found that family stereotypes and family backgrounds were essential in identifying dominant view men and alternative view men. Most of the participants in the study who came from a good family background followed their family role models to be a good person. On the other hand dominant view men observed, and unintentionally applied their father's behaviour, especially in regard to domestic violence against women and children. A noticeable point is that one third of children behaved differently from their family stereotype due to suffering from their early life experience. In a different context, some men who lived in a good family environment did not copy their parents' behaviour because of some factors, such as peer pressure and a lack of personal commitment, which influenced them.

Alternative view men and their early life experiences are related to each other. Some of the alternative view men have departed from their family stereotype because of bad experiences taught them in their early life. However, other alternative view men who experienced a good family background continue to follow their family's example. This is an interesting point to get across when educating men. If men wish their children to be good in later life, they should not complain about the bad effects of society and other factors. Rather, what they should think about is their behaviour as this research has found that two thirds of children follow their father's example. It seems, however, that a mother's advice may have less influence on a child's future behaviour.

Learning from the experience of suffering may encourage some men to change their life style. On the other hand, some factors such as peer pressure and personal commitment can influence men to behave negatively without worrying about the bad effect of their early life experiences. It is important to note that painful memories from early life may not encourage some dominant view men to change their life style. Therefore, to attempt to promote a change in the behaviour of adult men by showing them the effects of the bad experience they encountered in their early life, might not be a useful methodology. This is because most dominant men still adhere to, and apply without hesitation, the bad behaviour that they saw when they were young. Only a few of these dominant men recognize the effect of their painful early memories and attempt to prevent them from influencing their later attitudes as adults.

Furthermore, expressing the good practice of alternative view men and their commitment to achieve their goals should be explored. Most of the alternative view

men have learned their positive behaviour from their parents. Therefore, promoting positive behaviour as a model in gender mainstreaming programs might make a more positive impact than encouraging dominant men to change by showing them the negative effects of bad behaviour.

Despite the fact that some men may not have made any commitment to change their behaviour, thinking about their children's future is nevertheless a concern in their overall outlook on life. Even though participants in this study may object to changing their behaviour by blaming their bad behaviour on society, these men certainly still show a willingness to make a change in their behaviour for the sake of their children. This is a key factor in encouraging men to improve their behaviour: to build a good model for their children to follow. The finding that men are concerned about their children's future attitudes and behaviour, and so are prepared to commit themselves to change for their children's sake, is extremely important for the gender and development project.

Apart from this, some participants in the study mentioned their experiences in encouraging children to change to good behaviour. Dominant men do not seem to have a solution to this problem. In addition, some of the alternative view men were able to relate some of their experiences in which children were encouraged to avoid negative behaviour. These alternative men did not put much emphasis on culture, peer pressure and the influence of society. Rather what they think about is how to find a better way out of these problems. Alternative view men pay attention to role modelling, to creating a good environment, and are concerned about children's education. The idea that nothing changes in patriarchal society does not concern them. The key factor important in their success is to believe, to have commitment, and to deal with the problems. This is a significant point. Attention should be drawn to it as it is important in the current context of gender revising strategies.

An effective solution to the behaviour problem would be to start the gender mainstreaming into a boy's perspectives of their roles at an early age. Encouraging young boys who live in bad family backgrounds to change should be more focused. It is hoped that the number of feminist boys might increase in this patriarchal society. In the near future the feminist boy, the boy who plays the role to encourage gender equality into practice may play an important role in strengthening gender roles in Cambodia.

Further to this, religious influence is also another factor which had been considered. Many participants reported that they had been respecting the advice provided by religious followers. Due to its importance, it would be good to point out the key religious persons, and to involve these persons in mainstream gender and development practice schemes. It is important not to exclude religion as a means of social influence on people's behaviours. As mentioned above, it is important to acknowledge that education, family stereotypes, life skills, religion, belief and commitment are the key factors in promoting behaviour changes. These changes will have a great impact on family relationships and on family living standards. Thus, these factors will be the key ideas in improving gender relationships and making livelihood projects more effective.

Masculinity work is the long term project. It is abstract and difficult to measure its effectiveness and outcomes. Therefore, the important point is raising the strategies of building commitment to change from one generation to another.

Family stereotypes are important in molding men's behaviour, so encouraging men to create a positive family stereotype is a crucial task in changing men's behaviour.

Showing positive life experience and happy families as case studies should be considered. As research found out, bad memories have not made many changes because many men living in a bad family background, but were not inspired to change. Showing bad memories should not be considered in education. The positive life experience can inspire men to think and reflect to their activities. This strategy should also integrate into GAD and development works. Misunderstand of masculinity can create a negative stereotype. Now it is time for encouraging men to build positive family stereotypes for happy families.

2. Suggestions for future study:

As this study focuses only on married men, belonging to both the dominant and the alternative view groups, it would be good to understand the perspectives of young men who are currently single, but who intend to marry and have family in the future. Young men's perspectives can be the key information to measure the influence of social norms on the younger generation. Perhaps it can be seen that the gender mainstreaming project in Cambodia has not been effective, if the younger generation's ideas have not been considered. In addition to this, the comparison of the differences between the perspectives of older married men and that of the

younger generation of men, might help in the understanding of the influence of gender and relationship issues in this era of changing ideas regarding gender roles in society. More importantly, it could bridge the gap in understanding the differences between the perspectives of married men and those of single men about their roles, about life outside of the home, and about decision making. To some extent, the life experience and modern perspectives of single men may contribute to new strategies.

Men's target groups in GAD research should be considered again as this study focuses more on areas where domestic violence is high, so the target groups are mostly poor men. There is also a lack of understanding of men who have high incomes. This is considered to be a high risk group of men who fail in their roles at home and who spend much time outside of the home in expensive entertainment places. It is important to mention that this is a group of men who ought also to be studied. This is because the study shows that the higher the income men may earn, the less they are involved in housework and the more time they spend in life outside of the home.

In addition to understanding the dominant view men who have high incomes, understanding the life experience of alternative view men should also be considered, especially if they have high incomes. This study found only one alternative view man who received an income of more than US\$500 per month. It would be good to interview high income and well known men in this society who hold alternative views. It would be particularly interesting to interview those who are directors of men's projects, who are men who hold more feminist views, and those men who strongly encourage people to change their mistaken perception about alcohol consumption.

This study initially considered women's involvement. However, due to time limitations and the sample site of the project, women were not included. The involvement of women in such a study would be important in order to understand how women feel about the dominant view group of men and about the alternative view group of men. Their feelings about these two groups of men may become case studies for future men's projects. The life experience of women and their different feelings towards both these groups of men should be considered as it might contribute to social change.

Similarly, other countries in Southeast Asia should be considered for research in projects working with men and involving women in changing men's behaviour. Cambodia and other countries in Southeast Asia have similar problems, particularly concerning gender.

3. Personal thoughts

The information, stories, observations and analyses provided in this work will hopefully contribute to gender and development projects in Cambodia, besides the purpose of the fulfilment of my master's degree. I found interesting information and certainly useful in this current situation in Cambodia, which will hopefully encourage men's involvement in gender and development. Alternative view men's ideas and experiences relating to personal commitment and confidence can change male behaviours and this has inspired me to continue working on men's projects. The information presented here are for the possible solutions and gives some ideas for behaviour change communication strategies. I expect that this study will also inspire readers to think about men and development and hope that you all enjoy reading it.

I really appreciate the men in this study who held alternative view men and their commitment and positive thoughts. They made me understand that positive behaviour and thoughts are with us and may not reflect the negative environment around us, especially feeling a sense of hopelessness to live in this complexity. This has been my good opportunity that I have a chance to talk to them. Thank you for sharing. On the other hand, I also have good feelings and friendships with dominant view men. Although they mostly express negative ideas and behaviour, this research makes me acknowledge that they are friends. They respect and give value to me as a well-educated person. I really enjoyed talking with them, learning their life experiences and listening to their jokes of complex relationships. Sometimes, those stories are serious cases, but they still can make fun of it. I can see that they all do not fully understand that those negative behaviours can have impacts on personal and society. It is not their willingness and commitment to do so. They have something good inside which is from their nature, besides the social norm and stereotypes influencing them. For this reason, I strongly believe that my findings can contribute to change their behaviour and it is certainly true that they can change.

APPENDIX 1: Questionnaire

Questionnaire Interview

Researcher's

name/code:..... Area:.....

Respondent's name:.....

Date:.....

Age:..... Marital status:.....

N⁰ of children:.....

1. Please tell me your education:

0. Never attended school
 1. Attended school but cannot read
 2. Primary school
 3. Secondary school
 4. High school
 5. University
 6. Master degree
 7.
 Others:.....

2. What is your job?

1. Farmer
 2. Small business man
 3. Business man
 5. Daily labor worker
 5. Government staff
 6. NGO staff
 7. Other.....

3. Do you have other roles in the community?

1. If yes please specify.....
 2. If no (go to question 4)

4. Can you tell me your monthly income:

1	Less than US\$50	4	US\$ 200-\$299	7	More than US\$500
2	US\$50- 100	5	US\$ 300-399		

3	US\$ 100- 199	6	US\$400-499		
---	---------------	---	-------------	--	--

5. What kind of work do you think men should do? (multiple answers)

1	Wash clothes	7	Connect electricity	13	Buy household stuff
2	Cook	8	Look after babies	14	Work to earn income
3	Find fuel wood/gas	9	Look after children	15	Spend free time with family
4	Clean the house	10	Care for elderly	16	Spend free time with friends
5	Clean dishes	11	Care for the sick	17	Attend community meeting
6	Repair house	12	Fetch water	18	Other.....

6. What kind of work do you do?

1	Wash clothes	7	Connect electricity	13	Buy household stuffs
2	Cook	8	Look after babies	14	Work to earn incomes
3	Find fuel wood/gas	9	Look after children	15	Spend free time with family
4	Clean the house	10	Care for elderly	16	Spend free time with friends
5	Clean dishes	11	Care for the sick	17	Attend community meeting
6	Repair house	12	Take water	18	Other.....

7. In your family, can you tell me who will be the decision maker for buying :

1. Household materials	a. Man b. Woman c. Both	8. TV	a. Man b. Woman c. Both
2. Business	a. Man	9. Motor	a. Man

materials	b. Woman c. Both	bike	b. Woman c. both
3. Mobile phone	a. Man b. Woman c. Both	10. Car	a. Man b. Woman c. Both
4. Bicycle	a. Man b. Woman c. Both	11. House	a. Man b. Woman c. Both
5. Furniture	a. Man b. Woman c. Both	12. Food	a. Man b. Woman c. Both
6. Clothes	a. Man b. Woman c. Both	13. Land	a. Man b. Woman c. Both
7. Medicines	a. Man b. Woman c. Both		

14. Can you tell me who will decide about:

1.Children's schooling	a. Man b. Woman c. Both	2.Money management (eg. can spend small amount of money, household materials, bills..)	a. Man b. Woman c. Both
3.Business	a. Man b. Woman c. Both	4. Spending money (eg. big amount of money)	a. Man b. Woman c. Both

Do you agree with the following statements:

1. It is normal for men not able to do household chores
 1. Agree
 2. Disagree
 3. Don't know

2. It is normal for men to gamble
 1. Agree
 2. Disagree
 3. Don't know
3. It is normal for men to get drunk sometimes
 1. Agree
 2. Disagree
 3. Don't know
4. It is normal for men to enjoy relationship with other women outside their marriage
 1. Agree
 2. Disagree
 3. Don't know
5. Women should not work outside of the home?
 1. Agree
 2. Disagree
 3. Don't know
6. Women should not tell others when her husband is violent towards her?
 1. Agree
 2. Disagree
 3. Don't know
7. Do you have friends who get drunk?
 1. Yes
 2. No
8. Have you ever gotten drunk?
 1. Yes
 2. No
9. Do you have friends who gamble?
 1. Yes
 2. No
10. Do you know how to gamble (card, lottery, others:.....)?
 1. Yes
 2. No
11. Do you have friends who like to enjoy life outside the home?
 1. Yes
 2. No
12. Do you like to go out to have fun with other girls with your friends?
 1. Yes
 2. No

Thank you

Note: For interviewers who answers are yes and agree more than no and disagree from question number 9-20 will be involved in discussion group number 1. For participants who answer no and disagree they will be involved in group number 2 and in-depth interviews.

APPENDIX 2: Topic guide: Male discussion group

Topic Guide

- I. Introduce research topic
- II. Discussion:
 1. Can you tell me what male roles are? Probe: in the home and outside the home. What should a man do to be a good man?
 2. What do you think about Cambodian society nowadays relating to defining roles?
 3. Normally what do you do? Probe: in the home and outside the home? Where do you go? With whom?
 4. **Household chores:** What kinds of household chores should men do? and cannot do? Why? Probe: What can you do? What do your friends say? What do you feel?
 5. **Business:** How many people are earning income in your family? What do you think about this role?
 6. Who should be involved in decision making in home, outside of the home and children?
 7. What do you think about khmer proverb "men have to learn 3 things wine, girls and gambling"
 8. **Wine:** What do you think about men who like to go out and drink wine? Probe: do you drink wine? How often do you drink? What do you think about a man who cannot drink wine? What did you say to them?
 9. **Gambling:** What do you think about men who gamble? Probe: Do you know how to gamble? How often do you gamble? What do you think about a man who cannot gamble? What do you say to them?
 10. **Enjoying life with another girl outside of marriage:** What do you think about a man who enjoys their life with other girls outside of marriage? Probe: Do you know friends who behave like this? What did you say to them?

11. **Problems:** Do you have any problems or challenges in your relationship because you spend time outside of the home? What do you do to solve problems?

12. **Their perspectives:** what do you think could be done to change gender relations? Is there any impact on society?

Would you like to make any comments?

III. Close discussion: Thank for participation

APPENDIX 3: Topic guide: In-depth interview

Topic guide (In-depth interview)

1h00-1h30

- I. Introduce topic
- II. Interview
 1. **Perspectives:** Can you tell me what male roles are? Probe: in the home and outside the home. What should a man do to be a good man?
 2. What do you think about Cambodian society nowadays relating to defining roles? Is there any impact on society?
 3. Normally what do you do? Probe: in the home and outside the home? Where do you go? With whom?
 4. **Household chores:** What kinds of household chores can men do? and cannot do? Why? Probe: What can you do? What do your friend say? What do you feel?
 5. **Business:** How many people are earning income in your family? What do you think about this role?
 6. **Who should be involved in decision making in home, outside of the home and children?**
 7. What do you think about khmer proverb "men have to learn 3 things wine, girls and gambling"
 8. **Wine:** What do you think about men who like to go out and drink wine? Probe: do you drink wine? How often do you drink? What do you think about a man who cannot drink wine? What did you say to them?
 9. **Gambling:** What do you think about men who gamble? Probe: Do you know how to gamble? How often do you gamble? What do you think about a man who cannot gamble? What do you say to them?
 10. **Enjoying life with another girl outside of marriage:** What do you think about a man who enjoys their life with other girls

outside of marriage? Probe: Do you know friends who behave like this? What did you say to them?

11. **Problems:** Do you have any problems or challenges in your relationship because you spend time outside of the home? What do you do to solve problems?

12. **Life experience:** Can you tell me about your childhood activities. What influenced you to do these activities? Probe: who had the most influence in your life? What situation made you think differently? Do you feel as you are trying to be a different kind of men?

13. **Their perspectives:** what do you think could be done to change gender relations? What would you like to say to typical men? Would you like to make any comments?

III. Close discussion: thank you for participation

APPENDIX 4: Participant Information sheet



Participant Information sheet

Researcher's name: Synoda Sokhan

School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of
Wellington

Address: 285 Phnom Penh Thmey, Phnom Penh, Tel: 012 232279 and 320 Karori
road, Karori, Wellington, New Zealand, sokhansyno@myvuw.ac.nz

I am a Master's student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. The project I am undertaking is studying Life outside of the home: Interrogating men's understanding of their roles in Cambodia. This research has been granted ethic approval from Victoria University Human Ethics Committee.

This study will investigate:

- Male perspectives of their roles, especially life outside of the home.
- Life experiences of men who have different perspectives to the majority of men in society.

This data will be used for the purpose of completing a Master's degree in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. It will also be used for presentations and conferences. Furthermore, the brief summary of the report could be used for the purpose of improving men's projects in Cambodia. It is hoped that this research will contribute to improving understanding of 'alternative masculinities' and the role they might play in women's empowerment, livelihood projects and educational programs where I have worked and have collaborated, such as Caritas Australia, Gender and Development for Cambodia and FHI360.

This study needs involvement of married men. Married men will be asked to answer a questionnaire interview which will take about 15 minutes, and participate in a discussion group for about 45 minutes to 1 hour. After answering in questionnaire I will suggest an individual interview of 1 hour for some men who have different views from others.

Participants have the right to choose the place for discussion groups for their safety, comfort and confidentiality. There are two to three options, NGO's office, district's office or, if they prefer at their home or neighbour's home where they are confident to speak.

Permission for audio recording and photo taking will be requested and these will be shown participants immediately after being taken. Participants can request these to be deleted if they wish. Photos will be used in presentations and reports. These photos will focus only on the process of interviews, not on individual faces.

All data will be treated confidentially. It will be kept in a secure place and I will use key lock and password on computers and all participants will be strongly encouraged to keep information confidential. I will erase documents, transcripts and notes two years after the research project is finished.

Moreover, participants can withdraw from the study at any time during discussion or before 31, July 2014.

After finishing project, I will provide summaries of the research report to the chiefs of villages and/or NGOs staff and they will distribute to all participants around May, 2015.

I hope that you will participate in this project.

If you have any questions or feedback please feel free to contact us:

Research supervisor: Sara Kindon: Sara.kindon@vuw.ac.nz

Researcher: Synoda Sokhan: sokhansyno@myvuw.ac.nz



Participant Information sheet

Discussion group

Researcher's name: Synoda Sokhan

School of Geography, Environment and Earth Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington

Address: 285 Phnom Penh Thmey, Phnom Penh, Tel: 012 232279 and 320 Karori road, Karori, Wellington, New Zealand, sokhansyno@myvuw.ac.nz

I am a Master's student in Development Studies at Victoria University of Wellington. As part of this degree I am undertaking a research project leading to a thesis. The project I am undertaking is studying life outside of the home: Interrogating men's understanding of their roles in Cambodia. This research has been granted ethic approval from Victoria University Human Ethics Committee.

This study will investigate:

- Male perspectives of their roles, especially life outside of the home.
- Life experiences of men who have different perspectives to the majority of men in society.

Discussion group will be done in order to investigate your understanding of male roles and it takes about 45 minutes to 1 hour. There will be 5-7 married men in a group. I hope that you will take this opportunity to discuss and support your ideas.

All data will be treated confidentially. It will be kept in a secure place and I will use key lock and password on computers. I will erase documents, transcripts and notes two years after the research project is finished.

Moreover, participants can withdraw from the study at any time during discussion or before 31, July 2014.

I hope that you will participate in this project.

If you have any questions or feedback please feel free to contact us:

Research supervisor: Sara Kindon: Sara.kindon@vuw.ac.nz

Researcher: Synoda Sokhan: sokhansyno@myvuw.ac.nz

APPENDIX 5: Participant Consent form



Participant Consent form

Group discussion

Title of the study: Life outside of the home: Interrogating men's understanding of their roles in Cambodia

This study will investigate:

- Male perspectives of their roles, especially life outside of the home.
- Life experiences of men who are different from the majority in society.

After reading information sheet and explanation I agree that:

- I have been given and understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask question and have them answered to my satisfaction.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project by e-mailing (sokhansyno@myvuw.ac.nz or Sara.kindon@vuw.ac.nz) by 31 July, 2014
- I understand that the researcher will keep all my information confidentially.
- I understand that other participants will know information that I provide.
- I understand that I have to keep information that I know from other participants confidential.
- I understand that the data will not be used for any other purpose or be released to others.
- I understand that my photos will be used in presentations and reports unless I have asked for them not to be used.

- I understand that I will have the opportunity to review the transcripts for accuracy. The recording and transcripts of the interviews will be erased within 2 years after the conclusion of the project.

Please tick if you agree

- To receive feedback
- To audio record
- To take photo

Participant name	Signature	Date

Participant Consent form

In-depth interview

Title of the study: Life outside of the home: Interrogating men's understanding of their roles in Cambodia

This study will investigate:

- Male perspectives of their roles, especially life outside of the home.
- Life experiences of men who are different from the majority in society.

After reading information sheet and explanation I agree that:

- I have been given and understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask question and have them answered to my satisfaction.
- I understand that I may withdraw myself (or any information I have provided) from this project by e-mailing (sokhansyno@myvuw.ac.nz or Sara.kindon@vuw.ac.nz) by 31 July, 2014
- I understand that the researcher will keep all my information confidentially.
- I understand that the data will not be used for any other purpose or be released to others.
- I understand that I will have the opportunity to review the transcripts for accuracy. The recording and transcripts of the interviews will be erased within 2 years after the conclusion of the project.

Please tick if you agree:

- To receive feedback
- To audio record

Participant name:.....

Signature:.....

Date:.....

REFERENCES

- ACR/CA. (2011). *Annual Report*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: ACR/Caritas Australia.
- Actionaid. (2014). Radio talk-show evokes public support of safe cities for women. Retrieved from www.actionaid.org.
- AHDEL. (2009). Patriarchy. Retrieved from www.thefreedictionary.com/patriarchy.
- Allen, T. D., Herst, D. E., Bruck, C. S., & Sutton, M. (2000). Consequences associated with work-to-family conflict: A review and agenda for future research. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 5*(2), 278-308.
- Amstad, F. T., Meier, L. L., Fasel, U., Elfering, A., & Semmer, N. K. (2011). A meta-analysis of work-family conflict and various outcomes with a special emphasis on cross-domain versus matching-domain relations. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology, 16*(2), 151-169
- Aveling, E.-L. (2012). Making sense of 'gender': From global HIV/AIDS strategy to the local Cambodian ground. *Health & Place, 18*(3), 461-467.
- Bancroft, L. (2003). *Why does he do that?: Inside the minds of angry and controlling men*. Penguin.
- Brickell, K. (2008). 'Fire in the House': Gendered experiences of drunkenness and violence in Siem Reap, Cambodia. *Geoforum, 39*(5), 1667-1675.
- Brickell, K., & Platt, M. (2013). Everyday politics of (In) formal marital dissolution in Cambodia and Indonesia. *Ethnos*(ahead-of-print), 1-27.
- Cabezón, J. I. (1992). *Buddhism, Sexuality, and Gender*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Catalla, T., Sovanara, K., & van Mourik, G. (2003). *Out of the shadows: Male to male sexual behaviour in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: KHANA.
- Chetra, C. (2014). Men's behaviour. Retrieved from www.facebook.com.
- Chhea, V., & Lui, K. (2007). *Cambodia 2007 Behavioral Surveillance Survey*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Ministry of Health.
- Clay, A. R. (2012). Redefining masculinity: Three psychologists strive to build a 'better' man. *American Psychological Association, 43*(6), Online edition. Retrieved from: <http://www.apa.org/monitor/2012/06/masculinity.aspx>
- Collins, N. (2012). Nature vs nurture: Outcome depends on where you live. Retrieved from www.telegraph.co.uk.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinity*. London: Polity.

- Cornwall, A. (1997). Men, masculinity and 'gender in development'. *Gender & Development*, 5(2), 8-13.
- Courtenay, W. H. (2000). Constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being: A theory of gender and health. *Social Science & Medicine*, 50(10), 1385-1401.
- Creswell, J. W., & Clark, V. L. P. (2007). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. Sage: Thousand Oaks
- Dasgupta, S., & Williams, D. (2010). Women facing the economic crisis: The garment sector in Cambodia. *Poverty and Sustainable Development in Asia*, Asia Development Bank, 149-168
- De Visser, R. O., & Smith, J. A. (2007). Alcohol consumption and masculine identity among young men. *Psychology and Health*, 22(5), 595-614.
- Eng, S., Li, Y., Mulsow, M., & Fischer, J. (2010). Domestic violence against women in Cambodia: Husband's control, frequency of spousal discussion, and domestic violence reported by Cambodian women. *Journal of Family Violence*, 25(3), 237-246.
- GADC. (2010). *Deoum Troung Pram Hath in Modern Cambodia*. Phnom Penh: Gender and Development for Cambodia.
- García, C. I., Gómez, F. H., Bannon, I., & Correia, M. C. (2006). Masculinity and violence in Colombia: Deconstructing the conventional way of becoming a man. *Men's issues in development. The other half of gender*, Washington: Banco Mundial, 93-110.
- Gefou-Madianou, D. (2002). *Alcohol, gender and culture*: Routledge: London
- Giles, L. (2004). *Pilot project: Phase one-Men against violence toward women*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Partnership Against Domestic Violence.
- Gorbach, P., Heng, S., Saphonn, V., Mean, C., Seng, S., & Hor, B. (2003). *Behavioral sentinel survey (BSS) V: Sexual behaviour among urban sentinel groups, Cambodia (2001)*. Phnom Penh: NCHADS.
- Greenhaus, J. H., & Beutell, N. J. (1985). Sources of conflict between work and family roles. *Academy of Management Review*, 10(1), 76-88.
- Hausmann, R., Tyson, L. D., & Zahidi, S. (2008). *The global gender gap report 2008*: World Economic Forum.
- Hill, N. (2008). *The secret law of attraction as explained by Napoleon Hill*. United States: Highroads Media, Inc.
- Hilton, A. (2008). *I thought it could not happen to boys* Phnom Penh, Cambodia: HAGA.
- Hobson, A., & Townsend, A. (n.d). *Research Ethics*. London: School of Education, University of Nottingham

- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., & Cranford, C. (2006). Gender and migration in *Handbook of the Sociology of Gender*, (Ed) Saltzman Chafetz, J. (Ch.6, pp. 105-126), New York: Springer
- Hong, L. (2000). Toward a transformed approach to prevention: Breaking the link between masculinity and violence. *Journal of American College Health*, 48(6), 269-279.
- Hor, P., Kong, P., & Menzel, J. (2012). *Introduction to Cambodian Law*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.
- ILO. (2012). Gender Equality Tool. Retrieved from www.ilo.org.
- IRBC. (2003). Domestic Violence in Cambodia. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/>.
- IRBC. (2013). Cambodia: Domestic violence, including state protection and support services (2010-June 2013). Retrieved from www.refworld.org.
- ISAS. (2009). Gender trends in Southeast Asia: Women now, women in the future. Retrieved from <http://www.worldcat.org>.
- IWDA. (2008). *Men's talk*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: International Women's Development Agency.
- Jolly, S., & Reeves, H. (2005). *Gender & migration: Overview report* Bridge.
- Jones, A. (2006). *Men of the global south: A reader*, London: Zed Books.
- Kent, A., & Chandler, D. P. (2008). *People of Virtue: Reconfiguring religion, power and moral order in Cambodia today*: NIAS Press.
- Klein, A. M. (1995). Life's too short to die small: Steroid use among male bodybuilders. In Gordon, David Frederick (Eds.), *Men's health and illness: Gender, power, and the body*. (pp. 105-120). Sage: Thousand Oaks, California.
- Liamputtong, P. (2009). *Qualitative Research Methods*. Oxford University Press: Melbourne
- Marston, J. A., & Guthrie, E. (2004). *History, Buddhism, and new religious movements in Cambodia*: University of Hawaii Press: Hawaii.
- Moeun, C. (2014). Lora Morm does not dare to marry Khmer man. *Popular Magazine*, 12, 64.
- MOP. (2009). The national strategic development. Cambodia: Ministry of Planning.
- Moser, C. O., & McIlwaine, C. (2004). *Encounters with violence in Latin America: Urban poor perceptions from Columbia and Guatemala*: Psychology Press.
- Munhall, P. L. (1988). Ethical considerations in qualitative research. *Western Journal of Nursing Research*, 10(2), 150-162.
- MWA. (2008). *A fair share for women: Cambodia gender assessment* Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Ministry of Women's Affairs.
- MWA. (2009). *Five year Strategic Plan 2009-2013*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: Ministry of Women's Affairs.
- Ngoy, K. (1998). *CHBAP PROH, Code of conduct of Cambodia men* (1998 ed.) Phnom Penh: WCRP/Japan.

- NIPH, & NIS. (2006). *Cambodia demographic and health survey 2005*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: National Institution of Public Health and National Institute of Statistics.
- O'Driscoll, M. P., Brough, P., & Kalliath, T. J. (2004). Work/family conflict, psychological well-being, satisfaction and social support: A longitudinal study in New Zealand. *Equal Opportunities International*, 23(1/2), 36-56.
- Peale, N. V. (2007). *The power of positive thinking*: Fireside books: New York.
- Ratanak, N. (2011). Neary Ratanak. Retrieved from www.women.open.org.kh.
- Ruxton, S. (2004). *Gender Equality and Men Learning from Practice*. Oxford: Oxfam GB.
- Sandys, E. (2008). *The Role of Men and Boys in achieving gender equality*: United Nations. Division for the Advancement of women. Department of Economic and Social Affairs.
- Slocomb, M. (2010). *An economic history of Cambodia in the Twentieth Century*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Sokbunthoeun, S., Sedara, K., & Virorth, D. . (2013). *Exploring the implementation of policies to address violence against women in Cambodia*. Thailand: Partner for Prevention.
- Sopheha, S. (2011). Relationship, communication and Rural Cambodia. Retrieved from WWW.bbc.co.uk.
- Soprach, T. (2008). The Impact of Premarital Sex Amongst Young People in Cambodia. *Phnom Penh*.
- Spratt, K., & Kundu, K. N. (2011). *PRASIT: Using strategic behavioural communication to change gender norms in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: USAID.
- Stephen, D. L., & Marylynn, T. Q. (2012). *Quantitative research: An introduction to methods and designs*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sultana, F. (2007). Reflexivity, positionality and participatory ethics: Negotiating fieldwork dilemmas in international research. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies*, 6(3), 374-385.
- Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (1998). *Mixed Methodology: Combining qualitative and quantitative Approaches* (Vol. 46). London: Sage.
- Tong, S. (2009). *The impact of premarital sex amongst young people in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia.
- Tully, J. A. (2002). *France on the Mekong: A history of the protectorate in Cambodia, 1863-1953*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- UNDP. (2011). Human Development Report. Retrieved from <http://www.hdr.undp.org>.
- UNESCO. (2003). *Gender mainstreaming implementation framework, Baseline definition of key concepts and terms*: UNESCO.
- UNIAP. (2008). Who is being trafficked in Cambodia? . Retrieved from <http://www.no-trafficking.org/cambodia.html>

- UNICEF. (2010). Education and gender equality Retrieved from http://www.unicef.org/education/bege_61762.html.
- USAID. (2010). *Gender analysis assessment*. Cambodia: The United States Agency for International Development.
- USAID. (2014). Geographic Information System of Entertainment Places Phnom Penh, Cambodia: United States Agency for International Development
- Ven. (2008). Chbab Proh, code of conduct of Cambodian men. Retrieved from www.carpediemilla.over-blog.com.
- Walston, N. (2005). *Challenges and opportunities for male involvement in reproductive health in Cambodia*. Phnom Penh, Cambodia: USAID.
- Yin, R., K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and Methods* (Vol. 5): Sage: Thousand Oaks.