

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

QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS FROM THE UNITED NATIONS MULTI-COUNTRY STUDY
ON MEN AND VIOLENCE IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC



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United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
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PARTNERS FOR PREVENTION. A UNDP, UNFPA, UN WOMEN AND UNV REGIONAL JOINT PROGRAMME FOR GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE PREVENTION IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

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FOREWORD

Violence against women constrains the enjoyment of women's human rights everywhere. We know that it is a manifestation of power and control and a tool to maintain gender inequalities, disrupting the health, survival, safety and freedom of women and their families around the world. We know that to end violence against women and girls, we must ensure their full empowerment, promote and protect their rights, including access to justice and support services, and end the discrimination they face in all aspects of their lives.

Changing cultures towards zero tolerance for violence against women, therefore, must be a priority for States, communities and families. Over the past few decades, much has been done in legal and policy reform and the extension of services to support and protect women and their families from domestic and sexual violence, while prevention efforts have focused on campaigns and advocacy that have brought the issue into public consciousness.

Preventing violence requires the sustained involvement of socializing institutions at the community and state levels, including schools, faith-based organizations, media and popular culture. This is recognized in the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, which calls for States to modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women and to eliminate prejudices and customary practices.

The elimination of harmful gender norms and practices can only be achieved through the engagement of men and boys. Understanding men's own diverse experiences, within the context of deep-rooted patriarchal systems and structures that enable men to assert power and control over women, will help us target the underlying drivers of violence against women and girls to stop violence before it starts.

Through our regional joint programme, Partners for Prevention, UNDP, UNFPA, UN Women and UNV have worked together to undertake the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific. The study, which collected and analysed data from thousands of women and men across the region, provides the largest multi-country data set on men's perpetration of violence against women and can inform more evidence-based interventions to prevent such violence.

Ending violence against women requires coherent policies and programmes that emphasize gender equality as non-negotiable and the transformation of social norms. Sustainable development, peace and security can only be achieved when caring and respectful relations among women, men, boys and girls become the norm.

We hope that you will use this UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence as a part of your efforts to achieve these goals.



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BACKGROUND

In 2008, four United Nations agencies—the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Population Fund, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women and United Nations Volunteers—came together through the joint programme Partners for Prevention (P4P). Together they launched the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific to generate knowledge on how masculinities—identities and patterns of practices that shape gender norms for men—relate to men’s perceptions and perpetration of violence against women in order to prevent it. The study aimed to deepen the understanding of the meaning and causes of men’s violence against women. The study was premised on the well-documented hypothesis that violence against women is a manifestation of unequal gender relations and harmful manifestations of hegemonic masculinity governed by patriarchal beliefs, institutions and systems. Yet, it is a fact that not all men perpetrate violence against women and so the study sought to elicit the factors that may be implicated in why some men are more or less likely to abuse women. The research was also conceptualized to ascertain men’s own experiences of violence as victims and/or as witnesses and to assess how that may be related to men’s perpetration of different types of violence.

The objectives of the study were to:

- better understand men’s use of different forms of violence against women (specifically, intimate partner violence and non-partner rape) in the Asia-Pacific region;
- assess men’s own experience of violence as well as their perpetration of violence against other men and how it relates to the perpetration of violence against women;

- identify factors associated with men’s perpetration of different forms of violence against women;
- promote evidence-based policies and programmes to prevent violence against women.

The study was a collaborative effort involving partners from academia, research institutes, civil society, the United Nations family and governments around the globe. It was developed and coordinated by Partners for Prevention with the Medical Research Council of South Africa and study teams in each country who led the surveying. This report is based upon the population-based quantitative survey component of the study, which was conducted from 2010 to 2013 with more than 10,000 men and 3,000 women in nine sites across six countries in the region (Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Papua New Guinea). The data were collected and analysed from a scientific epidemiological perspective. To ensure data comparability across sites, the study used a standardized structured questionnaire. Male subjects were interviewed by male interviewers and female subjects were interviewed by female interviewers. The study used personal digital assistants (PDAs) for data collection in all sites to address ethical issues and to maximize disclosure. The study followed rigorous international ethical and safety standards for research on violence against women.

The research sites were selected to reflect the diversity of the region, with sites in South Asia, South-East Asia, East Asia and the Pacific, including two post-conflict sites. The selection of research sites was also dependent on demand, the availability of funding in those sites and having partner institutions in each location with the capacity to conduct the surveys. In all sites, a representative sample of men aged 18–49 was obtained using a multi-stage cluster

sampling strategy; in four sites, women also were sampled. The samples, however, are not nationally representative (except Cambodia), nor were they designed to represent the Asia-Pacific region.

The sites are labelled: Bangladesh-urban, Bangladesh-rural, Cambodia-national, China-urban/rural (indicating one site that encompassed both urban and rural characteristics), Indonesia-urban, Indonesia-rural, Indonesia-Papua, Sri Lanka-national and Papua New Guinea-Bougainville. Most of the findings presented in the report refer to the nine research sites, except where the sample was national. The analysis on factors associated with intimate partner violence and rape are presented by country and as a combined sample, adjusted by site. This was done to assess the variations among sites and also to explore common themes across the countries in the study.

The study did not explore all forms of violence against women but focused on intimate partner violence and non-partner rape. The survey collected data on men's perpetration of physical violence against a partner and partner rape. It also examined men's perpetration of emotional and economic abuse against a female partner. Men's reports are compared with women's reports of their experiences of intimate partner violence as a form of validation. Men's perpetration of rape against a woman or girl who was not an intimate partner (non-partner) is also explored as is men's perpetration of rape against other men.

The main findings are grouped into the following thematic subheadings:

- Prevalence and patterns of intimate partner violence
- Prevalence and patterns of non-partner and partner rape
- The diversity of men's lives: gender practices, experiences of violence and adversity
- Factors associated with violence perpetration.

FINDING: Men's use of violence against intimate female partners was pervasive across the Asia-Pacific region, but prevalence varied across sites.

The proportion of ever-partnered men who reported ever having perpetrated physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence in their lifetime varied from 26 percent in Indonesia-rural to 80 percent in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville; in most sites, it was 30–57 percent. Although not the primary focus of this report, the study also collected data on economic and emotional violence within an intimate relationship. From 16 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 57 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of ever-partnered men reported perpetration of economically abusive acts against a female intimate partner in their lifetime, while between 41 percent (Sri Lanka-national) and 83 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) reported using at least one emotionally abusive act against a partner in their lifetime.

FINDING: Patterns of intimate partner violence perpetration varied across sites.

In Sri Lanka and both sites in Bangladesh, almost all the reported partner violence occurred within marriage, and physical violence perpetration was more common than sexual violence perpetration. In Cambodia and all sites in Indonesia, a larger proportion of men reported perpetrating sexual violence against an intimate partner than physical partner violence.

PREVALENCE AND PATTERNS OF NON-PARTNER AND PARTNER RAPE

FINDING: Male rape of women was pervasive across the region but prevalence varied across sites.

From 10 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 62 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of all men interviewed reported perpetrating some form of rape against a woman or girl in their lifetime. The prevalence of different types of rape also varied greatly across sites, with non-partner rape and gang rape much more common in some sites (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, Indonesia-Papua and Cambodia-national) than in others.

FINDING: Rape of an intimate partner was more common than non-partner rape in most sites. In all sites except Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, partner rape was more common than rape of a non-partner. Although a significant proportion of men who had raped a non-partner had also raped a partner, intimate partner rape was more likely to occur on its own.

FINDING: Rape perpetration started early in life. Overall, half (49 percent) of the men who reported having raped a woman did so for the first time when they were teenagers, varying from 25 percent (China-urban/rural) to 64 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville). In some sites, specifically Cambodia-national, Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Indonesia-Papua, a relatively large proportion of men reported that they were younger than 15 years at the time they first perpetrated rape.

FINDING: Rape was most commonly motivated by a sense of sexual entitlement. Across all sites in the study, the most common motivation that men reported for rape perpetration was related to sexual entitlement—men’s belief that they have the right to sex, regardless of consent. In most sites, this was reported by 70–80 percent of men who had raped. The second most frequently reported motivation was related to entertainment-seeking—fun or due to boredom—followed by anger or punishment. Although alcohol is often assumed to be a common trigger for violence perpetration, it was the least common response given by men, across all sites, when asked about their possible reasons for raping.

FINDING: The majority of men who perpetrated rape did not experience any legal consequences. The study found that the vast majority of men who had perpetrated rape (72–97 percent in most sites) did not experience any legal consequences. Men who had perpetrated non-partner rape faced more consequences compared with men who had perpetrated intimate partner rape. This reconfirms that impunity remains a major issue in the region, particularly for marital rape, which is the most common form of rape but is not criminalized in many countries.

FINDING: Although not nearly as prevalent as the rape of women, some men also perpetrate rape against other men. In China-urban/rural, Bangladesh-urban and all three Indonesian sites, around 2 percent of the surveyed men reported having perpetrated rape against another man. In Sri Lanka-national, Cambodia-national and Bangladesh-rural, this was disclosed by 3–4 percent of the male respondents; in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, the finding was 8 percent. Most men who had raped another man or men also had raped a female non-partner. The greatest overlap in reporting was between male rape and gang rape perpetration against women.

THE DIVERSITY OF MEN’S LIVES: GENDER PRACTICES, EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE AND ADVERSITY

FINDING: Not all men used violence. Although some men use violence against women, the findings illustrate that many men do not. There was great diversity in men’s lives across the region: Some men expressed frustration with the dominant notions of what it means to be a man; others embodied and practised alternative forms of masculinities that promote equitable power-sharing arrangements between men and women. The findings suggest some entry points in the countries under study for transformation of social norms that build on or reinforce constructions of masculinity that are conducive to respectful and equal relationships with women.

FINDING: Men and women supported gender equality in the abstract but less so in practice. A large majority (between 84 and 99 percent) of respondents, both men and women, believed in the abstract idea of equality—supporting the statement that ‘people should be treated the same whether they are male or female’. Nonetheless, when asked about specific norms related to family and household practices and women’s position, their views were considerably more inequitable. Acceptability of violence against women varied widely across the sites, which appears to reflect genuine differences in how violence against women is viewed across diverse socio-cultural contexts. For example, only 5 percent of men in

Indonesia-urban believed that there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten, compared with 62 percent of men in Bangladesh-rural. The attitudes among the women surveyed tended to be more conservative and gender inequitable than their male counterparts, demonstrating how gender norms, including those that contribute to men's use of violence, can be reinforced by women as well as men. While men generally reported that household decision-making was shared within households, the division of labour within households gave women the responsibility for household work and the care of children.

FINDING: Men's experiences of abuse during childhood were common and had serious consequences.

Child abuse was a common phenomenon across the region, with 50 percent (Sri Lanka-national) to 86 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men reporting experiences of childhood emotional abuse and neglect (i.e. being publically humiliated or insulted; parents being too drunk or drugged to care for child etc). From 13 percent (Bangladesh-rural) to 67 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men interviewed reported experiencing childhood physical abuse. From 6 percent (Indonesia-rural) to 37 percent (Bangladesh-urban) reported experiencing sexual abuse before the age of 18 (i.e. forced or coerced into sex or had their genitals/buttocks touched or were forced to touch someone else's against their will). Men's experiences of abuse were associated with depression, low life satisfaction, poor health, gang membership, being involved in fights with weapons, alcohol and drug abuse, use of transactional sex and violence perpetration.

FINDING: Some men also experienced rape by other men.

Although not nearly as prevalent as women's experiences of rape, some men reported also experiencing rape by other men as adults. From 3 percent of the male respondents in China-urban/rural to 7 percent in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville reported they had been raped by another man.

FINDING: A large proportion of men suffered from work-related stress, depression and suicidal tendencies.

A substantial proportion of men in all sites reported high or very high depressive symptoms, with 14 percent (Sri Lanka-national) to 43 percent (Cambodia-national and Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men reporting this. From 2 percent (Indonesia-rural) to 18 percent (China-urban/rural) of men reported that they had thought about suicide in their lifetime. From 12 percent to 53 percent of men reported having high levels of work-related stress.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH VIOLENCE PERPETRATION

FINDING: Men's use of violence was associated with a complex interplay of factors at different levels.

Overall, the study findings support existing theories on how underlying gender inequalities and power imbalance between women and men are the foundational causes of violence against women. The findings go further to show how men's use of violence against women is also associated with a complex interplay of factors at the individual, relationship, community and greater society levels. These factors cannot be understood in isolation and should be understood as existing within a broader environment of pervasive gender inequality. Consequently, simply stopping one factor—such as alcohol abuse—will not end violence against women.

FINDING: Intimate partner violence was largely driven by factors related to gender inequality and harmful, hegemonic masculinities within the relationship space. In particular, violence was strongly associated with controlling behaviour, quarrelling, depression, having transactional sex and multiple sexual partners and experiences of child abuse, among other factors.

The factors found to be most consistently associated with intimate partner violence perpetration across multiple countries include: frequent quarrelling, having had a large number of sexual partners, having had transactional sex and depression. At least one form of childhood abuse was associated

with intimate partner violence perpetration in all sites, with emotional abuse or neglect, sexual abuse and witnessing abuse of one's mother as the most common. Having a low level of education, current experiences of food insecurity (reflecting lower socio-economic status), alcohol abuse problems, gender inequitable attitudes and controlling behaviour over a partner were also associated with intimate partner violence perpetration, although not across all sites. Many of these factors can be linked to larger social norms and patterns of gender inequality and notions of masculinity in society.

FINDING: Rape perpetration was strongly associated with having more sexual partners, transactional sex, using physical violence against female partners, men's own victimization and participation in violence outside the home.

Rape perpetration was strongly associated with having more sexual partners, having had transactional sex or sex with a sex worker and using physical violence against female partners. These behaviours are interpreted as not merely expressing sex seeking but more so as ideas of masculinity that emphasize heterosexual performance and dominance over women. These masculine ideals also commonly emphasize performances of strength and toughness, which are expressed in gang membership and fights between men with weapons and are significantly associated with rape perpetration. The study shows that rape is about the exertion of power but it can also be the performance of a certain type of masculinity.

Rape perpetration also was associated with men's own victimization, particularly abuse in childhood. Low socioeconomic status, indicated by current food insecurity and low educational attainment were associated as was alcohol abuse and drug use. Also associated was a low level of empathy.

FINDING: Rape of a man was strongly associated with having more sexual partners, men's own victimization and participation in violence outside the home.

The factors associated with rape of a man were similar to those of rape of a non-partner

woman, such as those related to sexual practices, victimization history, particularly having been raped by a man or experienced homophobic violence, and participation in gangs and fights with weapons. Of the notable differences, the rape of a non-partner woman was associated with childhood experiences of violence, depression and alcohol abuse, which were not associated with the rape of a man.

FINDING: Factors associated with men's use of violence against women varied by type of violence across sites, thus it is crucial to know your situation to know your response.

The rates of violence perpetration varied dramatically across sites. Across all sites a number of factors and environmental drivers appeared to be consistently related to violence, including factors related to gender inequality, violent masculinity and experiences of child abuse. However the socio-cultural, economic, political and historical contexts varied widely and thus the specific factors we see as being related to violence understandably varied across sites and need to be addressed through site-specific interventions. For example, current food insecurity and low levels of education, which reflect economic inequality and may be a trigger for violence in certain contexts are only relevant in the least developed country settings. Alcohol abuse, another trigger for violence, is only relevant in some contexts and understandably not found to be of significance in Muslim-majority settings. Dowry, which reflects a broader environment of gender inequality and power issues is only culturally relevant in Bangladesh, but there it is a factor that is strongly correlated with violence and thus needs to be addressed.

Both partner violence and non-partner rape were found to be fundamentally related to unequal gender norms, power inequalities and dominant ideals of manhood that support violence and control over women. However there were also some unique drivers or triggers of these different types of violence. Intimate partner violence is more strongly associated with gender inequality in the home and experiences of child abuse while non-partner rape is more strongly correlated with notions of manhood that promote heterosexual dominance and participation in violence outside the home.

WHAT DO THE FINDINGS MEAN IN A BROADER SOCIAL CONTEXT?

The factors associated with violence perpetration reflect individual and family dynamics as well as broader community and society-level causes of violence against women, related to gender inequality, power imbalances between women and men and forms of masculinities that support these social inequalities. Such a contextualization does not excuse individual men from their actions; men must be held accountable for their own violent and oppressive behaviour. Nonetheless, to truly understand this issue and frame overall prevention strategies, men's individual acts—and the factors associated with individual level actions—must be understood within other historical and societal contexts that also contribute to violence against women.

Many decades of work by activists and scholars have shown that gender inequality, patriarchy and men's power over women create an environment in which violence against women is widespread and accepted. This study's findings reaffirm that violence against women is an expression of women's subordination and inequality in the private and public spheres. The factors found to be associated with violence in this study enormously reflect influential narratives of masculinity that justify and celebrate domination, aggression, strength and a capacity for violence as well as men's heterosexual performance and men's control over women. These findings reflect social patterns of gender inequality and patriarchy that promote male dominance and power over women.

While violence against women cuts across all socio-economic groups and sites, the study suggests that the use of violence may increase among men who have less power compared to other men or who experience social stresses such as those caused by substance abuse or by poverty. Still, while social exclusion or inequalities may be a trigger of violent behaviour, this violence is not perpetrated indiscriminately. Rather, it is used against those over whom the perpetrator perceives he has power and in a context where that kind of violence is normalized because of cultural acceptance and impunity. It may be that

such violence against women is used as a way to reassert some level of power and control where, in other domains of their life, men feel relatively powerless.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1 Change social norms related to the acceptability of violence and the subordination of women
- 2 Promote non-violent masculinities oriented towards equality and respect
- 3 Address child abuse and promote healthy families and nurturing, violence-free environments for children
- 4 Work with young boys to address early ages of sexual violence perpetration
- 5 Promote healthy sexuality for men and address male sexual entitlement
- 6 End impunity for men who rape
- 7 Develop interventions that respond to the specific patterns of violence in each context

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AOR	adjusted odds ratio	PI	principle investigator
AUDIT	Alcohol Use Disorders Identification Test	PNG	Papua New Guinea
CEDAW	Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	PPS	probability proportional to size (quantitative sampling method)
CES	Centre for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale	SPC	Secretariat of the Pacific Community
CI	confidence interval	UN	United Nations
GAM	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, or the Free Aceh Movement	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
GEMS	Gender-Equitable Men Scale	UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
ICDDR,B	International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh	UN WOMEN	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women	UNV	United Nations Volunteers
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey	WHO	World Health Organization
IPV	intimate partner violence	WHO MCS	World Health Organization Multi-country Study of Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women
LSHTM	London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine		
MRC	Medical Research Council		
MSM	men who have sex with men		
NGO	non-governmental organization		
NSRRT	National Sex and Reproduction Research Team		
P4P	Partners for Prevention		
PAF	population attributable fraction		
PDA	personal digital assistant		

1

INTRODUCTION

LITERATURE

Violence against women is prevalent in every corner of the globe. Research has shown that it is a phenomenon rooted in unequal power relations between women and men and experienced across cultures, across socio-economic status, ethnicities and other demographic diversities. Violence against women reinforces gender hierarchies and power imbalances between women and men within families and communities.

Nonetheless, obtaining accurate statistical prevalence data on violence against women in all its forms is complicated by underreporting and under-documentation, although recent methodological consistency continues to inform ongoing research (Garcia-Moreno, 2005). According to most recent estimates, 30 percent of women aged 15 years or older have experienced, during their lifetime, physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence (Devries et al., 2013). It is a leading cause of homicide death in women globally (Stockl et al., 2013) and has many other health consequences (WHO, 2013).

The Asia-Pacific region has more than half the world's population and records high levels of various forms of violence against women, although with significant variation among countries. Reports range from 15 percent of women in Japan to 68 percent of women in Kiribati reporting having ever experienced physical and/or sexual partner violence (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; SPC, 2010). In a study in eastern India, 16 percent of women reported ever experiencing physical partner violence, and 25 percent reported ever experiencing sexual partner violence (Babu and Kar, 2010). In other research, physical partner violence was reported by about one third of women in China and Viet Nam, and more than half of women in Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu (Parish et al., 2004; Government of Viet Nam, 2010; Lewis, Maruia and Walker, 2008). Although one study in Hong Kong, China, found that rates of physical violence were higher among same-sex couples than opposite-sex couples, few studies have examined same-sex intimate partner violence in Asia and the Pacific. This is an area that requires further research (Mak, Chong and Kwong, 2010).

Throughout the region, rape, defined as forced or coerced sex,¹ most frequently occurs within marriage. It is difficult to obtain accurate rates of rape within marriage, as this form of violence against women is generally not criminalized (see table 1.1, which shows that marital rape is not criminalized in four of the six countries in the study). Even where laws against marital rape do exist, they are rarely enforced, and many health and legal services in the region lack the capacity to effectively respond to women reporting rape by an intimate partner, which may also contribute to low rates of reporting to the police (Government of Viet Nam, 2010; Puri, Tamang and Shah, 2011). Furthermore, many women may be reluctant to name forced sex within marriage as rape, given social norms and pressures around women's sexuality and presumed sexual availability within the relationship space. Compounding these realities, rape is notoriously underreported given the associated stigma and culture of victim blaming surrounding this form of violence. Still, some data has been collected on rape within marriage in the Asia-Pacific region. Previous studies found that 12 percent of women respondents in mainland China (Chan, 2007) and a quarter of women respondents in eastern India reported having ever experienced sexual abuse, including rape, by their husband (Babu and Kar, 2010). Similarly, more than a fifth of women in Indonesia reported ever experiencing sexual partner violence, and 12 percent said they had been sexually abused in the year prior to the study (Hayati et al., 2011). Rates of lifetime sexual intimate partner violence across the Pacific range from 17 percent in Tonga (Ma'a Fafine mo e Famili, 2012) to 55 percent in the Solomon Islands (SPC, 2009). Actual rates of marital rape are likely to be much higher because of the reasons discussed above.

Rates of reported non-partner violence also vary greatly from site to site, with 2 percent of women surveyed in both Hong Kong, China and Viet Nam and 11 percent of women in a national sample in Samoa reporting ever having experienced non-partner sexual violence (Chan, 2007; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; Government of Viet Nam, 2010).

There has been much less research conducted with men on men's perpetration of partner violence

TABLE 1.1

EXISTING LEGISLATION ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN COUNTRIES WHERE THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

COUNTRY	LEGISLATION ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
BANGLADESH	LEGISLATION ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Rules, 2013; Domestic Violence (Prevention and Protection) Act, 2010; Suppression of Violence against Women and Children Act, 2000 (amended 2003); Dowry Prohibition Act, 1980; Penal Code, 1860; Acid Crime Control Act, 2002; Acid Crime Prevention Act, 2000.
	LEGISLATION ON RAPE: Penal Code, 1860; Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898; Evidence Act, 1872; Suppression of Violence against Women and Children Act, 2000 (amended 2003).
	Marital rape is not criminalized unless the wife is younger than 13 years (Penal Code, 1860).
CAMBODIA	LEGISLATION ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and the Protection of Victims, 2005.
	Legislation covers rape (Penal Code).
	Marital rape is not specifically mentioned in the Penal Code. Marital rape could be included under 'sexual aggression' in the domestic violence legislation; however, this law does not have penalty provisions (Article 7, Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and the Protection of Victims, 2005).
CHINA	SOME GENERAL LEGISLATION ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: Marriage Law, 2001; Law on the Protection of Rights and Interests of Women, 2005; Constitution of the People's Republic of China, 1982. A draft law specifically on domestic violence is in discussion but has not yet been passed.
	Legislation covers rape.
	Marital rape is not criminalized.
INDONESIA	LEGISLATION ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: Law No. 23/2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence.
	Legislation covers rape, although the legal definition of rape covers only forced penetration of sexual organs, and filing a case requires corroboration and two witnesses, unless the victim is younger than 15 years.
	Marital rape is not a criminal offence in Indonesia's Penal Code but is covered under 'forcing sexual intercourse' in legislation on domestic violence (Article 8 of Law No. 23/2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence) and can be punished with criminal penalties.
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	Legislation covers domestic violence but no specific domestic violence provision in the criminal code. However, if implemented, the recent Family Protection Bill 2013 will make domestic violence a criminal offence.
	LEGISLATION ON RAPE: Sexual Offences and Crimes against Children Act, 2002; Criminal Code 2003 Amendment.
	Marital rape is criminalized (Sexual Offences and Crimes against Children Act, 2002; Criminal Code 2003 Amendment).
SRI LANKA	LEGISLATION ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: Prevention of Domestic Violence Act, No. 34 of 2005; Penal Code.
	LEGISLATION ON RAPE: Sections 363(e) and 364(2)(a) of the Penal Code, as amended by Act No. 22 of 1995. 'Grave sexual abuse' is also a criminal offence (Section 365(b) of the Penal Code (Amendment) Act No. 22 of 1995) and includes all sexual acts without consent that do not come within the definition of rape.
	Marital rape is not criminalized unless the wife and husband are judicially separated.

and rape than there has been of women's experiences of such violence. Population-based studies among men globally have found a prevalence of ever-perpetrating physical partner violence, ranging from 22 percent in eastern India (Babu and Kar, 2010) to 42 percent in South Africa (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2011). Studies on the perpetration of non-partner² rape of women reveal a prevalence ranging from 9 percent in Chile to 37 percent in South Africa (Barker et al., 2011; Machisa, Jewkes, Lowe-Morna and Rama, 2011; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2011; Senn, Desmarais, Verberg and Wood, 2000; Abbey et al., 2006; Tsai et al., 2011). Overwhelmingly, rape is perpetrated by men, with women or girls usually the victims, whether partners or non-partners.

Even though men are also raped, the prevalence rates are much lower than those of women. The phenomenon of male rape of men has not been much researched, although it is starting to be documented more in armed conflict contexts (Sivakumaran, 2007; Baaz and Stern, 2010; Sonke Gender Justice Network and Promundo, 2012). A population-based study in South Africa found 3 percent of the men interviewed reported perpetration and 3.3 percent had been raped by a man (involving non-consensual oral or anal penetration) (Dunkle et al., forthcoming).

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES OF THE UN MULTI-COUNTRY STUDY ON MEN AND VIOLENCE—QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

The information on male perpetration of violence against women globally has been limited by differences in research design and methods, making comparisons of findings among settings difficult. Despite decades of work and the commitment of many that have led to significant advances in awareness, laws and policies to end violence against women, under-reporting still characterizes the phenomenon and there has not been an overall decrease in the prevalence of violence against women and girls. Until now, efforts to address violence against women and girls have, for the most part, rightly focused on improving services and responses to violence: strengthening legislation and the criminal justice system overall, particularly to end impunity,

and improving access and quality of health, legal and social services. Nevertheless, responding to the effects of violence alone cannot stop all new occurrences. Prevention requires redressing the structural causes that enable men to assert power and control over women (and use violence to do so) alongside ensuring a well-functioning justice system and response mechanisms. The prevention approaches in this region have focused largely on advocacy campaigns and awareness-raising. Increasingly globally, there is growing attention not only to engaging men and boys as advocates to end violence against women but also to understand context-specific constructions of masculinities that contribute to and explain violence.

To deepen the effectiveness of responses to end violence against women, four United Nations agencies—the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) and United Nations Volunteers (UNV)—came together through the joint programme, Partners for Prevention (P4P), to gather robust evidence regarding the extent, nature and effect of men's use of violence against women in Asia and the Pacific, to inform evidence-based policy and programming and to assist development partners to address violence against women and ultimately lead to strengthened prevention of violence against women.

The study objectives were to:

- better understand men's use of different forms of violence against women (specifically, intimate partner violence and non-partner rape) in the Asia-Pacific region;
- assess men's own experience of violence as well as their perpetration of violence against other men and how it relates to the perpetration of violence against women;
- identify factors associated with men's perpetration of different forms of violence against women;
- promote evidence-based policies and programmes to prevent violence against women.

The United Nations Multi-country Study on Men and Violence was carried out from 2010 to 2013 and used multiple methodologies—quantitative, qualitative and policy analysis—at the national and regional levels to build a nuanced understanding of violence against women and masculinity across the region.³ Specifically, the study was based on the premise that, because men are the primary perpetrators of violence, research directly with men was needed to understand the underlying drivers of violence perpetration in order to transform the culture which makes violence by men against women a societal norm, even when sanctioned.

This report focuses on the quantitative study, conducted with more than 10,000 men and 3,000 women⁴ in nine sites across six countries (Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Sri Lanka) in the region. This quantitative survey provides the largest cross-country comparable data set focused on men's perpetration of violence against women in the Asia-Pacific region, complementing existing studies done with women. In particular, the quantitative study aimed to answer the following broad research questions:

- What is the prevalence and frequency of men's use of different forms of violence against women (specifically, intimate partner violence and non-partner rape⁵) in the Asia-Pacific region?
- What is the prevalence and frequency of men's own experiences of violence as well as their perpetration of sexual violence against other men and how does it relate to the perpetration of violence against women?
- What are the factors associated with men's perpetration of different forms of violence against women?
- How does this inform evidence-based policies and programmes to prevent violence against women?

AN EPIDEMIOLOGICAL STUDY INFORMED BY A GENDER, POWER AND MASCULINITIES PERSPECTIVE

“The Commission affirms that violence against women and girls is rooted in historical and structural inequality in power relations between women and men, and persists in every country in the world as a pervasive violation of the enjoyment of human rights ... Violence against women and girls is characterized by the use and abuse of power and control in public and private spheres, and is intrinsically linked with gender stereotypes that underlie and perpetuate such violence, as well as other factors that can increase women's and girls' vulnerability to such violence.”

AGREED CONCLUSIONS, 57TH COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

This report is based on the quantitative population-based household survey with individual men and women and the data was analysed from a scientific epidemiological perspective. However, it was premised on the well-documented hypothesis that violence against women is a manifestation of unequal gender relations and harmful manifestations of hegemonic masculinity governed by patriarchal beliefs, institutions and systems. It is an epidemiological study informed by feminist theory, including the following concepts.

The research uses theories of masculinities to better understand the connections between men, gender, power and violence. Men are overwhelmingly involved in all types of violence, and they are the primary perpetrators of violence against women and girls. Exploring masculinities helps shed light on the complexity of how gender norms shape individual attitudes and practices and how individuals and institutions can shape gender norms across the region.

Masculinities can be defined as ‘ways of living for men’, both identities and patterns of practices associated with the positions of men in various gender systems. There is no one masculinity; masculinities vary over time and across and within cultures. However, there is often a hierarchy of masculinities in which one (or more) pattern of masculinity is socially dominant and others are marginalized (IDS, 2007). The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been globally influential after it was introduced in the 1980s through the work of Raewyn Connell. Hegemonic masculinity may not be the

most common pattern in the everyday lives of boys and men; only a minority of men might enact it. But it is normative in the sense that it embodies the currently most honoured way of being a man and requires other men to position themselves in relation to it (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

While some masculinities are inextricably linked to men's use of violence, there is great diversity in men's lives across the region, and not all men perpetrate violence. Further, there is a growing body of literature on how the patriarchal system, as well as the power of individual men, works not only to the detriment of women but also, in certain specific instances, to the detriment of some men themselves (Connell, 2005; Cleaver, 2002; Breines et. al., 2000). This research was designed to explore both how masculinities contribute to inequalities, violence and oppression and also how some forms of masculinities can shape settings in which more men are partners in gender justice and ending violence. The study sought to elicit the factors that may be implicated in why some men are more or less likely to abuse women. The study hypothesized that within the broader environment, founded on widespread gender inequality, men's use of violence against women is influenced by a number of interconnected factors operating at different levels of society.

While gender inequality, power and violent forms of masculinity may be understood as the root causes of violence against women, current understanding of violence against women also suggests that women's experiences and men's perpetration of violence are associated with a complex array of individual, household, community and societal level factors. The socio-ecological model is a commonly used conceptual framework that maps the factors associated with women's and men's experiences of violence across the different levels of society, as represented in figure 1.1 (O'Toole, Schiffman and Edwards, 2007; Gage, 2005; United Nations General Assembly, 2006; Heise, 1998; WHO and LSHTM, 2010).

Given that this is an epidemiological study conducted with individual men and women, the findings provide evidence of the individual- and family-level factors that are correlated with men's

use of violence against women (presented in Chapters 6 and 7). Informed by feminist theory, the first premise of this analysis is that these individual- and family-level factors exist within, and are formed by, broader community norms and social environments of patriarchy and gender inequality, which is also borne out by the data, as discussed in Chapter 8.

While this study predominantly focused on men's use of intimate partner violence against women and rape of women who are not partners, given that these are the most common forms of gender-based violence (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005), the study also explored men's own experiences of violence including sexual violence and homophobic bullying and men's perpetration of sexual violence against other men. This enabled the examination of associations between men's own experiences of some specific types of violence and men's use of violence against women.⁷

For the purposes of the study, a working definition of gender-based violence was applied as an um-

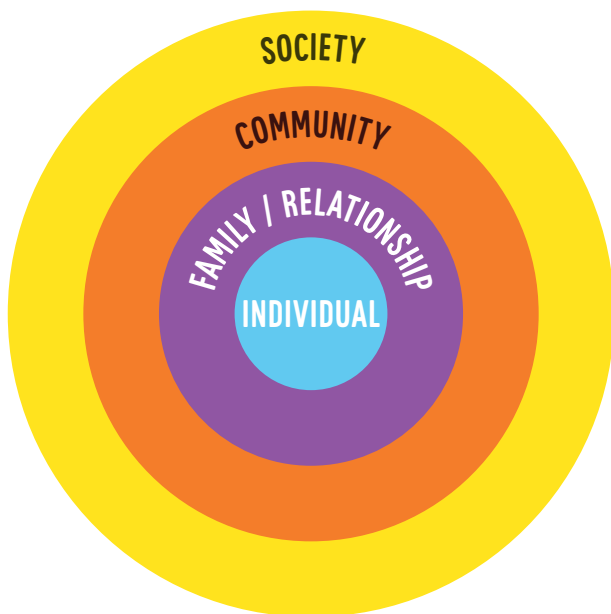
CAUSES OF VIOLENCE VERSUS ASSOCIATED FACTORS

From a technical perspective, individual factors found to be correlated with violence against women cannot be interpreted as providing the 'causes' of violence against women. This is because it is not always clear whether the specific characteristic or experience being measured occurred before or after a violent event. Further, while one factor, such as childhood experiences of violence, may be strongly correlated with violence perpetration, not all men who experience child abuse will go on to use violence against women.

However, clusters of strongly correlated factors point to broader underlying causes, such as gender inequality and patriarchy, which are discussed in the report, particularly in Chapter 8. Further, if the multiple associated factors, and the societal forces that influence them, are addressed, it is likely that a decrease in the rates of violence perpetration may result.

FIGURE 1.1

THE SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL MODEL FOR UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN⁶



brella concept that describes any form of violence used to establish, enforce or perpetuate gender inequalities and keep in place unequal gender-power relations. In other words, it is violence that is used as a policing mechanism of gender norms and relations and is intended to result in the subordination of women. This concept of gender-based violence was useful for this study because it allowed for the exploration of links among the various forms of violence and of how violence relates to larger systems of social inequality.⁸

The UN Multi-country Study drew on the experiences and tools of a number of other important studies, including the Medical Research Council's (MRC) Study on Men's Health and Relationships,⁹ the Men and Gender Equality Policy Project, particularly the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES)¹⁰ and the World Health Organization's Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women (WHO MCS).¹¹

This study was a collaborative project involving partners from academia, research institutes, civil

society, the United Nations family and governments around the globe. It was developed and coordinated by P4P in collaboration with the MRC of South Africa, and study teams in each country who conducted the surveys. The national study teams comprised experts from a research institution or government agency with experience in population surveys, and a United Nations or civil society agency that provided funding and coordination. A technical advisory group of renowned experts on gender-based violence and masculinities, including the World Health Organization, advised on the methodology. A research steering committee, with representatives from each study site, made technical decisions on data analysis and ethical standards. To support the implementation and dissemination of the study, countries established national working groups consisting of government, civil society and United Nations representatives and researchers. See box 1.1 for a list of all members of the study team.

WHAT IS INCLUDED IN THIS REPORT?

This report focuses on the results from the quantitative component of the study. Through a comparative analysis of the data from all six countries where the quantitative survey was conducted, this report presents new knowledge from men on their use of violence against women to inform violence prevention interventions. The report is not a comprehensive analysis of all the data from the study, which would be too much for one document. Rather, the report tries to answer the following three questions: How common is men's use of violence against women in the region? What factors are related to men's use of violence? What can be done to prevent violence from occurring?

Chapter 2 outlines the methodology of the study. Chapter 3 presents the prevalence rates of men's perpetration and women's experiences of intimate partner violence by site. Chapter 4 presents prevalence data on men's perpetration of different types of rape, including partner and non-partner rape of women as well as rape of other men. This chapter also includes findings on men's own reported motivations and consequences for rape perpetration. Chapter 5 presents findings on men's and women's attitudes about gender norms, men's involvement

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in household work, childcare and decision-making, sexual practices, men's health and vulnerabilities and experiences of violence as children. Chapters 6 and 7 analyse the factors associated with men's perpetration of intimate partner violence and non-partner rape respectively. Chapter 8 discusses the findings in relation to the broader conceptual framework related to power, gender and masculinities that informed the study, and the final chapter presents recommendations. Chapters 3–5 present the data, including prevalence rates by site, except where the sample was nationally representative. When presenting factors associated with violence perpetration in Chapters 6 and 7, the data was combined within a country, and adjusted by site.

Annex I presents more details of the study methodology. Annex II presents the questionnaires and annex III is the *Ethical and Safety Guidelines for Research on Gender-based Violence*. The statistical

appendix includes all additional tables and figures that are not presented in the main report. The annexes and statistical appendix are not included in this report; they are all available online at www.partners4prevention.org/about-prevention/research/men-and-violence-study/regional.

Data from the women's survey is not the focus of this report and is only presented to provide a point of comparison for the men's responses, specifically regarding rates of intimate partner violence and gender-based attitudes. This report also includes case studies from the qualitative research to triangulate the quantitative findings, provide a human context to the statistics and add to the depth of the analysis. A more comprehensive analysis of the qualitative research,¹² which requires its own report, will be released in late 2013. For details on the qualitative methodology, see annex I.

1 See the glossary at the end of the report for a more detailed definition.

2 The term 'non-partner' is used here to indicate any relationship between persons that is not spousal (or ex-spousal) or an intimate partner relationship.

3 Although this report represents the quantitative component, the study consists of three complementary research pieces, the other two being qualitative research and political analysis. For more on the three pieces, see the research protocol ([link](#)). Although this report represents the quantitative component, the study consists of three complementary research pieces, the other two being qualitative research and political analysis. For more on the three pieces, see the *Toolkit for Replicating the United Nations Multi-country Study on Men and Violence* which will be available in October 2013 at www.partners4prevention.org.

4 The purpose of the survey was to interview men; however, a smaller sample of women was also interviewed in Cambodia, China, Papua New Guinea and Sri Lanka to validate men's reports and provide data on women's experiences of violence where such data was limited. In countries in which extensive research on violence against women had already been done with women (Bangladesh) or was planned for the near future (Indonesia and Cambodia are both doing a national prevalence study with women in 2013--2014), women were not interviewed to avoid duplication.

5 The focus of the study is on men's use of intimate partner violence and sexual violence against non-partner females because these are the most common types of violence against women in the region. Although the existence of many other types of violence is recognized, such as dowry or honour-related crimes, researching them would require different methodologies. Understanding such specific types of violence is not suited to household surveys with the general population.

6 Adapted from Heise, 1998.

7 When discussing the research findings, this report uses the most specific and technically accurate terms for different acts of violence. For the operational definitions of the types of violence, see tables 2.2 and 2.3.

8 We acknowledge that there are various and contested definitions of gender-based violence. There is some debate around whether the umbrella term of gender-based violence was introduced to emphasize the gender inequalities that women experience and that lie at the roots of all forms of violence against women, or to also include other forms of violence that are perpetrated by men against some other men and boys. Often these forms of violence are influenced by constructions of gender and harmful masculinities, gender relations and stereotypes, although, arguably they are not the result of systemic gender-based discrimination that exists (albeit to differing degrees) for all females, across all cultures, because of the conditions of patriarchy. These debates continue to shape and refine our understanding of gender-based violence. However, due to the nature of this study, we continue to use the term to understand and explore the connections between structural gender inequalities, masculinities, and violence perpetrated by men against women, and how it relates to violence perpetrated and experienced among men.

9 For more information, see the study findings in *Understanding Men's Health and Use of Violence: Interface of Rape and HIV in South Africa*, in MRC Policy Brief, available from www.mrc.ac.za/gender/violence_hiv.pdf (accessed 14 July 2013).

10 For more information on the Men and Gender Equality Policy Project, see: www.promundo.org.br/en/activities/activities-posts/projetos-especiais/

11 For more information on the WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women, see: www.who.int/gender/violence/who_multicountry_study/en/

12 Detailed analyses of the qualitative and policy research components are ongoing, and the reports for these components are forthcoming.

2

METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains the research methodology, with more comprehensive details available in annex I. The UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence quantitative component was conducted in nine sites across six countries in Asia and the Pacific from 2010 to 2013 and comprised standardized household surveys with men and, in most sites, women (table 2.1).¹³

PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AND SELECTED SITES

The research sites were selected to reflect the diversity of the region, with sites from South Asia, South-East Asia, East Asia and the Pacific, including two post-conflict sites. The countries that were included also required available funding and partner institutions with the capacity to conduct the surveys. Given that this was a multi-country study with a focus on comparisons across sites, the aim was not to obtain nationally representative samples, which would

TABLE 2.1

THE UN MULTI-COUNTRY STUDY ON MEN AND VIOLENCE RESEARCH SITES



COUNTRY AND SITE LABEL	SITE 1: CAPITAL OR LARGE CITY	SITE 2
BANGLADESH URBAN, RURAL	URBAN SITE - DHAKA: The country's capital, largest city and commercial centre, it is situated in the middle of the country. The population of metropolitan Dhaka is approximately 12.8 million, and it is predominantly Muslim.	RURAL SITE - MATLAB: A densely populated rural district, it is dominated by subsistence agriculture and widespread landlessness. The population of Matlab is 225,038 and it is a site of the Health and Demographic Surveillance System of the International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh.
CAMBODIA NATIONAL	NATIONAL: Cambodia is a South-East Asian country bordered by Viet Nam, Thailand, Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Gulf of Thailand. Cambodia has had a tumultuous recent history, first in the American war with Viet Nam, then under the Khmer Rouge regime, during which an estimated one quarter of the population died, and then under Vietnamese occupation from 1980 to 1989. Although the Khmer Rouge regime officially ended in 1979, conflict continued in many parts of the country until as late as 1992. The population of 14.9 million is predominantly Buddhist and of Khmer ethnicity. The sample was nationally representative, with the study conducted in Phnom Penh (the capital and largest city in Cambodia) and in four other randomly selected districts of Siem Reap, Battambang, Kampot and Sihanoukville.	



have been too costly and time consuming. In most sites, either the whole area was sampled (Cambodia and Bougainville, Papua New Guinea) or one urban site—the capital city—and one or two rural sites were selected (Bangladesh and Indonesia). In Indonesia, one of the rural sites selected was Papua, which was chosen because, culturally, it is substantially different from the rest of Indonesia and it is one of the sites for a UN joint programme on elimination of violence against women and children, implemented by UN Women, UNFPA and UNICEF. Only one site

was sampled in China, but it was a county that had both urban and rural characteristics; that site also was particular in that it represents only a small proportion of the population, although the selected county has standard characteristics. In Sri Lanka, the survey was conducted in the capital city and three other districts in three unique regions. Table 2.1 provides a map and short description of the research sites (along with the label used for each site as it appears throughout the report, in terms of urban, rural, national or a specific place).

COUNTRY AND LABEL	SITE 1: CAPITAL / LARGE CITY	SITE 2	SITE 3
CHINA URBAN/RURAL	URBAN/RURAL SITE: One site was selected in China, a county in the central region that had both urban and rural characteristics. Approximately two thirds of its 1.4 million population lives in rural areas and one third in urban areas. The majority of the population is ethnically Han Chinese. The average annual income of residents is slightly higher than the national average. The site was selected because it is a standard county that could be considered reflective of the general central China region, and it was a site where UNFPA had programming work. In addition to the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which took place from 1966 to 1976, China's dramatic and drastic economic reform and socio-cultural and transformation over the past 30 years would have had a major impact on the lives of many people in the areas where the research was conducted.		
INDONESIA URBAN, RURAL, PAPUA	URBAN SITE - JAKARTA: The capital and largest city in Indonesia is the country's economic, cultural and political centre. With a population of more than 10 million, it is also the most populous city in South-East Asia and continues to grow rapidly.	RURAL SITE-PURWOREJO: Located in the southern part of Central Java Province, Purworejo includes both mountainous and coastal areas. Its population is more than 760 000. Although it has both agriculture and livestock industries, Purworejo also has become a place for retirees, with many younger citizens moving to Jakarta for work. It is a site of the Health Demographic Surveillance System.	PAPUA SITE-JAYAPURA: The provincial capital of Papua, it is situated on the northern side of the island of New Guinea in the Pacific Ocean. It has a population of more than 260,000, with one in four people aged 15–24. Papua Province consists of various ethnic groups speaking different languages and concentrated in several geographic areas. In Jayapura, many migrants from Java and nearby islands, such as Sulawesi and Bali, have settled. A conflict has been ongoing in the province since the early 1960s.
PAPUA NEW GUINEA BOUGAINVILLE	Autonomous Region of Bougainville was selected because it is an island; located near the Solomon Islands, it has a population of about 175,000. It is the site of a lengthy armed conflict from 1988 to 1998 that was sparked by disputes over land ownership surrounding a mine. Although the war formally ended in 1998, peacebuilding has been incremental, and areas remain fragile. Elections for the first autonomous government took place in 2005. Social infrastructure and economic development were greatly damaged by the civil war, and access to health services and schools is very poor. The island's main subsistence is agriculture, based on bananas, fishing and coconuts.		
SRI LANKA NATIONAL	NATIONAL: a South Asian island nation, Sri Lanka has a multi-ethnic population of more than 21 million. It is predominantly Buddhist, with large Muslim, Hindu and Christian populations, and the national literacy rate is more than 90 percent. Sri Lanka recently ended a three-decade-long civil war, with rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts ongoing. The island nation was badly hit by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. The study was conducted across the four regions of the country: COLOMBO: the largest city in Sri Lanka and the country's commercial, industrial and cultural capital; HAMBANTOTA: a district in the South that was affected by the 2004 tsunami; NUWARA ELIYA: a district in the Eastern Province and a tea plantation area; and BATTICALOA: a district in the Eastern Province that experienced recent conflict and was affected by the 2004 tsunami. Although the sites were not randomly selected, for the purposes of this report, the data were pooled for a national sample because they were representative of those districts and cover the main regions of the country.		

TABLE 2.2

ITEMS USED TO MEASURE INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

	 MEN	 WOMEN
EMOTIONAL ABUSE	Insulted his partner or deliberately made her feel bad about herself	Was insulted or made to feel bad about herself
	Belittled or humiliated his partner in front of other people	Was belittled or humiliated in front of other people
	Did things to scare or intimidate his partner on purpose, such as by the way he looked at her, by yelling or smashing things	Partner did things to scare or intimidated her on purpose such as by the way he looked at her, by yelling or smashing things
	Threatened to hurt his partner	Partner threatened to hurt her
	Hurt people his partner cares about as a way of hurting her or damaged things of importance to her	Partner threatened to hurt people she cares about as a way of hurting her or damaged things of importance to her
ECONOMIC ABUSE	Prohibited his partner from getting a job, going to work, trading or earning money	Was prohibited from getting a job, going to work, trading or earning money
	Took his partner’s earnings against her will	Had her earnings taken from her against her will
	Forced his partner out of the house	Partner forced her or her children out of the house where she was living
	Kept money from his earnings for alcohol, tobacco or other things when he knew his partner was finding it hard to afford the household expenses	Partner refused to give her money she needed for household expenses even when he had money for other things
PHYSICAL VIOLENCE	Slapped his partner or threw something at her that could hurt her	Was slapped or had something thrown at her that could hurt her
	Pushed or shoved his partner	Was pushed or shoved
	Hit his partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her	Was hit with a fist or something else that could hurt her
	Kicked, dragged, beat, choked or burned his partner	Was kicked, dragged or beaten up
	Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against his partner	Partner threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against her
SEXUAL VIOLENCE (PARTNER RAPE)	Forced his partner to have sexual intercourse when she did not want to	Was physically forced to have sexual intercourse when she did not want to
	Had sexual intercourse with his partner when he knew she didn’t want it but believed she should agree because she was his wife/partner	Had sexual intercourse when she did not want to because she was afraid of what partner might do

SAMPLE

In all sites, a representative sample of men aged 18–49 years was obtained from households selected through a multi-stage cluster sampling strategy. A minimum sample size of 1,000 was established on the basis of required levels of statistical power to meet the primary study objectives, but some countries chose to have a larger sample size. The researchers relied on census enumeration areas, with a probability proportionate to size, and systematically selected households within those areas. In each household, a man aged 18–49 years (where necessary, randomly selected) was invited for the interview with a trained male interviewer. Men aged 50 and older were excluded to reduce recall bias and avoid the heightened sensitivity of discussion of sexual matters. Most interviews were face to face, but answers to the most sensitive questions were self-completed on audio-enhanced personal digital assistants (PDAs). In China, a household list of individuals in each cluster by age and sex was available and was used for sampling within selected clusters, and the entire questionnaire was self-completed. Where the survey with women was also conducted, additional clusters were selected for the interviews, which were handled by a trained female interviewer. There was no replacement of absent or non-responding households or individuals.

In total, 10,178 men and 3,106 women aged 18–49 were interviewed. Full details of the methods and detailed sampling strategy by site are presented in table A1 in annex I.

The samples are representative of the specified sites, although in most countries are not nationally representative. The study sample in no way represents the whole Asia–Pacific region.

QUESTIONNAIRES

To ensure data comparability across sites, the study used a standardized structured questionnaire, which drew from the South African Medical Research Council's *Study on Men's Health and Relationships*, the *WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women* and the *International Men and Gender Equality Survey* (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; Barker et al. 2011; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2011). The questionnaires were translated into eight languages, validated in each context through cognitive interviewing and administered in the local language.¹⁴ Each country subsequently field tested the questionnaires with a sample of 100–150 men and women (where applicable). The final questionnaires were piloted in each site prior to data collection.

TABLE 2.3

ITEMS USED TO MEASURE MALE RAPE PERPETRATION AGAINST WOMEN AND MEN

	NON-PARTNER RAPE—SINGLE PERPETRATOR	NON-PARTNER RAPE—GANG RAPE
RAPE OF A NON-PARTNER WOMAN OR GIRL	<p>Respondent forced a woman who was not his wife or girlfriend at the time to have sex with him</p> <p>Respondent had sex with a woman or girl when she was too drunk or drugged to say whether she wanted it or not</p>	<p>Respondent and other men had sex with a woman at the same time when she didn't consent to sex or they forced her</p> <p>Respondent and other men had sex with a woman at the same time when she was too drunk or drugged to stop them</p>
RAPE OF A MAN OR BOY	RAPE OF A MAN OR BOY—SINGLE PERPETRATOR	GANG RAPE OF A BOY OR MAN
	<p>Respondent did something sexual with a boy or man by putting his penis in the other's mouth or anus when he didn't consent</p>	<p>Respondent and other men had sex with a boy or man at the same time when he didn't consent or they forced him</p>

The men's questionnaire included eight sections and covered perpetration of violence against women, socio-demographic characteristics and employment, childhood experience, gender attitudes, fatherhood, health and well-being and sexuality. The women's questionnaire contained 11 sections, which included questions on socio-demographic characteristics, childhood experiences, gender attitudes, physical, mental and reproductive health, experiences of violence and related consequences and coping strategies. For full versions of the questionnaires, see annex II.

Men's use and women's experiences of intimate partner violence were measured with a series of behaviour-specific questions related to a current or former intimate partner that were based on a South African adaptation of the WHOMCS questionnaire, as outlined in table 2.2 (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2011). The questions on sexual intimate partner violence focused on forced and coerced sex—partner rape. Respondents who reported perpetrating or experiencing any act of violence were asked about the frequency with which it had occurred. At the end of each series of questions (emotional, economic, physical and sexual), respondents were asked if any of the acts had occurred within the previous 12 months. Men who had been married, cohabitated or had a girlfriend (which is referred to as 'ever-partnered') were asked the survey questions on intimate partner violence.

The word 'rape' was not used in the questionnaire, rather it was operationalized by responses to questions on specific acts. Two questions on non-partner rape asked about having 'forced a woman who was not your wife or girlfriend at the time to have sex' or having 'had sex with a woman who was too drunk or drugged to indicate whether she wanted it', and how often. Two more asked about having done these with other men (gang rape). Men were asked whether they had raped in the last 12 months, how many different women they had ever raped and their age the first time. We did not collect data on the relationship of non-partner rape victims to the male interviewee, but the questions precluded them from being former partners. Two items asked about male rape perpetration (oral or anal penetration that was forced or without consent) and male gang rape (see table 2.3).

CONDUCTING THE SURVEY

In each country, a core research team was assembled through a selected research institution. Male subjects were interviewed by male interviewers and female subjects were interviewed by female interviewers. The study used PDAs for data collection in all sites to address ethical issues and to maximize disclosure. The data sets were combined and analysed centrally by P4P using Stata, version 11.2. For more details on the data analysis, see annex I.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical and safety guidelines for the research conducted with men on violence against women were developed for this study (Jewkes, Dartnall and Sikweyiya, 2012), drawing upon prior field experiences and the WHO guidelines for research with women (WHO, 2001). Ethics permission for the whole study was obtained from the Medical Research Council of South Africa Ethics Committee and from local institutions or national ethics boards in each country (table 1 in annex I). As part of the study, an internal ethics committee was established to advise on and respond to any serious ethical and safety issues or major adverse events that occurred. The ethical considerations are outlined here and the full details are available in annex III.

The study followed these overall guidelines:

- The safety of respondents and the research team is paramount and guides all project decisions.
- Ensure that all methods used build upon current research experience on how to minimize the underreporting of violence and abuse.
- Establish mechanisms that will ensure the confidentiality of men's and women's responses.
- Carefully select all research team members and provide specialized training and support. For more on interviewer training, see the *Toolkit for Replicating the United Nations Multi-country Study on Men and Violence*, which will be available in October 2013 at www.partners4prevention.org.

Minimize any possible distress caused to the participants by the research.

- Train the fieldworkers to refer men and women requesting or needing assistance to available local services and sources of support. Where few resources exist, the study should create short-term support mechanisms.
- Arrange for the most sensitive questions on sexual violence perpetration and other criminal activities to be self-administered using the audio-enhanced function of the PDAs, thus avoiding any potential ethical dilemmas for the interviewers about obligations to report criminal behaviour to the police.
- Destroy all documents with identifying details of respondents after use.
- Conduct interviews in a private setting. Only children younger than 2 years are permitted to be present.

All participants provided informed consent. Participation in the study was voluntary and respondents were not paid.

STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The data set reflected in this report represents the largest and most comprehensive multi-country research from the general population on men's use of gender-based violence in the Asia-Pacific region. This study has advanced the body of evidence on the prevalence, patterns and factors associated with men's perpetration of violence against women, which complements the comprehensive body of existing data from women. A great strength of this study was the use of self-completion for data collection on sensitive issues, likely reducing underreporting.

Nonetheless, the study had a few limitations. The samples in most countries were not nationally representative (Cambodia is the exception) and thus the findings only reflect the sampled sites. Not all countries in Asia and the Pacific were included in the study because it was not financially or logistically feasible; thus the analysis of the combined

sample does not represent the region. Although all countries met the minimum sample requirements, the sample sizes varied among the countries, reflecting overall population size and the number of sites where the survey was conducted. Such variations are unlikely to have influenced the results because all methods resulted in a representative sample with no particular biases related to the outcomes. There may have been non-response bias, but response rates were high. Violence perpetration, particularly sexual violence, may have been underreported because it is perceived as a private, anti-social behaviour, although most women's reports appear to validate the findings from men. Bangladesh was the first country to undertake the study and, following that experience, the questions on sexual partner violence were expanded to include a question on coerced sex. As a result, there is some disparity between the sexual violence questions administered in Bangladesh and the other sites, and this may impact on reported prevalence there.

The researchers compared the standard prevalence rates of all types of violence with prevalence weighted for the number of eligible men in a household in all countries except China (where sampling was of individuals) and found no significant difference. Thus, the analysis presented in this report is not weighted (annex I). The cross-sectional nature of the survey means that causation of violence perpetration cannot be determined; however, the analysis of associated factors still provides a strong evidence base to inform prevention interventions.

RESPONSE RATES AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

In almost all the research sites, there was a high response rate, with more than 70 percent of selected men and women completing the interviews (table 2.4). The exception was Sri Lanka, which had an individual response rate for men of 59 percent. In Sri Lanka, the response rate was lowest in Colombo and was related to men being away at work much of the time and people being hesitant to invite unknown interviewers into their homes, given the personal security considerations.

At the end of each interview, all respondents were asked if they felt the same, better or worse

TABLE 2.4

RESPONSE RATES FOR MALE AND FEMALE SAMPLES, BY SITE

NOTE *Total number of completed interviews as a percentage of the number of households with eligible men. The sample in China was a direct sample of individuals rather than households.

SITE	MALE		FEMALE	
	TOTAL NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE HOUSEHOLDS	INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE RATE* (%)	TOTAL NUMBER OF ELIGIBLE HOUSEHOLDS	INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE RATE* (%)
BANGLADESH RURAL	1 233	92.9		
BANGLADESH URBAN	1 712	73.2		
CAMBODIA NATIONAL	1 863	89.9	620	92.7
CHINA URBAN/RURAL	1 233	82.5	1 299	84.9
INDONESIA RURAL	873	94.5		
INDONESIA URBAN	945	91.9		
INDONESIA PAPIUA	947	93.3		
PAPUA NEW GUINEA BOUGAINVILLE	1 014	85.2	1 034	85.0
SRI LANKA NATIONAL	2 656	58.7	871	73.9

than before they started the interview. Figure 2.1 indicates that, by far, the majority of respondents felt better or the same after completing the interview, suggesting that when handled in a rigorous and thoughtful manner, research with men and women on violence can be carried out without doing harm to those interviewed. There was no significant variation in feelings after the interview among men who had perpetrated partner violence and those who had not (data not shown).

Statistical appendix table 1 shows the age and education level of all men in the sample by site and compares the distributions with existing population data. From 60 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 97 percent (China-urban/rural) of the sample had ever been married or had a partner. Overall, across

the sites there was a relatively even split among the three age groups, 18–24, 25–34 and 35–49 years. The exceptions were China-urban/rural and Indonesia-rural, where a larger proportion of men (58 and 56 percent, respectively) were in the 35–49 year range; this is consistent with the population demographics. In most sites, from 70 to 80 percent of the male sample had a secondary education or higher. The exceptions were Bangladesh-rural, Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Cambodia-national, which is to be expected because those countries have lower levels of education overall. The comparisons with population age and education distributions from available censuses found that in Bangladesh-rural, the sample was a little older and in Sri Lanka-national it was younger. For other sites, the age structure was very similar to the sample. In all settings, the sample

FIGURE 2.1

FEELINGS OF RESPONDENTS AFTER THE INTERVIEW, BY SITE AND SEX



was more educated than the overall population, as documented by national census reports, except in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, where there was no data. The limitations on comparisons are discussed in statistical appendix tables 1 and 2.

Statistical appendix table 2 shows the age and education level of all women in the sample by site and compares the distributions with existing population data. As with the men’s data, there was a relatively even split among the age groups for women. The exception was China-urban/

rural, where the younger population represented a smaller portion of the sample and the upper-age group was overrepresented when compared with the overall population. This likely relates to the demographics of that particular region in China in which there is much external migration, with younger people having left for urban centres and thus not around to have been included in the sample. The women’s sample generally was less educated than the men’s sample. Sri Lanka-national had the most educated female sample, followed by China-urban/rural.

¹² Detailed analyses of the qualitative and policy research components are ongoing, and the reports for these components are forthcoming.

¹³ In countries in which a comparable study with women (WHO MCS) had recently been conducted—or was planned to soon be conducted—the study did not sample women to avoid unnecessary replication.

¹⁴ Bangla (Bangladesh), Mandarin Chinese (China), Khmer (Cambodia), Indonesian and the local Papuan language (Indonesia), Pijin English (Papua New Guinea) and Sinhala and Tamil (Sri Lanka).

3

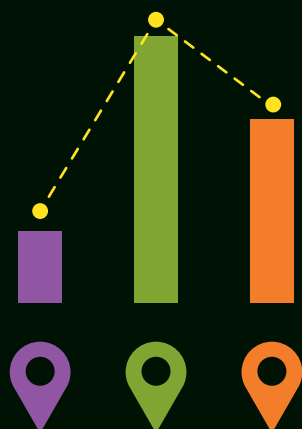
PREVALENCE AND PATTERNS OF

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

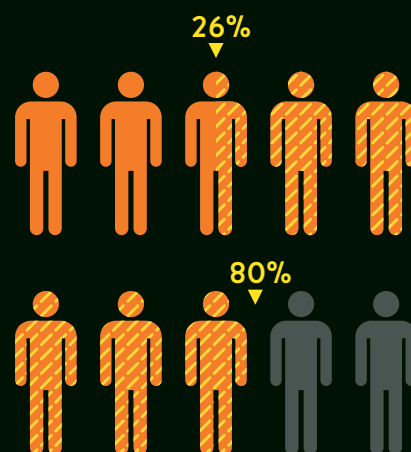
PERPETRATION AND EXPERIENCES

MEN'S AND WOMEN'S RESPONSES

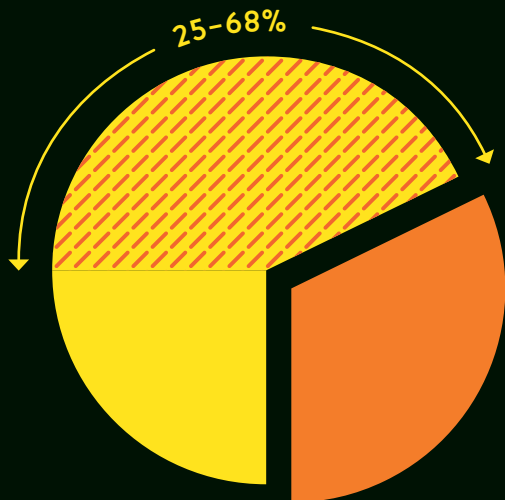
MAIN CHAPTER FINDINGS



Men's use of violence against a female intimate partner was pervasive across the Asia-Pacific region but prevalence rates varied widely across sites.



Among ever-partnered men, lifetime prevalence of perpetration of physical and/or sexual partner violence ranged from 26 percent to 80 percent.



Among ever-partnered women, 25-68 percent reported experiencing physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner in their lifetime.



In most sites, lifetime physical partner violence perpetration was more common than lifetime sexual partner violence perpetration; however, in Cambodia and Indonesia, the reverse was true.

Intimate partner violence is the most common form of violence against women globally, with major health consequences for women and significant social and economic costs for families, communities and governments (United Nations General Assembly, 2006; Ellsberg et al., 2008). This chapter presents data on men's use of different forms of violence against a female intimate partner. It also compares men's response on violence perpetration with women's responses on experiencing such violence (see table 2.2 for how intimate partner violence was measured and defined).

MEN'S PERPETRATION AND WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF PHYSICAL AND/OR SEXUAL PARTNER VIOLENCE

Table 3.1 presents the prevalence rates of male perpetration and female victimization (where data exists) of physical and/or sexual partner violence, by site.¹⁵ The study found that men's perpetration of physical and/or sexual violence against an intimate partner was common across the region, although there was wide variation by site. The proportion of ever-partnered men who reported perpetrating physical and/or sexual partner violence in their lifetime varied from 26 percent (Indonesia-rural) to 80 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville), but in most sites it was 30–57 percent. Lifetime prevalence of physical partner violence perpetration ranged from 12 percent to 62 percent, and physical violence in the 12 months prior to the survey ranged from 2 percent to 19 percent. Lifetime prevalence of rape perpetration against female intimate partners ranged from 10 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 59 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville), with rape perpetration in the 12 months prior to the survey ranging from 3–11 percent.

From 25 percent (Cambodia-national) to 68 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of women reported experiencing at least one act of physical or sexual violence or both by an intimate partner. Reports of ever experiencing physical violence by an intimate partner ranged from 21 percent (Sri Lanka-national) to 52 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville), and partner rape experiences ranged from 10 percent (Cambodia-national) to 58 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville).

SEXUAL VIOLENCE VERSUS RAPE

In this study, all sexual violence questions focused on forced or coerced sexual intercourse, which was defined as rape and which follow international definitions (Krug et al., 2002). This may also occur when the person aggressed is unable to give consent, such as while drunk, drugged, asleep or mentally incapable of understanding the situation (Krug et al., 2002).

Thus, as far as possible, the term 'rape' is used in the report, usually with specific mention to the type of rape: partner rape, non-partner rape, gang rape or rape of a man. For intimate partner violence, however, the term 'physical and/or sexual violence' is used when describing the overall prevalence rates because it is the standard terminology. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that in this case, 'sexual violence' refers only to forced or coerced sex—not other types of sexual violence that may occur within an intimate relationship.

LIFETIME VERSUS CURRENT INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE PREVALENCE

Lifetime prevalence of intimate partner violence perpetration is defined as the proportion of male respondents (who had had at least one intimate partner/relationship) and who reported having perpetrated one or more acts of physical or sexual violence at any point in their lives (against a current or ex-wife or girlfriend). Current prevalence is the proportion of ever-partnered respondents reporting at least one act of physical or sexual violence against an intimate partner in the 12 months prior to the interview. For female respondents, lifetime intimate partner violence prevalence measured the proportion of women (who had had at least one intimate partner/relationship) and who had experienced one or more acts of physical or sexual violence at any point in their lives (by a current or ex-husband or boyfriend).

TABLE 3.1

PERCENTAGE OF EVER-PARTNERED MEN AND WOMEN WHO REPORTED HAVING PERPETRATED OR EXPERIENCED PHYSICAL OR SEXUAL PARTNER VIOLENCE, BY SITE

NOTE

*The definition of sexual violence in Bangladesh only included forced sex, whereas other countries included forced and coerced sex, as outlined in box 2.1. 'Current' refers to the 12-month period prior to the survey;
n.a. = not applicable because the Bangladesh survey did not ask about current partner rape.

SITE	TOTAL NO. OF EVER-PARTNERED MEN/WOMEN		PHYSICAL VIOLENCE (%)		SEXUAL VIOLENCE (RAPE) (%)	PHYSICAL OR SEXUAL VIOLENCE, OR BOTH (%)	
			EVER	CURRENT	EVER	CURRENT	EVER
BANGLADESH RURAL	MEN	830	51.6	13.5	15.1*	n.a.	56.8
BANGLADESH URBAN	MEN	742	52.1	11.9	10.4*	n.a.	54.9
CAMBODIA NATIONAL	MEN	1 474	16.4	2.9	20.8	3.6	32.8
	WOMEN	417	22.1	6.4	9.8	3.2	25.3
CHINA URBAN/RURAL	MEN	970	44.7	14.5	19.4	5.3	51.5
	WOMEN	1 082	35.2	6.8	14.0	1.9	38.7
INDONESIA RURAL	MEN	769	11.5	1.8	17.9	4.7	25.7
INDONESIA URBAN	MEN	820	12.5	5.5	24.1	7.2	30.6
INDONESIA PAPUA	MEN	858	37.7	9.7	43.8	10.9	60.2
PAPUA NEW GUINEA BOUGAINVILLE	MEN	741	61.9	19.2	59.1	11.2	80.4
	WOMEN	792	51.5	21.9	58.1	13.4	67.5
SRI LANKA NATIONAL	MEN	1 176	24.2	4.9	15.5	2.8	32.9
	WOMEN	559	20.8	5.1	17.9	1.5	27.8
TOTAL FOR COMBINED SAMPLE OF MEN	MEN	8 380	32.9	8.7	24.3	6.0	45.6
TOTAL FOR COMBINED SAMPLE OF WOMEN	WOMEN	2 850	35.2	10.7	26.9	5.2	42.9

FIGURE 3.1

PREVALENCE OF MEN'S LIFETIME PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL AND/OR SEXUAL PARTNER VIOLENCE, BY SITE

● PHYSICAL VIOLENCE ONLY ● BOTH PHYSICAL AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE ● SEXUAL VIOLENCE ONLY

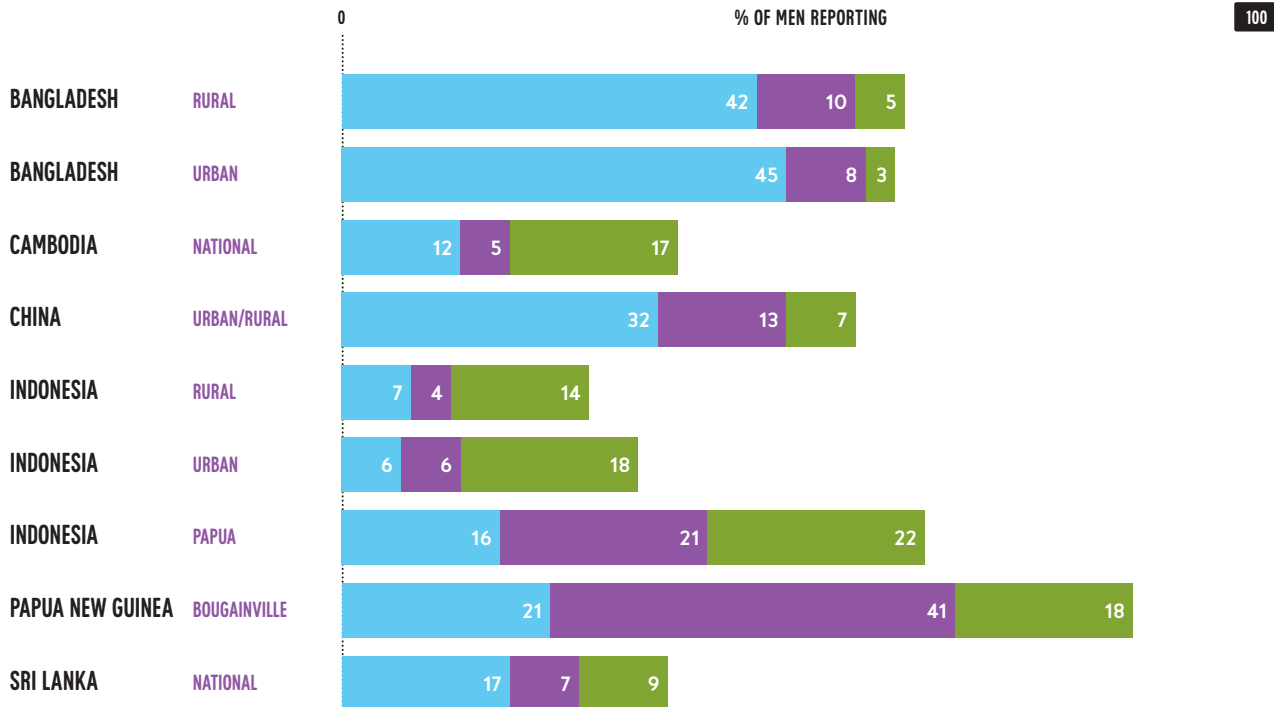


Figure 3.1 presents the prevalence of physical and/or sexual violence perpetration in order from lowest to highest and shows the overlap of these two types of violence. In all sites there was overlap between physical violence and rape perpetration; however, the degree of overlap varied, from 4 percent (Indonesia-rural) to 41 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of ever-partnered men reporting that they had used both physical and sexual violence. Where the overall rates of violence perpetration were higher (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Indonesia-Papua), the proportion of men who had used both forms of violence was also greater.

In some sites, more than half of the men who reported partner violence perpetration reported either physical violence only or physical violence accompanied by sexual violence, meaning that the sexual partner violence rarely occurred in isolation from physical violence in those sites. But in other sites, the opposite was true—in Cambodia-national

and in all three sites in Indonesia, sexual violence was more common than physical violence.

Across all six countries, the vast majority (between 65 and 85 percent) of men who reported using physical or sexual partner violence had committed more than one act or such acts multiple times (statistical appendix figure 1).

In addition to asking about physical and sexual violence, the study collected information on emotional abuse using questions from the WHO MCS (see table 2.2). Given the challenges of measuring emotionally abusive acts across cultural settings (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005, p. 35), table 3.2 presents men's and women's reports of various emotionally abusive acts—but it does not assume that the findings represent the overall prevalence of emotional abuse. The experience of emotional abuse may be considered a particularly subjective experience on the part of the victim, which makes

TABLE 3.2

PERCENTAGE OF EVER-PARTNERED MEN AND WOMEN WHO REPORTED HAVING PERPETRATED OR EXPERIENCED EMOTIONALLY ABUSIVE ACTS, BY SITE

NOTE

'Current' refers to the 12 months prior to the survey

SITE		TOTAL NO. OF EVER-PARTNERED MEN/WOMEN	AT LEAST ONE ACT LISTED (%)		AT LEAST 3 DIFFERENT ACTS (%)	INSULTS (%)	BELITTLEMENT/HUMILIATION (%)	INTIMIDATION (%)	THREATS OF HARM (%)	HURTING OTHERS/DAMAGING THINGS (%)
			EVER	CURRENT						
BANGLADESH	RURAL	MEN 830	46.4	19.7	25.7	21.9	16.7	25.9	28.2	8.4
BANGLADESH	URBAN	MEN 742	51.6	18.0	33.5	30.1	27.4	35.4	32.3	11.5
CAMBODIA	NATIONAL	MEN 1 474	54.3	15.8	31.6	34.9	14.9	30.8	29.1	6.7
		WOMEN 417	64.9	26.8	44.0	48.9	15.4	41.1	26.1	16.1
CHINA	URBAN/RURAL	MEN 970	43.1	19.0	18.0	22.3	14.2	28.6	9.5	6.0
		WOMEN 1 082	38.3	10.0	16.8	20.2	15.3	23.9	11.0	8.2
INDONESIA	RURAL	MEN 769	46.8	14.1	17.0	32.8	6.9	28.6	4.3	4.6
INDONESIA	URBAN	MEN 820	55.8	24.4	23.2	43.8	9.4	34.1	5.6	4.7
INDONESIA	PAPUA	MEN 858	64.5	24.8	37.8	48.5	14.5	44.6	17.5	18.4
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	BOUGAINVILLE	MEN 741	83.2	32.1	66.6	70.7	39.1	53.2	68.0	28.7
		WOMEN 792	69.0	28.3	51.7	55.2	36.2	42.9	42.4	26.4
SRI LANKA	NATIONAL	MEN 1 176	40.7	14.3	21.2	14.8	11.0	30.9	17.8	9.6
		WOMEN 559	30.0	9.6	17.3	14.8	11.4	22.1	14.3	10.6
TOTAL		MEN 8 380	53.2	19.6	29.7	34.2	16.4	34.0	23.1	10.4
		WOMEN 2 850	49.5	17.7	31.1	33.5	20.5	31.6	22.9	15.0

TABLE 3.3

PERCENTAGE OF EVER-PARTNERED MEN AND WOMEN WHO REPORTED HAVING PERPETRATED OR EXPERIENCED ECONOMICALLY ABUSIVE ACTS, BY SITE

NOTE

'Current' refers to the 12 months prior to the survey

SITE		TOTAL NO. OF EVER-PARTNERED MEN OR WOMEN	ANY ACT LISTED (%)		PROHIBITED PARTNER FROM WORKING (%)	TOOK PARTNERS' EARNINGS (%)	FORCED PARTNER OUT OF THE HOUSE (%)	WITHHELD EARNINGS FROM PARTNER (%)
			EVER	CURRENT	EVER	EVER	EVER	EVER
BANGLADESH	RURAL	MEN 830	17.7	6.0	9.4	2.2	6.6	3.3
BANGLADESH	URBAN	MEN 742	15.6	3.5	10.4	2.8	6.6	4.3
CAMBODIA	NATIONAL	MEN 1 474	53.2	25.2	25.6	16.9	7.8	30.6
		WOMEN 417	49.0	16.6	37.4	12.4	8.6	8.6
CHINA	URBAN/RURAL	MEN 970	22.7	10.5	10.6	3.8	7.2	7.7
		WOMEN 1 082	25.0	6.9	14.4	9.5	4.3	4.7
INDONESIA	RURAL	MEN 769	33.3	13.1	17.6	4.5	2.1	14.8
INDONESIA	URBAN	MEN 820	32.6	15.5	19.1	2.9	4.9	13.0
INDONESIA	PAPUA	MEN 858	49.8	26.2	17.2	13.1	13.7	33.2
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	BOUGAINVILLE	MEN 741	56.9	29.0	18.6	23.9	24.3	42.9
		WOMEN 792	55.4	23.7	21.0	35.0	21.9	28.0
SRI LANKA	NATIONAL	MEN 1 176	18.0	6.4	9.1	5.9	5.1	8.0
		WOMEN 559	27.6	6.2	16.7	13.0	2.5	6.3
TOTAL		MEN 8 380	34.0	15.4	15.7	8.8	8.4	17.9
		WOMEN 2 850	37.9	13.0	20.2	17.9	9.7	12.3

the challenge of measuring emotional violence perpetration even greater.

A range from 41 percent (Sri Lanka-national) to 83 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men reported using at least one emotionally abusive act against a partner in their lifetime, and 14–32 percent reported doing so in the 12 months prior to the interview. Emotional abuse was often a repeated pattern of behaviour, with 17 percent (Indonesia-rural) to 67 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men reporting that they had perpetrated three or more different acts of emotional abuse against a partner in their lifetime. In terms of specific acts, men's use of insults and intimidation were relatively common across sites, while hurting others or damaging things was least common across sites. Threats of harm and intimidation were most common in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, Bangladesh-urban and rural and Cambodia-national but less so in all three Indonesia sites, China-urban/rural and Sri Lanka-national.

From 30 percent (Sri Lanka-national) to 69 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of women reported experiencing at least one emotionally abusive act by a male intimate partner in their lifetime, which was somewhat less than what the men reported. From 10 percent to 28 percent across sites reported experiencing such abuse in the 12 months prior to the interview. As with men, the use of insults and intimidation were the most commonly reported acts that women across sites had experienced.

Economic abuse is increasingly recognized as an important element of intimate partner violence. Economic violence includes denying a woman access to and control over basic resources (United Nations General Assembly, 2006). This includes such acts as the denial of funds, refusal to contribute financially, denial of food and basic needs and controlling access to health care and employment. In this study, men and women were asked about their perpetration or experiences of economically abusive acts, as outlined in table 2.2. Like emotional abuse, the questions asked on economic abuse did not constitute a comprehensive list of all possible abuses, and thus it was not categorized as a prevalence rate. Table 3.3 shows that from

16 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 57 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men reported perpetration of economically abusive acts against an intimate partner in their lifetime. Four sites, however, ranged from 16 percent to 23 percent, with Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, Indonesia-Papua and Cambodia-national significantly greater. The reported perpetration of current economic abuse ranged from 4 percent to 29 percent of ever-partnered men across sites. For most sites, the most commonly reported act was a man prohibiting his partner from working or earning an income or withholding earnings from a partner for household expenses.

DIFFERENCES IN MEN'S AND WOMEN'S REPORTING OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

Although the focus of this study was on male perpetration of violence, in all but two countries (Bangladesh and Indonesia), a small sample of women were also interviewed about their experiences of violence in order to compare findings. The prevalence of physical and/or sexual partner violence disclosed in interviews by women was very similar to men's reports in Sri Lanka, Cambodia and both sites in Bangladesh, with the 95 percent confidence intervals overlapping (see Figure 3.2). However, significant differences were seen in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and China-urban/rural, with men reporting a higher prevalence of intimate partner violence. In almost all sites where women were interviewed (the exception being Cambodia), men reported higher rates of physical partner violence perpetration than women reported victimization. Also, comparing with other equivalent studies with women in the same countries, men's reports of physical violence in this study were greater than the corresponding women's reports (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2006; Hayati et al., 2011). In all sites where they were interviewed (except Sri Lanka-national), the women also reported lower rates of lifetime sexual violence than the men reported. In Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, women reported higher rates of sexual violence in the 12 months prior to the interview than what the men reported.

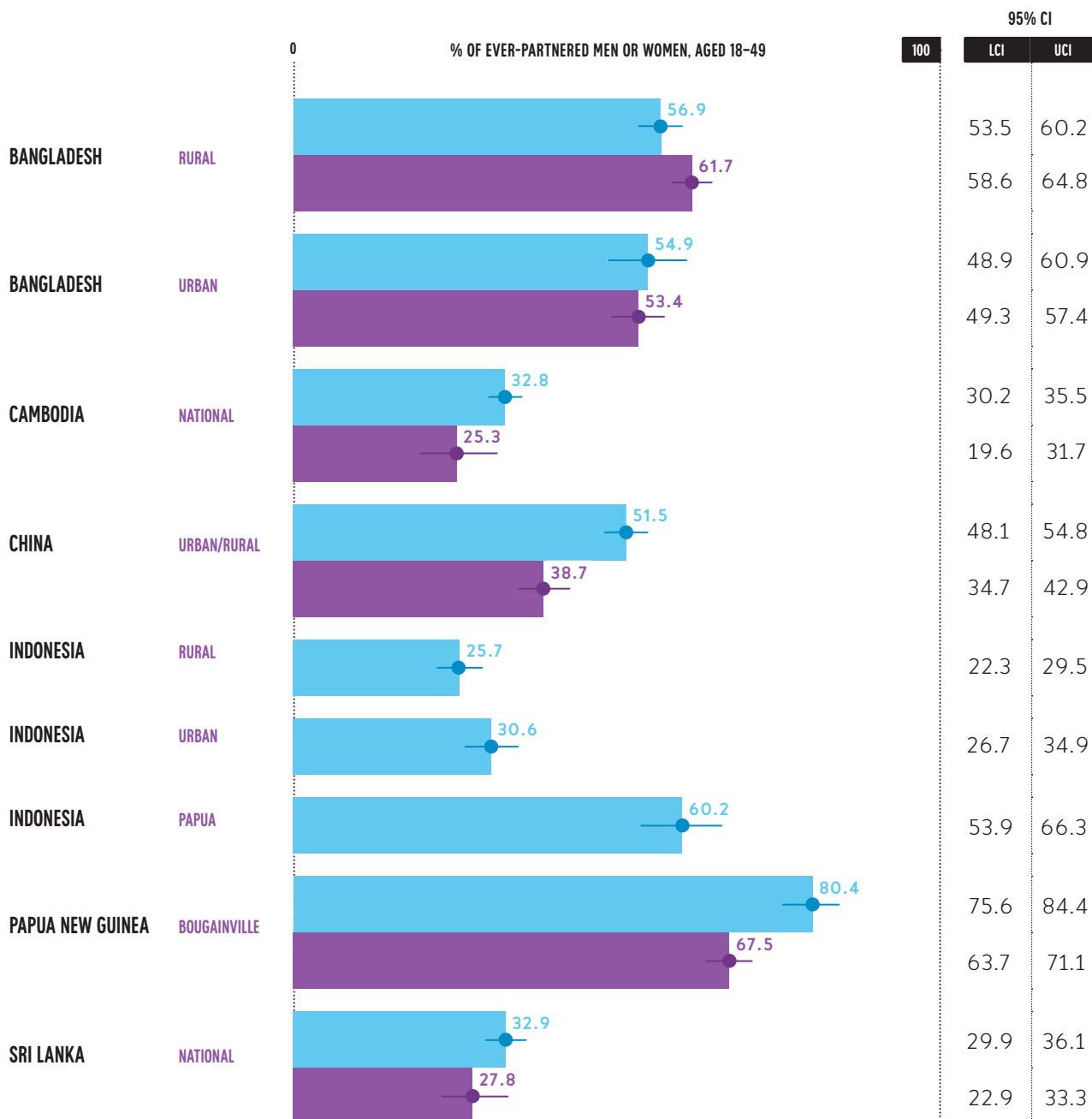
There has been speculation as to whether women tend to exaggerate or overreport violence or

FIGURE 3.2

PREVALENCE OF PHYSICAL AND/OR SEXUAL INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE BY SITE, COMPARING MEN'S AND WOMEN'S REPORTS

NOTE *Reports from women in Bangladesh are based on findings from the WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women, which was conducted in exactly the same sites as the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence, although in 2003. The WHO definition of sexual violence is also broader than the UN Multi-country Study which only includes partner rape, thus it would be expected that women's reports would be slightly higher.

● MEN ● WOMEN



underreport experiences of violence due to shame, stigma and perhaps fear of consequences (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005). The findings provide evidence of the external validity of the measures but suggest that in some settings women may report a lower prevalence of partner violence. A study in eastern India that interviewed both men and women also found that men reported higher prevalence of all forms of violence apart from sexual violence (Babu and Kar, 2010). Some disparity may be due to minor questionnaire wording differences for men and women that were necessary because of the different perspectives investigated. The use of self-completion for the sexual violence questions may have influenced men to report more openly than women, but the lower reporting of violence from Chinese women who also self-completed suggests that identified disparities may reflect a different interpretation of events by men and women, or a desire by women to protect men.

The higher rates of reporting by men may indicate that in contexts in which partner violence is relatively normalized, there is less shame and stigma for men to admit perpetrating violence than for women to admit experiencing it. Where impunity is common, women's fear of further violence is likely greater than men's fear of legal repercussions, which may also contribute to women's lower rate of reporting. It may also reflect normalization or acceptance of violence among some women, reducing their likelihood to report it. The vast majority of partner violence in this study occurred within marital relationships; in most countries investigated, there is a strong expectation that a wife is obliged to have sex with her husband or does not have the right to refuse (Hadi, 2000; Idrus and Bennett, 2003; Lewis, Maruia and Walker, 2008; Kingdom of Cambodia, 2009; Bennett, Andajani-Sutjahjo and Idrus, 2011). This is particularly true for Bangladesh, where marital rape is not a crime (Naved et al., 2011). In this context, men (and women) may fail to recognize the coercive nature of their (or their partner's) behaviour when it comes to sex within marriage.

For current and lifetime emotional abuse, men again reported higher rates than women did in all sites except Cambodia, and the types of acts reported most frequently were consistent. For economic abuse, overall rates of reported abuse were relatively consistent among men and women; however, the types

BOX 3.1

CASE STUDY 1

A WOMAN'S EXPERIENCES OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE IN BUKA, BOUGAINVILLE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Sarah* experienced multiple forms of violence across her life, most notably from her father and then her husband. Sarah remembers having a difficult relationship with her father. He was very strict and “didn’t whip me properly [for children]. He used to really kill [whip] me ... until blood poured out.” Her father was an alcoholic, she says. She would lie awake listening for him to return at night. “If he came in and his voice was good [sober], I would go to sleep.” If he was drunk, she would run away. These experiences have affected her current relationship. “Even now that I am married, when my husband fights me, I usually run away. I think there is a link, the same fear. I am a woman who runs away.”

Describing her husband, she says, “He’s a type of colonial ruler, the same as my father.” Sarah says he controls what she wears in public and who she sees. “All the time he tells me that I am ugly, so in the mirror I look and just see that I am so ugly.” Her relationship with her husband has had an impact on her perception of self-worth. “He changed me really, this man, my husband,” she adds. Aside from emotional and economic abuse, Sarah’s husband perpetrates severe physical and sexual violence within the relationship. He doesn’t have sex “properly” but rather “pushes objects in” (such as a child’s toy) and then has sex with her. If she screams, he’ll just say “stay quiet, stay quiet”. Sarah knows this is marital rape and that “all our children are unplanned because he rapes me and has sex with me.” But she stays in the relationship because of her children. She feels sorry for them. “Broken homes only break children,” she says. “For me, that’s why I think I stick to my marriage. Because my parents broke up and I suffered.”

*Pseudonym

of abuse they reported varied. A smaller proportion of women in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Cambodia-national reported that their partner had withheld earnings from them, compared with their male counterparts' responses, perhaps because they were not aware of their partners' behaviour in this regard. On the other hand, women were more likely to report that their partners had taken their earnings from them against their will and prohibited them from working, compared with what the male sample reported, suggesting the interpretation of these behaviours may be different.

The case study in box 3.1 provides an example of one woman's experiences of partner violence in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville. The narrative highlights the complex relationship between childhood experiences of violence and later experiences of violence during adulthood.

DISCUSSION

This study provides country-comparable data on male perpetration of intimate partner violence, including partner rape, from a large representative sample of men in the general population, which complements the global body of research on women's victimization (Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana, 2002; Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005), and men's perpetration (Barker et al., 2011). The study shows that intimate partner violence perpetration is common in Asia and the Pacific but that there is wide variation in the prevalence by site, ranging from 26 percent to 80 percent. This is supported by other studies, such as the WHO MCS, which found a global range of women's experiences of intimate partner violence of 15–71 percent, with most sites ranging from 30 percent to 60 percent. The findings are also consistent with, although at slightly higher rates, other studies on men's perpetration of physical partner violence, which range globally from 24 percent in Brazil to 42 percent in South Africa.

The study also found that not just rates but patterns of partner violence vary significantly among sites. In Sri Lanka-national and both Bangladesh sites, almost all partner violence occurred within marriage, and physical violence perpetration was more common than sexual violence perpetration. In Cambodia-national and all three Indonesia sites,

however, violence appears to be more sexualized, with sexual partner violence more common than physical partner violence. This finding is echoed in other studies in Thailand and Indonesia (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; Hayati et al., 2011). In Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Indonesia-Papua, perpetration that includes both physical and sexual violence was particularly common. This highlights the need to understand and respond to the specific patterns of partner violence in unique contexts. As noted, the differences in men's and women's reporting of partner violence suggest that there are cultural and gendered distinctions in the ways in which such violence is viewed. This requires further research and should be taken into account in terms of interventions with men or women.

Variations in prevalence and patterns of violence perpetration across sites may be accounted for in part by socio-cultural differences as discussed here and in the following chapters. Perpetration rates were lowest in Sri Lanka and Indonesia-rural and urban and highest in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville. Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Indonesia-Papua are both in the Pacific, and the high rates of violence perpetration found there are supported by other population-based studies from the Pacific in which between 40 percent (Tonga) and 68 percent (Kiribati) of ever-partnered women report experiencing physical or sexual partner violence or both (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; SPC, 2010; SPC, 2009). This indicates that the Pacific may have common social norms, environments and practices that normalize or condone men's use of violence against women. Other studies suggest that high rates of violence in this region are related to a widespread normalization of violence against women, tension related to socio-economic transitions across the region, youth culture related to urban crime and violence, and histories of colonization and colonial violence, among other potential factors (Eves, 2006; Robert, 2007; Capie, 2011; PIFS, 2011; Jolly, Stewart and Brewer, 2012).

Variations in the status of women and gender inequality across sites may also contribute to the diverse prevalence rates, as supported by other studies (Heise, 2012; Fulu, forthcoming). For example, countries with higher equality scores on the UNDP Gender-related Development Index

and Gender Inequality Index (UNDP, 2010) tend to have lower levels of perpetration of intimate partner violence against women. Although, this is not the case for China-urban/rural nor is it true for other measures, such as the Gender Empowerment Measure, which does not align with the prevalence rates of intimate partner violence in this study. This suggests that gender inequality issues alone are not sufficient to explain men's violence against women, and other factors may have a role in different settings. The cultural acceptability of the use of violence in interpersonal relationships is also an important factor (Jewkes, 2002), as are other influences, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Armed conflict has been a feature of many countries in Asia and the Pacific over the past three to four decades. In this study, two sites, Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Indonesia-Papua, were selected specifically because they had been through recent or had ongoing conflict. The rates of violence, particularly rape (discussed in the next chapter) tended to be higher in these conflict-affected sites. Although it is impossible to know to what extent this common feature is a product of their being in a similar geographic area and possibly having cultural commonalities, especially because very high levels of violence against women were also reported in the mainland of Papua New Guinea (NSRRT and Jenkins, 1994), which has not experienced any conflict. Several of the countries and sites had fairly recently ended conflict (notably Sri Lanka) and yet were among the lowest prevalence countries for intimate partner violence. This suggests that the relationship between the impact of armed conflict and the perpetration of violence against women is far from a simple one. The high rates of violence within conflict settings support other literature on the impact of militarization on masculinities and the larger gender order within conflict (Enloe, 2007; Goldstein, 2001). The case study in box 3.2 from Indonesia-Aceh (one of the post-conflict sites where the qualitative life history research was conducted) indicates how militarized environments and witnessing violence during conflict affect how men understand norms around what it means to be a man.

¹⁵ See statistical appendix tables 3 and 4 for men's reports of specific acts of physical and sexual violence perpetration against an intimate partner.

BOX 3.2

CASE STUDY 2

MASCULINITIES IN MILITARIZED ACEH, INDONESIA

Teguh^{*} lived in Aceh during the armed conflict period when the Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, or the Free Aceh Movement (GAM), a militarized separatist group fought for independence from Indonesia. He recalls that “it was cruel in the conflict zone. The law was not imposed.” Before his exposure to the conflict in 2000, he remembers thinking that he would “like to see the war and experience the gun fights. But when the houses burned and I saw people beaten and then when I heard the gun fights, I was afraid.” He remembers seeing incidents of shooting, ambushes, torture and killings. and describes this as “hard”. Teguh's grandmother was shot and killed in front of him, and many of his childhood friends joined the GAM and were killed in clashes with the military forces. “Sometimes our friends [were tortured] but we could not help them. We did not have power or influence, so we just witnessed [the torture].”

Teguh's ideas of what it means to be a man very much reference this period in his life. Men, he says “should be strong mentally. They should be responsible to themselves, their family and their relatives.” Men also need to be brave in the face of conflict. Teguh remembers his experiences during the conflict when “we often worried about gun clashes”, but when one erupted, “brave men” would run, possibly through a clash, to get to safety.

^{*}Pseudonym

4

NON-PARTNER AND PARTNER RAPE

PERPETRATION:

PREVALENCE, MOTIVATIONS

AND CONSEQUENCES

MAIN CHAPTER FINDINGS



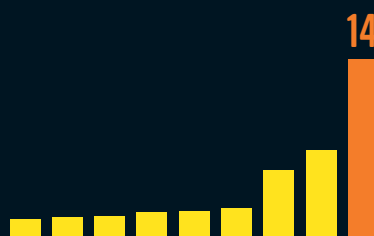
Men's perpetration of rape against women and girls was relatively common across the region; however, prevalence rates varied significantly across sites.

10-62%

A range of 10 percent to 62 percent of the men interviewed across the sites reported that they had perpetrated rape against a woman or girl in their lifetime.

4-41%

Non-partner rape perpetration prevalence ranged from 4 percent to 41 percent across the nine sites surveyed.



Men's reported perpetration of gang rape in their lifetime ranged from 1 percent to 14 percent across the nine sites.



Half of all men who had perpetrated rape did so for the first time when they were teenagers (younger than 20 years).



The most commonly reported motivation for perpetrating rape across sites was related to men's sense of sexual entitlement.



The majority of men who perpetrated rape did not experience any legal consequences.

A range of 2 percent to 8 percent of the men interviewed reported that they had raped another man or boy in their lifetime. The overlap of rape of a man and the rape of a woman is very pronounced. Most men who had raped a man had also raped a female non-partner.

Rape is a global problem, violating the human rights of victims and causing enduring health and socio-psychological consequences (Jewkes, Sen and Garcia-Moreno, 2002). This chapter presents the findings on men’s perpetration of rape against non-partner women and girls, including gang rape as well as data on male rape of other men across the nine research sites. Prevalence data on the rape of an intimate partner was presented in the previous chapter, although it is discussed again in this chapter to compare with non-partner rape and to look at motivations and consequences. For definitions and measurements of rape used in this study, see table 2.3. They include forced or coerced sex, including having sex with a woman or girl when she was too drunk or drugged to consent. Gang rape is defined as forced or coerced sex perpetrated by more than one person at the same time. Men were also asked about rape perpetration

of another boy or man, defined as forced or coerced sex acting alone or with multiple perpetrators (penetration of a penis into a mouth or anus). Men who had raped were asked whether they had done so in the 12 months prior to the survey, how many women or men they had raped and their age at the first rape. In the questionnaires, the word ‘rape’ was not used in the questions, although reference was made to the specific acts.

PREVALENCE AND PATTERNS OF NON-PARTNER RAPE AND GANG RAPE PERPETRATION

As discussed in the previous chapter, from 10 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 59 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of ever-partnered men reported that they had perpetrated rape against a female intimate partner in their

TABLE 4.1

PERCENTAGE OF MEN REPORTING PERPETRATION OF RAPE AGAINST FEMALE PARTNERS AND NON-PARTNERS, BY TYPE AND SITE*

SITE	PARTNER RAPE (%)	NO. OF EVER-PARTNERED MEN	NON-PARTNER RAPE (%)	GANG RAPE (%)	ANY RAPE OF A PARTNER OR NON-PARTNER (%)		NO. OF MEN SURVEYED
					EVER	PAST YEAR	
BANGLADESH RURAL	15.1	830	4.4	1.9	14.1	2.7	1 143
BANGLADESH URBAN	10.4	742	4.1	1.4	9.5	0.5	1 252
CAMBODIA NATIONAL	20.8	1 474	8.3	5.2	20.4	11.3	1 812
CHINA URBAN/RURAL	19.4	970	8.1	2.2	22.2	9.3	998
INDONESIA RURAL	17.9	769	5.8	1.5	19.5	6.7	815
INDONESIA URBAN	24.1	820	8.5	2.0	26.2	10.6	868
INDONESIA PAPUA	43.8	858	23.4	6.8	48.6	17.7	893
PAPUA NEW GUINEA BOUGAINVILLE	59.1	741	40.7	14.0	62.4	25.2	864
SRI LANKA NATIONAL	15.5	1 176	6.2	1.6	14.5	4.9	1 533
TOTAL FOR COMBINED MALE SAMPLE	24.3	8 380	10.9	3.9	24.1	9.2	10 178

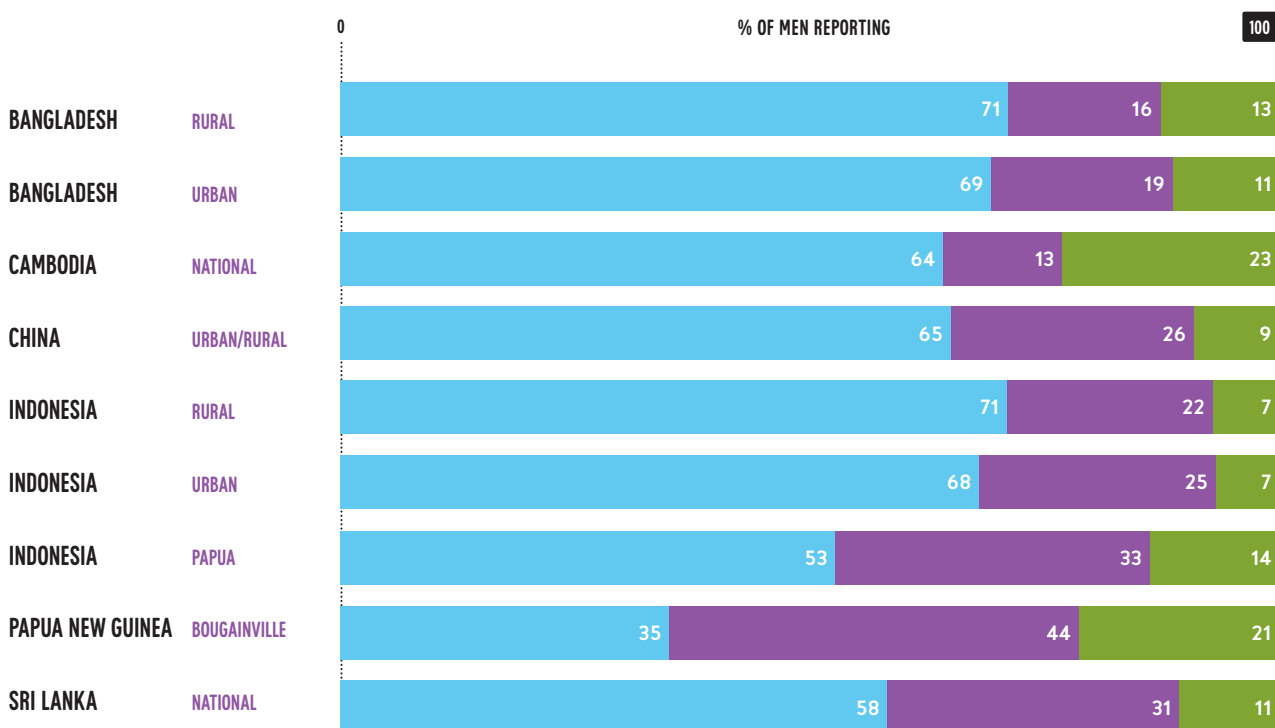
FIGURE 4.1

PERCENTAGE OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF RAPE PERPETRATION AGAINST A WOMAN OR GIRL, AMONG EVER-PARTNERED MEN WHO HAD PERPETRATED RAPE, BY SITE*

NOTE

*To directly compare the proportions of different types of rape, the data in this graph is among ever-partnered men only. The percentage of never-partnered men who had perpetrated rape was so small that it did not affect the overall proportions significantly. Where there is overlap between partner rape and non-partner rape, it is reported in the non-partner category. Where there is overlap with gang rape and the other types of rape, it is reported in the gang rape category.

● INTIMATE PARTNER RAPE ● RAPE OF A NON-PARTNER ALONE ● GANG RAPE OF A NON-PARTNER



lifetime. Table 4.1 shows that there is also wide variation in men’s perpetration of rape against a female non-partner, ranging from 4 percent (Bangladesh-urban and rural) to 41 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville). In most sites, the prevalence of gang rape ranged from 1 percent to 2 percent; however Cambodia-national (5 percent) and Indonesia-Papua (7 percent) were considerably higher, and the highest of all was Papua New Guinea-Bougainville (14 percent).

Combining all forms of rape, the study found that a range of 10 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 62 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of

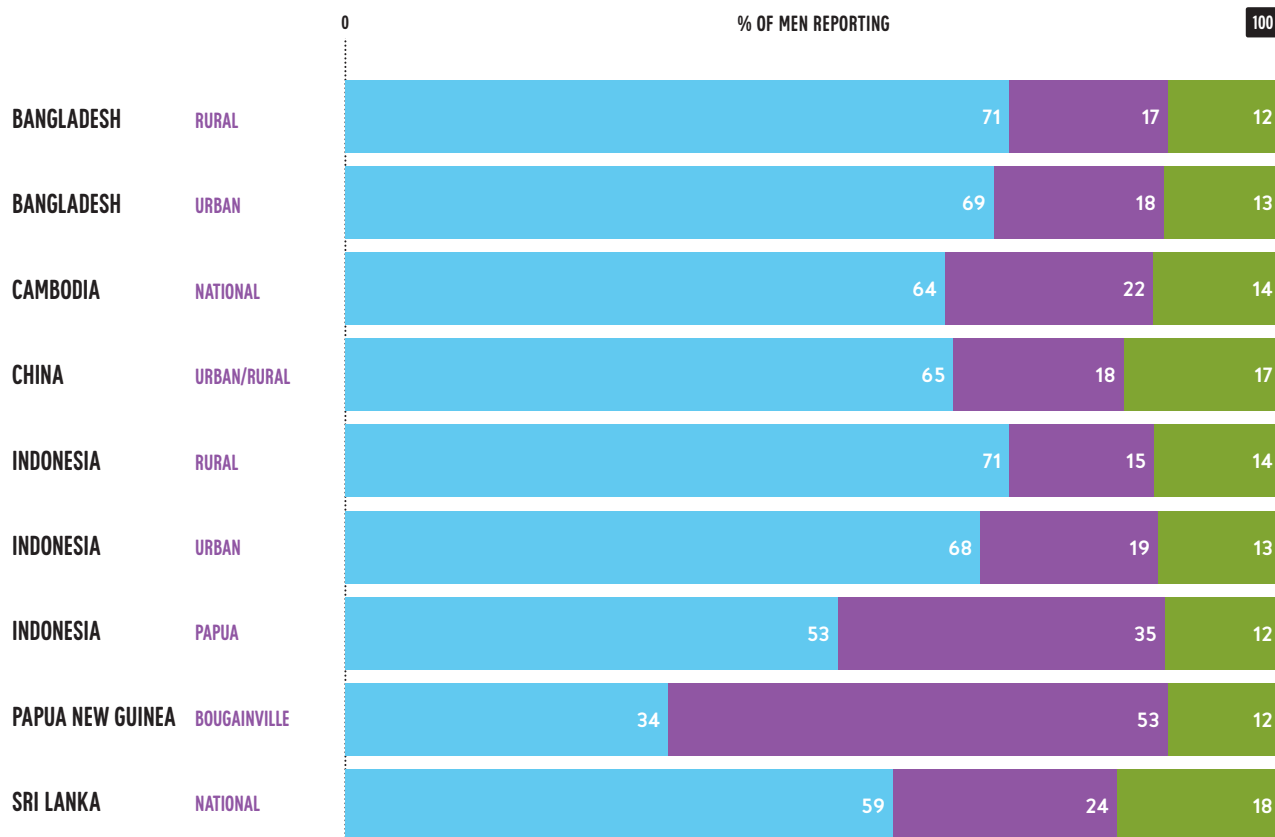
all men reported perpetrating some form of rape against a woman or girl in their lifetime. From 1 percent to 25 percent of men across sites reported doing so in the 12 months prior to the interview. Partner rape was measured among ever-partnered men whereas non-partner rape, gang rape and any rape were measured among all men. Given the different denominators, it is possible for the reported rate of ‘any rape’ to be lower than that of ‘partner rape’.

Figure 4.1 presents the percentage of ever-partnered men (among those who had ever raped) who perpetrated different types of rape. The data reveal

FIGURE 4.2

OVERLAP OF PARTNER AND NON-PARTNER RAPE PERPETRATION AMONG MEN WHO REPORTED EVER HAVING RAPED A WOMAN OR GIRL, BY SITE

● INTIMATE PARTNER RAPE ● BOTH INTIMATE & NON-PARTNER RAPE ● NON-PARTNER RAPE ONLY



that, in most sites, men were more likely to rape an intimate partner than a non-partner. In Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, however, non-partner rape was more common than partner rape. Gang rape was the least common form of rape except in Cambodia, where it was more common than non-partner rape by a perpetrator acting alone.

A significant proportion of men who had raped a non-partner had also raped a partner, as shown in figure 4.2. Yet, intimate partner rape was more likely to occur on its own. Among the men who had perpetrated rape (partner or non-partner), 21–48 percent of them reported having raped more than one woman or girl. A larger proportion of men (41–69 percent) said they had perpetrated rape more than once, suggesting that they raped

the same woman a number of times (table 4.2). Overall, half (49 percent) of the men who had raped did so for the first time when they were teenagers, varying from 25 percent (China-urban/rural) to 64 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville). Among all men who had raped, 1–23 percent of them across sites were younger than 15 the first time they did so (table 4.2).

RAPE MOTIVATIONS AND CONSEQUENCES AMONG MEN WHO PERPETRATED ANY RAPE

All men who had raped were asked about their motivations for the last rape they perpetrated. Given that in some sites non-partner rape perpetration was relatively rare, the motivations

TABLE 4.2

FREQUENCY OF RAPE PERPETRATION AND AGE OF FIRST RAPE PERPETRATION AMONG MEN WHO REPORTED EVER PERPETRATING RAPE AGAINST A WOMAN OR GIRL (PARTNER OR NON-PARTNER), BY SITE

SITE		PERPETRATED RAPE MORE THAN ONCE (%)	PERPETRATED RAPE AGAINST MORE THAN ONE VICTIM (%)	PERPETRATED RAPE AGAINST FOUR OR MORE VICTIMS (%)	FIRST PERPETRATED RAPE WHEN YOUNGER THAN 20 YEARS (%)	FIRST PERPETRATED RAPE WHEN YOUNGER THAN 15 YEARS (%)	NO. OF MEN WHO REPORTED PERPETRATING RAPE
BANGLADESH	RURAL	47.4	21.2	5.1	40.0	10.0	161
BANGLADESH	URBAN	40.6	27.5	3.7	44.9	11.2	119
CAMBODIA	NATIONAL	49.7	21.3	11.7	52.0	15.8	369
CHINA	URBAN/RURAL	55.0	23.2	9.0	25.1	1.1	222
INDONESIA	RURAL	53.6	29.1	4.6	37.5	1.3	156
INDONESIA	URBAN	51.1	32.6	10.4	37.7	9.2	224
INDONESIA	PAPUA	60.5	48.2	14.5	61.5	5.5	428
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	BOUGAINVILLE	69.3	36.6	15.5	63.6	23.1	530
SRI LANKA	NATIONAL	64.9	35.6	11.1	29.7	1.9	209
TOTAL FOR COMBINED MALE SAMPLE		57.6	33.1	11.0	49.0	11.9	2 418

and consequences among men who perpetrated any type of rape against a female partner or non-partner are presented together here. The differences, if any, between partner and non-partner rape are presented in statistical appendix tables 5 and 6.

Men who had raped were presented with a series of statements and asked if they strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statements about why they did what they did. The statements were grouped as expressing sexual entitlement ('I wanted her', 'I wanted to have sex' or 'I wanted to show I could do it'), seeking entertainment ('I wanted to have fun', 'I was bored'), arising from anger or punishment ('I wanted to punish her', 'I was angry with

her') and drinking ('I had been drinking). They could answer with more than one motivation for perpetrating rape.

Figure 4.3 shows that across all sites, the most commonly reported motivation for rape perpetration was related to feeling entitled to have sex, regardless of consent (sexual entitlement). In most countries, this was reported by 70–80 percent of men who had ever raped a woman or girl. For Cambodia, the proportion was 45 percent of men who had raped, although it was still the most common motivation given by Cambodian men. The second most frequently reported motivation in most countries was related to entertainment seeking. The exception was Cambodia, where anger and punishment was

FIGURE 4.3

MOTIVATIONS FOR RAPE, BY MEN WHO REPORTED EVER RAPING ANY WOMAN OR GIRL, INCLUDING PARTNERS AND NON-PARTNERS, BY SITE

● SEXUAL ENTITLEMENT ● FUN/BORED ● ANGER/PUNISHMENT ● DRINKING

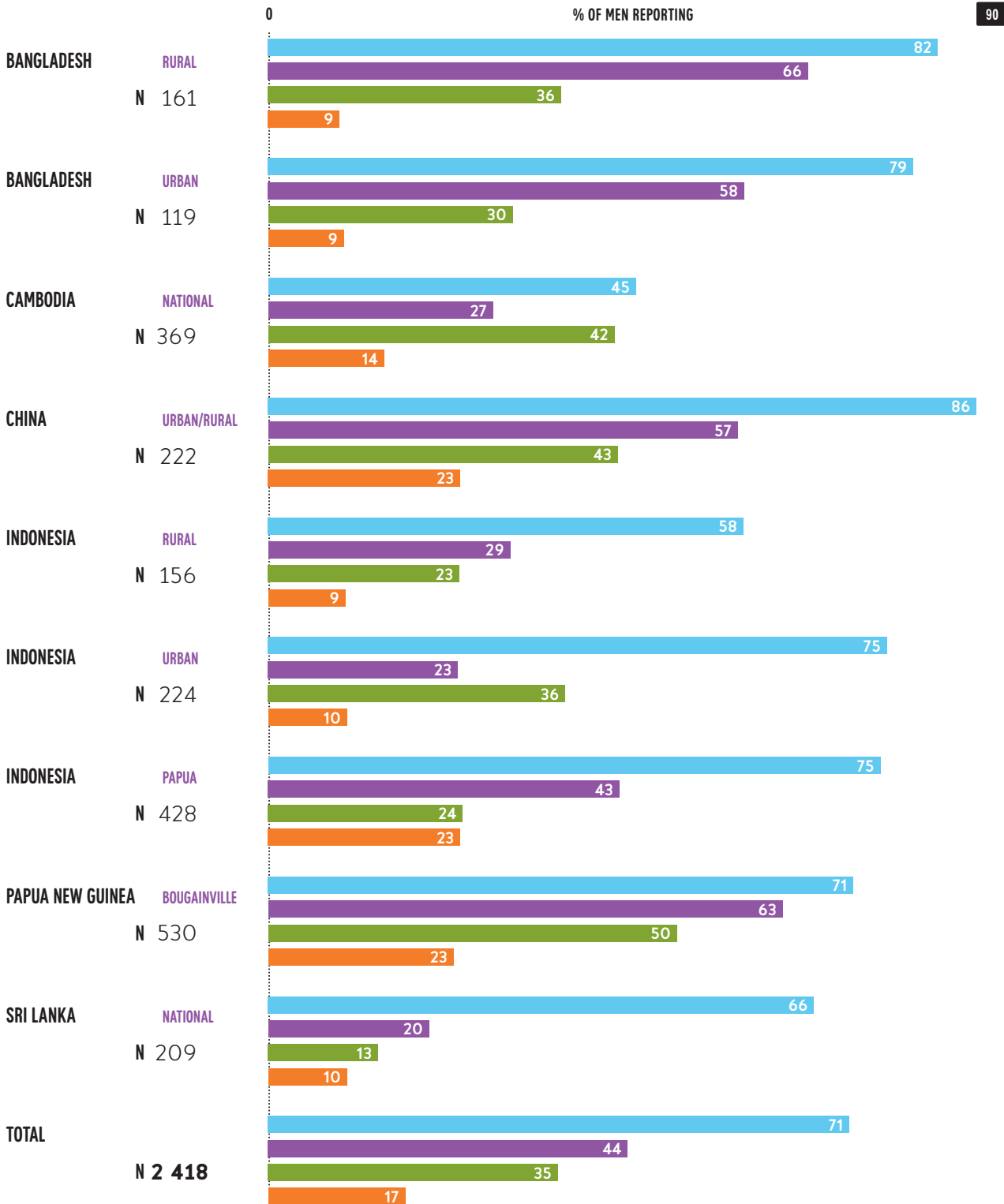


TABLE 4.3

PERCENTAGE OF MALE PERPETRATORS OF ANY RAPE AGAINST A WOMAN OR GIRL WHO REPORTED EXPERIENCING THE FOLLOWING CONSEQUENCES, AMONG MEN WHO HAD PERPETRATED RAPE, BY SITE*

NOTES

*Respondents were asked to select all responses that applied.

**Includes men who reported punishment from family or friends, threats from someone supporting the victim or violence from someone seeking revenge.

***Total percentage of men who reported perpetrating rape but reported that they had not been arrested or jailed as a consequence.

SITE	WORRIED OR FELT GUILTY (%)	PUNISHMENT, THREATS OR VIOLENCE** (%)	ARRESTED (%)	JAILED (%)	NO LEGAL CONSEQUENCES*** (%)	NO. OF MEN WHO HAD RAPED
BANGLADESH RURAL	40.1	14.7	10.8	7.6	88.1	161
BANGLADESH URBAN	38.8	11.1	5.1	2.6	95.1	119
CAMBODIA NATIONAL	58.7	53.4	49.8	28.3	44.5	369
CHINA URBAN/RURAL	63.9	47.0	24.9	15.6	72.4	222
INDONESIA RURAL	76.6	41.9	23.7	12.0	75.5	156
INDONESIA URBAN	82.8	38.5	19.4	11.4	78.2	224
INDONESIA PAPUA	79.6	39.6	20.4	15.3	78.3	428
PAPUA NEW GUINEA BOUGAINVILLE	70.5	76.1	66.1	52.2	34.8	530
SRI LANKA NATIONAL	34.2	11.1	3.2	2.2	96.5	209
TOTAL FOR COMBINED MALE SAMPLE	63.3	44.7	32.5	22.9	67.1	2 418

THE ACKNOWLEDGED MOTIVATIONS FOR RAPE HIGHLIGHT ITS FOUNDATION IN GENDER INEQUALITY: MEN REPORTED THAT THEY RAPED BECAUSE THEY WANTED TO AND FELT ENTITLED TO, FELT IT WAS ENTERTAINING OR SAW IT AS DESERVED PUNISHMENT FOR WOMEN.

the second most common motivation, reported by 42 percent of men who had raped. Although alcohol is often assumed to be a common trigger for violence perpetration, it was the least common response given by men when asked for the possible reasons for raping across all sites. Only 9–23 percent of men across sites who had raped reported that their reason for perpetrating rape was in any way related to drinking.

The motivations for rape perpetration varied somewhat among men who had perpetrated partner rape versus non-partner rape. Statistical appendix table 5 illustrates that sexual entitlement was still the most common motivation for non-partner and partner rape, however entertainment seeking was a more common motivation among men who perpetrated non-partner rape compared with those who perpetrated partner rape. Drinking also appears to have had a stronger role, according to men's own reports, in non-partner rape perpetration than partner rape perpetration.

Men who reported having raped partner or non-partner women were also asked if they experienced any of the consequences outlined in table 4.3. More than one consequence was possible. Between 34 percent and 83 percent of men who had raped said they had felt guilty or were worried about being found out, which was the most common consequence men reported. A range of 11 percent to 76 percent of men across sites reported experiencing punishment or retaliation from friends, family or community members, this being most common in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, where acts of revenge for rape are a common occurrence. From 2 percent (Sri Lanka-national) to 52 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men who had raped reported being jailed. Importantly, in seven of the nine sites, the vast majority of men who had perpetrated rape (72–97 percent) did not experience any legal consequences, reinforcing that impunity remains a major issue in the region (table 4.3). The exceptions were Cambodia and Papua New Guinea-Bougainville; in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, this included traditional punishment with community detention. Men who had committed partner rape were less likely to experience guilt or legal consequences, which may relate to marital rape still not defined as a crime in some countries (see statistical appendix table 6).

MEN'S RAPE OF OTHER MEN AND OVERLAP WITH RAPE OF WOMEN, PARTNER OR NON-PARTNER

The study also examined male rape of other men and male sexual violence victimization. Although not nearly as prevalent as female rape perpetration, men also perpetrated rape against other men (table 4.4). The rape perpetration of a man was less prevalent than the rape perpetration of a female non-partner and, in most sites, disclosed by less than 3 percent of men (table 4.4). In Cambodia-national and Bangladesh-rural, however, the perpetration of rape against a man was disclosed by 3 and 4 percent of male respondents respectively, and in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville by 8 percent of men. The association between the male rape of a man and any rape of a woman, partner or non-partner, are very pronounced (figure 4.4). Most men who had raped another man or men had also raped a woman. Analysis of the overlap in reporting between the rape of a man and the non-partner rape of a woman reveals that among men who had never raped a man, 10 percent had raped a female non-partner; but among the men who had perpetrated rape against a man, 57 percent had also raped a non-partner woman. The greatest overlap was between male rape and gang rape perpetration (figure 4.5). Statistical appendix 7 illustrates that the association between the rape of a man and non-partner rape of a woman is significant at the bivariate level for all sites.

DISCUSSION

As with partner violence (as discussed in the previous chapter), there is considerable variation between sites in the rates and patterns of perpetration of rape of female non-partners. Overall, 10–62 percent of men across sites reported perpetrating rape against a woman or girl, partner or non-partner, in their lifetime. This was validated by data from women which showed no significant difference in reported prevalence rates except in Cambodia (see statistical appendix figure 2). Rape of a partner was more common than rape of a non-partner in all sites except Papua New Guinea-Bougainville. In some sites in the region, the rape of women was largely confined to marriage, and non-partner rape was very rare (for example, in both sites in Bangladesh). In other

TABLE 4.4

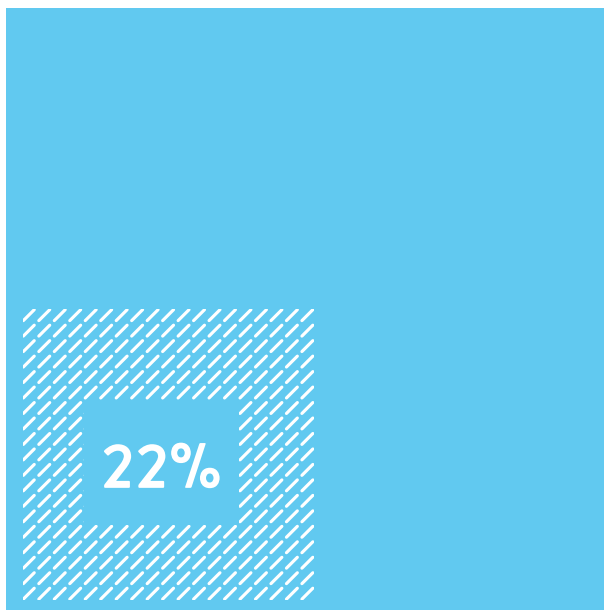
MEN'S RAPE PERPETRATION OF OTHER MEN, BY SITE

	BANGLADESH RURAL	BANGLADESH URBAN	CAMBODIA NATIONAL	CHINA URBAN/RURAL	INDONESIA RURAL	INDONESIA URBAN	INDONESIA PAPUA	PAPUA NEW GUINEA BOUGAINVILLE	SRI LANKA NATIONAL	TOTAL FOR COMBINED MALE SAMPLE
NUMBER OF MEN	1 130	1 244	1 774	969	800	855	880	850	1 432	9 934
MALE RAPE OF MEN (PERPETRATION %)	3.7	1.8	3.3	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.5	7.6	2.7	2.8

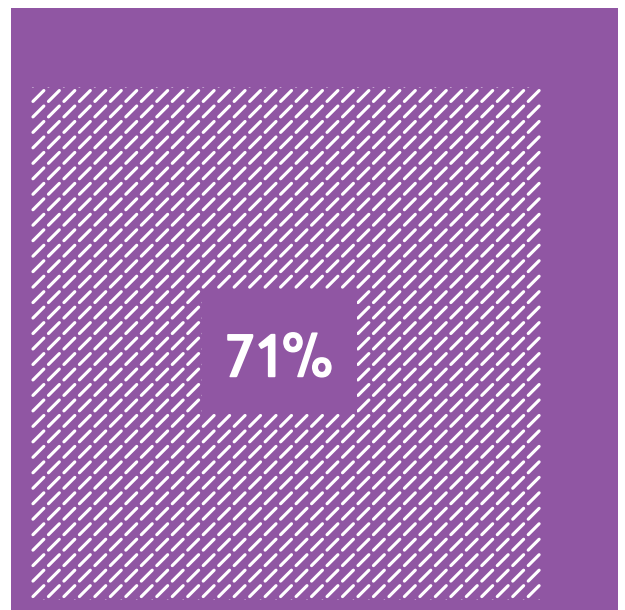
MOST MEN WHO HAD RAPED ANOTHER MAN OR MEN HAD ALSO RAPED A WOMAN.

FIGURE 4.4

OVERLAP BETWEEN REPORTS OF RAPING A MAN AND RAPING ANY WOMAN, PARTNER OR NON-PARTNER, COMBINED DATA SET



OF ALL RESPONDENTS WHO HAD NEVER RAPED A MAN, 22% HAD RAPED A WOMAN IN HIS LIFETIME

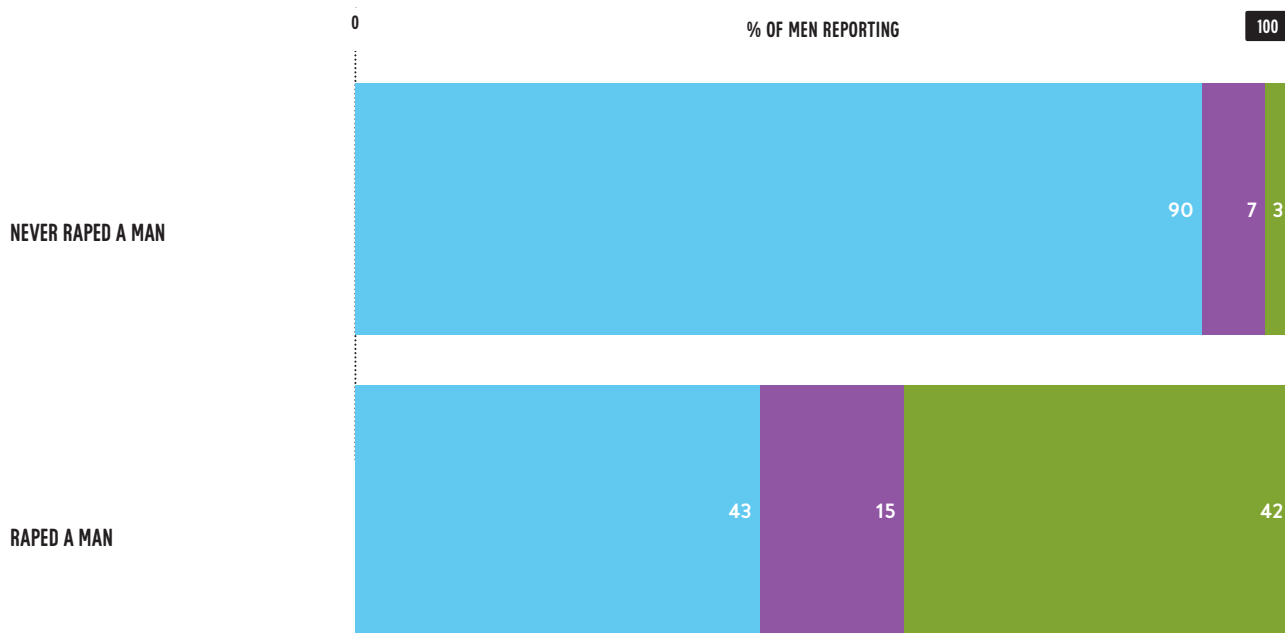


OF ALL RESPONDENTS WHO HAD RAPED A MAN, 71% HAD ALSO RAPED A WOMAN IN HIS LIFETIME

FIGURE 4.5

OVERLAP BETWEEN RAPE OF A MAN AND RAPE OF A NON-PARTNER WOMAN, COMBINED DATA SET

● NEVER RAPED A NON-PARTNER WOMAN ● SINGLE PERPETRATOR RAPE OF A WOMAN
● GANG RAPE OF A WOMAN



sites, however, the proportion of men who had perpetrated non-partner rape was nearly one in ten, and in the Pacific sites, more than one in four men reported raping a non-partner. The global evidence base on rape perpetration is very limited; where population-based research does exist, it reveals a prevalence of rape perpetration against a woman that ranges from 9 percent in Chile to 37 percent in South Africa (Senn, Desmarais, Verberg and Wood, 2000; Abbey et al., 2006; Barker et al., 2011; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2011; Tsai et al., 2011).

Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Indonesia-Papua are both post-conflict settings, and this may contribute to the very high prevalence of rape perpetration in those two sites. As discussed in the previous chapter, this association between armed conflict and violence against women is not necessarily linear and other socio-cultural factors

may have a larger role. In Papua New Guinea, many forms of violence are highly prevalent, including non-partner rape in non-conflict-affected parts, general interpersonal violence and sorcery-related violence (NSRRT, 1994; Bradley, 2001; Braithwaite, Charlesworth, Reddy and Dunn, 2010). Research with women in other Pacific island countries also found non-partner sexual violence (including but not exclusively rape) prevalence since age 15 ranging from 11 percent in Samoa to 18 percent in the Solomon Islands (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; Fulu, Sauni, Titchener and Rore, 2009).

Gang rape, particularly in Cambodia-national, Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Indonesia-Papua, is relatively common and requires specific and targeted interventions. The cultural legitimacy of multiple perpetrator rape (known in Pidgin as *lainup*) in mainland research has been described by other authors

(NSRRT and Jenkins, 1994). Indeed reports of multiple perpetrator rape as a (sub-)cultural practice has also been reported in Cambodia (*bauk*) and South Africa (*streamlining*) and it seems more likely that high rape prevalence is rooted in aspects of culture related to sexual entitlement and gender relations (Wilkinson, Bearup and Soprach, 2005; Wood, 2005). Recent research from both Cambodia and Papua New Guinea also highlight the issue of gang rape and illustrated links with male delinquency and young men's attempts to define their masculine identity (Bearup, 2003; Dinnen and Thompson, 2004; Wilkinson, Bearup and Soprach, 2005; Zorn, 2012).

RAPE OF A PARTNER WAS MORE COMMON THAN RAPE OF A NON-PARTNER IN ALMOST ALL SITES.

The majority of men in this study who perpetrated rape did not experience any legal consequences, reconfirming that impunity is still a major issue in the region. This is particularly true for marital rape, which is the most common form of rape but has yet to be criminalized in many countries. The absence of legal sanction is important because it reinforces the socialization that a woman's body belongs to her husband upon marriage, and is how men's entitlement is encoded in legal provision. In Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, well more than half of all men who had perpetrated rape reported experiencing legal consequences (likely through the use of informal justice mechanisms); however, given the high prevalence of rape perpetration, such mechanisms do not appear to be acting as a deterrent. The fact that in many sites only a small proportion of men reported feeling guilty for perpetrating rape, especially men who perpetrated partner rape, suggests that such violence remains normalized. This is further reflected in the strength of sexual entitlement as a motivation for rape and the attitudes discussed

in the following chapter, which suggest that female victims are often blamed for the rape.

The acknowledged motivations for rape further highlight its foundations in gender inequality: men reported that they raped because they wanted to and felt entitled to, felt it was entertaining or saw it as deserved punishment for women. The survey questions certainly did not capture all of the reasons why men raped; and in some countries there may have been other reasons that were common motivators. Nonetheless, the findings provide insight into the mindset of men who rape, and the findings are comparable to those from the South African study in which these questions also were asked (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2011). The young age of first perpetration highlights that working with young boys in rape prevention is imperative.

The pronounced overlap between men's rape of other men and their rape of non-partner women is an important finding and suggests that these types of violence cannot be dealt with in isolation. The strength of the association between the gang rape of women and male rape of men suggests a common social context for these two acts, likely the shared anti-social peer group context. Although further analysis of the data is needed, the initial analysis finds that gay or effeminate men were more likely than other men to be victims of rape; however, perpetrators predominantly identified as being attracted only to women (data not shown). This suggests that, in some cases, male rape of men may express heterosexual dominance rather than homosexuality, which is supported by the similar study in South Africa (Dunkle et al., forthcoming).

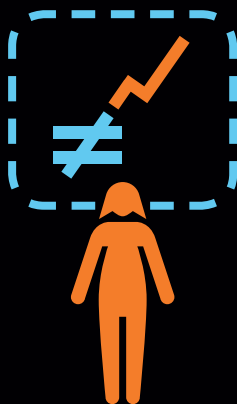
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**MEN'S GENDER NORMS, ATTITUDES,
HOUSEHOLD PRACTICES AND
EXPERIENCES WITH VIOLENCE
AND ADVERSITY**

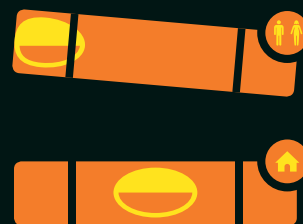
MAIN CHAPTER FINDINGS



Men and women believed in gender equality in the abstract sense but less so when it came to specific practices.



Women were more likely, than the male sample, to prescribe to dominant social norms that legitimize gender inequality and the use of violence against women.



Gender inequalities in domestic duties were obvious in most sites, although household decision-making was generally more equally shared between male and female partners.



Men experienced high rates of physical, sexual and emotional abuse as children across the region, with serious health and psychosocial consequences.



Generally, there were high rates of men suffering from work-related stress, depression and suicidal tendencies, particularly in Cambodia-national and Papua New Guinea-Bougainville.



Alcohol and drug abuse appears to be a serious problem in some country contexts, such as Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, Indonesia-Papua and Sri Lanka-national but much less so in both Bangladesh sites and in Indonesia-rural.

Although the purpose of this report is to better understand male perpetration of violence against women in order to better prevent it, these practices exist within a broader gender context and need to be understood within the larger situation of men's lives. In addition to questions about violence perpetration, the study questionnaire covered many topics related to attitudes about gender norms, household and parenting practices, health and men's own experiences of violence. This chapter presents some of the broader findings related to gender norms and patterns to help understand men's lives. Specifically presented are data on men's and women's gender-based attitudes, men's involvement in household work, childcare and decision-making, sexual practices, men's health and vulnerabilities and experiences of violence as children. The association between such practices and violence perpetration are explored in Chapters 6 and 7; thus this chapter helps provide a basis for that discussion.

disagree or strongly disagree with the statements. Tertiles were created to separate respondents who had low, medium and high levels of gender equitable attitudes and beliefs. The internal consistency of the scale was tested and found to be strong, with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.72.

WOMEN OFTEN HELD MORE CONSERVATIVE OR GENDER-INEQUITABLE VIEWS THAN THEIR MALE COUNTERPARTS. GENDER NORMS, INCLUDING THOSE THAT CONTRIBUTE TO INEQUALITY AND MEN'S USE OF VIOLENCE, CAN BE REINFORCED BY WOMEN AS WELL AS MEN.

MEN'S GENDER NORMS, ATTITUDES AND HOUSEHOLD PRACTICES

GENDER ATTITUDES AND NORMS

It is well established that violence against women is fundamentally related to gender inequality and rigid and inequitable gender norms (UN Economic and Social Council, 2013). It is widely believed that men's attitudes and beliefs related to women's rights and gender equality reflect broader structural inequalities and are thus directly related to men's use of violence. Measuring attitudes about gender norms, which are not always consistent or static, can be difficult in a quantitative household survey. It is questionable whether such attitudes actually represent broader social norms or the gender order. Nevertheless, this study adapted two well-known scales to measure attitudes about gender norms: the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale and questions on men's attitudes towards power and gender from the Medical Research Council's Study on Men's Health and Relationships (Pulerwitz and Barker, 2008; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2011). A series of gender-related statements were read out to the study participants, and they were asked whether they strongly agree, agree,

Table 5.1 presents the proportions of men and women who agreed or strongly agreed with the gender statements. The large majority of respondents (81–98 percent across sites), both men and women, believed in the abstract idea of equality—supporting the statement that 'people should be treated the same whether they are male or female'. Yet, when asked about specific norms related to family and household practices and women's position, their views were considerably more inequitable; for example, in all sites except China-urban/rural, more than 72 percent of both men and women believed that 'a woman should obey her husband'.

Acceptability of violence against women varied widely across the sites. For example, only 5 percent of men in Indonesia-urban believed that there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten, compared with 62 percent of men in Bangladesh-rural. Across all sites, however, there was general acceptance of the rape myth: 'If a woman doesn't physically fight back, it's not rape'. This supports the findings related to male sexual entitlement

TABLE 5.1

PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN WHO AGREED OR STRONGLY AGREED WITH THE GENDER STATEMENTS, BY SITE

NOTE

The study was not conducted with women in all sites, and thus female data is only presented for sites where it was available.

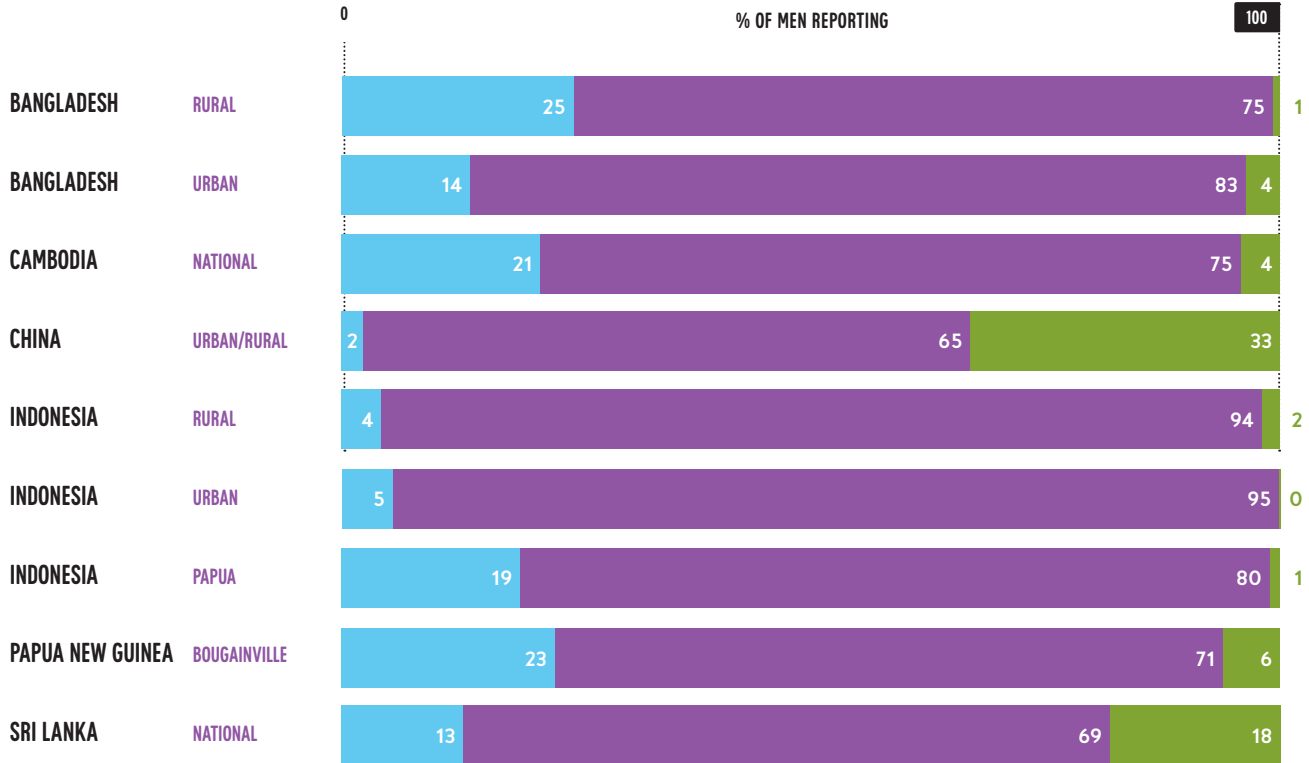
n.a. = not applicable; the questions were not asked in Sri Lanka.

	BANGLADESH (%)		CAMBODIA (%)		CHINA (%)		INDONESIA (%)			PAPUA NEW GUINEA (%)		SRI LANKA (%)	
	RURAL	URBAN	NATIONAL		URBAN/RURAL		RURAL	URBAN	PAPUA	BOUGAINVILLE		NATIONAL	
	MEN	MEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	MEN	MEN	MEN	WOMEN	MEN	WOMEN
PEOPLE SHOULD BE TREATED THE SAME WHETHER THEY ARE MALE OR FEMALE	97.0	94.9	94.5	95.8	98.1	96.6	80.5	81.7	90.8	87.15	94.5	n.a.	n.a.
A WOMAN'S MOST IMPORTANT ROLE IS TO TAKE CARE OF HER HOME AND COOK FOR HER FAMILY	91.9	78.0	82.4	92.7	55.5	62.4	86.5	84.7	90.8	74.2	82.9	57.5	66.9
THERE ARE TIMES WHEN A WOMAN DESERVES TO BE BEATEN	61.9	59.7	27.8	32.8	8.7	5.3	8.5	4.9	21.1	56.5	52.9	27.1	37.5
IT IS A WOMAN'S RESPONSIBILITY TO AVOID GETTING PREGNANT	59.1	36.9	65.7	67.4	21.8	29.2	35.5	40.6	44.7	39.5	42.2	31.8	54.3
A WOMAN SHOULD TOLERATE VIOLENCE IN ORDER TO KEEP HER FAMILY TOGETHER	64.6	50.0	59.8	67.0	10.3	12.9	40.8	46.4	49.4	29.4	12.3	41.2	58.0
TO BE A MAN, YOU NEED TO BE TOUGH	97.6	93.1	96.4	99.0	73.3	55.9	96.2	96.6	92.1	92.1	93.6	56.7	57.2
A WOMAN SHOULD OBEY HER HUSBAND	94.3	87.2	96.2	98.5	24.5	19.3	97.6	96.9	96.9	85.0	72.3	78.8	87.3
A MAN SHOULD HAVE THE FINAL SAY IN ALL FAMILY MATTERS	75.8	60.1	62.6	57.1	22.4	22.3	78.6	61.8	73.7	62.2	45.1	40.7	42.6
A WOMAN CANNOT REFUSE TO HAVE SEX WITH HER HUSBAND	53.2	45.9	42.3	50.3	41.5	33.4	49.0	41.5	66.4	64.2	44.3	58.2	67.4
WHEN A WOMAN IS RAPED, SHE IS USUALLY TO BLAME FOR PUTTING HERSELF IN THAT SITUATION	53.9	44.7	18.1	21.0	11.8	10.2	34.5	22.4	34.5	31.1	22.1	29.9	31.9
IF A WOMAN DOESN'T PHYSICALLY FIGHT BACK, IT'S NOT RAPE	75.1	89.2	65.1	81.7	53.7	53.5	64.8	57.9	67.4	45.6	45.4	43.6	44.3

FIGURE 5.1

MEN'S GENDER-EQUITABLE ATTITUDE TERTILES, BY SITE (HIGHLY, MODERATELY OR LEAST EQUITABLE)

● LOW ● MIDDLE ● HIGH



and rape highlighted in the previous chapter. In sites where they were also interviewed, women often held more conservative or gender-inequitable views than the male sample. This was particularly evident in Sri Lanka-national and Cambodia-national, clearly demonstrating how gender norms, including those that contribute to inequality and men’s use of violence, can be reinforced by women as well as men.

Figure 5.1 reflects how the men scored in terms of gender-equitable attitudes. Across most sites, the majority of men fell into the middle grouping. However there were large differences by site in terms of the proportions of men in the highly and least equitable groupings. For example, in China-urban/rural, very few men scored low in the gender-equitable category, with many more in the highly equitable group. On the other hand,

in all sites in both Bangladesh and Indonesia, very few men had highly equitable attitudes.

Further analysis of the attitudes regarding gender norms by age reveals that more older men had more gender-inequitable attitudes, except in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Indonesia-urban and rural. Gender-based attitudes by education level show that generally the higher the level of education, the higher the level of gender-equitable attitudes—this was true for all sites, except Indonesia-urban and rural. Gender-based attitudes were also more equitable among men who were married or cohabitating, even after adjusting for age (data not shown).

The relationship between men’s gender-based attitudes and their use of violence is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

TABLE 5.2

MEN'S KNOWLEDGE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN LAWS

NOTE

n.a. = not applicable; this question was not asked in Cambodia and Papua New Guinea.

SITE		KNEW ABOUT EXISTENCE OF A LAW ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN (%)	TOTAL NUMBER OF MEN	BELIEVES THAT THE LAW MAKES IT TOO EASY FOR WOMEN TO BRING CHARGES AGAINST A MAN (%)	TOTAL NUMBER OF MEN WHO KNEW ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF A LAW
BANGLADESH	RURAL	93.8	1 139	84.7	1 067
BANGLADESH	URBAN	92.9	1 251	84.1	1 162
CAMBODIA	NATIONAL	93.3	1 679	n.a.	n.a.
CHINA	URBAN/RURAL	59.2	986	38.3	583
INDONESIA	RURAL	63.9	866	59.1	553
INDONESIA	URBAN	62.2	809	54.3	501
INDONESIA	PAPUA	85.1	887	60.4	751
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	BOUGAINVILLE	75.2	644	n.a.	n.a.
SRI LANKA	NATIONAL	66.5	1 499	65.1	990

KNOWLEDGE AND SUPPORT FOR LAWS ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

In all countries men were asked if they knew about the existence of any laws on violence against women in their country and how they felt about such laws. In all the countries presented in table 5.2 a domestic violence law does exist. The table shows that, across sites, the majority of men (59–94 percent) knew about the existence of the law. However, in all sites except China-urban/rural, the majority of men believed that the law or laws make it too easy for a woman to bring a violence charge against a man.

HOUSEHOLD DECISION-MAKING AND DOMESTIC DUTIES

The study findings illustrate how a gendered division of labour endures in many places in the Asia-Pacific region, with men generally

expected to be the breadwinners and women and girls expected to be responsible for reproductive aspects of family life. Yet, the study also shows that there is variance across the region in how the gendered division of labour manifests in household decision-making, household tasks and child care.

Regarding their current or most recent relationship, men were asked four questions about who in their household usually had the final say (himself, his female partner or both equally) in terms of: i) the health of women in the family, ii) decisions involving their children, iii) how the family spends money on food and clothing and iv) how the family spends money on large investments. The responses to these questions were grouped together into tertiles, reflecting the proportion of men who reported that they dominated decision-making, their wife did or they were equal (figure 5.2). The majority of men, across all sites, reported

FIGURE 5.2

MEN'S RESPONSES ON EQUALITY IN DOMESTIC DECISION-MAKING BETWEEN PARTNERS, BY SITE

● MAN DOMINATES DECISION-MAKING ● EQUAL ● WOMAN DOMINATES DECISION-MAKING

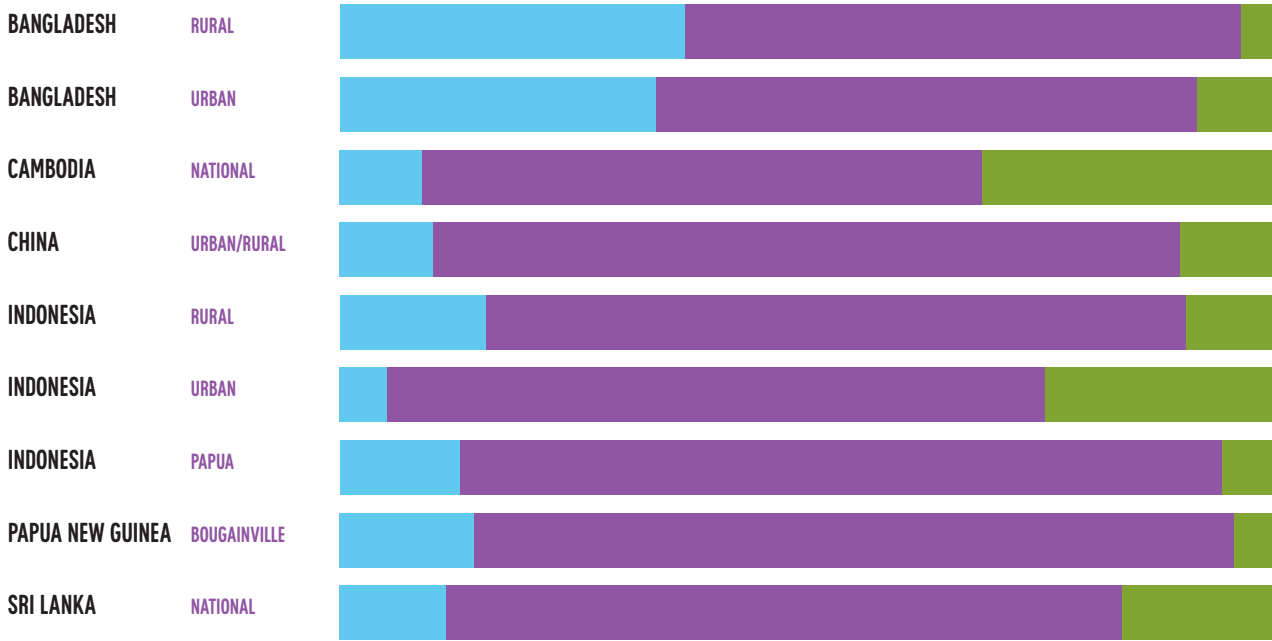


FIGURE 5.3

MEN'S RESPONSES ON EQUALITY IN DOMESTIC DUTIES BETWEEN PARTNERS, BY SITE

● MAN DOES MORE DOMESTIC DUTIES ● EQUAL ● WOMAN DOES MORE DOMESTIC DUTIES

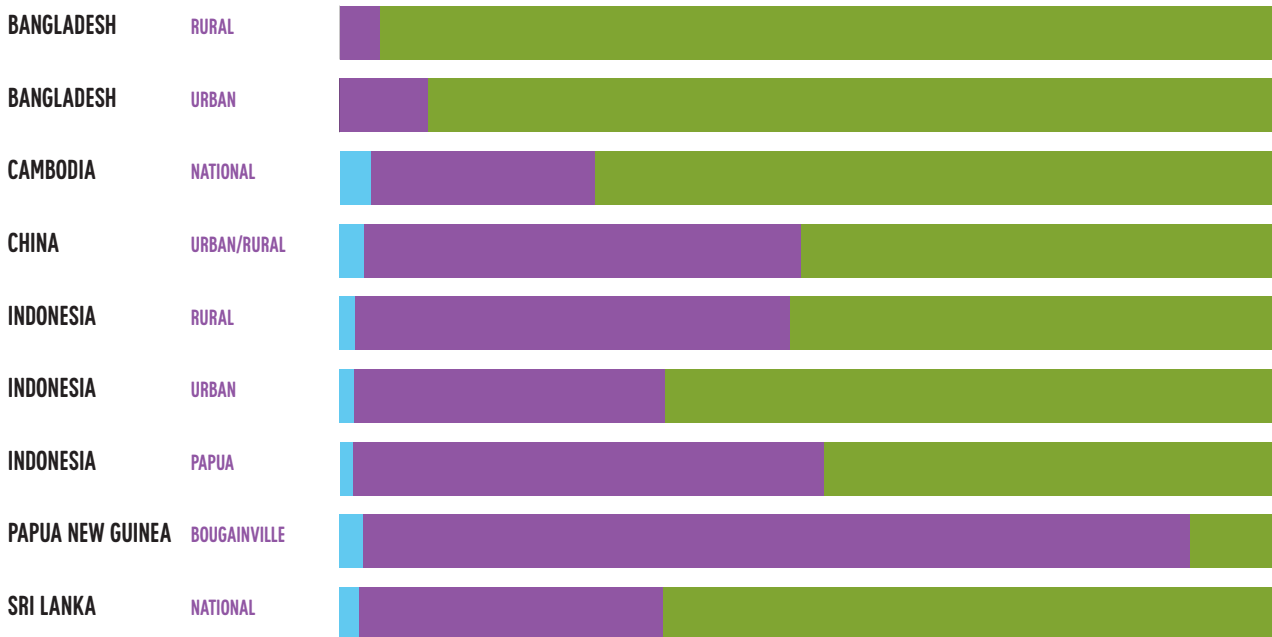
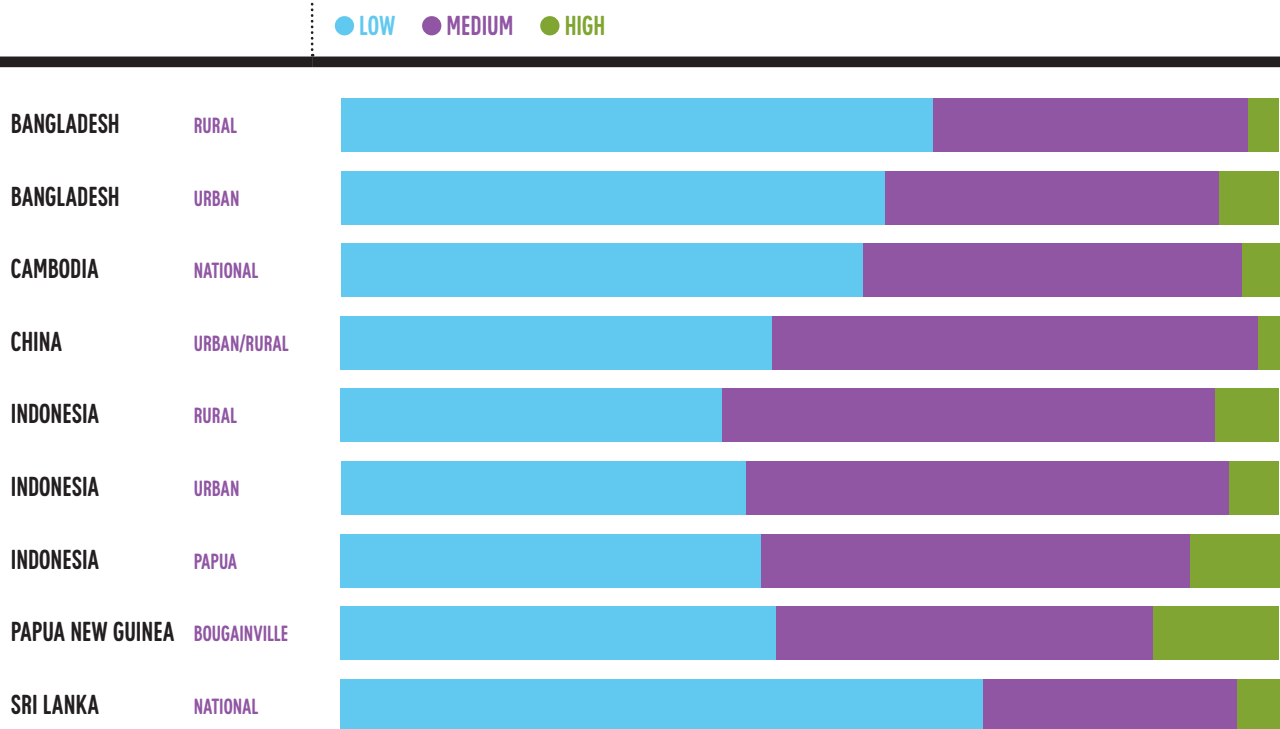


FIGURE 5.4

PERCENTAGE OF MEN REPORTING A LOW, MEDIUM OR HIGH LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT WITH THEIR CHILDREN, BY SITE



equal decision-making in the household, although there was variation by site among those who reported that the man dominated or the woman dominated. In both sites in Bangladesh, men were more likely to report that they had the final say in such decisions, whereas in Cambodia-national, Indonesia-Papua and Sri Lanka-national, men were more likely to report that their partner dominated such decisions.

Men were also asked how they and their partner divided household tasks, such as preparing food, cleaning, washing clothes and taking care of the children. Combining the responses to the four questions, figure 5.3 presents the proportion of men who reported that their partner does most of the housework, they share it equally or he does most, by site. There was great diversity in gender practices in this sphere across sites, with more than 90 percent of men in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville reporting that they had an equal or greater role in domestic duties than their female partner, compared with less than 5 percent of men in Bangladesh-rural.

Men who had children younger than 18 years living with them were asked three questions about how much time (never, sometimes, often and very often) they spend doing the following things with their children: i) playing or doing activities ii) talking about personal matters, such as their relationships, worries or feelings and iii) helping them with their homework. Based on the men’s responses, figure 5.4 shows the proportions of men who had a low, medium or high level of engagement with their children, by site. From 40 percent to 68 percent of men reported a low level of engagement with their children, and across all sites except Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, less than 10 percent of men reported a high level of engagement. Engagement with children was highest in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, but still, only 14 percent of the men there reported a high level of engagement.

The case study in box 5.1 (from Aceh, Indonesia and Bangladesh) illustrates the range of men’s engagement with household responsibilities and their attitudes towards the gendered division of labour within the family. The life history narratives

ALTERNATIVE MASCULINITIES AND THE TENSION BETWEEN BELIEF AND PRACTICE

This case study looks at the lives of two men—from Aceh, Indonesia and Bangladesh. Their stories illustrate the different ways in which masculinities are performed and the tension between men’s beliefs and their practices.

Syatir* works for a women’s empowerment NGO and credits his exposure to messages around equality and non-violence with many of his more equitable beliefs around women’s role in society. Syatir’s wife works and he encouraged her career development, noting that household management (traditionally the woman’s role in Aceh) should be jointly shared and flexible. However, although Syatir is adamant about his wife’s abilities to make decisions, as the male head of the household, he has the ability to push certain agendas within his family, such as decisions around their children’s education. He does not see this as unusual, demonstrating the extent to which norms of masculine entitlement subconsciously influence his expectations around power in the home. In contrast, Syatir speaks differently about his job at a women’s empowerment NGO. Syatir’s supervisor at work is a woman, and he speaks condescendingly of women’s abilities in positions of power. Syatir feels less at ease within his work environment, possibly because gender hierarchies have been dismantled or even reversed.

On the other hand, Hasan* holds openly rigid beliefs of what it means to be a man or a woman. He thinks “women shall do their job and men shall do theirs ... women cannot do the jobs that men do”. He associates men’s work with the financial responsibilities for the wife and children. “I am her husband. I shall earn to feed them. We shall live properly. We shall live a good life.” He identifies ‘women’s work’ as household management and care taking. “After a long day of work, men return to the home. The wife should cook for her husband, should prepare water for the shower, then take meals and sleep together, show some affection. I always want this.” Yet, these beliefs around the ideal scenario do not seem to be practised in Hasan’s relationship. Early in his marriage, Hasan travelled to the Middle East as a migrant worker to earn money for his family. After a long series of bad work experiences, he came home to Bangladesh, having lost money. Since his return, he complains, his wife has not followed his orders. “I have taught her how to behave ... [but] she is not able to understand things,” he says, although he concedes that “she does the cooking and [child care] is a lot of work.” He believes that his in-laws dislike him because “I cannot provide my wife clothes, food and maintenance”. His wife frequently takes the children and leaves to stay with her family.

This case study does not intend to compare men in Aceh versus men in Bangladesh. Rather, it illustrates how individual men hold contradictory and complex notions of what it means to be a man and that these beliefs can be at odds with how men practice masculinity in their daily life and within their relationships.

*Pseudonym

TABLE 5.3

MEN'S REPORTING ON THE NUMBER OF SEXUAL PARTNERS AND USE OF SEX WORKERS OR TRANSACTIONAL SEX, BY SITE

SITE		MEN WITH 4 OR MORE LIFETIME SEXUAL PARTNERS (%)	MEN WHO EVER HAD SEX WITH A SEX WORKER (%)	MEN WHO EVER HAD TRANSACTIONAL SEX (%)	MEN WHO HAD HAD SEX WITH A SEX WORKER OR TRANSACTIONAL SEX (%)
BANGLADESH	RURAL	8.0	9.1	12.0	16.7
BANGLADESH	URBAN	14.4	9.4	10.6	15.2
CAMBODIA	NATIONAL	16.9	20.1	41.1	49.2
CHINA	URBAN/RURAL	24.6	25.0	39.6	51.9
INDONESIA	RURAL	2.7	5.4	44.7	46.9
INDONESIA	URBAN	5.6	9.2	41.9	45.6
INDONESIA	PAPUA	20.9	23.7	41.9	50.6
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	BOUGAINVILLE	30.0	14.9	33.2	38.7
SRI LANKA	NATIONAL	11.5	7.0	10.2	13.7

of Syatir and Hasan demonstrate the diverse ways to ‘do masculinity’ or ‘be a man’ within the home space and the complex and contradictory nature of gender-based attitudes and beliefs versus practices in men’s lives.

SEXUAL PRACTICES

Most men in the study sample were married or partnered, as discussed in Chapter 2. Table 5.2 presents the data on how men reported on the number of sexual partners they had had in their lifetime and their use of sex workers and transactional sex. Men were asked if they had ever had sex with a sex worker. Transactional sex was defined as ever having had sex with a woman or girl in exchange for drugs, food, cosmetics, clothes, a cell phone,

transportation; somewhere to stay; something for her children or family; or money to pay her bills or school fees. It is important to point out that while the intention of the question on the number of sexual partners was to determine the total number of people that each man had ever had sex with, most men appeared to interpret this question as the number of intimate relationships they had had, particularly marriage partners. For example, many men reported that they only had one sexual partner in their lifetime, even though they were married and also reported visiting a sex worker. It seems that many men did not necessarily count sex with sex workers or transactional sex in their number of sexual partners. Thus, the overall number of sexual partners appears relatively low; but this may also reflect the reality in the region

in which sex outside of marriage is socially unacceptable in many countries.

In many of the sites, men did not report having many lifetime sexual partners. In fact, in all sites, at least 70 percent of the men reported that they had had fewer than four sexual partners in their lifetime. Yet, the proportions of men who reported that they had ever had sex with a sex worker or ever engaged in transactional sex was relatively high in many sites, with approximately half of all men reporting this in Cambodia-national, China-urban/rural and in all three Indonesian sites. Having sex with a sex worker or transactional sex was much less common in both Bangladesh sites and in Sri Lanka-national. There is no data on the frequency with which men engaged in sex with a sex worker or transactional sex. Regardless of frequency, however, having had sex with a sex worker or transactional sex was generally found to be associated with depression, alcohol and drug abuse, gang involvement, gender-inequitable attitudes and having experienced homophobic or sexual violence (data not shown). Those relationships with violence perpetration are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

MEN'S EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE AND ADVERSITY

MEN'S OWN EXPERIENCES OF ABUSE OR NEGLECT AS CHILDREN

Although the focus of this report is primarily on men's perpetration of violence against women, men also experience violence in various forms and, as pointed out in Chapters 6 and 7, there are strong associations between men's own experiences of violence and their use of violence. One of the most common forms of violence and abuse that men endure is in their homes and at school when they are children. Figure 5.5 presents the percentages of men who reported experiencing abuse as children, by type and by site. The study found that child abuse was a common phenomenon across the region, with 50 percent (Sri Lanka-national) to 86 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men reporting experiences of emotional abuse or neglect. From 13 percent (Bangladesh-rural) to 67 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) reported experiencing physical abuse, and 6 percent (Indonesia-rural) to 37 percent (Bangladesh-urban and rural) reported experiencing sexual abuse before the age of 18.

BOX 5.2

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF CHILD ABUSE

Using a modified version of the Childhood Trauma Events Scale (Bernstein et al., 1994, Jewkes et al., 2012), the researchers asked men about their experiences of trauma in childhood. For each type of abuse, respondents are considered to have experienced these types of abuse if they reported at least one of the listed experiences sometimes, often or very often:

CHILDHOOD EMOTIONAL ABUSE OR NEGLECT: lived in different households at different times; was told he was lazy or stupid or weak by someone in his family; was insulted or humiliated by someone in his family in front of other people; both of his parents were too drunk or drugged to take care of him; spent time outside the home and none of the adults at home knew where he was.

PHYSICAL ABUSE: beaten at home with a belt, stick, whip or something else that was hard; beaten so hard at home that it left a mark or bruise.

SEXUAL ABUSE: someone touched his buttocks or genitals or made him touch them when he did not want to; had sex with someone because he was threatened or frightened or forced.

WITNESSED ABUSE: saw or heard mother being beaten by her husband or boyfriend.

FIGURE 5.5

PERCENTAGE OF MEN REPORTING THAT THEY EXPERIENCED SOME FORM OF ABUSE WHEN THEY WERE YOUNGER THAN 18, BY SITE

● EMOTIONAL ABUSE ● PHYSICAL ABUSE ● SEXUAL ABUSE ● WITNESSED ABUSE OF MOTHER

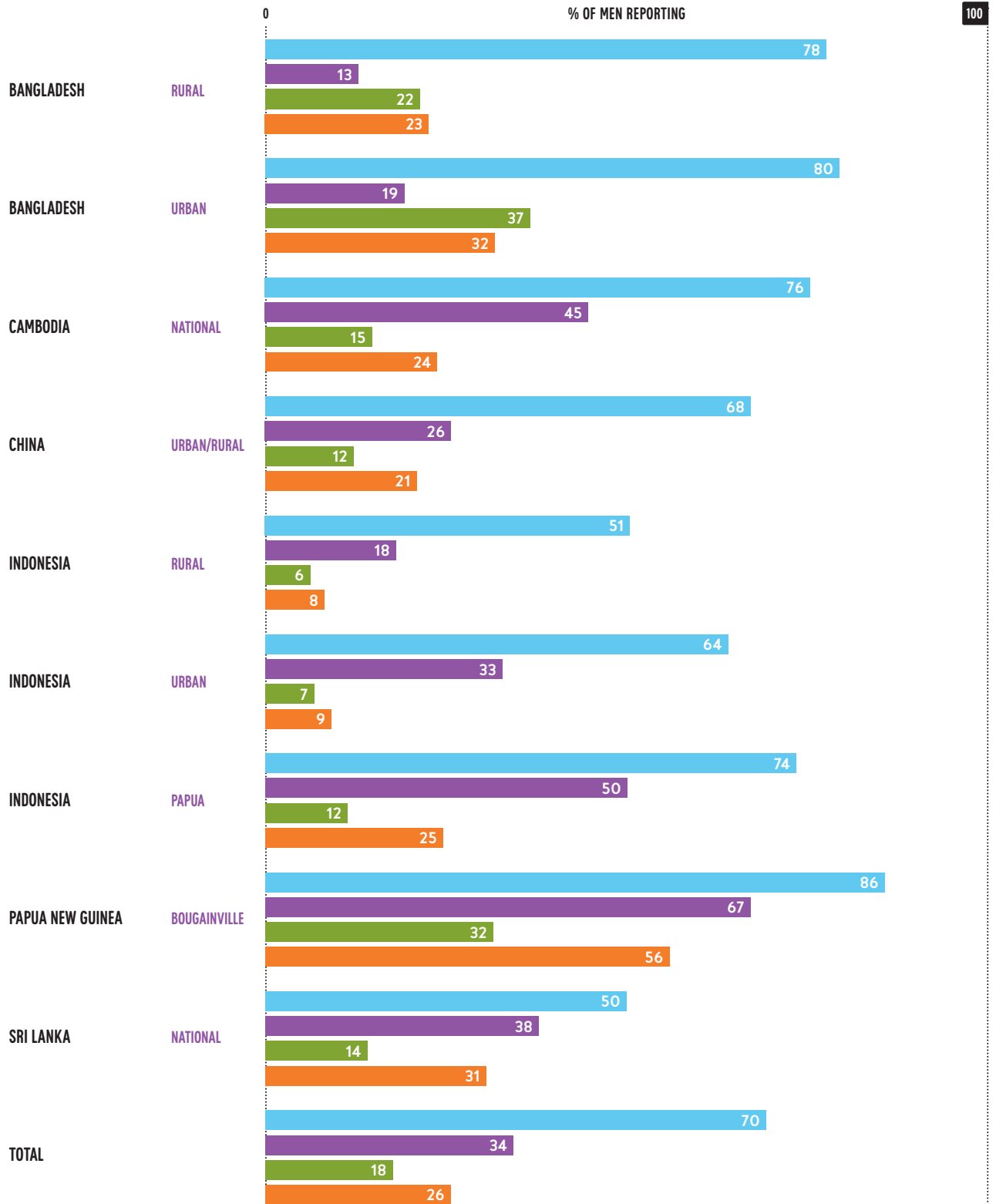


TABLE 5.4

PERCENTAGE OF MALE RESPONDENTS REPORTING EXPERIENCES OF SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION BY ANOTHER MAN, BY SITE

SITE		NUMBER OF MEN	WAS RAPED BY A MAN (VICTIMIZATION %)
BANGLADESH	RURAL	1 130	4.4
BANGLADESH	URBAN	1 246	5.0
CAMBODIA	NATIONAL	1 769	3.7
CHINA	URBAN/RURAL	966	2.8
INDONESIA	RURAL	798	2.9
INDONESIA	URBAN	846	6.4
INDONESIA	PAPUA	879	4.6
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	BOUGAINVILLE	850	6.6
SRI LANKA	NATIONAL	1 427	3.5
TOTAL		9 911	4.3

THERE ARE EXTREMELY HIGH RATES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST MALE CHILDREN IN THE REGION AND THE CONSEQUENCES ARE SEVERE. PROTECTING CHILDREN'S RIGHTS AND RAISING CHILDREN IN NON-VIOLENT ENVIRONMENTS MUST BE PRIORITIZED.

The study did not collect data on the perpetrators of such child abuse.

Many other studies have highlighted the extremely serious health and psychosocial consequences of child abuse (Schoedl et al., 2010; Fry, McCoy and Swales, 2012; Cashmore and Shackel, 2013;). This study confirms such findings. Across the whole data set, men's experiences of child abuse (physical, sexual and emotional) were strongly associated with depression, low life satisfaction, poor health, gang membership, involvement in fights with weapons, alcohol and drug abuse and/or use of transactional sex (statistical appendix table 8). The ensuing two Chapters explore the associations between the experiences of child abuse and the perpetration of violence against women.

MEN'S EXPERIENCES OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE

The male respondents were also asked about their experiences of sexual violence, including rape, by other men as adults. Specifically, they were asked if a man had ever persuaded or forced them to have sex or do something sexual when they did not want to and how often this had happened (once, two to three times, or more than three times). Table 5.4 shows that from 3 percent to 7 percent of men reported that they had experienced sexual victimization (including rape) by another man. Generally, the reported rates of sexual victimization (including rape) were slightly higher than the reported rates of male rape of men (discussed in Chapter 4), particularly in all sites in Bangladesh and Indonesia-urban and Indonesia-Papua. This may be related to the broader definition of sexual violence victimization rather than male rape perpetration of other men. The association with sexual violence victimization and violence perpetration is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

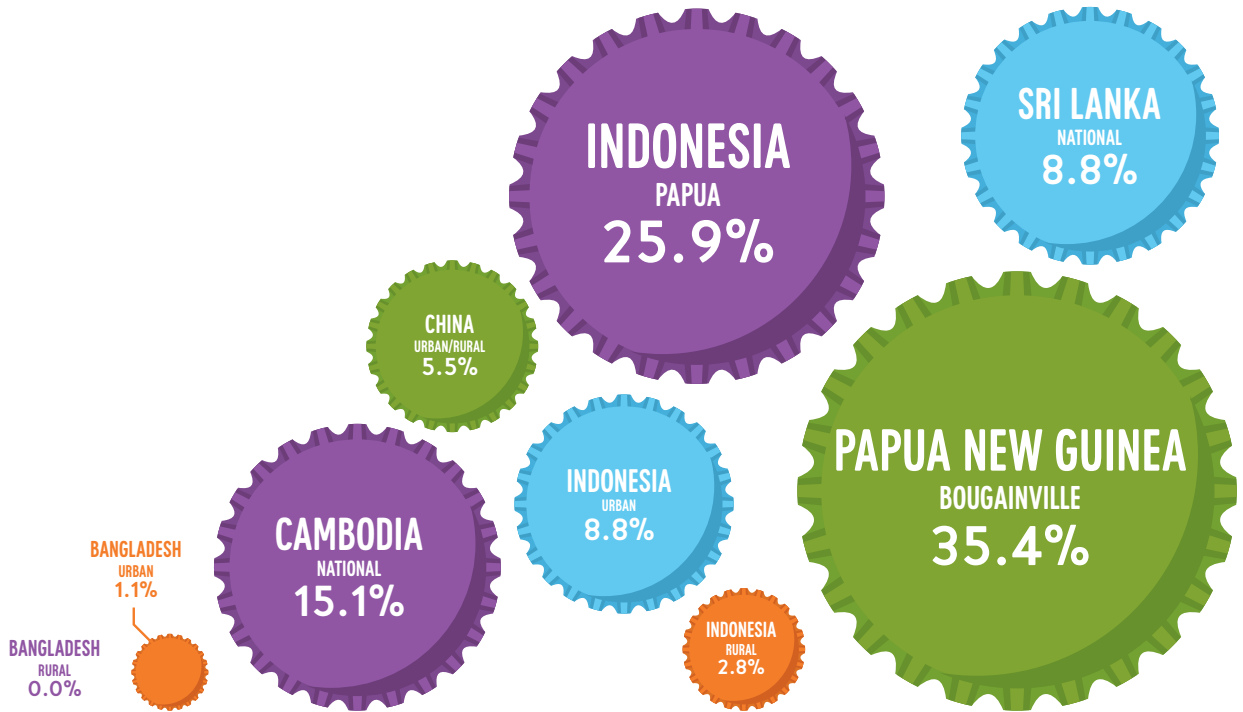
HEALTH AND VULNERABILITIES

Even though men in general benefit from the inequalities in the gender order of society, not all men benefit equally (Connell, 2009). Men who depart from dominant definitions of masculinity are often the subject of verbal abuse, discrimination and violence. But men who conform to dominant definitions of masculinity may also suffer. "Re-

FIGURE 5.6

PERCENTAGE OF MALE RESPONDENTS REPORTING ALCOHOL ABUSE CURRENTLY AND PAST YEAR DRUG-USE, BY SITE

PERCENTAGE OF MALE RESPONDENTS WHO REPORTED ALCOHOL ABUSE PROBLEMS



PERCENTAGE OF MALE RESPONDENTS WHO REPORTED USING DRUGS IN PAST 12 MONTHS

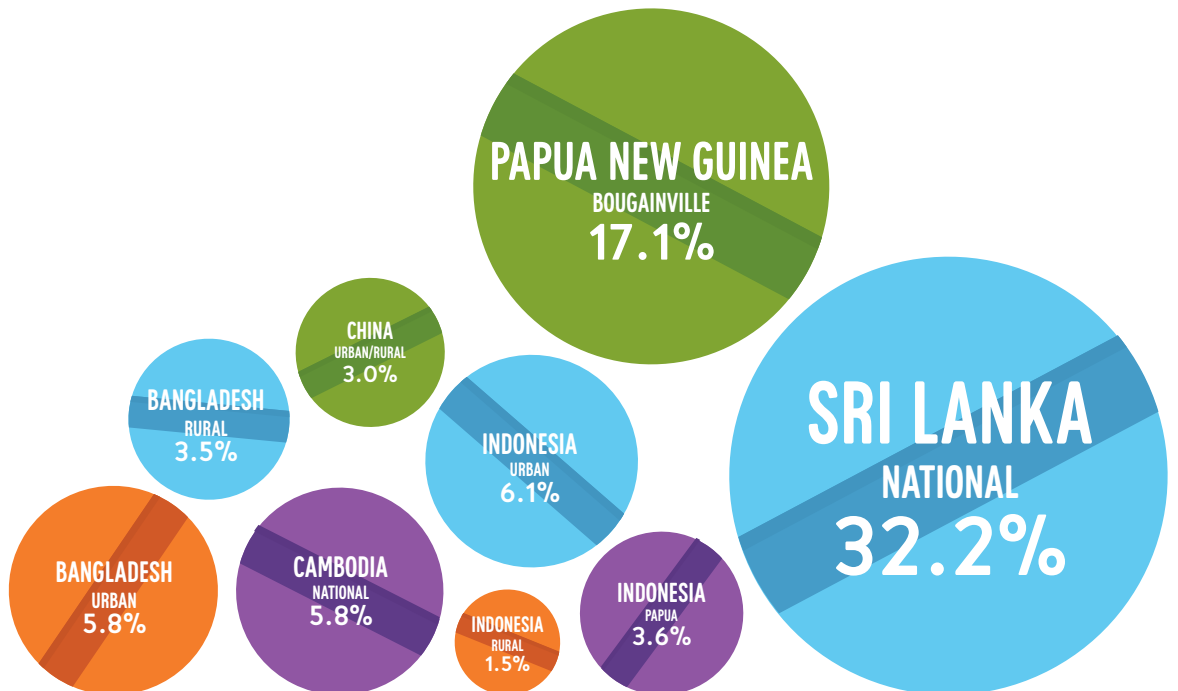
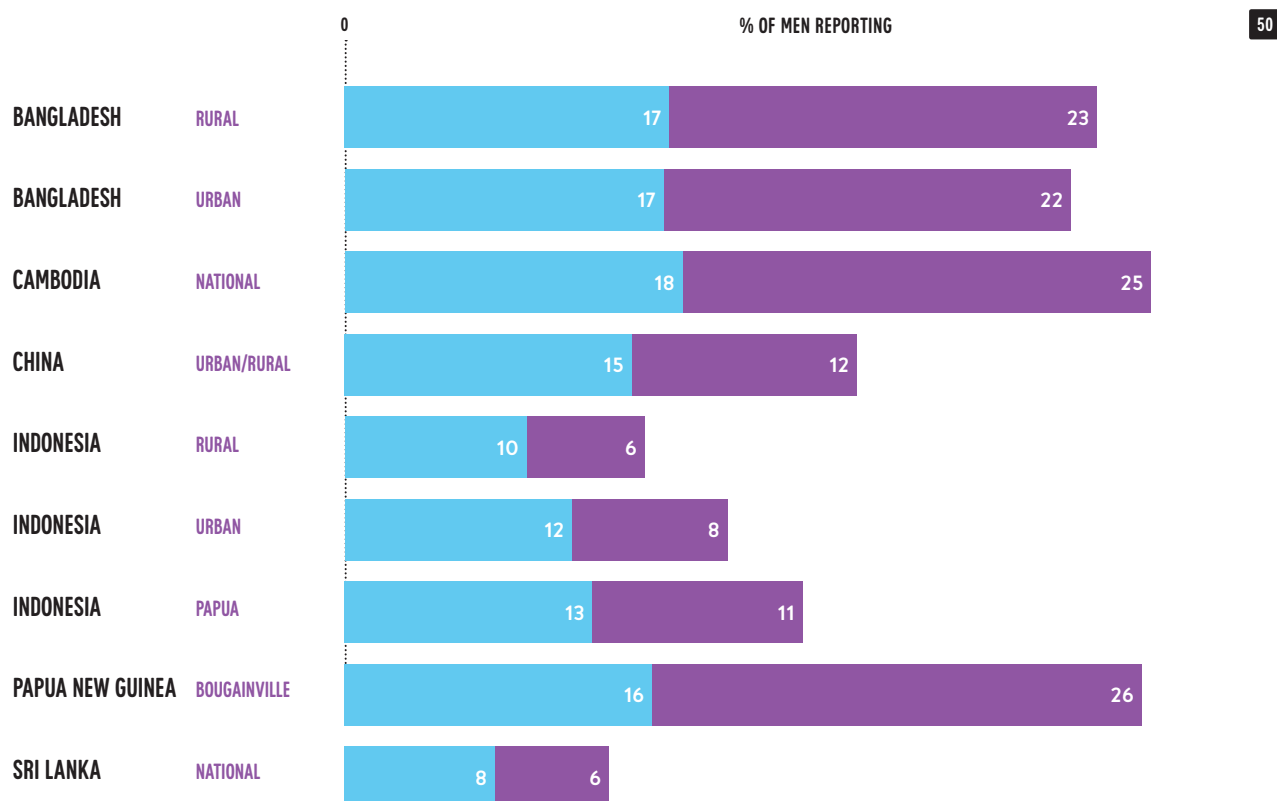


FIGURE 5.7

MEN'S SELF-REPORTING OF HIGH AND VERY HIGH LEVELS OF DEPRESSIVE SYMPTOMS IN THE FOUR WEEKS PRIOR TO THE SURVEY, BY SITE

● MEN WHO REPORT HIGH DEPRESSION ● MEN WHO REPORT VERY HIGH DEPRESSION



search consistently affirms that practices related to health and well-being, living conditions and access to health services are closely linked to societal constructs of masculinity and femininity and the power and resource inequalities between men and women and within specific groups of men and women” (Barker et al., 2011, p. 35). Across the world, men have lower life expectancies than women, which are in part related to their higher rates of death by violence, industrial accidents, poor eating habits and higher levels of alcohol and drug abuse (Pyne, Claeson and Correia, 2002; WHO, 2004).

This study examined a number of men’s health practices and experiences of adversity. Current alcohol abuse was measured using the AUDIT scale, which combines questions of frequency of drinking, number of drinks usually consumed, frequency of binge drinking (six or more drinks)

and feelings of guilt or remorse after drinking and failure to do what was normally expected (of you) because of drinking. Rates of alcohol use varied significantly across sites; and in some Muslim majority societies, such as Bangladesh and Indonesia (urban and rural sites), its use was reported to be minimal. In Indonesia-Papua and Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, however, the percentage of men who had alcohol abuse problems was much larger, at 25 percent and 36 percent, respectively. The rates of drug use in the past year were highest in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Sri Lanka-national (figure 5.6).

Men were asked a series of questions to assess their current depressive symptoms, using the full Centre for Epidemiologic Studies (CES) Depression Scale in all sites (cut off point: >15),

TABLE 5.5

PERCENTAGE OF MALE RESPONDENTS REPORTING A LOW, MEDIUM OR HIGH LEVEL OF WORK-RELATED STRESS, BY SITE

SITE		MEN WHO REPORT BEING UNEMPLOYED (%)	HIGH STRESS (%)	MILD STRESS (%)	LOW STRESS (%)
BANGLADESH	RURAL	4.6	30.1	64.1	5.8
BANGLADESH	URBAN	2.6	22.1	73.0	4.8
CAMBODIA	NATIONAL	25.9	52.5	41.1	6.4
CHINA	URBAN/RURAL	12.0	22.7	67.1	10.2
INDONESIA	RURAL	17.4	12.9	81.8	5.4
INDONESIA	URBAN	5.3	12.3	83.5	4.2
INDONESIA	PAPUA	17.8	12.4	77.0	10.6
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	BOUGAINVILLE	30.9	26.2	59.2	14.6
SRI LANKA	NATIONAL	9.9	18.1	56.2	25.8

except Sri Lanka-national and Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, where an abbreviated scale was used (cut off point: >7). See table 2 of annex I for details of the measure. Figure 5.7 presents the proportions of men who reported high and very high levels of depressive symptoms, indicating the existence of clinical depression, by site. Men were also asked about suicidal thoughts and attempts (see statistical appendix table 9 for the responses). Overall, a substantial proportion of men in all countries reported high or very high depressive symptoms, with 14 percent (Sri Lanka-national) to 43 percent (Cambodia-national and Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men reporting this (figure 5.7). The high rates of depression in some sites may be related to traumatic historical experiences during armed conflict. Depression was strongly associated with current food insecurity, lower levels of education, work stress, unemployment

and among men who had sex with men (data not shown). From 2 percent (Indonesia-rural) to 18 percent (China-urban/rural) of the men reported that they had thought about suicide in their lifetime (see statistical appendix table 9).

Men were asked about their unemployment status and work-related stress; specifically, they were asked whether they had ever experienced stress or depression because of not having enough income or enough work. Table 5.5 shows a range of 3 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 31 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of the men as unemployed. Regardless of their unemployment status, 12–53 per cent of the men across the survey sites reported a high level of work-related stress. Work-related stress tended to be higher in the low-income sites of Cambodia-national, Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Bangladesh-rural.

The case study from China in box 5.3 provides a life history narrative on how men's work-related stress and perceived disempowerment within their career trajectory can manifest in men's display of power in other spaces in their lives. Li Ma's narrative reveals the complex interplay between feelings of inadequacy and powerlessness alongside his gendered attitude of women's and men's roles in society.

DISCUSSION

Overall, it is clear that men's lives and gender patterns are diverse. Not all men, even within the same sites, had the same beliefs or acted in the same ways. Although there were multiple manifestations of manhood evident in the data, some important patterns emerged.

MEN SUFFER FROM HIGH RATES OF WORK-RELATED STRESS, DEPRESSION AND SUICIDAL TENDENCIES AS WELL AS EXPERIENCING HIGH RATES OF VIOLENCE AS CHILDREN.

While men and women tended to support the abstract idea of gender equality, their more nuanced beliefs and practices told a different story. In many sites, this story appeared to be one of male dominance over women, especially in the family sphere, and normalization of violence as a form of disciplining women and children. Still, there was wide variation by site in gender attitudes, which appears to reflect genuine differences in how violence against women is viewed across diverse socio-cultural contexts. This may be related to differing social norms, different levels of male domination, gender inequality and patriarchy across these diverse settings. Generally, younger men, men with a higher level of education and married men had more equitable gender attitudes, which highlights the fact that gender attitudes can and do change for the better over time. This

is supported by findings from the IMAGES study in which the researchers suggested that "men who are married may learn to 'soften' or modify their attitudes as they acquire experience in cohabitating relationships with women" (Barker et al., 2011, p. 21). Interestingly, in sites in which women were interviewed, their attitudes were often more conservative and gender inequitable than the male sample, suggesting that they appear to be more accepting of the subordinated status of women in the public and private spheres. This highlights the importance of working with women and girls alongside men and boys to promote gender equality.

Men's gender practices in their personal lives, in terms of their sharing of household work, child care and decision-making, varied across sites. Inequalities in domestic duties were obvious in all sites except Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, with the vast majority of men reporting that their female partners did more than they did when it comes to household work and care-giving. Consistently, men's involvement in their children's lives was reported as minimal. Nevertheless, none of these variables were found to be predictive of men's use of violence against women in any site (see the next chapter). In fact, the site in which men reported the most equitable household practices is Papua New Guinea-Bougainville,¹⁶ where violence against women is most common. The meaning of 'equal' household practices seems to be culturally specific, constantly changing and not always gendered in the way assumed, with men as breadwinners and women as carers. Thus, the assumption that profound transformations in the gender order and decreased rates of violence against women will result from men becoming more involved in caregiving and household work may be too simplistic and may ignore the realities of men's experiences. Engaging men in caregiving is thus not a simple violence prevention 'tool' but rather part of the broader gender changes that should be pursued.

Although the majority of men in the study reported a relatively few number of lifetime sexual partners, men's use of sex workers and transactional sex was common in all sites except Sri Lanka-national and Bangladesh-rural and urban. More research is needed to understand men's use of transactional

sex and how it relates to gender inequality and use of violence (discussed more in Chapters 6 and 7).

There are extremely high rates of violence against male children in the region, indicating that there are fundamental rights and child development issues at play. The consequences of men's experiences of violence as children are severe, and thus the protecting of children's rights and the raising of children in non-violent (including emotionally abusive settings) must be prioritized. This study also found that men suffer from high rates of work-related stress, depression and suicidal tendencies as well as experiencing high rates of violence as children. Such findings are supported by other studies (WHO, 2004; Barker et al., 2011). Alcohol or drug abuse appears to be relatively common in some sites, such as Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Sri Lanka-national, but much less so in both the rural and urban sites of Bangladesh and Indonesia, which is understandable, given the Muslim-majority populations.

The findings on work-related stress suggests that given the prevailing socially expected role of men as providers, work stress reveals more about men's life experiences than simply asking about income or employment status (Barker et al., 2011). The fact that men who have current food insecurity, low levels of education, high levels of work stress, are unemployed or have sex with men are more likely to suffer from depression indicates that specific groups of men, particularly those who are economically and socially marginalized, face specific gendered health risks (WHO, 2007). Other studies suggest that stoic and rigid notions of masculinity—that a man should not show vulnerabilities or seek help—contribute to suicidal behaviour and depression (Moller-Leimkuhler, 2003; Emslie, Ridge, Ziebland and Hunt, 2006). The harmful effects of hegemonic masculinity are obviously detrimental to men but also to women, as discussed in the next chapter, which examines the relationship between these gender patterns and men's perpetration of different types of violence against women.

¹⁶ Bougainville is primarily a subsistence economy and the division of labour is not strongly gendered.

BOX 5.3

CASE STUDY 4

MASCULINITIES AND ALTERNATIVE PROFESSIONS IN CHINA

Li Ma* is a male nurse working in Beijing. Li Ma was a mediocre student during his early education. Although he wanted to be class monitor, his low grades prevented him from being elected, despite his efforts to improve his work. When he failed to test into high school, his older sister (a nurse also) urged him to study psychiatric nursing at medical school instead. During those studies, he envisioned his future career as easy, with relatively good pay. He began working as a psychiatric nurse in 2010, and he finds now that he is overworked, stressed and underpaid. He speaks at length about his unhappiness with his current job, but he does not want to change jobs because he does not imagine he is suitable for another profession. He believes he would not be good at other types of work because he was specifically trained as a nurse.

Li Ma seems to have an inferiority complex about his profession. He believes that because there are few male nurses, society looks down on people like him. This contributes to his job dissatisfaction. Li Ma also seems to make up for his perceived disempowerment as a male nurse by emphasizing his superiority over women. Although he says that he supports gender equality and that women are equally capable as men, he believes that men should be the main breadwinners and handle external matters while women should be in charge of the household. He believes that 'real men' should be mature, calm, not afraid and should be able to make their loved ones feel safe, which suggests that he finds affirmation of his masculinity within the relationship space.

*Pseudonym

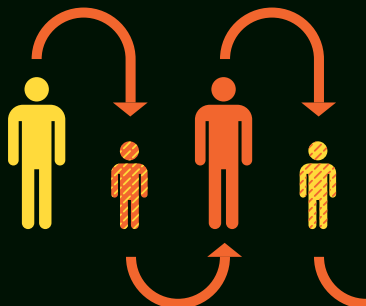
6

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH MEN'S PERPETRATION OF PHYSICAL AND/OR SEXUAL INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

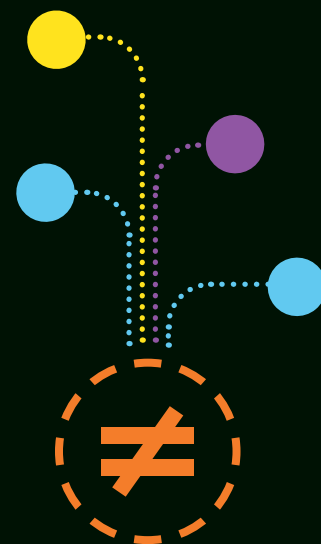
MAIN CHAPTER FINDINGS



The factors associated with men's perpetration of intimate partner violence varied across all countries, although a number of associated factors were common across countries.



Childhood experiences of abuse were associated with the perpetration of partner violence in all countries, affirming the significance of the generational cycle of violence.



Practices stemming from gender inequality and dominant ideals of manhood were associated with partner violence perpetration, such as gender inequitable attitudes, controlling behaviour, having multiple sexual partners and having had sex with a sex worker.



Relationships in which there were high levels of discord, reflected in frequent quarrelling, were more likely to involve partner violence.



Depression, low life satisfaction and alcohol abuse were associated with partner violence perpetration in several countries.

Low levels of education and current food insecurity were associated with partner violence perpetration, particularly in the least developed countries.

This chapter presents the findings on the factors associated with lifetime physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence perpetration, obtained using multivariate logistic regression modelling and adjusting for age, partnership status, site and all other significant variables in the model.¹⁷ For details of the data analysis techniques, see annex I. The factors presented in the chapter and the following chapter are primarily at the individual and family levels of the socio-ecological model. These factors are informed by and reflect broader social contexts and environments, including gender equality and patriarchy, as discussed in Chapter 8. Further, these factors do not operate in isolation from one another and are interconnected.

This chapter first presents the analysis for the combined data set to show the broader trends across the sites in the region, adjusting for age and site. Then the data is presented by country for a look at the unique patterns in each cultural context, adjusting by age, partnership status and site. The modelling was done by country because the prevention strategy decisions will be made at a country level; differences by site within the country are accounted for in the regression model. All factors presented are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Many of the practices that relate to men's lives that were discussed in the previous chapter informed this chapter's analysis.

The explanatory factors that were explored in the analysis were selected on the basis of analysis in the available literature (Martin et al., 1999; Jewkes, 2002; Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana, 2002; Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman and Laubsher, 2004; Silverman et al., 2007; Abramsky et al., 2011; Barker et al., 2011; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2011), and the definition of each is described in table 2A of annex I. Research suggests that the key factors associated with the perpetration of intimate partner violence include poverty, a low level of education, witnessing abuse at home, exposure to childhood trauma, alcohol abuse, anti-social personality disorder, attitudes that are accepting of violence, relationship discord and having multiple partners (Martin et al., 1999; Jewkes, 2002; Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman and Laubsher, 2004; Silverman et al., 2007). Factors related to gendered practices in the home, such as equitable decision-making and household work, and factors related to income and employment status, including men's work stress and unemployment, were also explored

BOX 6.1

WHAT IS MULTIVARIATE LOGISTIC REGRESSION AND WHY IS IT USED?

Multivariate logistic regression is a statistical technique used for this analysis to determine which factors (characteristics or experiences of men interviewed) are associated with men's perpetration of intimate partner violence and non-partner rape. A statistically significant association (when the p-value is less than 0.05) emerges when the proportion of people who perpetrate violence is significantly greater for those with the factor being considered, compared with people without it. For example, the proportion of men who use violence is larger among those who have experienced emotional abuse as a child, compared with those who have not. In the tables and figures presented in this chapter, there is reference to odds ratios, which can be directly interpreted as how many times, on average, someone is more likely to perpetrate violence if they have this factor, compared with someone without this factor. For example, for childhood emotional abuse, the adjusted odds ratios (AOR) = 1.53, meaning that men who have experienced such abuse are one and half times more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence than men who have not experienced childhood emotional abuse. A multivariate model takes into account all the factors at the same time and accounts for correlations between the different factors, thus it gives a better picture of the complex nature of violence against women than individual factors considered separately.

This kind of data analysis gives a 'snapshot' of a situation at a given time and does not provide information on the temporal nature of these factors or 'what happens when'. This means it is not possible to say that a factor 'causes' violence because, technically, that is not known if that characteristic or experience occurred before or after a violent event. The findings suggest, however, that if the multiple associated factors are addressed, it is likely that a decrease in the rates of violence perpetration may result. Thus, this model is extremely useful to inform violence prevention interventions.

Individual factors explored in this analysis do not necessarily cause violence and do not operate in isolation. In fact, a number of individual factors together reflect a broader underlying concept, and thus it is more meaningful to understand the drivers of violence as clusters of factors that are interconnected. The analysis explored the data in a number of ways to determine how best to cluster the various factors associated with violence perpetration. First analysed was how the factors logically fit together and what the literature suggests in terms of the bigger patterns these factors are understood to represent. Then the analysis looked at possible violence prevention interventions, grouping factors that would suggest a similar response. Finally, factor analysis was applied to check the groupings and whether they could be considered to be representing a single concept. Based on this exercise, the following five clusters of factors are used in the remaining chapters of the report:

- **SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS:** no high school education; sometimes or often people at home go without food because of lack of money (current food insecurity).
- **VICTIMIZATION HISTORY:** childhood physical abuse; childhood sexual abuse; childhood emotional abuse; witnessed mother being beaten by father or stepfather (all measured using the Childhood Trauma Events Scale); sexual victimization (including rape) by another man or experiences of homophobic abuse.
- **GENDER NORMS AND SEXUAL PRACTICES:** medium to highly controlling behaviour over female partner; frequent quarrelling with partner; attitudes that reflect gender inequality; number of lifetime sexual partners; having ever had sex with a sex worker or transactional sex (transactional sex); ever perpetrated physical violence against a partner (as a factor for non-partner rape perpetration only).
- **PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE:** high level of depressive symptoms, measured using the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale; life satisfaction based on measure of satisfaction with current life circumstances; alcohol abuse measured using a modification of the AUDIT scale; low levels of empathy; used drugs in the 12 months prior to the survey.
- **INVOLVEMENT IN VIOLENCE OUTSIDE THE HOME:** has ever participated in a gang; has ever been involved in a fight with a knife, gun or other weapon.

but not found to be associated with partner violence perpetration in any sites and thus not included in the final models.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH PARTNER VIOLENCE PERPETRATION FOR THE COMBINED SAMPLE

The full multivariate model is presented in table 6.1, which reflects all the factors that are significantly associated with lifetime intimate partner violence perpetration, adjusted for all the other variables in the model and for age, partnership status and site. The adjusted odds ratios indicate how greatly the odds of violence perpetration are increased among men who have that characteristic compared with men who do not have that characteristic. For example, men who had no high school education were 1.3 times more likely to use partner violence

than those who had a high school education or more. The percentage of men, for the combined sample, with each characteristic (such as no high school education), comparing the group who had used physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence with those who had not, is presented in statistical appendix table 10.

Male perpetration of intimate partner violence was strongly associated with all forms of childhood abuse; the strongest association was with experiences of childhood emotional abuse or neglect. It was also associated with lower levels of education and current food insecurity.

Men who reported using intimate partner violence also reported more gender-inequitable attitudes, the use of more highly controlling behaviour and frequently quarrelling with their partner. Approxi-

mately 50 percent of men who used violence also reported that they frequently quarrelled with their partner, compared with 32 percent of men who had not used partner violence, which reflects one aspect of marital discord (statistical appendix table 10). Men who used violence also had a greater number of lifetime sexual partners and were more likely to have had sex with a sex worker or transactional sex.

Rates of depression were significantly higher among men who used violence. They were also more likely to have a low life satisfaction score and have alcohol problems. Men who used physical and/or sexual violence against a partner were 1.4 times more likely to have been involved in a gang and 1.4 times more likely to have been in fights with weapons (table 6.1).

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE PERPETRATION BY COUNTRY

Factors associated with lifetime physical and/or sexual partner violence perpetration are presented by country and adjusted by age, partnership status and site, in figure 6.1.¹⁸ The figures show the factors found to be significant in each country, and the length of the bar illustrates the odds ratio—that is, the strength of the association. For more detailed national analysis, see the national reports.

No high school education was found to be a significant factor associated with partner violence perpetration in two countries (Bangladesh and Cambodia) and current food insecurity also in two countries (Papua New Guinea and Cambodia). Men's experiences of emotional abuse and neglect in childhood was associated with intimate partner violence in four countries (Bangladesh, China, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea), childhood physical abuse in two countries (Indonesia and Sri Lanka) and childhood sexual abuse in three countries (Cambodia, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea). Men who had witnessed abuse of their mother were more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence in three countries (China, Indonesia and Sri Lanka).

With regards to attitudes about gender norms and relationship practices, men who had gender inequitable gender attitudes were more likely to perpetrate partner violence in Bangladesh. Men having highly controlling behaviour over a partner was

significantly associated with violence perpetration in three countries (Bangladesh, Cambodia and Sri Lanka), and frequent quarrelling in four countries (Bangladesh, Cambodia, China and Sri Lanka). Men having more sexual partners was found to be associated with partner violence perpetration in all countries except Sri Lanka, and having transactional sex was associated in four countries (Bangladesh, Cambodia, Indonesia and Sri Lanka). Men whose marriage involved a dowry payment were more likely to use partner violence in Bangladesh, especially if the dowry was not paid in full.

Depression¹⁹ was found to be a significant factor associated with partner violence perpetration in four countries (Bangladesh, Cambodia, China and Indonesia), and low life satisfaction in three countries (Bangladesh, Indonesia and Sri Lanka). Men who had current alcohol abuse problems were more likely to have perpetrated partner violence in Cambodia and China. For more detailed national analysis, see the national reports (Naved et al., 2011; de Mel, Peiris and Gomez, 2013).

The case study in box 6.3 provides a life history narrative of a Bangladeshi man's trajectory into a dowry-paid, arranged marriage and his reflections on the consequences for the relationship, including his perpetration of partner violence against his wife.

GENDER-BASED ATTITUDES AND VIOLENCE PERPETRATION

The underlying construct of gender inequality and violence-condoning norms are related to the perpetration of violence. This is supported by the findings from this study on sexual entitlement as a motivation for rape perpetration and the association between men's controlling behaviour, the number of sexual partners and intimate partner violence. Individual gender attitudes, however, are not found to be consistently associated with men's perpetration of violence across all sites. For example, gender-inequitable attitudes, are associated with intimate partner violence perpetration for the combined data set and in two countries (Bangladesh and Cambodia). They are not associated with intimate partner violence perpetration in four of six countries or with non-partner rape perpetration in any of the sites. Even when specifically examining the violence-condoning attitudes or rape myths, as distinct from general gender-based attitudes, there is

TABLE 6.1

MULTIVARIATE LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH LIFETIME PHYSICAL AND/OR SEXUAL INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE PERPETRATION, IN THE COMBINED DATA SET, ADJUSTED BY AGE, PARTNERSHIP STATUS AND SITE

NOTES

AOR=adjusted odds ratio

		AOR	LOWER CI	UPPER CI	P VALUE
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS	NO HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION	1.26	1.11	1.44	0.001
	CURRENT FOOD INSECURITY	1.30	1.14	1.49	<0.0001
VICTIMIZATION HISTORY	CHILDHOOD EMOTIONAL ABUSE OR NEGLECT	1.53	1.34	1.74	<0.0001
	CHILDHOOD PHYSICAL ABUSE	1.27	1.12	1.44	0.001
	CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE	1.39	1.19	1.62	<0.0001
	WITNESSED ABUSE OF MOTHER	1.48	1.29	1.70	<0.0001
GENDER NORMS AND SEXUAL PRACTICES	INEQUITABLE GENDER ATTITUDES	1.42	1.20	1.68	<0.0001
	CONTROLLING BEHAVIOUR	1.74	1.38	2.20	<0.0001
	FREQUENT QUARRELLING WITH PARTNER	2.06	1.83	2.32	<0.0001
	2-3 LIFETIME SEXUAL PARTNERS	1.82	1.59	2.08	<0.0001
	4+ LIFETIME SEXUAL PARTNERS	1.89	1.59	2.25	<0.0001
	TRANSACTIONAL SEX	1.47	1.30	1.67	<0.0001
PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE	DEPRESSION	1.38	1.22	1.57	<0.0001
	LIFE SATISFACTION	1.06	1.03	1.09	<0.0001
	ALCOHOL ABUSE	1.48	1.22	1.78	<0.0001
INVOLVEMENT IN VIOLENCE OUTSIDE THE HOME	PARTICIPATED IN A GANG	1.38	1.10	1.72	0.005
	INVOLVED IN FIGHTS WITH WEAPONS	1.38	1.14	1.66	<0.0001

FIGURE 6.1

MULTIVARIATE LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL FOR LIFETIME PHYSICAL AND/OR SEXUAL PARTNER VIOLENCE PERPETRATION, BY COUNTRY AND ADJUSTED BY AGE, PARTNERSHIP STATUS AND SITE

NOTE

AOR=adjusted odds ratio





MARITAL VIOLENCE IN BANGLADESH

Noor* is a 25-year-old man living in Dhaka. As a teenager, he was in love with a girl in his community; yet, his family never accepted the relationship. “She was my love. But, there were barriers from all sides.” Noor’s family arranged his marriage to a girl of their choice, against his wishes. Noor’s family took a dowry from the bride’s family. “I consented to marry her because my parents convinced me that I would get quite a good amount of cash as dowry.” His new bride’s family paid 30,000 taka (approximately \$400). Although now, after being married to his wife, he says, “I believe I deserved even more dowry.” When speaking of the dowry tradition, Noor de-emphasizes the role of force or coercion in the practice, noting that “most dowry exchanges take place congenially—with one or two exceptional cases of force.”

Nevertheless, Noor blames the trajectory into this relationship as responsible for his unsatisfactory marriage. He believes that “a good marriage means a loving, caring, devoted and dedicated wife who can always put the husband’s family interest on top of anything else”. As for the relationship between he and his wife, Noor says, “Our husband–wife relationship never worked. I am married but not happy at all.” He thinks that this is “something that is regular to millions of married men”.

This lack of happiness and mutual respect may contribute to Noor’s perpetration of violence within the relationship. Noor notes that “if I am angry, I prefer to teach her an instant lesson. Although I sometimes feel bad about my conduct, it’s not a big deal. If she disobeys, she must be punished. That is not wrong at all.” He thinks domestic violence is normal and natural within relationships, but at the same time, he says, “I know I and others do bad things ... domestic violence is the most common form of violence. We are not angels, just ordinary human beings.”

*Pseudonym

no clear association with violence perpetration. This is particularly evident in China-urban/rural, where only nine percent of men agreed with the statement “There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten” even though 52 percent reported that they had used physical or sexual violence against a female intimate partner in their lifetime. Further, as mentioned in the previous chapter, men’s gender-based practices in the home, for example sharing household work and child-caring responsibilities, were not associated with violence perpetration in any site.

These findings are supported by other studies that also found gender-based attitudes to be associated with violence in some countries but not all. For example, analysis of women’s reporting of current intimate partner violence in the WHO MCS found a significant association between women’s attitudes that were supportive of a husband beating his wife and experiences of intimate partner violence in 8 of 15 sites; in 7 sites, there was no significant association. Other studies have found that men are more likely to use violence if they have hostile and negative attitudes towards women and identify with traditional images of masculinity and male privilege (Alder, 1992; O’Neil and Harway, 1997; Heise, 1998; Anderson, Simpson-Taylor and Hermann, 2004).

It may be the case that this study’s scale did not measure gender-based attitudes well or that individual attitudes alone, as measured in quantitative surveys, may not fully capture the complex and dynamic nature of social norms and dominant ideals of masculinity that promote violence against women.

Although changing individual attitudes should be one target of prevention interventions, on its own it is unlikely to have a significant impact on the rates of violence; there is a need to simultaneously address broader social norms and structural inequalities. Further work is also needed to find better ways to measure attitudes and social norms and indicators of gender inequality and discrimination that drive the violence against women.

DISCUSSION

The factors that were found to be most consistently associated with intimate partner violence

perpetration across multiple countries include: frequent quarrelling, having had a large number of sexual partners, having had transactional sex or depression (all significant in four of the six countries). There is some debate as to whether quarrelling and controlling behaviour should be considered a part of violence, but other major studies have considered them as potential factors associated with violence (Abramsky et al., 2011; Jewkes, 2002; Heise, 2012). Quarrelling is not itself inherently pathological in a relationship and can be considered an indicator of marital discord. Controlling behaviour is very closely related conceptually to emotional abuse but does not always occur with physical or sexual violence. Further, it is possible to reduce these behaviours by teaching relationship skills and promoting respect and greater equity, and thus they have important programming implications (Jewkes, Nduna and Levin, 2008). More analysis of relationship disharmony and quarrelling as it relates to intimate partner violence is needed to see if this is merely part of the outcome or if it a potential pathway to such violence. Other literature suggests that having more sexual partners and sex with sex workers reflects a combination of a preoccupation with demonstrating (hetero)sexual performance or sexual dominance over women, with a desire for emotionally detached sex (Malamuth, 2003). These patterns are also connected to masculinities that stress strength, toughness and dominance over other men, reflected in engagement with a gang, fighting with weapons and associated drug use (Knight and Sims-Knight, 2003).

At least one form of childhood abuse was associated with intimate partner violence perpetration in all countries, with emotional abuse or neglect, sexual abuse and witnessing the abuse of one's mother the most common. This highlights the need to prevent all forms of abuse, including emotional abuse of boys in childhood and in early adolescence, and to promote positive and non-violent family and school environments.

An important finding of this study is that the factors associated with partner violence perpetration vary

substantially across countries. This emphasizes the importance of country-specific data to inform interventions. For example, gender-inequitable attitudes are associated with partner violence perpetration for the combined data set but not consistently across countries. Current food insecurity (a measure of low socio-economic status) and a low level of education were associated with violence perpetration, but only in the least developed country settings—Bangladesh, Cambodia and Papua New Guinea. In more developed sites, such as China and Indonesia, they were not relevant. The associations with community violence (involvement in a gang and fights with weapons) were also site-specific, reflecting the socio-cultural environments in which these practices are more common, such as Cambodia, Papua New Guinea and Sri Lanka, but not in Bangladesh and China where gang culture is rare. High levels of depressive symptoms, while strongly associated with partner violence, were predominantly relevant in Bangladesh and Cambodia, and therefore also needs to be understood in context. The measure of depression was current depression, and thus it is not clear whether it occurred before or after violence perpetration, although other literature suggests it is bidirectional (Nduna et al., 2010). This is an important new finding not examined in other literature and points to the need to improve mental health services for men as part of violence prevention (Knerr, Gardner and Cluver, 2013).

Alcohol abuse was also found to be a site-specific factor and, understandably, not of significance in the Muslim-majority societies of Bangladesh and Indonesia. This is consistent with the literature on women's experience of partner violence (Abramsky et al., 2011; Botts, Guedes, Goodwin and Mendoza, 2012), which indicates that the role of alcohol is context specific, and its emphasis in violence prevention should vary among settings. Many of the associated factors are not necessarily directly causal. That is, violence is not caused by alcohol or poverty, but these can be considered catalytic in the context of women's subordination, or reflective of broader environmental contexts that contribute to violence perpetration, as discussed in Chapter 8.

17 This chapter does not include analysis of the data on women's experiences of violence because they were limited to a select number of sites.

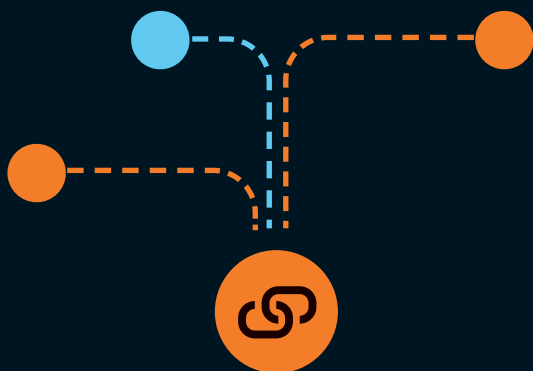
18 The prevalence of factors associated with perpetration of partner violence is presented for each country in statistical appendix table 11. The full multivariate models by country are presented in statistical appendix table 12.

19 The measure of 'depression' is current depression and thus the direction of the association is not clear, although other literature suggests it occurs both before and after violence perpetration (Nduna et al., 2010).

7

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH MALE PERPETRATION OF NON-PARTNER RAPE

MAIN CHAPTER FINDINGS



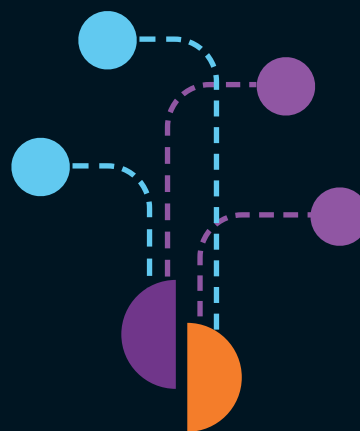
Non-partner rape perpetration was strongly associated with having multiple sexual partners, transactional sex and using physical violence against an intimate partner, reflecting ideals of masculinity that celebrate heterosexual performance and dominance over women.



Non-partner rape perpetration was associated with men's own victimization, particularly abuse in childhood.



Men who had engaged in other forms of violence and illegal practices outside the home—gangs, fights with weapons, drug use—were more likely to perpetrate non-partner rape.



The factors associated with the rape of a man were similar to those of the rape of a non-partner woman—sexual practices, victimization history and experiences of violence outside the home.

This chapter presents the findings on factors associated with non-partner rape perpetration, based on the multivariate logistic regression modelling and adjusting for age, education and site.²⁰ For details of data analysis techniques, see annex I. This chapter first presents the analysis for the combined data set to introduce the broader trends across the sites in the region, adjusting for age and site. Then the data is presented by country to understand the unique patterns in each cultural context, adjusting by age and site. The modelling was done by country because prevention strategy decisions will be made at a country level, and differences by site within the country are accounted for in the regression model.

The explanatory factors that were explored in the analysis were selected in response to issues highlighted in the available literature, and the definition of each is described in table 2A of annex I. Even though there is limited global research on men's perpetration of non-partner rape, research from North American and South Africa suggests that childhood trauma exposure, having delinquent peers and ideals of masculinity that emphasize heterosexual performance and control of women are key factors for rape perpetration (Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss and Tanaka, 1991; Knight and Sims-Knight, 2003; Abbey et al., 2006; Jewkes et al., 2006; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2011) as well as other factors, including lack of empathy (Abbey et al., 2006).

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH NON-PARTNER RAPE PERPETRATION AMONG THE COMBINED SAMPLE

The full multivariate model is presented in table 7.1, which shows all the factors that are significantly associated with lifetime perpetration of non-partner rape, adjusted for all the other variables in the model and for age and site. The percentages of men in the combined sample for each characteristic, comparing the group that had perpetrated non-partner rape with those who had not are presented in statistical appendix table 13.

For the combined data set, non-partner rape perpetration was associated with current food insecurity, reflecting low socio-economic status and ever being married or living with a partner. Men who

perpetrated rape were more likely to have experienced abuse as a child. For example, 33 percent of men who had ever perpetrated non-partner rape had experienced childhood sexual abuse, compared with 16 percent of men who had never raped a non-partner. Men who had raped a non-partner woman were more likely to have alcohol abuse problems and to have lower empathy levels. They were more likely to have been physically violent towards an intimate partner. Men who had ever had sex with a sex worker or transactional sex were three times more likely to have perpetrated non-partner rape. Men who had raped had more lifetime sexual partners, with that association strengthening with increasing numbers of partners. Men who had engaged in other forms of violence and illegal practices outside the home, including having been involved in fights with weapons, participating in a gang and recent drug use, were more likely to perpetrate non-partner rape.

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH THE PERPETRATION OF NON-PARTNER RAPE BY COUNTRY

Factors associated with non-partner rape perpetration by country are presented in figure 7.1.²¹ Current food insecurity was found to be significantly associated with non-partner rape perpetration in two countries (Indonesia and Papua New Guinea). Men who had ever married or lived with a woman in China-urban/rural were less likely to perpetrate non-partner rape, however this was not the case in other settings. Men's experience of emotional abuse and neglect as children was associated with non-partner rape perpetration in two countries (China and Sri Lanka), childhood physical abuse was associated in one country (Papua New Guinea) and childhood sexual abuse in two countries (China and Indonesia). Men who had experienced homophobic abuse²² were more likely to perpetrate non-partner rape in two countries (Bangladesh and Cambodia), and experiencing sexual victimization (including rape) as an adult was associated with non-partner rape perpetration in three countries (China, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea).

Men who used physical violence against a female partner were more likely to perpetrate rape against a non-partner in three countries (Bangladesh, Indonesia and Sri Lanka). Having more sexual

TABLE 7.1

MULTIVARIATE LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH LIFETIME PERPETRATION OF NON-PARTNER RAPE, FOR THE COMBINED DATA SET AND ADJUSTED FOR AGE AND SITE

NOTE

AOR=adjusted odds ratio; CI=confidence interval

		AOR	LOWER CI	UPPER CI	P VALUE
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS	CURRENT FOOD INSECURITY	1.26	1.04	1.52	0.020
	EVER MARRIED OR COHABITATED	1.41	1.07	1.84	0.014
VICTIMIZATION HISTORY	CHILDHOOD EMOTIONAL ABUSE OR NEGLECT	1.40	1.11	1.76	0.005
	CHILDHOOD SEXUAL ABUSE	1.62	1.32	1.98	0.000
	EXPERIENCED HOMOPHOBIC ABUSE	1.72	1.20	2.46	0.003
	SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION (INCLUDING RAPE)	1.95	1.45	2.64	<0.0001
GENDER-BASED ATTITUDES AND RELATIONSHIP PRACTICES	ANY PHYSICAL INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE	1.76	1.46	2.13	<0.0001
	2-3 LIFETIME SEXUAL PARTNERS	3.27	2.65	4.04	<0.0001
	4+ LIFETIME SEXUAL PARTNERS	5.16	4.11	6.49	<0.0001
	TRANSACTIONAL SEX	3.02	2.49	3.67	<0.0001
PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE	EMPATHY	0.95	0.92	0.97	<0.0001
	DEPRESSION	1.29	1.08	1.55	0.005
	ALCOHOL ABUSE	1.60	1.30	1.97	<0.0001
INVOLVEMENT IN VIOLENCE OUTSIDE THE HOME	CURRENT DRUG USE	1.43	1.10	1.86	0.007
	PARTICIPATED IN A GANG	1.63	1.30	2.05	<0.0001
	INVOLVED IN FIGHTS WITH WEAPONS	1.73	1.41	2.13	<0.0001

partners was associated with non-partner rape in all countries and having transactional sex was also associated in all countries except China.

Men who had high depressive symptoms were more likely to perpetrate non-partner rape in Cambodia. Having alcohol abuse problems was significantly associated with rape of a non-partner in four countries (Cambodia, China, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea) and current drug use was associated in one country (Cambodia). Empathy was found

to be a protective factor in two countries (Papua New Guinea and Bangladesh), that is, men who had higher levels of empathy were less likely to perpetrate non-partner rape.

Men who had participated in a gang were more likely to perpetrate non-partner rape in three countries (Cambodia, Indonesia and Papua New Guinea), and those who had participated in fights with weapons were more likely to perpetrate non-partner rape in two countries (Indonesia and Papua New Guinea).

FIGURE 7.1

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH NON-PARTNER RAPE PERPETRATION, BY COUNTRY, ADJUSTED FOR AGE AND SITE

NOTE Empathy is a continuous variable but presented as low empathy here for ease of reference





TABLE 7.2

MULTIVARIATE LOGISTIC REGRESSION MODEL OF FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH LIFETIME PERPETRATION OF RAPE AGAINST A MAN AMONG THE COMBINED DATA SET AND ADJUSTED FOR AGE AND SITE AND ALL OTHER FACTORS IN THE MODEL

NOTE

AOR=adjusted odds ratio; CI-confidence interval

		AOR	LOWER CI	UPPER CI	P VALUE
SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS	CURRENT FOOD INSECURITY	1.63	1.21	2.21	0.001
VICTIMIZATION HISTORY	SEXUAL VICTIMIZATION (INCLUDING RAPE)	3.50	2.43	5.04	<0.0001
	EXPERIENCED HOMOPHOBIC ABUSE	5.45	3.76	7.88	<0.0001
SEXUAL PRACTICES	0-1 LIFETIME SEXUAL PARTNER	1.00			
	2-3 LIFETIME SEXUAL PARTNERS	1.95	1.37	2.77	<0.0001
	4+ LIFETIME SEXUAL PARTNERS	1.76	1.19	2.61	0.005
	TRANSACTIONAL SEX	2.82	2.01	3.96	<0.0001
INVOLVEMENT IN VIOLENCE OUTSIDE THE HOME AND DRUG USE	PARTICIPATED IN A GANG	1.58	1.10	2.27	0.014
	CURRENT DRUG USE	2.46	1.74	3.50	<0.0001

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH MALE RAPE PERPETRATION AGAINST MEN

Factors associated with the rape of a man in the combined data set and adjusted for age and site are presented in table 7.2. Male rape perpetration was associated with current food insecurity, large numbers of lifetime female sexual partners, having had sex with a sex worker or transactional sex, having participated in a gang and/or recent use of drugs (during the 12 months prior to the survey). Men’s own experiences of victimization were also particularly important. Men who had experienced sexual violence, including rape, were 3.5 times more likely to perpetrate rape against a man and men who had experienced homophobic violence or taunts were more than 5.5 times likely to have raped a man.

DISCUSSION

The study suggests that the most important factors associated with non-partner rape perpetration are rooted in gender-inequitable constructions of masculinity. Rape was very strongly associated with having more partners, transactional sex and using physical violence against female partners. Researchers have argued that these behaviours do not express mere sex seeking so much as they stem from ideas of masculinity that emphasize heterosexual performance and dominance over women (Knight and Sims-Knight, 2003; Jewkes et al., 2011; Malamuth, 2003). These ideas are closely linked to performance of emphasized masculine strength and toughness within the context of anti-social subcultures, as seen in gang membership

and fighting with weapons, and related to gang rape in particular (Connell, 1987; Morrell, 2001).

Although income and unemployment were not found to be associated with non-partner rape perpetration, current food insecurity (a proxy measure of low socio-economic status) was found to increase the likelihood of non-partner rape perpetration. This has been previously asserted but not consistently found in generally low-resource settings (Bourgois, 1996; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell and Dunkle, 2006; Jewkes et al., 2011; Jewkes et al., 2012). In the context of poverty, subcultures may develop with gang membership and drug use, and this provides a context in which dominance over women and other men may be emphasized to compensate for otherwise perceived disempowerment (Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss and Tanaka, 1991; Bourgois, 1996; Borowsky, Hogan and Ireland, 1997; Calhoun, Bernat, Clum and Frame, 1997; Knight and Sims-Knight, 2003; Jewkes et al., 2012).

Rape perpetration was associated with men's own victimization, particularly abuse in childhood. Sexual abuse in childhood has been previously linked to increased likelihood of men's adult perpetration of sexual violence (Knight and Sims-Knight, 2003; Whitaker et al., 2008; Seto and Lalumiere, 2010). Emotional abuse and neglect in childhood has not been shown in the literature to be associated with rape perpetration (Casey, Beadnell and Lindhorst, 2009), but it was a factor for non-partner rape perpetration in two countries and for intimate partner violence in four countries (as discussed in the previous chapter). Literature from the field of developmental psychology has clearly established that childhood abuse exposure has a long-term impact on brain development and results in lower levels of self-esteem and empathy and more insecurity and anger, which increase the likelihood of boys associating with anti-social peers, especially as they reach the teenage years. This study's findings underscore that protecting

boys from abuse is critical for the long-term prevention of violence against women and girls.

The factors associated with the rape of a man are very similar to those of the rape of a non-partner woman—sexual practices, victimization history and experiences of violence outside the home. This is not surprising, given the considerable overlap shown between the perpetrations of the two types of rape, as discussed in Chapter 4. Some notable differences are that rape of a non-partner woman was associated with childhood experiences of violence, depression and alcohol abuse, which were not associated with the rape of a man. It is not clear whether the larger number of partners reported and acts of transactional sex were with male or female partners, but 58 percent of men who had raped a man had had consensual sex with a man and 88 percent had had sex with a woman (63 percent were currently married).²³ This suggests that men who rape men commonly have had male and female sexual partners. It is possible that some of the male rape perpetration was perpetrated against a male sexual intimate partner. This finding was also seen in a recent South Africa study (Dunkle et al., forthcoming).

This study highlights the importance of preventing rape perpetration, particularly though interventions targeted during childhood and the teenage years. Complex interventions are required, including structural interventions to support better parenting, reduce child abuse exposure and build more gender-equitable masculinities as well as interventions to strengthen laws and criminal justice responses to rape. Effective rape prevention clearly requires long-term strategies, including challenging the practices that are deeply rooted in cultural ideals of masculinity and a gender hierarchy. Research into effective interventions and how to develop national prevention programmes is urgently needed.

²⁰ This chapter does not include analysis of the data on women's experiences of violence because they were limited to a select number of sites.

²¹ See statistical appendix table 14 for the prevalence of factors associated with non-partner rape, presented for each country. See statistical appendix table 15 for the multivariate logistic regression models of factors associated with non-partner rape perpetration, presented for each country.

²² Defined as having been called names, endured derogatory remarks or been subjected to violence or threats because they were thought to be effeminate or attracted to men.

²³ Data not shown.

8

UNDERSTANDING FACTORS

ASSOCIATED WITH MEN'S VIOLENCE IN

A BROADER SOCIAL CONTEXT

MAIN CHAPTER FINDINGS



This study reaffirms that violence against women is fundamentally about pervasive gender inequality between women and men—the most important factors in explaining men’s perpetration of both intimate partner violence and non-partner rape are related to gender norms and sexual or relationship practices.



Many factors associated with violence perpetration reflect influential narratives of masculinities that justify and celebrate toughness, heterosexual performance, men’s control over women and a capacity for violence.



Men’s experiences of violence particularly as children are strongly associated with their perpetration of violence against women, suggesting that addressing men’s own experiences of violence is one strategy to prevent the cycle of violence.



The use of violence against women appears to increase among men who are less socially powerful or who experience social stresses; violence against women may be used as a way to reassert some level of power and control, where in other domains of their life, men feel relatively powerless.

The previous chapters presented findings on men's perpetration of violence and explored the various individual and family factors found to be associated with men's intimate partner violence and non-partner rape perpetration. Yet, these individual factors do not alone necessarily cause violence, nor do they operate in isolation. Rather, the many factors associated with men's perpetration of violence are interrelated and complex. Further, these interrelated, individual factors exist within—and reflect—a larger social environment characterized by gender inequalities and power imbalances between women and men. This chapter links groups of individual factors with the broad social context, to show how factors reproduce and imitate social norms, structures, beliefs and values related to gender and power that also need to be addressed to prevent violence.

Box 6.2 in Chapter 6 explained, first, why it is useful to cluster a number of individual factors together to reflect a broad category and then how the factors were clustered into five subsequent categories for this study's analysis:

- social characteristics
- victimization history
- gender norms and sexual or relationship practices
- psychological factors and substance abuse
- involvement in violence outside the home.

This chapter begins by exploring the relative importance of the clusters of associated factors in terms of violence perpetration. The Chapter then discusses the findings in relation to broader concepts of power, gender and masculinities that informed the study. Finally, the chapter illustrates how each factor or cluster of factors is related to men's use of violence, across the individual, family, community and social levels of the socio-ecological model, and how they reflect the gender inequalities that remain the underlying, foundational drivers of violence against women. The Chapter summarizes what this means for violence prevention prioritization before offering recommendations in the final Chapter.

WHICH CLUSTERS OF FACTORS ARE MOST STRONGLY RELATED TO VIOLENCE PERPETRATION AND WHAT DOES THIS MEAN FOR PREVENTION PRIORITIES?

Addressing violence against women requires addressing multiple factors at multiple levels, from the individual to the greater society. It is well recognized that coordinated and multisector approaches are needed. But given the limited resources for violence prevention, there is interest in better understanding what particular areas should be prioritized in this relatively new field and why. The priorities for violence prevention will inevitably change across countries and settings and should be based on site-specific data (Naved et al., 2011; de Mel, Peiris and Gomez, 2013; Fulu, Warner and Moussavi, 2013). There is also a set of common factors that are strongly and consistently linked to violence perpetration across sites. The following figures (8.1 and 8.2) were developed to summarize the relative importance of different clusters of factors in terms of their relationship to intimate partner violence and non-partner rape, respectively.²⁴ These are not technical statistical graphs but visual representations that are designed to help map the complex range of factors associated with violence perpetration. These figures should not be understood as reflective of the whole Asia-Pacific region, but rather, they summarize the findings from the men interviewed across the nine research sites.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE PERPETRATION

As shown in figure 8.1, factors related to gender norms and sexual and/or relationship practices (orange colour) are particularly important, with frequent quarrelling, more sexual partners and having transactional sex all having a large impact on men's perpetration of intimate partner violence in most of the research sites. Some literature suggests that these factors may reflect individual men's desire to demonstrate sexual performance or sexual dominance over women and/or with emotionally detached sex (Knight and Sims-Knight, 2003; Dunkle et al., 2007; Decker et al., 2010; Nduna et al., 2010). To prevent intimate partner violence, programmes need to focus on working with individual men and women as well as communities and institutions to redress these gender issues. Although frequent quarrelling,

as discussed in Chapter 6, could be a potential component of violence, its significance in the model suggests that addressing relationship disharmony and communication skills could have an impact on intimate partner violence. Further research is needed into relationship discord to assess if this is just merely part of the violence or if it is a potential pathway to intimate partner violence. For example, frequent quarrelling may be related to unequal gendered relations within the partnership.

Men's own experiences of violence (green colour), particularly childhood emotional abuse and witnessing their mother being beaten, also have a very large impact on the perpetration of intimate partner violence. The literature suggests this is because of the major physical and psychological effects of such abuse, including the impact of trauma on child brain development and that witnessing or experiencing violence also teaches children that violence is normal and acceptable. Thus, preventing violence against children is imperative for addressing violence against women and should be a chief priority.

Psychological factors and substance abuse (purple colour) are the next largest grouping. As individual factors, depression is more significant than alcohol abuse, although these patterns varied across countries, as discussed in Chapter 6; and it is not clear whether they occurred before or after violent incidents. There may also be links between depression and alcohol abuse as a form of self-medication. The literature suggests that alcohol contributes to violence by enhancing the likelihood of conflicts, reducing inhibitions and providing a social space for punishment at the family level (Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana, 2002; Lee, 2007). These factors appear to be possible triggers of violence in some contexts but must be addressed within the broader context of gender inequality. Social characteristics (light blue colour), specifically a low level of education and food insecurity, which reflect low socio-economic status, are less important overall than other clusters, although still relevant. The national analysis in Chapters 6 and 7 showed that this cluster of factors is most important in low-income settings, suggesting that violence prevention requires addressing the intersections between gender inequality and other forms

of social inequality through holistic social development. Being involved in violence outside the home, although associated with intimate partner violence, is not so important in addressing its overall prevalence; as discussed further on, however, it is more important for addressing non-partner rape perpetration.

NON-PARTNER RAPE PERPETRATION

Figure 8.2 shows that, as with intimate partner violence perpetration, the variables related to gender norms and sexual or relationship practices (orange colour), in particular having a greater number of sexual partners and transactional sex, are the most strongly associated to men's rape of non-partners. This suggests that for non-partner rape, addressing the notions of manhood that support (hetero)sexual dominance and promoting healthy sexual practices should be prioritized. Men's own experiences of violence (green colour) are also very important, particularly childhood

HOW TO READ THESE FIGURES

The relative size of the cluster of factors in figures 8.1 and 8.2 reflects the strength of the association between that factor and violence perpetration as well as how common that factor or characteristic is in the population. For example, childhood emotional abuse has a strong association with intimate partner violence perpetration (as reflected in the odds ratios), and it is also a very common occurrence in most sites (see Chapter 5). Thus, it is represented as a large portion in figure 8.1. This means that addressing childhood emotional abuse likely would have a significant impact on reducing the rates of intimate partner violence. On the other hand, although men's own sexual victimization (including rape) is strongly associated with non-partner rape, it is not a very common occurrence, with only about 3–4 percent of all men reporting this (see Chapters 4 and 7). Therefore, the size of that factor represented in figure 8.2 is not so large.

FIGURE 8.1

SUMMARY OF RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF DIFFERENT CLUSTERS OF FACTORS IN EXPLAINING AND ADDRESSING INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE PERPETRATION

- GENDER NORMS AND PRACTICES
- VICTIMIZATION HISTORY
- PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE
- INVOLVEMENT IN VIOLENCE OUTSIDE THE HOME
- SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

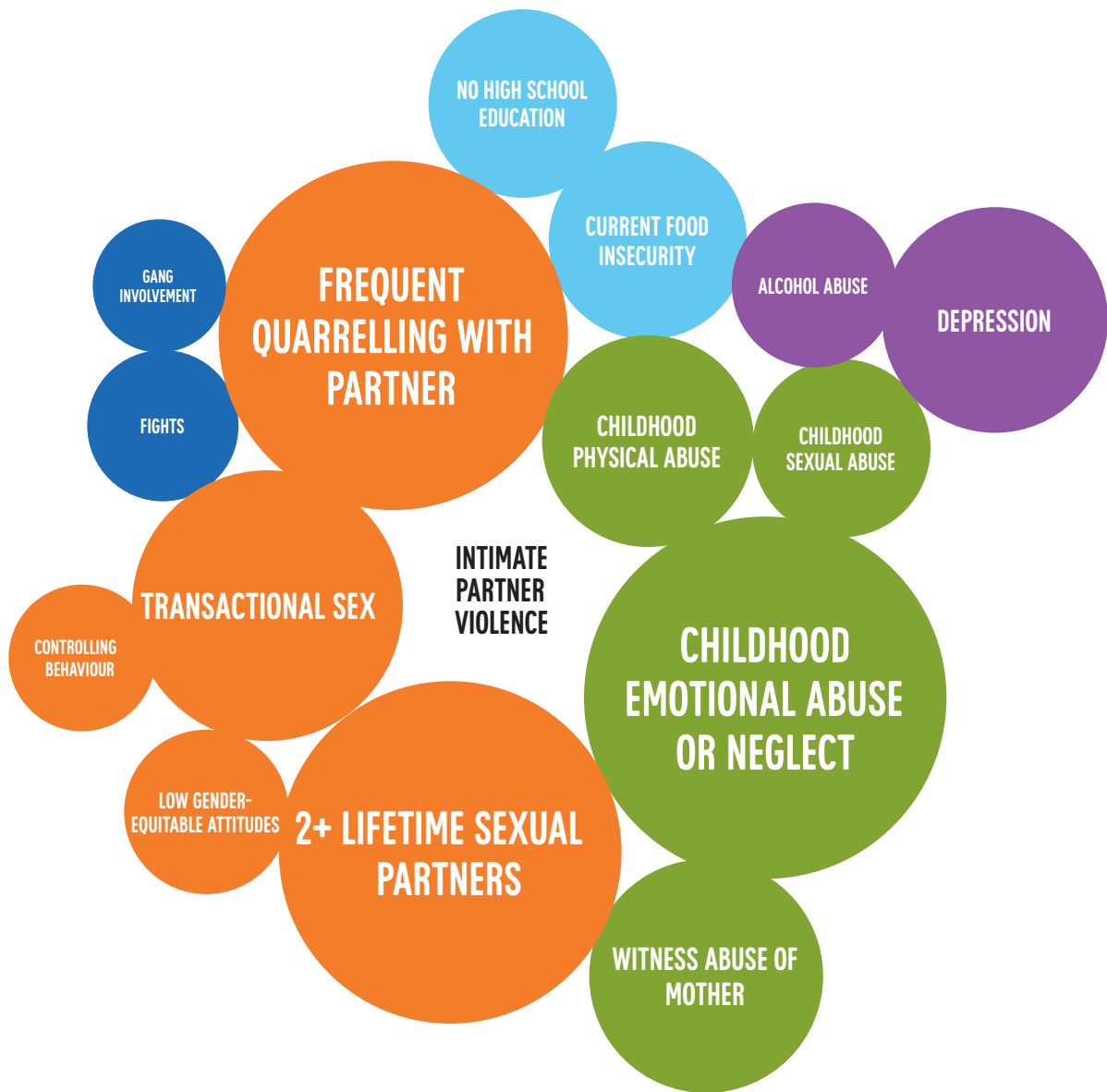
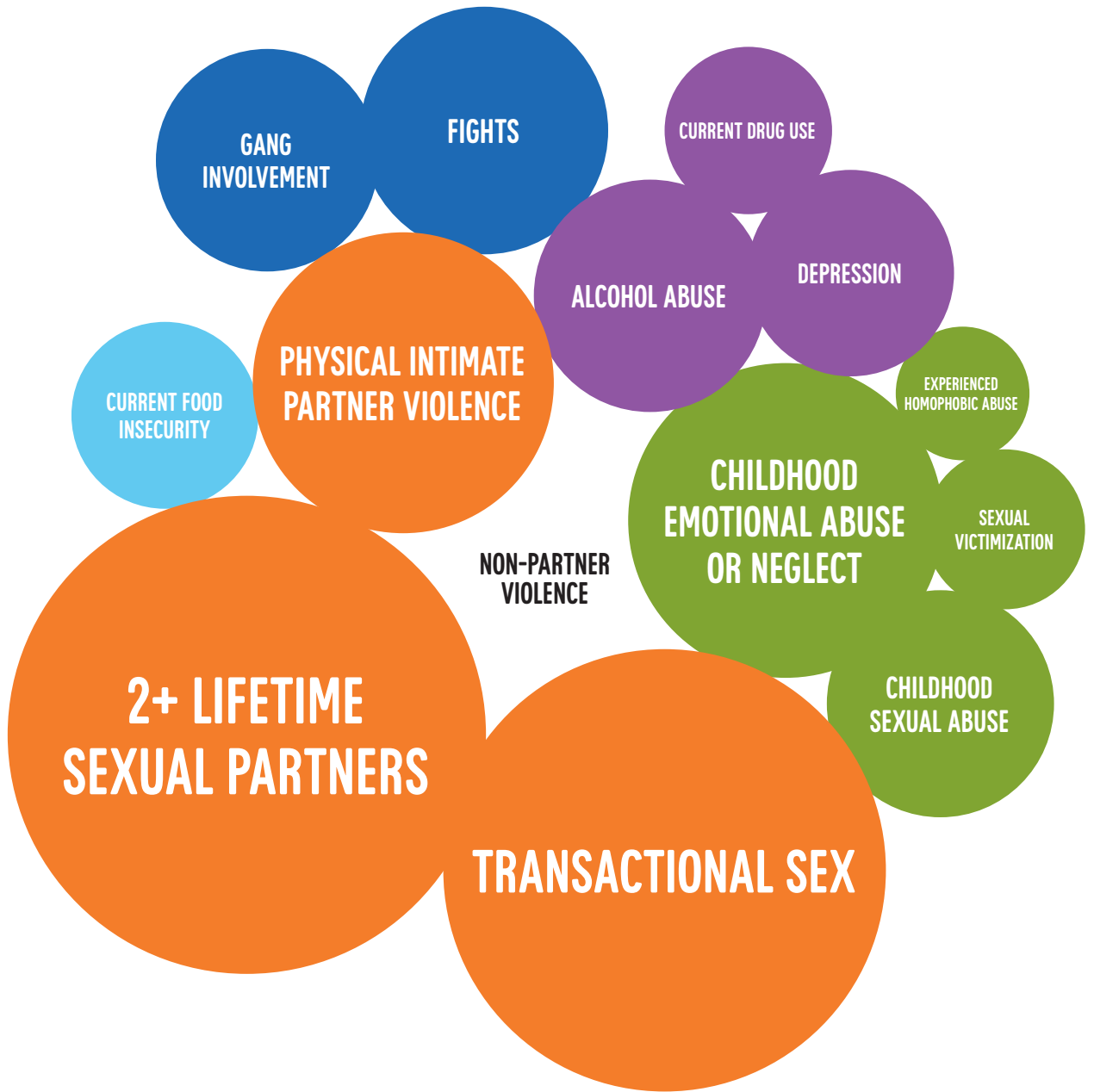


FIGURE 8.2

SUMMARY OF RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF DIFFERENT FACTORS IN EXPLAINING AND ADDRESSING NON-PARTNER RAPE PERPETRATION

- GENDER NORMS AND PRACTICES
- VICTIMIZATION HISTORY
- PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE
- INVOLVEMENT IN VIOLENCE OUTSIDE THE HOME
- SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS



emotional abuse or neglect and childhood sexual abuse, again highlighting the need to address childhood trauma as a part of violence prevention. As with intimate partner violence, psychological factors and substance abuse (purple colour) are the third most important grouping. For non-partner rape, however, involvement in violence outside the home (dark blue colour) is more influential than social characteristics. Combined with drug use, these factors reflect a social context or subculture in which violence against women, particularly non-partner rape, is more common. It appears related to a particular manifestation of masculinity that celebrates violence and uses violence as a tool to reaffirm and bolster this masculinity within the subculture. This suggests that confronting subcultures that promote ideals of manhood linked with violence, such as gangs, should be a priority.

Figures 8.1 and 8.2 illustrate the commonalities and different priorities for addressing the unique types of violence—intimate partner violence and non-partner rape. Addressing gender inequalities and power imbalances within relationship and sexual practices should be priorities for both types of violence, as should be addressing men’s own experiences of violence, particularly as children. Improving men’s access to mental health services as part of prevention is also key, along with addressing substance abuse problems. For intimate partner violence, addressing intersections between gender inequality and other forms of social inequality is important, and for non-partner rape, addressing violent gang subcultures is necessary.

UNDERSTANDING THESE FACTORS WITHIN THEIR LARGER SOCIAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

Given the cross-sectional nature of the survey, as noted, it is not clear if the factors described necessarily cause violence. Simply stopping one factor—for example, alcohol abuse—will not end violence against women. The following section and figure 8.3 illustrate how the factors associated with violence perpetration operate at the individual and family levels of the ecological model but are also related to broader community and society issues. Such a contextualization does not excuse individual men from their actions, and

men must be held accountable for their own violent and oppressive behaviour. But to truly understand this issue and frame overall prevention strategies, men’s individual acts must be analysed within larger historical and societal contexts that also contribute to violence.

This study underscores that violence is complex, and different forms and types of violence are interrelated. For example, men’s experiences of childhood abuse or neglect are associated with their perpetration of violence against women. Men also experience violence during adulthood—from sexual violence, such as rape or homophobic bullying, to participation in a gang and fights with weapons. These experiences are also associated with men’s perpetration of violence against women, suggesting that men’s use of violence cannot be addressed in isolation from their own experiences of trauma.

Many decades of work by activists and scholars have shown how gender inequality, patriarchy and men’s power over women create an environment in which violence against women is widespread and accepted. Figures 8.1 and 8.2 show that factors related to unequal gender norms and relationship and sexual practices are in fact the most important in accounting for men’s perpetration of violence against women. Measures of gender-inequitable attitudes in this study represent individual men’s beliefs that condone men’s use of violence and dominance over women. But they also reflect broader social norms and patterns of gender inequality, which are directly related to violence perpetration. This reaffirms that violence against women is fundamentally an issue of gender inequality, reflecting the larger structures that shape society.

Although individual men must be held accountable for their use of violence, men’s attitudes and practices are shaped by prescribed narratives in any given society of ‘what it means to be a man’, or masculinities. The factors found to be associated with violence in this study reflect narratives of masculinity that justify and celebrate male strength, the use of violence, men’s control over women and heterosexual performance. For example, men’s participation in a gang and fights with weapons and men’s controlling behaviour over their

FIGURE 8.3

UNDERSTANDING FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH MEN'S PERPETRATION OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ACROSS THE SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL MODEL

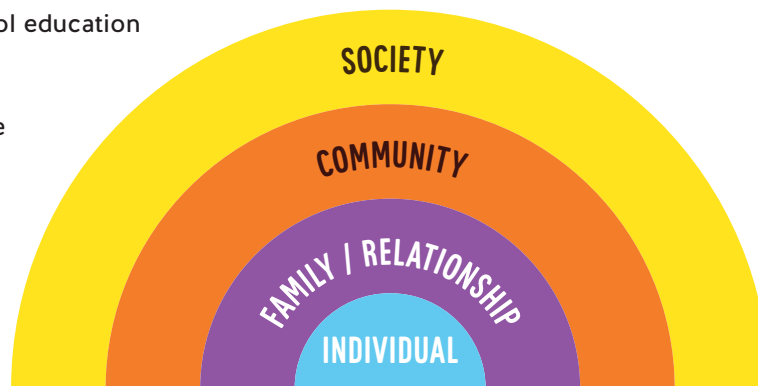
FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH VIOLENCE

INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL FACTORS

- gender inequitable attitudes
- had sex with sex worker or transactional sex
- large number of sexual partners
- childhood emotional abuse or neglect
- childhood physical abuse
- witnessing abuse of mother
- involvement in fights with weapons
- participation in a gang
- current food insecurity
- no high school education
- depression
- alcohol abuse
- drug use

RELATIONSHIP / FAMILY-LEVEL FACTORS

- frequent quarrelling
- highly controlling behaviour
- perpetrated physical partner violence (or non-partner rape)



TRANSLATION OF FACTORS INTO SOCIAL CONTEXT

COMMUNITY-LEVEL FACTORS

- highly masculinized subcultures (gangs)
- community acceptance of violence
- norms that promote dominance and control over women
- male sexual entitlement

SOCIETY-LEVEL FACTORS

- gender inequality
- masculinity associated with toughness and violence
- low socio-economic status/economic marginalization (little education and food insecurity)
- impunity/lack of legislation

intimate partners was associated with intimate partner violence perpetration across many of the study sites. Further, sexual entitlement was the most commonly reported motivation for men's perpetration of rape. In many cases, such narratives of masculinity were also supported by women.

WORK TO PREVENT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN MUST EXPAND BEYOND EFFORTS TO CHANGE INDIVIDUAL MEN AND TOWARDS CHANGE OBJECTIVES THAT AIM TO TRANSFORM LARGER SOCIAL NORMS AROUND MASCULINITIES AND PROMOTE NON-VIOLENT WAYS TO BE MEN.

These findings reflect broader social patterns of gender inequality and patriarchy that promote male dominance and power over women. Multiple sexual partnerships and having sex with a sex worker or engaging in transactional sex were also associated with men's perpetration of violence and are manifestations of a dominant form of masculinity that promote men's sexual entitlement and the value of men's sexual heterosexual performance. This may contribute to a degree of social acceptance or justification of men's use of sexual violence. On the other hand, the research also demonstrates that there are multiple ways of being a man and that many men do not use violence. There is great diversity in men's lives across the region, and the study suggests that some masculinities may be more or less violent than the dominant narratives described here. Some men expressed frustration with the dominant notions of what it means to be a man. Others embodied and practised alternative forms of masculinities that promote equitable power-sharing arrangements between men and women.

The study finds that men's use of violence against women is pervasive across all levels of society and exists across socio-economic groups and diverse settings. The study also found that men's perpetration of violence against women is more common among men who are less socially powerful compared with other men, or who experience social stresses as indicated by the levels of education, food insecurity, substance abuse or gang involvement. Still, while social exclusion or inequalities may be a trigger of violent behaviour, this violence is not perpetrated indiscriminately. Rather, it is used against those over whom the perpetrator perceives he has power and in a context where that kind of violence is normalized because of cultural acceptance and impunity.

Unequal power dynamics are reflected not only in men's violence against women but also in men's violence against other men. Importantly, the majority of men who had been raped reported being attracted to men or having had consensual sex with men; however, the majority of men who had perpetrated rape against a man reported being attracted only to women. It therefore appears that male rape may be used as a means of asserting power over another group of men who are perceived as not living up to the dominant heterosexual notions of manhood (Dunkle et al., forthcoming). Further, men who had experienced homophobic violence were more likely to perpetrate gang rape against women and girls, perhaps as a means of reclaiming masculine status by demonstrating heterosexual performance. Although further research is needed, this suggests that men's use of violence may be related to attempts to reassert power over individual women, girls or marginalized men when they feel that they have little power in society overall.

Violence against women may also be triggered by men's perceived disempowerment in environments in which rapid social and economic structural changes impact perceptions around women's and men's roles and rights within the society. For example, the case study in box 8.1 provides an example of how rapid social and economic shifts in Vietnamese society have created a tension in how men imagine their role in relation to women's role.

Looking at men's lives through a lens of larger social and historical contexts points to how men's practices and experiences reported in the findings are situated within a broader environment of structural inequalities. Although individual men need to be held accountable for their violent actions, it is critical to recognize that these individual men do not necessarily have the power to change systems of gender inequality or other systems of social injustice alone. These changes must also be taken up by relevant institutions and governments. The findings from this study point to the need for further research and programmatic and policy work to better understand—and subsequently be better placed to change—inequitable and violent social norms and structures and to create a more peaceful, equitable society. Work to prevent violence must expand beyond efforts to change individual men and towards change objectives that aim to transform larger social norms around masculinities and promote non-violent ways to be men—many of which are already adhered to by boys and men in the region.

²⁴ These figures were developed based on a calculation of population attributable fractions (PAFs), an epidemiological measure that estimates the proportion of the overall prevalence of an outcome in a population (such as partner violence) that can be attributed to a particular factor (such as childhood physical abuse). See statistical appendix tables 16 and 17 for PAF values for partner violence and non-partner rape perpetration, respectively.

²⁵ The quantitative survey was not conducted in Viet Nam, however, Viet Nam was one of the seven overall countries where the UN Multi-country Study was implemented, as the qualitative life history component was conducted in two sites there. For more on the Viet Nam qualitative study, visit www.partners4prevention.org/about-prevention/research/men-and-violence-study/vietnam.

BOX 8.1

CASE STUDY 6

ONE MAN'S PERSPECTIVE IN VIET NAM²⁵

Dich* was born in 1975, the year the American war with Viet Nam ended, when the US-backed South Vietnamese army fell in Saigon. Viet Nam, Dich says, “has changed ... the old family lifestyle has been lost.” He recalls that his father “taught me the old Confucian [lessons] about [men’s] career and reputation He taught me [how to act] even when my family was in difficult conditions.”

In particular, Dich believes, the old ways are also lost when it comes to feminine norms. A few generations back, despite his grandmother’s husband’s widely known and devastating infidelity, Dich recalls that his “grandmother... said nothing. She acted like it was normal. She was a really forgiving person.” Back then, “[A woman] would stand down even if she knew [her husband] was wrong. Today, it’s not that common.”

Today, Dich and his friends—a more modern group of men—think that women are less likely to quietly accept these situations and will argue back. Dich explains that there is more equality between women and men, but he has mixed feelings about this emerging gender order. “Total equality sounds fine ... but if there is a difference in thinking, points of view, perceptions or work, that equality may as well turn to problems.” He notes that “if a woman is cheeky or says something that makes the husband feel ashamed, violence is inevitable. A few slaps might do it.” He frames his opinion in terms of long-standing gender norms around women’s role in society. “If a man beats his wife, the wife must have done something she shouldn’t. Disobedient wives should be beaten. That may have come from a long-standing perception that women are not meant to do great things.”

Some things, Dich believes, have not changed. “The husband is always the authority. The decision-making right is always the man’s has been, will be, still is.” *Pseudonym

9

RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study provide insights into the drivers of men’s perpetration of violence against women and are intended to inform prevention policies and programmes. In a comprehensive system that responds to such violence, prevention is a critical component. Prevention is the nucleus of these recommendations because of the high prevalence of violence perpetration found across the survey sites and because the findings indicate that the majority of the factors associated with men’s perpetration of violence can be changed. The study provides new evidence from men themselves on what needs to change and the specific entry points for these changes.

The following recommendations reflect the key findings of this study—new insights into men’s perpetration of violence against women in Asia and the Pacific and the subsequent priorities for action. There are a number of other documents that outline more comprehensive recommendations for prevention, which should be considered along with these recommendations.²⁶ These specific recommendations are meant to complement and support broader comprehensive systems and approaches for prevention and response that also include protection, services and justice support for survivors of violence.

Structural inequalities and harmful gender norms underlie violence against women. International mechanisms and normative frameworks—such as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the International Conference on Population and Development Platform for Action and the Convention on the Rights of the Child—and related

national laws and policies for gender equality, human rights and women’s empowerment are therefore the foundation for these recommendations. Men’s violence against women is about men’s power and control over women, and these structural issues must be addressed at every level of society, including the macro-policy level. Governments have a particular responsibility to ensure the modification of, in the language of CEDAW: “Social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women.”

It is important to emphasize that these recommendations are based on the common findings across the survey sites and the most significant trends that emerged in the analysis. The study also found diversity across sites regarding violence perpetration, which underscores the need for site-specific programme and policy responses.

The following recommendations first present the key findings from the analysis and what needs to change, based on those findings. Examples of programmes and approaches are then presented for each recommendation. The suggested programmes and approaches are but a few of the possible interventions needed and are based on existing evidence of what interventions are promising or effective for prevention of violence against women.²⁷ *Entry points for change* are outlined to give an overview of the domains in which changes are needed, with some policy areas suggested that could support the changes.

THE STUDY PROVIDES NEW EVIDENCE FROM MEN THEMSELVES ON WHAT NEEDS TO CHANGE AND THE SPECIFIC ENTRY POINTS FOR THESE CHANGES.

1

Change social norms related to the acceptability of violence and the subordination of women

KEY FINDINGS

Men's use of violence against women is highly prevalent; across the survey sites, the proportion of men who reported perpetrating intimate partner violence ranged between 26 and 80 percent.

Many men and women tolerate this violence. In half the survey sites, more than 50 percent of men interviewed believed that there were times when a woman deserved to be beaten.

Attitudes and practices stemming from gender inequality were found to be most important in accounting for men's perpetration of intimate partner violence.

Many women also prescribe to the dominant social norms that legitimize inequality and the use of violence against women.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

- facilitated community conversation approaches that make violence against women prevention a community-owned and led issue
- community mobilization programmes, including community movements and volunteer approaches
- intensive engagement with cultural influencers, including traditional, civil and religious leaders and those revered in the media or popular culture

2

Promote non-violent masculinities oriented towards equality and respect

KEY FINDINGS

Many factors strongly associated with men's perpetration of violence against women reflect narratives of masculinity that justify and celebrate male strength, the use of violence, men's control over women and heterosexual performance.

Other factors correlated with men's violence perpetration relate to the stress of not being able to meet the expectations of a being a 'real man', including low levels of empathy, economic stress and mental health issues.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

- sustained school-based, sports-based or peer-to-peer education interventions that promote life skills and support healthy and caring ways 'to be a man'
- work with male role models and local leaders that promote positive ways 'to be a man'

3

Address child abuse and promote healthy families and nurturing, violence-free environments for children

KEY FINDINGS

Experiences of emotional, physical and sexual abuse during childhood are common across sites and strongly associated with men's later-in-life perpetration of violence against women and girls.

Emotional abuse and neglect in particular are strongly associated with men's use of violence against women. Intimate partner violence perpetration is strongly associated with frequent quarrelling within couples.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

- parenting programmes that provide skills, tools, resources and support to foster healthy, non-violent and safe homes and non-violent discipline
- campaigns to address the social tolerance of violence against children
- programmes to improve conflict resolution and promote healthy communication skills within relationships

4

Work with young boys to address early ages of sexual violence perpetration

KEY FINDINGS

Rape perpetration starts very early in life for a significant proportion of men; half of all men who reported rape perpetration committed it for the first time when they were teenagers. In some sites, 15 percent of men who had raped did so for the first time when they were younger than 15.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

- programmes that enhance the knowledge and skills of young people and help them to develop healthy sexual practices, understand and practise consent and foster respectful relationships and communication
- psychosocial support and counselling programmes for young boys who display early signs of sexually harmful behaviour

5

Promote healthy sexuality for men and address male sexual entitlement

KEY FINDINGS

The most common motivation for men’s rape perpetration relates to a sense of sexual entitlement. In all sites, the proportion of men who had raped and thought they could have sex with women when they wanted, regardless of consent, ranged between 70 and 80 percent.

Men’s violence perpetration is strongly correlated with practices that reflect idealized notions of male sexual performance, such as having multiple sexual partners and engaging in transactional sex.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

- sexual and reproductive health information and services for young people that promote human rights, healthy sexuality and respectful relationships

6

End impunity for men who rape

KEY FINDINGS

In most sites, the majority of men who reported perpetrating rape did not experience any legal consequences or any consequences at all, including feelings of guilt, remorse or negative social consequences. Impunity related to marital rape was particularly significant, reflecting the lack of legislation on this issue in many countries.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

- integrating gender sensitization and comprehensive training on violence against women, including marital rape, into police and law enforcement training curricula
- establishment of monitoring systems to ensure the effective administration of justice
- comprehensive communications campaigns to raise awareness of the laws on violence against women and capacity-building to eliminate the barriers that prevent survivors from seeking help

7

Develop interventions that respond to the specific patterns of violence in each context

KEY FINDINGS

Prevalence, patterns and factors associated with men’s perpetration of violence against women vary across and within countries. For example, physical violence was more common than sexual violence in some sites, while the reverse was true in others. In some sites, gang rape was particularly prevalent. The drivers of rape of non-partners were also found to be different from the drivers of intimate partner violence.

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

- strengthen research and data collection systems for use by the police, courts, health and social services
- support for ongoing local research on violence against women along with comprehensive monitoring and evaluation of programmes and policies
- capacity-building of national partners to collect and use evidence on violence perpetration, victimization and determining which interventions work in different settings

EDUCATION SECTOR

- Education on family life, healthy relationships, non-violent communication skills, conflict resolution and human rights values, which can be integrated into primary and secondary school curricula
- Policies to end corporal punishment and address bullying in schools
- Training for teachers on identifying and responding to signs of child abuse, which can be included in teacher-training curricula
- Gender-sensitive teacher training to eliminate harmful gender norms and stereotypes in teaching practices

HEALTH SECTOR

- Pre-service and in-service training for health care workers and social workers to detect signs of child abuse or the potential for it and intervene in family conflicts to protect children
- Special units within hospitals and health care facilities to respond to child abuse with specialized staff and referral mechanisms
- Policies to promote men's health and men's responsibilities in reproductive health
- Policies to address mental health problems and alcohol and drug abuse among women and men

LEGAL AND JUSTICE SECTORS

- The criminalization of all forms of violence against women, including marital rape, and alignment of existing laws to CEDAW
- Reform of legal systems to eliminate gender discrimination that may persist in social institutions and legal frameworks
- Legal and administrative mechanisms to ensure that women subjected to violence have effective access to justice and valid remedies
- Capacity-building for the legal sector and law enforcement agencies to respond effectively to cases of violence against women; ensuring that systems are gender responsive and integrating gender equality into the legal education for practitioners and judges

- The development and implementation of national laws aligned to the Convention on the Rights of the Child
- Age-appropriate justice and rehabilitation services for juvenile offenders
- Legal literacy programmes on human rights and women's right to be free from violence in both the public and private spheres

FAMILY AND YOUTH SECTORS

- Legislative, policy and programmatic responses to child protection, integrated from the national to the local levels into the legal, health, child protection, education and social welfare sectors
- Family policies that promote men's roles and responsibilities in the lives of their children and support new parents
- Policies that promote young people's leadership and meaningful participation and voice in all matters that affect them
- Policies and programmes to support at-risk youth and address entry points for involvement in gangs

MEDIA AND CULTURE SECTORS

- Media codes of conduct and ethics training to address the subordination and sexualizing of women in the media and the celebration of violence and dominant masculinity
- Policies that reduce broader societal tolerance for violence against women and children

LABOUR SECTOR

- Policies that support greater economic opportunities and caring options for both women and men, such as education, vocational training and parental leave, and policies that support women's economic empowerment and leadership as well as men's caring roles within the family and at the workplace

Because this is a report from the Asia–Pacific region, there are critical roles for regional bodies to support the recommendations in addition to the national-level programme and policy recommendations provided. These roles include:

- Working through regional commissions and associations to set and enforce regional normative frameworks related to gender equality and ending violence against women
- Convening practitioners and diverse actors from across the region to inspire learning and connect

with the work taking place in other areas of violence prevention

- Supporting coordination efforts that influence changes across the spectrum of work—in the local, national and regional arenas
- Connecting with cutting-edge research and the global literature on violence against women, masculinities and prevention as well as learning from local practitioners and activists across the region who are often located in remote locales and disconnected from the possibilities of rigorous evaluation.

CONCLUSIONS

The United Nations Multi-country Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific represents four years of intensive study and provides the largest multi-country data set on men’s perpetration of violence against women. The overall objective of the study was to build a better understanding of men’s life experiences and their use of violence against women to encourage more evidence-based interventions to prevent such violence. Although the regional and national analysis conducted to date contributes to this overall objective, further use of the data set will expand the knowledge base and contribute towards ending the violence against women.²⁸

Effective prevention and response to violence against women and girls requires comprehensive strategies, long-term commitment and coordination among actors from a wide range of sectors. Prevention and response plans for violence against women should include multiple and interlinked interventions that are based on local data and coordinated in a strategic manner. Violence prevention plans should be integrated into the larger social development, gender-equality and human rights plans and frameworks.

Ending violence against women and girls requires their full empowerment and removing the discrimination that they face in all aspects of their lives. New models of manhood that are healthy, peaceful and based on equality and respect must be promoted. The recommendations presented in this study report aim to move us towards a desired world in which:

- Violence against women is never acceptable and women and men are equally valued.
- Healthy, non-violent and equitable ways of being for men are the most common and accepted forms of masculinity.
- All children grow up in a healthy, safe and stable environment, in which non-violent conflict resolution among couples and their children is the norm.
- Social norms for healthy male sexuality include consent, compassion and respect for women’s choices and bodies, and these norms are nurtured from childhood onwards.
- Perpetrators are held accountable and face social and legal consequences; all forms of non-consensual sex are criminalized, including marital rape.
- Violence against women prevention policies and programmes are based on local data and respond to the specific patterns and drivers of different types of violence in each context.

²⁶ For example, see the Agreed Conclusions from the 57th session of the Commission on the Status of Women ([www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw57/CSW57_Agreed_Conclusions_\(CSW_report_excerpt\).pdf](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/csw57/CSW57_Agreed_Conclusions_(CSW_report_excerpt).pdf)) and the PREVENT Framework (www.partners4prevention.org/sites/default/files/documents/prevent_framework_v5a.pdf).

²⁷ For recent reviews of promising prevention interventions, see WHO and LSHTM, 2010 (http://whqlibdoc.who.int/publications/2010/9789241564007_eng.pdf) and Heise, 2011 (<http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/PDF/Outputs/Gender/60887-PartnerViolenceEvidenceOverview.pdf>).

²⁸ If you are interested to learn more about the study or if you would like to learn how you can apply for access and use of this regional data set, please visit www.partners4prevention.org.

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GLOSSARY

AUDIT: A series of questions included in the questionnaire to measure current alcohol abuse.

CENTRE FOR EPIDEMIOLOGIC STUDIES DEPRESSION SCALE: A 20-item self-reporting scale used to measure depressive symptomatology, which asks respondents about their mood in the previous week.

CHILDHOOD TRAUMA EVENTS SCALE: A series of 13 questions included in the questionnaire to measure men's and women's exposure to physical, sexual, emotional abuse and neglect when they were under age 18.

CLUSTER: a cluster is, in this case of multi-stage sampling used in this study, a group of a relatively similar number of households in a geographical area. In most cases this is based on pre-determined groupings called enumeration areas that are used for censuses.

COMBINED SAMPLE: The combined sample in this report is the combined data from all nine sites in the study.

CONFIDENCE INTERVAL: Because the strength of association between factors is only an estimate, the confidence interval is the range of values within which statisticians are 95 percent confident that the actual strength of association will lie. This range is usually specified with an upper (upper CI) and lower (lower CI) value.

CRONBACH'S ALPHA: Cronbach's (alpha) is a statistical measure of internal consistency. In this case it is commonly used as an estimate of the reliability of a psychometric test for a set of questions that make up a scale, for example the Childhood Trauma Events Scale.

CURRENT PREVALENCE OF PERPETRATION: The proportion of male respondents who reported having perpetrated one or more acts of a particular type of violence against a woman or girl in the 12 months prior to the interview.

EVER-PARTNERED MEN: Male respondents who, at the time of the survey, were currently—or had ever been—married, living with a woman or had a girlfriend.

FACTOR ANALYSIS: Is a statistical method used to describe variability among observed, correlated variables in terms of a potentially lower number of unobserved variables called factors. In other words, it aims to ascertain whether a group of questions (for example making up a scale) actually reflect a single underlying concept.

PROBABILITY PROPORTIONAL TO SIZE: A quantitative sampling technique which takes varying sample sizes into account. This helps to avoid underrepresenting one subgroup in a study and yields more accurate results. **Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale:** a standardized attitude scale used to measure respondents' attitudes towards sexual and reproductive health, violence, sexual relations, domestic work and homophobia. See table 2 in annex I for a full list of the GEM Scale items used in this study.

LIFETIME PREVALENCE OF PERPETRATION: The proportion of male respondents who reported having perpetrated one or more acts of a particular type of violence against a woman or girl at any point in their life.

MASCULINITIES: The narratives of any given society that relate to how to be a man (what society tells us about men and how to be one) and the ways these stories are practised, acted out and embodied by individuals through relationships and in institutions. See the Conceptual Framework section for more information on how the term is used in this report.

MULTIVARIATE LOGISTIC REGRESSION: A statistical technique to calculate the strength of association (odds ratio) of selected factors.

ODDS RATIO (OR): In this report, an odds ratio describes the strength of association of the selected factors to the outcomes of intimate partner violence and rape. It can be directly interpreted as how many times more likely someone is to perpetrate violence if they have this factor, compared with someone without this factor. Some odds ratios were adjusted for other variables in which case they are called adjusted odds ratios.

P VALUE: The probability that the strength of association between factors occurred by chance. Usually a probability of 0.05 or less means it is unlikely to have occurred by chance and therefore is considered statistically significant.

RESPONSE RATE: Measures how many respondents completed the questionnaire among those who were asked to complete it.

SEX ACT: Contact between the penis and vulva or the penis and the anus, involving penetration, however slight; contact between the mouth and the penis, vulva or anus; or penetration of the anal or genital opening of another person by a hand, finger or other object.

SEX WORK: The exchange of money for sexual services, either regularly or occasionally.

TRANSACTIONAL SEX: Sex in exchange for goods or services, either regularly or occasionally.

or friends, threatening to harm the individual or someone they care about, repeated yelling or degradation, inducing fear through intimidating words or gestures, controlling behaviour and the destruction of possessions.

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE: The physical, sexual, economic or emotional abuse by a current or former spouse or partner constitutes intimate partner violence. It can occur within heterosexual or homosexual relationships and does not require sexual relations. Garcia-Moreno et al. (2005) defines intimate partner violence as any “behaviour in an intimate relationship that causes physical, sexual or psychological harm, including physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse and controlling behaviours”.

PHYSICAL VIOLENCE: Physical violence is the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, injury or harm. Physical violence includes but is not limited to: scratching, pushing, shoving, throwing, grabbing, biting, choking, shaking, poking, hair pulling, slapping, punching, hitting, burning, the use of restraints or one’s body size or strength to detain another person or the use of a weapon (gun, knife or object) (CDC, 2002).

RAPE: Rape is defined as forced or coerced sex; the use of force, coercion or psychological intimidation by one person that requires another person to engage in a sex act against her or his will, whether or not the act is completed.

TYPOLOGIES OF ABUSE AND VIOLENCE (SEE TABLES 2.2 AND 2.3 FOR THE OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF THESE FORMS OF VIOLENCE, WHICH WERE USED IN THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES)

ECONOMIC ABUSE: Economic abuse includes denying a woman access to and control over basic resources (UN General Assembly, 2006). It includes such acts as the denial of funds, refusal to contribute financially, denial of food and basic needs and controlling access to health care, employment, etc.

EMOTIONAL OR PSYCHOLOGICAL ABUSE: Psychological abuse is any act or omission that damages the self-esteem, identity or development of an individual. It includes but is not limited to humiliation, threatening loss of custody of children, forced isolation from family

SEXUAL VIOLENCE: Sexual violence is any act in which one person in a power relationship uses force, coercion or psychological intimidation to force another to carry out a sexual act against her or his will or participate in unwanted sexual relations from which the offender obtains gratification. Abusive sexual contact occurs in a variety of situations, including within marriage, on dates, at work, in school and in families (such as incest). Other manifestations include undesired touching, the oral, anal or vaginal penetration of a penis or objects and obligatory exposure to pornographic material (WHO, 2004).

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