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Globalisation and the Implications For Domestic Violence Against Women and Girls In Cambodia

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and part of my master's degree in International Development. It does not incorporate, without acknowledgement, any material previously submitted to any university for a degree or diploma, and I certify that it does not include any material previously written or published by another person, a part from where the reference is used in the text.

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ABSTRACT

Domestic violence, committed by men, is still prevalent during contemporary development in Cambodia. The paper's purpose is to explore the relationships between globalisation and domestic violence against women and girls in Cambodia. Put simply, this paper seeks to understand the relationships of family disputes through the lenses of women in labour markets and hegemonic masculinity, all of which are underpinned by globalisation. The discussion suggests that domestic violence cannot be compartmentalised to be the only problems at individual and family levels. To understand this phenomenon, it requires a necessary focus on the practices and patterns that tend to be formed through the agenda of inequality at individual, community, societal and global levels. This interconnectedness is seen through the links between urban and rural development related to globalisation and women's economic deficits; or between globalised capitalist ideologies and local integrity and norms, regarding women's and men's identities in society. As will be made clear, when their primary caregivers are at risk of violence or are being left behind, children themselves are also more vulnerable to violence due to interdependency and the interrelatedness of their development with that of their parents. Together with the findings, the suggestion is that within the maze of the mainstream development processes, Cambodia should promote gender equality, which is the ultimate goal of a gender mainstreaming strategy that is being promoted nationwide toward a violence-free society and for achieving the goal 5 of Sustainable Development Goals moving to sustainable development.

ACRONYMS

ACWC	ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AICHR	ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CDHS	Cambodia Demographic Health Survey
CNCW	Cambodian National Council for Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
DEVAW	Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GII	Gender Inequality Index
HID	Human Development Index
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoWA	Ministry of Women's Affairs
MoP	Ministry of Planning
MoLVT	Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training
NSDP	National Strategic Development Plan
NIC	Newly Industrialised Country
NIS	National Institution of Statistic
ODA	Official Development Assistance
RGC	Royal Government of Cambodia

RS	Rectangular Strategy
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SAP	Structural-Adjustment Policy
TNC	Transnational Corporation
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UN	United Nations
VAW	Violence Against Women
WDC	Women's Development Centre
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE RESEARCH PROBLEMS IN CAMBODIA

1.1 Research Problem

Women can experience violence in various ways in their hetero-sexual relationship including in their LGBTQ relationships. However, the most common their violence experiences of violence at the hands of their husbands/partners is the most common. This is termed 'Domestic Violence' and is the most common, and widespread problem of violence against women on a global scale (Krug et al. 2002, p. 89). Based on one international review, 30 percent of women throughout the world had experienced physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2013, p. 2), but this is a figure supported by several international reports. If we look at region specific data, measured by the World Health Organization (WHO), the prevalence of domestic violence was slightly lower in higher-income countries, such as in the Americas (23 percent) and in European and Western Pacific regions (25 percent). However, according to WHO, African, Eastern Mediterranean, and Southeast Asian regions have the highest prevalence of such violence, being 36.6 percent, 37 percent, and 37.7 percent respectively (Buzawa & Buzawa 2017, p. 2; Garcia-Moreno et al. 2013, p. 17). The negative effects of family violence against women and girls are significant and pervasive presenting challenges for a nation when fostering development. This is because family violence damages not only individual women's health and well-being, but also that of their children (Kishor & Johnson 2012, p. 42). Therefore, a transitional goal to eliminate violence against women and girls in all forms and move toward development can be evident in the goal 5 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)[1] which then requires all nation-states to report their achievements back for further assessment (MoWA 2015, p. 18).

[1] The goal 5 of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aims at promoting gender equality, one among 17 goals in the 2030 agenda of SDGs toward development with the principle that no one is left behind, available at <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/09/what-are-the-sustainable-development-goals/>.

The prevalence of data about domestic violence around the globe has enabled researchers to analyse the root causes of such phenomenon, that relate to more than one setting. During the 1990s, for example, the model of an ecological framework for assessment was introduced and has been used by many researchers including WHO, in the field of domestic violence and health issues (Krug et al. 2002, p. 12). The framework explains the factors that are interlinked at four levels: individual, relationship, community and society. This model is used to unpack the complexity of the risk factors of domestic violence. They are complex, for example, when domestic violence against women and girl's links with women's attitude of acceptance and when other social issues, such as masculinity, constructed by culture and gender inequality are also evident (MoWA 2015, p. 99). It has also been argued that violence against women and girls, in all forms, is not a static issue, as it is often motivated by the contexts of socio-economic changes (Fulu 2014, p. 12). In this respect, Beaudet (2012, p. 107) argues that over the past decades societies and states have been increasingly structured and governed in various ways by globalisation, particularly in the areas of development. This means that during the shift to development and economic growth, the process related to globalisation can also be linked with the root causes of domestic violence. However, as shown by Fulu and Miedema (2015, p. 1432), this relationship remains out of investigation of the body of evidence available to date, including the ecological framework.

Cambodian deepening interaction with the capitalism of globalisation can be understood through Cambodia's accession to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1999 and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2004 (MoP 2014, pp. 1-19). In this regard, Cambodia has experienced exponential growth in its per capita income, exceeding US$ 1,579 in 2018, compared with US$ 1,000 in 2012. Regarding violence against women (VAW), the last few decades have seen substantial international, regional and national legal frameworks adopted by the Royal Government of Cambodia (RGC) to protect and prevent women and girls from all forms of violence (Eisenbruch 2018, pp. 354-355). However, it has barely managed to protect or promote the conditions of women and girls as evidenced by the increased prevalence rates of domestic violence against them. Based upon the national data from the Cambodia Demographic Health Survey (CDHS), between 2000 and 2014, intimate partner violence was still prevalent, with greater than 30 percent of

Cambodian women reporting their experiences of physical, sexual and emotional or economic abuse (MoWA n.d.). In addition, evidence shows that there is an increase in the proportion of women who experienced emotional and sexual violence within the same period in their relationships. For example, according to the findings of CDHS between 2000 and 2014, there was an increase in the rate of emotional violence, between 80 percent and 85 percent and sexual violence, between 15 percent and 20 percent (MoWA n.d.). This data signifies that Cambodian women and girls are still at high risk of domestic violence even when prevention or protection policies are in place and Cambodia's economy is in a period of only modest growth.

Although numerous factors that cross several zones have been documented, studies have found that economic factors are an important element of domestic violence in Cambodia. The findings of the National Survey on Women's Health and Life Experience in Cambodia in 2014 showed that many abused women in domestic violence cases take themselves out of hospital and stop seeking help because of their limited financial resources (MoWA 2015, p. 75). Moreover, Brickell, Prak and Poch (2014, p. 18), in their study on the gap between legislation and practice in Cambodia, illustrate that the central reason for many victims not to leave their violent husbands/partners is because of their economic condition. Consequently, silence about domestic violence and not utilising the existing policies tends to, instead, reinforce domestic violence against women and girls in Cambodia. Several studies in development, gender and violence issues (Fulu & Meidema 2015; Garcia-Moreno at al. 2005; Heise 1998; United Nations General Assembly 2006, cited in MoWA 2015, p. 99) demonstrate that VAW in all forms is often the result of the convergence of several specific factors in the broad context of power inequalities, happening at individual, group, societal and global levels. Some research shows that such unequal power, especially within households, that causes violent and aggressive behaviours, happens because of differing economic statuses (Websdale & Chesney-Lind 1998, cited in Akhter & Ward 2006, p. 9). In this respect, the First World report on Health and Violence found that poverty links to all forms of violence including intimate partner violence (Krug et al. 2002, p. 244). The term 'poverty' which doesn't have a distinctive global definition means that these links are difficult to define or address. Despite this, the world report uses the term 'poverty', to allow for discussions about the difficulties of living a basic decent life through the terms 'absolute' and 'relative' poverty.

Therefore, this research paper proposes to include an understanding of the links and relationships between the recent economic focus on globalisation and domestic violence in the Cambodian context. More specifically, it will explore the nexus of family violence, women's current economic positions and hegemonic masculinity, all of which are underpinned by globalisation and further reinforce domestic violence against women and girls in Cambodia.

1.2 Scope of the Research

Despite multiple meanings, discussions of globalisation highlight the relationships and activities within economic environments. For the purpose of this paper, the relationship of globalisation and economic development to family disputes in Cambodia will be focused upon. In doing so, I will discuss gender in labour markets in Cambodia to see where women's occupations are positioned within the context of the shift to a market-oriented economy in Cambodia. This is expected to help understand the effects of the theoretical 'capitalist development' of globalisation on Cambodian women's economic deprivation and how this immediately places them at a high risk of family violence. Moreover, as manhood in Cambodia is constructed by multiple gender roles of masculinity, including the need to be the main or only breadwinners, we need to analyse whether there are links between a globalised economy and men's expectations of their role in the family, and if and how these effects link to the perpetration of violence against their wives/intimate partners.

The terms of 'domestic violence' or 'family dispute/violence' or 'intimate partner violence' are utilised interchangeably in this research. Despite the variety of terms, the definition of domestic violence used will be based on the 2016 fact-sheet by WHO, which refers to '[a]ny violence by a current or former husband or boyfriend, including cohabitating sexual or non-sexual partners in couple relationships' (MoWA n.d.). In addition, domestic violence that appears in the forms of physical, sexual and economic or emotional abuse following the 2005 Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and the Protection of Victims (the DV law) of Cambodia is included for analysis in this paper (RGC 2005, pp. 3-8). This means that if at least one of these forms of violence is suffered by a woman, she is considered a victim of domestic violence.

1.3 Method of the Research

Using secondary data for this research, I will collect and analyse data and information from articles, books, academic journals, current national plans, policies, and reports of the RGC. This will include research from non-governmental and international organisations who have been working to enhance women's rights, development and the issues of domestic violence. It will also include studies that critique and analyse the impacts of globalisation on women's and men's economic marginalisation and then link them to victimisation and perpetration of domestic violence. Due to the complexity of a multi-disciplinary approach to the issue of violence against women, together with the fact that this research crosses cultural boundaries and geographical locations, several theories will be utilised to explain and compare the data.

1.4 Objectives of the Research

While the aim of this research is to foreground women's economic distress and men's hegemonic masculinity and how these relate to globalisation for understanding domestic violence, the outcomes of the research may contribute to the efforts to promote gender equality, a non-violent culture in Cambodian society and Cambodia's sustainable development. Perhaps more significantly, through the research, this may stimulate a broader conversation about domestic violence and development in Cambodia, since very little recognition of such relationships are included in any current studies, including Cambodia's overall national reports.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework to be used in this paper will be a postcolonial theoretical approach because this creates space and greater participation for the whole development community (McEwan 2009, pp. 228-229). It is considered important in the development process that all potential participant's voices and specific needs and interests are defined and heard. It is also of the utmost importance for local people's perspectives, needs and knowledge to be valued. For postcolonial theorists, mainstream development related to globalisation often ignored the voices of those people because the overall goal of this approach is to value money and enhance market spaces for investments. In relation to gender and violence, post colonialism

sees not only the inequality resulting from market-led systems, but also the impacts that trap women in poverty, so that they are vulnerable to violence in all forms (Martinez 2012, p. 88). Therefore, the postcolonial approach should be considered as a theoretical tool for development.

1.6 Structure of the Research

This research study will be structured into five different chapters. In the first chapter, an overview of domestic violence at international and national levels will be discussed. This will be followed by the justification for the research. Following this, the second chapter will review literature from a feminist perspective focusing on an historical overview of development, gender and women. The result of this overview is expected to help understand whether theories of development include gender and how globalisation emerged. Then, the gap in literature about the factors that lead to domestic violence in Cambodia will be outlined. The political will to address the issue of domestic violence at international, ASEAN regional and Cambodian contexts is described in chapter three. The fourth chapter will discuss the central focus of this current study by looking at the impacts of globalisation on women's economic positions during urban and rural development and men's struggle to maintain their masculinities during economic transformation. The final chapter will offer a conclusion and discussion about the findings of the above chapters and include the way forward.

1.7 Limitations of the Research

Much literature on the causes of domestic violence around the globe, including in Cambodia, centres the causes within the four levels of the ecological model which means there will be limitations to the outcome of findings. Other research has revealed the impacts of global economic reforms on gender inequality but has overlooked intimate partner violence. In this regard, there may be some limitations for this present paper to access information regarding family violence against women and girls in Cambodia as the direct outcome of, or causal through globalisation.

1.8 Justification

Fighting against VAW in all forms for sustainable development has long been internationally recognised since the Women's Development Decade in the 1970s. The

2030 agenda for Sustainable Development explicitly recognises that promoting gender parity and human rights are a perquisite to achieve SDGs. RGC has localised SDGs and understood the importance of women's roles in development so that a violence-free society can be guaranteed. Despite this, prevalence of family abuse against women and girls in Cambodia is still a concern. Studies have found family's economic conditions influence women's choices not to leave abusers and men's aggressive behaviours. Therefore, it is important to investigate whether globalisation related to Cambodia's pursuit of economic changes could have relationships with the prevalence of domestic violence in Cambodia.

1.9 Research Significance

From 1970s to 2000s, there was a global shift in emphasis from exclusively focusing on women's disadvantages to broader attention to gender parity following the Beijing conference in 1995. Post-conflict Cambodia, since the 1990s, has committed to promoting gender equality and eradicating all forms of VAW following such transnational targets. The necessity of the absence of violence to boost development in Cambodia was recognised by RGC stated in the goal 3 of the Cambodia Millennium Development Goals[2] (MoWA 2014a, p. 1). Therefore, the findings, together with the suggestions considered by this paper as constructive and superior tools, will be shown to be significant for achieving these goals. These are hoped to improve gender equality and aid a move toward a violence-free society with sustainable development where the principle is that no one is left behind. Also, the research findings could be a useful source for other scholars and academic students who wish to broaden their knowledge in the fields of development, women, gender and violence; all of which are interwoven. In addition, with the knowledge I gain from this research, I will be able to enhance my knowledge in this field and enable me to deal with my work as a chief with the matrimonial bureau of the Ministry of Justice in Cambodia accordingly.

[2] The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 adopted by the United Nations, were localised by Cambodia, leading to the adoption of its own Cambodian Millennium Development Goals (CMDGs) aimed at poverty reduction and human development, available at; <http://www.un.org/en/ecosoc/docs/pdfs/cambodia_national_rpt.pdf>.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this literature review is firstly to outline the historical overview of development, women and gender to understand how they can happen simultaneously and are related. This will be followed by the definition of globalisation and the trends that correlate with the issues of family violence. There are gaps in the literature about the factors contributing to the occurrence of domestic violence in Cambodia. As Cambodia is currently becoming part of a globalised economy the nexus between such violence and globalisation needs further exploration and analysis.

2.1 Historical Context of Development, Women and Gender

Throughout history, the issues of development, women, and gender have been interwoven. During the 1950's and the 1960's, the formulation of development was influenced by the key idea, that developing countries in the global South had to accept modern values and create Western institutions to assist development during decolonisation (Desai 2012, pp. 53-54). In this context, the distribution of market-generated incomes and wealth operated by individual Nation states was believed to be of benefit to all and would bring about gender equality. Nevertheless, Boserup's study in 1970 (cited in Connelly et al. 2000, p. 56) demonstrates that this modernisation theory of development ignored women and caused much deterioration of women's status and roles in the Third World. After this, Boserup's analysis, of the Women and Development (WAD) approach emerged to challenge the so-called 'trickle-down effects' of modernisation theories (Connelly et al. 2000, p. 57). Since then, WAD perspectives enhanced the understanding of the needs of women in development plans and programs, as per the theme of the first United Nations Decade for Women, in Mexico City (1975): 'Equality, Development and Peace'. However, the emancipation of women has been far from positive by using this approach due to its heavy reliance on modernisation paradigms and male-dominated Nation states to alter gender inequality (Connelly et al. 2000, p. 58; Martinez 2012, p. 94).

During the 1970's some researchers sought the answers for women's development issues in dependency theories, which reverse mainstream modernisation theories. Argued by dependency theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank, real development in the Third World cannot be achieved. This is because 'development' in the developed

(core) countries relies on the exploitation and subordination of the developing (peripheral) countries (Frank 1972, pp. 3-17). In addition, internal problems with the Third World were related to their elites who had created inequalities through surplus extraction while facilitating colonial integration into the world capitalist system. According to Desai, the only way for countries in the Third World to gain autonomous development, is to 'delink' themselves from the core countries (2012, p. 57). At the same time, feminist activists criticised Marxist-dependency theorists for only associating women's oppression with capitalism, and not discussing women's oppression as the outcome of patriarchy. However, some radical-feminist thinkers, who had ideas similar to Marxist theorists about the patriarchy, proposed that it would only be through women-only organisations, such as the Women and Development (WAD) approach that patriarchy could be dismantled (Schech & Haggis 2000, pp. 92-95). When it came to practice, however, such a specific focus within WAD failed to see the interconnections of power systems among women in the areas of domestic labour, women's subordination and women as class.

During the 1980's, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach arose as an alternative. This approach arose from the experiences of the grass-roots organisations called 'Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era' and from Western socialist feminists whose interests were development issues (Connelly et al. 2000, p. 62). The rise of this approach was pertinent to the question of the Structural-Adjustment Policies (SAPs) that were being adopted by many developing countries, to reverse huge debts after the economic crisis in the 1980's (Martinez 2012, p. 95). In addition, the GAD approach argues that the position of women in a given society is influenced by their material settings of life, the normative model of the patriarchal system and their situations in the national, regional and global economies (Connelly et al. 2000, p. 62). Therefore, this approach focuses on the relationships between women and men, and on the intersectionality of gender, class, race and social construction.

The 1990's brought about further changes to the ideas of development, women and gender, where development was thought to require full integration into the world capitalist system. As Connelly et al. (2000, p. 65) showed, during the early 1970's, the world economy needed to be restructured following some unprecedented events

including the rise of the newly industrialised countries (NICs)[3] of Asia, severe debt in some nations in the South and the end of a post-conflict boom in many parts of the industrialised North. The idea was that economic success in East Asia should be the model for developing countries. Borders would be more open, allowing for the movement of people and goods, which in turn would attract foreign capital, thereby achieving economic growth (Beaudet 2012, p. 108). The responsibility for new patterns of development would no longer belong to Nation-states, but rather to the world's transnational corporations (TNCs) and increased human activity (Reddock 2000, p. 30; Veltmeyer 2012, p. 220).

Efforts to promote gender and women's development are improving somewhat through this model. This is demonstrated through the global efforts endorsing the Platform for Action of the United Nations conference in Beijing (1995) and the international definition of violence against women, stipulated in the 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (Kishor & Johson 2000, p. 1). The UN anti-poverty projects such as the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000 also contributed to the awareness by the international community of including women and promoting gender equality in the development arena. While goal two of this UN strategy deals specifically with the health issues of women and children, the equality of the sexes and women's empowerment are the emphasis of goal three (Martinez 2012, p. 101). The most recent, the goal five of SDGs promulgated by the UN has targeted women's roles in development and gender equality. By recognising these universal development goals, the member states are committing themselves to report back to the UN at the least, a reduction in the ratio of violence in all forms, since this issue has been recognised to have impeded economic prosperity in the respective countries (Buzawa & Buzawa 2017, p. 8).

[3] The term was used to describe the fast growth of four of the countries in Asia between the 1970s and 1980s known as the four Asian Tigers. As a result, the economies of these four nations that included Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan were categorised as 'advanced and high-income economies'.

2.2 What is Globalisation? How Does It Conflate With Domestic Violence?

While the definitions of globalisation are diverse, most scholars share the idea that globalisation refers to transnational relationships mostly in economic and development areas. Beaudet (2012, pp. 108-109) suggests globalisation refers to 'new sets of relationships and activities, mostly in the economic arena that are taking place regardless of [sic] the geographical location of participants.' Similarly, but more precisely, as shown by Connelly et al. (2000, p. 66) and Schech & Haggis (2000, p. 59), the economic restructuring that took place in the early 1970's is often referred to as globalisation, particularly when it became more intense in the 1990's. This economic intensification required Nation-states to decrease barriers for trade in applying SAPs and supported the mobility of TNCs to achieve economic convergence. These globalised processes have had impacts on both sexes, but women have been more specifically affected (Ahmed & Khatun 2008, p. 109). The contradictory effects of the trends of globalisation on women's roles and status have been argued by many scholars. Some studies (Kehler 2001, p. 44; Schech & Haggis 2000, p. 101) illustrate the increase in women's poverty resulting from decreased social spending by the state as consistent with the strategies of SAPs. However, Mahmud's study in 2001 and Ahmed's in 2004 (cited in Ahmed & Khatun 2008, pp. 110-114) argue that globalisation creates greater spaces for women to be more empowered and to challenge pre-existing patriarchal norms through many means including having more income generation activities.

Nevertheless, Madhud's view may not work for women from some patriarchal countries. Some scholars studying the risk factors of domestic violence argue that when women challenge the traditional male role as the family 'bread-winner' through paid work outside the home, some men feel threatened and may use violence as a tool and an outlet for maintaining their masculine standing (Akhter & Ward 2006, p. 35). Moreover, occupational segregation triggered by TNC's, with women concentrating in the lowest paid, least-powerful, and least-protected positions, creates a context for them to be at a high risk of family violence. For example, as shown by the trade report of Oxfam (2004), women in Bangladesh faced psychological violence and threats when they arrived home late due to overtime work at garment factories (Raworth & Harvey 2004, pp. 4-16). Even though these case studies have also

highlighted other social aspects and environments such as patriarchy and gender inequality in the issues of spousal violence, globalised contexts that shape women's and their partners' lives are seen to be linked to both women's experiences and men's perpetration of domestic violence. In line with this, the study by Ferguson, Merry and Mironesco in 2008 (cited in Fulu & Miedema 2015, p. 1432) argues that globalisation is also about gender, doing 'contradictory work on sexed, raced, and labouring bodies: gendered family relations, and masculinised and feminised institutions, ideologies and identities.' This literature addresses the complex and contradictory consequences related to globalisation women and men experience in the areas of labour, households and identities. In addition, as Ahmed and Khatun (2008, p. 121) note, the impact of globalisation around the world is not uniform. Consequently, as intimate partner violence against women and girls in Cambodia is still widespread, despite improvements in policies and the economy, this paper proposes to study the relationship between globalisation and this violence in specific Cambodian contexts.

2.3 Literature Review: Overview of the Gap in the Causes of Domestic Violence in Cambodia

Considerable literature does exist regarding the foundations of domestic violence in Cambodia. Attitudes that promote the likelihood of being a victim of domestic violence are drawn from broad research data, including the CDHS projects. For example: evidence is identical to the CDHS of 2014 which confirmed that half or 50.4 percent of women had accepted at least one of six reasons for a husband/partner to hit or beat his wife (NIS 2015, p. 250). Attitudes driving wife beatings 'under specific circumstances', are also discussed in the national survey of 2015 that examined the health consequences associated with the prevalence rates of victimisation of women in Cambodia. The survey found that among 3,574 female interviewees, almost half (49 percent) accepted wife beatings committed by a husband/partner due to one or more specific reasons, such as a failure to complete housework, disobeying husbands/partners, denying sex or infidelity (MoWA 2015, p. 65). Moreover, the results of this survey show that women with greater levels of 'accepting' attitudes towards domestic violence are more likely to experience family violence (MoWA 2015, p. 103).

Some researchers contextualise domestic violence in Cambodia through linking an individual's early-life experiences. Using data from the CDHS 2000 project, Yount and Carrera (2006) analysed how a woman's early-life experiences of witnessing violence in her family linked with domestic violence. Their study included 2,074 married women in Cambodia and found that witnessing father-beating-mother incidences increased the probability for them to become victims as adults (Yount & Carrera 2006, pp. 378-379). This confirms the findings of Kishor and Johnson (2004, p. 43) who analysed the intergenerational effects of violence in intimate relationships based on key findings of the Demographic and Health Surveys in nine countries, including Cambodia. In the case of Cambodia, the prevalence due to the history of violence in their families was 30 percent. However, childhood experiences at the individual level of the ecological model do not function in isolation as a risk factor of domestic violence in Cambodia. Kishor and Johnson (2014) have found that the factors contributing to domestic violence in Cambodia, can also link with women's educational background, the number of children, and particularly, a husband's attitudes to masculinity and alcohol consumption.

The findings of Kishor and Johnson (2004) bring to the light a husbands' alcohol consumption as a driving factor and justification of family violence. This nexus is mentioned in many studies across nations and settings (Jewkes 2002; Brecklin 2002). Alcohol consumption links to provoking conflict, mitigating inhibitions and creating environments where punishment at family levels could be socially accepted. Consequently, Brecklin (2002, p. 196) who conducted research on the role of alcohol use when severe physical injury was a consequence of intimate assaults, found that greater injuries were typically the result of men's alcohol consumption. However, Jewkes (2002, pp. 1425-1426) shows that the association between violence in families and drinking and drunkenness is not universal and varies based on an individual county's specific social contexts.

The literature thus far, has found that several factors, including an imbalance of power between men and women, and gender inequality can all lead to alcohol consumption and/or violence against women and girls in Cambodia (MoWA 2015, pp. 104-105). Having said this, other than considering the role of alcohol abuse as a driver of domestic violence, it can only become a trigger where men use it to reinforce their

masculinity. This statement suggests that simply reducing alcohol consumption to prevent intimate violence against women in Cambodia may not be a wise or worthwhile choice, but instead, promoting gender equality and women's empowerment may prove more fruitful.

This is also because husband's controlling behaviours are found to strongly correlate with domestic violence in Cambodia. Typically, as many studies globally have suggested, the rates of women who experience spousal violence are greater among those whose partners exercise controlling behaviours (see for example Simmons, C, Lehmann, P & Collier-Tenison, S 2008 and Yount, K, et al. 2016). In Cambodia, a range of specific questions to investigate the degree of marital control exercised by a husband/partner in the CDHS projects reflect the national recognition that domestic violence and male controlling behaviours are interconnected. The data from the CDHS 2014 (NIS 2015, pp. 266-267) suggests that 7.1 percent of women aged 15-64 years, who are ever-partnered, have experienced three or more specific types of controlling behaviours displayed by their intimate partners or husbands.

The most common forms of controlling behaviours encompass the expectation that a wife or female intimate partner must not talk to other men (23 percent), followed by doubt about her faithfulness (12 percent). The strength of male controlling behaviours, leading to an occurrence of domestic violence in Cambodia, is shown by Eng et al. (2010), where the impacts of husband's control and the frequency of spousal discussion were studied. Using data from the 2005 CDHS project, Eng et al. (2010, p. 239) found that in the context of Cambodia, the more a couple talks about everyday life in the home, the more emotional violence against women and girls happens. This outcome is believed to be the case in patriarchal Cambodian society, where women are expected to be quiet or even silent. Therefore, violence against them is to remind them of their failure to follow social norms and traditions. This may be contradictory to the culture of some countries where it has been found that the frequency of familial discussions leads instead, to family happiness and less violence.

The strong correlation of Cambodia's traditional gender norms with family assaults are discussed by a number of studies. In Cambodian society, the constructions of male and female identities can be evident in the written texts, which are known as male and

female behavioural Codes (GADC 2010, p. 29). For example, and not different to other male-dominated societies, in Cambodia, women are traditionally expected to be quiet, obedient, weak and good caretakers of the family. This follows the Cambodian female Code (Brickell 2011, pp. 437-438). Data illustrates that the failure to uphold the instructions of behaviour could lead to violence. Ledgerwood (1990), in her dissertation focusing on the relationships between gender, social order, and ethnicity, illustrates that domestic violence in Cambodia occurs because women misbehave in performing their traditional duties. For example: women could be beaten when their child has not acted appropriately. Mothers are under an obligation, traditionally, to advise their children to behave well in society. Moreover, other literature mentions further examples of the influence of gender-inequitable constructions on women, which lead them to suffer violence in silence. This view can be noted in fewer reports about family violence from the female survivors to the police (7 percent) as shown in the Cambodia Data Sheet on Intimate Partner Violence (MoWA, n.d.). As argued by Lilja and Baaz (2016, p. 99), a ‘traditional’ view of women in contemporary Cambodia is still significant. This traditional viewpoint can be reflected in the social reaction to the large number of women who migrate to Phnom Penh to work as garment workers, beer promotion girls, in karaoke bars and waitresses. Many of them are socially classified as ‘Srey Kalip’ or ‘modern women', who act against the cultural and traditional mores of Cambodian society and as such are not considered ‘respectable’ or ‘good’ women.

Besides the above-mentioned factors through the ecological framework, political and historical changes in Cambodia leading to domestic violence have also been documented by many other scholars. A qualitative study on domestic violence in three countries of Southeast Asia, including Burma, Cambodia and Thailand, found that religion, social beliefs, and the levels of education were the factors contributing to marital violence against women and girls (Norsworthy 2003, pp. 148-150). However, as Norsworthy notes, experiencing the Pol Pot regime from 1975 to 1979 and the extremely stressful environment during the post-regime period, lead to more cases of marital violence against women and girls. This is because the brutality and abuse during the Pol Pot regime and stress from political and economic instability post regime could have driven many Cambodian men to commit violence in their relationships. This could well align with the factors already discussed, that within relationships, this

violence is also supported by cultural, patriarchal norms and beliefs (Norsworthy 2003, pp. 151-152). Women – despite experiencing the same trauma have not translated this into intimate partner violence. Likewise, Lilja and Baaz (2016, p. 99), in their interview with a Cambodian woman and the Director of one local organisation, found that besides damaging the entire Cambodian society, Cambodia's fighting history, particularly the Pol Pot regime, had severely affected people's behaviours. As a result, men who had witnessed and committed violence during the war were likely to continue these violent acts against their family members. For those who may not have experienced the regime, the local notions of masculinity are still heavily regulated and drawn upon to justify VAW. There exist traditions of keeping women and their children under violent control as a means of 'maintaining the moral codes of the family' with men still embodying the current discourses of masculinity that are dependent upon good the behaviour of their partners.

In sum, multiple aspects determine household issues in Cambodia. Most cases of intimate partner violence highlight the power relations between couples which are triggered by other elements including the legacy of Cambodia's political instability. Yet, factors triggered by globalisation and how this may contribute to the likelihood of domestic violence against women and girls have not been explored throughout these studies. As global capitalist expansion has also reached Cambodian field development (since the 1990's) and the prevalence of domestic violence against women and girls is still on the rise, there might be some contradictions within the process of development that lead to such consequences. Before the analyses posed by this research paper, the following Chapter will deal with the existing historical frameworks to address VAW, including domestic violence at international and regional levels, as well as in Cambodia.

CHAPTER 3: INTERNATIONAL, REGIONAL AND CAMBODIAN RESPONSES TO DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ISSUE

3.1 International Responses to Domestic Violence

Domestic violence causes not only health issues, but also intergenerational effects. Research shows that boys who see their mothers being violated by their fathers are likely to become abusers as adults, while girls are more likely to become *victims* of spousal violence when they become adults (Kishor & Johnson 2004, p. 42). This means that the negative effects of domestic violence are overwhelming, affecting not only individual rights, current and future well-being, but are a cost to entire nations. Following concerns for addressing the issues of domestic violence, significant international policies have been adopted since the 1970s, the period that was qualified as the United Nations Decade for Women (Pisanò 2016, p. 322).

The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, aiming to eliminate all forms of violence against women. Up to the present, this international bill for the rights for women has 189 countries around the world as signatory members – agreeing in principle to fulfil obligations of respecting, protecting, promoting, and fulfilling the rights of women in their respective countries (United Nations Treaty Collection n.d., p. 13). It was not until 1993, that domestic violence was specifically recognised by the United Nations (UN) as one element of discrimination against women and a main problem of VAW. Therefore, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women 1993 (DEVAW) in its 48th Session, which was followed by a framework for Nation-states to treat domestic violence as part of discrimination and violence against women and girls (Buzawa & Buzawa 2017, p. 4).

With a clear mission to fight against domestic abuse, the UN defined VAW very expansively, in that, ‘it is any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life’ (UNGA 1993). Contained within this resolution, violence in all forms including domestic violence that women and girls can experience are widely defined and recognised. Following this, while forms of domestic violence might vary

culturally, WHO, with a mission to promote health worldwide, sees family violence as a threat to women's health and therefore defines domestic violence or intimate partner violence as '[a]ny violence by a current or former husband or boyfriend including cohabitating sexual or non-sexual partners within an intimate relationship', on a global scale. This definition would therefore allow for WHO nation-states to incorporate the questions related to the abuse against women in the past and current intimate relationships, into their national health studies, for example, in the Demographic and Health Surveys. In addition, the definition overturns the assumptions by some, that domestic violence is simply an abuse occurring in the relationships between wives and husbands, not between men or women or same sex relationships or who are in de facto or non-sexual relationships.

More recently, the role that domestic violence plays in limiting economic development has also been recognised internationally. In tackling this issue, several international conferences related to development, gender and violence have taken place. Those conferences included the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 in Vienna, the International Conference on Population and Development in 1994 in Cairo and the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 in Beijing (Garcia-Moreno et al. 2005, p. 3). The issues of domestic violence were raised in the agendas of these international meetings and recognised as serious public health issues for all women. Based on this international recognition, comprehensive approaches to addressing such violence were proposed. For example, the Platform for Action of the Beijing Conference was endorsed, requiring all the UN's state members to develop strategies, legal and institutional frameworks to eradicate such violence (Kishor & Johnson 2004, p. 1). As a result, overall acceptance of the transnational goals to eradicate violence against women in all forms was reflected when 189 governments adopted this Platform including Cambodia. As argued by Buzawa and Buzawa (2017, p. 3), although domestic violence is integrated into the umbrella of human rights, this issue is not under the jurisdiction of the international courts such as the International Criminal Court in accordance with current international laws. This means that the willingness and national resource allocations of each individual country are extremely important to help free women and girls from family assault. As opposed to MDGs that targeted non-western countries the SDGs place obligations on all countries to achieve the stated goals. In this context the UN proposed the target of eliminating such violence

in the 2030 Agenda of SDGs. To reach the target in the goal 5 of SDGs, the member states are advised by these transnational development goals to report an absence or at least a reduction in the quantity of violence against women in all forms (Buzawa & Buzawa 2017, p. 8; MoWA 2015, p. 18). These international frameworks illustrate potentially great and significant changes that cast domestic violence within very important categories such as human rights, health and development. In order words, such international frameworks emerge on the basis of promoting women's and children's right to have adequate participation in political, civil, economic, social and cultural development based on the 1948 Universal Human Rights Declaration[4] as well as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights[5].

3.2 ASEAN Regional Responses to Domestic Violence

Concerned with human rights and women's and children's rights in particular, ASEAN has the ASEAN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (2004) and the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Elimination of Violence against Children in ASEAN (2013), (Pisano 2016, p. 323). All 10 member states; Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos (Lao PDR), Malaysia, Myanmar (Burma), the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam, adopted these legal approaches after attending the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993. It could be concluded that the DEVAW, adopted during the UN conference in 1993, as mentioned above, is the normative reference to the two significant ASEAN documents regarding the prevention and protection of women and children in the region, from all forms of violence. Similarly, Ginbar (2010, p. 6) illustrates that since the formation of ASEAN in 1967, economic cooperation and regional peace were the immediate priority of ASEAN, not overall human rights. However, the attitudes of

[4] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1948 is based on the principle that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nDgIVseTkuE>.

[5] The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESC) adopted by the the United Nations General Assembly in 1966; one of the international treaties that gives legal effect to the 1948 UDHR. It emphasises that civil and political rights are not more essential than economic, social and cultural rights and vice versa, available at <https://cambodia.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/book/ICESCR-EN.pdf>.

ASEAN to promote human rights as well as those of women and children changed when all the ASEAN member states attended the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993. After this, a Declaration and Programme for Action called Communiqué was adopted by ASEAN's Ministerial members, as a road-map for more initiatives to promote human rights, especially women's and child's rights in the region.

Regarding regional bodies, to push and facilitate the implementation of the two regional frameworks above, ASEAN thus far has the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) and the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights (AICHR). ACWC was officially formulated in 2010 in Vietnam, as part of the Vientiane Action Programme during the ASEAN Summit in 2004 (Ginbar 2010, p. 510). It is an intergovernmental commission with 20 representatives from the 10 ASEAN member states. As Pisano (2016, p.330) has noted, the existence of ACWC specifically, comes in the wake of ASEAN's ratification of international human rights frameworks, particularly CEDAW and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). In other words, the establishment of ACWC is to complement, rather than duplicate, the roles of CEDAW and CRC in the region, bridging international human rights frameworks across those of regional ASEAN states.

One key thematic area of the ACWC is that all forms of violence against women and children have to be eradicated in ASEAN region. To fulfil this role, the ACWC has incorporated its efforts in its Work Plan 2012-2016, which was adopted in 2012, and held in Jakarta, Indonesia (ASEAN 2012, pp. 4-5). The activities under this theme include reviewing existing legislation, national plans/programs and law enforcement regarding VAW, including cyber VAW and any tradition, belief or custom that condones VAW. This all reflects attitudes of the regional community of ASEAN toward promoting gender equality and a violence-free region. The follow-up actions of all these activities under ACWC's work plan are made through ACWC's regular meetings. The most recent ACWC ended its 16th meeting in 2018, taking place in Indonesia, where several projects were deliberated upon including the follow-up actions on the status of implementation of the ACWC's Work Plan 2016-2020 (ASEAN 2018). However, although such regional monitoring bodies have emerged, the conditions of women and children in the region are not really improving. In this sense, Pisano (2016, p. 338)

illustrates that the mechanisms for addressing violence from the ACWC and the AICHR are weak as both commissions do not have any explicit power or proper monitoring systems, or even the ability to receive petitions or communication from individuals, groups or organisations regarding violence. The attachment to principles of consensus and non-interference in domestic problems among ASEAN member states is very strong which is not consistent with the fact that all ASEAN member states experienced the effects of the Cold War differently and experienced an imbalance of growth in the region (Ramcharan 2000, p. 65). Perhaps more importantly, the challenges in promoting human rights are notorious as some ASEAN member states such as Malaysia, Myanmar and Brunei have still not ratified other core human rights treaties, for example, the United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) or the United Nations International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), both formulated in 1966. Therefore, fighting against all forms VAW must be given particular attention by individual nation-states in ASEAN.

3.3 Cambodian Responses to Domestic Violence

Cambodian local initiatives to respond to the issues of VAW in all forms began when Cambodia ratified several UN instruments related to women and girls during the 1990s. Cambodia signed and ratified CEDAW in 1992 and CEDAW's Optional Protocol in 2010 without reservation (MoWA 2014a, p. 4). Following these signatures, Cambodia has been held more stringently accountable to promoting women's rights and combatting all forms of violence against women and girls. In 2018, the sixth periodic report is being prepared to submit to the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee). Regarding the joint fourth and fifth periodic reports that Cambodia sent to the committee in 2013, the Concluding Observation, outlining 52 specific recommendations for Cambodia sent back by the CEDAW Committee, pointed out the limitations of progress in the prevention of and protection from domestic violence as well as continuity of local reconciliation in dealing with criminal acts of spousal violence against women and girls (CEDAW Committee 2013, p. 5). In this context, despite the existing laws, out of court settlements were more often the practice, arranged by the authorities in charge (MoWA 2015, p. 95). This is seen as a barrier that limits survivors of domestic violence from accessing justice, strengthening the culture of impunity and particularly placing women at a

further risk of violence (Walsh 2007 cited in MoWA 2015, p. 95). However, one of the main reasons for such practices endorsed by authorities as well as courts was found to be linked to the financial challenges that families face (Brickell, Prak & Poch 2014, p. 22). Consequently, the abusers are released a short time after arrest because their families need them to help the family income.

There are other international forces to push Cambodia to address domestic violence against women and girls such as the Beijing Platform for Action of the UN's Fourth Conference, adopted in 1995, the CRC, adopted in 1992, as well as the UN Security Council Resolution 1325, 1820, and 1888; all related to women, peace and security (MoWA 2015, p. 17). Following specific requests by CEDAW and other international instruments adopted by the RGC, the issues of domestic violence have been placed into developmental and political agendas in Cambodia. Through this, a national consciousness arose and allowed for the first founding of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Rehabilitation in 1998 (MoWA 2014a, p. 5). In 2003, the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Rehabilitation was elevated to the status of the Ministry of Women's Affairs (MoWA) with sole responsibility for the protection and promotion of women's rights and their families nationwide. Along with this, Cambodia also has other institutional mechanisms for gender equality and women's empowerment at national and sub-national levels. These institutional bodies that are focusing on women comprise the Cambodian National Council for Women (CNCW), Gender Mainstreaming Action Groups (GMAGs), which are established in all line ministries, and the Women's and Children's Consultative Committee, who deal with women's and children's issues at community and district levels (MoWA 2014c, pp. 6-12).

After its promotion, MoWA used evidence-based work to pull the issues of domestic violence from the shadows. It encompasses the completion of a nationwide baseline survey on the occurrences of domestic violence and drafted the Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and the Protection of Victims (the DV law); (MoWA 2015, pp. 23-24). This was considered very important because in the past, domestic violence in Cambodia was considered a private matter, so support for victims who may have sought help from outsiders as well as from the state were not available (Palk, 2007, p. 82). Consequently, in 2005, MoWA commenced a national baseline project to grab national attention for the issues of domestic violence as well as to explore the root

causes of such violence in order to improve and enrich social and legal protections. As a result, preventing all forms of violence against women has become the concern of the RGC as evidenced in Cambodia's development documents such as the Cambodia Millennium Development Goal 3 which includes the adoption of some national frameworks to prevent and protect women and girls from domestic violence. These are detailed below (MoWA 2014a, p.1).

The current national mechanisms, stemming from the efforts of MoWA to move domestic issues in Cambodia from family and private problems to the public realm, encompass the following (Brickell 2016, p. 2):

- The Law on the Prevention of Domestic Violence and Protection of Victims adopted in 2005, (the DV Law);
- The 2nd National Action Plan to Prevent Violence against Women (NAPVAW 2014-2018);
- The 4th Strategic Plan for Gender Equality and Women' Empowerment (Neary Rattanak IV 2014-2018);
- The Cambodia Gender Assessment (2014)

The DV law is the first national legal framework which recognises the importance of a life free from domestic violence for women and girls in Cambodia. One of the main aims of this law is it offers a national definition of what domestic violence actually means. As defined by article 2, domestic violence in Cambodia refers to 'the violence that happens and could happen towards: husband or wife; dependent children; persons living under the roof of the house and who are dependent of the households [sic]', (RGC 2005, p. 3). In this regard, domestic violence in Cambodia is not able to be viewed as merely abuse in the relationship between wives and husbands, or female and male intimate partners. It also covers a diverse range of assaults in the relationships between parents and children or grandparents and grandchildren, who live in the same house and share daily life together. In addition, the DV law proposes to ensure institutional legal frameworks that permit victims in domestic violence cases to protect their rights, including the prevention, for women and girls, from future and further violence. For example, women can request protection orders from the courts or administrative decisions from the local authorities, when domestic violence is

happening or is believed to have occurred, or is currently occurring, according to Chapter 4 of this current law (RGC 2005, p. 5).

More recently, the protective frameworks to respond to domestic violence at community levels include an establishment of the Commune Data Book (CDB) and the implementation of a Safe Village-Commune policy. This policy prioritises violence-free communities under the themes of 'no domestic violence' and 'no trafficking of women and children'. With the aim to record the numbers of families asking for help from local authorities in domestic violence cases, for example, CDB recorded 13,053 cases in 2009 and 11,136 in 2010 (MoP 2014, p. 75). Furthermore, due to an increasing awareness of the associations between domestic violence and demographic and health consequences, Cambodia implemented the CDHS project following WHO guidelines as mentioned above, which aim to document the national data of intimate partner violence within the household context. The first CDHS project was implemented in 2000 with support from the U.S.A Agency for International Development (USAID) and other donors (MoWA 2015, p. 23). This primary project included a set of questions on women's status and a module of domestic violence which was replicated in 2005 and again in 2014. Up to the present, the RGC has completed four CDHS projects, in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2014.

These all reflect Cambodia's willingness to eradicate all forms of violence against women and girls in Cambodia including the promotion of gender equality to achieve sustainable development. Unfortunately, legal protections that should have reduced domestic violence in Cambodia are being challenged by the economic conditions within the households as found by the 2014 study by Brickell, Prak and Poch. In addition, based on Chak's report in 2013, a single income generator for entire households, traditionally fulfilled by men, is no longer applicable in contemporary society. This highlights the huge challenges that one person alone cannot support the whole family when the cost of living is rising during the current shifts in the Cambodian economy. These economic hardships could further contribute to women's choices for living free from violence. Consequently, in the following chapters, just how women's vulnerability to violence increases because of their economic impoverishment, which has been further impacted by globalised economic processes, will be discussed.

CHAPTER 4: GLOBALISATION AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN CAMBODIA

In more recent years, differing influences and processes related to globalisation have affected Cambodia in several ways. Since the 1990s, an influx of foreign investment means there are more businesses, amenities, services and forms of transport coming into the country, especially into the Capital of Phnom Penh. Along with these developments, Cambodian people can now experience a whole new range of patterns of identification, for example, Starbuck coffee drinkers and modern, global, iPhone and gadget users. Especially in the field of gender studies, a significant finding by Lilja (2009, p. 148) illustrated that globalisation has brought rapid changes regarding women's political legitimacy through new gender discourses introduced by global activists. As well as this there has been an increase in technological knowledge among women. The strengthening awareness and activism advocated for by a global women's rights discourse has made VAW issues remain as significant concerns in the Cambodian context (Eisenbruch 2018, p. 354). Hence, all the development in Cambodia means people can now have more choices and opportunities to capture new lifestyles and identities. However, while post-war Cambodia is aspiring to take part in the development discourse of globalisation, the prevalent poverty levels and the rhythms of rural life among the majority of Cambodians explain the contradictions of development process related to globalisation. In this respect, the recent statistic of the 2018 global Multidimensional Poverty Index indicates that 35 percent of Cambodians are still living in poverty with the majority made up those who are rural (Voun 2018). In addition, as noted by Derks (2008, pp. 2-3), although both men and women are affected by the process of development related to globalisation, the greater effects of such processes are reflected through the mass migration of rural women and girls. This cohort leave to join productive work in the cities of Cambodia but they often end up in insecure and lower paid jobs. Such contradictory results could further increase women's vulnerability to domestic violence in all forms. In addition, the study by Lenze and Klasen (2017, p. 3) shows how gender roles in relationships are socially and culturally prescribed and the Cambodian context has been particularly emphasised in earlier chapters. To the extent that women are employed, the gender roles in their intimate relationships change. Because of these changes, men might feel

powerless and find ways to compensate for their ‘masculine losses’ through wife battering. Thus, I will also explore whether Cambodian hegemonic masculinity is affected by the changes and economic shifts and how this may motivate them to restore their dominance with violence.

4.1 Globalisation in the Context of Cambodia

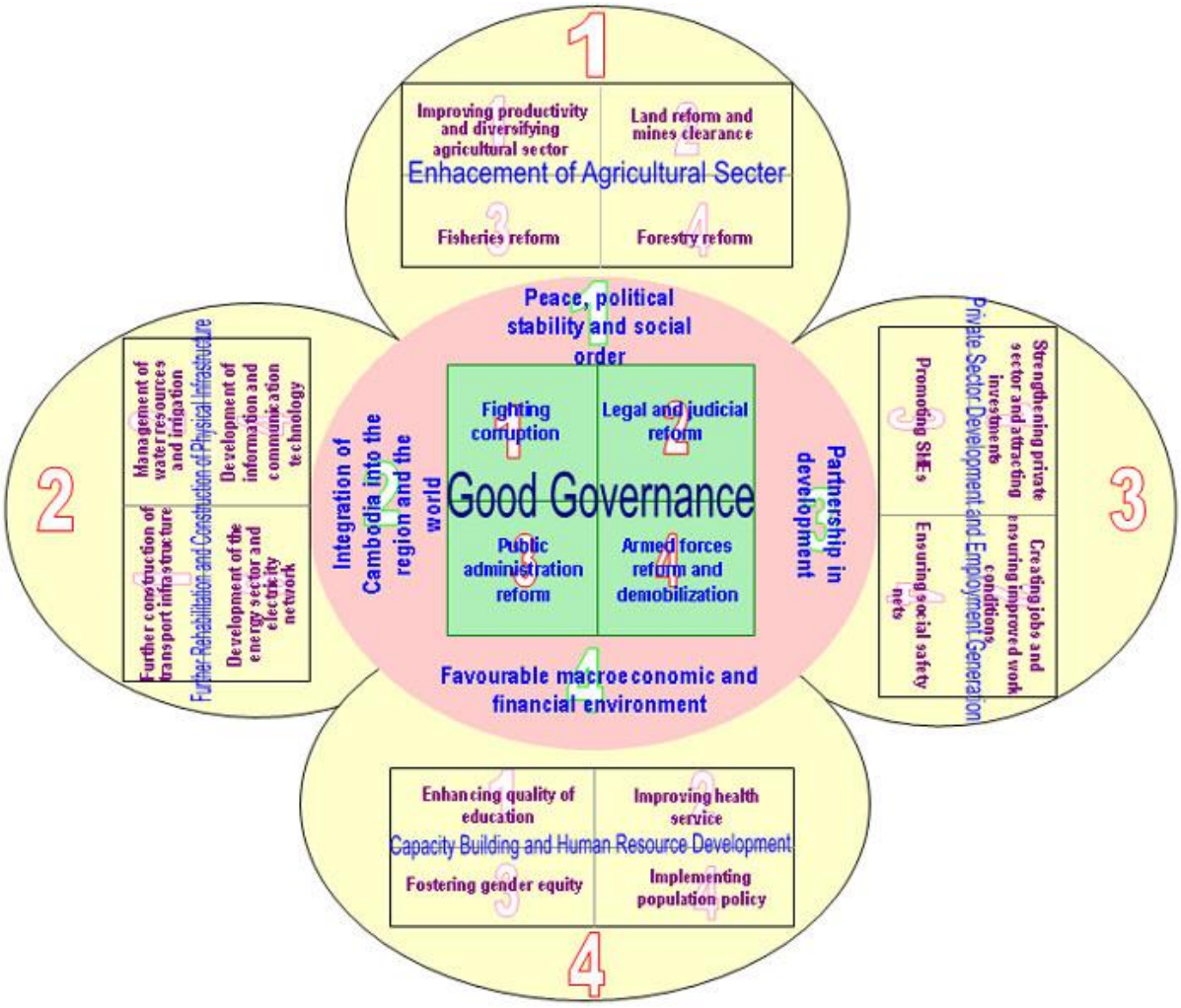
Although Cambodia officially obtained independence from the French colony during the 1950s, internal conflict and civil war continued, which was a sure recipe for destroying the economy and creating chaos (Ojendal & Lilja 2009, p. 1). For example, during the Khmer Rouge regime, which took place from 1975 to 1979, more than two million deaths of innocent Cambodians occurred and there was devastating social destruction (BBC News 2018). After the Khmer Rouge was defeated, civil war alongside foreign invasion (resulting from the Cold War, such as the Vietnam-backed regime taking place in early 1979), continued for a long period of time. Ear (2009, p. 159) shows that the effects of the Khmer Rouge regime and its aftermath on Cambodian society is tremendous as the destruction has been overwhelming, ranking from the loss of human resources from many deaths to social and economic chaos. Thus, it becomes obvious that to foster development for this country has been challenging. As a post-war country, Cambodia has obtained significant support from the international community for its development and post-conflict rehabilitation. The support encompasses direct aid, development loans, and infrastructure financing from bilateral, multilateral and private donors. For example, the disbursement from international financial assistance is approximately US$ 1 billion per annum (MoP 2014, p. 23). The solution to reconstruct Cambodia after the end of the Cold War was initiated by the signing of the Paris Peace Agreement in 1991 and the first democratic election arranged by the United Nations Transitional Authority (UNTAC) in 1993 (Yount & Carrera 2006, p. 361).

Liberal democracy has paved the way for the inflow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Official Development Assistance (ODA) which officially commenced in 1993; a period that is characterized by the new economic reform, changing from a centrally planned to market-oriented export economy (Gorman, Turina & Khen 1999, p. 37). Hughes and Un (2011, pp. 2-12) demonstrate that the efforts from the UN promoted

not only liberal democracy in Cambodia during the 1990s, but also a neo-liberal 'good governance regime' which was, according to the World Bank (WB), a fundamental basic for efficient, market-led development. In addition to the above-mentioned aspects, but in more detail, Lilja (2009, p. 138) argues that the process of globalisation, which changed the old structures of Cambodia, can be viewed through two lenses. Firstly, the post-war reconstruction of Cambodia was rebuilt and completely penetrated by the Western principles of democracy and capitalism. Secondly, because development aid inflow to Cambodia was massive including the presence of foreign development agencies in the country, it cannot be ignored that Western ideas have transformed traditional Cambodian culture and norms. One significant study by Ear (2009, pp. 151-152) illustrates that the option to choose such economic and political transformation is because the aid to Cambodia from the Soviet Bloc was disruptive in the early 1990s and had thrown Cambodia's economy into a downward spiral. Therefore, to prop up its economy and build political legitimacy, Cambodia accepted international support with its prevailing political and economic conditions. This all means that the concept of globalisation is especially important and deeply entrenched in Cambodia in both the economic and political spheres.

Entering the 21st century, the impact of globalisation on Cambodian socio- economic development has been strong. The last decade, in particular, has seen the extensive policies and programmes a road map for development in Cambodia following market-led development and good governance discourses of neoliberalism. The Rectangular Strategy (RS) was adopted in 2004, as the dynamic roadmap for development in Cambodia which comprised of key elements of the UN MDGs and the Cambodia National Poverty Reduction Strategy 2003-2005 (RGC 2004, p. 4). RS addresses key areas for action and implementation that have been vital to Cambodia's growth for five years. Thus far, the latest RS phase III, which was unfolded in September 2013 to address the four key areas, include: (1) promoting the agricultural sector, (2) rehabilitating and constructing the physical infrastructure, (3) privatising sector development and generating more employment, (4) capacity building and human resource development (MoP 2014, p. 3). In carrying out the agenda of the RS phase III, the National Strategic Development Plan (NSDP) 2014-2018 has had a focus on expanding investment, primarily in the infrastructure, garment, agriculture, construction and tourism sectors (MoP 2014, pp. 1-24).

Figure 4.1. Rectangular Strategy-Phase III



Source: MoP 2014, p. 3

One of Cambodia's largest industries is textiles, which employs more than two million workers and ships US$ 6.7 billion worth of fashionable clothes and shoes around the globe (Ono 2018, p. 1). Migration, one of the impacts of globalisation, has also increased. Based upon the national report, there are more than 720,000 Cambodians migrating abroad for employment (MoLVT 2015, p. 34). This number could actually be much greater if all of those leaving the country illegally for employment purposes could be counted. Moreover, Cambodia is also experiencing high rates of internal migration from the rural areas to cities, particularly to the Capital of Phnom Penh. Another substantial impact of globalisation on the Cambodian economy is evident through the policy of transforming agriculture from small-scale family farming to industrial farming under rural development policies based on angle 1 of RS phase III (ADB 2012, p. 26). Cambodia has also viewed the necessity of friendlier border relations in order to contribute to enhancing prestige and economic growth via integrating itself into regional and global trading systems such as WTO and ASEAN (MoP 2014, p. 16).

Alongside all the processes toward economic growth and good governance, a number of contradictions regarding disparity of growth, particularly women's economic hardships (Derks 2008, p. 2) are evident. For example, the strategy of agricultural transformation involving large-scale land reforms have caused problems such as conflict over land and forests, land grabs and forced evictions, which socially and economically affect many Cambodians, particularly women and children (CCHR 2013, p. 5). Moreover, several studies (Kalmuss & Staraus 1982; Websdale & Chesney-Lin 1998; cited in Akhter & Ward 2006, pp. 2-3) have shown that when husbands and wives have unequal power relations because of economic conditions, wife battering is likely to occur. Therefore, further discussion relating to women's economic hardships and men's struggle to maintain their masculine identity will follow as these are predictors of the contradictory consequences of economic and social transformation in Cambodia.

4.2 Cambodian Women's Empowerment

Of the total Cambodian population, 51 percent are women (NIS 2017, p. 4). RGC's efforts in promoting women into decision-making positions in the public sector have been articulated in several policies and programs, particularly in the major

development frameworks such as RS phase II and III and the latest NSDP 2014-2018 (MoWA 2014d, pp. 1-2). Based on the Global Gender Gap Report 2012, Cambodia was ranked at 91st among 133 countries in a political empowerment assessment (Hausmann et al. 2012, p. 9). Since these efforts, there has been an increase in the number of women in public decision-making. By looking at national data, the Cambodia Gender Assessment 2014 showed that in 1993 Cambodia had only 6 percent female representation at the National Assembly, increasing to 20.33 percent in 2013. At one local level in Cambodia, during the Commune/Sangkat council elections in 2012, there were 25.65 percent female candidates, which was a 4.29 percent increase, compared to the election in 2007. Despite this achievement, women still remain under-represented in the political process and formal decision-making positions. For example, in 2012 Cambodia had 95.78 percent male commune chiefs while only 4.22 percent were female. After the recent election in 2018, the percentage of female commune chiefs has risen by 20 percent, following the redistribution of seats from the opposition party, which was forcibly dissolved a few months before the election (Kijewski & Kong 2018, p. 1). However, this is still low. In the judiciary, the 2014 Cambodia Gender Assessment pointed out that there were only 15 female prosecutors out of a total of 147 prosecutors. Within the government, the proportion of women in ministerial positions was 10.7 percent in 2013, equivalent to 3 female ministers out of a total of 28 positions. In the civil service, although the number of female civil servants is reported to have grown between 2007 and 2013 (from 32 percent to 37 percent), women are concentrated in lower-level positions, and hold only deputy positions at management levels (MoWA 2014d, p. 9). On top of that, an observer in the article by Kijewski and Kong (2018) highlights that being promoted in politics does not necessarily mean women can enjoy their roles or positions because their responsibilities and authority are often cut off. Because of all these facts, the task of promoting gender equality is found to be challenging, especially when decision-making responsibilities are held by men. Also, this could be seen to be another problem overall when trying to achieve economic growth and development in Cambodia.

Along with economic growth, Cambodia has recently achieved several social improvements, including women's participation in the labour market. One recent study (Ono 2018, p. 1) has shown that the average of Cambodia's economic growth is 7

percent per year which is considered as one of Southeast Asia's highest rates. This growth has led to the improvement of some social indicators. In 2015, Cambodia's Human Development Index (HDI) was marked at the value of 0.563; ranking 143'rd out of 188 nations (UNDP 2016, p. 2). Data from this same report also indicates an increase in the Gender Inequality Index (GII), a composite index describing gender-based inequalities based on three dimensions such as reproductive health, empowerment and economic activity. In 2015, Cambodia's GII was 0.479 percent, with a 75.5 percent female labour force (UNDP 2016, pp. 5-6). Consequently, Cambodia has been ranked at 112 among 159 countries, lower than some countries in the region, such as Lao People's Democratic Republic and Myanmar (ranked at 106 and 80 respectively). However, compared to the past, Cambodia has achieved a great result. For example, in 1995 with the GII value at 0.660, Cambodia was numbered 143.

From the perspective of the Government, the enhancement of women's economic position is an important approach for Cambodia's modern society. That 'Women is the backbone of economy and society [sic]', has been stated in RS phase III, marking the government's understanding of women's potential labour for development. Stemming from RS phase III, MoWA, who are the overarching national actor for promoting women's issues, have developed a national policy known as 'Neary Rattanak'. This national plan was initiated by MoWA in 1999 and is continually being updated; it is the five-year strategic plan at a national level to promote gender equality and women's economic empowerment (MoWA 2014c, p. 6). Under Neary Rattanak IV 2014-2018, two national projects namely the Women's Development Centres (WDCs) and the Cambodian Women Entrepreneurs' Association (CWEA) have been led by MoWA, aiming at strengthening women's capacity and skills in business and the labour market (MoWA 2014c, p. 7). Through joining WDCs' centres, which are established in 13 provinces (out of Cambodia's 25 municipal-provincial geographic areas) around Cambodia, rural women in particular can learn multiple skills such as handcrafted production, hairdressing, weaving, tailoring and cooking. Around 1,900 trainees completed the courses through the WDCs each year (MoWA 2014b, p. 12). Besides being of potential for economic growth, RGC also believes that by advancing women's economic capacities, women's vulnerability to all forms of violence will be reduced (MoWA 2014b, p. 1). This can be seen as a protective approach due to the fact that

women can bargain for a better position in the household when they can earn more income.

Obstacles for women entering public, decision-making positions or labour markets vary, but a lack of education is considered a significant factor. National data has shown that women and men aged between 15-64 years are the main population age group in the labour force (NIS 2017, pp. 51-52). However, fewer women than men are employed, accounting for 48 percent of women compared to 52 percent of men. The national report supported by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) reveals that one eighth of the employed population have not finished any formal education and female employees who are not literate outnumber the males (15.3 percent are female, and 10 percent are male); (NIS 2013, p. x). Social constructions based on gender influence society and parents' decisions about their children's education. This can be reflected through some popular Khmer sayings. For example, 'Sartrey bangvil cheung kran min chum' which means that 'women cannot do anything besides moving around the kitchen' (Chak 2013). This is the common perception, that women are not as capable as men to undertake important roles in society such as the roles of political leadership even if they are well-educated. It is preferable for boys to be sent to school because it is expected that they will become the breadwinners as adult men (Gorman, Turina & Khen 1999, p. 2). In addition, many girls in Cambodia, especially rural girls, face a lack of school amenities in their communities. Travelling from secondary school to high school, far away, can be difficult and sometimes dangerous (CEDAW Committee 2013, p. 7). As a result, they give up their education at a young age. Women with a lack of educational qualifications will face a number of challenges in modern society, influenced by capitalist development and globalisation.

Wages are further obstacles to women's empowerment. Based on national data, in 2012, there were only 6.5 percent of employed people working in formal sectors in Cambodia compared to 60.2 percent of those working in informal sectors (NIS 2013, p. x). In addition, there are no national standards for payment for those who are salaried employees, so payment is on the basis of time-rate or piece-rate payments. Cambodia does not have any regulation to govern minimum wages for employees in formal sectors, except for garment and footwear workers (MoLVT 2014, p. 13). In 2012, a salaried employee in Cambodia could earn approximately US$ 119 per month

on average, with men earning US$ 130, but women only make US$ 105 per month. From this standpoint, a distinctive gender pay gap in Cambodia can be identified, and this becomes more obvious in higher status positions of managers and technicians. In addition, salaries do not fit with or cover expenses in the market and are lower than those of neighbouring Thailand, where the minimum wage is around US$ 279 per month (MoLVT 2014, p. 14).

There are fewer national supports for women to improve their skills and literacy which are also barriers to women's empowerment. WDCs, as discussed above, are the only national projects that have the potential to enable women to generate incomes for their families, particularly for rural women. The projects are also failing to achieve desirable outcomes for a number of reasons. Based on Asian Development Bank data, the services provided by WDCs to improve women's skills do not respond to the demands of businesses and enterprises in current markets. In addition, there is a lack of cooperation between WDCs and Cambodia's technical and vocational education and training service (TVET), and between WDCs and the private sectors in increasing the services of WDCs (ADB 2015, pp. 43-44). This means that without improvement in skills and in literacy rates, women face many more constraints in accessing the resources of modern society and participating fully in all development activities.

4.3 Urban Development in Cambodia

The impact of globalisation on Cambodia's economy contributes to a rise in urban growth. This growth can be witnessed by the expansion of the manufacturing industry such as textile and garment factories, and the rapid growth of the construction and service industries. In 2015, Cambodia had 1, 000 garment factories which was claimed to be an absolute increase compared to 15 years ago when Cambodia had only 10 factories with 30,000 workers (MoP 2015, p. 6). The growth in this manufacturing industry, particularly in garment and textile, is claimed to be the result of Cambodia's status of being the 'most-favoured' nation and part of a generalised system of preference that Cambodia received from the United States in 1999. This was also part of the European Union (EU)'s Everything But Arms agreement. Because of this privilege, import tariffs were not applicable to Cambodia when importing into the United States and the EU. In addition, based on Cambodia's 1994 investment law, 'best

business' incentive packages and cheaper labour costs are the strategies of RGC to attract labour-intensive industries into the country (Gorman, Ṭurina & Khen 1999, p. 40).

Besides this sector, the recent growth of development in urban areas of Cambodia have led to more investment in the real estate sector, with construction of hotels and other forms of accommodation and the expansion of businesses in the service industry. The evidence of this can be clearly seen through reports that by the third quarter of 2015, Siem Reap, one of the most popular tourist provinces in Cambodia, had 417 hotels with 17,000 rooms (Siv 2015, p. 1). Urban development occurs in all Cambodia's cities, but Phnom Penh Capital has seen the most significant rise. This municipality has served as not only the main administrative area for Cambodia, but also as the entry point to the global economy for a decade (World Bank 2017, p. 7). In more recent years, the main economy in this municipal area, which includes the manufacturing industry, tourism and small and medium enterprises has seen high growth. Moreover, the business in property has been booming recently, with the construction of new buildings for commercial purposes and residential housing. This could be because foreigners based in Cambodia are allowed to own certain properties such as condominiums, subject to 2010 Law on Foreign Property Ownership (Meas & Steve 2010, p. 1).

Like other countries, rapid urban development underpinned by globalisation in Phnom Penh has driven many people from rural Cambodia to the capital. Some studies (ADB 2015, p. 27; Lee 2007, p. 7) have shown that Cambodia has recently experienced rapid domestic and international migration which involves many rural men and women. Although fewer women than men migrate internationally, internal migration attracts more rural women compared to men. Statistically, among rural female migrants, 74 percent migrate internally, primarily to the Capital of Phnom Penh, while 65 percent of rural men do so (ADB 2015, p. 28). International migration has inverse figures, with 26 percent of rural women compared to 35 percent that of their rural male counterparts migrating. Many women leave their villages, flocking to the capital by themselves or with friends or their husbands to explore employment opportunities that feature alongside urbanisation. Derks (2008) notes that many Cambodian women move internally and work in several industries, moving often from garment factories to construction, to the retail trade and finally to entertainment and services in the Capital.

This means that the expectation and ambition to improve one's livelihood is often not reachable. Due to economic deficits, living in the Capital, where the daily expenses are greater than those of rural areas, could contribute to the vulnerability to violence against women and girls. In this respect, Fulu and Miedema 2015 (cited in Eisenbruch 2018, p. 354) make the case that the situation that has a lot of women flocking to cities is associated with the increased rates of gender-based violence, including intimate abuse. A further assessment of women's employment in both informal and formal work environments during such processes of urban employment related to globalisation therefore merits detailed assessment.

The garment sector continues to be a key engine of growth for Cambodia's economic shift. Based upon studies by the ODC (2015b) and Yamagata (2006, p. 1), the garment industry in Cambodia began in the mid-1990s and has become the biggest exporter of Cambodia's total exports, accounting for US$ 7.3 billion by 2016. Overall, women's labour participation in the whole manufacturing industry might be lower than men's, but it is predominant in this sector in Cambodia. 90 percent of women were employed in the garment sector in Cambodia (ILO 2012, p. 2). In combination with the ineffective implementation of the 1997 Labour Law, the principle law endorsing working environments nationwide, female garment workers in Cambodia face a number of challenges, especially vulnerability to low wages. Based on the newest law from the Ministry of Labour and Vocational Training (MoLVT), the minimum wage for garment workers in 2015 had to be US$ 140. This amount is claimed by RGC to be greater than what the workers made in 2006 when they received only US$ 45 monthly salary. However, this sum does not provide enough for women to live a decent life, as it does not fit with the actual living costs of Cambodian people, especially in Phnom Penh Capital. In comparison, the average consumption per capita in Phnom Penh is about US$ 175, based on the recent national statistics (NIS 2017, pp. 83-84). The average expense per capita could be greater than this, when the costs associated with health care are proven. Based on the 2014 CDHS report, around 9 percent of 10 household members surveyed, spent US$ 100 or more for health treatment on average (NIS 2015, p. 36).

The low wages drive women to reduce their expenditure to an absolute minimum level for living, especially regarding savings and remittances. Many women, and married

couples, migrating from rural Cambodia live in rented rooms close to the factories, where the size of the rooms is commensurate with rent expenditure and can cost anywhere between US$ 15 and US$ 50. Often, where people can afford to live does not allow for adequate access to public support. For example, one industry Park in Phnom Penh, where workers and their families live, totalling 4,000 people, have to collect water, and fill up their tanks every day. Such poor living conditions, associated with low wages and instability often lead to tense environments and could contribute to domestic disputes between partners.

Recently, the instability of employment for women in this sector seems more prevalent. As shown in the literature review, expanding globalisation means more competition in the market amongst labour, investments and businesses. During the upcoming election in 2018, garment workers were promised salary increases by Cambodia's Prime Minister. As seen by Ono (2018), however, when wages increase, it can mean difficulties when competing with other big exporters such as Vietnam, Bangladesh, Myanmar, and India. Thus, TNCs, who are always moving in search of cheaper labour, could move to those countries. As a result, the majority of female labour in the garment sectors in Cambodia could end up unemployed. Therefore, although more women are employed because of the inflows of investments in the garment sector in Cambodia, women are still at great disadvantage in this paid work and this could further lead to more vulnerability to domestic violence.

Over the last few years in Cambodia, the construction industry has been booming, with considerable growth in investment in real estate, particularly in the Capital of Phnom Penh. In 2015, this industry contributed almost 20 percent of Cambodia's GDP and has taken the lead over agriculture and tourism (Maza 2017, p. 1). The Care International Organisation illustrates that Cambodia's construction industry has between 175,000 and 200,000 workers, many of whom are migrants from the countryside (Care n.d.). Women make up 20 to 40 percent of these workers. They are flocking to work in this industry with their friends and families and live on the construction sites. Despite the harsh conditions of this type of work, women are still willing to work here because of the economic conditions and higher pay than other industries. In addition, one woman, in Maza's 2017 article, stated that 'We used to be rice farmers in Prey Veng province, but fertiliser was very expensive and it was hard

to make a profit, so we moved to the capital two years ago to work in construction'. This, in addition to valued potential economic conditions through work in the construction industry, indicates that a lot of people in rural areas are now facing difficulties in traditional agriculture when new technology and methodologies related to globalisation are introduced. Thus, they are forced to migrate for survival.

There are, however, several specific challenges for women working in Cambodia's construction sector. Gender pay gaps occur everywhere, but the gaps in Cambodia's construction sector are more evident. Women can earn US$ 5 per day, while their male counterparts can make between US$7 and US$ 10 (Maza 2017, p. 1). This is decided by their employers based on their dominant understandings that women are not as physically as strong as men, so they deserve easier construction activities with less payment. Some women in Maza's 2017 article said that they could perform the same work as men, if they were allowed. Despite this discrimination, many women have seen construction work as a much better option compared to garment work and hotel work due to a flexibility of payment. Unlike some other industries, most of them are paid daily or weekly allowing for easier budgeting and payment of expenses (BBC News 2017). However, such flexible payments cannot compensate for the risks that female workers can face in this industry. Daily or weekly payment without employment contracts means construction work in Cambodia is not governed by the 1997 Labour Law. Therefore, construction does not provide any form of social protection and security for workers, including women. The living conditions for women at the sites are even worse than elsewhere. Added to facing danger and the lack of a sanitation system, women can encounter harassment when their male counterparts get drunk (BBC News, 2017). This could be a sign of gender-based violence against them. Their inability to pay for accommodation outside is a significant reason for them to stay at the construction sites. This all reflects the limited options for women to be economically empowered during the face of the economic shift in Cambodia and potentially places them in a poverty trap.

As shown by Akhter and Ward (2006, p. 14), the 'informal economy means economic activities or transition, paid or unpaid work that happens outside the conventional market economy, not governed, or audited or mentioned by any official authority of a country'. In the Cambodian context, Berlin's 1998 study (cited in Gorman, Turina &

Khen 1999, p. 41), argues that informal employment cannot be easily separated from formal employment in Cambodia. This might be because informal employment is a large source of income for many Cambodians and has contributed to Cambodia's GDP, as shown in the construction industry. The retail trade is another significant element of informal employment. Consistently, ADB (2015, p. 9) shows that one of the notable features of women's economic empowerment in Cambodian is a large increase in the number of women in wholesale, retail trades and services. A further report over the period of 2008 to 2013 showed that more than 60,000 women were employed in this sector. The importance of the retail trade to support households still remains high for many women migrating to urban areas in Cambodia. Women dominate in this sector, operating their small-scale businesses in shops, markets and mobile stalls and street food stalls (Gorman, Turina & Khen 1999, p. 50). Kusakabe (2012, pp. 123-125) illustrates that street food stalls are widespread in Phnom Penh and women are the majority of street vendors. The number of street vendors appears to have grown. For example, between 2001 and 2005, the number of vendors increased by 50 percent in one of Cambodia's public markets. The number of women working as street vendors is massive and this could be because the items they sell do not require a large capital. For example, 43.9 percent are reported as female vegetable sellers (Kusakabe 2012, p. 124). However, Kusakabe's 2012 study also emphasises the small profit margins that women can make from such small-scale business and how they face higher risks and a lack of social protection which mean their economic autonomy is not really improved.

Recently, there has been rapid growth in Cambodia's services and entertainment industry, especially in cities such as Phnom Penh. Despite low-pay and insecurity, women's labour is predominant in this industry, working as waitresses, KTV girls and beer promoters. In 2016, the estimated number of women working in the entertainment industry in Cambodia was more than 40,000, including married women and divorcees as well as single women (Mom 2016, p. 1). The salary base is US$ 50 per month for a beer promoter which is not enough to cover living expenses. Their persistence to work in this industry is due to the hope of getting tips from their clients, who are mostly men. Even though beer promoters can earn up to US$ 200 from commission fees, they work seven days per week and face significant issues including strong stigmatisation, because it is expected that they wear short skirts and drink with men in

familiar and intimate ways (Lee 2007, pp. 13-14). Women are aware of these social perceptions, but some are still willing to work in this industry because they have experienced bad conditions, discrimination and arrogance from Chinese supervisors in the garment factories (Derks 2008, p. 3). This implies a vicious cycle of poverty that women face because of the development discourses related to globalisation.

In summary, urban development pushes or forces women to break the traditional norms to join the growing trend into the productive work of the labour markets. However, entering into such markets with little skill and poor literacy means women face many challenges and they benefit less from their paid work. The lack of knowledge and skills is even more critical when they must compete with men and labour in other countries, following the structure of development and globalisation. Furthermore, the wages women can earn do not allow them to live decent lives and this factor and the struggles in the labour markets that women face further create environments where violence against them is likely to occur.

4.4 Rural Development in Cambodia

Rural development is significant to economic growth and poverty reduction in Cambodia, since the majority of Cambodians (85 percent) are still living in rural areas (ADB 2012, p. 41). Although rural development in Cambodia needs to address several issues involving health, education, water and sanitation, agriculture is prioritised. This could be because Cambodia is a traditionally agrarian country, and agricultural activities are the major work of households in rural Cambodia (ADB 2015, p. 41). Cambodian agricultural activities include livestock and poultry raising, fish cultivation and fishery, forestry and hunting, but grain crop harvesting predominates. Rice is the most important crop in Cambodia, accounting for 78 percent of production in 2016, followed by fruits and nuts at 10 percent (NIS 2017, pp. 25-37). Other non-rice production crops are cassava, maize, beans and vegetables. Based on a national report from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fishing 2015-2016, agriculture contributed 28.6 percent to Cambodia’s GDP in 2015, falling from 37.9 percent in 2000. These falling rates have reflected low productivity which could be the result of the transition of Cambodia’s main production away from agriculture to industry and the service sectors (ADB 2015, p. 7).

As elsewhere around the globe, land is a key element for development. Land reforms are the major strategic plan for rural development in Cambodia in order to attract investment in productivity and diversity in agriculture (MoP 2014, p. 28). The benefit of land reforms towards safe ownership is very significant to Cambodian people, both in the rural and urban areas. This is because all land records were destroyed during war and internal conflicts in Cambodia, especially during the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975-1979 in which land registrations were destroyed and land experts were killed (CCHR 2013, p. 2). In 2001, Cambodia obtained US$ 24.3 million from the World Bank (WB) for implementing the Land Management and Administration Project (LMAP). This followed the bank's approaches to land reforms for development known as market-led agrarian reforms that emerged in the 1990s (World Bank 2002; Wolford 2007, p. 551). Land reforms under LMAP officially measure more than 1.58 million land parcels including 1.24 million land titles were released. However, the Economic Land Concessions (ELCs) of the LMAP in favour of markets followed neoliberal discourses of globalisation which contributed to diverging outcomes. According to Human Rights Watch (2013), around 700,000 Cambodians nationwide were affected by land grabs, dispossession, forced evictions and environmental destruction. The report from CCHCR (2013, pp. 34-35) highlights that forced eviction usually lead to several forms of violation to human rights. This is because evictees were often relocated to new places where they had difficulties in accessing basic needs such food, water, health services, and schools. As primary caretakers within the household, women have been far more greatly impacted by this market-led 'development' of land in Cambodia. Their children are also negatively affected. In addition, once resettled at eviction sites, these new and difficult situations are found to be factors of family abuse. When living conditions are strained and family members are psychologically impacted by evictions, women more often face a wide range of abuses including substance abuse and domestic violence (CCHR 2013, p. 13). Also, when land issues in Cambodia involve resistance through protests, violence against female activists has been reported. As shown by LICADHO (2014, p. 12), of 24 female land activists, 5 interviewed women reported domestic violence against them while 6 others reported aggravated violence after they participated in the protests to claim justice and land back from the private companies who had been granted economic land concessions. This might be because land loss and social chaos also related to globalised

development processes which increased stress and despair for family members leading to family violence as a consequence. Therefore, despite some benefits, land reforms following WB's approaches to land reforms in Cambodia have brought negative effects to many Cambodians.

Female labour is a significant feature of the agriculture sector in Cambodia. Women's participation in agriculture sits at 55 percent and half are illiterate (Gorman, Turina & Khen 1999, p. 45). Gorman, Turina and Khen (1999) further report that there is a traditional labour division by gender in agriculture and the prevailing ideals are based on physically demanding labour. For example, ploughing, which takes a lot of physical effort, is considered a man's responsibility while women are tasked with less physically demanding labour such as transplanting. Although women and men perform different work in agriculture, women are the key economic actors because they are better at trading, agricultural production and securing livelihoods in the rural areas (ADB 2015, p. 21). Added to this, for example, in the Northwest of Cambodia, where families are very much dependant on natural resources, preserving food production is mainly women's responsibility, the tasks including harvesting small water animals and gathering wood from the forests near home (Gorman, Turina & Khen 1999, p. 45). This is all evidence that women's labour is pivotal for subsistence needs and food security in Cambodia and both sexes fulfil their agriculture activities based upon traditions.

Women's economic empowerment in agriculture is challenging because of the more recent processes of rural development that relate to globalisation. The increasing modernisation of agriculture reduces the chance for those with little or no land to earn an income for their households. This is particularly so for women's labour in harvesting the crops (ABC 2015, p. 21). The large-scale land acquisition for private companies, through LAMP's land concessions, is often performed without prior consent and information or adequate, just compensation and this affects the communities as a whole, but women suffer from this project to a much larger degree (STAR Kampuchea 2013, p. v). This is especially a factor if the household is headed by a woman. So, the companies confiscate their land when they cannot prove their legal ownership and through this dispossession, lose their livelihoods. Based on the recent socio-economic report, woman-headed households in rural Cambodia sit at 21.6 percent out of 22.2 percent of nationwide woman-headed households (NIS 2017, p. 5).

In addition, through ELCs and other development projects, investors brought in technological equipment to clear the land which had a significant impact on the traditional beliefs and lifestyles of the indigenous people. Land and forest, for indigenous people, has a meaning far beyond simple socio-economics. This is because of the belief that the forests on their land are their ancestor spirits, who supply them with food and protect them from disease and other attacks (CCHR 2013, p. 37). The impact for women in indigenous groups is exacerbated as they are directly related to forest activities and have these strong beliefs. When women become landless, they are no longer able to make income from their own properties, incur high debts, are forced to migrate and lose much of their spiritual connections. This all indicates the vicious cycle of rural development related to globalisation that socially and economically disempowers women and girls in Cambodia and continues to have implications for living free from violence.

4.5 Cambodia's Hegemonic Masculinity and Globalisation

As already mentioned in the literature review, globalisation is also about gender as there are contradictory impacts on identity and the masculinised and feminised institutions. Globalisation also impacts traditions and gender balances. In this regard, Beasley's 2008 study and Connell's 2007 study (cited in Fulu & Miedema 2015, p. 1432) make visible the link between macro-structural trends of globalisation and male gendered characteristics. In the context of Cambodia, based on qualitative research led by the Gender and Development of Cambodia (GADC) project in 2010, Cambodian men were traditionally expected to follow multiple standards of masculinity, which include the need to be the breadwinners and strong, superior and dominant over women and girls. Throughout the contemporary economic changes in Cambodia, the notions of masculine identity remain practical and dominant among many men, in both urban and rural areas of Cambodia (GADC 2010, p. 20 see also Chapter 2.3 above). The data drawn from the GADC does show that some of the collective forms of masculinity in Cambodia have changed somewhat despite the evidence in earlier discussions. This is a change that can be seen in the shift that shows that in some cases, women's roles within the household are being fulfilled by men, while many women are joining paid work outside the home (GADC 2010, pp. 26-27). This shift in Cambodia's economic system is thought to be placing more pressure on men because

of difficulties to maintain their status as breadwinners and because they are finding it harder to be employed compared to their wives/partners. The rise of this conflict reflects how mainstreaming development discourses relate to globalisation's effects on the values and norms related to the gender identities of men and women.

There are contradictory ideas in the literature on the links between men's employment, their roles as breadwinners and domestic violence. Some scholars (Olarte & Llosa 1999, p. 45) show that men's unemployment is likely to be the cause of intimate partner violence. In contrast, other scholars (Lense & Klasen 2017, p. 3) make the case that with an increase in income; some men feel more empowered and can find excuses for their violent and aggressive behaviour. However, the evidence is strong regarding the association of intimate partner violence to men who are unemployed, which leads to a perception of their failure to maintain a masculine identity such as a household leader and provider. Jewkes (2002, p. 1424) argues that economic inequality is harder to deal with in a relationship when compared to the absolute level of income or empowerment of a man or woman. This means that when men have a lower status defined by their lower economic resources, they feel their male identity is in crisis. Therefore, 'unsuccessful manhood' which is believed to be defined by imbalances in income in relationships could bring about men's tension and frustration and lead them to commit violence against their wives/partners. Fulu and Miedema (2015, pp. 1438-1439) describe how men felt pressured by the models of masculinity during socio-economic changes in the Maldives related to their lower economic status. Some of them tried to hide in the jungles of Male because of a fear of being questioned about their male authority. From this standpoint, unsuccessful masculine identities, underpinned by economic conditions related to globalisation, could be reshaped in the form of violence against wives or partners.

The literature on the influences of a strong male identity for Cambodian men is extensive. Based on interviews conducted by Fulu and Miedema (2015, p. 1444) regarding current perceptions of masculinity among men in urban Cambodia, some of them expressed immediate frustration when their friends associated them with a label 'ounn' (which means cowardly and inferior), due to their failure to meet some prescriptive elements of masculine gender roles. In addition, Miedema's 2011 study (cited in Fulu & Miedema 2015, p. 1444), found that men showed boredom and dislike

when performing activities such as childcare or home management. These observations (together with the analysis in Chapter 2), all highlight the strength of the social norms of hegemonic masculinity in Cambodia. In this regard, when men face hardships in fulfilling their role as breadwinners, tension resulting from this situation could lead to violence in the household against their wives/partners and their children. Studies suggest that most cases of domestic violence in Cambodia can be understood as part of Cambodia's masculine regulation, when idealised forms of masculinity such as saving face and being a 'real man' are thought to be expressed through violence (Lilja & Baaz 2015, p. 97). Illustrated by Eng et al. (2010, p. 239), therefore, domestic violence is symbolic of strength and bravery and a way for a husband/partner to fulfil a key component of masculinity as the head of the family. All these reflections help to explain how globalised economic forces can also be influential for local gender regimes of hegemonic masculinity in Cambodia and reinforce violence behaviours toward their wives/partners.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION: DISCUSSION AND THE WAY FORWARD

5.1 Summary of the Research Problem

There has been a strong focus over the past few decades, on violence against women in all forms, and how it is becoming a serious human rights, public health and development issue, as shown in the goal 5 of SDGs. Since opening up to the international community in the 1990s, after a few decades of post-conflict, Cambodia has seen rapid economic growth with a higher GDP per capita than in the past, as well as some improvement in social issues. As discussed in Chapter 3, regarding the issue of violence against women and girls, substantial legal protections and prevention frameworks adopted by RGC means that all forms of violence in Cambodian society are no longer accepted. Despite this, there has been no aggregate decrease in domestic violence against women and girls in Cambodia measured by the national surveys. Based on data provided by CDHS between 2000 and 2014, domestic violence is still prevalent, with over 30 percent of Cambodian women reporting their experiences of domestic violence in the forms of physical, sexual and emotional violence at the hands of their husbands'/intimate partners'. In addition, more women

than in the past now suffer sexual and emotional violence in their interpersonal relationships.

Domestic violence is a complex phenomenon as it can be contributed to by a multitude of social factors that are interconnected. For example, while intimate partner violence is linked with women's attitudes toward the acceptance of violence, other social factors such as patriarchy and male dominance are also highlighted. The discussion above shows that family violence against women and girls in Cambodia is not inevitable and can be challenged by the factors that operate in a broader social environment. While today's world is increasingly shaped by globalisation in the field of economic development, the root causes of intimate partner violence could be linked with the processes of development related to globalisation. For example, although other factors such as male controlling can be explained, women's experiences of domestic violence in the case of Bangladesh in Chapter 2 are more likely to be contributed to by the strategy to meet the targets of production adopted by garment factories following the capitalist ideology of globalisation. Also, within the presence of economic changes in Cambodia, economic conditions have been found to be vital to the decision of women to stay with their violent husbands/intimate partners. Therefore, while post-war Cambodia's economic development has been following a capitalist discourse of globalisation since the 1990s, this paper seeks to understand whether the increased statistics of intimate partner violence in Cambodia is linked to the processes of development related to globalisation. Put simply, this research seeks to understand women's economic positions in the labour markets and hegemonic masculinity, all of which are reconfirmed by the processes of development related to globalisation.

5.2 Discussion the Findings

Women, gender and development have long been interwoven and underpinned by approaches such as WID, WAD and GAD in order to achieve sustainable development with a principle of 'no one is left behind'. Despite multiple meanings, globalisation usually highlights the relationships and communications in the field of economic development. The effects of globalisation are multidimensional. Based upon the discussions in Chapters 3 and 4, globalisation has had double-edged effects on Cambodian society. The influx of investment and businesses means there are more

commodities, goods and services and more choices provided to Cambodian people to enjoy their new lifestyles, particularly those living in urban areas. Regarding violence against women and girls in Cambodia, through the impact of external political environments and the global discourse of globalisation, this issue has been brought into the spotlight since Cambodia's attendance at the fourth world conference on women in Beijing in 1995. This is because in the past, domestic violence in Cambodia was viewed as a private family matter so for victims, there was no means of seeking assistance or safety from outsiders or the state. Also, globalisation has contributed to the reduction in unemployment through capital flows, particularly through the establishment of TNCs within the country, evidenced by the operation of 1,000 garment factories in Cambodia. Democracy in Cambodia has been promoted because of this globalisation, with the first free and fair election in 1993. However, as already mentioned in Chapter 4, there is no doubt that democracy and good governance in Cambodia are due to the forces of globalisation, as they are important elements for market-led development.

Despite some advantages, the shift of economy in Cambodia since the 1990s has been accompanied by contradictory consequences which impact on local norms and gender regimes in Cambodia. As a result, such contradictions increase the risk of experiencing intimate partner violence for both men and women. Urban and rural development related to globalisation has led to an increase in industries, businesses, construction and services in Cambodia. Along with these processes, Cambodia has recently witnessed a mass internal migration of women from rural areas, particularly to Phnom Penh Capital, mainly to seek employment. This huge movement is seen to be contradictory to the integrity and norms of Cambodian society. As shown by some of the literature (Derks 2008, pp. 198-262; Lee 2007, p. 6), in accordance with traditional local discourse, Cambodian women are supposed to remain in the home to fulfil reproductive work as well as to uphold their self-worth as Khmer women and their family's reputation. Because of economic changes, many women flout such norms and carry out their duties as well as engaging in labour markets, in order to both contribute to their families' livelihoods as well as the country's economy through productive work. Despite this, their economic autonomy and living conditions are not really improving, as they end up in low paying work with higher risks and can face violence during their migration journeys.

At the same time, the economic change in Cambodia has also had an impact on men's notions of a strong, traditional masculine identity. While a lot of women are participating in markets, the data from GADC (2010) shows that some of their traditional roles have been fulfilled by their husbands/partners. There is a strong likelihood that the experiences of victimisation and perpetration of intimate partner violence as consequence of such changes will be due to men's resistance to changes in male identity. Data drawn from GADC in 2010 and other studies shows the significance of the notions of masculinity, particularly 'being the breadwinner' is highlighted, when Cambodian men, due to multiple levels of hardship, feel pressured to be employed rather than their wives/partners. As a result, the circumstances associated with the economic changes trigger aggressive and violent behaviours for men who are socially constructed to be brave leaders, strong and the main financial family support person. Thus, when Cambodian men cannot meet social expectations resulting from social and economic changes, their aggressive and violent behaviours become more intensified and lead to increased risks of violence against their wives/intimate partners.

The capitalist ideology of globalisation has contributed particularly to rural Cambodian women's economic impoverishment and placed them and their children at a high risk of domestic violence. The concerns are due to the land redistribution projects for rural development related to globalisation in Cambodia which have initiated some adverse consequences involving land grabs, dispossession and forced eviction for many Cambodians. The incidences of this lead to economic marginalisation and impoverishment for many women and children, particularly the indigenous people of Cambodia. There are strong correlations between female evictees or land activists and domestic or sexual violence (detailed in Chapter 4). Based on Human Rights Watch (2013), this disastrous consequence affected around 700,000 people across the country and was also recognised by WB, the main player of mainstream development related to globalisation. After becoming aware of these adverse results, WB blamed the Cambodian government for its failure to comply with the bank's policy (Human Rights Watch 2013). In this regard, even though different factors can be examined, such as the incapability of the Cambodian government on the one hand, on the other hand, however, without loans from the banks, or knowledge and experts in land modernisation policies of the bank that serve the market and promote

completion of projects, the problems may not have occurred. Based on the bank's land titling programs, modern cadastral systems and land registries should have responded to the needs of secure tenure (Wolford 2007, p. 555). However, this thinking, shaped by capitalist ideology, has just served the most competitive markets and large-scale leases and acquisitions for investors, not the local people. One explanation for this is that when the rights to ownership are enhanced, it means that the land owners can sell or lease out the land if they wish, and under any conditions they deem appropriate. In addition, sometimes the new regime of property ownership could make the beneficiaries, whose ownership rights used to be protected by customary regulations, feel uncertain about their new rights. This could further lead to corruption, deception and social chaos. In the context of Cambodia where most households in rural areas depend on agriculture, secure tenure for them, considered by this paper, should be understood as the rights to live a decently life, being able to feed themselves and on, from their agricultural activities.

In regard to industrialisation within urbanisation in Cambodia, the establishment of TNCs for globalisation have brought about many jobs for women in particular with 90 percent of them working for the garment factories (based on the data from ADB 2015). This may seem like a positive for women. However, it is argued by some scholars in gender and development that these women's labour, which is predominant in these fields, is preferred by the capitalist economic system because of their subordination, their cheaper labour, their better skills at sewing and their submissive behaviour (Gorman, Turina & Khen 1999, p. 40). Elson and Pearson (1984) highlight that because of lower skills and education, women's existing gender subordination is not actually liberated through the paid work provided by such international companies, and instead their gender subordination could become more intensified and redefined. As a result, women are more disempowered and could be subject to violence in all forms. This obviously shows in the case of female garment workers in Cambodia. Based on ILO (2012, pp. 1-2), very few of them have an education higher than primary school levels, and only 7 percent of factories are owned by the Cambodian nation. In addition, influenced by the ideologies of a global economy to attract more investors and compete with other big investors in the region, Cambodia's investment law 1994 has regulated incentive packages for the investors, including low labour costs. This means the strategy to create waged jobs following the capitalist ideology of

globalisation does not offer women benefits and agency to be free from patriarchal restraints. As a result, women's economy is marginalised, further leading them to experience intimate partner violence.

Although intimate partner violence can be explained by some social factors that are intersectional, a lot of studies, including the first World Report released by WHO, have identified the important role that poverty plays in influencing violence against women and girls (Krug et al. 2002, p. 244). Poverty is a contested phenomenon, as it can be analysed based on different variables such as the levels of income, education or occupational status so that how much it links with women's experiences of violence is hard to determine. Despite this, as noted by Olarte and Llosa (1999, p. 37), both types of poverty, namely absolute and relative poverty, could contribute to violence, but the influence of absolute poverty on women experiencing violence in the household is more significant. Olarte and Llosa (1999) further show that absolute poverty refers to a situation in which a person or a family does not have the necessary income or other resources to live a basic life. Based on this definition, a general idea regarding the correlation between poverty and domestic violence is that poverty could intensify violent behaviour due to the absence of financial resources for subsistence needs, lack of opportunities, stresses and powerlessness. In this view, Cambodian women's economic deficits resulting from the processes of development related to globalisation could produce such stressful circumstances and predispose the family members to behave violently. In addition, Gilligan's studies in 1996 and in 2001 (cited in Evans 2005, pp. 30-40), working with violent men for 25 years, illustrate that people who are fairly poor in a society are not actually more violent, but are more prone to be desperate and different treats and consequently feel shame and worthlessness. The consequences evoked from such treatment could lead some men to commit violence in the household. This view describes the situation faced by Cambodian men when the economic shifts in Cambodia have seemed to pay little attention to them and forced them to do reproductive work instead of their wives/partners. As a result, many of them experience a growing sense of powerless, and feel isolated and frustrated, especially when the fear of being questioned about their role as a family financial supporter arises. This situation could lead them to violate their family members and partners in their relationships. Thus, socio-economic arrangements in Cambodia resulting from the capitalist philosophies of globalisation have led many Cambodian women and men

to be socio-economically marginalised and have fuelled violence against women and girls as a consequence.

Therefore, while appreciating the benefits that Cambodia is experiencing from globalisation regarding economic growth, the improvements in understanding gender equality and democracy, there is much to be said about the uneven consequences of this regime. Because of the popularising of the value of money and competition, this capitalist regime of globalisation has undermined the integrity of communities in Cambodia, such as gender norms for men and women in society. In addition, employment provided by the capitalist ideology of globalisation seems grounded in the political perceptions of class, patriarchy and discrimination. As will be made clear, children whose primary caregivers are at high risk of violence or left behind by development processes are themselves likely to be vulnerable to such violence. This is because independency and the interrelatedness of relationships mean that children's development often links with that of their parents. Consequently, there is no doubt that women's economic impoverishment and growing social isolation could lead to women, children and men in their family lives being victims or oppressors.

5.3 The Way Forward

The above discussion has suggested that domestic violence cannot be compartmentalised to be the only problem at individual and family levels. To understand this phenomenon, it requires a closer look at patterns and practices that are formed by the agenda of inequalities at individual, community and social levels and must include global levels. This interconnectedness can be understood when attention is paid to the link between urban and rural development related to globalisation, and economic marginalisation and social isolation or between the trend of a globalised economy and the local norms which impact on gender relations in society. This interconnectedness is also recognised by the First World Report on Health Problems in 2002 (Krug et al. 2002, p. 14). Following such recognition, there has been a call for addressing the problems through global efforts and cooperation that aims to harness positive aspects of globalisation while its negative aspects have to be minimised. Along with this, various frameworks have been introduced for gender

equality which is key to promoting a violent-free society that is moving toward sustainable development with the principle of ‘no one is excluded’.

Throughout the history, feminism has aligned with social movements to challenge the development processes that have said little about women and gender and have come up with some approaches such as WID, WAD and GAD (as discussed in Chapter 2). Following the UN Conference on Women in Beijing, in 1995, gender mainstreaming discussed in the Beijing Platform for Action, was overall agreed by many nation-states, as a strategy to support the development of effective and efficient policies and programs toward gender equality (AWID 2004, p. 1). The approaches to gender mainstreaming differ in the extent to which men and women are treated and how far the underlying social issues are grounded. Despite this, the paper emphasises a three-pronged approaches introduced by Booth and Bennett (2002, pp. 430-446). The approaches include the equal treatment perspective, the women’s perspective and the gender perspective, which are not mutually exclusive. Equal treatment focuses on giving women the same rights and opportunities as men in the public sphere. The women’s perspective understands that women and men are different and finds the way to cope with women’s exclusion or under-representation. The gender perspective recognises that men are also relevant to the debates of gender equality as they can also be disempowered by social and economic arrangements. This perspective aims at a fairer distribution of power between men and women and other gender concerns, both at the institutional and national levels of policy making, as well as in the global political economy (AWID 2004, p. 3). The latter perspective resonates more with societies and communities that are experiencing new socio-economic arrangements related to globalisation. However, as noted by Booth and Bennett (2002, p. 430) equality policies can be better conceptualised based on the interconnectedness of the three approaches.

Amid mainstream development processes, to achieve gender equality, Cambodia should strengthen its accountability through implementing the existing policies and programs of gender mainstreaming strategies related to gender equality and promote violence-free societies for women and girls (as shown in Chapter 3). The three approaches to gender mainstreaming strategies, as discussed earlier, should be applied accordingly. In this regard, it may include increasing women’s representation

in the public sphere, or parliament and the judiciary and should have a focus on promoting women's and girls' access to education. Women's empowerment projects, as shown in WDCs above, tend to focus on women's empowerment, but boys and men should be included in the projects so that they could equally benefit from national support and feel the importance of working alongside women and girls. In addition, since hegemonic masculinity relates to the characteristics of bravery, strength and superiority and has a strong impact on the likelihood of domestic violence against women and girls, there should be programs engaging communities, men, women, boys and girls to allow them to evaluate their assumptions about gender norms and promote the notions of self-control, self-esteem and respect. If gender mainstreaming was applied as a strategy to address inequalities resulting from global fundamental transformation, it would certainly be a positive tool for Cambodian governments to invest in towards minimizing the issues of violence in all forms particularly against women and girls. It would also be positively responding to goal 5 of SDGs and moving toward development where no one is left behind.

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