RESEARCH REPORT

Findings from a Systematic Literature Review and Analysis of Existing Datasets on Violence against Children in Cambodia

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Children's Legal Centre

This report was written by Kara Apland, Maurice Dunaiski, Professor Carolyn Hamilton, and Elizabeth Yarrow at Coram International at the Coram Children's Legal Centre (CCLC), with in-country support from Vanaka Chhem-Kieth and Kim Hourn. CCLC is the UK's leading children's legal charity, committed to promoting children's rights in the UK and worldwide. Coram International works around the world in partnership with governments, UN bodies and NGOs in over 40 countries, to promote the rights of children through the reform of law, policy and practice. For the past 17 years Coram international has conducted in-depth qualitative and quantitative research and published widely on topics related to children's rights.

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List of abbreviations

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
CDC	US Centres for Disease Control
CDHS	Cambodian Demographic and Health Survey
CDRI	Cambodia Development Resource Institute
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CVACS	Cambodian Violence against Children Survey
EA	Enumeration areas
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
GSHS	Global School-based Student Health Survey
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
ICT	Information and communication technology
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IPV	Intimate partner violence
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender
MARYP	Most at Risk Young People
MOOSE	Meta-analysis of Observational Studies in Epidemiology
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NIS	National Institute of Statistics
P4P	UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence
PROTECT	Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to end the Exploitation of Children Today Act
PSU	Primary sampling unit
R3P	Research to Policy and Practice
SGBV	Sexual and gender-based violence
TOC	Theory of change
UCW	Understanding Children's Work
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
USD	United States Dollars
VAC	Violence against children
WHO	World Health Organisation

Executive Summary

This report summarises and synthesises existing evidence on the determinants (including the risk and protective factors) of violence against children (VAC) in Cambodia. The findings are aimed at informing the development of evidence-based policy and practice in relation to the prevention and elimination of all types of VAC in Cambodia. This report is timely, as the information and evidence arising from the report will be available to inform and support the implementation of the child protection component of the new UNICEF and Government of Cambodia Country Programme (2016–2018), and will feed into the implementation of the five-year, inter-ministerial Action Plan to prevent and respond to VAC in Cambodia.

The report's findings are based on a systematic review of existing literature, which identified a total of 74 high quality research papers (including academic and 'grey' literature). The review aimed to include all relevant materials in both English and Khmer languages, which were identified through systematic searches of online databases by international researchers, as well as manual searches in local libraries, research institutions and NGOs, conducted by two Cambodian researchers.

In addition, statistical evidence was obtained through a secondary analysis of five nationally representative datasets: the Cambodian Violence against Children Survey (CVACS 2013), the UN Multi-country Study on Men and Violence (P4P 2013), the Global School-based Student Health Survey (GSHS 2013), the National Survey on Women's Health and Life Experiences (WHO 2015) and the Cambodian Demographic and Health Survey (CDHS 2014).

The systematic literature review revealed that existing research on VAC in Cambodia has focused heavily on child trafficking and child labour, leaving significant gaps in the knowledge base in relation to physical, emotional and sexual violence and, especially, child neglect.

The review and secondary data analysis identified a number of important risk and protective factors in VAC in Cambodia, operating at different levels (including the individual-, relationship-, household-, and societal-level). Whilst the review identified some overlaps between the types of violence against children, the identified risk and protective factors also differed significantly depending on the type of violence and the context in which it occurs. This report presents evidence on the different risk and protective factors for physical violence, emotional violence, sexual violence, child marriage, child labour, child neglect and trafficking.

Key findings: Physical violence against children

Physical violence is the most frequent type of violence experienced by Cambodian children, affecting more than 1 in 2 children according to the CVACS data. Mothers are the most common perpetrators of physical violence against children in the home, whereas teachers are the most common perpetrators of violence outside the home. Despite the widespread use of physical violence against children in Cambodia, the topic has received relatively little attention in research papers and published articles.

Determinants of physical violence in the home

Children's age: Secondary data analysis indicates that younger boys and girls are more exposed to violence in the home than older children.

Disability & HIV/AIDS: Qualitative evidence suggests that women with disabilities and women living with HIV/AIDS are at an increased risk of violence in the home.

Household poverty: Poverty was identified as a key household-level risk factor that increases a child's chances of being subject to physical violence in the home.

Urbanisation: There is strong evidence from the secondary data analysis that urbanisation is associated with a decrease in physical violence in the home. This contrasts with findings on violence outside the home, which appears to be more of a problem in urban areas.

Parent-child relationship dynamics: Evidence from secondary data analysis indicates that having a positive father-child relationship dynamic may act as a protective factor against physical punishment in the home. No comparable evidence was found for mother-child relationship dynamics. Children in the care of step-parents appear to be at an increased risk of experiencing physical violence in the home.

Peer-support: Evidence from secondary analysis of the CVACS data also indicates that peer-support is an important protective factor against physical violence in the home.

Acceptability of physical punishment: Lack of understanding about the potentially serious consequences of physical punishment appears to be widespread amongst Cambodian parents: only violence resulting in serious injury is deemed inappropriate. These attitudes undoubtedly contribute to continued use of corporal punishment against children in the home in Cambodia.

Discriminatory gender norms: Patriarchal gender norms appear to make violent discipline against girls (and women) more acceptable than violent discipline against boys.

Determinants of violence perpetration

Childhood trauma: There is robust quantitative and qualitative evidence indicating that a person who has been a victim of violence during childhood is more likely to perpetrate violence later in life against his or her own children: suffering violence in childhood is thus an important individual-level determinant of violence perpetration later in life.

Alcohol consumption: Findings on the influence of alcohol consumption on violence perpetration were inconclusive, although there was some quantitative evidence identifying alcohol as an important individual-level risk factor of violence perpetration in the home.

Perpetrator age: Statistical analysis of the P4P data indicates that the relationship between perpetrator age and violence against children is non-linear. Men at the extreme ends of the age continuum (i.e. relatively young and relatively old men) are less likely to perpetrate violence against their own children, compared to respondents in the middle age range.

Family size: Statistical analysis of the P4P data suggests that violence perpetration is more likely in families with larger numbers of children. Multiplicative interaction models indicate that younger fathers are less capable of dealing with a large number of children in a non-violent manner than their older counterparts.

Lack of accountability: Qualitative evidence indicates that lack of accountability for violence perpetration, lack of awareness about relevant laws amongst victims and perpetrators, and low levels of reporting perpetuate physical violence against children in Cambodia.

Determinants of school-related physical violence

Acceptability: As with findings in relation to violence within the home, corporal punishment in Cambodian schools appears to be a widely accepted method of discipline. Qualitative evidence suggests that teachers often view corporal punishment as necessary and acceptable to maintain discipline within the classroom unless it results in serious physical injuries to the child, indicating a lack of awareness about the harmful consequences of violent discipline.

Individual-level determinants: Statistical analysis of the GSHS data indicates that older, male and under-weight school children are most at risk of experiencing school-related physical violence. Alcohol consumption by children was also identified as an important individual-level risk factor.

Household poverty: Statistical analysis of the GSHS data indicates that household poverty is an important determinant of school-related physical violence, with children from poor households being at an increased risk of experiencing violence. Multiplicative interaction models suggest that poor female pupils are particularly vulnerable to school-related physical violence.

Key findings: Emotional violence against children

Emotional violence in the home affects around 1 in 4 Cambodian children according to the CVACS data. An equal proportion of pupils included in the school-based GSHS survey indicated that they had been bullied. Despite the scale of emotional violence experienced by Cambodian children, both inside and outside their homes, the topic has received relatively little research attention.

Determinants of emotional violence in the home

Alcohol consumption: Statistical analysis of the WHO survey indicates that alcohol consumption by the child's father increases the risks of the child witnessing or overhearing intimate partner violence between his or her parents, which is considered a form of emotional abuse.

Disability: Qualitative evidence suggests that disability is an individual-level risk factor in relation to experiencing emotional violence in the home.

Parent-child relationship dynamics: As with findings on physical violence, a positive father-child relationship dynamic appears to act as a protective factor against emotional abuse in the home.

Acceptability of verbal abuse: Qualitative evidence indicates that Cambodian parents view verbal abuse as the least serious form of child abuse. A lack of understanding about the potentially serious consequences of emotional violence appears to be widespread and verbal abuse is seen as a necessary and legitimate form of child discipline.

Urbanisation: There is strong evidence from the secondary data analysis that children living in urban areas are less at risk of experiencing emotional violence in the home, compared to children living in rural areas.

Household poverty: There is also strong qualitative and quantitative evidence that children from richer households are less at risk of experiencing emotional violence.

Determinants of school-related emotional violence

Acceptability of verbal abuse: Qualitative evidence suggests that harsh verbal abuse (by teachers and peers) is considered 'not very serious' and 'quite normal' in Cambodian schools. The humiliation that usually accompanies corporal punishments creates an overlap between physical and emotional abuse in school.

Household poverty: Statistical analysis of the GSHS data provides robust evidence that poorer children are at an increased risk of being bullied at school. Qualitative evidence suggests that discrimination based on class and appearance of pupils is widespread in Cambodian schools.

Peer support: Statistical analysis of the GSHS data also indicates that peer support can act as a protective factor against school-related bullying.

Alcohol consumption: Pupil's alcohol consumption was identified as a significant risk factor associated with school-related bullying.

Key findings: Sexual violence against children

Unlike other forms of violence against children, sexual violence is a topic that has received a considerable amount of attention in the reviewed literature, particularly in relation to commercial sexual exploitation. According to the CVACS data, sexual violence affects around 5.5% of Cambodian children aged 13-17. However, given the strong cultural stigma associated with sexual violence, these prevalence statistics may underestimate the true extent of sexual violence against children in Cambodia.

Determinants of sexual violence

Discriminatory gender norms: Qualitative and quantitative studies included in this review identified discriminatory gender norms as underlying drivers of both perpetration of, and impunity for, sexual violence, including against children in Cambodia.

Violent masculinities: Research studies also point to a disturbing picture of hegemonic masculine identities amongst some groups of male youths in Cambodia, particularly in urban centres, whereby physical violence perpetration, alcohol and drug use, transactional sex, and gang rape *(bauk)* are regarded as forms of entertainment and socialisation, and expressions of masculine prowess and dominance.

Impunity: The existing evidence suggests that impunity for perpetrators acts as an underlying driver of sexual violence against children in Cambodia. In particular, the literature points to a lack of effective investigation, widespread corruption in law enforcement, and a

tendency to settle 'disputes' outside of court through the payment of compensation. Widespread impunity means that perpetrators of sexual violence are free to commit further abuse, and it reinforces the idea that such behaviour is an acceptable and 'normal'.

Fragile families: The literature provides evidence that children from disadvantaged backgrounds, and those with fragile family- and home-lives, are at increased risk of becoming both victims and perpetrators of sexual abuse. In particular, the review identified childhood victimisation as an important determinant of sexual violence perpetration later in life.

Disability: A number of studies provide evidence that disability constitutes a considerable individual-level risk factor in relation to exposure to sexual abuse.

Pornography: Qualitative studies included in the review suggest that the widespread (and increasing) availability of video and print pornography in Cambodia may be a facilitative factor associated with sexual violence and rape perpetration, by 'normalising' violent and abusive sexual scripts. However, other studies dispute this link and point out that sexual abuse existed well before the widespread introduction of pornography in Cambodia. Lack of robust evidence on the links between pornography and sexual violence in the context of Cambodia makes it difficult to provide definitive conclusions.

Key findings: Child marriage

Data from the CDHS indicate that child marriage in Cambodia primarily affects girls. 23% of female respondents and only 6% of male respondents (aged 18-49) reported that they were first married before the age of 18. The review identified relatively little robust evidence on the risk and protective factors associated with child marriage in Cambodia.

Determinants of child marriage

Urbanisation: Evidence from the review indicates that child marriage is more prevalent amongst families in the countryside compared to Cambodia's urban centres.

Discriminatory gender norms: Restrictive attitudes towards female sexuality, and the social roles of women and girls, were identified as important underlying drivers of child marriage amongst girls. In particular, early marriage may be employed as a 'coping strategy' in the face of early or unwanted pregnancy. Attitudes also influence the demand for early marriages: young brides are desirable because of the value placed on virginity and because young brides are perceived as more subservient and easier to control.

Poverty and marriage brokering: Poverty and economic hardship may place children at risk of being sold into marriage. South Korean marriage brokering firms were identified as important actors that facilitate and perpetuate these practices.

Education: Secondary analysis of the CDHS data indicates that education is a significant protective factor, reducing the risk of child marriage amongst girls.

Key findings: Child labour

Data from the 2012 Cambodia Labour Force and Child Labour Survey indicate that around 750,000 Cambodian children are economically active. Of these economically active children, 57% were classified as child labourers and 31% were engaged in hazardous labour. The topic of child labour has received a relatively large amount of scholarly attention in Cambodia.

Determinants of child labour

Poverty: Household poverty and economic hardship were identified as important underlying drivers of child labour in Cambodia. However, a number of studies included in the review also highlight the fact that the relationship between poverty and child labour is not always straightforward. Especially in rural areas, where credit markets are weak, land and livestock ownership have the potential to have an inverse effect on child labour rates, with children from wealthier households more likely to be engaged in child labour.

Education: The review identified an inherent trade-off between children's education and their participation in the workforce, in particular when work exceeds 25 hours a week. The direction of causation remains unclear, as children may be working because they are not in school, rather than not being in school because they are working.

Several studies identified parental education as an important protective factor against child labour. The existing evidence indicates that school fees may serve as an underlying determinant of child labour by creating barriers to young people's education, or forcing children to take up work in order to afford school. Poor school quality was also identified as a risk factor associated with child labour, as it reduces the perceived benefits of schooling amongst parents and children (relative to child labour).

Attitudes and norms: Parents' view that child labour is acceptable and not harmful was identified as an important attitudinal determinant of child labour in Cambodia. This finding is particularly significant given that, in the majority of cases, parents have the final say about whether their children will work. Qualitative evidence also revealed how working children

in Cambodia identify their labour as necessary to repay 'debts' to their parents, highlighting the important influence of cultural norms around inter-generational obligations.

Demand-side factors: Child labour in Cambodia is also determined by a number of demand-side factors, including that children are cheaper to employ, easier to manipulate and control, more willing to take on undesirable work, and less likely to seek workplace protections through industrial action.

Key findings: Neglect

The CDHS data suggest that 1 in 10 Cambodian children under the age of five receive inadequate care. The systematic review produced no evidence on the extent, nature and determinants of child neglect in Cambodia. The CDHS was identified as the sole primary data source on child neglect in Cambodia.

Determinants of child neglect

Mother's age: Statistical analysis of the CDHS data indicates that older mothers are significantly more likely to report that their children under the age of five received 'inadequate care'. This may be the result of attitudinal differences between generations, or differences in reporting behaviour between older and younger survey respondents.

Mother's education and attitudes: Using evidence from the CDHS survey, education of the mother was also identified as a significant protective factor against child neglect, with well-educated mothers being less likely to leave their children in situations of inadequate care. Mothers who hold attitudes that are supportive of violent child discipline are significantly more likely to neglect their children.

Household poverty: Regression results from the CDHS data indicate that children in poor households are significantly more likely to find themselves in situations of inadequate care.

Family size: Large family size appears to act as a protective factor against child neglect. Regression results from the CDHS data indicate that children living in larger families are significantly less likely to receive inadequate care, in comparison to children living in smaller families.

Key findings: Trafficking

The topic of trafficking in Cambodia has received more scholarly attention than any other type of violence against children, with the majority of research focusing on the sex industry and trafficking of girls (rather than boys). Despite the vast amount of research published on this subject, there is a lack of rigorous evidence on the extent, nature and determinants of trafficking in Cambodia, which is likely to be the result of the illicit and clandestine nature of trafficking.

Determinants of child trafficking

Reduced parental care: A review of existing evidence suggests that children who have reduced parental care or come from dysfunctional family backgrounds are more at risk of becoming victims of trafficking.

Previous experiences of abuse: Several qualitative studies suggest that children who have previously experienced violence and abuse may also be more vulnerable to trafficking than those who have not. This relationship appears to be particularly pertinent between previous experiences of sexual abuse and vulnerability to sex trafficking.

Household poverty: Evidence from the systematic review indicates that child trafficking often occurs as a coping strategy for families facing economic hardship. Child trafficking appears to serve as a modern equivalent to the traditional practice of debt bondage, in which a child is sent to work with a family's creditors in order to repay their debt.

Discriminatory gender norms: Exclusion from certain formal employment sectors makes women and girls more susceptible to trafficking. Gendered ideas about the value of virginity also create a particular demand for sex with female children.

Normalisation: Evidence suggests that child sex trafficking (and other forms of trafficking) are often facilitated by parents, and other individuals within a child's social network, which view trafficking as an 'easy and desirable option' to cope with economic hardship.

Sex tourism: For western tourists, Cambodia's appeal as a sex tourism destination is partially rooted in racist notions of exotic and alluring Khmer women, Cambodia's reputation as a child sex tourism destination, and the legal impunity and social anonymity with which sex can be bought, including in particular sex with children.

Socio-economic inequality: Several studies note that socio-economic inequality, both at the national and global level, is an important structural driver of trafficking. Qualitative evidence suggests that children often initiate the trafficking processes themselves, motivated by real and/or perceived differences in lifestyles, employment opportunities and pay levels.

Border control and law enforcement: The review identified conflicting evidence on the impact of border controls and law enforcement on child trafficking. On the one hand, some papers argue that porous borders and poor law enforcement increase trafficking. On the other hand, existing evidence also suggests that stricter border controls and improved law enforcement make trafficking more profitable and simply drive the practice further underground. Lack of rigorous evidence makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions in relation the causal link between law enforcement and trafficking.

A Theory of Change on VAC in Cambodia

The findings and evidence presented in this report were used to identify prevention and response priorities and to develop a draft theory of change (TOC) for preventing and responding to VAC in Cambodia. This draft TOC on VAC in Cambodia was presented and validated during a series of in-country workshops with key stakeholders in late July 2016, including representatives from key Government Ministries and civil society organisations.

The finalised Theory of Change on VAC in Cambodia is intended as a key reference for informing and supporting the implementation of the child protection component of the new UNICEF and Government of Cambodia Country Programme (2016–2018), the National Action Plan to prevent and respond to VAC in Cambodia, the National Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women (2014-2018), as well as the National Action Plan for Child Development (2016-2018).

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and rationale for study

Although detailed and comprehensive research regarding the nature, the prevalence and the underlying drivers of violence against children in Cambodia is still lacking, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that violence against children is a serious issue. Findings from the nationally representative CVACS, conducted in 2013, indicate that more than half of all Cambodian children experienced some form of physical violence prior to the age of 18 years. Importantly, among those who reported to have experienced some form of physical violence in their childhood, more than three quarters experienced multiple incidents. While the CVACS data suggests that physical violence is the most common type of violence experienced by Cambodian children, other types of violence are also reported. Findings from the CVACS indicate that 4.4% of females and 5.6% of males aged 18 to 24 experienced at least one incidence of sexual abuse during their childhood. Further, one in five females and one in four males aged 18 to 24 reported to have experienced emotional violence during their childhood (UNICEF, 2014). Not only do these rates of violence constitute a serious concern about the implementation of children's rights, but VAC has also been shown to have a negative impact on Cambodia's economy. Analysis of the CVACS survey outcomes, presented in UNICEF's 'Economic Burden of Violence report', indicates that the economic burden of VAC in Cambodia, caused by health consequences and health risk behaviours, as well as loss of productivity, to be substantial: at around 168 million USD and 83.3 million USD respectively (Fang, 2014).

The purpose of this review paper is to inform the development of policy and practice in relation to the prevention and elimination of violence against children (VAC) in Cambodia through an analysis of existing evidence on the nature, extent and underlying causes of VAC experienced by boys and girls at all stages of the life cycle. This approach is consistent with UNICEF's Research to Policy and Practice Process (R3P) framework, a project developed to promote the use of evidence- based policy and programming, which is rooted in the principle that a sound analysis of the issues will lead to better informed action (UNICEF, 2016, p.1). The review is timely as the information and evidence can be used to support the implementation of the child protection component of the new UNICEF and Government of Cambodia Country Programme (2016–2018), and feed into the implementation of a five-year, inter-ministerial Action Plan to prevent and respond to violence against children.

The review also aims to ensure that findings from recent research carried out on VAC in Cambodia, including, for example, the CVACS and P4P surveys, are applied in the policy and programming context. Secondary analysis of this data, along with additional evidence obtained through a systematic review and analysis of existing relevant studies, allows for

the development of more meaningful, comprehensive and evidence-based theories of change, on which policy and programming interventions can be based.

1.2 Research questions

To this end, the review applied a series of methodologies designed to answer the following three research questions agreed with UNICEF Cambodia:

1. What are the determinants (i.e. risk and protective factors including attitudes and social norms) that affect exposure of Cambodian boys and girls to different forms of violence at different stages of the life course?

2. Given the determinants and social norms that shape violence, what should the prevention and response priorities be in addressing violence against children in Cambodia?

3. What is the theory (or theories) of change for violence prevention and response in Cambodia?

This report addresses the first research question. The findings and evidence presented in this report were subsequently used to identify prevention and response priorities and to develop a draft TOC for preventing and responding to VAC in Cambodia. The draft TOC was presented and validated during a series of in-country workshops with key stakeholders in July 2016.

1.3 Key concepts and definitions

The use of consistent definitions is critical in conducting a systematic review of existing evidence and analysis of existing datasets; particularly as definitions often vary substantially across studies. The definitions used in this report are consistent with internationally recognised terms and definitions.

For the purposes of this review a **child** is defined as a person below the age of eighteen years, in accordance with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), which the Kingdom of Cambodia ratified in October 1992.

1.3.1 Definitions: violence against children

The study considered the following forms of VAC, which are defined in detail below: physical VAC, sexual VAC, emotional VAC, and neglect and negligent treatment. In addition, the review also considers child labour, child marriage and child trafficking.[1]

Physical violence against children is defined as the deliberate or intentional use of force or power that either results in, or has the potential to result in causing bodily harm (World Health Organisation, 2016). Examples of physical violence against children include hitting, beating, kicking, throwing, shaking, pinching, pulling hair, boxing ears, caning, biting, strangling, scratching, scalding, burning, poisoning, forced ingestion and suffocating.

In many cases, physical violence against children may be administered as a form of punishment. According to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, 'corporal' (or 'physical') punishment is defined as any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however 'light' it may be.

Sexual violence against children is defined as any sexual act - or attempt to obtain a sexual act - that is perpetrated against a child without their consent or understanding, whether or not the child is aware of what is happening, by any person, or group of persons, regardless of their relationship to the victim (World Health Organisation, 2016b).

Sexual violence may involve physical contact, but does not necessarily need to do so; it may also include involving children in looking at or in the production of sexual images, watching sexual activities, encouraging children to behave in sexually inappropriate ways, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or grooming a child in preparation for abuse. Sexual violence may include violence perpetrated against children by adults, and violence perpetrated against a child by other children.

Child sexual exploitation is a form of sexual abuse where children are sexually exploited for money, power or status. It can involve violent, humiliating and degrading sexual assaults. In some cases, young people are persuaded or forced into exchanging sexual activity for money, drugs, gifts, affection or status (UK Government, 2016).

Emotional violence is considered to include any 'hostile or indifferent parental behaviour which damages a child's self-esteem, degrades a sense of achievement, diminishes a sense of belonging, prevents healthy and vigorous development, and takes away a child's well-being' (Iwaniec, 1995, p.14). It is characterised by 'persistent negative attitudes; promoting insecure attachment; inappropriate developmental expectations and considerations;

[1] There is a significant amount of overlap between what constitutes 'child trafficking' and other forms of VAC addressed in this study; in particular sexual violence and child labour. For this reason, we do not provide a separate definition of 'child trafficking' in this section. For a more detailed discussion of the definitional issues surrounding the term 'child trafficking', please see section 3.7. 'Exploitation' has not been included as a separate form of violence, as it is sufficiently covered by child labour, child trafficking, child sexual abuse and child marriage.

emotional unavailability; failure to recognise child's individuality and psychological boundaries, and cognitive distortions and inconsistencies' (Glaser, 1993). Going beyond the above definitions, which focus on emotional violence perpetrated by parents, this analysis also considers emotional violence perpetrated by a child's peers, such as certain forms of school-related bullying.

Examples of emotional violence identified by the Committee on the Rights of the Child include: terrorising and threatening, spurning and rejecting, isolating or ignoring, a child, or demonstrating favouritism; neglecting a child's mental health or medical and educational needs; the use of insults, name-calling, humiliation, belittling, ridiculing and hurting a child's feelings; exposure of a child to domestic violence; placement in solitary confinement, keeping a child in isolating, humiliating or degrading conditions of detention; and psychological bullying and hazing by adults or other children, including via information and communication technologies (ICTs) such as mobile phones and the Internet, known as 'cyber-bullying' (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2011)

Bullying can be conceptualised as a distinct form of violence, which may include elements of physical, emotional, as well as sexual violence. The literature often defines bullying as a unique sub-category of aggression, which is characterized by intentionality, repetition and an imbalance of power (Vaillancourt et al., 2008). For example, according to one widely-used definition, "a person is being bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons. It is a negative action when someone intentionally inflicts, or attempts to inflict, injury or discomfort upon another" (Smith, 1999, p.10).

Neglect and negligent treatment is defined as the deliberate failure to provide for the development of the child in all spheres: health, education, emotional development, nutrition, shelter, social protection, among others (Krug, 2002). In a country characterised by widespread poverty, such as Cambodia, definitions of neglect need to take into account the availability of resources, so that neglect is distinguished from deprivation due to poverty. According to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, examples of neglect may include: (a) physical neglect: failure to protect a child from harm, including through lack of supervision, or to provide a child with basic necessities including adequate food, shelter, clothing and basic medical care; (b) psychological or emotional neglect, including failing to provide any emotional support and love to a child, chronic inattention and being 'psychologically unavailable' by overlooking a young child's cues and signals, and exposure to intimate partner violence or drug or alcohol abuse; (d) educational neglect: failure to comply with laws requiring caregivers to secure their children's education through attendance at school or otherwise; and (e) abandonment (Committee on the Rights of the Child, 2011, para 20-26).

Child labour is considered to be a form of exploitation of children and is included in this study. The Convention on the Rights of the Child recognises 'the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education or to be harmful to the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development' (Article 32). This review also examines the worst forms of child labour set out in ILO Convention 182, which includes: all forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery; the use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic purposes; the use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities.

Child marriage is also considered a form of exploitation of children. For the purposes of this study, marriage is defined as a culturally or legally sanctioned union made between two or more people that establishes certain rights and obligations between them, their children, and their broader families (in-laws). 'Child marriage' is in turn defined as marriage where at least one party is below the age of 18. Although neither the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) nor the UNCRC establishes a specific minimum age for marriage, the Committees of both treaty bodies have recommended that the minimum age of marriage for both men and women should be set no lower than 18 years (Hamilton, 2015).

1.3.2 Definitions: analytic concepts and terms

Several other key concepts and terms informed the development of the research questions and the analytical approach to this study.

As used in this review, a **risk factor** refers to any attribute, characteristic or exposure of a child that increases the likelihood that the child will be a victim of any of the forms of violence outlined above. The concept of 'risk factors' originally emerged in health research to describe any factor that increased an individual's risk of developing a particular disease, and has more recently been used in social science research to describe any factors that are predictive of a negative or undesirable outcome or event, or to sustaining and aggravating that outcome or event. Risk factors may refer either to individual characteristic or traits, or to environmental, contextual or ecological factors (Richman & Fraser, 2001, p.3).

The term '**underlying driver**' is additionally used to refer to a non-specific, environmental, contextual, ecological or structural 'risk factor', that is associated with an increase or a decrease in the likelihood that a child will be a victim of any of the forms of violence outlined above. Underlying drivers of violence against children may, for example, include poverty, discrimination, poor governance or limited enforcement of legal protections for children. Drivers of violence can operate and interact on multiple levels (individual, inter-

personal, social, institutional, structural) to increase or reduce children's risk of experiencing violence (see our discussion of the 'ecological framework' below).

A **protective factor** is the mirror image of a 'risk factor'; 'protective factor' refers to characteristics or attributes of an individual, or conditions contained within the broader social and ecological environment, that are associated with a lower likelihood of a child becoming a victim of violence, or that mitigate or reduce the impact of that violence. Protective factors may include skills, strengths, resources or coping strategies possessed by individuals, families, communities, or society at large, that reduce the risk of violence and are predictive of positive outcomes for children.

The term **determinant** is used in this study to capture all of the above-mentioned concepts: risk factors, underlying drivers and protective factors are all understood to be determinants of the likelihood that children will become victims of any of the types of violence included in the study, or that individuals will perpetrate any of the different types of violence against children.

Determinants of violence against children can operate on many different levels (e.g. individual-, relationship-, community-, or national-level) and factors at different levels can interact with each other. As a general analytical approach, this review uses the so-called '**ecological framework'**, in order to examine drivers of violence operating at different levels. The 'ecological framework' views VAC as the outcome of factors operating (and interacting) at four different levels: 1) the individual level, which includes factors such as childhood experiences of abuse, psychological disorders, or alcohol consumption; 2) the relationship level, which includes factors such as parent-child relationship dynamics, or the number of siblings; 3) the community level, which includes factors such as school or neighbourhood characteristics; and 4) the societal level, which includes factors such as national legislation in relation to VAC, social and cultural norms, or socio-economic inequalities (Krug, 2002).

Figure 1: Ecological Framework

2. Methodology and approach

The review utilised two principal research methods/approaches:

1) A **systematic literature review** of academic literature, including a scoping of existing "grey literature" (informally published written materials, such as research reports and briefing papers not available through conventional literature searches);
2) A **secondary analysis of existing primary datasets** that contain evidence on VAC in Cambodia.

2.1 Method I: Systematic literature review

The systematic literature review was designed to gather, evaluate and synthesise a large body of existing evidence pertaining to violence against children in Cambodia. The review aimed to include all relevant materials in both English and Khmer languages. International researchers conducted searches for English materials from internationally available publications and sources, and two Cambodian researchers conducted searches for Khmer materials as well as English materials that were only available locally.

2.1.1 Materials included in the review

The systematic review included both published academic articles and research studies, and 'grey literature' – such as unpublished reports and working papers, Masters and PhD theses, information briefings, NGO publications and other materials (i.e. training materials), government reports, and conference minutes.

The study was limited to sources **published between 2006 and 2016** to avoid the inclusion of material that was out of date and likely to no longer be relevant.[2] Overall, the study sought to identify sources that were both relevant to the research questions and that met an objective standard of rigour and quality control (the quality assessment process is described in detail below).

2.1.2 Search strategy

In order to ensure that the search process identified all relevant literature, a mixed search strategy was used, including automated, manual and physical searches.

[2] Note that this review occasionally references studies published before 2006, with the aim of placing the context-specific findings on VAC in Cambodia into an international scholarly perspective.

- **Automated searches** were conducted by systematically entering combinations of various search terms into databases, search engines, and digital libraries. These automated searches were conducted in English as well as Khmer, using international as well as local electronic databases. The default combination of search terms used for the English as well as the Khmer automated searches is presented in Annex A.
- **Manual searches** were conducted through specific journals, websites, conferences and reference lists – in particular, manual searches were used to find sources referenced in papers that had already been included in the review via the automated searches.
- **Physical searches** were conducted by two national researchers in order to identify and obtain any relevant material that was not available electronically. Institutions visited by the national researchers included local university libraries, think tanks, as well as local NGOs working in the field of child protection.

A comprehensive list of searches run by the international and national researchers, including all automated searches (and search terms used), as well as manual and physical searches, is presented in Annex B. This document also sets out the total number of hits, the number of relevant hits,[3] the number of duplicate hits, and the number of retained articles for each search.

2.1.3 Quality assessment

After relevant papers were obtained, researchers assessed their quality through the application of a set of criteria in order to determine whether or not to include each source in the study. Two separate quality appraisal tools were developed by researchers to assess the quality of the literature: one tool was designed to assess studies which involved the collection of primary data, and the second tool was designed to assess literature which draws on secondary data. Separate quality assessment tools were developed because these two types of studies usually comprise very different methodologies. For instance, an assessment of studies involving primary data collection requires a review of methods used for data collection, the sampling strategy applied, etc., while studies drawing on secondary literature should be assessed based on their clarity about their evidence base, an assessment of whether their analytic methods are appropriate to the data source, etc.

The assessment criteria used in this systematic review were largely based on a quality appraisal tool developed by the authors of this report for a similar study conducted for UNICEF Indonesia. This appraisal tool was in turn inspired by the Wallace tool and

[3] After running each search, researchers conducted an initial screening of returned papers' titles and abstracts to determine whether they were potentially relevant for the purpose of this study.

Cochrane criteria, but has been adjusted and edited to fit the purpose of the study. To be included in the final shortlist, publications needed to meet a number of **essential criteria** (e.g. relevance, appropriate sampling, ethical conduct, etc.) as well as at least two **desirable criteria** (e.g. coherence, discussion of limitations, etc.). The completed quality assessment tools for primary data collection studies as well as studies drawing on secondary data are included as Annex C and Annex D respectively.

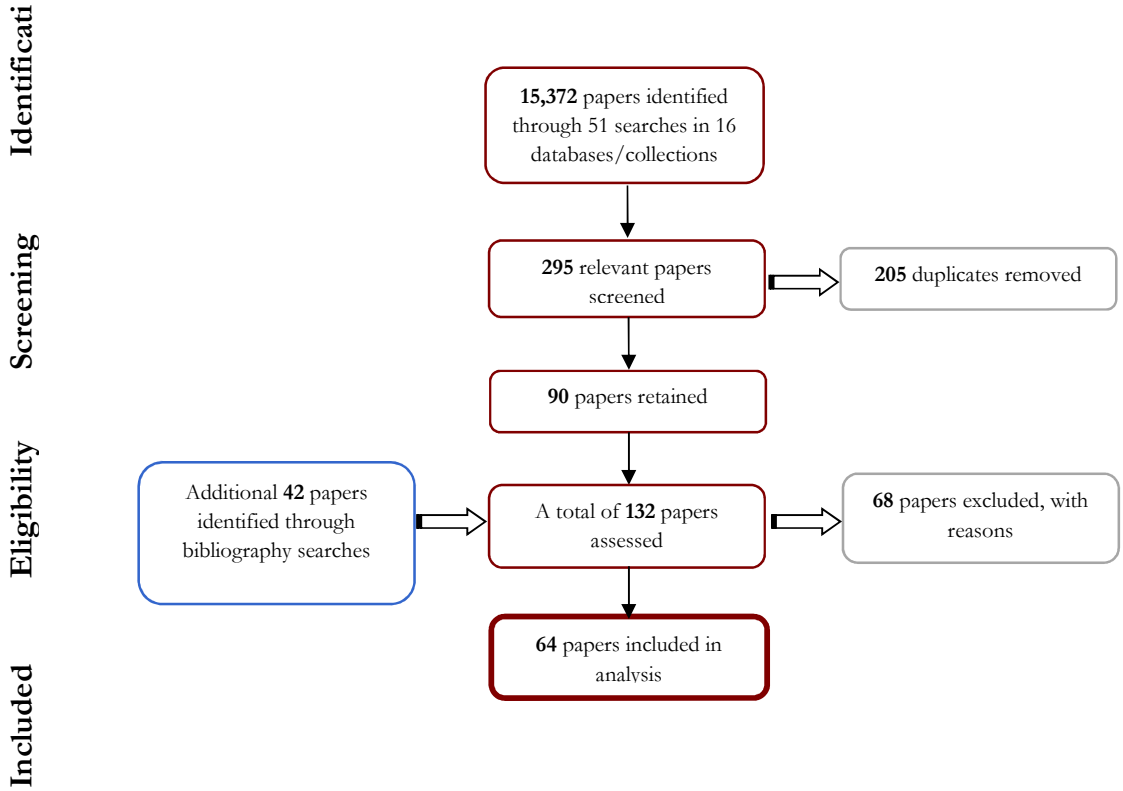
Researchers adopted a relatively open approach to inclusion, particularly compared to other quality appraisal tools applied in systematic reviews, such as the Cambridge Quality Checklist (Murray, Farrington, & Eisner, 2009) and MOOSE Guidelines (Stroup, 2000). This is in part because we anticipated that this study would benefit from the inclusion of a range of sources with different strengths. For instance, a study with a limited sample size may not be representative, but it may contain rich ethnographic data. Alternatively, a study that is poorly written and lacks strong analysis might draw on a large sample size with comprehensive and representative information. Both types of studies have significant limitations, but they also have the potential to contribute indispensable information towards this review.

Overall, the systematic review of existing literature determined 74 papers to be of sufficient relevance and quality to be included in the study. The search and selection process is detailed below:

2.1.4 Results of systematic review

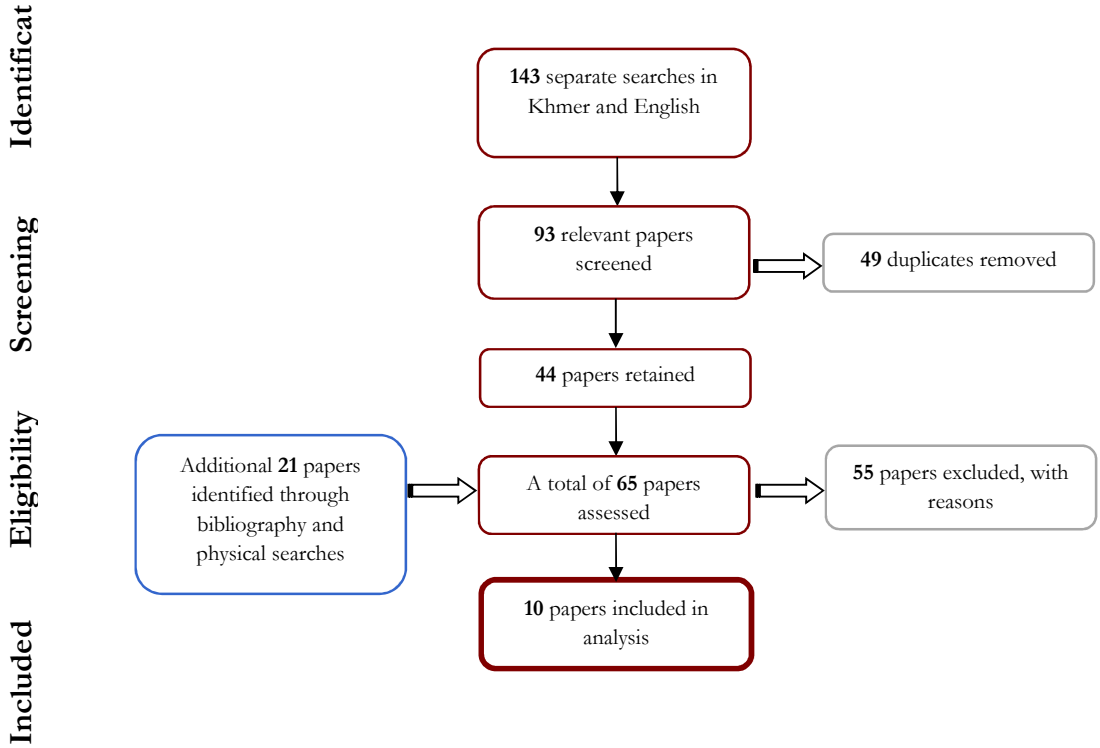
International search results: 51 separate searches were conducted in 16 databases and search engines. A full list of searches run by international researchers is attached in Annex B. Initially, the searches produced a total of 19,858 hits. The first screening of paper titles and abstracts identified 295 relevant hits. 205 were duplicates from previous searches and 90 papers were retained. Researchers identified 42 additional papers through bibliography searches and a total of 132 papers were assessed using the quality appraisal tools. Of these 132 papers, 64 papers were shortlisted for data extraction.

Figure 2: International Search



National search results: The two national researchers conducted 145 separate searches, including Khmer and English automated searches. Local databases/libraries searched included: Pannasastra University of Cambodia, Royal University of Phnom Penh, and Royal University of Law and Economics. A full list of searches run by both National Researchers is attached in Annex B. The first screening identified 93 potentially relevant papers. 49 were duplicates identified through from previous searches (including international searches) and 44 papers were retained. Researchers identified 21 additional papers through bibliography searches, through contacting government officials, NGO staff and academics via telephone or email, and through physical searches in local libraries, think tanks and NGOs. A total of 65 papers were assessed using the quality appraisal tools. Of these 65 papers, 55 did not meet the criteria and only 5 papers were shortlisted for data extraction. Importantly, **the national search process did not yield any relevant literature published in Khmer**. While some reports included in the review were also available in/translated into Khmer, it is interesting to note that even research produced by local institutions and scholars was for the most part originally published in English.

Figure 3: National Search



2.1.5 Data extraction

Once the final shortlist of **74 relevant and quality-assessed papers** (both academic and grey literature from the international and national search) was determined, researchers extracted relevant data from the selected studies in relation to determinants of violence against children, including underlying drivers of violence, risk and protective factors. The extraction process was guided by a 'Data Extraction Tool' (see Annex E), which helped the researchers identify all findings within the article that were relevant to answering the first research question, and additional information which would be necessary to interpret and analyse the findings (e.g. limitations, definitions, context, etc.). The findings were then coded using the qualitative research software Nvivo, which allowed researchers to review, categorise and compare findings systematically across the large body of collected literature.

2.1.6 Profile of included studies

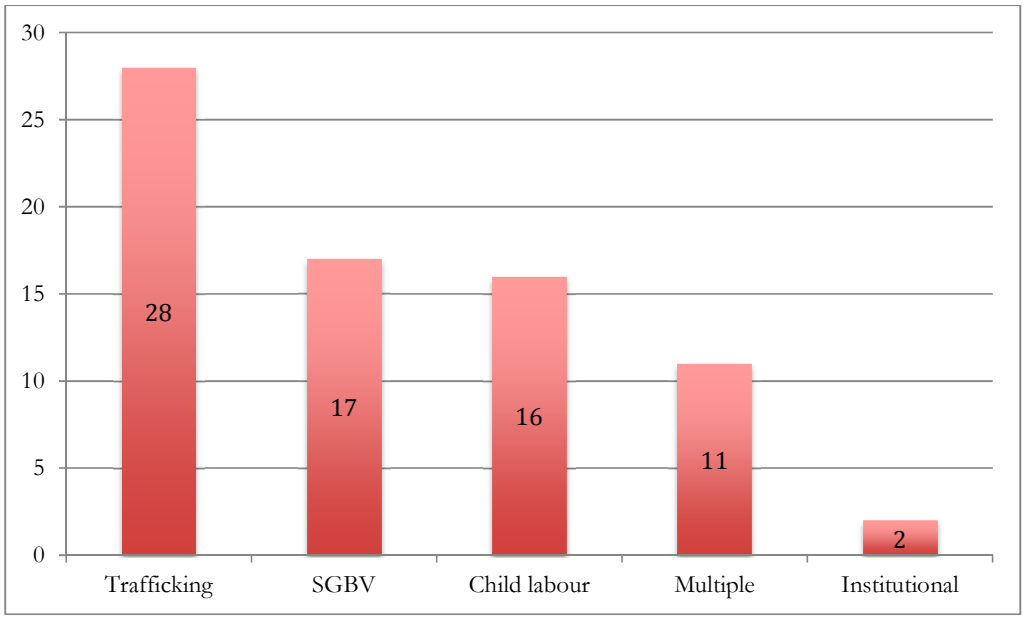
Child trafficking, and especially child trafficking for the purpose of sexual exploitation, is a topic that has received the greatest attention in the literature on VAC in Cambodia. Of the 74 included papers, 28 deal with some form of (child) trafficking; amounting to 40% of the total body of included literature. This focus on trafficking is likely to reflect the fact

that trafficking is (or at least has been) a priority area for donors, international organisations and governments (see e.g Keo, Bouhours, Broadhurst, & Bouhours, 2014). However, it should be noted that there is a significant overlap between trafficking and other forms of VAC, and in particular, sexual exploitation and child labour, and trafficking papers often address other forms of VAC as well, but through a 'trafficking lens' (see e.g. Davy, 2014).

Child labour in Cambodia is another topic that is the subject of a significant number of papers included in the review. In particular, an inter-agency research project called 'Understanding Children's Work' (UCW), funded by UNICEF, ILO and the World Bank, resulted in a number of high-quality studies on this topic. In addition, researchers affiliated with the Cambodia Development Resource Institute (CDRI) have published several papers on child labour in the framework of a US State Department of Labour funded initiative. Of all the 74 papers included in the study, 16 address the issue of child labour or working children in Cambodia.

In comparison, physical violence, sexual violence and emotional violence against children have received relatively little scholarly attention, and are rarely addressed separately in the papers included in this review. In particular, sexual and physical violence against children are often subsumed under more general discussions of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) as well as domestic violence. These papers frequently addressed violence against (adult) women and girls together, rather than presenting disaggregated findings on VAC. Of all 74 papers included in the study, 17 deal with some form of SGBV, including sexual, physical and emotional violence, or some combination of these types of violence. A further 11 papers address multiple forms of VAC, but do not focus on SGBV. The systematic review only identified 2 papers that deal directly with violence against children in State-run institutions such as orphanages (Amon, 2013; C. L. Gray et al., 2015). Lastly, the systematic review did not yield any literature that specifically addresses neglect or negligent treatment of children. The little evidence on neglect that was obtained, was typically contained within a more general discussion of other types of violence against children or child health (see e.g. National Institute of Statistics, 2015, p.169).

Figure 4: Profile of Studies



2.1.7 Limitations of the literature

Limitations and qualifications in relation to particular findings will be discussed in the analysis of findings (see next chapter). However, before analysing findings in relation to the research questions, it is useful to highlight the overarching limitations of existing literature on VAC in Cambodia.

Types of violence studied

As discussed above, research on violence against children in Cambodia has focused heavily on child trafficking and child labour, whereas significant gaps in the knowledge base remain in relation to physical, emotional and sexual VAC and neglect.

Consistency

The studies that have been conducted on the subject of VAC in Cambodia are extremely diverse: in terms of subject matter and focus, as well as methodology. The heterogeneous nature of the existing body of evidence gives rise to an inevitable limitation on researchers' ability to synthesise and compare results, and draw conclusions across different studies.

Representation

While the research questions that this systematic review seeks to address are national in focus, relatively few of the individual studies included in the review are nationally

representative. The majority have a much narrower focus, and relate only to particular provinces, districts and towns in Cambodia. Nevertheless, these studies are useful in that they are indicative of the situation in the country more broadly, and may provide particularly illuminating material and analysis in relation to drivers, and risk factors associated with VAC. Drivers and risk factors associated with VAC are likely to operate differently depending on the particular context in which they are identified. Wherever possible, this review has triangulated findings in relation to one particular context (e.g. region or district) with findings from other contexts. Where it was not possible to triangulate findings on drivers and risk factors, the authors of this review have highlighted limitations in relation to the representativeness and geographical scope of the data.

Reporting

For evident practical and ethical reasons, research concerning VAC relies almost entirely on self-reported as opposed to observed data or data based on cases reported to law enforcement officers, social workers, etc. There is an inherent risk that data from such studies may not accurately reflect the level of violence and may contain either under or over reporting of actual experiences of violence. Data from individual studies are likely to have variable degrees of accuracy and validity, depending on the quality of the study design (e.g. the sampling procedures adopted or the geographical scope of the study), the data collection tools developed and the skill and experience of researchers and data collectors involved. Whilst the quality assessment process was designed to assess the overarching study design, studies rarely included information on the specific research tools used or the training and qualifications of individuals tasked with data collection (for an exception see e.g. Fulu, 2015, p.32).

2.2 Method II: Secondary data analysis

Building on the insights gathered during the systematic literature review, this review also sought to identify determinants of VAC in Cambodia from a quantitative perspective. This was achieved by applying statistical methods to existing primary datasets on VAC in Cambodia and subsequently synthesising the findings with the evidence gathered through the systematic literature review.

The main aim of the statistical analysis is to identify associations between children's *experiences* of VAC and particular risk/protective factors (e.g. lack of parental support, income poverty, or school enrolment). However, the statistical analysis also explored determinants of VAC *perpetration* by examining the relationship between respondents' reported perpetration of VAC and potential drivers (such as childhood experiences of

violence or attitudes toward violence against women).[4] Finally, where the data allowed, the analysis also disaggregated children's reported experiences of violence by gender as well as according to each life cycle stage/age group.

The selection of variables analysed in the statistical analysis was informed by the outcomes of the systematic literature review on VAC in Cambodia, which helped to identify the most likely determinants of VAC. However, it is important to note that the choice of explanatory variables is also limited by the set of socio-economic and contextual indicators collected for each dataset included in this study.

2.2.1 Selection criteria

In order to identify all suitable existing primary datasets on VAC in Cambodia, the reviewers applied a number of selection criteria. These criteria ensured that the primary datasets were appropriate for conducting secondary data analysis using statistical methods. The selected datasets needed to meet all of the following criteria:

- The dataset was publicly available in English;
- The dataset was recent, i.e. compiled between 2006 and 2016;
- The dataset was available in a format compatible with STATA and/or SPSS;
- The dataset documentation clearly set out the sampling method and survey design;
- The documentation clearly set out guidelines for the ethical collection of information on VAC;
- The dataset was based on a sample that is representative of the relevant population;
- The dataset included variables that measure instances/experiences/perpetration of VAC;
- The dataset included variables that allowed the exploration of individual-, household, and/or community-level drivers of VAC.

2.2.2 Included datasets

Five primary data sets were found to be relevant and appropriate for the secondary data analysis component of this study: the CVACS 2013, the Cambodian component of P4P 2013, the GSHS in Cambodia (2013), the National Survey on Women's Health and Life Experiences (WHO, 2015) and the CDHS 2014.[5]

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[4] It was also important to be sensitive to the temporal ordering of the observations in each dataset, given that all of the datasets included in the study were cross-sectional rather than longitudinal datasets. For instance, if a dataset included information about a child's alcohol consumption at present, this could not plausibly be analysed as a determinant of past experiences of VAC.

[5] The reviewers also considered including the Most at Risk Young People Survey Cambodia (MARYP, 2010) amongst the datasets subject to secondary data analysis. However, it was concluded that the non-random sample and the limited evidence on VAC contained in MARYP make this dataset of very limited value. The MARYP report was included in the systematic literature review and the findings it contained taken into account (see Ministry of Education, 2010).

2.2.3 Profile and limitations of included datasets

Cambodia Violence against Children Survey (2013)

Summary

The CVACS was implemented in early 2013 by the US Centres for Disease Control (CDC), together with UNICEF and the Cambodian National Institute of Statistics. The Cambodian VACS is a **nationally representative** survey, containing information on the prevalence and nature of sexual, physical and emotional violence against Cambodian children aged 13 to 24 years. Cambodia was the first country in the Asia-Pacific region to conduct the VACS.

The CVACS used a four-stage cluster sampling design to obtain a nationally representative sample of children in Cambodia. To begin with, 225 villages were sampled using probability proportional to size and stratification by urbanisation (27% urban and 73% rural). In the second sampling stage, 225 enumeration areas (EA)[6] were randomly selected, one from each village, and stratified by gender (106 female and 119 male). This gender-split sampling approach was used to protect (to the greatest extent possible) the confidentiality of respondents and reduce the risk that a victim of violence would be included in the same survey as his or her abuser. In the third sampling stage, a pre-defined number of 25 households were randomly chosen from each EA. Lastly, in stage four of the sampling strategy, one eligible respondent (female or male depending on the EA) was randomly chosen from a list of all eligible respondents aged between 13 and 24 in each selected household.[7]

In total, 2,560 individuals were invited to participate in the survey. The CVACS Male Questionnaire was completed by 1255 young men aged 13 to 24 years, and the CVACS Female Questionnaire was completed by 1121 young women aged 13 to 24 years.[8] Both questionnaires cover the same types or VAC, but there are some important differences between the two questionnaires, for example in relation to pregnancy resulting from sexual abuse.[9] Questions about experiences of violence were divided into two recall periods: Firstly, to measure *lifetime* experiences of VAC, all participants (aged 13 to 24) were asked to report on their lifetime experiences of violence, including events experienced prior to

[6] According to the survey documentation the EA represent the primary sampling unit (see UNICEF, 2014, p.38).
[7] For more information on the sampling procedure used for the Cambodian VAC, see the final survey report (UNICEF, 2014).
[8] The individual response rate was around 93%. Ethics approval for the CVACS study was granted by the Cambodian National Ethics Committee for Health Research as well as the CDC's Institutional Review Board. Enumerators were always of the same sex as the respondents and the interviews were conducted in private spaces, in or around the respondent's home.
[9] See Question 914 in the Female Questionnaire.

the age of 18. Secondly, participants aged 13 to 17 were asked about violent events that occurred in the last 12 months, in order to measure *current* VAC in Cambodia.[10]

Limitations

As with any survey utilizing self-reported measures of experiences of violence, the data collected by the CVACS is likely to under-estimate the true extent of sexual, emotional and physical violence experienced by children in Cambodia. This is the result of two related factors: reporting bias and recall bias. Firstly, respondents may be reluctant or unwilling to share information about particularly traumatic events (e.g. experiences of sexual abuse) because recounting such events might re-traumatise them. Respondents may also be reluctant to disclose experiences of violence for fear of repercussions in case their anonymity and confidentiality cannot be ensured. Furthermore, talking about violence (and in particular sexual violence) is often socially stigmatised, which may make respondents (especially female respondents) ashamed or afraid to share information about experiences of violence. Secondly, the CVACS survey included questions about traumatising events that might have happened a long time ago, i.e. at some point during the respondent's childhood. This is likely to have resulted in misreporting or underreporting of violent events, as respondents may have forgotten or blocked out when, where, how and why such events took place.

Secondly, the CVACS data do not include a lot of useful contextual information about the respondent's parents or caretakers, such as, for example, their educational level, type of employment or attitudes towards violence. As such, the CVACS data do not allow us to examine in detail whether and how parental characteristics (i.e. attitudes, education, etc.) influence children's exposure to VAC, in particular violence in the home. Similarly, the CVACS data only includes limited contextual information about the community in which the respondent lives. For example, the study reveals little about the community's (rather than the household's) poverty level, the existence of child protection services at the community level, or the dominant religion/ethnicity in the respondent's community. As such, the CVACS data set does not allow for detailed examination of whether, and to what extent, these potential community-level risk and protective factors impact on an individual child's exposure to VAC.

A further limitation of the CVACS survey relates to the very low prevalence/incidence for many of the violence typologies; in particular, 'follow-up' questions in relation to reported experiences of violence. For example, given that very few respondents (below 5% of the overall survey sample) reported any lifetime experiences of sexual violence, the sample size for follow up questions (e.g. "where were you when this happened to you") dropped drastically (sometimes to single-digits). Any estimates based on such small samples are

[10] Participants aged 18-24 were also asked about violent events that occurred in the last 12 months. However, these events do not fall under the definition of VAC used in this study.

likely to be unstable, and the CVACS documentation suggests that findings based on responses from fewer than 25 respondents should be treated with caution (UNICEF, 2014). The statistical analysis undertaken for this review follows this recommendation and excluded potentially interesting outcome variables if they were based on less than 25 observations.

P4P Men and Violence Dataset (2013)

Summary

The P4P Cambodia dataset is part of a larger multi-country data collection in Asia and the Pacific aimed at gathering information on men's experiences of and attitudes towards violence.[11] The men's survey includes eight sections and covers men's perpetration of violence against women, socio-demographic characteristics, childhood experiences of trauma, gender attitudes, fatherhood experiences, health and well-being as well as sexuality. Standardised data was collected between 2010 and 2013 in six countries in the region, including Cambodia. In contrast to most other P4P surveys conducted in the region, the Cambodian data is intended to be **nationally representative**, and includes respondents from Phnom Penh and four other randomly selected districts: Siem Reap, Battambang, Kampot, and Sihanoukville.

The data collection was implemented by Domrei Research and Consulting, with support from UN Women and Partners for Prevention.[12] A representative sample of male respondents was obtained using a multi-stage cluster sampling strategy. In each household, a man aged 18–49 years (where necessary, randomly selected) was invited for the interview with a trained male interviewer. Men aged 50 and older were excluded to reduce recall bias and avoid the heightened sensitivity of discussion of sexual matters. Most interviews were conducted face-to-face, but answers to the most sensitive questions (e.g. about intimate partner violence) were self-administered on audio-enhanced personal digital assistants. The final P4P Cambodia sample included 1812 male respondents and the individual response rate amongst eligible survey participants was 90%.

Limitations

The main limitation of the Cambodian P4P Men and Violence data is that the questions included in the survey are, for the most part, not directly relevant for uncovering the *drivers of violence against children* (VAC) in Cambodia. The survey primarily deals with male perpetration of violence against women and gathers information on factors that may be associated with this phenomenon. Despite these limitations, the P4P dataset contains some important information on the prevalence and potential drivers of physical punishment of

[11]The Indonesian survey was implemented by UN Women and Partners for Prevention. A detailed description of the multi-country dataset and sampling procedures is provided in Fulu, Midemea, et al. (2013).

[12] Ethics permission for the whole multi-country study was obtained from the Medical Research Council of South Africa Ethics Committee and for the in-country data collection from the Cambodian National Ethics Board. All participants provided informed consent and participation in the survey was strictly voluntary and unpaid.

children in Cambodian households, as well as men's experiences of violence and abuse during their own childhood. As such, the dataset allows us to examine the drivers of VAC *perpetration* (rather than VAC experience), as well as the long-term *consequences* of childhood abuse (e.g. impacts on violence behaviour later in life). While the long term consequences of childhood violence do not fall within the remit of this study,[13] the drivers of VAC perpetration are important in creating an evidence-based Theory of Change for eliminating or reducing physical violence against children in Cambodian households.

The indicators measuring experiences of childhood trauma are likely to be influenced by recall bias, which is the case for most surveys on past experiences of violence. The survey questionnaire asks respondents about traumatising events that happened a long time ago (i.e. childhood abuse); events which the respondent might not be able or willing to recall accurately. Lastly, it is likely that the survey also suffers from self-reporting bias. In particular, the indicators measuring violence *perpetration* are likely to under-represent the true prevalence of violence, as many respondents will have repressed or been reluctant to admit perpetration (especially of highly stigmatised and extreme forms of violence such as rape or abuse of children).

Global School-based Student Health Survey (2013)

Summary

The GSHS was initiated by the WHO together with UNICEF, UNAIDS, UNESCO and the CDC. The GSHS has been implemented in more than 50 countries, including Cambodia.[14] The aim of the survey is to provide policy- makers and academics with data on behaviours and protective factors related to health amongst adolescents. The Cambodian GSHS survey was implemented in 2013.[15] The GSHS data is based on a self-administered questionnaire distributed to a **nationally representative** sample of students in grades 7 to 12. The survey uses a two-stage cluster sample design, where the first sampling frame consists of all schools in Cambodia containing any classes 7 to 12. 50 schools were selected to participate in the GSHS, which were divided into 25 schools in urban areas and 25 schools in rural areas. The second stage of sampling consists of randomly selecting intact classes within each participating school. All students in the selected classes were eligible to participate in the GSHS. In total, the survey gathered 3,806 questionnaires from students, most of whom (around 80%) were aged 13-17 years.[16]

[13] See e.g. Fry, McCoy, & Swales (2012) for a synthesis of evidence on the consequences of childhood abuse.

[14] For more information, see http://www.who.int/chp/gshs/en/ [accessed 25.01.16]

[15] The Codebook and Dataset are available at: http://www.cdc.gov/gshs/countries/westpacific/cambodia.htm [accessed 25.01.16]

[16] Cambodia 2013 GSHS Country Report (2014). Available at: http://www.cdc.gov/gshs/countries/westpacific/cambodia.htm [accessed 25.01.16]. Participating students completed the self-administered GSHS questionnaire using a computer-scannable answer sheet. According to the

Limitations

The main limitation of the GSHS data for the purpose of this study is that it does not include a lot of useful contextual information about each respondent (e.g. individual-level or household-level characteristics) that would allow researchers to uncover the *determinants* of violence against school children in Cambodia. However, the survey does contain important information on the *prevalence* of physical violence and bullying amongst school children (in grades 7 to 12) in Cambodia, as well as detailed information about potential health-related *consequences* of VAC (e.g. suicidal intentions or drug abuse). As a result of these design limitations, the dataset only allows for a limited inferential analysis of the determinants of VAC amongst school children in Cambodia.[17]

Further, the measures of VAC contained in the GSHS do not provide adequate information about the context of violent incidents (e.g. where it happened). Some measures do not adequately distinguish between perpetrating violence and being a victim of violence. For example, question 16 of the GSHS questionnaire simply asks students how many times they were involved in a physical fight during the past 12 months, without specifying *where* this took place and *who* was involved.[18] As a result of these shortcomings, the GSHS data only allows researchers to draw general conclusions about the determinants of VAC experienced by school children, as opposed to VAC perpetrated *in schools* or by specific actors (e.g. teachers, peers, etc.).

Lastly, it is important to keep in mind that the GSHS sample is only representative of children enrolled in Grades 7-12. As such, the GSHS only pertains to a very specific sub-set of Cambodian (school-) children; in particular when considering the relatively low secondary school enrolment rates in Cambodia.

National Survey on Women's Health and Life Experiences (WHO, 2015)

Summary

The National Survey on Women's Health and Life Experiences was implemented in 2015 by the WHO in cooperation with the Cambodian Government, UN Women and other national and international organisations. The purpose of the WHO survey was to generate nationally representative data on Cambodian women's experiences of different forms of violence, with a focus on physical, sexual and emotional violence perpetrated by their

GSHS Country Report for Cambodia, the implementers put in place procedures that guaranteed student's anonymity and voluntary participation.

[17] A possible second limitation relates to the fact that the publicly available documentation does not adequately describe how the anonymity and privacy of students were guaranteed. The GSHS questionnaires were self-administered during one classroom session, but it is not clear where pupils filled in the survey and who was present during the process.

[18] See Question Q16 of the Codebook.

intimate partners. The Cambodian questionnaire was based on the WHO multi-country study on domestic violence.[19] The survey was distributed to a nationally representative sample of 3574 women aged 15-64 and conducted using face-to-face interviews and electronic data collection devices.

Researchers selected 4000 households using a multi-stage sampling strategy. To begin with, 28,701 predefined EAs were stratified by urbanisation (23% urban, 77% rural). Within each stratum, 200 EAs were randomly selected based on probability proportional to size.[20] In the second sampling stage, 20 households were randomly selected in each EA.[21] In the third and final sampling stage, one respondent in each household was randomly selected from all female household members aged 15-64. The household response rate was 99.5% and the individual response rate was 98%. The WHO survey used only female enumerators and supervisors, to ensure that respondents would be as comfortable as possible in disclosing experiences of violence.[22]

Limitations

The main limitation of the WHO survey for the purposes of this review is the lack of specific information on violence against children in Cambodia. This is, of course, not surprising, given that the focus of the survey is on intimate partner violence (IPV) experienced by *adult* women, rather than violence against children. Even though the survey included female respondents aged 15 to 18 (5.6% of the overall sample), only around 9% of these child respondents indicated that they were married or with a regular male partner at the time of the survey. This in turn means that reported IPV prevalence rates amongst children included in the survey are negligible. For example, only two respondents below the age of 18 reported to have experienced any form of emotional abuse at the hands of their intimate partners.[23] Similarly, only one respondent below the age of 18 reported to have experienced any form of sexual abuse at the hands of her intimate partner,[24] and none

[19] For more information see e.g. García-Moreno, Jansen, Ellsberg, Heise, & Watts (2005)

[20] The sampling frame was the same one used for the Cambodian Demographic and Health Survey (CDHS) in 2014.

[21] Unless EAs contained too few households, in which case two neighbouring low-density EAs were combined. For more information, see page 164 of the Final Report (Fulu, 2015)

[22] All WHO survey staff received extensive training before survey implementation, which included special modules on sexual and gender-based violence, as well as safety and ethical considerations. Participation in the survey was strictly voluntary and respondents gave verbal informed consent. According to the survey documentation, all interviews were conducted in a private setting. Survey participants who reported experience of violence were offered phone counselling services or referred to local support groups. The survey implementers followed the WHO's ethical and safety guidelines for research on VAW. However, it is not clear whether official ethical approval was obtained for the study (see Fulu, 2015 p. 35).

[23] Respondents were considered to have experienced emotional IPV if they reported that their current husband/partner, or any other partner, ever a) insulted them or made them feel bad about themselves; or b) belittled or humiliated them in front of other people; or c) done things to scare or intimidate them on purpose; or d) verbally threatened to hurt them or someone they care about.

[24] Respondents were considered to have experienced sexual IPV if they reported that their current husband/partner, or any other partner, ever a) forced them to have sexual intercourse when they did not want to, for example by threatening you or holding you down; b) had sexual intercourse with them even though they did not want to

reported experiencing any form of physical IPV.[25] Given the very low number of relevant observations, it was not possible to examine the drivers of IPV amongst child respondents included in the survey.

Despite these limitations, the WHO survey contains some relevant data on respondent's experiences of sexual violence prior to the age of 15, physical violence experienced at the hands of family members before the age of 15, and their male partner's experiences of physical violence during childhood (as reported by female respondents). The WHO survey also includes information about respondent's childhood exposure to intimate partner violence (IPV) between her parents and information on the respondent's own children's exposure to IPV, both of which can be considered forms of emotional violence or neglect (see 'Definitions: violence against children' above). The inferential analysis of the WHO data in this review focuses on childhood exposure to IPV between parents, as it is unique to the WHO dataset, while the other forms of physical and sexual VAC are more comprehensively covered in other surveys (in particular the CVACS of 2013).

Importantly, as with all surveys that collect data on past events, the WHO indicators of childhood abuse are likely to underestimate the true prevalence of VAC due to recall bias. This bias is likely to be particularly strong amongst older respondents, who were asked to report on events that happened during childhood; in some cases more than 40 years ago. In addition, the social stigma attached to experiences of violence (particularly sexual violence) and possible safety concerns resulting from reporting on experiences of violence at the hands of intimate partners may also have led to systematic underreporting.

A further limitation relates to the cross-sectional nature of the WHO survey. As the data on respondent's socio-economic environment was collected at one particular point in time, rather than over a period of time (or during the respondent's childhood), it is difficult to establish direct causality between potential determinants of VAC, including risk and protective factors, and respondent's experiences of childhood abuse. Indeed, it would make little sense to use measures of current risk factors, such as the respondent's current alcohol consumption or relationship status, to predict experiences of violence during their childhood. Unfortunately, most of the contextual information collected for the WHO reflects current circumstances and attitudes of the respondent and her household, rather than those of her childhood. For this reason, we did not conduct inferential analysis into the potential determinants of (reported) childhood experiences of VAC, and rather focused

because they were afraid of what their partner might do if they refused; or c) forced them to do anything else sexual that they did not want or that they found degrading or humiliating.

[25] Respondents were considered to have experienced physical IPV if they reported that their current husband/partner, or any other partner, ever a) slapped them or thrown something at them that could hurt them; b) pushed them or shoved them or pulled their hair; c) hit them with his fist or with something else that could hurt them; d) kicked them, dragged them or beaten them up; e) choked or burnt them on purpose; f) threatened with or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against them.

on a few indicators of current or on-going forms of VAC captured by the WHO study (e.g. exposure of the respondent's children to IPV).

Cambodian Demographic and Health Survey (CDHS, 2014)

Summary

The CDHS, implemented by National Institute of Statistics and partners in 2014, is the fourth of its kind in Cambodia and aims at providing policy makers and researchers with nationally representative data on all women age 15-49 and men aged 15-49.[26] The CDHS used a two-stage stratified sample design, with the primary sampling unit consisting of 28,455 EAs, which were created for the 2008 Cambodian General Population Census. In the first sampling stage, 611 EAs were selected with probability proportional to size, stratified by urban and rural areas. In the second sampling stage, 24 households were randomly selected from every sampled urban EA, and 28 households were randomly selected from every sampled rural EA.

All women in each identified household aged 15-49 were eligible to be interviewed in the CDHS, but only one-third of sampled households were eligible for the Men's Survey and the Domestic Violence Module.[27] In total, 15,825 households completed the 2014 CDHS, with 17,578 women respondents and 5,190 male respondents. The response rate amongst female respondents was 98% and slightly lower for male respondents (95%). The 2014 CDHS contains relevant information on child marriage, child neglect, intimate partner violence and attitudes towards child discipline.

Limitations

The main limitation of the CDHS in relation to this review is that the questionnaire was not designed to collect data on instances of violence against children. Rather, the CDHS Domestic Violence module asked 4,307 married and unmarried women aged 15-49 about experiences of physical, sexual and emotional abuse at the hands of their partners (or strangers in the case of unmarried women). As a result of this focus on intimate partner violence against (adult) women, the CDHS dataset contains very few relevant observations on instances of violence against children. For example, only one respondent under the age of 18 experienced severe physical violence[28] at the hands of their partner and only two

[26] The dataset is available upon request at: http://dhsprogram.com/ [accessed 02.06.16]

[27] The World Health Organization's ethical and safety guidelines for research on domestic violence were followed and enumerators for the Domestic Violence Module received additional training on privacy, safeguards, and gender-sensitive questioning.

[28] Respondents were deemed to have experienced severe physical violence if they responded 'yes' to any of the following questions: Did you partner ever 1) punch you with his fist or with something that could hurt you? 2) kick you, drag you, or beat you up? 3); try to choke you or burn you on purpose?

respondents under the age of 18 experienced less severe physical violence[29] at the hands of their partner. These low prevalence rates of intimate partner violence against children captured by the CDHS are not surprising, given that around 99% of female respondents under the age of 18 were *never* married or living with a male partner.

Despite these design limitations, the CDHS also contains relevant information on child marriage and child neglect. Given that other forms of violence against children (i.e. physical, sexual and emotional violence) are covered in more detail in other primary datasets included in this review (in particular in the CVACS, WHO and P4P datasets), the statistical analysis of the CDHS dataset focuses on child marriage and neglect.

Lastly, it is important to mention a **general limitation** that applies to all four household-based surveys included in the secondary data analysis (i.e. the CVACS, P4P, WHO, and DHS surveys). Given that all four surveys used the household unit to identify eligible respondents (whether these were the parents or children themselves), the experiences of children living in alternative settings (e.g. children living in residential care, in group homes, in Pagodas, street children, etc.) were not captured by these data collection efforts. As a result, it is impossible to establish whether findings from the secondary data analysis are also applicable to children living in these alternative settings, i.e. not in the traditional household unit.

2.2.4 Statistical methods

The primary analytical method used to conduct secondary analysis of existing datasets in this review is regression analysis. More specifically, the review uses logistic regression models to measure the impact of specific determinants on the likelihood of a child experiencing violence or an individual perpetrating violence against a child. All regression models used for the secondary analysis of datasets are included in Annex F. In order to examine potential moderating variables, we also include a number of multiplicative interaction terms in some of our logistic regression models.[30] The choice of moderating variables was informed by the findings of the systematic literature review as well as the availability of relevant indicators in each dataset. Wherever appropriate, researchers conducted robustness checks, the details of which are described in more detail in the next chapter. Throughout the analysis, regression results are reported in odds ratios and a confidence threshold of 90% is adopted.

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[29] Respondents were deemed to have experienced less severe physical violence if they responded 'yes' to any of the following questions: Did you partner ever 1) push you, shake you, or throw something at you?; 2) slap you?; 3) twist your arm or pull your hair?; 4) force you with threats or in any other way to perform sexual acts you did not want to? (Note that this coding was taken from the original CDHS data file).

[30] Multiplicative interactions can be included in regression models to test conditional hypotheses such as: 'an increase in X is associated with an increase in Y when condition Z is met, but not otherwise'. For more information, see e.g. Brambor, Clark, & Golder, (2006, p.64)

Limitation: temporal sequencing

The regression models used in this review can only provide a 'snapshot' of a situation at a given point in time and cannot provide any evidence on the temporal sequencing of circumstances and events. As a result, it is not possible to say, for example, that a certain risk factor (e.g. alcohol consumption of the parent) 'causes' violence against children, because there is no evidence as to whether the specific risk factor was present before, during (or only after) the violent event took place. Nevertheless, the models used in the review provide information about potential risk factors, as well as underlying structural drivers, which, if addressed, are likely to reduce children's exposure to violence. In some cases, the temporal sequencing is evident. For example, when the impact of childhood experiences of abuse on violence perpetration as an adult is examined, it is clear that the former occurred before the latter. However, it would still not be possible to say that childhood abuse 'causes' violence perpetration later in life, especially as specific instances of VAC usually indicate convergence of a variety of factors, operating at the individual-, household- and community-level.

2.3. How this informed the Theory of Change?

The identification of drivers, and risk and protective factors, is critical to designing effective and sustainable interventions to prevent and respond to VAC. Based on the findings of specific risk and protective factors, which emerged from the analysis of existing evidence and which are presented in this review, a theory of change on violence against children in Cambodia was developed. A TOC is a hypothesis (or a number of hypotheses) which set(s) out the interventions and programme activities which are most likely to produce the desired results and effects (in this case, the reduction or elimination of violence against children). In developing the TOC, the authors of this review were guided by UNICEF's approach to the development of TOCs, which suggests that the development of any intervention (policy/programmes to address violence against children) includes the following five components:

1. Identification of long-term goals and the assumptions behind them;
2. Mapping and connecting the preconditions or requirements necessary to achieve that goal;
3. Identification of the interventions that the initiative will perform and that are likely to create the desired change;
4. Development of indicators to measure outcomes to assess the performance of the initiative; and

5. Writing a narrative to explain the logic of the initiative.

2.3.1. Development of a conceptual framework

As a first step, and based on the evidence collected through the literature review and the secondary data analysis, a conceptual framework, which presents hypotheses on the causes of different types of violence against children in Cambodia at different stages of the life cycle (where applicable) was produced. The conceptual framework takes into consideration different determinants (i.e. risk and protective factors) that impact on violence *perpetration*, and that make children more or less vulnerable to *experience* violence. In particular, the conceptual framework utilised and drew together the available evidence to determine how national-, community-, school-, household-, and individual-level factors impact on the perpetration of violence and exposure to violence. This framework enabled researchers to ensure that the TOC on VAC in Cambodia, and the assumptions and steps included within the theory, were based on evidence from the literature review and secondary data analysis.

2.3.2. Development of a Theory of Change

In developing the TOC, researchers drew upon causality analysis techniques in order to identify the level or type of intervention which may be most effective in addressing particular determinants of VAC.[31] Finally, in developing the TOC and in recommending strategies and interventions to include in the TOC, the research team drew on existing best practices in VAC prevention and response, including the 2006 UN Secretary-General's Study Report on Violence against Children[32], UNICEF's Six Strategies for Action[33], and the WHO's recently published Seven Strategies for Ending Violence against Children (INSPIRE).[34] Furthermore, the priorities and initiatives included in the TOC were articulated in a way that is consistent with UNICEF's global theory of change for its 2014-2017 strategic plan,[35] the UNICEF Child Protection Country Programme (2016–2018),[36] the draft National Action Plan to prevent and respond to VAC in Cambodia, the National

[31] For a more detailed discussion of causality analysis see Chapter 1 of UNICEF's Child Protection Resource Pack (available at http://www.unicef.org/protection/files/CPR-WEB.pdf), and Step 2 of UNICEF's 16 Tools for Programming for Policy results (available at http://www.unicef.org/eapro/12205_25007.html). [accessed 27.05.16]

[32] Available at: http://www.unicef.org/violencestudy/reports/SG_violencestudy_en.pdf [accessed 21.06.16].

[33] Available at: http://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Ending_Violence_Against_Children_Six_strategies_for_action_EN_9_Oct_2014.pdf [accessed 21.06.16].

[34] Available at: http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/inspire/en/

[35] Available at: http://www.unicef.org/strategicplan/files/2014-CRP_14-Theory_of_Change-7May14-EN.pdf [accessed 21.06.16].

[36] Available at: http://www.unicef.org/cambodia/Country_kit_Child_Protection_Final_A4.pdf [accessed 21.06.16].

Action Plan to Prevent Violence Against Women (2014-2018),[37] as well as the National Action Plan for Child Development (2016-2018).

During the process of developing a TOC on VAC in Cambodia, the research team also sought to identify assumptions about the change process, so that they could be examined and interrogated. In particular, four types of assumptions were considered: (a) assumptions about the research findings (and in particular the relationships between determinants and VAC); (b) substantiation for the claim that all of the significant preconditions for success have been identified; (c) assumptions about the links between programme activities and the outcomes they are expected to produce; and (d) assumptions about the connections between short term and long terms outcomes.[38]

A draft TOC on VAC in Cambodia was presented as a comprehensive schematic map with an accompanying explanatory narrative at the in-country workshops with key National and Provincial stakeholders in July 2016. The final TOC on VAC in Cambodia takes into account the feedback and recommendations obtained during the in-country workshops. The final TOC and the Conceptual Framework form stand-alone documents that are annexed to this review report.

[37] Available at: http://cambodia.unfpa.org/publications/national-action-plan-prevent-violence-against-women-2014-2018 [accessed 21.06.16].

[38] See Centre for Theory of Change, *How does a theory of change work?* Available at: http://www.theoryofchange.org/what-is-theory-of-change/how-does-theory-of-change-work/ [accessed 27.05.16]

3. Findings

The identification of drivers (including risk and protective factors) is critical to designing effective and sustainable interventions to prevent and respond to VAC. This section presents evidence on the underlying drivers of VAC; the risk factors that make children more likely to become victims of violence and the protective factors which reduce their chances of experiencing different forms of violence and lessen or mitigate its harmful impacts.

The analysis below is broken down by 'type of violence', given that children's exposure to certain types of violence (e.g. child labour or child marriage) is determined by a distinct set of drivers, risk and protective factors. However, this disaggregated approach does not imply that there is no overlap between different forms of violence and their associated risk and protective factors. Wherever relevant, this study highlights similarities between different types of violence in terms of their associated risk and protective factors.

While some of the evidence identified by researchers on drivers of violence was obtained through the systematic review of existing literature, inferential analysis of primary datasets on VAC in Cambodia also produced interesting results, which provide insights into the relationships between perpetration/experiences of violence and the underlying drivers and risk and protective factors that influence them. Multiple regression analysis was the primary analytical technique used by researchers in identifying these relationships. This technique allowed researchers to identify the influence of specific drivers operating at a particular level, *whilst taking into account the influence of other potential drivers,* operating at other (or the same) levels of the 'ecological framework'. It needs to be borne in mind though, that the number and types of drivers of VAC examined in these regression models was ultimately limited and constrained by the number and types of contextual variables (e.g. on household- or community-level characteristics) contained in the primary datasets/surveys.

3.1. Physical violence against children

This section presents evidence on the determinants of *physical* violence against children in Cambodia, based on evidence collected through the systematic literature review as well as a statistical analysis of relevant primary datasets, in particular the CVACS, P4P and GSHS datasets.

As mentioned in the introduction of this report, physical violence appears to be the **most frequent type of violence** experienced by Cambodian girls and boys. Yet, despite the high prevalence of physical violence against children in Cambodia, the systematic literature review revealed that this type of violence has received relatively little scholarly attention compared to the topics of child trafficking or child labour.

The CVACS, which contains the most up-to-date and representative data on the extent of physical violence against children in Cambodia, suggests that more than half of all Cambodian children experienced some form of physical violence prior to the age of 18 years. Physical violence was the most commonly reported type of violence by all CVACS survey respondents, *regardless of age or gender*. Crucially, among those who reported to have experienced some form of physical violence in their childhood, more than three quarters experienced multiple incidents.

In comparison, other types of violence captured by the CVACS appear to be less prevalent, with around 5% of respondents aged 18 to 24 indicating that they had experienced at least one incidence of sexual abuse during their childhood, and around 20% of respondents in the same age group indicating that they had experienced at least one incident of emotional violence during their childhood (UNICEF, 2014). It should be noted, however, that respondents may have been more willing to report experiences of physical violence compared to sexual violence, given that the latter carries a strong social stigma in Cambodian society (see e.g. Amnesty International, 2010). The CVACS prevalence statistics presented above should therefore be interpreted with some caution.

While existing national-level evidence on physical violence suggests that physical violence is a very common and widespread phenomenon in Cambodia, it is important to highlight that it can occur in a number of different forms and environments. In the following discussion of risk and protective factors associated with children's exposure to physical violence, we therefore distinguish between determinants of physical violence that occurs *in the child's home* (usually in the form of physical punishment by parents and other close relatives), determinants of physical violence *perpetration* (rather than experiences of violence), and determinants of physical violence that occurs *in the community* (in particular school-related violence). This analytical distinction was deemed appropriate, given that the specific set of risk and protective factors differs depending on the environment in which the violence occurs.

3.1.1. Physical violence in the home

Context

Existing evidence suggests that physical violence against children is frequently used as a form of punishment in Cambodian households. For example, in a qualitative study on Cambodian culture and children's rights, Gourley (2009, p.52) found that "corporal punishment and harsh verbal discipline is commonly practiced and accepted in most

Cambodian families." A simple descriptive analysis[39] of the nationally representative CVACS data suggests that severe **physical violence at the hands of a close relative** affects one in two children in Cambodia. Around 51% of survey respondents aged 13 to 17 (both male and female) reported that their parents or other close adult relatives had used at least one type of severe physical violence against them, once or more during their lifetime.[40] To some extent, the data from the nationally representative P4P survey on men's experiences of violence corroborate the CVACS figures on the widespread nature of physical violence in Cambodian homes. Around 43% of the male respondents reported having been beaten at home by a **belt, stick or whip** before reaching 18 years of age, and roughly 10% reported to having been beaten at home so hard that it left a **mark or bruise**.[41]

There was no statistically significant difference in the CVACS data between boys and girls in relation to their lifetime experiences of severe physical violence in the home ($p > 0.05$), but it should be remembered that this is a measure of *lifetime* experiences of physical violence and that it does not reflect current prevalence rates amongst Cambodian children. However, the CVACS data allowed *current* levels of severe physical violence perpetrated by parents or other relatives to be examined. The data revealed that around 6% of boys and girls below the age of 18 had been subject to this type of severe physical violence in the year preceding the survey, which was implemented in 2013. As with lifetime prevalence, no evidence of a statistically significant gender difference in terms of current prevalence of severe physical violence in the home was found ($p > 0.05$).

Determinants of violence in the home

Acceptability of corporal punishment

A number of papers included in the systematic review highlight the fact that physical punishment is a widely accepted method of child discipline in Cambodia, rooted in traditional social norms and attitudes. For example, Gourley (2009) suggests that most parents use physical punishment with the well-meaning intention of raising children to match their cultural expectations, in keeping with the proverb, you must "strike iron while it is still hot; train a child while he is still young" (Gourley, 2009, p.52). Qualitative evidence collected in participatory workshops for the CVACS study also indicates that parents only

[39] Note that these statistics do not take into account the weighting factor attributed to each respondent and therefore differ slightly from the prevalence statistics in the Summary Report (UNICEF, 2014).

[40] This binary variable indicates whether the respondent reported that a parent or adult relative ever: a) punched, kicked, whipped, or beat them with an object; or b) choked, smothered, tried to drown them, or burned them intentionally; or c) used or threatened them with a knife or other weapon (See Questions 153A-153C). The overwhelming majority of reported experiences of physical violence were made up of incidents where parents (or other relatives) had punched, kicked, whipped, or beat their children with an object. Only very few respondents reported that their parents (or other relatives) had choked, smothered, tried to drown them, or burned them intentionally (0.9%); or had used or threatened them with a knife or other weapon (2.7%).

[41] Non-response for these questions about childhood abuse was usually below 1% of the sample, which suggests that respondents were more willing to report on their experiences of childhood abuse than on violence perpetration against their own children.

view physical punishment of children as unacceptable if it results in serious and visible physical injuries. This appears to reflect a widely held view amongst respondents that children are not harmed either physically or emotionally by violence that does not result in serious injury (UNICEF, 2014, p.136). The quantitative CVACS data suggests that mothers are the most common perpetrator of the first incident of childhood physical violence, which indicates that many Cambodian children experience physical violence *first* within their own homes and at the hands of a person entrusted with their care (UNICEF, 2014).

The acceptability of violence in Cambodian households is also highlighted in a number of articles that address domestic violence against (adult) women, or IPV, rather than child discipline. For example, a qualitative study into gender norms commissioned by Partners for Prevention suggests that violence committed in the home is generally viewed less negatively compared to violence committed in public, both by male and female respondents (Gender and Development for Cambodia, 2010). In another qualitative study on IPV in Cambodia, Lilja & Baaz (2015) come to a similar conclusion, arguing that violence in the home is most often understood as an individual and private matter rather than as a public concern.

Discriminatory gender norms

While the quantitative CVACS data did not reveal any statistically significant differences between girls and boys in terms of their exposure to physical punishment in the home, qualitative studies suggest that patriarchal gender norms make violent discipline against girls more acceptable than violent discipline against boys. For example, Gourley (2009) highlights that parents interviewed in focus group discussions often pointed to the necessity of 'being stricter with their daughters' in order to protect their reputation and eligibility for marriage (p.58). It is suggested by Gourley that the use of strict discipline to maintain a daughter's marriageability results from parents' perception that marriage is a key factor in the family's and daughter's long-term financial security and wellbeing (ibid.).

The literature on domestic violence against women or IPV also indicates that patriarchal gender norms often act as a catalyst for violence in the home, even though this literature rarely distinguishes between violence against (adult) women and violence against girls. For example, the Gender and Development for Cambodia (2010) study draws on qualitative evidence collected through interviews and focus group discussions and argues that failures to uphold strict gender-based expectations of behaviour may trigger violence in the home. Respondents suggested that husbands often use violence to 'enforce' gender norms if they perceive that their wife has failed in her duties (p.29).

Alternatively, a man's perceived failure to live up to rigid expectations of 'what it means to be a man' (e.g. not being able to provide for his family) can lead him to reassert his

perceived loss of authority by resorting to violence. The academic literature on intimate partner violence often refers to this dynamic as '**status inconsistency**' (see e.g. Franklin & Menaker, 2014). Status inconsistency occurs when there is a disjuncture between an individual's perceived social standing (e.g. due to employment or educational status) and dominant societal expectations about his or her appropriate status or role. The following quote from a male respondent interviewed for the Gender and Development for Cambodia (2010) study exemplifies how such 'status inconsistencies' can trigger physical violence in Cambodian homes:

> *"If a husband is unable to earn income, which makes his wife grumble and sometimes curse her husband, then violence is going to happen because the wife won't listen to reason. The husband commits violence, like giving her one or two slaps in order to threaten or to stop her from behaving like that next time. A man is like that! A strong man (pram hudt) because he wants to show other people that he is strong."* (Gender and Development for Cambodia, 2010, p.30)

As this study examined domestic violence in general, and did not distinguish between violence against (adult) women and violence against girls, it is difficult to establish the extent to which these dynamics also apply to physical violence against girls. However, numerous research studies in other contexts have shown that there is a strong link between intimate partner violence and violence against children in the home (see e.g. Krug, 2002 for an overview), with one study in the USA estimating that children who are exposed to intimate partner violence between their parents are also around 15 times more likely to be assaulted by their parents compared to the average child (UNICEF, 2006, p.7).

Lastly, Lilja & Baaz (2015) also highlight how patriarchal gender norms taught in Cambodian schools impact on the acceptability of violence in the home, by pointing to the widely read *Chpap Crei* (or "Code of Conduct for Women"). This poem, written at the turn of the 19th Century, lists what is considered 'proper' behaviour of women, including that a woman should never complain about any mistreatment. According to the Lilja & Baaz, this poem reflects the dominant notions of men's and women's roles in the home and it is taught in many schools throughout Cambodia (p.98). Eng, Li, Mulsow, & Fischer (2010) confirm that the notion of 'submissive wives' is reinforced through the Cambodian school curriculum for junior high students (p.139).

Regression analysis of CVACS data on physical violence in the home:

Using data from the CVACS, a number of logistic regression models were constructed to examine the relationships between potential determinants of violence and experiences of physical violence in the home,[42] whilst controlling for the influence of all other factors included in the models.

To begin with, a sub-sample of the CVACS survey was used, which only included responses from boys and girls *under the age of 18*. This strategy was adopted in order to exclude *recent* experiences of violence (i.e. events that happened in the last 12 months) reported by respondents aged 18 and above, as these experiences would not fall under the definition of VAC used in this study. Furthermore, this strategy allowed for the exclusion of *lifetime* experiences of violence reported by respondents aged 18 to 24 that occurred *after* the respondent turned 18.[43] The sub-sample used for this part of the analysis included 1164 respondents aged 13 to 17 years, 642 of which were boys (55%) and 522 of which were girls (45%).

The binary outcome variable used in this model indicates whether the respondent reported that a parent or adult relative *ever*: a) punched, kicked, whipped, or beat them with an object; or b) choked, smothered, tried to drown them, or burned them intentionally; or c) used or threatened them with a knife or other weapon.[44] Given that *lifetime* experiences of violence, rather than current or recent experiences of violence were examined, it would have been problematic to use *current* indicators of the respondent's individual, household, or community-level characteristics to predict events that may have happened a long time ago. For this reason, only explanatory variables in the model, which could reasonably be assumed to capture relatively stable, long-term characteristics associated with each respondent were included. For example, whilst it would have been problematic to use current reported alcohol consumption as a predictor of lifetime experiences of violence, it could be assumed that household poverty is a relatively stable measure of the respondent's socio-economic background, which could therefore be used to predict *lifetime* experiences of violence.[45]

The independent variables included in the model were a binary indicator of the respondent's gender, the respondent's age in years as well as an indicator of whether the respondent ever attended school. To capture the potential impact of household poverty on exposure to severe physical violence in the home, the ratio of the number of rooms in the respondent's household to the number of people living in the respondent's household was included. This continuous measure of household poverty ranged from 0.08 to 2, with

[42] Note that the phrasing of the CVACS questionnaire does not specify exactly *where* the violence took place. However, we can reasonably assume that violence perpetrated by parents, caretakers and other close relatives happens overwhelmingly in the respondent's homes. This assumption is supported by the survey data, according to which close to 100% of respondents indicated that the parent or adult relative lived *within the same household* when they were last subject to one type of severe physical violence (see Question 157, 168, 179 of the Male and Female Questionnaires).

[43] At a later stage we also include respondents aged 18-24 years in our analysis, whilst (wherever possible) only taking into account lifetime experiences of violence that happened *before* the respondent turned 18.

[44] See Questions 153A-153C of the male and female survey questionnaire.

[45] Nevertheless, we also run logistic regression models, using *current* experience of severe physical violence as the outcome variable, in order to address these temporal issues (see below).

larger numbers indicating that respondents are from a wealthier background, and smaller numbers indicating that they are from a poorer background.[46] The model was also re-run using a DHS-inspired wealth index to measure household poverty, rather than the ratio of rooms to household members. This wealth index divided all respondents into wealth quintiles based on the respondent's household assets (e.g. watch, radio, etc.) and characteristics (water supply, building materials, etc.) using a methodology similar to that used for the DHS surveys.[47]

A binary indicator of whether the respondent lived in a rural or urban area at the time of the survey was also included, in order to control for potential differences between these two population groups. To capture the influence of attitudes on exposure to severe physical violence, a binary variable, indicating whether the respondent agreed with *any* of the following four statements was included: it is right for a man to hit or beat his wife if - 1) she goes out without telling him, 2) she ignores the children, 3) she argues with him, 4) she refuses to have sex with him, or 5) she makes bad food. In this case, it needs to be kept in mind that the direction of causality between attitudes and exposure to violence is theoretically ambiguous. While attitudes that are supportive of violence can make an individual more susceptible to violence, such attitudes may also be a *consequence* of experiencing violence.

To examine the impact of mother-child relationship dynamics on exposure to severe physical violence, a binary variable was also included in the model, which indicates whether the respondent felt 'very close or close' to his or her biological mother, rather than 'not close or having no relationship with her'. The potential influence of father-child relationship dynamics on exposure to physical violence was also examined by including a binary variable, which indicates whether the respondent felt 'very close or close' to his or her biological father, rather than 'not close or having no relationship with him'. Lastly, it was hypothesised that peer-support can act as a protective factor against physical violence. For this reason a binary variable in our model, which indicates whether the respondent reported to talk to his or her friends about important things, either 'a lot or a little' or 'not very much or not at all' was included. Importantly, it needs to be remembered that peer-support and parent-child relationship dynamics are potentially endogenous to experiences of violence. For example, children may be at an increased risk of experiencing physical violence at the hands of their parents precisely *because* they do not have a close relationship with their mother or father. Reversely, the fact that they do not have a close relationship may also be a direct *consequence* of experiences of violence. An instrumental variable approach would be necessary to address these endogeneity concerns adequately.

The same logistic regression model as described above was run, albeit with a different outcome variable, to predict *current* experiences of severe physical violence amongst the sub-sample of 13-17 year olds. A binary outcome variable was used, which indicates whether respondents reported that their parents (or other relatives) had used any form of

[46] It is of course possible that the socio-economic background of at least some of the respondents changed dramatically since the reported violent incident(s) took place. However, given that we do not have information about the respondent's socio-economic background *at the time of the violent incident*, this measure of current poverty levels is our best available option.

[47] The code to construct this DHS-inspired wealth index using the CVACS data was provided by the UNICEF researchers. For more information please contact Audrey Pereira at alpereira[at]unicef.org

physical violence against them *in the last 12 months*.[48] However, in this case, the impact of reported alcohol consumption during the past 30 days was also examined, whilst holding all other factors constant. Alcohol consumption was measured using a binary variable indicating whether the respondent reported to having consumed alcohol to the point that he or she became drunk, at least once in the 30 days preceding survey implementation.

Finally, the complete VACS sample was used, including all respondents aged 13 to 24, in order to examine *lifetime* experiences of severe physical violence in the home that happened *before respondents turned 18* (i.e. childhood experiences). The complete survey sample included a total of 2376 respondents, 1255 of which were male (53%) and 1121 of which were female (47%). To measure lifetime experiences of severe physical violence that happened before the respondent turned 18, a binary variable was created, which indicates whether respondents reported that their parents (or other relatives) had *ever* used any form of physical violence against them, provided that the respondent was under the age of 18 the last time this happened.[49] The independent variables used to predict childhood experiences of severe physical violence for the whole VAC sample (ages 13 to 24) were the same as those used to predict lifetime experiences of violence for the sub-sample of 13-17 year olds.

Parent-child relationship dynamics

A statistical analysis of the CVACS data indicates that parent-child relationship dynamics have an important impact on children's exposure to severe physical violence in the home (see Table 1, Models 1-4). When looking at lifetime experiences of physical violence amongst 13-17 year olds, the regression results suggest that having a close relationship with one's father may be a significant protective factor against severe physical violence. A respondent who indicated that he or she had a 'close or very close' relationship to his or her biological father was around 33% less likely to report having experienced severe physical violence compared to a respondent who answered that they were 'not close or had no relationship' to him, all else being equal (see Model 1, $p < 0.1$). This finding was also substantiated when looking at determinants of *current* physical violence in the home ($p < 0.05$) (see Table 1, Model 3-4). However, it is important to note that the causality in this case is unclear, it is equally likely that having a close relationship with one's father is an outcome or result of *not* having been subject to violence. Furthermore, it should be noted that the relationship between having a close father-child relationship and exposure to physical violence in the home losses statistical significance ($p > 0.10$) when re-running the same regression model on male-only and female-only sub-samples (see Table 2, Models 1-2), so it is not possible to say whether this dynamic applies primarily to girls or to boys.

[48] This measure included affirmative responses to Questions 153A ('punched'), 153B ('chocked') and 153C ('knife/weapon'), provided that these events happened in the last 12 months before the survey was carried out.

[49] This measure included affirmative responses to Questions 153A ('punched'), 153B ('chocked') and 153C ('knife/weapon') provided that the respondent was under the age of 18 the *last* time he or she experienced violence. Only including cases where the respondent was under the age of 18 the *last* time he or she experienced violence is a more stringent criterion than including cases where the respondent was under the age of 18 the *first* time he or she experienced violence. It may exclude some cases where the respondent reported to have experienced violence as a child *and* as an adult.

There was no evidence that mother-child relationship dynamics have a similar relationship to children's exposure to severe physical violence in the home. This finding is perhaps surprising, given that the data indicates that mothers may be the primary perpetrators of severe physical violence in the home**.** Of the 430 respondents (both boys and girls aged 13-17) who reported that their parents (or other relatives) had ever punched, kicked, whipped, or beat them with an object, more than half (56%) indicated that this violence was perpetrated by their mother. In contrast, only 30% of all respondents identified their father as the perpetrator. Interestingly, a chi-square test revealed that this difference is significantly *smaller* amongst boys than amongst girls ($p < 0.01$), which suggests that boys are more exposed to violence at the hands of their father than girls.

Going beyond the focus on biological parents, a mixed-methods study on trafficking, conducted by Brown (2007) in Koh Kong, Kampong Som and Siem Reap provinces, suggests that children in the care of step-parents may be at increased risk of physical abuse compared to children in the care of their biological parents. The author argues that in such situations the child "the child appears to be perceived [as] an economic burden, and often assumes the status of a child domestic worker, with severe physical and mental abuse." (p.46). However, the qualitative nature and the limited geographical scope of the Brown (2007) study are not sufficient to permit the drawing of any definite conclusions about the (additional) risks faced by children in the care of step-parents.

Household poverty

An analysis of CVACS data on current experiences of physical violence suggests that household poverty may be an important underlying determinant of violence in the home. Respondents from wealthier households – in this case measured using the ratio of rooms in the household to the number of household members – were significantly less likely to report having been subject to severe physical violence in the past 12 months than respondents from poorer households (Table 1, Model 3). A one-point increase on the ratio-scale decreased the odds of reporting experiences of violence by around 90%, all else being equal ($p < 0.05$). This finding was confirmed when using the five-scale wealth index to measure household poverty and examining lifetime experiences of physical violence amongst 13 to 17 year olds (see Table 1, Model 2). For example, the regression model using data from 13-17 year olds suggests that respondents in the richest wealth quintile are around 40% less likely to experience violence compared to respondents in the middle wealth quintile, all else being equal ($p < 0.05$). This finding is also to some extent supported by qualitative evidence gathered through focus groups and interviews by the Gender and Development for Cambodia (2010) study, which suggests that that violent conflict in Cambodian homes is often sparked over financial matters (p.42).

However, there was no similar finding as to the impact of household poverty, measured using the ratio of rooms to household members, on violence when examining CVACS data on *lifetime* experiences of physical violence for the complete sample of 13-24 year olds (see Table 1, Model 5). This stands in sharp contrast to the findings from the GSHS data, which indicate that household poverty is an important determinant of school-related physical violence (see discussion below).[50] Based on the inconclusive findings from the CVACS data, simplistic conclusions should not be drawn about the relationship between household poverty and physical violence in the home. Indeed, the international literature on IPV suggests that the relationship between poverty and household violence is not always straight-forward. For example, a systematic review of existing evidence on the relationship between economic empowerment and women's risk of experiencing IPV found that, while household wealth generally has a protective influence, evidence about women's involvement in income generation and IPV remains mixed. The systematic review identified five studies finding a protective association and six documenting a risk association (Vyas & Watts, 2009). Evidence from a recent cluster randomised trial in Uganda, which examined the impact of women's economic empowerment interventions on IPV exposure, also produced mixed results. The study found the women's economic empowerment resulted in non-significant decreases in abuse and marital control, but large increases in the quality of relationships (Green, Blattman, Jamison, & Annan, 2015). Similarly, Jewkes (2002) found that some forms of extreme poverty actually *reduce* the scope for conflict about household finances. She argues that what matters more than absolute levels of poverty, are the levels of inequality *within* the household, for example between the husband's and wife's income, and how these material inequalities are mediated by ideas of "successful manhood and crises of male identity" (Jewkes, 2002, p.1424). Similar dynamics between *relative* social status of the parents and cultural expectations about successful fatherhood/motherhood may also influence children's exposure to physical violence in the home; but there is currently insufficient evidence available to permit any conclusions to be drawn in this regard.

Peer support

The statistical analysis of the CVACS data on lifetime experiences of 13-17 year olds also revealed that peer support may be an important protective factor against physical violence in the home (Table 1, Models 1-2). Children who reported that they talked to their friends about important things 'a lot or a little' were around 25% less likely to experience severe physical violence compared to those children who reported that they only rarely or never talked to their friends about important things, all else being equal ($p < 0.05$). To examine whether the relationship between peer support and physical violence differs between boys and girls, the same regression model was also run on male-only and female-only sub-

[50] At this point it is important to remember that our analyses of the GSHS and VACS data do not use the same measures of household poverty and VAC, so the findings are not directly comparable.

samples (see Table 2, Models 1-2). The results indicate that the protective effect of peer support applies primarily to boys; as that the relationship loses statistical significance when looking at the female-only sub-sample ($p > 0.1$). Again, causality in this case is unclear, as it may be the case that children who have less abusive home-lives are relatively more confident and social than those exposed to violence at home. It may also be that children who are subject to violence in the home feel a sense of shame about revealing such violence or exposing their parents to criticism or indeed, being punished for revealing parental behaviour.

Urbanisation

The regression analysis indicated that urbanisation is associated with a decrease in reported experiences of physical violence in the home (Table 1, Model 1). Children living in urban areas were 30% less likely to report having experienced physical violence at the hands of their parents than children living in rural areas, all else being equal ($p < 0.05$). This result stands in contrast to findings on exposure to physical violence *outside* the home, which appears to be more of a problem in urban areas.[51] One possible explanation for the violence-reducing effect of urbanisation on violence *inside* the home is that parents in urban areas may hold more progressive attitudes towards child discipline than parents in rural areas. Unfortunately, the VACS data do not include information on parent's attitudes towards child discipline, so it was not possible to test this hypothesis directly. We did not find evidence that a child's own attitudes towards violence have an impact on exposure to severe physical violence, all else being equal ($p > 0.05$) (Table 1, Models 1-4). An alternative explanation for the relationship between urbanisation and children's exposure to physical violence in the home may be that children living in urban areas spend less time in the house or have fewer demands placed on them in relation to family tasks (e.g. because the household does not engage in agricultural activities), which in turn reduces the possibility of violent confrontation.

Age

The CVACS data on *current* experiences of physical violence suggests that a child's age is relevant in terms of exposure to severe physical violence in the home: older boys and girls are less at risk than younger boys and girls (Table 1, Models 3-4). It needs to be remembered, however, that the sub-sample used for this regression model only included a very restricted age-range, with respondents aged 13 to 17 years. From 13 years onwards, the odds of reported experiences of violence decrease by around 25% with each additional year of age. It is not possible, though, given the limited age range, to say whether the

[51] Due to space constraints we do not present our findings on community-level physical violence using the CVACS data. The CVACS data suggest that 80% of this community-level physical violence is perpetrated by teachers. We discuss school-related physical violence in a separate chapter (see below).

relationship between age and exposure to severe physical violence in the home also holds for children *under* the age of 13.

The complete CVACS sample (i.e. all respondents aged 13-24) was also used to examine the relationship between age and lifetime experiences of violence experienced before turning 18 years old. Again, older respondents were significantly *less* likely to report having experienced violence before turning 18 than younger respondents (Table 1, Model 5). Each additional year of age was found to reduce the odds of reporting experiences of severe physical violence during childhood by around 3%, all else being equal ($p < 0.05$). While this trend may be (at least to some extent) the result of recall bias amongst older respondents, it can be argued that recall bias is not very likely to be the main factor driving these results. This is because the results on experiences of violence in the last 12 months (where recall bias is much less likely) also indicated that older boys and girls (this time in the age-range 13-17) were less exposed to severe physical violence.

One plausible explanation for these findings would be that older children are simply better equipped (physically and emotionally) to resist or deter physical violence at the hands of their parents (or close relatives). Alternatively, older children may be more likely to successfully remove themselves from conflict before violence can occur. Furthermore, older children may simply not be in the house as much as younger children, thereby reducing the potential for violent confrontation. Lastly, younger cohorts may be more sensitised to the issue of violence against children (e.g. through changes in the school curricula or general attitudinal change) and therefore more likely to identify and *report* instances of violence compared to older cohorts. Longitudinal surveys over extended periods of time would be able to reveal attitudinal changes amongst children in specific age groups over time, and would allow researchers to uncover changes in reporting behaviour in relation to experiences of violence.

Additional tests on the CVACS data:

The same models were re-run using robust standard errors clustered by village as well as primary sampling units (PSU) in order to account for potential correlation of observations within these clusters. The substantive results remained the same, with the exception that the influence of urbanisation on exposure to physical violence lost statistical significance when clustering by village. Furthermore, the same models were also run taking into account the predefined survey weights.[52] Again, the substantive results remained the same; with the exception that the influence of peer-support on reported experiences of violence lost

[52] The predefined FINALWGT variable was used, which, according to the survey documentation, is the product of the base weights (i.e. the inverse probability of being included in the sample), non-response adjustment factors and post-stratification calibration adjustment factors (see p.195 of the final Survey Report). The predefined PSU variable was set as primary sampling unit, and the URBAN/RURAL dummy was defined as the primary stratum. Only the cases defined by the relevant sub-sample (respondents aged 13-17) were used to calculate the estimates, but the whole sample (respondents aged 13-24) was used to calculate standard errors. For more information on sub-population analysis of complex survey data, see West (2010).

significance. Lastly, and as mentioned earlier, the original models were re-run using a DHS-inspired wealth index to measure household poverty, rather than the ratio of rooms to household members. The substantive results remained the same, with the exception that the influence of urbanisation on lifetime exposure to physical violence loses statistical significance (see Table 1, Models 2 & 4).

Disability and HIV/AIDS

The qualitative literature on domestic violence against women in Cambodia provides some evidence that individuals with disabilities are at an increased risk of experiencing physical violence at the hands of family members (Astbury & Walji, 2014; Jill Astbury & Walji, 2013; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014). Unfortunately, these papers do not distinguish between violence against (adult) women and violence against girls, so it is not possible to determine the extent to which these dynamics apply to children in particular. However, Astbury & Walji (2013) do present some qualitative evidence, which suggests that children with disabilities may be more exposed to physical abuse, often due to a lack of understanding of the particular needs of children with disabilities amongst parents. The following quote from a blind female interviewee shows how these dynamics can operate in practice:

> *"My mother hit me many times. I don't know the reason at all. But I do remember that she wasn't happy that I couldn't do things like other people. She didn't understand I couldn't see like other people, but I really tried my best. I was really suffering and couldn't stay with my parents any longer."* (Astbury & Walji, 2013, p.23)

A recent policy brief by the Ministry of Women's Affairs (2014), which cites a 2010 quantitative study on the socio-economic impacts of HIV/AIDS in Cambodia, states that women living with HIV were more likely to report physical harassment and physical abuse, compared to men living with HIV and people who are not living with HIV (p.10). Unfortunately, the study does not distinguish between adults and children, so it is again not possible to determine to what extent these findings apply to children living with HIV. Further research into the particular vulnerabilities of Cambodian children living with HIV would be needed to fill this knowledge gap.

3.1.2. Perpetration

Context

Whereas the previous section primarily examined the determinants of *experiencing* physical violence as a child, this section takes a closer look at the determinants of *perpetrating* physical violence against children. The P4P survey contains the most comprehensive and representative data on violence perpetration in Cambodia. However, given that the P4P

survey only draws on *male* respondent's reported use of violence, it is not possible to say whether the findings also apply to violence perpetrated by women against their children.[53]

When asked how often they punish their children by smacking or beating them, around 22% of the male P4P respondents admitted they had perpetrated this type of violence, with positive responses ranging from 'sometimes' to 'very often'. Around 41% of respondents indicated that they never punished their children physically and around 37% preferred not to answer the question or left the questionnaire blank. This large non-response category highlights the **limitations of self-reported data on violence *perpetration*** and may indicate reluctance amongst perpetrators of VAC to report on their own violent behaviour. In short, the P4P prevalence statistics should be treated with caution as they are likely to significantly under-estimate the true extent of physical violence against children in Cambodian households, especially when read in conjunction with the CVACS prevalence data on children's reported *experiences* of physical violence at the hands of their parents (which stands at 51% for children aged 13-17).

Similar results were obtained when male respondents were asked about their partner's or wife's use of physical violence against children in their household. However, the data suggest that male respondents were somewhat more likely to report their female partner's use of physical punishment compared to their own use of physical punishment ($p < 0.05$). Around 31% of respondents indicated that their partner or wife uses physical violence to punish children in their household. The non-response category is again very large (at 38%), which may suggest that respondents were, once again, reluctant to report on perpetration of violence against children in their own household, even when committed by someone else within the household. However, the CVACS data make it clear that children identified their mothers as the primary perpetrator of physical violence in the home, so it would appear that some weight can be given to the P4P data on violence perpetration by mothers (as reported by their male partners).

Determinants of violence perpetration

Inferential analysis of the P4P data allowed for examination of the influence of a number of individual-level and household-level factors on reported VAC perpetration. However, it is important to bear in mind that the number and types of explanatory factors included in the analysis are constrained by the set of contextual indicators collected for the Cambodian P4P survey. As such, it is likely that important determinants of VAC perpetration (for example, those operating at the community-level) were not captured by the statistical analysis, simply because the P4P survey did not collect data on these contextual factors.

[53] The Cambodian P4P project also contained a survey that was administered to women in 620 households (Fulu, Midemea, Jewkes, 2013, p.24). However, researchers did not have access to this data and therefore focused on the P4P Male Questionnaire.

Regression analysis of P4P data on physical violence perpetration:

Using data from the P4P survey, a logistic regression model was constructed to examine potential determinants of physical violence perpetration in the home, whilst controlling for the influence of all other factors included in the model. The dependent variable used in this model indicates whether or not male respondents reported ever having smacked or beaten their children in order to punish them.[54] Independent variables included in the model are the age of the respondent (in years), the number of biological children, employment status,[55] educational status, [56] a measure of reported alcohol consumption,[57] a measure of childhood abuse experienced by the respondent, [58] an indicator of whether or not the respondent reported to be stressed because of not having enough income, and a measure of his attitudes towards violence against women. [59]

Number of children

The number of biological children appears to have a significant impact on physical violence perpetration in the home. The results from the P4P regression model suggest that every additional child increases the odds of (reported) use of physical punishment by around 15%, all else being equal ($p < 0.01$) (Table 3, Model 1). This is perhaps unsurprising, given that having more children is likely to be associated with an increase in stress-levels, and consequently an increase in violent behaviour (Jewkes, 2002, p.1423).

Childhood trauma

In line with similar findings by Fulu et al (2013), the results of the P4P regression model suggest that experiences of childhood trauma (including physical, sexual and emotional violence) are a significant predictor of violence perpetration later in life ($p < 0.01$), all else being equal (Table 3, Model 1). Fulu et al (2013) uncovered a relationship between childhood trauma and reported IPV perpetration rates. The results of this review suggest that there may be a similar dynamic between childhood trauma and perpetration of physical violence against children. As mentioned earlier, previous research has revealed important overlaps between IPV perpetration and VAC perpetration (e.g. Krug, 2002; Unicef, 2006).

[54] Reported use of physical punishment by the respondent's wife or partner is not used as an outcome variable, given that the dataset only provides very limited information on individual-level characteristics of the respondent's wife or partner.
[55] Employment status is measured using a simple binary indicator of whether or not the respondent worked or earned money in the last 12 months.
[56] Education of the respondent is measured using a 5-scale ordinal variable. 1 indicates that the respondent received no formal education, 2 up to primary education, 3 some high-school education, 4 some higher secondary education, 5 any post-secondary education (including university-level education).
[57] Reported alcohol consumption is measured using a binary indicator of whether the respondent reported to consume alcohol at least sometimes (less than once a month to daily) or never (see Question 831 Men's Questionnaire).
[58] This is measured using the log-transformed Childhood Trauma Events Scale (see Fulu et al, 2013).
[59] Attitudes towards VAW are measured using a binary indicator of whether or not respondents agree (or 'strongly agree') that there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten (see question 301c of the Men's Questionnaire).

The qualitative literature on physical violence perpetration reviewed for this study comes to similar conclusions; i.e. that **experiencing abuse during childhood is an important determinant of violence perpetration later in life** (Gender and Development for Cambodia, 2010; Lilja & Baaz, 2015; Schunert et al., 2012). However, the context of Cambodia also needs to be taken into account when interpreting this result. Qualitative literature highlights the lasting negative impact of the Khmer Rouge period on today's parenting practices. For example, the authors of the Cambodian Mental Health Survey report suggest that the Khmer Rouge period produced a whole generation of traumatised Cambodians who lack models for peaceful conflict resolution, which often results in parent-child role reversals and violent parenting practices (Schunert et al., 2012, p.14).

Lack of accountability

The qualitative literature on domestic violence suggests that failure to hold perpetrators of domestic violence accountable may be an important factor perpetuating violence in the home (e.g. Amnesty International, 2010). For example, the Gender and Development for Cambodia (2010) study draws on qualitative evidence from interviews and focus group discussions to show that there is a clear disconnect between the Domestic Violence Law of 2005, which also covers physical abuse of children (Article 2(2)), and its implementation in practice. The authors attribute this disconnect largely to a **lack of awareness** amongst victims about the content of the law (Gender and Development for Cambodia, 2010). Highlighting the potential deterrent effect of the law, the authors also suggest that many study respondents stated that increasing awareness of the law would greatly assist efforts to reduce domestic violence (p.48).

A study on victims of acid attacks conducted by the Avon Global Center for Women and Justice (2011) suggests that **corruption and lack of resources** in Cambodian law enforcement leads to inadequate prosecution of perpetrators of violence. **Low levels of reporting** also appear to prevent perpetrators from being held accountable for their actions. The nationally representative CVACS data suggests that amongst those 13 to 17 year olds who experienced physical violence, less than a quarter of females and less than one in eight males sought help from someone (UNICEF, 2014). The main reasons for not seeking help (as reported by the victims) were: because they felt that the incident was their own fault, because they did not think the violence was a problem, because seeking services would be useless and because they did not know where to go to seek help. The CVACS data also revealed that girls were more likely to be afraid of being the subject of more violence or getting into trouble for seeking help compared to boys (UNICEF, 2014, p.93). Even when victims of physical violence muster the courage to report the abuse, they rarely approach law enforcement officers or other persons of authority, but rather turn to relatives or friends (UNICEF, 2014, p.91).

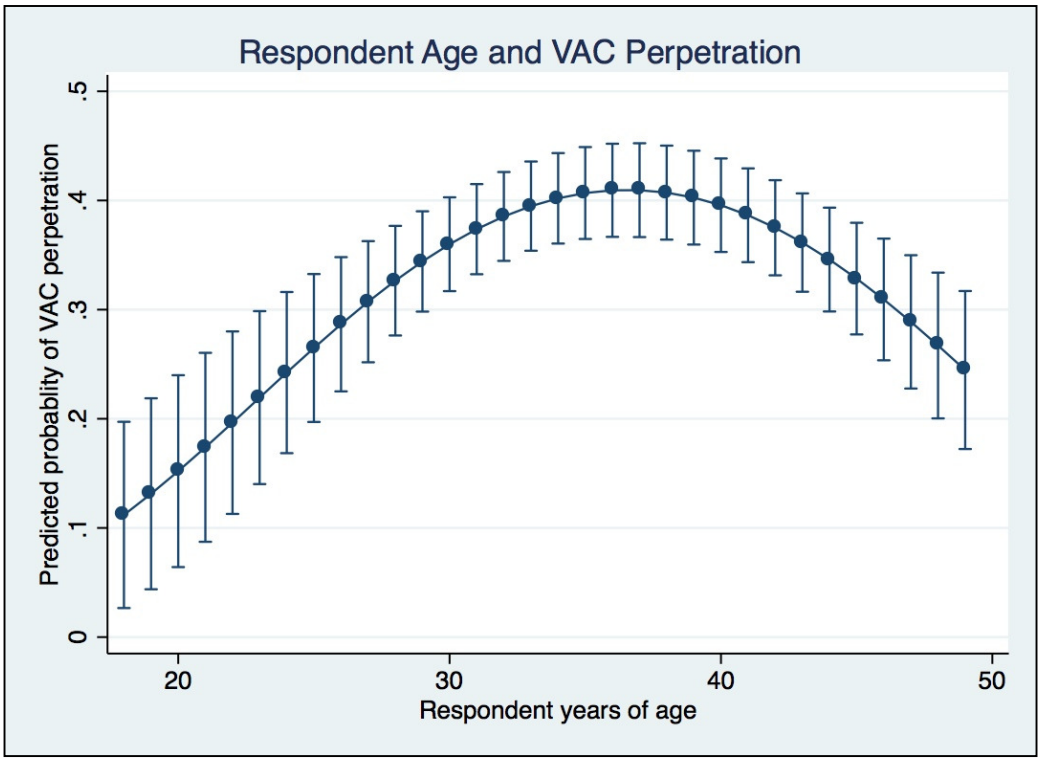
Alcohol

Based on a statistical analysis of the P4P data, no evidence was found that alcohol consumption by the father has an impact on reported physical violence perpetration, once the other factors included in the regression model were controlled ($p > 0.05$) (Table 3, Model 1). The findings stand in contrast to findings from Fulu's (2015) quantitative analysis of the WHO data, which suggest that alcohol consumption is an important predictor of IPV perpetration (Fulu, 2015). A number of papers on domestic violence included in the review also present evidence that alcohol consumption contributes to physical violence in Cambodian homes (Gender and Development for Cambodia, 2010; National Institute of Public Health and National Institute of Statistics, 2006). However, these papers only examine domestic violence against (adult) women and do not deal specifically with violence against children. As a result, it is not possible to draw conclusions on the extent to which these findings also apply to children. Further, international research on the links between alcohol and domestic violence suggests that the relationship is not necessarily straight-forward. For example, in a review of existing evidence, Jewkes (2002) argues that the connections between violence and drinking are socially learnt rather than biological or universal (p.1426).

Perpetrator age

At first sight, the P4P data appears to indicate that older men are just as likely as younger men to report having smacked or beaten their child, all else being equal ($p > 0.05$) (Table 3, Model 1). However, in order to examine whether there is a *non-linear* relationship between age and (reported) violence perpetration, the same regression model including a squared age variable (i.e. father's age in years squared) was also run, which showed a non-linear relationship between age and violence perpetration, given that the coefficient of the multiplicative interaction term was statistically significant ($p < 0.01$) (Table 3, Model 2). To examine the exact shape of this non-linear relationship, the predicted probability of (reported) physical violence perpetration was plotted against the respondent's age. Figure 4 shows that, all else being equal, the predicted probability of violence perpetration increases with the respondent's age up until he reaches around 37 years of age, at which point it peaks, before decreasing again. In other words, the relationship between age and physical violence perpetration takes the form of an 'inverted U'; where the predicted probability of perpetration of a 50-year-old Cambodian man is similar to the predicted probability of perpetration of a 25-year-old man, all else being equal.

Figure 4



There are a number of plausible explanations for this non-linear relationship between age and violence perpetration. For example, respondents at the extreme ends of the age continuum (i.e. relatively young and relatively old men) are less likely to be responsible for the upbringing (and discipline) of children, compared to respondents in the middle age range.[60] Alternatively, the relatively low predicted probabilities of (reported) violence perpetration amongst younger men may indicate the violence-reducing influence of modern, non-violent attitudes towards parenting.[61] The reduction in predicted probabilities of violence perpetration amongst respondents aged 40 and over may in turn be driven by 'lenience' that comes with old age, or (perhaps more realistically) the fact that most of these men will no longer be responsible for the upbringing and discipline of their children, *regardless of their attitudes towards non-violent parenting*. Whilst the statistical analysis controlled for respondents' attitudes towards wife beating, the P4P data unfortunately did not allow researchers to examine men's attitudes towards child discipline (assuming that the two are not identical). Further longitudinal research would be necessary to establish the extent to which changing attitudes towards child discipline shape the non-linear relationship between age and violence perpetration uncovered by the P4P data.

[60] Note that, even though the regression model controls for the overall number of biological children, it does not control for the age of these children, nor does it control for the number of children actually living in the household (i.e. dependent children).
[61] It would be helpful to know the age of first birth to fathers in Cambodia in interpreting the results, but unfortunately, the P4P dataset does not contain this information.

Additional tests on the P4P data:

The original P4P regression model was re-run including with survey site dummies and robust standard errors clustered by census enumeration area,[62] in order to account for the possibility that observations might be correlated within these clusters. The substantive results remained unchanged. Lastly, the same model was run, using a measure of *food insecurity*, rather than employment status, in order to capture the poverty level in the respondent's household. Food insecurity in the household was measured using a four-scale categorical variable.[63] The substantive results also remained the same as in the original model.[64] As with employment status, no evidence was found that food insecurity has an impact on (reported) physical violence perpetration against children in the home ($p > 0.05$). This non-finding stands in contrast to results presented by (Fulu, Midemea, Jewkes, Roselli, & Lang, 2013), who used the larger cross-national P4P dataset and found that food insecurity was associated with IPV and non-partner rape perpetration.

How do age and family size interact?

Given that both the age of the respondent and the number of children were identified as significant determinants of violence perpetration, these two determinants, and how they relate to one another, were examined in more detail. The original P4P regression model was re-run, including an interaction between respondent age and number of children (see Table 3, Model 3). This allowed researchers to determine whether and to what extent the violence-inducing effect of having more children is dependent on (or moderated by) the particular age of the father. In this respect, it is important to note that multiplicative interaction models are 'symmetric'. As a result, it was not possible to distinguish between the causal story where the father's age modifies the effect of the number of children on violence perpetration, and the causal story where the number of children modifies the effect of the father's age on violence perpetration. As Brambor, Clark, & Golder, (2006) point out: "it is up to the analyst to determine which of these causal stories is theoretically more accurate" (p.27).

In this particular instance, it is likely that the father's age moderates the impact that an increase in the number of children has on the likelihood of violence perpetration. For example, it can be hypothesised that younger fathers are less likely to bring up (and discipline) a large number of children in a non-violent manner, compared to older fathers, as they are more likely to lack experience and financial stability. The results of the regression model suggest that there is indeed an interaction effect between the number of children and the father's age ($p < 0.01$). In other words, the extent to which a greater

[62] We use the predefined 'cluster' variable (q100) of the P4P dataset. For more information see page 106 of Fulu, Emma, Midemea & Jewkes (2013).

[63] See Question 849 in the Men's Questionnaire: How often would you say that people in your home go without food because of lack of money? 1 = 'every week', 2 = 'every month but not every week', 3 = 'it happens but not every month, 4 = 'never'.

[64] Results are not presented due to space constraints.

number of children influence the likelihood of violence perpetration appears to depend upon the specific age of the father.[65]

Figure 5

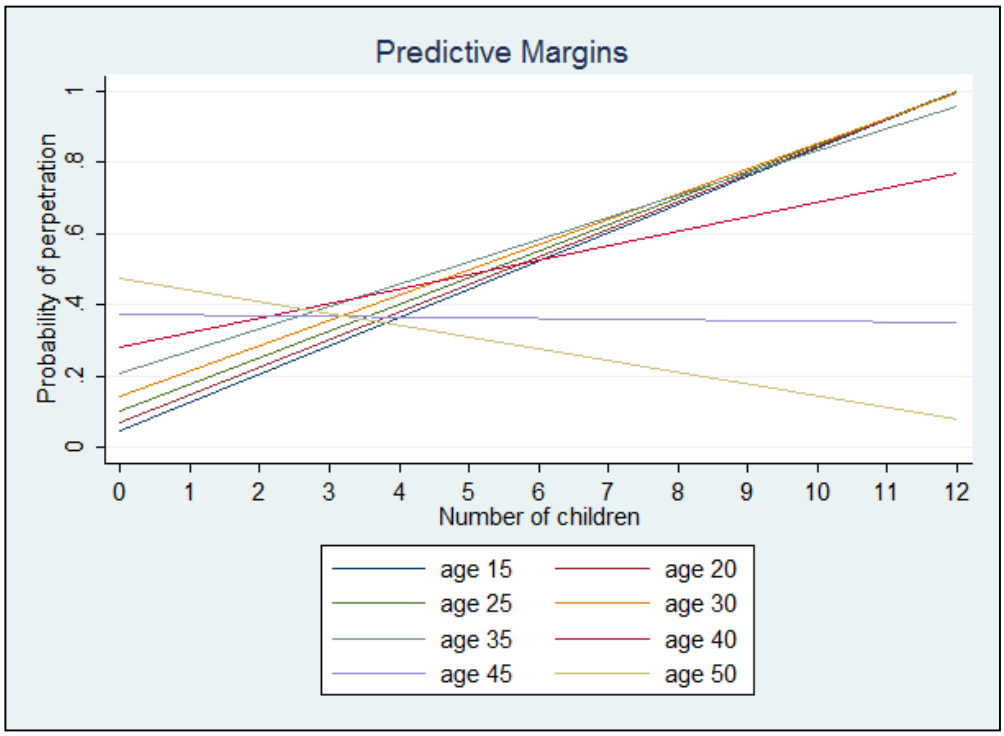


Figure 5 provides support for the hypothesis that younger fathers are less capable of dealing with a large number of children in a non-violent manner than their older counterparts. It shows the predicted probabilities of physical violence perpetration for respondents of different ages (15, 20, 25, etc.), depending on how many children they have, all else being equal. We can see that, whilst a larger number of children is associated with an increase in the probability of violence perpetration amongst younger fathers (aged 15-35), this relationship becomes less strong amongst older fathers (aged 40) and is even reversed amongst the oldest respondents (aged 45-50).

3.1.3. School-related physical violence

Context

The Cambodian GSHS data represents the most comprehensive and representative source of evidence on school-related physical violence in Cambodia. A descriptive analysis[66] of the GSHS data indicates that physical violence is a relatively common phenomenon

[65] Unfortunately there was no evidence available on the age of first birth to fathers. Therefore we don't know whether fathers are at their most violent when they have small children or when they have teenagers.
[66] Note that these statistics do not take into account the weighting factor attributed to each respondent and therefore differ slightly from the prevalence statistics reported in the GSHS Codebook.

amongst Cambodian secondary school children, with roughly 17% of students in grades 7-12 reporting to have been **physically attacked** once or more in 12 months before survey implementation. Perhaps unsurprisingly, boys (22% of male students) were significantly more likely to *report* having been physically attacked than girls (13% of female students).[67] Unfortunately, the survey questionnaire does not ask *where* the physical attacks took place and *who* the perpetrator was, so it is likely that this figure captures a whole range of different types of physical abuse.

The GSHS data also suggest that roughly 11% of Cambodian school children in grades 7-12 have been **involved in a physical fight** at least once during the past 12 months. Again, boys are significantly more likely (13% of boys) than girls (9% of girls) to report that they have been involved in a physical fight at least once in the past 12 months ($p < 0.05$). Once more, the GSHS questionnaire is relatively one-dimensional in that it does not allow researchers to distinguish between violence perpetration and experiences of violence as a victim. As with the findings on experiences of physical attacks, the differences between boys and girls in terms of reported involvements in physical fights can have two possible explanations. On the one hand, male students might be more likely to *report* having experienced violence because of social norms that stigmatise talking about violent behaviour amongst girls. On the other hand, boys might *in reality* experience higher rates of violence than girls. Unfortunately, the GSHS data do not allow us to determine which of these two explanations is likely to be more accurate. However, the international literature on school-related bullying and violence suggest that boys are indeed more likely to be exposed to physical violence, whereas girls are more at risk of experiencing emotional abuse (see e.g. Carbone-Lopez, Esbensen, & Brick, 2010; Scheithauer, Hayer, & Petermann, 2006).

Lastly, the nationally representative P4P data suggests that corporal punishment at school is roughly as prevalent as physical violence *within* the home. Around 43% of the sampled male respondents reported to having been beaten or otherwise physically punished at school by a teacher or headmaster before reaching 18 years of age, despite the fact that Article 35 of the Education Act 2007 provides that learners have "the right […] to be free from any form of torture or from physical and mental punishment" in schools (Hamilton, 2015, p.87). The relatively high rate of violent discipline in Cambodian schools is also confirmed in the CVACS data on children's exposure to physical abuse by community members (i.e. individuals other than their parents or close relatives). Of all children included in the CVACS survey who reported to having ever been punched, kicked, whipped, or beat them with an object by community members, an overwhelming majority (around 80%) reported that this violence was perpetrated by either male or female teachers.

[67] A chi-square test indicates that the difference in reporting rates between genders is statistically significant ($p < 0.05$).

The CVACS also reveal that male teachers more likely to use violence than female teachers (UNICEF, 2014).

Regression analysis of GSHS data on school-related physical violence:

Using logistic regression models, the respective impact of a number of potential determinants (including specific risk and protective factors) on self-reported experiences of physical violence amongst school children can be examined, whilst holding constant the influence of a whole range of other factors. The impact of a range of potential determinants on two outcome variables was examined: 1) physical attacks and 2) involvement in physical fights. Physical attacks are measured using a binary indicator of whether the respondent reported having been physically attacked once or more in the 12 months before the survey implementation. Involvement in physical fights is measured using a binary indicator of whether or not the respondent reported having been involved in a physical fight at least once in the last 12 months.

Independent variables used in the models include a binary indicator of the respondent's gender as well as the grade in which each respondent was at the time of the survey.[68] An indicator of whether or not the respondent reported to having no close friends was also included, in order to capture the potential impact of peer support groups on reducing exposure to bullying and physical violence. To capture the socio-economic standing of the respondent's household, a binary indicator of whether the respondent "never or rarely" went hungry in the past 30 days because there was not enough food in his or her home, or whether the respondent went hungry "sometimes or more"[69] was included. Reported alcohol consumption of the respondent could also be associated with experiences of violence, even though the direction of causality is unclear in this case: alcohol consumption could be a determinant as well as a *consequence* of experiencing physical violence. The potential impact of alcohol consumption was controlled for by including a binary variable in the models, which indicates whether or not the respondent reported to having had at least one drink containing alcohol during the past 30 days.[70] Lastly, it is plausible that weight of the respondent is associated with reported experiences of violence, as children who do not conform to dominant norms related to physical appearance could be at a greater risk of victimisation. To account for this, each respondent's weight (in kg) was controlled for.

The scope of this inferential analysis was restricted by the type and number of contextual indicators collected for the GSHS survey. Hence, it is likely that important risk and protective factors related to physical violence amongst school children in Cambodia (e.g. school-level characteristics, parent's education and their attitudes towards violence, respondent's religion or ethnicity, etc.) are missing from our statistical models. In this respect, it should be noted that the Cambodian GSHS contains *very little* information on each respondent's family and household characteristics. Future surveys on VAC in

[68] Grade is measured using a 6-scale ordinal variable (Grade 7-12). Age of the respondents is not included in the model because of the high collinearity with the grade (around 80%).

[69] See Question 6 of the Codebook.

[70] See Question 35 of the GSHS Codebook.

Cambodian schools should consider collecting more information on these contextual factors.

Determinants of school-related physical violence

Acceptability of corporal punishment

As with our findings in relation to physical violence in the home, corporal punishment appears to be a widely accepted method of child discipline in Cambodian schools.[71] The qualitative evidence collected in the framework of the CVACS study highlights the ubiquitous nature of physical punishments in Cambodian schools, which includes contact as well as non-contact forms of physical violence (UNICEF, 2013, p.27). For example, female study participants described teachers hitting or hurting children in various ways, while male study participants spoke in-depth about feelings of humiliation and helplessness as a result of being physically punished in schools.

As with the findings of this review in relation to violence in the home, an important factor contributing to the acceptability and widespread use of corporal punishment in schools appears to be the widely-held belief amongst teachers and adults that children are not harmed physically or emotionally by punishments that do not result in serious physical injury (see Gourley, 2009; UNICEF, 2014).

Individual-level factors

The results of GSHS regression models undertaken on school-related physical violence revealed a number of individual-level risk factors. These included student's gender, grade-level, weight and reported alcohol consumption. Regression results suggest that male respondents are significantly more likely to report having been physically attacked than their female counterparts. **Being a boy increases the odds of experiencing physical attacks** by around 70%, compared to being a girl; all else being equal (see Table 4, Model 1). The results for involvements in physical fights were similar, which is not surprising as there is likely to be some overlap between these two types of physical violence. **Being a boy increases the odds of being involved in physical fights** by around 30% in comparison to being a girl, all else being equal (Table 4, Model 3). A mixed methods study on gender-based violence in schools in Siem Reap Province, commissioned by PLAN, further supports these gender-specific findings, with significantly more boys reporting violence perpetrated by school staff compared to girls (PLAN International, 2014). Importantly, all of these results rely on self-reported experiences of violence, and may

[71] This appears to be the case even though corporal punishment in public and private schools was banned under Article 35 of the 2007 Education Law (Hamilton, 2015, p.87).

therefore reflect gender differences in reporting patterns rather than gender differences in actual experiences of school-related physical violence.

Grade-level also seems to have an impact on exposure to physical attacks, with children in higher grades being significantly *less likely* to report physical attacks than their counterparts in grade 7 (i.e. the reference group). For example, respondents in grade 8 are around **35%** less likely to report physical attacks compared to respondents in grade 7. The relationship is even stronger for higher grades, with respondents in grade 12 being around **70%** less likely to report physical attacks than respondents in grade 7 (Table 4, Model 1). A similar relationship was found between grade level and children's involvements in physical fights (Table 4, Model 3).

The regression results also indicate that **weight is a protective factor against physical attacks.** With each additional kilogram, respondents are around 2% *less* likely to report having been physically attacked (Table 4, Model 1). One plausible explanation for this finding may be that heavier children are simply better equipped to deter or repel physical attacks. [72]This finding may however also be related to the relationship between household poverty and physical violence discussed below, as it can reasonably be assumed that children who often go hungry are also more likely to be underweight.[73]

Reported **alcohol consumption is also a significant predictor of school-related physical violence**, including exposure to physical attacks and involvement in physical fights (Table 4, Models 1-4). Respondents who report having consumed alcohol in the last month are 2.7 times more likely to report having been physically attacked at least once in the past 12 months, all else being equal. The direction of causality is theoretically ambiguous in this case, as drinking could also plausibly be a *consequence* of experiencing physical violence. It also needs to be noted that the GSHS data does not provide information on *where* the respondents were attacked; nor *who* perpetrated the violence (e.g. teachers or peers). The findings of this review in relation to children's involvement in physical fights are in line with the results on experiences of physical attacks.

School-level determinants

The systematic literature review did not reveal much useful evidence on school-level risk and protective factors in relation to physical violence. Nevertheless, the PLAN mixed-methods study on gender-based violence in schools revealed two important school-level

[72] The regression model controls for respondent's grade/age, and thus the influence of weight on exposure to violence applies even when age/grade of the respondent is taken into account.
[73] Again, we rerun the same model using a squared weight variable in order to examine whether the relationship between weight and experiences of physical violence is perhaps non-linear. However, the non-significant interaction term suggests that such a U-shaped relationship does not apply in this case. We did not find similar evidence in relation to involvement in physical fights ($p > 0.05$).

determinants in relation to peer-to-peer violence (PLAN International, 2014). More specifically, the study found that the most prominent reason for students feeling unsafe at schools was the absence of a security guard (74% of sampled respondents).[74] In addition, participants stressed the importance of gender-separate toilets for reducing the risk of peer-to-peer violence and harassment in schools (PLAN International, 2014, p.29). The purposive sampling methods as well as the limited geographical scope[75] of the PLAN study make it difficult to say whether these findings apply to Cambodian schools more generally.

Household poverty

Using the GSHS data, there is evidence that **household poverty is an important driver** of school-related physical violence, including experiences of physical attacks and involvement in physical fights (Table 4, Models 1-4). Students who reported having gone hungry "sometimes or more" in the past month because there was not enough food in the home, are roughly two times more likely to report experiences of physical attacks than those who "never or rarely" went hungry, all else being equal ($p < 0.01$). One plausible explanation for this finding is that students from poor households may be at an increased risk of victimisation because they cannot afford school uniforms or other school-related materials. Another plausible explanation for this relationship may be that children from poor households are more likely to be perceived as being weak and without resources to hold the perpetrator accountable.

How do gender and poverty interact?

Given that both gender and household poverty were identified as important determinants of exposure to physical attacks, these two factors were examined in more detail. The original models were re-run, but this time included an interaction between the child's gender and household poverty (Table 4, Model 2). This allowed for an examination of whether and to what extent the effect of household poverty on exposure to violence is dependent on (or moderated by) the child's gender. The statistically significant interaction term suggests that household poverty affects exposure to physical attacks *differently*, depending on the child's gender. Indeed, the violence-inducing effect of household poverty is significantly stronger amongst girls than amongst boys (even though, overall, boys are more exposed to physical attacks). Whereas being from a poor household only increases the predicted probability of experiencing a physical attack[76] by around 0.07 for boys, being from a poor household has a significantly stronger effect for girls (all else being equal),

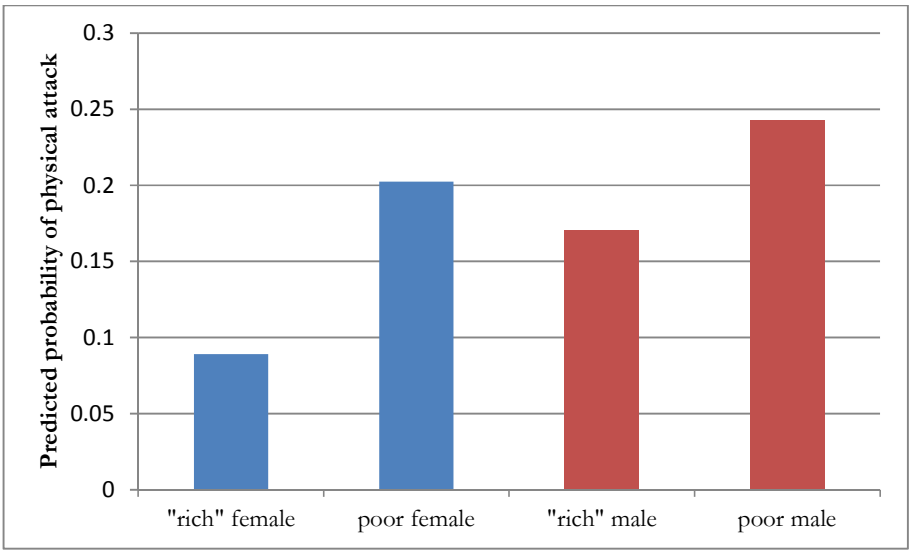
[74] Respondents were asked to choose from a list of 'reasons for feeling unsafe at school'. One item, the item most frequently chosen by respondents, was: 'No security guard'. Other items included: 'Harassment from other students', ' dirty pictures' etc.

[75] The PLAN study was conducted in 30 lower secondary schools from 6 districts of Siem Reap (PLAN International, 2014, p.10).

[76] The results on involvement in physical fights were in line with our findings on children's exposure to physical attacks. The statistically significant interaction term ($p < 0.05$) suggests that household poverty influences a child's likelihood to be involved in physical fights *differently*, depending on the child's gender.

increasing the predicted probability by around 0.11, albeit from a lower starting point (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: Gender and Household Poverty



One possible explanation for this interaction effect between gender and household poverty is that girls and boys are victimised at school for different reasons. For example, whilst dominant social norms that glorify violent masculinities (but disapprove of violence amongst girls) may make boys more susceptible to experiencing violence *on average*, boys may at the same time be less likely than girls to be victimised for reasons related to socio-economic standing (e.g. not being able to afford school uniforms, etc.).[77]

Additional tests on the GSHS data:

The model predicting physical attacks was re-run with robust standard errors clustered by the primary sampling unit in order to account for the possibility that observations might be correlated within schools. The substantive results remained unchanged. The substantive results for involvement in physical fights also remained the same when re-running the model with robust standard errors clustered by the primary sampling unit. The only exception was that the effect of gender on reported involvement in physical fights was now only significant at the 90% level.

[77] The GSHS data does not provide information on the exact location of violent events, and it is unclear whether the incidents of violence happen on the way to school or in school. This is a major limitations of the GSHS dataset and makes prevention and response to such violence more difficult to design.

Key findings: Physical violence against children

Physical violence is the most frequent type of violence experienced by Cambodian children, affecting more than 1 in 2 children (CVACS, 2013). Mothers are the most common perpetrators of physical violence against children in the home, whereas teachers are the most common perpetrators of violence *outside* the home. Despite the widespread use of physical violence against children in Cambodia, the topic has received relatively little scholarly attention.

Violence in the home

Acceptability of physical punishment

Physical punishment is generally considered acceptable and necessary in the context of child rearing, education and discipline. Lack of understanding about the potentially serious consequences of physical punishment appears to be widespread amongst Cambodian parents: only violence resulting in serious injury is deemed inappropriate.

Discriminatory gender norms

Patriarchal gender norms make violent discipline against girls (and women) more acceptable than violent discipline against boys.

Parent-child relationship dynamics

Evidence from secondary data analysis indicates that having a positive father-child relationship dynamic may act as a protective factor against physical punishment in the home. No comparable evidence was found for mother-child relationship dynamics. Importantly, the direction of causality remains unclear in this case, as negative father-child relationships may also be a consequence of experiences of violence.

Children in the care of step-parents appear to be at an increased risk of experiencing physical violence in the home.

Household poverty

Poverty is a key household-level risk factor that increases a child's chances of being subject to physical violence in the home.

Peer-support

Evidence from secondary analysis of the CVACS data also indicates that peer-support is an important protective factor against physical violence in the home.

Urbanisation

There is strong evidence from the secondary data analysis that urbanisation is associated with a decrease in physical violence in the home. This contrasts with findings on violence *outside* the home, which appears to be more of a problem in urban areas.

Children's age

Secondary data analysis indicates that older boys and girls are less exposed to violence in the home.

Disability & HIV/AIDS

Qualitative evidence suggests that women with disabilities and women living with HIV/AIDS are at an increased risk of violence in the home. The literature does not distinguish between adult women and girls, so it is not clear to what extent these findings apply to girls in particular.

Violence perpetration

Family size

Statistical analysis of the P4P data suggests that violence perpetration is more likely in families with larger numbers of children.

Multiplicative interaction models indicate that younger fathers are less capable of dealing with a large number of children in a non-violent manner than their older counterparts.

Childhood trauma

There is robust quantitative and qualitative evidence indicating that experiencing abuse during childhood is an important individual-level determinant of violence perpetration later in life.

Lack of accountability

Qualitative evidence indicates that lack of accountability for violence perpetration, lack of awareness about relevant laws amongst victims and perpetrators, and low levels of reporting perpetuate physical violence against children in Cambodia.

Alcohol

Findings on the influence of alcohol consumption on violence perpetration were inconclusive, with some quantitative evidence identifying alcohol as an important individual-level risk factor for violence perpetration in the home. However, this evidence is based on an analysis of domestic violence against (adult) women, so it is not clear to what extent these dynamics apply to children.

Perpetrator age

Statistical analysis of the P4P data indicates that the relationship between perpetrator age and violence against children is non-linear. Men at the extreme ends of the age continuum (i.e. relatively young and relatively old men) are less likely to perpetrate violence against their own children, compared to respondents in the middle age range.

School-related physical violence

Acceptability of physical punishment

Corporal punishment appears to be a widely accepted method of discipline in Cambodian schools. Qualitative evidence suggests that teachers often view corporal punishment as necessary and acceptable unless it results in serious physical injuries to the child, indicating a lack of awareness about the harmful consequences of (even less severe) violent discipline.

Individual-level determinants

Statistical analysis of the GSHS data indicates that older, male and under-weight school children are most at risk of experiencing school-related physical violence. Alcohol consumption was also identified as an important individual-level risk factor. However, the direction of causality between alcohol consumption and experiences of violence is unclear, as drinking may also be a response to experiencing violence.

School-level determinants

Qualitative evidence suggests that having security guards and gender separate toilets in schools may reduce the risks of peer-to-peer violence amongst pupils and increase pupil's perception of safety at school.

Household poverty

Statistical analysis of the GSHS data indicates that household poverty is an important determinant of school-related physical violence, with children from poor households being at an increased risk of experiencing violence.

Multiplicative interaction models suggest that poor *female* pupils are particularly vulnerable to school-related physical violence.

3.2. Emotional violence against children

This section presents evidence on the determinants (including the risk and protective factors) associated with emotional violence in Cambodia. The evidence presented here is based on studies identified through the systematic literature review and a secondary analysis of relevant primary datasets, in particular the CVACS, WHO and GSHS datasets.

There has been little published research on the use of emotional violence against children in Cambodia. However, such evidence as there is on emotional violence against children in Cambodia suggests that it is a widespread phenomenon, which affects children inside as well as outside the home, especially in schools.

The discussion of risk and protective factors associated with emotional violence against children in Cambodia is divided into three sub-sections. The first sub-section examines the determinants of emotional violence occurring *in children's home*; the second sub-section discusses the determinants associated with children's *exposure to parental intimate partner violence*, which is treated as a distinct form of emotional abuse, not directly targeted at children, but *indirectly* affecting them. The last sub-section examines the determinants of *school-related* emotional violence, in particular peer-to-peer bullying. This analytical distinction was deemed appropriate, given that the specific sets of risk and protective factors identified differ, depending on the environment and contexts in which emotional VAC takes place.

3.2.1. Emotional violence in the home

Context

The CVACS survey is the most comprehensive and representative source of data on the extent and nature of emotional violence experienced by children in Cambodian households. A simple descriptive analysis of the CVACS sub-sample of 13 to 17 year olds reveals that **around 25% of all children in this age group experienced some form of emotional violence at the hands of their parents or caregivers**.[78] There is *no* evidence that the prevalence of emotional abuse by parents and caregivers differs significantly by gender or age-group ($p > 0.05$). Both male and female respondents reported that their **mothers were the most frequent perpetrators of emotional violence** in the home (62% and 54% respectively), a finding which is in line with the CVACS results on *physical* violence in the home. However, it should be noted that the CVACS survey does not ask about emotional violence perpetrated by individuals other than the respondent's parents or

[78] Respondents were classified as having experienced emotional violence if their parents or caregivers had *ever* 1) told them that they were not loved, or did not deserve to be loved; or 2) said they wished they had never been born or were dead; or 3) ridiculed them or put them down, for example by saying that they were stupid or useless.

caregivers, so it does not capture emotional violence perpetrated outside the home (e.g. in schools, by teachers or peers).

The P4P survey also contains nationally representative data on adult men's experiences of emotional violence experienced during their childhood. Around 41% of male P4P respondents reported having been told by someone in their family that they were lazy, stupid or weak before turning 18. Furthermore, 36% were insulted or humiliated as children by someone in their family in front of other people. The P4P and CVACS questionnaires did not define emotional violence in the same way, and as a result the prevalence statistics from the two datasets are not directly comparable.

Determinants of emotional violence in the home

Acceptability of emotional violence in the home

As with previously presented findings in relation to physical abuse in the home, evidence accessed through the systematic literature review suggests that the acceptability of emotional abuse against children in the home is an important underlying driver of violence. Gourley (2009) uses qualitative evidence from interviews and focus group discussions with parents to show that harsh verbal abuse of children is generally viewed by Cambodian parents as a legitimate and necessary method for child discipline. Gourley (2009) also presents evidence from a ranking exercise, during which most study participants listed verbal abuse as the least serious form of child abuse (p.56). The lack of awareness of the potentially serious consequences of verbal abuse, together with the widely-held view that verbal abuse is a legitimate and necessary method of child discipline, can both be said to contribute to the perpetuation of emotional violence against children in Cambodian homes.

Disability

The literature review also produced some evidence that disability is an individual-level risk factor in relation to emotional violence in the home. Based on a non-random, purposively sampled survey of (adult) women with and without disabilities, Astbury and Walji (2013 & 2014) argue that Cambodian women with disabilities are at an increased risk of experiencing emotional abuse compared to Cambodian women without disabilities (see Astbury & Walji, 2014; Astbury & Walji, 2013). The authors suggest that women with disabilities were "much more likely to be insulted, made to feel bad about themselves, belittled, intimidated […] than their nondisabled peers" (Astbury & Walji, 2013, p.3).

As with their findings in relation to physical abuse in the home, Astbury and Walji attribute this pattern to widely-held attitudes amongst Cambodians that devalue individuals with disability, and a general lack of understanding in relation to the specific needs of individuals

living with disabilities. Unfortunately, Astbury and Walji focus on the experiences of adult women, without presenting disaggregated data on the experiences of *children* with disabilities. Furthermore, the small, unrepresentative sample used for these two studies limits the generalisability of their findings. In order to design effective policies and strategies to protect disabled children, future research which examines the particular vulnerabilities of Cambodian children with disabilities to emotional abuse will be essential.

Regression analysis of CVACS data on emotional violence in the home:

Using logistic regression models on the CVACS sub-sample of 13-17 year olds uncovered potential determinants of emotional violence against children in the home. The binary dependent variable used in these models indicates whether the respondent reported to have ever experienced one or more acts of emotional violence perpetrated by their parents or caregivers.[79] The independent variables included in the models were the respondent's gender, age and school attendance. To examine the influence of household poverty, the ratio of rooms to household members was also included as an independent variable. Furthermore, the regression model controlled for urban versus rural area, mother-child and father-child relationship dynamics, as well as peer-support.[80]

Household- and community-level determinants

Regression analysis of the CVACS data revealed that household-level as well as community-level factors play an important role in explaining children's exposure to emotional violence in the home. In particular, it appears that having a positive father-child relationship is an important protective factor against emotional violence. Children who have a positive relationship with their biological father, are around 50% less likely to report having experienced emotional violence than children who indicated that they were 'not close or never had any relationship' with their father, all else being equal ($p < 0.01$) (Table 5, Model 1). To examine whether the association between positive father-child relationship dynamics and emotional violence differs between boys and girls, the same regression model was also run on male-only and female-only sub-samples. The results indicate that the protective effect of peer support applies primarily to girls; as that the relationship loses statistical significance when looking at the male-only sub-sample ($p > 0.1$) (see Table 5, Model 2) but remains significant when looking at the female-only sub-sample ($p < 0.05$) (see Table 5, Model 3). These results are in line with the findings on severe physical violence in the home, where a positive father-child relationship was also identified as a significant protective factor against violence. It is important to keep in mind, however, that the

[79] Respondents were classified as having experienced emotional violence if their parents or caregivers had *ever* 1) told them that they were not loved, or did not deserve to be loved; or 2) said they wished they had never been born or were dead; or 3) ridiculed them or put them down, for example by saying that they were stupid or useless.

[80] For a detailed description of the variable coding please see the statistical analysis of the CVACS data on physical violence.

direction of causality is theoretically ambiguous, given that a negative father-child relationship can be interpreted both as a risk factor as well as a *consequence* of experiencing emotional violence.

The CVACS regression results also provide some evidence that children living in urban areas are less exposed to emotional violence in the home, compared to children living in rural areas. Respondents living in urban areas were around 34% less likely to report having experienced emotional violence, all else being equal ($p < 0.1$) (Table 5, Model 1). As mentioned in relation to physical violence in the home, one possible explanation for this rural-urban divide may be that parents in urban areas are more exposed to and supportive of non-violent child discipline. Unfortunately, the CVACS data does not include information on parent's attitudes towards child discipline, so it was not possible to test this hypothesis directly. Another explanation for this finding is that children living in urban areas are simply less likely to be at home or involved in duties in or close to the home (e.g. helping on the land), which in turn would reduce the possibility of experiencing emotional violence in the home.

Finally, the CVACS regression results indicated that children from richer households are less at risk of experiencing emotional violence. A one-unit increase in the ratio-scale used to measure household poverty, decreased the odds of experiencing emotional violence by around 50%, all else being equal ($p < 0.1$) (Table 5, Model 1). The relevant coefficient was only significant at the 90% threshold, so the finding needs to be treated with caution. However, a qualitative study by Gourley (2009) provides corroborating evidence on the impact of household poverty, which suggests that children from richer households are less exposed to emotional violence than children from poorer households. In particular, Gourley maintains that parents from higher socio-economic backgrounds interviewed in Phnom Penh were more aware of the negative consequences of verbal abuse on their children and the importance of non-abusive conflict resolution, compared to parents interviewed in rural areas. The following quote from a male respondent from Phnom Penh, is indicative of this increased awareness amongst parents from wealthier, urban socio-economic backgrounds:

> *"In our family we stress using proper language at an early age and in all situations, so that children learn how to speak correctly and resolve problems through polite and respectful speech."* (Gourley, 2009, p.56)

Additional tests on the CVACS data:

The CVACS model predicting emotional abuse in the home was re-run, taking into account the predefined sampling weights, as well as using robust standard errors clustered at the village level and the primary sampling unit. The substantive results

remained the same; except that the impact of household poverty on exposure to emotional abuse lost significance when taking into account survey weights and clustering by primary sampling unit. This suggests that the results on the relationship between poverty and emotional abuse should be interpreted with caution.

3.2.2. Exposure of children to parental intimate partner violence

Context

As mentioned in the introduction of this study, exposing children to IPV between their parents can be considered a form of emotional abuse. The WHO survey (see Fulu, 2015) measured children's exposure to IPV between parents, by asking female respondents who indicated that they had experienced any form of physical IPV (and who had at least one child) whether their children were 'present or overheard them being beaten' by their intimate partners. Around 9% of all survey respondents indicated that their children were present during (or overheard) at least one instance of physical IPV.[81] In other words, the data suggests that in one of every ten Cambodian households, children are exposed to violence between their parents. This also means that in 70% of all 453 intimate partner violence cases captured by the WHO survey, children were present during (or overheard) the violent confrontation between their parents.

The WHO survey also asked adult respondents about their own experiences of witnessing IPV between their parents during childhood, In this case, however, the survey questionnaire asked respondents whether their mother was *'hit'* by her partner when the respondent was still a child; thereby narrowing the focus on exposure to a very particular form of physical IPV. The data suggest that around 15% of Cambodian women were exposed to physical violence between their parents during childhood. Unfortunately, it is not possible to establish whether IPV exposure amongst Cambodian children has been declining or increasing over time, given that the two measures of children's exposure to IPV included in the WHO survey are not directly comparable.

Determinants of exposure to IPV

The literature identified through the systematic review did not contain any evidence on risk and protective factors that influence the likelihood of children witnessing or overhearing intimate partner violence between their parents. The literature on IPV in Cambodia which was included in this review deals primarily with determinants of (adult) women's exposure to IPV, or the determinants of IPV perpetration by male partners (Fulu, Midemea, Jewkes,

[81] The survey did not ask about children's exposure to/witnessing of emotional or sexual IPV.

2013; Fulu, Jewkes, Roselli, & Garcia-Moreno, 2013) However, a statistical analysis of the WHO data did provide some interesting evidence on how father's alcohol consumption relates to children's exposure to IPV.

Regression analysis of WHO data on children's exposure to IPV:

To examine which factors put children at a greater risk of witnessing or overhearing intimate partner violence between their parents, a logistic regression model was run on a sub-sample of the WHO dataset. This sub-sample only included the 453 female respondents who indicated that they had experienced some form of physical violence at the hands of their intimate partners; with some respondents reporting that their children were present, and some reporting that their children were *not* present at the time of the abuse.[82] This allowed for an examination of the particular risk and protective factors whilst controlling for a number of other potential determinants. The dependent variable used in this analysis was an indicator of whether the respondent reported that her children were present or overheard her 'being beaten' during at least one instance of physical IPV. The explanatory variables included in the model were the female respondent's number of currently alive children, the respondent's age in years, a measure of the respondent's attitudes towards wife beating;[83] the respondent's reported alcohol consumption,[84] and the reported alcohol consumption of the respondent's partner.[85] To capture the potential impact of household poverty on a child's exposure to IPV between their parents, a binary variable was included, which indicates whether the household has electricity or not.[86] Lastly, to capture the potential influence of household power dynamics on children's exposure to parental IPV, a binary variable was included in the model, which indicates whether the head of the household is male or female.

Alcohol consumption

The regression results indicate, perhaps not surprisingly, that alcohol consumption by the child's father (or the male partner of the child's mother) increases the odds of a child

[82] This means that only 453 respondents, all of which have experienced some form of physical IPV (and who had at least one child at the time of the reported abuse) were retained for the inferential analysis. Including respondents who never experienced IPV in the analysis would not have allowed for valid conclusions to be drawn in relation to the determinants that make some children more likely to witness or experience IPV in their homes.

[83] This variable indicates whether the respondent agreed with *any* of the following statements: In your opinion, does a man have a good reason to hit his wife? if: a) She does not complete her household work to his satisfaction; b) She disobeys him; c) She refuses to have sex with him; d) She asks him whether he has other girlfriends; e) He suspects that she is unfaithful/cheating; f) He finds out that she has been unfaithful/cheating; g) She does not take care of the children

[84] This binary variable indicates whether the respondent never consumes alcohol or whether she consumes alcohol sometimes (occasionally to every day).

[85] This binary variable indicates whether the respondent indicated that her partner never consumes alcohol or whether he consumes alcohol sometimes (occasionally to every day).

[86] We also re-ran the model using a different measure of household poverty (see below).

witnessing IPV between parents (Table 6, Model 1). Children in households where the father was reported to consume alcohol are around 70% more likely to witness IPV between their parents, all else being equal ($p < 0.1$). One plausible explanation for this finding is that alcohol decreases inhibition and increases the intensity (and duration) of violence between intimate partners, which in turn increases the likelihood that children in the home will witness or overhear the violence.

Additional tests on the WHO data:

The same WHO regression model was also run using a different measure of household poverty: the ratio of the number of rooms in the respondent's household used for sleeping to the number of people living in the respondent's household (Table 6, Model 2). This continuous measure of household poverty ranged from 0.06 to 5 with larger numbers indicating that respondents are from a wealthier background, and smaller numbers indicating that they are from a poorer background. Using this alternative measure also did not reveal a significant relationship between household poverty and children's exposure to IPV. The other substantive results also remained the same, except that the impact of the partner's alcohol consumption lost statistical significance ($p > 0.10$). In this respect is important to highlight that, given the relatively small sample size of only 453 respondents, it may be that the analysis failed to reveal a number of relationships between specific risk factors and violence due to limited statistical power, even though these relationships may actually exist in reality (Type II Error).

3.2.3. School-related emotional violence

Context

Emotional violence *outside* the home seems to be a relatively widespread form of abuse experienced by Cambodian children. For example, 36% of adult male respondents included in the nationally representative P4P survey reported having been bullied, teased or harassed in school or in the neighbourhood before turning 18. These prevalence rates for emotional violence outside the home are comparable in size to the prevalence rates for emotional violence *inside* the home captured by the P4P (which were 36% - 41%). However, they are substantially *higher* than the prevalence rates of emotional abuse in the home as measured by the CVACS (see page 66). However, as the P4P and CVACS datasets did not define emotional violence in the same way, the results are not directly comparable.

The nationally representative GSHS survey on student health indicates that bullying is also a very common phenomenon amongst Cambodian school children, or at least in relation

to children in Grades 7 to 12 covered by the survey. When asked whether they had been bullied on one or more days in the last 30 days, roughly 23% of students included in the GSHS responded to this question with 'yes'. When disaggregating this indicator of school-related bullying by gender, the GSHS data did not reveal significant gender differences in terms of reported experiences of bullying ($p > 0.05$).

Determinants of school-related emotional violence

Acceptability of emotional abuse in schools

The mixed-methods study conducted by PLAN International in Siem Reap province provides qualitative evidence suggesting that peer-to-peer verbal abuse is widely accepted and 'normalised' in the context of Cambodian schools. For example, teachers interviewed for the study note that various forms of emotional violence, including cursing and mocking, were "very common" in their classrooms and within the school grounds (PLAN International, 2014). Most of the interviewees described these incidents as "not very serious" and "quite normal" (p.34), possibly indicating a general lack of awareness amongst teachers of the potentially serious consequences of verbal abuse.

According to the PLAN study, most verbal abuse amongst pupils involves the use of sexualised insults, which suggests a certain degree of overlap between emotional and sexual violence in Cambodian schools (PLAN International, 2014). The qualitative component of the CVACS study, which involved interviews and focus group discussions with children and young adults in four Cambodian provinces, also presents evidence suggesting an overlap between corporal punishment perpetrated by teachers and emotional violence experienced in school (UNICEF, 2013). In particular, interviewees described punishments meted out by teachers as *both physical and emotional violence* (p.10). This was because of the humiliation that usually accompanied the public punishments in classrooms (p.28).

Regression analysis of GSHS data on bullying:

A logistic regression model was used to examine the respective impact of a number of potential determinants (including specific risk and protective factors) on self-reported experiences of bullying amongst school children included in the GSHS survey, whilst holding constant the influence of a whole range of other factors. Bullying was measured using a binary indicator of whether or not the respondent reported having been bullied on one or more days in the last 30 days. Independent variables used in the model were the same set of variables used to predict physical violence amongst school children (i.e.

physical attacks and involvement in physical fights), which were described in detail in the previous chapter (see page 56).[87]

Household poverty

Based on a statistical analysis of the GSHS data on school-related bullying, it appears that the socio-economic background of students is an important household-level determinant of bullying. In other words, poverty and socio-economic insecurity at home seem to make school children more susceptible to bullying in school. Students who reported having gone hungry "sometimes or more" in the past month because there was not enough food in the home, are around 98% more likely to experience bullying than those are "never or rarely" went hungry, all else being equal ($p < 0.01$) (Table 7, Model 1). This indicates that poor children are at an increased risk of being bullied at school.

Qualitative evidence from the PLAN Study on Gender-based Violence in Cambodian Schools (PLAN International, 2014) suggested that poor students may be bullied because they cannot afford school uniforms, expensive clothes, services related to physical appearance (e.g. hairdresser), or other school-related materials. Teachers interviewed for this study highlighted the widespread use of discriminatory language amongst their pupils *based on class and appearance*; where "rich and good looking students discriminate against poor and not so good looking students" (p.34). The PLAN study also suggests that cliques are often formed based on socio economic status, and that cliques from more privileged backgrounds mock other less privileged pupils based on their clothing, looks or hair (ibid.).

Peer support

The regression results from the GSHS data provides limited evidence that peer support is a protective factor against bullying. Children who report having no close friends are around 25% more at risk of being bullied than those who report having at least one close friend, all else being equal. However, the relevant coefficient is only significant at the 90% threshold. In addition, it needs to kept in mind that the direction of causality is theoretically ambiguous in the case of peer support, as it may well be that not having any close friends is a direct *consequence* of bullying experienced by school children, rather than a determinant. An instrumental variable approach would be necessary to adequately address these endogeneity concerns.

[87] As with the analysis of physical violence the same model was re-run using a squared weight variable in order to examine whether the relationship between weight and VAC is perhaps non-linear (e.g. whether children at the extreme ends of the weight continuum are most at risk of experiencing VAC). However, the non-significant interaction term suggests that such a U-shaped relationship does not apply in this case.

Alcohol consumption

Lastly, the GSHS data suggest that alcohol consumption is a significant predictor of bullying. Respondents who report having consumed alcohol in the last month are 2.4 times more likely to report bullying than respondents who did not consume alcohol in the past month, all else being equal. Once again, the direction of causality is theoretically ambiguous when it comes to alcohol consumption and bullying. For example, it could be that alcohol consumption is a *consequence* of bullying, rather than a determinant. Further research would be necessary if the causal link between children's use of alcohol and bullying is to be determined.

Additional tests on the GSHS data:

The GSHS regression model on bullying was re-run with robust standard errors clustered by the primary sampling unit (i.e. schools) to account for possible correlation within these clusters. The substantive results remained the same, except that the impact of peer support on reported bullying lost statistical significance ($p > 0.05$).

Key findings: Emotional violence against children

Emotional violence in the home affects around 1 in 4 Cambodian children (CVACS, 2013). An equal proportion of pupils included in the school-based GSHS survey indicated that they had been bullied. Despite the scale of emotional violence experienced by Cambodian children, both inside and outside their homes, the topic has received relatively little scholarly attention.

Violence in the home

Acceptability of verbal abuse

Qualitative evidence indicates that Cambodian parents view verbal abuse as the *least* serious form of child abuse. A lack of understanding about the potentially serious consequences of emotional violence appears to be widespread and verbal abuse is seen as a necessary and legitimate form of child discipline.

Disability

Qualitative evidence suggests that disability is an individual-level risk factor in relation to experiencing emotional violence in the home. However, the findings are based on a sample of adult women, so it is not clear to what extent the relationship between disability and emotional abuse applies to children.

Parent-child relationship dynamics

As with findings on physical violence, a positive father-child relationship dynamic appears to act as a protective factor against emotional abuse in the home. Again, the direction of causality is unclear in this case, as negative father-child relationships may also be a consequence of experiences of violence.

Alcohol consumption

Statistical analysis of the WHO survey indicates that alcohol consumption by the child's father increases the risks of the child witnessing (or overhearing) intimate partner violence between his or her parents, which is considered a form of emotional abuse.

Urbanisation

There is strong evidence from the secondary data analysis that children living in urban areas are less at risk of experiencing emotional violence in the home, compared to children living in rural areas.

Household poverty

There is also strong qualitative and quantitative evidence that children from richer households are less at risk of experiencing emotional violence.

School-related emotional violence

Acceptability of verbal abuse

Qualitative evidence suggests that harsh verbal abuse (by teachers and peers) is considered 'not very serious' and 'quite normal' in Cambodian schools. The humiliation that usually accompanies corporal punishments creates an overlap between physical and emotional abuse in school.

Household poverty

Statistical analysis of the GSHS data provides robust evidence that poor children are at an increased risk of being bullied at school. Qualitative evidence suggests that discrimination based on class and appearance of pupils is widespread in Cambodian schools.

Peer support

Statistical analysis of the GSHS data also indicates that peer support can act as a protective factor against school-related bullying. Importantly, the direction of causality is ambiguous in this case, as having no friends may well be a consequence of bullying.

Alcohol consumption

Pupil's alcohol consumption was identified as a significant risk factor associated with school-related bullying. Again, the direction of causality is unclear, as alcohol consumption may also be a direct response to experiences of bullying.

3.3. Sexual violence

3.3.1. Context

A considerable amount of literature identified for this review focussed on sexual violence, and particularly on commercial sexual exploitation (discussed in the "trafficking" sub-section of this report). Despite this focus, evidence concerning the prevalence and scale of the problem of sexual violence remains patchy and limited. This is particularly true of evidence concerning the scale of sexual violence directed against *children*. Most of the available literature focuses on sexual violence perpetrated against women and girls, without disaggregating or differentiating findings according to age. In addition, there is comparatively little literature that focuses on sexual violence perpetrated against boys. However, a number of recent studies indicate that sexual abuse of boys is a serious concern, and that many of the determinants of this abuse may be similar to those driving sexual abuse of girls (e.g. Hilton, 2008).

The nationally representative CVACS dataset was designed to capture data on children's exposure to a range of different types of sexual violence, including sexual abuse, sexual exploitation (i.e. sex exchanged for money, goods or favours), and non-contact sexual violence. The results indicate that rates of reporting of sexual abuse amongst children are considerably lower than for other types of violence: only 5.5% of children aged 13-17 years in the survey reported having been exposed to at least one type of sexual abuse.[88]

The results of this survey should, however, be treated with some caution. On the one hand, the results may suggest that rates of sexual abuse of children are relatively low compared to other types of violence. On the other hand, given the significant stigma associated with experiences of sexual violence (an issue which is discussed further below), a survey of this nature, entailing closed ended questions, covering a wide range of issues, and delivered orally by a researcher (as opposed to through anonymous reporting) may not generate conditions under which victims of childhood sexual violence would feel comfortable disclosing experiences of abuse. In other words, the results of this survey may have been affected by considerable under-reporting of this particular type of violence. For instance, although very few respondents of the CVACS survey reported having been subjected to sexual abuse, as many as 24% of females and 9% of males aged 18-24 years who reported having first had sex as a child, reported that their first sexual encounter was 'unwanted'. Similarly a national survey conducted by WHO in 2015 found that 20% of women reported that their first sexual experience was either coerced or forced (Fulu, 2015). Findings from the P4P survey on male perpetration of violence found that men's reporting of rape in

[88] Respondents were classified as having experienced 'sexual abuse' if they answered 'yes' to any of the following questions: Has anyone ever done any of the following things: 1) touched you in a sexual way without your permission, but did not try and force you to have sex of any kind?; or 2) tried to make you have sexual intercourse of any kind without your permission, but did not succeed?; or 3) physically forced you to have sexual intercourse of any kind regardless of whether you did or did not fight back?; or 4) pressured you in a nonphysical way, to have sexual intercourse of any kind when you did not want to and sex happened?

Cambodia was high, with around 20% of men reporting to have committed at least one act of forced or coerced sex against a woman, and 3.3% reporting rape of another male (Fulu, Midemea, et al., 2013).

3.3.2. Determinants of sexual violence

Gender and victimisation

Sexual violence is a form of gender-based violence, inexorably linked to issues of gender and power. A vast body of literature including that contained in this review explores the gendered norms that underlie both the perpetration of and impunity for sexual violence, including against children in Cambodia. Most of the literature included in the review focused on how gender increases vulnerability to sexual violence amongst women and girls. However, there is also (albeit more limited) evidence on the ways in which constructions of gender exposes men and boys to risk of sexual abuse, whilst creating a culture of silence and denial over male experience of victimisation. Gender, masculinities and exposure to sexual violence is a subject that has received little attention in the literature and is perhaps a topic ripe for further exploration.

Gendered Sexualities:

Ideal constructions of 'femininity', which require girls to be sexually pure and virginal, contribute to a culture of silence and shame surrounding sexual violence, where female survivors of sexual abuse and rape are liable to be dubbed "*khouch*" (spoiled, broken) (Amnesty International, 2010; Brown, 2007b). Meanwhile, men and boys are expected to be sexually knowledgeable and experienced. Male sexuality is regarded as an insatiable force. While women and girls must be sexually restrained, men and boys are seem as naturally and biologically promiscuous, as expressed in the Khmer proverb: "Ten rivers can't equal (fill) one ocean; ten women cannot satisfy one man" (Hoefinger, 2013).

Impact on women and girls:

These gendered stereotypes and double standards lead to a culture of 'victim blaming' surrounding sexual violence, whereby female survivors maybe held responsible for their own victimisation and abuse. A girl who is raped may be open to accusations that she put herself in harm's way: that she was out late at night - that she was drinking - that she was socialising with men and making herself sexually available. Hoefinger, writing about prevailing attitudes in Cambodia notes that:

> *"Good girls' stay at home close to their families, are indoors before dark and are, of course, virgins until they marry. 'Bad girls'…leave their families, move to the cities, drink alcohol, wear revealing clothes, stay out late and have pre-marital sex."* (Hoefinger, 2013)

These attitudes are also reflected in research that has been conducted with male perpetrators of sexual violence, who sometime report feeling entitled to perpetrate rape against 'underserving' women or girls, including those perceived as promiscuous or sexually available; considering violence to be a form of 'just-deserts' or punishment for their victim (Amnesty International, 2010; Jewkes, Fulu, Roselli, & Garcia-Moreno, 2013; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014; Schunert et al., 2012).

Because young women are regarding as 'tradition bearers' and 'safeguards' of their family's honour, when a girl fails to live up to socially accepted standards and ideals of femininity, including when she is raped, it is not only her own, but her entire family's reputation which is brought into question, undermining their standing in the local community and exposing them to gossip and condemnation (Hoefinger, 2013). Female respondents included in the qualitative element of the CVACS study expressed the view that rape is a matter of embarrassment and humiliation for a victim, and is not something that should be openly discussed. They questioned whether anyone would want to marry a girl who was known to have been raped, and felt that society would be liable to shun and reject her. (UNICEF, 2013) The local saying "if a skirt is torn, do not tear it more", illustrates the humiliation and further victimisation of girls who report sexual abuse, and the social pressure on survivors to remain silent about their experiences.

The unique fragility of the female reputation is thought to be depicted by the widely quoted Khmer proverb: "a man is gold, and a woman is cloth": whilst a cloth becomes dirty easily, and can become permanently stained and ruined when soiled, gold can always be polished clean.

Impact on boys:

Whilst many authors have pointed out how such discriminatory notions are underlying drivers of sexual violence perpetrated against women and girls, others have pointed out how such notions may also contribute to sexual violence perpetrated against boys.

Hilton writes: *"neither ancient proverbs, codes of behaviour nor contemporary literature or thinking seem to address the scenario or possibility of males being victimised."* (Hilton, 2008) According to dominant constructions of masculinity, men and boys are sexual predators, who are always ready, willing and able for sex; meanwhile boys have no special honour or reputation to be spoiled. There is little room in such narratives for recognition of male victims of sexual abuse: the very notion of being powerless is an anathema to ideals of masculinity (Hilton, 2008).

Furthermore, in a culture where heterosexuality is the norm, the idea of sexual abuse of boys where the perpetrator is also male is disorienting, both for the victim and society more broadly. Research conducted with boys who have been subject to abuse has revealed that

fear of being labelled 'gay' is one of the barriers to reporting, and a source of shame and embarrassment for male victims (Hilton, 2008; Miles & Blanch, 2011). Meanwhile, whilst the topic is considerably under-researched, there is evidence to indicate that children of LGBT identity may be particularly likely to be targeted for sexual abuse (Hilton, 2008; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014).

There is also evidence of the 'normalisation' of forms of sexual abuse perpetrated against boys. The practice of genital tugging, whereby adults (or older children) pull a young boy's trousers down, and/or tug on his genitalia as a form of 'teasing', is an example of this. Although this may be a culturally accepted practice, and is generally perceived as being harmless and in good humour, boys who participated in the qualitative element of the VACS study spoke of the rage, humiliation and sense of powerlessness that they felt about being treated in this way, indicating the potential harm of this practice as a form of sexual abuse and bullying.

The CVACS survey on violence against children revealed no significant differences in rates of reporting of sexual abuse according to gender. However, limited research on sexual violence *perpetration* suggests that women and girls may be more likely to be targeted as victims of rape (Fulu, Midemea, et al., 2013; Hilton, 2008), however, these results may also be the consequence of reporting bias.

Gender, masculinities and perpetration of violence

The 2013 P4P study on masculinities and violence perpetration in five countries in the Asia and Pacific is the most detailed and comprehensive evidence to date on sexual violence perpetration by men and boys in Cambodia; however, several other pieces of literature included in the review also provide interesting evidence and analysis on this topic (Chan, 2010; Hilton, 2008; Hoefinger, 2013; Schunert et al., 2012).

The research points to a disturbing picture of hegemonic masculine identities amongst some groups of male youths in Cambodia, particularly in urban centres, who appear to regard physical violence perpetration, alcohol and drugs, transactional sex and gang rape as forms of entertainment and socialisation, as well as expressions of masculine prowess and dominance. A number of studies in the review referenced the practice of "*baulk*" (whose literal translation is 'plus') whereby one or two men will pick up a girl from a brothel or bar and take her to a guesthouse where a group of men will be waiting to take turns in raping her. The practice is allegedly widely known amongst urban, college males, particularly in Phnom Penh (Hilton, 2008). Whilst many men do not take part, a significant minority do, and evidence from the P4P study suggests that perpetration of gang rape in Cambodia is alarmingly high compared to other countries in the region; in fact, Cambodia was the only country surveyed where reporting of gang rape was found to be more

common than reporting of non-partner rape by a lone perpetrator (Fulu, Midemea, et al., 2013; Jewkes et al., 2013; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014).

Disturbingly, according to a number of authors, men who participate in *"baulk"* do not consider their to be anything wrong with the practice, and rather regard it as a form of group bonding, recreation, and a means of 'sharing' one woman around the group without having to pay for multiple sex workers (Hoefinger, 2013). These findings underscore the associations between the widespread practice and normalisation of *transactional sex* in Cambodia and sexual violence perpetration. Tellingly, the 2013 P4P study noted strong associations between rape perpetration and reported engagement in transactional sex: men who reported perpetrating rape were significantly more likely to report having had sex with a sex worker or engaging in transactional sex in the last year. A number of studies in the review referenced the widespread notion that 'if you pay it is not rape', regardless of whether or not the women or girl consents (Amnesty International, 2010; Brown, 2007b; Hoefinger, 2013), with some studies including accounts of how perpetrators of rape promise their victim money during the act itself (Brown, 2007b). These ideas are reinforced by the typical 'law enforcement' response to reported cases of sexual abuse and rape which overwhelmingly prioritise the payment of compensation to the victim's family as an alternative to prosecution.

Impunity for sexual violence, and poor law enforcement

> *"I don't know why [he was released], but he must have bribed the police. He knew the policemen. And I think he gave some money to my mother too."* (Amnesty International, 2010, p.5)

The literature points to a culture of impunity surrounding perpetration of sexual violence, including against children in Cambodia, with a lack of effective investigation and response mechanisms, widespread corruption, and/or a tendency to settle 'disputes' outside the court through the payment of compensation. While extra-judicial settlements draw on the traditional concept *"samroh-samruol"* (the name for the mediation process), this practice may be problematic in the circumstances of sexual abuse and rape; particularly where the payment of compensation by the perpetrators to the victim (or the victim's family) is regarded as evidence that the sex was in fact consensual (see discussion in preceding paragraph). Furthermore, informal settlement of cases may fuel corrupt practices amongst law enforcement, particularly where it is accepted that authorities will take a cut of any compensation paid to close the case (Amnesty International, 2010).

Quantitative evidence from the CVACS also indicates that reporting/service-seeking rates for sexual abuse are very low, particularly amongst male victims. For example, as much as 49.4% of females and 79.4% of males aged 18 to 24 who reported any sexual abuse prior to age 18 as part of the CVACS survey had never told *anyone* about an incident of sexual abuse prior to disclosing in the interview (UNICEF, 2014, p. 88).

Therefore, whilst as discussed, fear and shame, create significant barriers to reporting sexual abuse for boys and girls, *poverty* may also play a significant role in preventing reporting. Survivors of abuse may suspect that they will be unable to pay the bribes required to ensure fair treatment and access to justice through formal authorities, and law enforcement may favour those with access to financial resources and influence; one victim of gang rape quoted in an Amnesty report from 2010 claimed: *"I haven't reported it anywhere. You know, I don't have any khnang and that's what you need in this era. If not, there is no chance for justice"* (Amnesty International, 2010). It is also important to note that corruption is not the only barrier to effective policing: chronic under-resourcing of local police may leave officers with no choice but to request money from complainants in order to finance any investigation (Amnesty International, 2010; Curley, 2014), and despite reforms in the legal and policy framework for addressing sexual abuse, implementing authorities often lack the knowledge, skills, equipment and guidelines to carry out and enforce the laws fully (Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014). The lack of social work, and other social and psychological services for survivors, and the male-dominated character of both the legal professional and the criminal justice system present additional challenges to addressing and preventing cases of sexual abuse (Aberdein & Zimmerman, 2015; Amnesty International, 2010; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014).

Low rates of service-seeking and poor legal enforcement means that perpetrators of sexual violence remain at large and are free to commit their acts again. In addition, the culture of impunity surrounding acts of sexual abuse and rape reinforces the idea that such behaviour is an acceptable and normalised part of masculine behaviour (as discussed above). The P4P study noted that the majority of men in the study who had reported perpetrating rape had not experienced any legal consequences for their actions, confirming that impunity for sexual violence remains a matter of serious concern (Fulu, Midemea, et al., 2013).

Fragile families

The literature provides evidence that children from disadvantaged backgrounds, and those with fragile family and home lives, are at increased risk of becoming both victims and perpetrators of sexual abuse. Studies included in the review noted the prevalence of father-daughter incest in rural families (Hilton, 2008; Hoefinger, 2011) while a number of other studies presented evidence that female children in reconstructed families where they are under the care of a step-father may be particularly at risk of sexual abuse (Amnesty International, 2010; Brown, 2007b; Hilton, 2008).

Leaving the family, however, may bring its own risks: experiences of household poverty, violence or family breakdown that drive children to leave home may expose them to risk of violence and abuse elsewhere: whether a child ends up living on the streets or within an institution. For example, a 2008 study on sexual abuse of boys working on the streets found

that the majority of respondents in the research had resided in families that had been affected by extreme poverty, death of a primary caregiver, separation, divorce and/ or domestic violence (Hilton, 2008). A couple of other sources noted that young migrant women and girls may be particularly vulnerable to gang violence, rape and exploitation where they have little contact with their families and are perceived as lacking networks of social support (Ministry of Education, 2010; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014).

The literature review revealed only very limited and ad hoc information concerning sexual abuse of children within institutions. However, the Amnesty International (2010) study, and the Hilton (2008) report contained information concerning incidents of sexual abuse of children perpetrated by monks in monastery buildings.

Furthermore, evidence from the review indicates that rape and sexual violence *perpetration* is significantly correlated with past exposure to violence, neglect and rejection in childhood (Hilton, 2008), suggesting that children with more unstable family backgrounds are more likely to become perpetrators. In the 2013 P4P study, men's reported experiences of childhood emotional abuse or neglect, and witnessing of violence against their mother during childhood, were found to be associated with a likelihood of perpetrating both partner and non-partner rape (Fulu, Jewkes, et al., 2013; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014).

Poor mental health, a factor itself strongly associated with disadvantage and stress, may also play a role in both perpetration and victimisation. The P4P study found strong associations between high levels of depressive symptoms and rape perpetration in Cambodia. Further, men who had raped a non-partner woman or girl were more likely to have alcohol problems and lower levels of empathy. In addition, Hilton's study on street working boys noted that many victims of abuse were themselves suffering from low levels of self-esteem, vulnerability and poor mental health, which may be both an outcome of abuse and a risk factor exposing them to further victimisation. Hilton writes: "a*busers have a keen instinct for discovering and exploiting a child's vulnerabilities, such as the need to be loved, validated and valued by primary care givers"* (Hilton, 2008).

Disability

A number of studies included in the review provide evidence that disability constitutes a considerable risk factor for exposure to sexual abuse (Aberdein & Zimmerman, 2015; Amnesty International, 2010; J Astbury & Walji, 2014; Jill Astbury & Walji, 2013; Hilton, 2008). Children with disabilities may be targeted for abuse where their disability increases their vulnerability and isolation; children with disabilities may be perceived as having a relatively lower social value, and they may be less able and willing to report their abuse, or less likely to be believed if and when they do. As Hilton writes, *"[children with disabilities] may have less power, may be less able to communicate their experiences and are more reliant on others for personal*

care", all factors which increase children's vulnerability to exploitation and abuse by predatory adults (Hilton, 2008).

Most of the literature and evidence on disability and sexual abuse focuses on women's experiences, and does not disaggregate findings according to age; however, it is likely that factors which make women with disabilities vulnerable to sexual violence, may also apply to girls with disabilities. There is a gap in evidence, however, on how disability impacts on vulnerability to sexual violence amongst boys.

A 2013 study on gender based violence and disability found that female respondents with disabilities were significantly more likely to have reported being subject to family based sexual violence than those without a disability, as well as being less likely to report their abuse or seek support services (Jill Astbury & Walji, 2013; Ministry of Women's Affairs, 2014). The study also asked questions about sexual abuse in childhood. According to the findings, 13.1% of respondents had experienced some form of sexual abuse in childhood. This result was not disaggregated according to whether the respondent had a disability or not (due to methodological reasons concerning how the data were collected). However, qualitative evidence from the research demonstrated that in a least some cases the perpetrator had used the child's disability as a justification for the abuse (Jill Astbury & Walji, 2013).

Having a disability may not only affect a child's likelihood of being victimised for sexual abuse, it may also limit or hinder a child's ability to access quality support. For example, a study on access to mental health and psychosocial services in 2015 found that whilst 15% of clients within a given sexual assault programme were disabled, the staff found it extremely difficult to accommodate their needs, and acknowledged that in general children with disabilities are an extremely neglected client-group (Aberdein & Zimmerman, 2015). Research by Amnesty has also drawn attention to the fact that service providers for victims of abuse have limited resources and expertise for supporting children with special needs and that there is an urgent need for the government to scale up efforts to ensure that survivors with disabilities have access to the medical and social care that they require without discrimination (Amnesty International, 2010).

Pornography

The relationship between pornography and sexual violence and rape perpetration is contested. A number of authors in the review cite perspectives that the widespread (and increasing) availability of video and print pornography in Cambodia may be an underlying cause of sexual violence and rape perpetration. Some argue that pornography has played a fundamental role in teaching violence and abusive sexual scripts as normative ways of performing masculinity: shaping the ways that boys learn to relate to girls (Fordham, 2006; Hilton, 2008). Fordham writes:

> *"Boys use pornography as a tool to assert masculine dominance…among boys, pornography, along with the consumption of alcohol, plays a role in male bonding in gangs. It is also likely that pornographic films based on violent rape scenarios, many of which feature Cambodian actors and appear to have been filmed in Cambodia, contribute to acts such as gang rape and the rape of children."*

On the other hand, other authors have pointed out that sexual abuse, rape and incest existed well before the widespread introduction of pornographic media, and that the idea that pornography makes people sexually deviant and abusive may be based on moralistic or religious arguments, as opposed to actual evidence. The authors of Amnesty International's 2010 report on sexual violence in Cambodia "Breaking the silence" point out that ultimately, although pornography may form some of the elements of individual cases of rape perpetration, eliminating pornography cannot address the underlying causes of male sexual entitlement which drive the practice of rape, and are ultimately anchored in broader issues related to gender and power, and a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women (Amnesty International, 2010).

Age

As mentioned, there is a dearth of literature that explores experiences of sexual violence according to age. However, secondary analysis of the CVACS dataset on lifetime experiences of sexual abuse amongst 13-17 year olds suggests that older children are *more* at risk of sexual abuse than younger children, when controlling for a number of factors.[89] With each additional year, respondents are around 20% less likely to report ever having experienced any form of sexual abuse, all else being equal ($p < 0.1$). However, the relevant coefficient is only significant at the 90% threshold, so this finding should be treated with caution. One explanation for this is that older respondents are more likely to correctly identify and classify acts of sexual violence, compared to younger respondents.

[89] The binary dependent variable used in these models indicates whether respondents reported that they had ever been 1) touched in a sexual way without their permission, but were not force to have sex; or 2) made to have sexual intercourse of any kind without their permission, but where the abuser did not succeed; or 3) physically forced to have sexual intercourse of any kind regardless of whether they did or did not fight back; or 4) pressured in a non-physical way to have sexual intercourse of any kind against their will. The independent variables included in the model were a binary indicator of the respondent's gender, the respondent's age in years as well as an indicator of whether the respondent ever attended school. To capture the potential impact of household poverty on the likelihood of experiencing sexual abuse, we included the ratio of the number of rooms in the respondent's household to the number of people living in the respondent's household. We also included a binary indicator of whether the respondent lived in a rural or urban area at the time of the survey in order to control for potential differences between these two population groups. To examine the impact of mother-child relationship dynamics on exposure to sexual abuse, we also included a binary variable in our model, which indicates whether the respondent felt 'very close or close' to his or her biological mother, rather than 'not close or having no relationship with her'. We also examined the potential influence of father-child relationship dynamics on exposure to sexual abuse, by including a binary variable, which indicates whether the respondent felt 'very close or close' to his or her biological father, rather than 'not close or having no relationship with him'. Lastly, we hypothesised that peer-support could act as a protective factor against sexual abuse. For this reason we included a binary variable in our model, which indicates whether the respondent reported to talk to his or her friends about important things, either 'a lot or a little' or 'not very much or not at all'.

Interestingly, this finding stands in contrast to our results on physical violence, which indicated that older children were *less* at risk of experiencing violence than younger children.

Key findings: Sexual violence against children

Sexual violence is a topic that has received a considerable amount of attention in the reviewed literature, particularly in relation to commercial sexual exploitation. According to the CVACS data, sexual violence affects around 5.5% of Cambodian children aged 13-17. However, given the strong cultural stigma associated with sexual violence, these prevalence statistics are likely to underestimate the true extent of sexual VAC in Cambodia.

Discriminatory gender norms

Qualitative and quantitative studies included in this review identified discriminatory gender norms as underlying drivers of both perpetration of, and impunity for, sexual violence, including against children in Cambodia.

Violent masculinities

Research studies also point to a disturbing picture of hegemonic masculine identities amongst some groups of male youths in Cambodia, particularly in urban centres, whereby physical violence perpetration, alcohol and drug use, transactional sex, and gang rape *(bauk)* may be regarded as forms of entertainment and socialisation, and expressions of masculine prowess and dominance.

Impunity

The reviewed evidence suggests that impunity for perpetrators acts as an underlying driver of sexual violence against children in Cambodia. In particular, the literature points to a lack of effective investigation, widespread corruption in law enforcement, and a tendency to settle 'disputes' outside of court through the payment of compensation. Widespread impunity means that perpetrators of sexual violence are free to commit further abuse, and it reinforces the idea that such behaviour is an acceptable and 'normal'.

Fragile families

The literature provides evidence that children from disadvantaged backgrounds, and those with fragile family and home lives, are at increased risk of becoming both victims and perpetrators of sexual abuse. In particular, the review identified childhood victimisation as an important determinant of sexual violence perpetration later in life.

Disability

A number of studies included in the review also provide evidence that disability constitutes a considerable individual-level risk factor in relation to exposure to sexual abuse.

Exposure to pornography

Qualitative studies included in the review suggest that the widespread (and increasing) availability of video and print pornography in Cambodia may be an underlying cause of sexual violence and rape perpetration, by 'normalising' violent and abusive sexual scripts.

However, other studies dispute this link and point out that sexual abuse existed well before the widespread introduction of pornography in Cambodia. Lack of robust evidence on the links between pornography and sexual violence in the Cambodian context makes it difficult to provide definitive conclusions.

3.4. Child marriage

3.4.1. Context

None of the papers including in the systematic review focused exclusively on child marriage, and only a handful contained any evidence whatsoever on the practice. This may be because prevalence of child marriage in Cambodia is thought to be relatively low, and in steady decline.

Nevertheless, according to secondary analysis of the CHDS data from 2014, almost 1 in 4 (23%) of female respondents, and 6.5% of male respondents, aged 18-49 years reported living together with their first partner (in a marriage union) before the age of 18 years (National Institute of Statistics, 2015). Although these rates are not amongst the highest in the region, they remain large enough to be of interest and concern to development partners.

Nevertheless, when only *currently* under-18 year olds are considered, the rates of child marriage appear much lower: with only 6.5% of girls, and 0.6% of boys under the age of 18 years at the time of the survey reporting to be in a marriage union (National Institute of Statistics, 2015). These statistics should be treated with caution. Firstly they may include respondents who are not yet in a marriage union, but will nevertheless go on to be before they turn 18. Secondly, given the law on marriage which prohibits marriage of girls and boys under 18, (with the exception of girls above 16 marrying with parental consent)it may be the case that married respondents currently under these ages would be reticent to report either their actual age or their marriage status due to fear of legal consequences.

3.4.2. Determinants of child marriage

As discussed, the literature review revealed that there is a dearth of scientific literature and evidence that addresses the issue of child marriage in Cambodia. Anecdotal evidence concerning the practice seems to be confined to online news sources, and the odd mention of 'Cambodia' within general regional or global literature concerning child marriage. The limited information that was drawn from the surveyed literature on potential determinant of child marriage is summarised below.

Urbanisation

Evidence from the review indicates that child marriage may be more prevalent amongst families in rural areas compared to Cambodia's urban centres. Research conducted in 2009 by the NGO Committee on the Rights of the Child found that in some rural families it is still considered acceptable to marry their children, particularly girls, as young as 14 years, if a suitable match is found and it is felt that marriage will secure their family and future

(Gourley, 2009). As well as 'rurality' being associated with more traditional norms, it is likely that the law prohibiting child marriage is less stringently enforced in more rural compared to urban centres: one girl in Kampong Cham quoted in a source in the review explained: *"even if a girl is underage, the parents can ask the authorities to prepare documents which would allow her to become legally married."*

According to the 2014 CDHS survey the median age of first marriage amongst urban females (22) is around 2 years older than amongst rural females (20). Meanwhile, amongst males the difference is even greater: half of all rural based males are married by the age of 23 years, whilst fewer than half residing in urban centres are married by the age of 25 (National Institute of Statistics, 2015). Disaggregating the CDHS data by province also reveals that the median age of first marriage amongst females is particularly low in Cambodia's north-eastern Provinces (e.g. Mondulkiri, Ratanakiri, Stung Treng, etc.) (see National Institute of Statistics, 2015, p.101)

Gender, sexuality and early pregnancy

There are substantial gender-based disparities in rates of child marriage: with significantly greater numbers of girls married as children than boys (National Institute of Public Health and National Institute of Statistics, 2006; National Institute of Statistics & Directorate General for Health, 2011; National Institute of Statistics, 2015). Restrictive attitudes towards female sexuality, and the social roles of women and girls, who are understood to bear primary responsibility for the reproduction of the household, may be root causes of higher rates of child marriage amongst girls (Hoefinger, 2013).

Given that female social value is bound up in upholding certain moral codes, particularly concerning virginity before marriage, early marriage may be a coping strategy in the face of early pregnancy, or even following circumstances of sexual violence and rape. Respondents included in the qualitative element of the national VACS study felt that a girl who had a child outside of marriage would be labelled a "shameless" or "badly behaved" woman, and that society would shun them because they were not in a formal marriage. They also felt that such a scenario would be an embarrassment to her entire family, who would be "gossiped about" in the wider community. Yet these same attitudes were not felt to apply in the case of boys and men (UNICEF, 2013).

As well as driving the *supply* of child brides, discriminatory attitudes around gender and sexuality may also be a determinant of the *demand* for young girls for marriage: as Joudo Larsen writes: *"the demand for sex with children and/or young brides is largely attributed to the value placed on virginity among East Asian cultures"* (Larsen, 2011), and men may prefer a younger wife as she may be perceived as being relatively more subservient and easier to control (Gourley, 2009).

Parental ownership, constructions of childhood, marriage brokering and debt bondage

Evidence from the review suggests that contemporary times have seen a shift in marriage practices: whilst traditionally most marriages were arranged by a couple's parents, the majority of individuals today choose partners for themselves (Hoefinger, 2013).

Despite this change, in a minority of families with more traditional or conservative values, arranged marriages may still be practiced. According to data from the 2006 CDHS survey, 18% of currently married women included in the survey had met their husbands for the first time or their wedding day, although the percentage was much lower amongst younger respondents, again providing evidence that this practice is declining over time (National Institute of Public Health and National Institute of Statistics, 2006).

The Khmer proverb *"the cake [child] is not bigger than the pan [parent]"* reflects traditional norms around the relationship between parents and children, which provide the basis for parental authority to choose when and who children will marry (Gourley, 2009). Although in most circumstances arranged marriages may be negotiated and settled according to parents' perceptions of what is in the best interests of their child, in a small minority of cases, particularly in circumstances of hardship and poverty, such attitudes may justify the sale of children in marriage, and the practice of foreign marriage brokering (a practice strongly linked to trafficking, which is discussed in detail elsewhere).

A 2011 study on trafficking of children in the Asia-Pacific noted that the relatively powerless social position of children places them at risk of being sold in marriage, including in infancy, to settle a family feud or secure payment of a debt (Larsen, 2011). Other literature has noted a proliferation of (particularly South Korean) marriage brokering firms in Cambodia. These companies arrange marriage tours to rural provinces for foreign men, where they are presented with the opportunity of selecting a young wife. Families of these girls typically receive between $300-$1,000 USD in payment for their daughter (Hoefinger, 2013).

Education

According to secondary analysis of the CDHS dataset from 2014, education may be a significant protective factor in reducing the rate of child marriage amongst girls. Holding household wealth,[90] household location (urban or rural) and respondent's age (in years) constant, having attended primary school was found to *reduce* a girl's odds of marrying before the age of 18 years by 25% compared to having no formal education ($p < 0.01$); whilst having a secondary education reduces her odds of marrying as a child by 55% compared to having no formal education ($p < 0.01$), and by 95% in the case of tertiary

[90] Household wealth was measured using the pre-defined CDHS wealth index, which divides households into wealth quintiles.

level education ($p < 0.01$) (Table 8, Model 1).[91] It is important to note, however, that the direction of causality is this case is theoretically unclear: On the one hand, early marriage may cause a girl to leave school at a younger age than she would otherwise have done; on the other hand, access to education has the potential to delay marriage and may also increase a girl's ability to exercise agency and choice over marriage.

Key findings: Child marriage

Data from the CDHS (2014) indicate that child marriage in Cambodia primarily affects girls. 23% of female respondents and only 6% of male respondents (aged 18-49) reported that they were first married before the age of 18. The review identified relatively little robust evidence on the determinants of child marriage in Cambodia.

Urbanisation

Evidence from the review indicates that child marriage is more prevalent amongst families in the countryside compared to Cambodia's urban centres.

Gendered attitudes

Restrictive attitudes towards female sexuality, and the social roles of women and girls, were identified as important underlying drivers of child marriage amongst girls. In particular, early marriage may be employed as a 'coping strategy' in the face of early or unwanted pregnancy.

Attitudes also influence the *demand* for early marriages: young brides are desirable because of the value placed on virginity and because young brides are perceived as more subservient and easier to control.

Poverty and marriage brokering

Poverty and economic hardship may place children at risk of being sold into marriage. South Korean marriage brokering firms were identified as important actors facilitating and perpetuating these practices.

Education

Secondary analysis of the CDHS data indicates that education is a significant protective factor, reducing the risk of child marriage amongst girls. However, the direction of causality is unclear in this case, as girls may need to terminate their education as a result of early

[91] The substantive results remain the same when re-running models with robust standard errors clustered by region and primary sampling unit in order to account for potential correlation within these clusters.

marriage. Finally, girls' educational level and age of marriage may also be determined by a *common* confounding factor, such as parental education or household wealth.

3.5. Child labour

Child labour is another topic that has received a relatively large amount of scholarly attention in Cambodia, particularly in comparison to other forms of VAC. Of the 74 papers included in the study, 16 address the issue of child labour or working children in Cambodia. In particular, an inter-agency research project UCW dedicated to studying child labour and funded by UNICEF, ILO and the World Bank, has produced a number of high-quality studies on this topic. In addition, researchers affiliated with CDRI published several papers on child labour in the framework of a US Department of Labour funded initiative.

3.5.1. Defining child labour

It is important to clarify the definition of child labour, as not all work conducted by children amounts to 'violence'. As set out in the definitions section of this review, child labour is defined as a form of violence where it constitutes economic exploitation, or 'is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development', in line with UNCRC Article 32.

Many of the studies included in the review distinguished between working children and child labourers in accordance with the Cambodian Labour Law, which establishes 18 as the minimum allowable age for any kind of work that by its nature could be hazardous to health, safety or morality (Bunnak, 2007). The minimum age for legal employment is 15 years if the 'health, safety or morality [of the child] is fully guaranteed'; and the child can receive 'specific and adequate instruction or vocational training (Articles 177(2) – (3), Labour Law 1997). The law allows children aged 12-14 years to perform light work that is not hazardous to their health and does not interfere with their schooling. Children 11 and under cannot legally work.

Of course defining 'harm', 'hazardous work' and interference may not always be straightforward. Categories of work that are considered to be hazardous in Cambodia are elaborated in the Ministry of Social Affairs, Labour, Vocational Training and Youth Rehabilitation's Proclamation No 106 on the Prohibition of Children Working in Hazardous Places. Problematically, domestic labour is not included in this definition.

3.5.2. Context

The most reliable information on child labour in Cambodia comes from the Cambodia Labour Force and Child Labour Survey conducted by the International Labour Organisation and the Cambodian National Institute of Statistics (NIS). While findings from other surveys were cited by literature included in the review, some vary slightly from the findings in the ILO/NIS survey. This review refers primarily to the ILO/NIS survey as it is the most recent and adopts definitions which are consistent with both the law in Cambodia and international standards. Additionally, the sampling strategy was found to be robust in the quality assessment phase of the review.

According to findings from the survey, an estimated 755,245 children are economically active in Cambodia, or about 19% of the total population of children. Of these, 56.9% (or 429,380) were reportedly child labourers,[92] and 31.3% (236,498) were engaged in hazardous labour (ILO/NIS, 2013). The majority of economically active children (63.4%) were 15-17 years old, followed by 12-14 years old (26.3%). Rather worryingly, 10.3% of economically active children were 5-11 years old, despite the fact that the law does not permit the employment of children under 11. Older children appear to be more likely to be engaged in hazardous labour: of the estimated 236,498 children engaged in *hazardous labour* 1.7% were 5-11 years old; 13.3% were 12-14 years old and 85% were 15-17 years old. Indeed, studies consistently demonstrated that older children are at greater risk of becoming involved in child labour, despite the fact that the older a child the more narrow the definition of child labour becomes (Fukui, Miwa, & Han, 2013; ILO/NIS, 2013; Understanding Children's Work, 2006).

Most child labour in Cambodia takes place in the agricultural sphere, although increasingly children are reportedly found working in the services and manufacturing sectors, particularly within unregulated (informal) industries. According to the Cambodia Labour Force and Child Labour Survey (2012), over half of child labourers surveyed (and particularly male child labourers) worked in the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector; nearly 20 per cent worked in manufacturing; 11.6 per cent were engaged in the trade sector; 5.8 were in construction and 4.4 were in accommodation and food service. This has clear implications for children's working environments "because most of the child labourers were in the agriculture, forestry and fishing sector, nearly 38 per cent of them worked on a farm, agricultural plot, lake or river. A much smaller 17.4 per cent of them worked in a factory, office, workshop, shop or kiosk away from home" (ILO/NIS, 2013).

Division of labour is reported to be deeply gendered in Cambodia. Several studies indicated that labour tends to be divided according to 'masculine' and 'feminine' tasks, with girls' labour more likely to occur within a home environment (Blanco, Breglia, Guarcello, & Valdivia, 2008). This is consistent with findings from a study conducted by Plan International, in which parents explained that "chores including cooking, cleaning, stitching and most of the indoor activities are assigned to girls, whereas boys are assigned 'heavy' tasks such as carrying water, tending animals, or helping in farming or not given any work at all" (PLAN International, 2014).

3.5.3. Determinants of child labour

[92] The definition of "child labourer used in the survey (which is broadly consistent with the Cambodian law) is as follows: a) Children aged 5-11 years and engaged in any economic activity for one hour or more in reference week; b) children aged 12-14 years and engaged in permissible (non-hazardous) economic activity for more than 12 hours in the reference week; c) children aged 12-14 years and engaged in work for fewer than 12 hours in the reference week but working in designated hazardous industries and occupations; d) children aged 15-17 and engaged in economic activity for more than 48 hours in the reference week; e) children aged 15-17 years and engaged in economic activity for 48 or fewer hours in the reference week but engaged in designated hazardous industries and occupations.

Poverty, rurality and family size

The relationship between child labour and household income poverty has been explored by a number of studies included in the review. Many of these are based on the assumption that child labour is more likely to occur in the context of income poverty because children may be required to work to bring additional income into the household. One study found that "higher household consumption, an indicator of household wealth, is also associated with lower likelihood of children to participate in economic activities", which suggests that child labour is a coping strategy for families who are struggling with poverty (Hing, Lun, & Phann, 2014). Similarly, a study on child work and child labour among orphaned and abandoned children found negative associations between household income and child labour, including the finding that "caregivers not earning an income more than doubled the likelihood of child labour" (Whetten et al., 2011). Indeed, on the basis of such evidence, one study concluded that "poverty is the fundamental determinant of child labour" (Han, Fukui, & Miwa, 2008).

This view is reinforced by several qualitative studies. As reported by a study on the UCW initiative, "most families cite economic motives in explaining the decision to send their children to work. Either family poverty or the need to supplement family income are given as the primary motives in the case of three out of every four working children" (Understanding Children's Work, 2006). Poverty has also been identified as a determinant of child labour by children themselves. According to children interviewed in a brick making factory, the main reasons they work are; "family economic hardship, personal needs (such as clothes, shoes, snacks, etc) and being forced to work by their parents or guardians due to family debt" (Bunnak, 2007). Several studies also explained that children are often required to work in order to fund school related expenses.

It is clear, however, that while income poverty is a determinant of child labour, the relationship between the two is far from straightforward, and is mitigated by a range of factors. As Kim points out, "studies looking at the relationship between rates of child labour and household poverty, often measured using household income, show contrasting results both across and within countries: while some find positive relationships (e.g., Cartwright, 1999; Patrisons and Psacharapoulos, 1995), others find a negative or insignificant relationship between child labour and poverty rates (Patrinos and Psacharapoulos, 1997; Ray, 2000; Rosati and Tzannatos, 2006)" (C. Y. Kim, 2009).

For instance, a number of studies have found that children from land-rich households are more likely to be working than children from land-poor households. Han et al describe this as a 'wealth paradox': having more land may mean that there is more to be gained by putting children to work; while it may also provide opportunities for financing a child's education (ie through renting out land) (Han et al., 2008). Interestingly their analysis of Cambodian data did not find this relationship between child labour and land ownership, but did find

that it exists in the context of cattle holdings; the more cows owned by a family the more likely their children were to be working. The relationship between land and child labour was found by another study conducted in Cambodia, which reported that "household wealth is positively associated with children's work where wealthy families own productive assets such as land" (C.-Y. Kim, 2011).

It appears that, particularly where credit markets are weak, land and livestock ownership has the potential to have an inverse effect on child labour. Indeed, according to another study included in the review, children from landless households are 42 per cent less likely to take part in work than those from households that hold land (Phann, Phay, Ong, & Pon, 2014). This occurs in particular "at times when there is not enough income from adult members or an increase of adults unemployment… children provide additional labour when there is a shortage of family workforce and inability to hire labour from outside" (Han et al., 2008). While being from a land owning household appears to increase the likelihood that a child will work, it appears that the work they are engaged in may be less harmful. As Phann et al explain:

> *"Children in land holding households mostly do simple tasks on their own farm under the supervision and protection of their parents. They are engaged in work to learn, to gain skills and to socialise in order to operate the family's farm or business in the future. If they sell labour, they mostly work for pocket money or just want to benefit from more productive opportunity especially to gain experience. Meanwhile, the children of poor landless families struggle for food and survival. They take any work offered that is more hazardous, heaving and longer than that of children in land-holding rich families. They are prone to health problems, abuse and trafficking if they move far from the village without going through a safe network. They face being withdrawn from or quitting school because of workload and not having enough means to attend"* (Phann et al., 2014).

This is consistent with findings from a study conducted by Blanco F et al in Colombia, El Salvador, Cambodia and Ecuador found that children who are supervised by a non-household member are subject to greater levels of mistreatment than those supervised by a member of their household (Blanco et al., 2008).

The relationship between land and livestock holdings and child labour may partially explain the fact that, as in other countries, child labour in Cambodia appears to be more prevalent in rural areas and agrarian households (Phann et al., 2014). According to a particularly recent study on child labour, "most working children are engaged in tasks such as feeding livestock, growing crops, collecting wood and fishing" (Phann et al., 2014). This is consistent with f the ILO/NIS survey, which found that of those children engaged in child labour, the vast majority lived in rural areas, and that "[orphans and abandoned children] living in rural areas were more than 2.5 times more likely to engage in child labour than those in urban areas" (ILO/NIS, 2013).

Education

The relationship between child labour and education was explored and addressed in nearly all of the literature on child labour included in the review. As Whetten points out "much of the child-labour literature focuses on educational attainment and school attendance, as it is widely believed that child labour interferes with schooling" (Whetten et al., 2011), and Kim explains that "national household surveys repeatedly find children's work activities to be one of the main reasons for why they do not attend school" (C.-Y. Kim, 2011). Indeed, interference with school is a primary reason why child labour is considered to be harmful in the first place.

In a study on child work and child labour among orphaned and abandoned children, Whetten et al found that children who were not in school were 4 times more likely to be involved in child labour than those in school, and children who were involved in child labour were 2 times as likely to not attend school compared to those who were not (children working less than 28 hours a week) (Whetten et al., 2011). While the fact that a relationship exists between school attendance and child labour is clear, however, the causality is perhaps more complex: for instance, children may be working because they are not in school, rather than not in school because they are working.

The ILO/NIS survey does shed some light on the reasons why children who are working were not attending school. According to the survey, nearly a third (32.4 per cent) of child labourers who had never attended school could not afford schooling; 20.6 per cent attributed non-attendance to a lack of a school nearby; 18.8 per cent to a lack of interest in going to school; 10.3 per cent to the fact that their family did not allow them to go to school; 6.5 per cent to the fact that they had to help out at home; and 3.4 per cent to being too young (ILO/NIS, 2013).

The number of hours a child is working is important in determining whether their work will impact on their education. Several studies observed that school attendance and grade attainment drop significantly when a child is working over 25 hours a week (Whetten et al., 2011). There also appears to be a difference between the impact of what Whetten et al call 'market' and 'non-market' forms of child labour on a child's schooling. They found that "there are distinct and specific negative associations between children who work long hours exclusively in market activity as compared to children who work long hours on household and domestic chores. However, a reasonable amount of nonmarket activity work i.e., chores, light domestic work) is positively associated with better school performance, attendance and perceptions of self-worth" (Whetten et al., 2011).

Studies included in the review raised several other ways in which education may serve as a determinant of child labour. For instance, school fees may serve as an underlying cause of child labour by creating barriers to young people's education: it may be necessary for a

child to work in order to earn school fees or, if the parents cannot afford to send the child to school, they may decide to send the child to work instead. Kim points out that teachers often charge additional fees due to their insufficient salaries (C. Y. Kim, 2009). Several other studies identified *parents'* education level as a relevant determinant of child labour. One found that "if a household head completed at least primary education, their children have less chance of being at work" (Phann et al., 2014); and another found that mother's education in particular has a positive impact on child education (Fukui et al., 2013).

Finally, school quality may have an impact on the risk of child labour: where school quality is high, parents and students may see the opportunity cost of not having the child in school as being higher. The UCW Project found that "school quality, as proxied by a set of indicators like the number of female teachers and the level of education of teachers, tend to increase the number of children going only to school and to reduce the number of children economically active. The effect is especially relevant for children both working and attending school" (Understanding Children's Work, 2006). Interestingly, the study also found that improvements in school quality resulted in children who are already in school being less likely to take on work outside school.

Acceptability and social norms

It is clear that income poverty, land ownership, 'rurality' and education all shape the likelihood of a child being engaged in child labour. While the above mentioned factors are likely to impact on whether a child will work, evidence from the review also suggests that social attitudes about whether child labour is acceptable, and particularly about the relative trade-offs between education and labour, are critical to shaping parents' and employers' decisions to engage a child in labour (C.-Y. Kim, 2011). According to a review of the historical progression toward eliminating child labour and promoting universal education in industrialised countries, shifts in societal attitudes were often a main driving force for change (C.-Y. Kim, 2011).

A parental view that their children's labour is acceptable and not harmful may be an underlying driver of child labour practices, particularly given that in the majority of cases, whether or not a child works is determined by his or her parents (Phann et al., 2014). For instance, a study among child workers in brick factories found that parents tended to perceive their children's labour as not being harmful, even when it was hazardous and posed risks to the child. As Bunnak elaborates, "parents of children working in brick factories were also asked to express their perception of jobs undertaken by their children in terms of the heaviness and length of working hours. The finding shows that the proportion of parents reporting that their children's jobs were too heavy for them or working hours were too long for them was much lower than that reported by child workers themselves. For example, 30.2% of 41 parents said their children's work was not too heavy for them and 44.2% said that the working hours were just about right for their children.

The finding helps explain parents' rationale for engaging children in child labour" (Bunnak, 2007).

Finally, acceptability of child labour may also be rooted in socio-cultural norms, according to which children are obliged to pay back debt to their parents. Several qualitative studies included in the review demonstrated how working children identify their labour as necessary to repay (legitimate) debts to their parents. Hoefinger describes how children working in the sex industry "inevitably refer to their obligations to support their parents, specifically their mothers. This is not necessarily because the parents are "poor", but because the parents have spent money bringing up the daughter, and it is her duty to repay the debt" (Hoefinger, 2013). As she explains, "This perspective helps to illuminate the culturally-based rationale for some parents to exploit their children's labour through domestic work, street vending, factor work, begging, virginity selling or commercial sex" (Hoefinger, 2013).

Demand for child labour

Finally, several studies identified the particular market demand for children's employment, as a basic determinant of child labour: "Demand for child labour is driven by the fact that children are cheaper to employ, easier to manipulate and control, more willing to take on undesirable work, and unlikely to seek protection through industrial processes. They can be made to undertake undesirable work" (Larsen, 2011). In fact, according to respondents in the Cambodia Child Labour Survey (2001),[93] the most commonly cited reasons for employment of children under the age of 18 are: children's suitability for the work (44% of all reasons for employing children), lack of other workers (17.6%) and absence of trade unions (15.6%). As Bunnak points out, "these reasons point to a situation where employers look for low skills, cheap labour and unprotected child workers" (Bunnak, 2007).

It is interesting to note that several managers in a brick factor that employs children explained that they employ children because they cannot resist the children who beg to work there; "'It's hard to resist children's wanting to work here, especially when many come here and keep asking for work" (Bunnak, 2007). Supply of child labour, particularly from vulnerable children who lack alternatives, is another important determinant. Several studies included in the review mentioned that children who have a lack of appropriate parental care, children who have experienced violence or abuse, or children from fragile families may be at greater risk for becoming involved in child labour (Whetten et al., 2011).

Key findings: Child labour

Data from the Cambodia Labour Force and Child Labour Survey (2012) indicate that around 750,000 Cambodian children are economically active. Of these economically active

[93] This question does not appear to have been included in the more recent survey.

children, 57% were classified as child labourers and 31% were engaged in hazardous labour. The topic of child labour has received a relatively large amount of scholarly attention in Cambodia.

Poverty

Household poverty and economic hardship were identified as important underlying drivers of child labour in Cambodia. However, a number of studies included in the review also highlight the fact that the relationship between poverty and child labour is not always straightforward. Especially in rural areas, where credit markets are weak, land and livestock ownership have the potential to have an *inverse* effect on child labour rates, with children from wealthier households more likely to be engaged in child labour.

Education

The review identified an inherent trade-off between children's education and their participation in the workforce, in particular when work exceeds 25 hours a week. However the direction of causality remains ambiguous, as children may be working because they are not in school, rather than not being in school because they are working.

Several studies identified parental education as an important protective factor against child labour.

The existing evidence indicates that school fees may serve as an underlying determinant of child labour by creating barriers to young people's education, or forcing children to take up work in order to afford school.

Poor school quality was also identified as a risk factor associated with child labour, as it reduces the perceived benefits of schooling amongst parents and children (relative to child labour).

Attitudes and norms

Parents' view that child labour is acceptable and not harmful was identified as an important attitudinal determinant of child labour in Cambodia. This finding is particularly significant given that, in the majority of cases, parents have the final say about whether their children will work.

Qualitative evidence also revealed how working children in Cambodia identify their labour as necessary to repay 'debts' to their parents, highlighting the important influence of cultural norms around inter-generational obligations.

Demand-side factors

Child labour in Cambodia is also determined by a number of demand-side factors, including that children are cheaper to employ, easier to manipulate and control, more willing to take on undesirable work, and less likely to seek workplace protections through industrial action.

3.6. Neglect

3.6.1. Context

Only one study included in this review specifically addresses the issue of child neglect, and then only to a limited extent. The CDHS of 2014 (National Institute of Statistics, 2015) uses a very specific and limited conceptualisation of child neglect ('inadequate care'), and only applies it to a limited category of children: those under the age of five. According to the CDHS definition, a case of 'inadequate care' arises if a child under the age of five is left alone for one hour or more, or if a child under the age of five is left in the care of other children under age 10 for one hour or more (p.169). Importantly, the available international evidence suggests that parental supervision is also important during the child's adolescent years, for example in relation to substance abuse or recidivism (Clark, Thatcher, & Maisto, 2005; Ryan, Williams, & Courtney, 2013).

The CDHS data suggest that one in ten Cambodian children under age five receive inadequate care, according to the above definition. 8% of Cambodian children under the age of five were left in the care of other children under the age of ten and 5% of children under the age of five were left completely alone for at least an hour in the week preceding the CDHS interview (National Institute of Statistics, 2015).

3.6.2. Determinants of neglect

Using logistic regression models on the CDHS data on neglect uncovered a number of individual- and household-level determinants of child neglect. In particular, mother's age and educational level, her attitudes towards violent child discipline, as well as household poverty and family size were identified as significant determinants of child neglect.

Regression analysis of CDHS data on neglect:

The model only included respondents who had at least one child under the age of five at the time of the survey in order to account for the age-specific definition of 'inadequate care' used in the CDHS. The binary dependent variable used in this model was based on the CDHS definition of 'inadequate care' (see National Institute of Statistics, 2015, p.169) and indicates whether the female respondent's youngest child under the age of five had been left alone during the week preceding the interview for one hour or more, or whether the child was left in the care of other children under age 10 for one hour or more. The independent variables included in the model were the mother's age and level of education (in years). To examine the influence of household poverty on child neglect, the pre-defined CDHS wealth index was also included as an independent variable,

dividing all households into wealth quintiles.[94] Furthermore, the regression model controlled for urban versus rural area and the total number of household members. Last, in order to account for the influence of the mother's attitudes towards violent child discipline, a categorical variable was included, which indicates whether the female respondent agreed that parents are justified in beating their daughter for not taking care of a younger sibling.

Individual-level determinants

The logistic regression results indicate that the mother's age is an important predictor of child neglect, with older mother's being significantly more likely to report that their children (under the age of five) received 'inadequate care' in the week preceding the survey (Table 9, Model 1). With each additional year of age of the mother, the odds of her child receiving 'inadequate care' increase by around 6%, all else being equal ($p < 0.01$). This finding may indicate that younger women included in the survey are more aware of the negative consequences of child neglect due to attitudinal differences between generations, and therefore less likely to neglect their children *in practice*. However, an alternative explanation for this relationship may be that older respondents were simply more willing to report (or admit) that they had left their children in situations of 'inadequate care'.

Education of the mother was also identified as a significant protective factor against child neglect. With each additional year of schooling received by the child's mother, the odds of receiving 'inadequate care' *decrease* by around 9%, all else being equal ($p < 0.01$) (Table 9, Model 1). This finding is perhaps unsurprising, as better educated parents are more likely to be aware of the dangers of leaving small children alone or with another young child, and the potentially negative consequences of child neglect.[95]

The regression results also indicate that a mother's attitudes towards violent child discipline have an impact on children's likelihood to experience neglect or receive 'inadequate care'. Mothers who hold attitudes that are supportive of violent child discipline are 70% more likely to report that their children (under the age of five) received 'inadequate care', all else being equal ($p < 0.01$) (Table 9, Model 1).

Household-level determinants

The CDHS data analysis also revealed that household-level factors matter in determining children's exposure to 'inadequate care'. In particular, household wealth and family size were identified as significant determinants in the regression model.

[94] Note that this is a relative rather than an absolute measure of household poverty.

[95] Note that the model controls for the impact of household wealth, so the protective influence of maternal education on child neglect applies even when taking into account the socio-economic position of the mother.

Respondents in the highest wealth quintile are around 70% less likely to leave their children (under the age of five) in situations of 'inadequate care', compared to respondents in the poorest wealth quintile, all else being equal ($p < 0.01$) (Table 9, Model 1). While neglect in the context of poverty is a highly contested term, the CDHS's definition of 'inadequate care' is relatively distinct from factors related to material deprivation. This is because child neglect is defined as 'lack of supervision' rather than lack of material goods or services such as food, shelter, clothing or basic medical care.

One way in which household poverty may plausibly impact children's susceptibility to be left in situations of 'inadequate care' is through the causal channel of labour force participation. Household poverty may force both parents (and other potential care givers such as older children) into work outside of the home (see discussion on 'Child Labour' in Section 3.5), thereby making them unavailable for the provision of 'adequate care' to any under-5 children that may be living in the household.

Lastly, the regression model identified family size as an important protective factor against 'inadequate care'. Perhaps unsurprisingly, inadequate care cases are significantly less likely in bigger households, where the potential pool of supervisors/carers is larger. With each additional household member, the odds of 'inadequate care' cases decrease by around 9%, all else being equal ($p < 0.05$) (Table 9, Model 1).

Additional tests on the CDHS data:

The CDHS model predicting child neglect was re-run, using robust standard errors clustered by region and primary sampling unit. The substantive results remained the same as in the original model.

Key findings: Neglect

The CDHS (2014) data suggest that one in ten Cambodian children under the age of five receive inadequate care. The systematic review produced no evidence on the extent, nature and determinants of child neglect in Cambodia. The CDHS (2014) was identified as the sole primary data source on child neglect in Cambodia.

Mother's age

Statistical analysis of the CDHS data indicates that older mothers are significantly more likely to report that their children under the age of five received 'inadequate care'. This may be the result of attitudinal differences between generations, or differences in reporting behaviour between older and younger survey respondents.

Mother's education and attitudes

Using evidence from the CDHS survey, education of the mother was also identified as a significant protective factor against child neglect, with well-educated mothers being less likely to leave their children in situations of inadequate care.

Mothers who hold attitudes that are supportive of violent child discipline are significantly more likely to neglect their children.

Household poverty

Regression results indicate that children in poor households are significantly more likely to find themselves in situations of inadequate care. The analysis used 'lack of adequate supervision' instead of lack of material goods or services to measure child neglect, so household poverty and neglect were not synonymous.

Family size

Large family size acts as a protective factor against child neglect. Regression results from the CDHS data indicate that children living in larger families are significantly less likely to receive inadequate care, in comparison to children living in smaller families.

3.7. Trafficking

Probably as a result of the priority given to trafficking by donors, international organisations and governments, trafficking of children in Cambodia has been the subject of more research than any other type of VAC, in recent years: approximately 40% of papers included in the review address child trafficking. A decision was made by the authors not to include trafficking as a particular 'type' of VAC in its conceptual framework, as there is a significant amount of overlap between acts that constitute trafficking and other forms of VAC addressed in this study, particularly sexual exploitation and child labour. However, it is useful to treat evidence on trafficking and its determinants separately, as trafficking is a distinct phenomenon associated with and explained by a unique set of underlying (structural) determinants which are important to understand.

3.7.1. Defining trafficking

Several papers included in the review highlighted the difficulties in defining the term 'trafficking'. In an assessment of the complexities of responding to child trafficking, Davy aptly summarised debates over trafficking definitions, as being rooted in "disagreement over definitions of the "child", and children's agency to work, debate over prostitution as slavery, [and] debate over [child sex trafficking] as a law and policy issue" (Davy, 2014). These debates tend to turn on the issue of how to define consent; the relevance of consent; what constitutes exploitation; the status of bonded labour and whether trafficking must require transit or movement (Weitzer, 2015). The lack of consensus about what falls within the definition of trafficking makes it difficult to draw conclusions through synthesising or comparing findings from existing studies. Understanding these debates, and the politics behind them is, though, critical to developing sensitive and effective strategies to prevent and respond to trafficking.

The most widely accepted definition of human trafficking – particularly among governments, NGOs and UN agencies – is that contained in the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, better known as the Palermo Protocol to the UN Convention against Transnational Organised Crime (2000). According to the Protocol, which Cambodia ratified in 2005:

(a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation or the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour

or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs."

(b) The consent of the victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in the subparagraph (a) of this paper shall be irrelevant where any of the means set for the in the subparagraph (a) have been used.

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring, or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involved any of the means set forth in the subparagraph (a) of this paper.

(d) "Child" shall mean any person under 18 years of age.

The definition establishes that the following acts constitute trafficking: 'recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring and receipt' of persons, when done for the purposes of exploitation. Notably, whether or not the victim 'consents' to the exploitation is considered to be irrelevant if it was achieved by means of the threat or use of force or a range of other coercive acts including fraud or deception, and in the case that the exploited person is a child. As Davy points out, *exploitation* rather than consent is the central feature of the Palermo Protocol's definition (Davy, 2014).

The point at which labour becomes exploitative or coercion has occurred may be subject to debate, particularly in environments where vulnerable people are willing to migrate to pursue economic opportunities. As noted by Derks in a review of a decade of literature and research addressing trafficking in Cambodia (1996 – 2006); "From the discussion about the extent, purposes and routes of trafficking, it has become clear that it is not easy to distinguish between trafficking and other forms of (labour) movements. For this reason, (some) researchers refer to… trafficking as a continuum, with the use of force and coercion at one end and voluntary movement for economic opportunities at the other end" (Derks, Henke, & Vanna, 2006). Indeed, determining when labour becomes exploitative and the point at which it is coercive is often difficult, particularly in a context of extreme global inequality where disparities in power characterise most labour arrangements. Questions of exploitation are particularly controversial in the context of sex work, which is viewed by some as exploitative in all circumstances.

According to most definitions of trafficking, and the laws designed to implement them, these tensions and ambiguities are irrelevant when it comes to children: as Weitzer explains in an analysis of human trafficking and contemporary slavery, "Under international legal instruments, the assisted migration and employment of minors differ from that of adults. For minors, consent is irrelevant and coercion or deception is not necessary to qualify as trafficking or un-free labour" (Weitzer, 2015). In particular, any sex work involving children is considered to be non-consensual and exploitative, and thus (when it is facilitated by a third party) is defined as trafficking: "trafficking is often used as a blanket term to

refer to anyone who engages in 'commercial sex work' below the age of 18 years" (McCauley, Decker, & Silverman, 2010). [96]

Applying broad (legal) definitions of child trafficking is seen as important to ensuring children's protection from violence. However, broad definitions may also have problematic effects, particularly where they make it more difficult to understand how and why trafficking occurs.

3.7.2. Context

Obtaining comprehensive evidence on child trafficking is difficult given that it primarily occurs underground. A recent systematic review of literature on trafficking in Cambodia found that despite the number of studies on the topic "there is a clear lack of in-depth information on the workings, causes and broader context of trafficking" (Derks, Henke, & Vanna, 2006). According to the evidence that does exist, Cambodia is a 'sending country', 'receiving country' and 'transit country' in the trafficking industry (Derks et al., 2006). While Cambodia was previously considered to be primarily a sending country, due to the expansion of the sex industry, children from outside the country are now trafficked into Cambodia to work in the sex trade (Davy, 2014). Internal trafficking is also prevalent (Derks et al., 2006). Existing evidence suggests that children tend to be trafficked from rural to urban environments, such as Phnom Penh, Sihanoukville, Siem Reap and Poipet. While information about specific internal pathways and trafficking networks is limited, Derks' literature review suggests that children are trafficked from all over the country (Derks et al., 2006).

The majority of evidence on child trafficking in Cambodia focuses on the sex industry, but existing literature also provides information on trafficking of children for begging and vending, labour exploitation, adoption and marriage (Derks et al, 2006). Exploitative labour practices are reportedly prevalent within domestic work, fishing, agricultural and construction industries. Finally, existing evidence suggests that child trafficking is often facilitated by single individuals or very small groups that are close to the child, such as networks of friends, acquaintances, and relatives (Weitzer, 2015), as opposed to large, organised criminal networks. Evidence also indicates that children are targeted explicitly due to their particular vulnerability, which is rooted in their age, dependency and lack of experience. As Davy explains, "Children, in contrast to adults, are clearly much more vulnerable and helpless against established structures and vested interests…and are thus

[96] In Cambodia, the Law on the Suppression of Human Trafficking and Sexual Exploitation clearly prohibits recruiting, transporting, transferring, harbouring or receiving of a child for the purposes of "profit making, sexual aggression, production of pornography, marriage against the will of the victim, adoption or any form of exploitation" (Article 10). It establishes that, "'any form of exploitation' shall include the exploitation or the prostitution of others, pornography, commercial sex acts, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, debt bondage, involuntary servitude, child labour or the removal or organs" (Article 10). However, unlike the Palermo protocol, Cambodian law requires proof of the use of force, threat, deception, abuse of power or enticement, for an act to constitute trafficking, even when the trafficking victim is a child.

more likely to be victims of debt bondage, violence, exploitation or trafficking" (Davy, 2014).

3.7.3. Individual- and relationship-level determinants

While it is difficult to draw conclusions about the extent of child trafficking, and the profile of trafficked children within Cambodia, there is some evidence available on the circumstances in which trafficking occurs and the factors that place individual children at risk.[97] Much of the evidence on the individual level determinants which make children vulnerable to trafficking: such as past experiences of violence, particularly sexual violence; income poverty; and reduced parental care, apply equally to the risk of a child suffering other forms of violence, such as sexual abuse and child labour. However, there are some specific factors, which are particularly relevant to the vulnerability of a child being trafficked.

Reduced parental care

Existing research studies demonstrate that children who have reduced parental care: either because they are not living with both or either parent or because their parents are not looking after them properly, are more likely to become victims of trafficking. A study of 179 victims of trafficking, accessed through shelters and NGOs across Cambodia, found that victims were particularly likely to have experienced a parent's death, desertion or divorce, or other types of family breakdown (ECPAT, 2006). The study found that a much larger proportion of its participants had experienced the death of their mother or father than children in the general population. According to data from the National Institute for Statistics, 1.7% of Cambodian children had experienced the death of a mother, compared to 23% of the sample of trafficked women and girls included in the study, while 6.4% had experienced the death of their father, compared to 25% of trafficked women and girls (ECPAT, 2006). According to the study, "only 57% of trafficked women and girls reported living with their father and 56% reported living with their mother at the time of recruitment" (ECPAT, 2006). While the sample in the study was not intended to be representative of trafficked women and girls, the results of the finding are striking, and suggest that girls who do not live with both parents are at much greater risk of being trafficked. Based on their interviews with trafficked girls, the authors report that children may be 'pushed' into the trafficking industry as a survival strategy, often by other family members or community members, and particularly where other care and support options are lacking.

[97] While, as previously mentioned, literature on child trafficking focuses overwhelmingly on sex trafficking, and thus the evidence presented in this section tends to be about CST, it is likely that the determinants, including risk and protective factors that make an individual child more or less vulnerable to sex trafficking are relevant to understanding determinants of other forms of trafficking as well.

Previous experiences of violence and abuse

Several studies suggested that children who have experienced violence and abuse may also be more vulnerable to trafficking than those who have not. This has been explored in particular in the context of sexual abuse: in an analysis of several studies on prostitution and sex work, Monto demonstrates that experiences of sexual violence are associated with a greater risk of becoming a victim of sex trafficking (Monto, 2014), due in part to the impact of sexual violence on a victims' self-esteem levels (Derks et al., 2006) (this relationship is discussed in greater depth in our analysis of determinants of sexual violence). Additionally, evidence from in-depth interviews with trafficking victims revealed cases where young people left home in order to escape from violence or abuse perpetrated by a family member (ECPAT, 2006).

Indeed, as Derks points out, when designing interventions for victims of trafficking it is important to keep in mind that, for these victims, the decisions to seek work outside of their homes may have been first and foremost an escape mechanism, albeit a risky one, which traded one form of exploitation for another: "while migration can lead women into situations of exploitation, it can also remove them from servile and abusive conditions at home" (Derks et al., 2006). Seen this way, abuse, lack of care, and extreme poverty at home are 'push factors' which can force children to seek alternative (and preferable) opportunities for survival.

Evidence suggests that these opportunities are often facilitated by persons known to the child. According to Derks' literature review the majority of research reports "point to the involvement of family members, husbands, parents, neighbours or friends or the kind of 'personal, sometimes familial sets of relationships' that are not necessarily part of well-organized criminal networks" (Derks et al., 2006). Current evidence demonstrates that young trafficked women in Cambodia are vulnerable to sex trafficking primarily within their country and by individuals that include family members (McCauley et al., 2010). In a study based on intake forms for trafficked women who accessed services from a group of 26 NGOs, McCauley reports that almost one-third (29.2%) of respondents reported that their parents had participated in the decision to traffic them (McCauley et al., 2010). Of course, in many of these cases it is likely that the exact terms of the child's employment arrangement was not known to the family: "A recruiter may approach a child or his or her family under the pretence of providing a legitimate job" (Blackburn, Taylor, & Davis, 2010).

Economic insecurity (debt bondage)

As with child labour (see Section 3.5.), child trafficking has been found to occur as a coping strategy for families experiencing economic insecurity. One study on recent trends in child trafficking explains: "women and children are often trafficked to pay off loans to their parents or relatives. These women and young people are taken from their families' homes to great distances, with the promise of education, a new skill, or a good job" (G. Gray,

2012). Used this way, trafficking appears to serve as a modern equivalent to traditional practice of debt bondage, in which a child is sent to work and live with a family's creditors in order to repay their debt. According to Hoeffinger, "the notions of debt bondage and obligation to paying debt back to one's parents are deeply rooted in historical practices that have been taking pace for hundreds of years… most clearly this relates to the concepts of duty of the child toward the parent" (Hoefinger, 2013). This cultural belief is perhaps most powerfully expressed by the Khmer word 'jengjom', meaning 'to raise', which is understood to assert the power of the person who has raised a child to exploit his or her labour (Brown, 2007). This concept is rooted in a historical tradition of parent/child relations according to which the child is indebted to her parents due to the costs and efforts they devoted to raising him or her. As Derks observes, debt bondage in prostitution does not necessarily involve parents or guardians, but is also used by sex workers as a means of engaging themselves with brothel owners: an advance payment is used to bind a sex worker to his or her employer (Derks et al., 2006). Derks' review suggests that while it is clear that indebtedness is likely to play a significant role as a risk factor for trafficking, there is a need for further research to understand the relationship between trafficking and debt better.

3.7.4. Structural-level determinants

Despite limited evidence on the prevalence of trafficking and its underlying causes, an exploration of determinants that shape individual children's vulnerability to trafficking suggests significant overlap with the factors that place children at risk of other types of violence. In order to understand and address the structural determinants of child trafficking effectively, it is necessary to take into account gendered power relations, increasing human mobility and global inequality, all of which are underlying drivers of child trafficking.

Gender: norms and power relations

The majority of literature on trafficking in Cambodia focuses on women and children who are trafficked into the sex work industry. Derks cautions that this may reflect biased assumptions about what constitutes trafficking and what types of trafficking are most prevalent, rather than an actual reflection of how (and to whom) trafficking occurs. Despite this potential bias, however, she acknowledges that women and girl migrants are also more vulnerable to exploitation due to their inferior social status and inability to access social and economic power:

> *"Many, especially migration-oriented, studies reveal that there are differences in the degrees of "force" and "voluntariness" in migration movements that are above all related to gender…it is clear that all categories of migrant workers are regularly subject to abusive, exploitative and discriminatory treatment. However, for Cambodian women and girls, the dangers, vulnerabilities, violations and consequences of trafficking and exploitation are far greater than for men owing to unequal gender relations and unequal social and economic power at every stage of the migration process"* (Derks et al., 2006).

Gender *discrimination* also plays an important role in trafficking of women and girls, who remain more excluded from the formal employment sector than their male counterparts, and thus are more likely to seek underground employment (Davy, 2014). Women and girls' greater vulnerability may also be rooted in gendered expectations about family support, according to which women and girls are responsible for looking after and providing for family members in need (Derks et al, 2006).

Gendered power relations also underlie the demand for sex work that drives the existence of the industry itself. In a study of arrested buyers of sex in the United States, Monto found that their motivations were rooted in a desire to be in control of the sexual situation. Monto concludes that masculinity and patriarchy are implicated in male customers' participation in the sex industry (Monto, 2014). Davy points out that patriarchy also serves as a driver of sex trafficking; "patriarchal attitudes and cupidity allowing men to sell women, turning them into mere commodities" (Davy, 2014). These attitudes are reflected in the high prevalence of men who buy sex in Cambodia, as demonstrated by a representative survey on men and violence, which found that "the proportions of men who reported that they had ever had sex with a sex worker or ever engaged in transactional sex was relatively high in many sites, with approximately half of all men reporting this in Cambodian [research] sites" (Fulu, Midemea, et al., 2013).

Gendered ideas about the value of virginity create particular demand for sex with children: Brown (2007) has discussed in depth the existence and popularity of what she labels the "virginity trade" in Cambodia. She argues that the trade "clearly shapes the patterns of trafficking within Cambodia, and given the extensive cultural links between virginity loss [y] and the sex industry, it is arguably the largest factor contributing to entry into commercial sex" (Brown, 2007). The extent of the "virginity trade" is also substantiated by Hoefinger's research, which found that, "men can purchase the virginity of adolescent girls from as little as $500 to as much as $4,000. These high prices attest to the fact that the demand for virgins is 'higher than ever' – as well as the incentive to sell" (Hoefinger, 2013).

The demand for virgins is rooted in a number of mythologies, including a common belief (among the Chinese) that having sex with a virgin or a child will bring happiness, cure sicknesses and rejuvenate one with a new sense of vitality (Derks et al., 2006). Indeed, according to Blackburn "many men believe that sex with a young girl can boost their virility and health. Other myths suggest that sex with a virgin can cure sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS" (Blackburn et al., 2010). Furthermore, many men prefer virgins, or young girls because they believe them to be less likely to be infected with an STI, HIV or otherwise. As Davy explains, this "pushes the age of a virgin back more and more so that younger and younger children are being exploited and many children are thus increasingly being subjected to risk of transmission of the HIV/AIDS virus" (Davy, 2014).

Normalisation of (child) sex work

Evidence suggests that (as with other forms of trafficking) child sex trafficking is often facilitated by parents, and other individuals within a child's social network: one source estimated that 30 to 40 per cent of children in the Cambodian sex industry were sold by their parents (Davy, 2014). The process of 'grooming' children for sex work, and the presence of 'friendship networks', which connect children to sex work opportunities, may serve to perpetuate child sex trafficking through normalising commercial sex and the virginity trade in particular. As Brown explains, "friendship networks in these urban communities often do not seem to occur through any pattern of pressure, but rather through 'cultural influence' in which commercial sex is presented as an easy and desirable option" (Brown, 2007). Or as one NGO worker explained to Hoefinger in an interview:

> *"The problem is that families know exactly what is going on; they're the ones complicit in arranging for their children to work in sex work. So it's hard to work with the children and encourage them to say no when their families are saying yes … We understand trauma when we understand a different context; we recognize that our behavior is out of normal context once we understand the definition of that normal context. These children don't have that outer definition. There's nothing to compare it to. They live in Svay Pak; they don't go to school. They see sex workers flirting with young men. They know if they flirt with the men they get a Coke. The parents are condoning – the ultimate moral social structure, right? So it's normal … We're trying to get them to have some perspective, to just wedge it open a little bit so they have that little sliver of objectivity so that they can start to think about what's happening"* (Hoefinger, 2013).

Demand for sex tourism

The scale of the (child) sex trafficking industry in Cambodia is also driven by the country's reputation as a destination for sex tourism. Several qualitative studies included in the review suggest that the stereotypes of middle-aged American, Australian and European men travelling to the country for the primary purpose of accessing cheap sex have a significant basis in reality (Brown, 2007a, 2007b; Hoefinger, 2013). On a 2013 visit to Phnom Penh, Hoefinger recalls observing that, "sexual negotiations between foreign men and local Cambodian women were easily the focal point of many tourist areas" (2013). Cambodian cities are also destination for sex tourists from within the Asia region A study conducted for the International Organisation on Migration in 2007 found that the largest proportion (49%) of sex industry clients were Cambodian nationals; followed by Chinese (17%) and westerners (9%) (Brown, 2007b).

Disturbingly, several sources described Cambodia as having a particular reputation for *child* sex tourism (e.g. Blackburn et al., 2010). The extent of the demand for child sex tourism and virginity was demonstrated by one study, which found that "51 per cent of Cambodian girls in one study had lost their virginity to a tourist or foreign client, indicating the important role that sex tourism plays in the growth of trafficking" (Davy, 2014).

For western tourists, Cambodia's appeal as a sex tourism destination is partially rooted in racist notions of exotic and alluring Khmer women. Monto points out that "research on customers in several different national contexts …demonstrates that stereotypes about women from particular national or ethnic backgrounds are also implicated in demand for prostitution… beliefs about the qualities of Cambodian women, as seen in references to "velvet skinned mermaids" and "silky haired vixens", contribute to the appeal of such arrangements. Conversely, Khmer women were also motivated by such "racialized" desires in pursuing relationships with western men" (Monto, 2014). Westerners aren't the only clients who express racial preference. According to Hoefinger, "there is also ethnic variation when it comes to demand [among Asian clients], such as desires by the Chinese for whiter skin" (2013).

Another element of the appeal of sex tourism is the legal impunity and social anonymity with which sex can be bought, including sex with children (Blackburn et al., 2010). Given the importance of the tourist industry to the health of the Cambodian economy, the government may be reluctant to threaten the sex tourism industry, which is widely publicised and simultaneously tolerated [by authorities] (Blackburn et al., 2010). As Hoeffinger explains, "Those supposedly there to enforce the law are many times the biggest offenders – with police and government officials owning brothels, sexually exploiting children and engaging in drugs, arms and human trafficking themselves"(Hoefinger, 2013).

While efforts to prosecute perpetrators of child sex tourism have increased in the past decade, most prosecutions appear to be initiated by Western governments: "The United States has taken steps to deter its citizens from becoming involved in travel for sex tourism and encourages other countries to do the same. For example, the U.S. Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to end the Exploitation of Children Today Act (PROTECT) passed by Congress in 2003 increased penalties for U.S. citizens involved in sex tourism" (Blackburn et al, 2010). Since its passage, Blackburn reports that three American men have been expelled from Cambodia and faced charges under the PROTECT Act (Blackburn et al., 2010). Efforts by both Cambodian and foreign governments to prosecute sex tourists may help to reduce sex tourism, an underlying driver of child sexual trafficking.

Structures of inequality

Literature on trafficking also emphasises that it is driven by structural global inequality, manifested through an abundant supply of cheap and exploitable labour. Within the context of increasing integration of markets and greater human mobility, children and their families are increasingly likely to migrate in search of improved economic opportunities. As Davy explains, "In many cases of trafficking in the Greater Mekong Sub-region, the children have themselves initiated the migration process, motivated by real and/or perceived differences in lifestyles, employment opportunities and pay levels between Thailand and surrounding countries" (Davy, 2014). While this phenomenon may always

have existed to a degree, it becomes more extreme and more relevant as globalisation eases the movement of labour across transnational markets: "as globalisation has entered its most recent and rapid phase of transition in the last few decades, human trafficking has begun to spread beyond its previously localised areas. Trafficking victims have begun to travel further and further from their home countries in search of work opportunities. This has included the leagues of children who migrate in search of work to support their families" (Davy, 2014).

In the context of extreme inequality, which drives the human trafficking industry and allows for its exploitative nature, the market for cheap labour becomes profitable for traffickers and middlemen: "an increase in demand for trafficked people, from end users to those who make a profit from the trade, has become the most immediate cause for the expansion of the human trafficking industry" (Davy, 2014).

Migration

Trafficking often involves irregular or illicit (cross-border) movement of persons (generally facilitated by third parties) excluding them from legal protection and placing them at serious risk of exploitation and abuse. There is some debate among advocates and researchers about the relationship between migration control and trafficking. One argument is that trafficking results from poor border controls, and emphasise that efforts to prevent trafficking should focus on strengthening border enforcement in order to prevent the illicit movement of peoples. They would agree with Blackburn that, "porous and poorly monitored borders and extensive waterways are a major geographic contributor to the problem" of human trafficking (Blackburn, 2010). But, according to others, migration control and border restrictions are actually an underlying cause of the trafficking industry. They argue that the more restrictive the barriers to cross-border migration, the more profitable the trafficking industry becomes and the more vulnerable trafficking victims are to exploitation by their traffickers. As Weitzer points out, "enhanced border controls increase the undocumented modes of travel and raise costs, duration, and the likelihood of abuse for migrants" (Weitzer, 2015).

Law enforcement and criminalisation

The debate on border control resonates with broader debates about the effectiveness of law enforcement as a trafficking prevention strategy. Much of the international response to trafficking has focussed on increasing and improving law enforcement, such as shutting down trafficking operations or prosecuting perpetrators of trafficking. Yet evidence from several studies suggests that in some cases increasing law enforcement may do little to reduce the occurrence of trafficking, but merely serve to push it further underground. Based on Hoefinger's own research and a study she cites, which was conducted on the closing of Svay Pak (a 'red light' district in Phnom Penh):

> *"Prostitution practices have changed from operating openly in brothels to more hidden locations, such as beer gardens, nightclubs, massage salons, karaoke parlours, barbershops, hidden brothels and*

> *street corners. Similarly, in his study on the impact of closing Svay Pak, Thomas (2005:34) concludes that the 'stricture on commercial sexual activities in Svay Pak has merely resulted in a proliferation of such activities elsewhere.' While he found that this led to improvements in working conditions for some of the 'older prostituted women', the conditions of 'trafficked and sexually exploited children' deteriorated, as their exploitation 'became completely underground'"* (Hoefinger, 2013).

Criminalising an industry may have the potential to drive the practice further underground, making it less accountable, more exploitative, and more difficult to understand and address. It also has the potential to increase stigma for victims of trafficking, and thus create barriers for victims who wish to report abuse or seek help. It is particularly important to ensure that any regulation, or criminalisation of different forms of (child) trafficking are carefully targeted so that victims are not implicated in efforts to punish their perpetrators.

An exploration of evidence on the determinants of child trafficking demonstrates the importance of understanding the possibilities for exploitation that arise due to extreme economic and gender inequality, particularly in the context of globalisation. Where children are vulnerable – i.e. lacking other strategies for survival and care – they are more likely to become victims of trafficking. Perhaps the most powerful illustration of this is the fact that many trafficking victims *choose* to re-enter exploitative working arrangements. This demonstrates how trafficking occurs not only due to deception or coercion, but a lack of alternative opportunities. When considering how to prevent and respond to trafficking it is important to keep this in mind, to acknowledge the agency of the victim and to focus on interventions which will provide raise awareness and both prevent and protect children from exploitation, while creating opportunities, such as alternative care options, livelihood opportunities, or legal pathways for movement.

Key findings: Trafficking

The topic of trafficking in Cambodia has received more scholarly attention than any other type of violence against children, with the majority of research focusing on the sex industry and trafficking of girls (rather than boys).

Despite the vast amount of research published on this subject, there is a lack of rigorous evidence on the extent, nature and determinants of trafficking in Cambodia, which is likely to be the result of the illicit and clandestine nature of trafficking.

<u>Reduced parental care</u>

A review of existing evidence suggests that children who have reduced parental care or come from dysfunctional family backgrounds are more at risk of becoming victims of trafficking.

Previous experiences of abuse

Several qualitative studies suggest that children who have previously experienced violence and abuse may also be more vulnerable to trafficking than those who have not. This relationship appears to be particularly pertinent between previous experiences of sexual abuse and vulnerability to sex trafficking.

Household poverty

Evidence from the systematic review indicates that child trafficking often occurs as a coping strategy for families facing economic hardship. Child trafficking appears to serve as a modern equivalent to the traditional practice of debt bondage, in which a child is sent to work with a family's creditors in order to repay their debt.

Gender norms and discrimination

Exclusion from certain formal employment sectors makes women and girls more susceptible to trafficking.

Gendered ideas about the value of virginity also create a particular demand for sex with female children.

Normalisation

Evidence suggests that child sex trafficking (and other forms of trafficking) are often facilitated by parents, and other individuals within a child's social network, which view trafficking as an 'easy and desirable option' to cope with economic hardship.

Sex tourism

For western tourists, Cambodia's appeal as a sex tourism destination is partially rooted in racist notions of exotic and alluring Khmer women, Cambodia's reputation as a *child* sex tourism destination, and the legal impunity and social anonymity with which sex can be bought, including in particular sex with children.

Socio-economic inequality

Several studies note that socio-economic inequality, both at the national and global level, is an important structural driver of trafficking. Qualitative evidence suggests that children often initiate the trafficking processes themselves, motivated by real and/or perceived differences in lifestyles, employment opportunities and pay levels.

Border control and law enforcement

The review identified conflicting evidence on the impact of border controls and law enforcement on child trafficking. On the one hand, some papers argue that porous borders and poor law enforcement increase trafficking. On the other hand, existing evidence also suggests that stricter border controls and improved law enforcement make trafficking more profitable and simply drive the practice further underground. Lack of rigorous evidence makes it difficult to draw definitive conclusions in relation the causal link between law enforcement and trafficking.

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