

**THE PORTRAYAL OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
IN CAMBODIAN NEWSPAPERS**

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FOREWORD

Dr Hean Sokhom and his research team have done a careful job of sifting through the clippings collected by PADV of articles relating to domestic violence in Cambodia. The result should raise awareness in several ways. First, to see the many forms of violence in the family concentrated in one volume should alert the reader to the severity of the problem of domestic violence in Cambodian society. Second, to see how domestic violence is treated in the press should alert the reader to the potential influence journalists have over the presentation of sensitive social issues to the public. Third, to see how the author organizes his presentation of this domestic violence material should alert the reader to the importance of understanding the cultural and psychological context of domestic violence for effective educational and advocacy efforts.

The CAS would like to express its appreciation to the PADV Executive Director and her staff for their cooperation during this research. We would give special thanks to Ms Sue Watmough, PADV Technical Adviser, for her insightful advice and guidance during the research and especially during the writing of the report. Thanks also to Mr. Graham Lang, of VSO in Phnom Penh for his editorial assistance.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	3
A. PROJECT AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (PADV).....	3
B. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN CAMBODIA.....	4
C. BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE THROUGH CAMBODIAN NEWSPAPERS.....	5
CHAPTER 1. KINDS OF VIOLENCE PORTRAYED.....	7
A. THE TERM "DOMESTIC VIOLENCE".....	7
B. LOCATION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CASES.....	8
C. VIOLENCE IN DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIPS.....	9
1. Women against Men.....	10
2. Men against Women.....	12
3. Women against Women.....	18
4. Adults against children.....	19
5. Children against adult.....	22
D. SUICIDE CASES.....	25
1. Cases of Husbands or Wives Committing Suicide.....	25
2. Cases of Other Family Members Committing Suicide.....	26
E. INTERVENTIONS.....	28
1. Police.....	28
2. Neighbors.....	29
3. Relatives.....	29
4. Husband or Wife.....	29
F. EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ON CHILDREN.....	30
CHAPTER 2. PRESENTATION OF VIOLENCE IN NEWSPAPERS.....	32
A. PHOTOS.....	32
B. ARTICLE TITLES.....	32
C. PHOTO TITLES.....	33
D. ARTICLE STRUCTURE.....	34
E. REPORTERS' COMMENTS.....	35
1. Condemnation of domestic violence.....	35
2. Conclusions of reporters on the reasons for violence.....	38
3. Educational role of reporters.....	38
4. Reporters' suggestions to authorities.....	39
F. LANGUAGE USED TO DESCRIBE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.....	40
G. FOLLOWING -UP CASES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE.....	41
H. VARIATION IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE COVERAGE IN THE NEWSPAPERS.....	42
CONCLUSION.....	44
RECOMMENDATIONS.....	47
ANNEX A: TABLES.....	50
ANNEX B: ARTICLE TITLES.....	53
REFERENCES.....	62

INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence is a serious problem, which occurs in many countries. In recent years, domestic violence or family violence has been recognized as a serious problem globally^[1] and one which not only has many harmful effects on family members but is also "expensive for women, the community and the nation"^[2]. The only real common denominator is that the vast majority of its victims are women^[3].

Cambodia has been dominated by war for more than two decades, and its regimes have changed many times. This has resulted in an unstable social structure, economic slowdown and shortcomings in the field of education. These are factors adversely affecting the society. As Zimmerman says: "the Khmer Rouge experience, decades of war, pervasive violence, the availability of weapons and inadequate dispute resolution mechanisms appear to greatly increase the severity of the violence"^[4]. In Cambodia, people are not really interested in this problem because they always think that "plates in a basket will rattle", meaning domestic conflicts happen inevitably. Many Cambodians think that domestic violence is normal.

Interest in women's issues in Cambodia just started a few years ago after the UN-sponsored general elections and the formation of a Secretariat for Women's Affairs, which later became the Ministry for Women's Affairs. And, after the elections, international and national non-governmental organizations have appeared, some of which focus on gender issues, for example Project Against Domestic Violence.

A. PROJECT AGAINST DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (PADV)

PADV is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) which was established in early January, 1995 following a conference entitled "Conference on Intra-Familial Violence". PADV at present is the leading agency in Cambodia. It focuses on preventing and eliminating domestic violence by means of research, education, training and public awareness raising. Programs and activities of PADV are based on human rights principles in protecting individuals. Women and children have the same rights as everyone else, so there is an urgent need to assure those rights and to protect those women and children from violence in their households. In Cambodia, domestic violence is a problem that does not gain enough public attention. Consequently, PADV activities focus immediate attention on this problem.

PADV cooperates with government agencies like the Ministry of Women's Affairs and NGOs such as Women's Media Center (WMC) and Cambodian Defenders Project (CDP) and other organizations that provide shelters for victims. PADV also cooperates with other NGOs in order to provide training, local practical skill assistance as well as counseling for clients.

B. PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN CAMBODIA

In 1994, PADV conducted an exploratory study examining the nature of domestic violence for a period of six months and published a first report with the title "Plates in a Basket Will Rattle, Domestic Violence in Cambodia". This study shows that domestic violence in Cambodia is very serious and that victims of violence between husbands and wives rarely seek help and get relief. Wife battering is considered an internal family matter by the courts, police and local authorities, and women are counseled to be patient while abusers go unpunished. Alcohol, poverty, gambling, family squabbles, lack of education, political and social unrest contribute to domestic violence, but sexism, culture, mores and traditional public attitudes cause and perpetuate domestic violence. Gender equity has not been a prominent feature of Cambodian culture, and the traditional role of women is one factor that facilitates domestic violence. Without significant penalties or official public disapproval, batterers feel free to batter and cannot learn other ways to control their anger. Ignoring the problem perpetuates the problem, according to Zimmerman.

The above-mentioned research also indicates that domestic violence causes a lot of damage and loss to the individuals and families as well as to the whole society. Because women make up a significant portion of the labor force in Cambodia^[5], when they suffer physical and emotional injury, there are consequences for the family, society and economy. This study further asserts that in cases in which women are battered, the results are often miscarriages, premature births and low birth weight babies. Rape and general loss of women's self-control negatively affect family planning and can lead to the transmitting of infectious diseases, especially AIDS. Zimmerman's research also points out various key problems such as the emotional states of women who are victims of violence; the reasons why they suffer from violence, but keep bearing it; public and private assistance and laws related to violence as well.

In 1996, PADV, in cooperation with the Ministry of Women's Affairs, conducted further research in the form of a household survey on domestic violence. This study aimed to determine the prevalence of domestic violence in Cambodia. It is important to mention that this study was quantitative and is confirmed as one of the largest surveys conducted on domestic violence in the world. The research focussed on the general nature and types of physically violent behaviors used on the body, attitudes towards and understanding of domestic violence, factors of domestic violence, the connection between violence and violation on one's own children. The important findings of this research are as follows:

- One out of six women report that they were physically abused by their spouses.
- Half of all women who suffered violence from their spouses, sustained injuries, and more than half of those women had a head injury.
- More than ten percent of Cambodian men interviewed reported that they physically abuse their spouses.
- More than seven out of ten of all women and men interviewed are aware of at least one other family with domestic violence.
- Women who lived with their parents are considered less vulnerable to spousal abuse than when they lived separately from their parents.
- Eye-witnesses of physical battering between their parents reported that over 98 percent of this battering was done by the father against the mother.
- Ten percent of the women interviewed reported that their husbands became abusive after they had been drinking alcohol.
- Thirty-four percent of the woman victims surveyed did not seek help from anyone, and other female victims who do seek assistance mostly contact their neighbors rather than their parents and relatives.
- Almost 100 percent of Cambodians surveyed believed that all forms of physically violent behavior are wrong.

C. BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE THROUGH CAMBODIAN NEWSPAPERS

Institutions that deal with victims have not maintained records of such violence in written documents, and only occasionally preserve female victims' hand-written complaints. Moreover, PADV observed that although domestic violence was very evident, all too often the only written records were stories accompanying photos in Cambodian newspapers.

Given this lack of documentary information, PADV decided to track the only record available by gathering as many stories of domestic violence together with pictures from 6 Cambodian newspapers over two years from 1996 to 1997. Among those newspapers we can identify two ("*Koh Santepheap*" and "*Raksmey Kampuchea*"), which reported most of the stories of domestic violence.

A study of these newspapers yields valuable available information on attitudes and assumptions in the printed media towards domestic violence, which can inform program development.

This research on the newspaper clipping collected by PADV had the following aims:

- To conduct a content analysis of the data that will be useful for PADV's ongoing public awareness and advocacy work. We would want to ask how many victim are women, how many perpetrators are men, in how many cases was there an intervention of a local authority or community member, what were the reasons given for the violence, how many photos were taken of the victim, etc.
- To make qualitative analysis of the attitudes and responses of journalists with regard to domestic violence e.g. was there any attributed or implied blame, was there a moral undertone to the reporting, did the reporter normalize the violence etc.
- To analyze any trends or movement in the way domestic violence was reported over the two year period (style, reporting pattern, attitude).

It was hoped that the potential impact of this research would be that:

- PADV will have additional information about how the popular print in Phnom Penh views and responds to domestic violence. This will inform future awareness campaigns and training programs.
- PADV will get information on specific attitudes and stereotypes that exist about domestic violence, as reflected in press, which may need to be challenged.
- Research results will be useful for general advocacy and networking.
- Research results will be also useful for PADV's partners (other NGOs) for their work.
- Results will be disseminated amongst Khmer journalists as a first step to domestic violence awareness-raising in this sector.

- Those journalists will obtain information on how they can assist victims and influence positive intervention.

CHAPTER 1. KINDS OF VIOLENCE PORTRAYED

PADV gathered articles on domestic violence from six Khmer newspapers: *Raksmei Kampuchea* (Ray of Cambodia), *Koh Santepheap* (Peace Island), *Chakroval* (the Universe), *Setkech* (Economy), *Sangkruos Khmer* (Save the Khmer), and *Pulroth Khmer* (Khmer Citizens), issued from late 1995 to December 1997. But among those newspapers, only two newspapers - “*Kos Santepheap*” and “*Raksmei Kampuchea*” - published most articles connected with domestic violence. Those articles showed different cases of domestic violence, that is, not only violence between spouses, but also violence within extended families as well as suicides.

A. THE TERM "DOMESTIC VIOLENCE"

What is domestic violence? If we examine the use of this word in the Khmer language, we note the following:

“*Hoengsa*” (violence) is aggression, harassment, bad treatment or abuse. “*Krousar*” (family) is ‘*trakol*’ ‘A group of family members including parents and children’. Thus, domestic violence is aggression, harassment, bad treatment and abuse in the family and a group of family members that consist of parents and children^[6].

In the Khmer language, the word ‘*Krousar*’ refers to ‘a small family’ or ‘nuclear family’ but also means ‘big family’ or ‘extended family’. Moreover, this word can also mean the whole society, in a figurative way, for example:

Do you have a family yet? (Are you married or not?);

My family works at the Ministry of Justice (A member of my family works at the Ministry of Justice);

This family has five members, headed by my father.

Apart from that, there also exists the term ‘*Kruo*’, meaning a group of people that consists of parents and children who live together^[7]. For example, "how many families live in this house?" This word is similar to the word ‘household’ in English.

For the purposes of the research, domestic violence was defined as any violence occurring between members of a family or any incidents that were recorded where domestic violence was cited as the cause. This includes such cases as suicide, for example.

In addition, the term “violence” means aggression, bad treatment and abuse, includes physical, emotional, sexual and social-economic aggression. That is why in this report, domestic violence refers to any physical, emotional, sexual and economic aggressive and violent acts that a member of a family commits on another member with the aim to increase their power over the victims. It also refers to self-violation acts due to aggression from other family members.

The articles that PADV collected totaled 193 cases. But for the purpose of this research, only 183 cases could be considered cases of domestic violence, while the other 10 cases were classified as violence in society rather than domestic violence. For example, we did not have any clear reason or evidence to classify as domestic violence an incident reported in the *Kos Santepheap* newspaper (24 June, 1997) entitled “**5-Month Pregnant Woman Got Divorced and Met Gangsters... Women from the Countryside Should be Careful with City Gangsters**”. It described that, “There was a woman who had an abdominal pain sleeping near the river bank... was rushed to Calmet hospital by a journalist”. She did not say clearly why she ended up sleeping there with abdominal pain, but only said that, “... 4 or 5 days ago, she had such a big row with her husband that they ended up getting a divorce. Because she got furious with him, she left Battambang ... She did not describe the row to us”. It was not known how she got injured, just that her breath smelled of hypnotic medicine.

Nonetheless, such articles, which are related more to social violence, than domestic violence are still useful examples that can be considered along side other forms of violence mentioned in newspapers.

B. LOCATION OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE CASES

Domestic violence takes place everywhere, both in cities and the countryside. Among our 183 cases, the number of cases in cities is only slightly less than that in the countryside, that is 74 in cities and 96 in the countryside. There was no mention of the locations in 13 cases. Out of 74 urban cases of domestic

violence, 71 cases happened in Phnom Penh, two cases took place in Takmao, in Kandal province, and one case occurred in the provincial town of Banteay Meanchey. Out of 96 cases that occurred in the countryside, Kandal province had 47 cases, Banteay Meanchey province had 5 cases, Prey Veng province had 12 cases, Kompong Cham had 11 cases, Kompong Speu had 9 cases, Kratie had 1 case, Kompong Thom had 3 cases, Kompong Chhnang had 6 cases, Takeo had 1 case and Koh Kong had 1 case.

When there was any mention of area names including the words ‘Khan’ (city district), or Sangkat (city quarter) or ‘Krong’ (town), those areas were considered to be urban areas. When the word ‘Srok’ (district) was used, it was concluded that it was in the countryside. With regard to exact locations, the newspaper articles sometimes gave detailed descriptions such as house numbers, street numbers (in Phnom Penh), or village names (in provinces), but sometimes mentioned only their general whereabouts. Hence, according to these newspapers, it was found that the places where most violence took place were Phnom Penh and its neighboring populous provinces. This is probably because Phnom Penh and Kandal are close to newspaper offices, making it easier for journalists to seek information here than other places that are far away. Therefore there is no way for us to get an accurate sense of distribution of domestic violence from the data.

C. VIOLENCE IN DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIPS

From a Cambodian viewpoint, nobody is perfect. But every injury that one member of society causes to another may be pardoned or punished according to the nature of that injury. In order to avoid committing injuries or offenses, people employ various means of constraint such as religion, social morality and state laws. These institutions have strict provisions for each society member to comply with. In Cambodian society, religion uses the word ‘sin’ in order to prevent any wrong-doing. One must go to hell for one’s wrong-doings. For example, for stealing someone else’s wife, one must climb ‘Rokadek’ (a mythical thorny iron tree that grows in hell); for drinking alcohol and spreading gossip, one’s mouth will be burned, etc. Social morality also restricts the freedom of society members to behave as they want. Thus when any society member has done something which conflicts with the norms of social behavior, society will punish him or her. For example, when a society member behaves in a manner that is considered ‘abnormal’ s/he will be shunned. The state’s laws also exist to punish law-breakers.

Although most members of society are aware of religion morality and law, some still commit intentional injuries or offenses. Cursing, defaming or causing physical injury on other people are considered offenses. By contrast, domestic violence, husbands battering wives, wives battering husband, parents beating or cursing children are considered normal within family life in Cambodia. In Cambodia, there is no specific law on domestic violence that outlaws these acts, although current criminal law can and is, on occasion, applied.

According to the data gathered from the Khmer newspapers over these two years, 183 cases were related to domestic violence, or 7 cases per month. They were all serious domestic violence cases occurring between husbands and wives, among other family members and suicides. These are only the cases that journalists reported. In reality there is very likely many more cases. Nevertheless, these few cases can provide some interesting insights into domestic violence in Cambodia.

Those violent acts include: cursing, insulting, battering with arms or legs, scattering acid, scratching with razors, hacking with big knives or axes, slitting throats, clubbing with wooden sticks, stabbing, shooting with guns, clubbing with metal sticks or chains, throwing dishes and sickle, burning with oil or petrol, chasing to hack, grenade attacks, poisoning, raping, manacling, tying to pillars, beating and tying upside down, striking the head against the floor tiles, selling one’s own children, threats, running away, strangling, pulling glass, pulling and pushing from the house. Whereas, suicide cases include swallowing various kinds of drugs and hanging (see Annex 5). We can presume therefore that many less serious cases of domestic violence are never reported to the authorities and do not appear in the press.

The newspaper articles collected show that in violence between husband and wife, sometimes the husband is the perpetrator and sometimes it is the wife. However, according to the statistics obtained, men perform most of the violent acts on women.

1. Women against Men

In our newspaper data there are two categories of violent act of women against men: intentional and unintentional.

Example 1: **“Strong Wife Shot Her Gun in an Attempt to Kill Her Husband”** (Raksmeay Kampuchea, 15-16 December, 1997):

Ms Phan Sao called grandma Phan Ches, aged 43, is a former soldier in Division number 7 living in Khla Kon village, Kompong Sway commune, Serey Sorphoan district, Banteay Meanchey province. Her husband, Soy Sareth, aged 39, is a medic. They have two children. One day, after he was drunk, the husband started an argument by cursing the wife, making the wife who is short-tempered pull out a gun (AK) and shoot at him three times, but only one shot hit him in the leg. The neighbors said that this couple beat each other very often because the husband is a drunkard “when drunk, he often talks about past stories of the wife who was a widow in order to cause arguments, and the wife is a short-tempered woman”. After firing, she called journalists to take pictures of her action of shooting her husband to publish in newspapers.

In the article's title it seems that the journalist has negative feelings about the wife. The journalist used the word "coeng klang" (strong) which has a negative connotation. But from my point of view Ms Phan Sao is one of the brave Khmer women who shows equality between men and women. She was a soldier, which is a profession dominated by men rather than women in Cambodia. Her act is likely an attempt to protect her rights against a drunken husband who used to talk about her life as a widow. It seems his ridicule drove his wife to extreme and illegal meanness.

Example 2: **“Wife Who Is an Adulteress Scattered Acid All Over Her Husband’s Body Because He Also Was an Adulterer ... Too Scary, Don’t Do that”** (Koh Santepheap, 24 January, 1997)

A man named Yim Chhoun is married to a woman, named Num Loar, with 3 children and lives in Phnom Thnoat Chrum village, Lvea commune, Preah Sdach district, Prey Veng province. He is a construction worker, and does not stay at home often. When making business trips, Yim Chhoun has a Vietnamese lover in Neak Loeung district. When discovering this, Ms Num Loar had an idea of retaliating against her husband. So, she gave the love letters she wrote to her boyfriend(s) when she was single to the Vietnamese woman in order to show her husband that when he has another wife, she also can find another man, although she already has 3 children. After receiving those letters, Yim Chhoun returned home and requested not to have a divorce with Num Loar for reasons of compassion for their children. At 8 o’ clock at night, Num Loar poured 4 or 5 liters of acid on the man, causing burns from the head to toes, and then ran away.

In the article's title the reporter used the term "mean sahay" (commit adultery). But in the content of article there was no proof that the wife committed adultery. In Khmer terminology if she had sex while single she could not be called an adulteress, but could be called "sangsa" (lovers). The article says the wife had kept her old love letters, but does not mention that she had kept the lovers. Perhaps she gave the letters to the Vietnamese girlfriend as if to say to her husband "I gave up my lovers to be married, but you did not." The husband gets the message and comes back to reconcile with his wife. Then she pours acid on him in anger and vengeance. So her original gesture was just a ruse to test him. He returned to her, but she had decided to kill him.

Example 3: **" The Wife Gunned Down Her Husband Because He Committed Sin Every Day"** (Polpoath Khmer, October 24, 1995)

On the night of October 22, 1995 at 11.05 p.m. a crime occurred in house No. 25 Eo Norodam Boulevard in front of Ministry of Education Youth and Sport. A man was killed in a blood pool in front of his own car. That 41 year old man was named Meas Saran. He was born in Battambang and currently worked at the Ministry of National Defense. The offender is his 30 year old wife named Pech Chenda from Kampong Trabek, Svay Rieng Province. This family has 3 children.

The information from the police stated that: When Meas Saran came home he gave each child 1500 Riels and went to the bedroom to change clothes. He was very drunk. Going out of his bedroom, he called both servants to bring him the gun, but the servants did not do as he ordered. So he went to take the gun by himself and shouted to his wife and servants: "I will kill all of you right now!" Understanding the situation the wife went to take the gun from her husband and shot at him on the left part of his body so that he died immediately. Feeling that her husband was already dead she left the gun near the back door and fled.

According to Meas Saran's mother-in-law, he was drunk every night and when he returned home he always cause arguments with his wife and also intimidated her by using the gun. She also stated that her family has no happiness.

This could be considered a cruel crime in the family that wife decided to kill her husband and left three children living without father.

As the old saying stated: "There are three kinds of madness: gambling, sex and alcohol.

It seems to me that in this story the reporter is unclear about the situation, because there are two other newspapers that reported this story differently (one reported that the wife accidentally shot her husband and another stated that the situation was not clear). The husband was always drunk when he returned home and intimidated his wife by using a gun. Drunkenness is one of the three kinds of madness according to Khmer thought (for example in Cbap Proh), which seems to be quoted here to justify the death of this "mad" man. However, on the other hand the journalist seems to blame the wife by calling her "cruel" to have left her children without a father.

2. Men against Women

These examples are, as expected, much more numerous in our data.

a. Killing Pregnant Wife

Example 4: **"Killing Own Wife and Children"** (Raksmeay Kampuchea, 30 October, 1997)

A man named Men Roearn, aged 32, living in Prekchik village, Soab commune, Prek Prasob district, Kratie province, is a former "Para" soldier (a resistance movement force before the elections in 1993) who surrendered to the government. This man had a wife, named Leng Vanny, who was 7 months pregnant, and three children. Eye-witnesses said that Men Roearn carried a long knife up to the house and hacked his wife three times and two of the kids twice and dragged them down from the house. After that this man went and got a chopper to slit their throats one by one by putting their faces against the steps in order to cause the victims to die at once. The police said that the man had wicked friends who used to steal the villagers' property. This man said he wanted to exterminate his family. The head of Soab commune told us that his 8-year-old kid and mother-in-law were lucky to escape death because when the event took place, they were at school and the pagoda respectively. The police arrested the offender and submitted a file of this event to a court of law.

According to traditional beliefs, when a woman is pregnant, the parents and husband usually take good care of her by not allowing her to do hard work, to grasp anything high up or to have a bath at night and so on. Beliefs like this are based on the fear that these acts can affect the baby and the woman herself, which can cause miscarriage or difficulty in giving birth.

In our data there were two shocking cases of husbands killing their pregnant wives in the *Raksmeay Kampuchea* issues of 23 and 30 October 1997.

Comparing example 4 with another case of a former Khmer Rouge soldier, aged 27, killing his 2-months pregnant wife with a bamboo stick, it can be seen that these men grew up during the Khmer Rouge period. They represent extreme examples of how the ideology of that regime changed the traditional values and influenced the behavior of young soldiers.

In the articles gathered, it was found that violence committed by husband against wife can happen for a variety of pretexts:

b. Scolding as a pretext for domestic violence

Example 5: **"Cursed Husband once ... Husband Hacked 7 Times With an Axe"** (Raksmeay Kampuchea, 2-3 October, 1996)

Ms Ngoun Soeum, aged 47, is married to Prem Sarith, aged 52 and lives in Kork Sway village, Russey Kroak commune, Mongkul Borey district, Banteay Meanchey province. This family does not have any children and often quarrels. One day, this family had a quarrel and the wife cursed the husband with "A Trov Kroap" (The wish of this scolding is that the husband will be killed by any kind of bullets). The

husband got so furious that he pulled an axe and hacked her three times. The wife ran to the fence and shouted for help, but the savage husband chased her and hacked several more times until she died at once. After killing his wife, Prem Sarith also hanged himself.

This story points out that, according to Khmer belief, when the wife cursed the husband, who has a higher status than her, by using the words “A Trov Kroap”, it is thought that she put a curse of bad luck on the husband. He took the curse and threat seriously and then got so angry that he chose to kill his wife.

In the relationship between a husband and wife, there is often the use of improper words such as insult or swear words that causes both sides to suffer. It is worth noting that according to the habits of Khmer families, the use of improper words or cursing is judged according to the hierarchy of family members, their ages as well as their sex. On the whole, the father is considered the head of the family, the highest rank, next the mother and then older siblings. Lower rank owes respect to higher rank. When the father and mother curse their children, older siblings curse younger siblings, this is often considered by society to be normal, but when children curse their parents, younger siblings curse older siblings, or the wife curses the husband, this is deemed as abnormal. In some cases where there is a lack of respect towards a woman, for example cursing a woman in public, the man also will be condemned by the society.

c. Food and Jealousy as a pretext

Example 6: **“Bouncer in World 2 Night Club Shot His Own Wife”** (Koh Santepheap, 13 February, 1997)

Ms Dy Sopharn, called Mao, lives in the Building squatters' area has a husband named Dom Sarorn, aged 31, who is a security guard at World 2 Night Club. The husband always comes home at 1 o' clock every morning. Ms Dy Sopharn usually got up and prepared a meal for him. One day, by accident the meal she prepared was eaten by her younger sibling. She went down to buy Banhchhev [a kind of Vietnamese light dish], at the time the husband came back. The man got angry and shouted and pulled and fired a gun. She was so scared that she tried to run to her older sister's house and hide there. The husband chased her and shot to the ground, and then called her to come out. Because of the fear that her husband might shoot into the house, she decided to come out and go back home with him. When she went into their bedroom, the husband pulled out the gun and shot the wall. The bullet penetrated the wall and seriously injured the woman in the head and the man rode off on a motorbike. Emergency doctors cannot determine whether she will survive or not.

In this case it is difficult to understand whether the injury to the woman was intentional or not. He returned home and got angry because he found no home-cooked meal ready for him. In Khmer belief, to prepare food is a gesture of respect from a person of lower status to a the person of higher status. The man's anger or rage was probably due to a feeling of insult at receiving the Vietnamese food instead of his wife's cooking. This rage at disrespect is a striking characteristic of Cambodian "macho" culture.

d. Defeat one another as a pretext

Example 7: **“You know? Three wounds because of candy”** (Koh Santepheap, 30 December, 1995)

A man named Soam Sopharn, aged 32, living in Tropaing Sala village, Chhoe Kach commune, Bah Phnom district, Prey Veng province, is married to Chan Sokharn, aged 20. The man got angry with his wife, who often bought bad food for their child causing the child to get sick. He took the child to buy some candies for 500 riels in order to hurt his wife's feelings. When seeing this, the woman grasped the candies and threw them away. An argument started with the involvement of Chan Sokharn's mother, older brother and sister. In the fighting, Sopharn was stabbed three times on his left shoulder.

From the title of the story it seems that the reporter warns the reader to be aware that small conflict could become a big one. This incident reveals the rage of the mother who, according to Khmer custom, controls the food and water of the family to keep the family healthy. The father's attempt to rebuke his wife's poor management of food caused the wife and her family to turn their violent rage on the husband.

e. Poverty as a pretext

Example 8: **“One Shocking Tragedy... Wife Was Burnt Alive”** (Koh Santepheap, 5 December, 1997)

Ms Khat Pheap, aged 35, living in Thnal Thmey village, Baray district, Kompong Thom, is married to a man, named Ith, aged 38, who does not have a clear job, but just does fishing for food. This family does not have enough to live on because they are refugees who came back empty-handed. This insufficiency causes frequent quarrels. Before the event, she had an argument with him because she could not earn money. She was sitting cooking rice and told the man that there was nothing to eat with rice. Probably one hour after getting drunk, her husband went to buy kerosene for 300 riels and poured it on her head from behind, and lit it to burn her, making her get burned seriously because no one could help in time. She was rushed to Kompong Thom hospital, but in the hospital she received so little care that she had blisters on her whole body. When seeing this, World Vision took her to a hospital in Phnom Penh, and then took her back to Kompong Thom. Some people adopted her three children because the father is in prison and the mother is seriously injured.

In the article the reporter mentioned two possible reasons for the violence : poverty or alcohol. For me as a reader, it is not a matter of poverty or alcohol, but Khmer men's attitude to drink, without being aware of the need to earn a living which has existed for a long time in Cambodian society. This was mentioned in the "Cbap" (rules of conduct), for example, Cbap Proh, Cbap Kram Ngoy. This Cambodian belief or stereotype of men who are expected to drink alcohol and avoid work needs to be examined more closely. It is probably connected to the men's culture of drinking with buddies. An element of the assertion of status is also probably involved, when a very poor man spends money on drinking.

f. Alcohol as a pretext

Example 9: **“So Cruel... Tied the Wife and Cut her Ankle Tendon”** (Raksmeay Kampuchea, 18 September, 1997)

Ms Hao Hoeng, aged 38, living in Toek Laok 3 quarter, Khan Toul Kork is married to Vuth Bunthoern, who is a cyclo driver. In the evening the event took place, the husband came back home from work without having any money left because he spent all the money he had earned drinking wine with his friends. Not only that, he asked the wife for 1 chi (about 3.75 grams) of gold in order to start a business in Battambang province because he wanted to change his business. When the wife said she did not have the gold, the husband started an argument and cursed her, so the quarrel began. Because he got extremely angry with her and he was drunk, he slapped her many times, tied her to a house pillar, and struck her head with a chain, causing a lot of bleeding. Then, the man used a chopper to cut her ankle tendon, causing it to bleed severely and thus making her faint in the tie. The victim was rushed to the hospital, and after that, a woman's organization took her for treatment and supervision. The abuser was arrested and sent to court. It is not known about her 4 children's future.

In this example the reporter emphasized the violence of using a chopper to cut his wife's ankles. This element of cruelty reminds us of Example 4 where, again, the violent man took a chopper to inflict unusual cruelty.

g. Gambling as a pretext

Example 10: **“Brutal Husband Killed a Wife for 5-Chi Necklace”** (Koh Santepheap, 30 June, 1997)

Mis Mao Pauv, aged 35, living in Psa Kandal 1 quarter, Phnom Penh, has a husband, named Nget Samoeurn, aged 31, and 4 children. Neang Mao Pauv earned a living by selling Prahok (fish paste) and Pha-ork (another kind of Cambodian preserved salted fish) and could save for a car. Whereas, the husband does not have any job, but is preoccupied with gambling. After spending all the money from selling his wife's car, the husband demanded a 5-chi necklace from the wife. After failing to get the necklace, the husband hit their children seriously. When the woman was trying to stop him from beating the children, he grasped the necklace. She tried hard to seize the necklace which was her last hope for the family. The husband tied her upside down and hit her head against the floor and then ran away. Emergency doctors said that she is dying. What will happen to the 4 children when their mother dies and when their father ran away like this?

From these two cases above, it is seen that just because of his personal need for alcohol or gambling, the husbands valued gold more than the life of their wives. These acts show the use of unlimited power by husbands against their wives. If they want something, the wives can not refuse. The gold was not a real

reason that violence was committed by the husbands against their wives. The real cause was the wives' bravery in protesting against their husbands' abuse of power.

h. Sexual conduct as a pretext

Example 11: **“A Woman's Sorrowful Smile is More Tragic Than Seeing a Woman Cry”** (Sangruos Khmer, 13-14 January, 1997)

Superior military officer, Luch Bun Cheng, has a wife, named Yornng Dy and a small daughter. When the wife was looking for her husband, she caught her husband sleeping with his promotion girl. Yornng Dy grabbed her husband and asked him to go back home, but the promotion girl beat her. Luc Bun Chheng did not ask his mistress to stop, and nor did he separate both women, but held his wife tight and let his lover hit the wife as much as she wanted to. This shameful act made Yornng Dy feel fed up and she decided to have a divorce with her husband. Due to such an act of the husband, the family was broken and the daughter was parted from her father.

Some Khmer men like to have a lover or another wife outside the home. This kind of behavior persists in Cambodian society from an age-old practice. But in the context of modern Cambodian society this kind of behavior is not acceptable, because in the Constitution as well as the marriage law, it is stated that the family is in the form of one wife and one husband. On the other hand, extramarital sexual relations could bring home serious diseases such as AIDS and could cause the break down of the family as in example 11.

i. Attempt to hide husband's violent acts

Example 12: **“Savage Husband Shot His Wife With Three Bullets”** (Koh Santepheap, 28 September, 1997)

A woman got injured by gun shooting and was taken to the Russian Hospital on August 26, 1997. At first, she hid the truth by putting blame on the shooting of an anonymous person towards her while she was clearing rubbish near her house. But only recently did she reveal that it was her husband's shooting, so there was no anonymous shooting from the sky at all that caused the accident. The victim's name is Yem Nara, aged 30. She got wounded by her husband's 3-bullet shooting which caused a break of a bone in her thigh, a wound near her left breast, and a wound in her stomach on the left side. She explained the reason why she chose to blame illegal shooting, that is avoiding blaming her husband because she thought that if she accused her husband, there would not be good result, but only her husband's imprisonment and a break-up. ... This excuse is meaningless, and could not make the husband be grateful to her. 2 or 3 days after taking her to the hospital, he ran away, leaving her alone in the hospital, being unable to get up and having nothing to eat. Because she was fed-up with this, she decided to tell the truth that because he was angry with her for scolding his children with his former wife, her husband, who was a village militia, named Nuon Tharch, aged 39, shot her.

This case is one of many that shows the example of a wife's endurance of pain due to acts of violence by her husband. She tolerated this because she wanted to maintain her family, but her tolerance did not have a positive result. This example also shows the negative impact of the traditional advice to women to be patient and protective of their husbands.

j. Attempt to stop the bad behavior of the husband

Example 13: **“Her Leg Was Amputated Because of Her Brutal Husband”** (Koh Santepheap, 23 January, 1997)

Ms Nay Touch is married with 3 children, lives in Koh Thmey village, Khpork commune, Saang district, Kandal province, and grows vegetables for a living. Nay Touch's life is not enjoyable because of her husband's addiction to gambling. One day after coming back from drinking she talked to the man as a wife in order for him to change his attitude. She was not successful as she had expected, but instead she suffered a violent act from her husband, who threw a dish at her, causing an injury and scar on her leg when she was 8 months pregnant. The treatment of her leg for a long time at home until she got a second child was not effective and thus made her come for treatment in Phnom Penh. Unfortunately, the wound could not be cured, so she was amputated up to her thigh. She said that she does not consider that man

[the husband] as her husband any longer because he is immoral and has made her suffer since the day they got married. And in the end, she lost one leg because of this brutal man.

The Cbap Srey stated that women have to respect and fear the wishes of their husbands and take their advice to heart. On the contrary the wife in this example does not follow the Cbap Srey and dares to give advice to her husband to change his attitude. As result, she was punished by her husband. This example shows an inequality between men and women both in Cbap Srey and in the context of actual Cambodian society. It should also be noted that the loss of the woman's leg was due to lack of early medical treatment, and poverty, not directly by the violent act of the husband as the journalist seems to say.

3. Women against Women

Another important category of domestic violence is between women of the family.

Example 14: Story of “**First Wife Spattered Acid on Step Wife**” (Raksmeay Kampuchea, 14 May, 1997)

A man named Su Sarith, living in Sdao village, Deyedth commune, Kean Swaydistrict, Kandal province has a wife whose name is Hong Saveth. Su Sarith secretly has an extra-marital affair with Yem Chanty. Ever since having a second wife, he cares less about his first wife. After knowing of this love affair, Hong Saveth tried to persuade him to come back and also pleaded with the second wife. However, Ms Hong Saveth did not get any result; instead, she got rough words from her husband, and the couple who used to be sweet to each other, now show anger to each other. Because she could not find any solution to this problem, Ms Hong Saveth decided to scatter acid on Ms Yem Chanty in order to end the problem and then ran away. The second wife suffered seriously from acid.

Every man has heard a joking phrase “Having two wives is like carrying a volcano on the shoulders” or knows that bigamy is against the present family law. Nevertheless, a large number of men still have either another wife or a mistress and thus betray their wife and family in search of self-satisfaction. Such an act makes a family that is used to having happiness, experience problems. Happiness disappears and brings about violence. The consequences of men’s extra-marital affairs can be of many types.

Firstly, even if the wife is a "perfect woman," who is afraid to say anything or stop her husband from doing this, or the man himself does not physically torture his wife, the wife will inevitably suffer emotionally. She fears that in the future her husband will abandon her and the children just because of his love for his new wife or lover.

Secondly, if the wife cannot be patient with the attitude of her husband, knowing that her husband has a new wife or lover, her fury will emerge because of jealousy and that fury will be directed to the husband by repeatedly asking him or starting an argument. So, when the husband cannot control his anger, this can result in quarrels or even violence from each side. In addition, in the case that the woman does not start a row with her husband, she may have a dispute with the second wife instead, which can lead to violence. When the second wife is also ‘quite a strong woman’, violence will come from both sides. As a result, the family will not experience happiness. And at last, there will be a divorce, if not a violent event.

Thirdly, the burden on the shoulders of a husband who has two wives is difficult to balance. Although the husband claims that the burdens are equal, both women do not think they are equal. So, both wives will have arguments with the husband, and as a result, personal happiness that the man seeks by “having another wife” turns to sorrow unavoidably. When the man returns to the first wife, the second may not be able to tolerate it. By contrast, the first wife may not allow that return easily. Sometimes she may take revenge against the husband.

The psychology of jealousy, rage and anger in Cambodia is not well researched. An in-depth study of the tendency for rage to proceed to violence should be conducted to understand the kinds of phenomena presented in the examples.

4. Adults against children

Violence between other family members, besides that between husbands and wives also appears in newspaper articles that were collected. This violence often occurred between children and their real parents, children and stepfathers, children-in-laws and fathers-in-law, and in some cases, between

siblings-in-laws or cousins. Reasons for the violence between both sides are various, such as: small verbal arguments, anger with someone else's lectures, alcohol, demand for money, stepfather's abuse of one's mother, insult to one's mother, demand for a motorbike, mother asking to do something, father beating his grandchild as a punishment, lack of justice, and other cases whose causes cannot be identified. Although these causes seem trivial, they can create brutal violent acts that are against social morality, such as attempts to kill one's parents, and selling one's own children.

Surveys of 1993-1994 conducted by Vigilance and CWDA indicated that about half of the women and girls who were sold into prostitution, were sold by parents and other relatives^[8]. We found cases in our newspaper data like a mother selling her own daughter to a brothel (Koh Santepheap on 13 June 1997) which can be considered a case of domestic violence under the definition we are using. Our newspaper data also has instances of fathers raping their own daughters (Koh Santepheap on 27 February 1996 and Raksmei Kampuchea on 19-20 August 1996), a child killing his own father (Koh Santepheap on 10 December, 1997 and Raksmei Kampuchea on 19 June, 1997) etc.(A complete listing of domestic violence in our data can be found in the Annex).

There are also newspaper articles about another kind of domestic violence: raping one's own daughter, such as the story "**Big fish that eats its own offspring**"(Example 16). This violence actually happens in Cambodian society, and is considered extremely shameful.

Example 15: "**Bringing Up Kids ... Giving Birth to Kids?**" (Raksmei Kampuchea 19-20 August, 1996)

A 50-year-old man, named Chea Chin, who lives in Veal Sbov village, Ampil Toek commune, Kompong Tralach district, Kompong Chhnang and has a 45-year-old wife named So Hun and 5 children: 4 daughters and a son, raped the 17-year-old daughter 4 times until she got pregnant. Feeling ashamed before the villagers, the daughter decided to leave her home district and lived in pain in Kompong Thom. After having destroyed the oldest daughter's happiness, he attempted to rape another daughter, aged 15, 6 times, but did not succeed because she pleaded with him and tried to avoid him. Chea Chin's wife and daughters went to a competent authority to file a complaint so that he could be arrested and tried because if they had still kept him out of punishment, he would surely do such an immoral act again. The villagers labeled Chea Chin as the lowest beast.

Example 16: "**Brute Father Raped His Own Daughter**" (Kos Santepheap, 13 May, 1997)

An 18-year-old woman who requested anonymity and who lived in Boeng Kak quarter, Khan Toul Kork has been raped by her own father until she got 7 months pregnant. The father named Ek Thun, aged 41, is a construction worker while the mother, aged 39, is a cleaner of the Ministry of Public Works. They have 4 children. The victim told us that, at 4 o' clock every morning, her mother always went to do the cleaning, leaving her and her younger siblings with the father. But in October 1996, while she was sleeping with her small sisters, her father went in and threatened to kill her if she shouted and did not let him have sex with her. Due to a lack of self-defense, she was compelled to let him rape her with pain. After the rape her father threatened her not to tell anyone, and every time before dawn, the father raped her many times until she got 7 months pregnant. When the mother knew about her pregnancy, she asked by whom she [the woman] got pregnant in the presence of her father. She did not dare to tell the truth because she was scared of her father, so she chose to bear her mother's beating. Only some days after that when her father's older brother took her to do a business in Koh Kong province did she dare to tell her mother the truth. The victim said that she did not have any other alternative besides keeping the baby who is her father's blood.

The two cases of violence above are enormous tragedies for the families. Not only did the victim suffer from the violent act of physical abuse, but also her reputation was completely destroyed in the context of Cambodian society by the vulgar and immoral act of the man, whose traditional role is a father and head of the family. The man, as in Example 16, is often considered "the lowest beast".

Another act of domestic violence as bad as the case of raping one's own daughter is an act of raping small under aged girls (forced paedophilia). There were three cases of forced paedophilia consecutively reported in Kompong Chhnang province. In the downtown of Prey Khmer a 9-year-old girl was raped; after that, a 4-year-old girl was raped by her uncle-in-law in Thnal Thmey village, Chrey Bak commune, Rolea Phaea district; and another 6-year-old girl was raped by her stepfather in Okandal village, Chrey Bak commune, Rolea Phaea district, Kompong Chhnang province (Raksmei Kampuchea, 27 December, 1995 and Koh Santepheap, 6 May, 1996). Other cases include a 12-year-old girl being raped by her brother-in-law in Kean Sway district, Kandal province (Raksmei Kampuchea, 23 May, 1996), a 12-year-

old girl being raped by her uncle in Russey Keo district (Koh Santepheap, October, 1996) as well as a 11-year-old girl being raped by her stepfather in Korkei, Kean Sway district (Raksmey Kampuchea, 24 October, 1996).

Despite the fact that such an act is condemned by the society, competent institutions do not seem to pay attention to it and bring abusers to justice, as an article of the Raksmey Kampuchea issued on 7 December, 1995 mentioned that “This crime is real, but no one seems to care”, or the Koh Santepheap issued on 6 May, 1996 said that “Wait and see how provincial Pao Chin (a judge character in a Chinese series) will solve this problem. Will he set the victim free like before, because we remember that in a case of raping a 3-year-old niece last time, provincial Pao Chin set him free already.”

5. Children against adult

Example 17: “**Son Killed his Father by Hacking Him 9 Times with an Axe**” (Koh Santepheap, 3 May, 1997)

Lonh Pronh, aged 48, is married with 7 children and lives in Prey Tale village, Prek Ambel commune, Saang district, Kandal province. 2 or 3 days before the event, this man sold a cow for 450,000 riels, but he did not bring the money home to his wife, but spent all of it on gambling and wine. On the day the event took place, Lonh Pronh demanded 10,000 riels more from his wife, but she refused to give because she could earn money by only selling vegetables in Doem Kor market to support their children. Her refusal started an argument. Suddenly, a son pulled an axe and hacked his head 9 times, causing him to die at once, and then the son took a taxi-motorbike ride to Phnom Penh.

Example 18: “**Angkulimea (a bad character in a Cambodian story who tried to kill many people even his own mother) in Kean Sway Was Arrested by the Police**” (Raksmey Kampuchea, 18 December, 1997)

A man named Ke Sophal, aged 37, has attempted to kill his own mother with a knife and axe. This man's mother is 68 years old, living in Chhroy Ampil village, Kbal Koh commune, Kean Sway district, Kandal province. This man started arguments with his mother and younger siblings and destroyed everything in the house. When the man was chasing the mother in order to hack her with an axe, no one dared to help because this man had warned those who were about to help, but the police arrested him in time. The man told the police that he was too angry with his mother because she did not love children equally. When she sold her land, she was not friendly with him much. In fact, this man already got married and left to live in another village (Somrong Thom); and this man started arguments with his mother many times already.

In Example 17 it seems that wine and gambling are given by the journalist as the main reason that contributes to the violence. In Example 18 the journalist does not mention the reason for the violence, but he gives the reason of the abuser-- that his mother did not love her children equally. But, from the author's point of view it seems that in Example 17 the son killed his father because he could not bear watching his father's improper use of his power over his mother any more. And in Example 18 the pretext that his mother did not love him as much as the other children does not seem right. The fact of the matter is that she loved her son, who was Angkulimea, most because he was the only son. She loved him so much that he did things arbitrarily.

Besides the above-mentioned reasons, violence that occurs between husband and wife is also caused by other reasons such as disharmony, refusal to have a divorce, demand for money, gold and silver, vindictiveness, husband's failure to support children and other cases whose clear causes journalists do not know.

Out of 183 cases, 71 cases (or 39 %) were of violence between husbands and wives. In 44 of these cases (or 62 %) husbands were the abusers, in 17 cases (or 24 %) wives were the abusers, and there were 10 cases (or 14 %) of violence by first wives to second or third wives or vice versa. And out of the 10 cases of first and later wives committing violence on each other, 8 were cases of the first wives creating violence. In contrast, there were only two cases of the later wives creating violence. Out of all the 183 cases, 26 were cases of violence acts that were ascribed to husband's adultery, the husband or wife's jealousy, wife's adultery, love affairs with someone else's husband, jealousy with boy/girlfriends, and suicides due to jealous husbands.

It can be seen that the number of husbands who were abusers is over two and half times the number of wives who were abusers. This was probably because in Cambodia the men themselves considered that husbands are 'the big ones' in the family and that they "have more rights" than their wives.

Among the 17 cases in which woman were the abusers, it was discovered that there were unintentional acts, for example, when a husband and his wife were playing with each other, the wife accidentally pressed the trigger of a gun; or a wife wanted to stab her mother-in-law, but unintentionally stabbed her husband. There were also cases self-defense, for example: a wife grabbed the gun from the drunken husband and shot him because she was afraid of being shot; a step wife hacked her husband because he wanted to rape her. In these cases, where the woman abuses her husband, the violence was generally caused by husbands, except for one case in which violence was caused by a drunken wife. This demonstrates that in general in Cambodian families women are often patient and rarely express violence against their husbands, except in intolerable situations. And in such intolerable situations, only those women who are strong dare to fight back against their husbands.

Besides the violence between husband and wife, very often members of other families are violent towards one another. Many Cambodian families like to live together with others in extended families, which include their in-laws and relatives. Out of 183 cases, 64 cases were acts of violence done to one another within these extended families (47%). The relationship between those people is problematic because they think they do not have relationship by blood. Thus we have examples of children killing or beating their step fathers, step fathers raping step-children, younger brothers-in-laws shooting older brothers, fathers raping their daughters-in-laws and uncles raping their nieces-in-law, etc.

Apart from that, there is also violence between blood relatives such as fathers or mothers being violent towards their own children and children harming fathers or mothers. Such acts of violence between real relatives are injuries that society does not forgive because parents are supposed to have compassion for their children. Even animals generally love their offspring. Any parent, who abuses his or her own children, is considered worse than an animal. Whereas, children who do something inappropriate to their parents who are considered as people to whom they owe gratitude (and according to a Khmer proverb this gratitude is so valuable that gold as big as a mountain cannot be compared to it) are considered as ungrateful children. Cambodian society has little sympathy for such kind of people.

Verbal arguments between husband and wives because the wife does not do as the husband wishes her to do, can also cause strong violence. A small incident can turn out to be a tragedy in a family due to the abuse of authority and physical power by the husband on the wife. Such small causes include these cases: because of candies, a person was stabbed three times; because 5 sacks of chilies got lost, a person committed a suicide; because of his refusal to bring photos home, a man was stabbed in the stomach; a man shot his wife to death just because their younger siblings had eaten all the food; when a wife said there was no food, the husband burned her alive; because of the refusal to let customers owe money, the people involved stabbed each other, causing injury; because of not trying a shirt, a person got wounded by an axe, etc.

Drunkenness is also stated as a reason that contributes to domestic violence in the articles. Out of 183 cases, 23 were cases of the drunkenness of the husband, wife, and other family members, threats to children to look for money for alcohol and demands for money or gold from the wife.

The Men's Code of Conduct stipulates that "It is said that there are three kinds of madness: madness with girls, madness with alcohol and madness with gambling (games of cards, Chinese game of chance, and dice.)" This means that if any man has the three kinds of madness, he is a person who behaves against social norms. In the case of "being mad with girls" when he is married, he will be confronted with family crises. Sometimes he will beat the first wife, neglect the first wife and children, causing them to fall victim to many negative consequences of his own behavior.

Nevertheless, the exact impact of drinking in case of domestic violence remained undefined^[9]. The study "Plates in a Basket Will Rattle" showed that twenty-nine out of fifty women cited alcohol as a reason for the abuse. Eighteen of them stated that their spouse was the abuser, but didn't drink, and three of them said that their spouse drank, but did not relate this to the abuse^[10].

Out of all the articles gathered, only 3 cases mentioned gambling as a reason for domestic violence.

D. SUICIDE CASES

Cases of suicides accounted for 48 or 26% of all violence cases. 24 cases or 50 % of all suicide cases were cases in which husbands or wives committed suicides, and 24 cases or 50 % of all suicide cases were cases in which other family members killed themselves as a result of various kinds of violence in their families.

1. Cases of Husbands or Wives Committing Suicide

The cases of suicides committed by family members who were husbands or wives were generally caused by domestic violence of a psychological sort. These suicides were caused by such reasons as: their wife left or failed to recognize them; disharmony with their husband; their husband left them; lack of attention and care from their husband; their husband's gambling and destroying their property; normal arguments; upset as a result of insult; mother-in-laws' dissatisfaction; jealous of their husband; husband's extra-marital affairs; alcoholism; the wife or other family members' verbal abuse. There were only two cases of suicides due to physical violence by the husband. The first case was caused by everyday ill treatment and battering and attempts to break up, and the second was caused by one strike by her husband.

Example 19: **“Killing Herself Because Her Darling Went Away”** (Koh Santepheap, 26 July, 1996)

Miss Lim Chanravy lived alone without any relative in Prek Phnao village, Prek Phnao commune, Ponhea Leu district, Kandal province and earned a living by selling roasted bananas in Prek Phnao market. It was more than a year that she was married to a man whose name is not known and who works in the Asia Phnom Penh Hotel. Since their marriage, the husband never visited her, making her live alone and do a business to support herself according to her fate. Owing to this lonely life, she fell into despair and finally took deadly medicine.

Psychological torture that one party inflicts on the other party is no less a serious form of abuse than physical torture, as in Cambodian society, it is always said that: "it is better to have a small house than a narrow mind" or "it is better to have difficulty in body than in mind" or "it is alright to have a hot day, but not a hot feeling." Loss of hope in life caused by the husband or wife who inflicts emotional suffering on the other can make one party commit suicide at the time when she cannot take it any longer.

Example 20: **“Hanging Herself While Baby Still Suckled”** (Raksmey Kampuchea, 12 January, 1996)

A woman named Hun, aged 20, is married to a man named Harn, aged 25 with a 6-month-old baby girl. This family lives in Kdey Thnoat village, Sre Thmey commune, Rolea Paea district, Kompong Chhnnang. The family is poor, and their earning is just enough for one morning or evening's meal because the husband works as a coolie, and the villagers always donate some food so that they do not starve. According to the husband, because of jealousy, the couple had a little argument, causing her to go downstairs and kill herself.

The reason for such suicides are mentioned very rarely in newspapers. For example, *“We were informed further that the cause of this suicide was the emotional crisis resulting from the husband's gambling that caused the gradual loss of her property and from inability to persuade him to come back to his senses”* (Koh Santepheap, 21-22 July, 1996). But the report did not mention what the husband had done to her when he took their money and property for gambling, which caused her to be 'seriously upset' and led to her suicide. The use of the word "angry" or "upset" with someone or saying that "having a little argument" in order to give the cause of this suicide is not enough. They should have shown more clearly what they had done behind the word "angry" or "upset" which is violence that brought about this suicide. For example, *“A kid revealed that the wife named Chreb had an argument with her husband, but it is not known about what. ... No source can describe the above event in more detail than this”* (Raksmey Kampuchea, 13 August, 1997). This case should have had a clearer investigation because, in the view of the author, suicide is a serious tragedy.

2. Cases of Other Family Members Committing Suicide

The causes of suicide committed by other family members are often similar to the cases of suicides committed by husbands and wives. The cause is often being "angry" with other family members. Causes cited include being furious with parents, being scolded by siblings, cursing or beating as well as other factors such as despair (e.g. boyfriend did not allow her to visit her home village, asking for money for getting married, but failing to get it). In some other cases, the causes are not clear.

Some are serious cases of those who committed suicide having suffered physically and then emotionally from violence by other family members.

Example 21: **“Committed Suicide Because She Was Beaten by Father and Blamed by Mother”** (Raksmey Kampuchea, 24 September, 1997)

A girl named Proeng Bopha, aged 19, lived in Chhrey Bak village, Prek Tunloab commune, Loek Dek district, Kandal province. One day, after having been cursed with coarse and insulting language and beaten by her mother, she went to bed without eating any food and took poison in order to kill herself. When everybody in the house knew about this, it was too late. She had passed away.

Another story is similar to the one above but more serious, is:

Example 22: **“Hanged Herself Because of Father's Beating ”** (Raksmey Kampuchea, 20 August, 1997)

Miss Kheng Kimvar, aged 17, lived in Thnoat Chrum village, Boeng Tumpun quarter, Khan Meanchey, Phnom Penh. She got married with a 3-year-old child and was 4 months pregnant. Although she was married with children, Kimvar still lived under one roof with her parents. Her father often battered her, and on the day of the event, she was also beaten, causing wounds on her body. Being upset about her father's action, she was so angry that she locked the door and then hanged herself, making it impossible for others to help (her mother's words).

We know that educating children by beating them is not a good way of educating, although parents in Cambodian families think that one should punish one's children in this way when they make mistakes. However, punishments, like beating or cursing with bad language are rarely inflicted on mature children and especially not on girls. Doing this makes the child feel ashamed and embarrassed in front of their friends and neighbors. This shame may cause them to run away from home or commit suicide due to emotional stress. Example 23 particularly demonstrates the father's excessive power. Generally, after marrying off their children, parents usually give them freedom in establishing their new family, and if it comes to intervention, parents just give advice or help in business. Beating the daughter who has a husband and a child makes her feel ashamed before her husband, and is a bad model for her children as well. Beating the daughter who is pregnant is even more improper, and is a serious case of physical and psychological violence.

In Example 23, the mother affirmed that her daughter killed herself because she was angry with her father for beating her. But this explanation does not seem adequate. The beating occurred often and the mother said that the girl also had some arguments with her husband. This raises the question “Why did she not commit suicide during previous beatings?” Thus, perhaps there were other important factors involved in this suicide, about which we are not informed.

It can be seen that cases of suicides reported in the press often occur among young sons and daughters. Because their parents or relatives curse or scold or beat them, young hot-blooded children become depressed and ashamed, do not consider carefully, and hence commit suicide by taking deadly medicine, poison or by hanging themselves.

Example 23: **“Committing Suicide by Taking Poison Because of Getting Angry With the Father”** (Koh Santepheap, 20 June, 1996)

A mature woman named On, aged 19, lives behind Kirirom Cinema. She earns a living by selling cold napkin. Because she was angry with her father who scolded her for spending money, she took sleeping pills in order to kill herself (her siblings' words). She was rushed to the hospital, but it is not known whether the doctors can save her life or not.

It is difficult to know the reason of suicide in this case because the reporter does not make it clear. In the Khmer family parents usually give advice to children to save money or to spend it on necessities, because they think about the future which is uncertain. But children like to spend money on something that they need. In this case the conflict could be pressure from the parents preventing her from spending her own earnings, which drove her to suicide.

In the data obtained from the newspapers, many cases of suicide were caused by the husband's anger with his wife or wife's anger with her husband. Suicide in Cambodian society is considered a cowardly act that cannot be helped by the Buddha.

The proverb that “Plates in a Basket Will Rattle”, meaning that a husband and wife may be upset and angry, or have arguments with each other is just an assertion that aims to console and calm down those who have quarrels. The important thing is whether such hitting is considered by society as normal, or as a serious problem.

It is also noteworthy that journalists usually draw conclusions about the reason of violence that they obtain from victims, violence makers, victims’ relatives, neighbors, and local authorities. Generally, journalists often make conclusions based on one source among those sources mentioned above. The reasoning about domestic violence in the journalist's accounts are not very insightful or sensitive. It often seems that the journalists simply want a sensational story, without gaining any understanding of the violent phenomena.

E. INTERVENTIONS

Among the 183 cases, 90 cases mentioned interventions, 62 cases mentioned no interventions, and 31 were unclear.

Those who intervened include police, neighbors, parents, siblings, husband or wife, local authorities, victims themselves and doctors. Sometimes these interventions came from different individuals such as police and neighbors, or sometimes neighbors and relatives, etc. It can be seen that interventions are mentioned in half of all the cases.

1. Police

Although in some cases there were multiple interventions after the events, it can be seen that 44 cases involved interventions from the police, that is, they investigated at the scene, arrested abusers, sent abusers to court, rushed victims to the hospital, summoned those parties who had quarrels and tried to chase abusers. On the whole, there were many cases of the police arresting the abusers, but journalists did not mention where the abusers were taken after that. There were only two cases in which they mentioned that the abusers were imprisoned, namely the case of the father raping her daughter until she was 4 months pregnant in Prey Veng province (Koh Santepheap, 27 February, 1996 and the case of the husband demanding 5 chi of gold from his wife and then burning the house (Chakroval, 20-21 August, 1996). There were four cases of sending the abusers to court: 1) a case of the father raping his oldest 17-year-old daughter until she was pregnant and then attempting to rape the next 15-year-old daughter (Raksmey Kampuchea, 19-20 August, 1996); 2) a case of a son asking his father to have a gun fight (Koh Santepheap, 1 January, 1996); 3) a case of a son robbing his own father (Raksmey Kampuchea, 16 October, 1997) and 4) a case of a widower cheating a young widow in order to make her his wife (Koh Santepheap, 26, July, 1997).

2. Neighbors

Neighbors are also important in cases in which the victims do not have relatives at or near the scene. Neighbors gave immediate interventions such as rushing the victims to the hospital, giving emergency help at the scene (such as in cases of scattering acid, they helped by using soap to clean the victims, feeding sugar in cases of taking poison, and helping to put out fire, etc.). Neighbors also helped report to the authority or the police, helped the police to capture the abusers, and helped calm down quarrelling parties. Nonetheless, in violent acts we studied, which are related to serious cases, neighbors found it very difficult to intervene because the abusers were very violent and sometimes they also warned the neighbors, making them scared. The only intervention that could be made during the event was to phone the police. In some cases, because of their intervention, the neighbors were injured (Raksmey Kampuchea, 28-29, July, 1997) (see Annexes).

3. Relatives

Where violence took place between parties in families that have relatives living together, those people (such as parents, children or relatives) are the first intervenors. Relatives’ intervention includes stopping the violence, rescuing the victims on the spot, and reporting to the police. Small children could only call for help from the neighbors. In some cases, relatives’ intervention to stop the quarrels resulted in the

intervenor getting wounded by being stabbed in return (Chakroval, October 14, 1995; 21 May, 1997; 24 July, 1997 and 11-12 May, 1997.)

4. Husband or Wife

Husband or wives also intervene such as in the cases of suicides, of being the third person involved in violence or in the case of helping the victim whom the offender himself has hurt. These actions are as follows: reporting to the police, such as a case of a son hacking his father 50 times; the victim's wife reporting to the police (Koh Santepheap, 3 September, 1996); taking the victim to the hospital, like in a case of a wife committing suicide by slitting her throat, her husband rushed her to the hospital (Chakroval, 14 January, 1997); trying to stop the violence, such as a case of a husband hugging two children who were about to commit suicide together by grenades (Koh Santepheap, 31 January, 1996).

5. Other People

Local authorities rarely intervene (there was only one case among all the cases). Other intervention comes from doctors (in a case of a victim jumping off a building) as well as cases of the victims themselves running to the police and going to hospital for treatment. Besides these, one case was found to have intervention from journalists (Koh Santepheap, 31 January, 1996) and 3 cases from organizations (Koh Santepheap, 16 August, 1997), such as a Human Right's organization (Koh Santepheap, 5 October, 1997), International World Vision (Raksmey Kampuchea, no date), and the Cambodian Women's Crisis Center.

F. EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE ON CHILDREN

Family provides most of us with love and affection^[11]. Moreover, all families take on special responsibilities for their members' material needs^[12]. But, negative psychological, emotional, health, and economic effects are also likely to be experienced by children living in an environment of domestic violence^[13].

To elucidate, in the 183 newspaper articles of domestic violence, 79 cases were seen to have negative effects on children, while the other 104 cases did not mention any clear effects or consequences. Although an old saying goes that: "It is better to lose a father than a mother" (because in Cambodian society the children rarely sided with the father. Most were scared of their father^[14], and thus living with mother has more warmth than living with father). The father or husband is still considered as the "pillar" of the family, as Ovesen states, the Khmer social universe focus on the nuclear family. Completeness of this nuclear family is so important that "a woman without a husband is in certain sense equivalent to a person missing a limb"^[15]. Widows and orphans often suffer insults from others. That is why women usually try to be patient so as to avoid becoming widowed and their children fatherless, because "it is widely believed that divorce will cause a woman's and her children's reputation to be forever tainted. The public as well as the women themselves believe that divorced women suffer shame and community disdain"^[16]. Such consequences include lack of support after their parents died (Raksmey Kampuchea, no date); the father killing the mother and running away (Koh Santepheap, 20 June, 1997; Raskmey Kampuchea, 7 May, 1996); the mother killing the father and running away (Raksmey Kampuchea, 16 December, 1997. 2 January, 1997); lack of warmth because they are orphaned (Raksmey Kampuchea, 16 September, 1997; Koh Santepheap, 27-28 July, 1997; 3 August, 1996); suffering from embarrassment because of rape by step-father, causing pregnancy and producing a baby who will face difficulties in society when it is born (Koh Santepheap, 27 February, 1996, Raksmey Kampuchea, 19-20 August, 1996); too much cursing or beating causing children to kill themselves. Apart from the emotional pain caused by violence their parents commit towards each other, the children also suffer from physical abuse, just because those parents want to hurt each other's feelings (Koh Santepheap, 2 July, 1997). These child victims include those babies in the mother's womb and those who are not yet one year old.

In the 79 cases, there were 221 child victims, including 5 babies as well as those in the womb. Although the journalists did not mention the consequences of violence in every newspaper article, it can be concluded that there must be consequences on those children according to the situation described in the articles.

CHAPTER 2. PRESENTATION OF VIOLENCE IN NEWSPAPERS

A. PHOTOS

Most articles of domestic violence in newspapers have photos. Out of 183 cases, 156 cases or 85 % had photos. These photos showed the abusers, the victims, the scenes, the hospitals at which the victims stayed, and sometimes photos of the victims' families before the events. In most cases, there was only one picture; and in some cases, there were up to three pictures. The largest number of pictures were of the victims (131), with pictures of the abusers being only 43 times, and the scenes and hospitals being only 18 times. Most pictures of the abusers were taken after the events, that is, if the abuser was arrested. Sometimes the pictures are of the abusers in prison, and sometimes they are of abusers without their clothes on, except briefs and with labels with their names, on and their acts and dates on which they were arrested, hanging from their necks. Sometimes there are pictures of the abusers handcuffed or holding the guns that they used during the acts of violence. These are all photos from the police stations. And sometimes there are pictures of the abusers, taken before the events. Most of the photos were taken from the front, so that one can see clearly the identities of the abusers.

The pictures of the victims were of different types, usually taken at the scene; dead bodies lying in a blood bath, hanging bodies tied with ropes. There were also pictures of living victims who were in hospital, or dead victims surrounded by their surviving children. Some photos were souvenir snapshots taken before the violence. In some cases, the identity of victims was hidden, with black strips over their eyes.

Most of these pictures demonstrate clearly the brutality and violence of abusers, and the tragedy of victims as well as their family members, caused by domestic violence. They also show that domestic violence affects not only the individual family but also the entire society, for example showing a picture of children crying over their dead parents.

It is interesting that the victims' identity is often concealed but the identity of the abuser is not. This may be due to the Khmer respect for the dead, but also may express a condemnation of the abuser by showing them in prison surroundings.

B. ARTICLE TITLES

All articles of domestic violence have titles. The first parts of the articles always appear on the first page of newspapers and some titles are written with big bold letters at the top. All titles express the content of the articles: which family members were violent to whom, what type of violence they inflicted and why they did it. For example: "**Slit Wife's Neck Because of Jealousy**" (Koh Santepheap, 20, June, 1997, "**Hacking Wife With Knife 4 Times Because She Refused to Give 1 Chi of Gold To Him to Start a Business**" (Chakroval, 26 September, 1997). In the first title it is clear that the husband was violent toward on his wife by sawing her neck because he was jealous. While in the second title, it is clear that the husband was violent his wife by stabbing her with a knife four times because she refused to give 1 chi of gold to him to start a business. These titles also express the authors' feeling and reactions, and whether they had compassion for the victims or denounced the abusers, as reflected, for instance, in these titles: "**One Shocking Tragedy ... Wife Was Burnt Alive**"(Koh Santepheap, 5 December, 1997). The words "brute" and "beast" give an indication of the compassion felt by the author and his denunciation of the violence.

However, some titles did not reflect the true content of the articles because various kinds of language were used in order to attract the readers' attention. For example a title that says "**Chopped Husband With Chopper No Less Than 50 Times**". If anyone reads this title, s/he will think that the wife must have chopped the husband. But, in fact, this article did not say exactly who the murderer was, because it said that the wife was selling grilled bananas somewhere else, not at the murder scene, and that she did not know anything about the event. In another case, the title says that, "*Husband Killed by Wife's Shooting Because He Did Sin Almost Every Day*". If anyone reads this title, they will immediately think that the wife must be the killer, but the content of the article expressed doubt about whether the wife was the shooter. In some titles, words or phrases from songs or the names of some characters in tales were used to attract the audience's attention, and in this case, if the readers have not listened to the songs or read the tales, they will not understand. For example, "*Angkulimea in Kean Sway Was Arrested*" or "*Avcheatibot Hacked Father for Funeral Because of One Basket of Rice*" or "*Salorn, Don't Love Him...*". If people do not know the stories of Angkulimea, Avcheatibot or the song called Salorn, they will

find it very difficult to understand the content of the article. Nevertheless, all the titles reflected domestic violence bluntly, and they used words that expressed positive or negative images.

As is usual, the headlines are meant to attract attention and sell the newspaper. So the titles alone are not satisfactory for cataloguing the cases of domestic violence that appear in the press.

C. PHOTO TITLES

All photos except 7, had titles. These titles are different from those of the articles. Most titles show the clear identity of the people in the pictures. Sometimes the titles were short, and sometimes included descriptions of the causes or types of violence, for instance “*Girl, L.S.P., aged 12, was raped by her brother-in-law*”. Only a few titles expressed the judgement of authors on the victims or the abusers. Some titles were mocking, such as “*she smiled a broad smile because she got married to a widowed official, but it was a local widower*”, “*don’t take pictures of me because I have already taken medicine in order to kill myself*”, “*as such a pretty girl, she should have found one husband for herself only*”, “*the face of the big fish in a pond who ate his own daughter*”.

D. ARTICLE STRUCTURE

Generally the articles of violence we have in the PADV collection have three formats: 1) introduction and body, 2) introduction, body and conclusion and 3) overview, introduction, body and conclusion.

a) In *overviews*, there is usually a statement of the authors’ viewpoint concerning the violence that was about to be described. For example, In “Sangroux Khmer” issued on 13-14 January, 1997, there was one article entitled “**A Woman's Sorrowful Smile is More Tragic Than Seeing a Woman Cry**” (Example 11). This is the overview: “*Internal arguments in the family in Cambodian society are the problems of those individuals and society, and thus should not be mentioned. However information that is based on truth and justice and that aims to heighten the reputation of Khmer and protect human rights should be spread widely in order to avoid considering Khmer women only as sex objects.*”

b) In *the introduction*, there is usually information about the types of violence, scenes, dates, abusers, victims (sometimes it shows their identity, and sometimes it does not). For example, “*On 25 October, 1995, there was a crime in number 6 village, Kompong Leav commune, Kompong Leav district, Prey Veng province because a husband was jealous of his wife. A woman named Peak Sovan, aged 25, was stabbed with a bayonet 4 times, causing her sudden death*” (Raksmei Kampuchea, 29 October, 1995).

c) In *the body*, the authors mention the causes of the event that they learned of at the scene. Journalist’s information generally was derived from the words obtained from the police, doctors, dead victims’ relatives, neighbors, victims’ husbands or wives. Sometimes there was no mention of clear causes. Sometimes, journalists sought information from only one source - the relatives of the dead victims, the police, or the neighbors, but occasionally, from multiple sources. In some instances the same case is covered by different journalists from different papers. We can compare the accounts in these instances. For example, a case of domestic violence between a husband and his wife was discussed in two newspapers; the article that appeared in “Chakroval” (26 September, 1997) had this title “**Hacked Own Wife 4 Times Because Refusal to Give 1 Chi of Gold to Start a Business**” and in “Koh Santepheap” (18 September, 1997) was entitled “**So Cruel! Tied and Beat Wife, and Cut Ankle Tendon**”. The two articles in both newspapers are as follows:

- They have the same date: 12 September, 1997
- Different Times: 21.00 hours in the first paper and 21.45 hours in the second
- Different sources: from the police in the first paper, and from doctors in the second
- The same tools: chain and chopper
- Quite different acts of violence: in the first newspaper, there was the threat, tying to a pillar, beating with a chain, chopping with a knife. In the second, there was cursing, beating, slapping, tying to the pillar, beating the head with a chain and cutting her ankle tendons.
- Number of children: mention of 4 children in the first, but no mention in the second
- Condemnation: in the first, arrest by the police; in the second, an arrest warrant from the municipality court, and expectation of a sentence of up to 10 to 15 years imprisonment.

d) In *the conclusion*, there was a general description about whether the offender ran away or was arrested as well as the authors’ comments and judgements. For example, an article entitled “**Son Hacked His Own Father to Death 9 Times With an Ax**” (in Koh Santepheap issued on 3 May, 1997) concluded

that "After hacking his father, Bronh ran away. He sold a cow for drinking and gambling and demanded money from his wife, who works hard in her selling business. That act is intolerable".

Almost all the articles were written in the form of short descriptions of the events taken from the words of those who saw, knew or heard of the events. Those articles were rarely written in a narrative style. It was probably because the authors did not have deep insights into the events, and because the amount of newspaper space was limited.

E. REPORTERS' COMMENTS

As already mentioned, the authors' comments generally appear in the *overview* and *conclusion*. Besides, some authors' comments are seen in the body which they expressed as support for, or condemnation against, those people who committed violence against each other by using positive or negative words used to describe those people.

Out of the 183 cases, in 111 cases or 61%, the authors expressed their opinions, while in 72 cases or 39 %, they did not. Of the 111 cases, 9 cases considered domestic violence as normal, 64 cases blamed the abusers, 20 cases blamed the victims, 15 cases supported the victims, 3 cases supporting the abusers. The journalists also differ in considering domestic violence as normal, in their assumptions about the causes of violence, and in making suggestions about reasons for the violence. The journalists also occasionally comment on institutions and authorities that deal with domestic violence.

1. Condemnation of domestic violence

Most journalists in most articles failed to condemn the domestic violence.

A few instances of domestic violence were condemned by the reporter. There are 64 cases (35%), in which the reporter condemned the abusers. Besides, there is also some condemnation of the victims, policemen, courts, and doctors. A few cases mentioned alcoholic drinking.

a. Condemnation of direct violence

The condemnation of direct violence is rarely seen. This condemnation is usually found in conclusions of the articles. For example, Khmer citizen Newspaper issued on December 02, 1995 said, "The husband was gunned down by his wife because he endlessly created sin", and its conclusion was: "This case is considered as a savage crime in a family, in which a wife dared to shoot her husband to death... Consequently, three daughters are fatherless". We can extract sentences from other cases such as: "Killing a wife in an outrageous manner", (Raksmey Kampuchea 5/6-February 1996). Chopping a person like chopping meat...", (Koh Sontepheap 2/3-November 1997). "After cruelty, a husband attempted to throw grenade to kill a wife...", (Koh Sontepheap 09 July 1996). "It is absolutely fierce which law must not allow the culprit to escape... because he used a gun to shoot at his wife mercilessly...", (Koh Sontepheap 13 Feb 1997). There is an incredible and savage cases in which a husband burnt his wife until death", (Raksmey Kampuchea 20 April 1997). "The sad tragedy ...burnt a wife", (Koh Sontepheap 5 Dec 1997).

b. Condemnation of the abusers

Reporters mostly condemned those who committed crimes and violence. This condemnation can be found in their expressions or other words used to express characteristics and behavior. For example, "A drunken father killed his child. How many drunken fathers in the world dare to kill their daughters because of verbal war?", (Koh Sontepheap 14 Dec 1997). "A merciless, savage, and animal- hearted husband must be handcuffed", (Koh Sontepheap 23 Oct 1995). "It is a serious tortured sin of madam Lay Moeun who meets a blacked- liver husband. How many Cambodian women have got married to such kinds of husbands? Policemen and related officials must settle this case" (Koh Sontepheap 15/16 Sep 1996).

c. Condemnation of the victims

The condemnation of the victims by reporters is seen most in cases in which victims used violence against themselves (suicide). Below are some mild expressions and phrases used by reporters to blame those who committed suicide: "In the past, people used to hear that female used her short-thought to kill herself when she came to a deadlock, but in the present day, the same case has happened to a male, " (Raksmey Kampuchea 15-16 Sep 1997). "According to this situation, it is so miserable that a thoughtless man feels

pity for himself, so he chooses to get drugs in order to commit suicide. It is also shocking that most of these cases normally happened to the female one, but now it is also happening to a man," (Koh Sontepheap 13 Aug 1997). "Suicide is not the best way to settle the family's problems. In addition, a man who is both mentally and physically strong must not take a decision for suicide to deal with such a problem. A problem which happens in a family should be settled peacefully by a man. This expresses that a man is the head of the family," (Koh Sontepheap 31 May 1996).

According to the above examples, we see that newspapermen have condemned men for committing suicide to settle their problems. On the other hand, we also note that they commonly disparage women "as women use thoughtlessness to suicide". Other examples the reporters' condemnation of the suicide victims, are more serious: "To be a human being should not commit suicide," (Raksmeay Kampuchea 12 Jan 1996). "It is really a serious problem because of anger.... It is really an illiterate act that a victim chose suicide to avenge," (Koh Sontepheap 20 June 1996). This action is very disgusting that everyone has to avoid, " (Raksmeay Kampuchea 21 Sep 1996). "On behalf of a college student, he is thoughtless... he is not shy of miserable people?" (Koh Sontepheap 25 May 1997). "Be born a human being, it is so sorry that he killed himself because of his parents' scolding", (Raksmeay Kampuchea 20 March 1996). According to the above examples, the reporters condemned the suicide victim by saying that it was an illiterate way to die, without struggling in life, and that it is an action that everyone hates.

Another criticism was laid on a polygamist who committed suicide without thinking of his parents, wives, and children. Although there is a lot of condemnation on suicides in general (both male and female), the reporters seem to have a milder view of females than males.

d. Condemnation of both victims and abusers

In some cases, reporters condemned both victims and abusers. For example, "... the story occurring from insincerity ... a husband has a mistress and he forgets his house, his wife and children. It is also the wife's mistake. In addition, the wife pins her hope on her ex-sweetheart who promises to marry her even though he has got three children. It is, in fact, a swindling story", (Koh Sontepheap 24 Jan 1997). "It is really so shocked that a natural son killed his father, and this crime is not only relating to a societal law, but it also involves morality. This is considered as double-hell sinfulness". And "money from selling a cow is lost in gambling, he still asks his wife for more cash from her business... it is intolerable," (Koh Sontepheap 03 May 1997).

e. Blaming doctors

In their conclusion, the reporters also often criticized hospitals for not paying much attention to treating the domestic violence victims. For example, the case in which a wife was burnt by her husband in Kompong Thom province noted that: " For the poor victim likely as madam Pheap when she suffered from such a burn, she had to run to the hospital to be treated. But Kompong Thom provincial hospital is very bad because they left her to decay without paying attention to her. Doctors should try to rescue and treat such a poor person or they are money-minded...corrupt", (Koh Sontepheap 21 Sep 1996). Another case is about a husband who was spattered in acid by his wife; the reporter wrote: " A breathless victims is left alone at Norodom Sihanuk's hospital called the Russian hospital. If he has money to buy medicine, there will be a hope for him, " (Koh Sontepheap 11 Sep 1996). The reporters seem to want to use the example of domestic violence to make larger criticisms of social institutions, like the health service.

f. Blaming the courts

In some cases, the court dealing with the domestic violence was also blamed by reporters. For example, in a domestic violence case in Kompong Chhnang in which a father raped his daughter the reporters suggest by allusion that the court took bribes: "We are looking for this case how Pao Chin (judge) judges the case or Pao Chin released a criminal?". In another case relating to a father who raped his three-year-old daughter, the judge released the culprit. The journalists asked: "How long are you going to be corrupt... until you have a new villa?" (Sethakech Newspaper, May 6, 1996).

2. Conclusions of reporters on the reasons for violence

Sometimes the reporters speculated about the causes relating to domestic violence. In some cases, the reporters said alcohol was the cause of violence such as: "So passion and drunkenness make him threaten his wife ", (Koh Sontepheap 27 Feb 1996). "Alcohol is an additional power which motivates Bun Thoeun to become savage, and he looks at his wife as a roasted duck", (Chakraval Newspaper 26 Sep 1997).

Other journalists attribute violence to social and moral causes. For example: "notably, the number of women who committed suicide or murder by using poisons more than the men and the reason that caused them to commit suicide is a broken heart", (Koh Sontepheap 23 July 1997). "It is just the petty scandal, but they try to make it more serious. This indicates the reality in the community that is full of the lack of such virtues", (Koh Sontepheap 29 June 1997).

Some other journalists asserted that the reasons for domestic violence are youth, poverty, and low education. "... at too young an age, poor living standards, and very low education make their loves break up with no chance to reunite it. This is why, they decided to choose death", (Koh Sontepheap 20 August 1997). Yet other journalists assumed that domestic violence came from hopelessness on a larger social scale. "This year (1996) we observed that there were many people who decided to murder or commit suicide by drinking poisons," (Raksmei Kampuchea, Sep 8, 1996).

3. Educational role of reporters

Journalists often take the opportunity of an instance of domestic violence to instruct their readers. For example, the case in which the man died after being stabbed twice with a knife by his step-wife. The journalist gave advice to those who have many wives: "*This is the phenomenon in society, which the dead created by themselves. They do not think about their capacities, having two or three wives both in the village and in Phnom Penh. They are just coolies (workers) earning money using physically strength. They do not have such strong abilities to earn much money to support two or three families. The dead person, whose name is Ath, had nothing left and he did not have chance to apologize to his first wife. This is a very good lesson for every man in the community who leaves home and goes further to do the business or to find a job, especially in Phnom Penh*", (Koh Sontepheap 04 June 1997).

One case of domestic violence was caused by the members of a family: it was just a petty thing as the owner asked for the money he (she) was owed for a motorbike. They then blew up this small event into a more serious situation. The journalist expressed: "*Though this violence began occurring in a small family, it is the lesson for the society. This kind of argument does not benefit for the family as well as the society. Motorbike owner did not only get money, but he (she) also wasted money on healing the wounds of his (her) head*", (Koh Sontepheap 30 Oct 1997).

"*We are the human being we can forgive each other for such a petty scandal. This makes us save the time, save money and even save human resource. Do you know?*" (Koh Sontepheap, Dec 30, 1995).

In the case of violence in which a son stabbed his father because of a basket of rice in Prey Veng, the journalist wrote: "*It is the very bad news, we are the sons and daughters of Khmer must not follow this sort of son. There is no appropriate devil to put such a person. It is too deep to call*", (Koh Sontepheap 01 Nov 1995).

In the case of women who had committed suicide because of broken-hearts and whose husbands had affairs and left them alone with the children, the journalist wrote: "*They should have survived for their lives and tried to adjust to the new world which is brighter and happier. If husbands or boyfriends were still loyal to them, they would return. They should have thought of what caused their husbands or boyfriends to move away and why their husbands or boyfriends lost their loyalty. If they can see the reasons they can make correction from time to time. Some day their husbands or boyfriends will return*", (Koh Sontepheap 20 April 1996).

4. Reporters' suggestions to authorities

Generally, journalists have sympathy for the victims who suffered domestic violence. They often appeal to the local authorities or concerned institutions in their reporting. For example, there was a case in which the husband beat his wife with a four-sided rod. The wife asked to divorce him because she could not bear living with him (the husband was adulterous and never offered money to feed the children). The journalist wrote: "*For this domestic violence, local authority, who had already accepted Ly Chheng's complaint, should solve her problem*", (Koh Sontepheap 22 Oct 1995).

The case in which father dropped his child in the hospital and followed his step wife, the journalist wrote: "*Could the authority for social affairs help this very small child who was drowning?*" (Raksmei Kampuchea 3 Nov 1995).

In another case a poor woman and her three children, in Prek Pnov, earned money by using her mosquito net to catch the small fish to feed the children. Her husband, who was soldier, was killed by her younger brother (stabbed with axe) when her husband accused her of committing adultery. The journalist then wrote: "*This is the life in the community and it is enough for the leaders in Khmer society to develop people's lifestyles. Also, the authority for the military service should not deceive the combatants- make sure that their very little salary comes to their wife and children,*" (Koh Sontepheap 22 Oct 1995).

Another case was that of a young 12 year-old- girl who was raped by her uncle. This occurred in Russey Keo district and the case in which younger brother-in-law stabbed his older brother-in-law with a long - handed sharp knife in Saang Phnom commune Saan district. The journalists proposed : "*We do hope the police in Russey Keo district will be able to search for this offender,*" (Koh Sontepheap 04 Sep 1996). Or "*The police had better take action to search for and arrest the offender whose name is Phally and bring him to the court for trial in order to set an example for those who are drunkards and insolent,*" (Koh Sontepheap 24-25 March 1995).

F. LANGUAGE USED TO DESCRIBE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

In general, to describe the domestic violence that occurred, journalists used common language in the format of reporting. However, for the titles of the articles, they used vivid expressions and slang and sometimes they wrote in rhymes to attract the readers. For example, the article named: "**Angkulimear** in Kien Svay was suspended by the police," (Raksmey Kampuchea 18 Dec 1997). The journalist used the name of **Angkulimear**, the protagonist in the Cambodian story. In the article title: "**So Strong! Killed a Human With Just one Blow of Fist**" is a Cambodian expression which was used to attract readers because we seldom find people who can beat other people with only one blow of their fist (Raksmey Kampuchea 24 April 1997). Another article under the name: "**Strong wife killed her husband with 17 bullets,**" (Raksmey Kampuchea 8 Jan 1998). This expression is very popular in spoken language and creates a more negative connotation to attract readers.

In order to indicate condemnation of the abusers, the journalists use strong language which carries negative connotations or figurative meaning such as: a bad man, wicked lady-killer, very old still agitate for sex, gangster, hot hearted wife, crocodile loses its lake, bad child with black blood, savage husband, haired-liver child, brute husband, fish with head covered with moss, very small creature, daily drunkard, savage father, adulteress, black liver father, wicked drunken husband, and so on. Sometimes the writers quoted the words that the abusers used: "You old, you fucking, killing you cutting off your legs and arms, if I can't kill you I will destroy your crops," (Raksmey Kampuchea 25 June 1997). "Three or four of you are going to die of my gun," (Koh Sontepheap 25 Oct 1995).

Having sympathy for the victims, the journalists often used words which carry implications of pity and emotion such as: poor father, poor woman who just gave birth to a baby, injured poor woman, she brought her orphan life, wife deadly slept compassionately, injured woman nearly die nearly exist, poor pregnant woman, etc.

For the action of violence or something which relates to the violence, the journalists used various imaginative words such as: "leang" instead of "to shoot", "eat outer food or meal" instead of "having sexual intercourse with another woman", "si krao" instead of "to have sex outside", "chnang croen" instead of "having many wives", "insolid spur" instead of "the male member", "bangkong cah" instead of "first wife", "srey dach kanloh" instead of "woman who acts abnormally", "neang tuk khmum khae vossa" instead of "step wife", "Pao Chin" refers to "the judge", "kang day lek pram bey" refers to "handcuff" etc.

To indicate the consequences, which followed for the children, the writers used the words or phrases that expressed sympathy and concern. For example: "leaving 3 children fatherless", "remaining 5 children homeless", "mother died and father ran away - 3 children were fed by people who felt pitiful", "father imprisoned and mother seriously injured - 5 children lived together", "remaining 7 children in the burden because mother was suspended", "father had an affair 2 children met trouble", "3 children lived with disabled father and sometimes had nothing to eat", "one-month baby was spattered with acid and perhaps could not survive", "3-month pregnant woman was stabbed in her abdomen and this affected her unborn baby", "the oldest daughter who was raped by her father and was expecting a baby fled to live in another province - when this baby is born he will face an identity crisis in the community because his father and grand father are the same person", "unborn baby's life without fault", "both children became orphans - their neighbors gave them food and the Cambodian Woman 's Crisis Center adopted them, who brought 4 children up?- mother stayed in hospital and father imprisoned."

Sometimes, because of anger with the abusers and concerned institutions, the writers used rude language with serious connotations. Sometimes, the writers used proverbs to give advice to the readers as well. For example, "do not be light hearted," "dishes in one basket also rattle," "farming sometimes up and down," "finding spouse, if wrong, forever."

G. FOLLOWING -UP CASES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

In some cases of domestic violence, the journalists continued to follow the case after the initial report. For example, in Raksmei Kampuchea 14-15 July 1997, the journalist described domestic violence, in which the husband killed his wife and mother-in-law, under the title: "**Because of rice with husks, killed his wife and mother-in-law**", but the case was not finished. When the murderer (husband) had killed his wife and his mother-in-law using his gun, he escaped. Then the police come to the scene and they confiscated the offender's gun. The offender was no where to be seen and there was speculation as to whether he was arrested and brought to court for trial. But later on 19 July 1997 the same newspaper that had followed the case, ran another article with the title: "**Return to children, suspended by the police**". This time the writer clarified the case and also mentioned the dossier that sent the offender to court to be sentenced and also about the future of the 5 children.

It is very rare that a case is followed up. There are only 8 reports among all the cases of the domestic violence we collected during these two years in which the journalist followed up the case.

H. VARIATION IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE COVERAGE IN THE NEWSPAPERS

Through our observation, there are quantitative changes rather than qualitative changes in two years of domestic violence publication in the newspapers. In late 1995 and in the whole of 1996, the newspapers published 71 cases of domestic violence altogether. Whereas, in the whole of 1997, domestic violence cases increased up to 112 cases. We can explain this in two ways: First, there may have been fewer domestic violence cases in 1996 than in 1997. Second, perhaps the journalists were more interested in domestic violence in 1997 than they were in 1996. In other cases, the increase may be related to the increased social tensions in 1997 as the political situation developed.

There was no change to the format and the ways they organized their articles in these two years. For example, journalists usually started their articles with general statements before going straight in to the topic but only for violence which seemed strange to them and society. From their general statements, we can see their feelings towards violence. 20 of 183 cases we collected consisted of general statements in which 11 cases were collected in 1996 and 9 cases in 1997. What is more, if we consider whether the article included a conclusion or not, we can see that from 71 cases collected in 1996, there were 48 (67%) cases in which the articles included a conclusion. While from 112 cases collected in 1997, there were 63 (56%) cases in which the articles consisted of conclusion. So the format and the ways the journalists organized their articles did not seem to change much over these two years.

If we compare the journalists' opinions in these two years, we can see the following:

	1995-96	1997
• Recognition of domestic violence as normal	4 cases	5 cases
• Censuring the abusers	27 cases	37 cases
• Censuring the victims	10 cases	10 cases
• Supporting the victims	5 cases	10 cases
• Supporting the abusers	2 cases	1 case
• No-opinions expressed	23 cases	49 cases

We observe that in general, there is very little recognition of domestic violence as a normal occurrence (4 cases or 5% in 1996 and 5 cases or 4% in 1997). If we compare, we see that in 1997 there was a slight decrease over 1996. Although in most cases journalists did not directly condemn the violence, they condemned the violent abusers. In this two year period for which we have data, there was similar condemnation and hardly any defense for the violators. Even though censuring the victims means having sympathy for them, in most cases, journalists did not directly support the victims. There were 5 cases of direct advocacy for the victims in 1996 (7%) which increased in 1997 to 10 cases (9%). There were 10 cases of censuring the victims in 1996 (14%) and in 1997 there were 10 cases (9%). Scolding the victims did therefore not change greatly.

CONCLUSION

Based on our examination of the newspapers collected by PADV in 1996-97 we conclude as follows:

Domestic violence is a serious problem in Cambodia, either in urban areas or in rural areas. But in our data, most abuses were reported in Phnom Penh and the surrounding areas. This is probably because these areas are near to the offices of Newspapers and notice of the domestic violence easily reaches journalists. There is probably much domestic violence in the rest of the country which does not come to the attention of the press.

The domestic violence occurred between two parties (husband and wife) or three parties (husband, first wife, and step-wife) and between other members in the family and self-violence (suicide). The cases that occurred most often in the data are abuses between husband and wife. In our data the husband was violent towards his wife more than two and a half times as often as the wife was violent towards her husband. Notably, concerning the violence occurring between other members of the family, there were cases in which a father raped his daughter, a daughter murdered her parents, men raping girls who had not yet reached the age of puberty, or mother selling her daughter to be a prostitute. The violence in the family includes cursing, insulting exaggerating, threatening, beating, scattering acid, cutting with razors, killing with a knife or an axe, beheading, beating with rods, stabbing with knives, shooting with guns or rifles, beating with iron rods or chains, throwing dishes or shackles, burning with petrol, killing with hand grenades, handcuffing, slitting throats, tying to a pillar and cutting ankle tendons, hanging upside down and hitting head against the floor, dragging down from the house, drinking acid and poison, etc.

Of course, it is impossible to estimate from our newspaper collection how often and what kind of domestic violence actually occurs in Cambodian society.

Although 71 articles did not mention the perpetrators and victims' occupations, we can see that there are a variety of people who committed violence such as soldiers, civilians, government officers, peasants, workers, businessmen, and even beggars. But we note that 15 out of 19 abusers who were armed-people or former armed-people used their army weapons to commit violence, and two of them were women.

According to journalists, the main contributing factors that caused domestic violence come from various things such as alcohol, sex, gambling, suffering or suffering from evil speech, and being tortured by other people. Additionally, journalists assumed that the impact of society was also a contributing factor in domestic violence, affecting the individual's character and behavior.

Only half of the violent cases we collected from the newspapers mentioned **intervention**. Generally, the people who first intervened were the relatives of the victim, those who live in the same family or next door, or their neighbors. In most cases of serious domestic abuse, other interventions came from the police, some local authorities, doctors and a few non-government organizations.

There are only 79 cases which mentioned the indirect effects of domestic violence on children. These cases lead to lack of warmth, lack of support, and loss of honor in the community. The children who suffered from these effects include babies and unborn babies.

On newspaper pages the photographs and titles of articles are usually sensational, aiming to attract readers. In some cases the titles are either bold or minor printed and some others are printed in great bold capitals on the first page. Most of the photographs are of victims. Presenting the photographs of the victims or perpetrators, journalists did not hide any identification except some private parts. In some cases we can see the writers' sympathy for the victims or condemnation for the abusers through the titles of the articles and the pictures.

Because nearly all of the domestic violence were serious cases, the journalists, in general, did not consider those abuses as normal cases. Although nearly 40% of the articles did not mention personal ideas, in more than 60 % of the articles the journalists gave their personal opinions. We can see that they condemned the violent action; they scolded the perpetrators; they supplicated the concerned institutions and violence suppressing agencies such as police, hospitals, law courts, and so on so that they could aid the victims, or they provided their moral ideas to educate the readers.

Probably because their purposes are only to fit the requirement of their newspapers there is no particular purpose of focusing on domestic violence, the journalists just wrote about domestic violence as normal news without questioning deeply for true reasons. This is why they did not follow and observe the cases very much. In our own opinion, journalists did not take seriously the motives for domestic abuse. This led them to describe only the events and rarely to express ideas of condemnation on the abusers. Sometimes

they expressed their sympathy for the victims or sometimes they expressed no emotional reaction. Generally, journalists condemned the perpetrators because they had seen that they had committed a very serious act of violence and could not be forgiven. But they generally did not seek explanations for the violence in the family.

According to the language used in writing the articles, journalists regarded the perpetrators as immoral, savage people and inhumane. And they treated the victims as the pitiable people. However, journalists did not often give moral lessons to readers and they did not show how to prevent or decrease domestic violence.

When we compared these two years of domestic violence coverage we found there were no notable qualitative changes including the ways they organized their articles either narrating the events or providing the ideas as well as the resolutions about the abuses.

In Cambodia, reading newspapers occurs mainly in urban centers. Therefore, the articles about domestic violence could be improved in some ways. For example, the information should be clarified, the cases followed continuously with analysis and ideas provided to understand problems in order to decrease domestic violence and give moral lessons to readers in general.

Family structure is at the core of the identity of a society. The leader of the family brings happiness or sadness to the family members. In the newspaper articles about violence, we usually see that the husband, who is often considered the strong leader of the family, is likely to use his force dictatorially and demand everything he wants, and the wife has no right to oppose to his purpose. If the wife or any member in the family dares to oppose to his purpose, they may be the victim of some kind of domestic violence.

It could be argued that this pattern of authority and violence in the family is a mirror for the patterns of hierarchy, expectation of respect and obedience, and violent reaction against opposition that are found in the Cambodian society at large.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Violence in families has been found to exist in every race, class, culture, age and social group. Violence can occur in families where the family members are rich or poor, farmers or teachers, educated or uneducated, drunk or sober, old or young, few or no children, live in a city or in a village^[17]. Domestic violence has its roots in a long history of social and legal tradition that have permitted and supported men's abuse of women and children in family relationships. These legal and social sanctions rooted in sexism and misogyny, have allowed family violence to remain "a private matter", immune from public security and intervention^[18].

It is very hard to recognize non-violent domestic abuse, but we should understand that the emotional and economic life of the family has an effect on self-esteem and on relationships among family members. These factors may contribute to the outbreak of domestic violence in a household.

We must try to find some solutions to prevent domestic violence from occurring in the family as well as in the community. A solution should be in step-by-step in the future as follows :

- Information concerned with domestic violence should be promoted in order to remind people of the unfortunate consequence of domestic violence. There are no advantages to the violence besides hurting themselves, wounding, losing their lives, or wasting money on hospital expenses. Children of domestic violence may be stigmatized by society and the example of this violence may be repeated from one generation to the next. Domestic violence creates additional expenses for some institutions such as hospitals, the police and organizations that provide shelters and food for victims. In the end, domestic violence is indirectly and directly expensive for society.
- The spread of information can be included in the high-school curriculum or university courses and taught in all schools. It can also be broadcast on the radio and television by means of short plays, posters and pictures advertisements. Training should be provided to leaders and government officers by Human Rights groups or other organizations such as women's organizations that have experience in these issues. Particularly, newspapers and magazines could be a vehicle for this work.
- We have to improve efforts to reduce violence and set up measures like: safety for victims and the people who are threatened, because, first, many victims want violence to stop, but do not want the relationship to end. Second, abusers often escalate their violence during times of separation, increasing a victim's risk of harm, including serious and life-threatening injury^[19]. Moreover, the abuser's accountability is also important, because, in general, abusers believe that they have right to enforce their will on their female partner. This belief is supported and tolerated by the society in which we live, a society that has historically condoned the use of violence against women. Abuser accountability is possible only when there is an ability to impose swift, consistent, and meaningful sanctions for the abusive behavior, a role that rests primarily, if not exclusively, within the justice system, through arrest, prosecution and sentences of incarceration, probation, restitution or fine, or a combination of these.
- Local authorities like village leaders, elderly people, and women's groups have the main function to help the community. For example, they help sort out arguments and provide some useful ideas and advice. These people, along with neighbors, can intervene when violence occurs in the family. So whenever there is training or workshops concerned with domestic violence, these people should be invited to attend.
- Knowledge about domestic violence should be given first to the people who are likely to commit the abuse such as military forces and former soldiers, who are affected by violent social situations in which they have lived, to prevent the violence from spreading widely in the community. We should educate them that a violent reaction is not a resolution; every thing should be solved peacefully. Using weapons to threaten other people, though they are relatives, is an illegal reaction and violates Human Rights.
- Journalists should also be invited to attend the general workshops about domestic violence because the media is widely recognized as a powerful tool in the promotion of social change.
- Other concerned institutions like police should be invited to attend the workshops to increase general knowledge of domestic violence so that they can understand the law and help protect the victims against the violence.
- According to the articles in the newspapers, after the domestic violence has occurred, neighbors and relatives usually intervene quickly. But this intervention is not enough for the victims and victims' sons

and daughters. This can help the victim over a very short period of time. Some victims and their sons and daughters, who are parentless, need shelters and both physical and moral support. So we need institutions that can deal with this issue and we need support for these institutions from government, non- government organizations, and other international organizations. Meanwhile, we should give the victims access to counseling, access to temporary shelters, access to health care, and access to protection under the law when, and if, they decide to leave their abusers temporarily or permanently.

- Domestic violence is not only an internal affair in a family but it is also an important social affair. Cooperation from all classes of people and concerned institutions can assist in the search for new methods to resolve domestic violence.

ANNEX A: TABLES

1- Reasons Given for Violence	
drunkenness	23
quarrel	26
adultery (husband)	12
adultery (wife)	3
jealousy	10
anger	18
debt	18
mother's orders	1
disagreement	6
gambling	3
scolding	9
battery	6
others	31
unknown reasons	17

2- Effects on Children			
Cases with mention of effects on children	79	Cases without mention of effects on children	104

3- Pictures		
Cases with photos: 156		Cases without photos: 27
victims	131 cases	
abusers	43 cases	
scene	18 cases	

4- Viewpoints of Journalists			
Cases with comments	111	Cases without comments	72
Treating domestic violent as something normal	9		
Blaming the abusers	64		
Blaming the victims	20		
Supporting the victims	15		
Supporting the abusers	3		
5- Types of Violence			
scolding	5	drinking acid	3
shooting	23	spraying acid	11
stabbing	30	hanging	16
hacking (axe)	20	raping	12
sickle-throwing	3	bombing	4
battering (kicking)	19	threat of bomb attack	2
beating (iron, chain)	6	cutting with razor	1
battering (stick)	7	handcuffing	1
setting fire to house	3	beheading	1
beating on the head	1	child-sale	1
killing (axe, knife, gun)	3	escaping	5
taking pills	23	setting fire to people	3

6- Violence in Relationships					
Husband-wife violence			Violence between members of a family		Suicide
Husbands violent	Wives violent	First wife violence against second wife	Violence among siblings	Violence between brothers-in-law (sisters-in-law) and siblings	
44	17	10	34	30	48

7- Location			
Cases in the cities		Cases in the countryside	
Phnom Penh	71	Takeo	1
Takmau	2	Kratie	1
Sisopon	1	Koh Kong	1
		Kompong Speu	9
		Kompong Chnang	6
		Bantey Meanchey	5
		Kompong Thom	3
		Kompong Cham	11
		Prey Veng	12
		Kandal	47
Location was not mentioned		13	

8- Interventions			
Confirmed Cases		Not Confirmed	Unsure Cases
90		62	31
police	44 cases		
neighbors	29 cases		
relatives	31 cases		
authority	1 cases		
husband or wife	13 cases		
journalists	1 case		
organization	3 cases		
victims	2 cases		
doctors	1 cases		

N.B.

- The reason the total of this column is greater than 90 is that in some cases there were several kinds of intervention, e.g. neighbors and police or relatives and neighbors and police.
- The total of cases 183 is different from the total number of pictures and the total types of violence shown in the tables because sometimes a newspaper article had more than one photo and sometimes more than one type of violence was represented.

ANNEX B: ARTICLE TITLES

	Article Title	Newspaper	Date
1.	Son-in-law gunned down father and mother-in-law	Koh Santepheap	14-10-95
2.	Cruel husband must be handcuffed	Koh Santepheap	23-10-95
3.	The wife gunned down her husband because he created sin every day	Khmer's People	24-10-95
4.	One AK bullet pierced the chest	Koh Santepheap	25-10-95
5.	Gunning down the husband because of.....	Raksme Kampuchea	25-10-95
6.	The man who killed his wife was arrested	Raksme Kampuchea	27-10-95
7.	Stabbed wife four times with a bayonet because of envy	Raksme Kampuchea	28-10-95
8.	Avachetiboth killed his father because of a basket of rice	Koh Santepheap	01-11-95
9.	Fickle husband attempted to commit suicide	Koh Santepheap	03-11-95
10.	Become orphaned because the father eloped with second wife	Raksme Kampuchea	03-11-95
11.	Drunken father killed his son	Koh Santepheap	14-12-95
12.	Uncle-in-law raped 4- year-old niece	Raksme Kampuchea	27-12-95
13.	You know? Three wounds because of candy	Koh Santepheap	30-12-95
14.	Asking the father have a gun fight	Koh Santepheap	01-01-96
15.	Wife gunned down the husband unintentionally in Poi Pet	Raksme Kampuchea	01-01-96
16.	Hanging herself while baby still suckled	Raksme Kampuchea	12-01-96
17.	Angry with his mother, setting fire to himself	Koh Santepheap	24-01-96
18.	Beating wife because of deception	Koh Santepheap	27-01-96
19.	Holding two children closely together in an attempt to commit suicide together	Koh Sontepheap	31-01-96
20.	Husband brought his wife away and gunned her down.	Koh Sontepheap	10-02-96
21.	Vietnamese woman hung herself because angry with her husband	Koh Sontepheap	04/5-02-96
22.	Older brother-in-law shot his younger brother-in-law who died immediately	Koh Sontepheap	06-02-96
23.	Found murderer-45 year-old-widow married young man	Koh Sontepheap	09-02-96
24.	Prisoner of love destroyed his daughter's virginity in Prey Veng; Father said, "His daughter agreed", but daughter said, "father raped her"	Koh Sontepheap	27-02-96
25.	Children knocked down their step father	Koh Sontepheap	28-02-96
26.	Angry with mother and husband drank poison	Koh Sontepheap	2-3.3.96
27.	Local husband captured his wife to commit suicide together	Koh Sontepheap	2-3.3.96
28.	Using drugs to kill because parents blamed a little	Raksme Kampuchea	20.3.96
29.	Receive one dagger because of taking a dare to blame drunken brother-in-law	Koh Sontepheap	24-25.3.96
30.	Being unable to demand half chi of gold from his wife, burned the house with petrol	Chakraval Newspaper	20/21-03-96
31.	Woman drank poison to commit suicide because of little blames from parents	Koh Sontepheap	22-3-96
32.	Adulteress- Unable to keep calm, husband shot her with two bullets and she died immediately	Koh Sontepheap	03-4-96
33.	Cruel husband killed his wife	Koh Santepheap	04-04-96
34.	Took deadly medicine because darling ran away	Koh Sontepheap	20-4-96
35.	Angry with his wife who prohibited him from drinking	Raksme	13-5-96

	alcohol	Kampuchea	
36.	Husband beheaded his wife	Raksmey Kampuchea	17-5-96
37.	Laying down his wife because of being unable to demand money for drinks	Raksmey Kampuchea	27-5-96
38.	Committing suicide but was rescued	Koh Sontepheap	31-5-96
39.	Raping his twenty- year-old sister-in-law	Raksmey Kampuchea	23-5-96
40.	Ungratefully stabbed her father to death	Koh Sontepheap	27-5-96
41.	Committing suicide, leaving two children	Koh Sontepheap	03-5-96
42.	Black - hearted father raped his daughter	Economic Newspaper	06-5-96
43.	Falling victim because the violent husband repeatedly beat	Koh Santepheap	01-06-96
44.	Killing his wife because of envy and drunkenness	Koh Santepheap	5/6-6-96
45.	Committing suicide by taking poison because of getting angry with the sister	Koh Santepheap	18-06-96
46.	Committing suicide by taking poison because of getting angry with the father	Koh Santepheap	20-06-96
47.	First wife threw one glass of acid on second wife	Koh Sontepheap	03-7-96
48.	Older brother-in-law cut off one ear	Koh Sontepheap	7-08.7-96
49.	Drunken husband threw hand grenade, killing his wife and mother-in-law	Koh Sontepheap	09-7-96
50.	Arrested husband being accused of killing his wife	Koh Sontepheap	12-7-96
51.	Disappointed with husband drank poison to commit suicide	Koh Sontepheap	21.07.96
52.	Ungrateful son shot back his step father	Koh Sontepheap	23-7-96
53.	Killing herself because her darling went away	Koh Sontepheap	26.07.96
54.	Throwing one hand grenade- seriously injured 5 people	Raksmey Kampuchea	29/30-7-96
55.	Bringing Up Kids ... Giving Birth to Kids?	Raksmey Kampuchea	19/20-08-96
56.	Father killed his son-in-law	Raksmey Kampuchea	20-8-96
57.	Committing suicide because of anger with her husband's having adultery	Raksmey Kampuchea	23-08-96
58.	Not -yet- married daughter thankful to her father - imprisoned him through trial	Khmer's People	27-8-96
59.	Cursed husband once ... Husband hacked 7 times with an axe	Raksmey Kampuchea	02/03-9-96
60.	Chopping her husband with chopper not less than 50 times	Koh Sontepheap	03-9-96
61.	Twelve-year-old girl was raped by her uncle	Koh Sontepheap	04-9-96
62.	Detailed information about children cutting their father like chopping meat; spoken from mouth to mouth; step-father barbarously harms mother	Koh Sontepheap	04-9-96
63.	Mother did not give money--drink chemical pesticide	Raksmey Kampuchea	08-9-96
64.	Wife hacked husband twice-nearly died	Koh Sontepheap	15-9-96
65.	Meeting two savage drunken husbands	Koh Sontepheap	15/16-9-96
66.	Hurting from being blamed by mother, drank chemical pesticides to commit suicide	Raksmey Kampuchea	21-9-96
67.	Divorce 4 days- using drugs to commit suicide	Raksmey Kampuchea	23/24-9-96
68.	Step-son killed his father	Raksmey Kampuchea	21/22-10-96
69.	Both side relatives fought and bled	Koh Sontepheap	30-10-96
70.	Leaving his wife dead in hospital	Raksmey Kampuchea	06-12-96
71.	Hanged herself because of being disappointed with her	Raksmey	12-12-96

	husband	Kampuchea	
72.	Husband excused his wife of adultery, brother-in-law stabbed	Koh Sontepheap	07.01.97
73.	Brave wife shot her husband with 17 bullets	Raksmey Kampuchea	08.01.97
74.	Hanging herself because her husband could not get along with her	Chakroval	14.01.97
75.	A Woman's sorrowful smile is more tragic than seeing a woman cry	Sangrous Khmer	14.1.97
76.	Her leg was amputated because of her brutal husband	Koh Sontepheap	23.1.97
77.	Wife who is an adulteress scattered acid all over her husband's body because he also was an adulterer ... Too Scary, Don't Do that	Koh Sontepheap	24.1.97
78.	Younger foster brother hacked older foster brother with one ax	Raksmey Kampuchea	27.1.97
79.	Poor soldier whose wife had affair found new house	Koh Sontepheap	5.2.97
80.	Angry with his wife, ran away and hanged himself	Koh Sontepheap	11.2.97
81.	Bouncer in World 2 Night Club shot his own wife	Koh Sontepheap	13.2.97
82.	Hot-blooded 12-year-old drank poison	Koh Sontepheap	20.2.97
83.	Three times with a knife for having one child with his wife	Koh Sontepheap	27.2.97
84.	Shooting younger brother-in-law and then escaped away	Raksmey Kampuchea	02.3.97
85.	Walking with his adulteress, leaving his wife at home	Koh Sontepheap	13.3.97

86.	Drinking poison because of anger with husband and mother-in-law	Koh Sontepheap	16.3.97
87.	Spattered acid on husband but it touched the other's daughter	Raksmey Kampuchea	22.3.97
88.	Asking to live in prison because her husband tried to kill her	Raksmey Kampuchea	02.4.97
89.	Shooting sibling's daughter	Raksmey Kampuchea	19.4.97
90.	Very strong man- beating with one fist, fainting	Raksmey Kampuchea	24.4.97
91.	Burning his wife who is still alive	Raksmey Kampuchea	26.4.97
92.	Son killed his father by hacking him 9 times with an axe	Koh Sontepheap	3.5.97
93.	Nearly died with a knife from wife	Koh Sontepheap	4-5.5.97
94.	Poisoned husband and stuffed him in a sack	Koh Sontepheap	7.5.97
95.	Step father hacked his child with a dagger	Koh Sontepheap	10.5.97
96.	Step father hacked child-in-law	Koh Sontepheap	11-12.5.97
97.	Brute father raped his own daughter	Koh Sontepheap	13.5.97
98.	Son-in-law stabbed his father with a hooked knife	Raksmey Kampuchea	14.5.97
99.	First wife scattered acid on step wife	Raksmey Kampuchea	14.5.97
100.	Former wife hacked her husband's abdomen	Koh Sontepheap	21.5.97
101.	Mother died, father escaped	Koh Sontepheap	22.5.97
102.	Eating mother, eating daughter: 40-year-old woman with 27-year-old man	Koh Sontepheap	23.5.97
103.	Angry with mother jumped from a 3-metre-high place	Koh Sontepheap	25.05.97
104.	Wife hacked her husband three holes without remorse	Koh Sontepheap	27.5.97
105.	Hacked his wife because the guests owed for eating and drinking	Raksmey Kampuchea	28.5.97

106.	Gasping for breath because drunk: burning house	Koh Sontepheap	03.6.97
107.	Step wife stabbed her husband two times with knife because she wanted to see his heart	Koh Sontepheap	04.6.97
108.	Using grenade to threaten the court	Raksmey Kampuchea	05.6.97
109.	Jumped from the third floor at Preh Kosomak hospital	Koh Sontepheap	06.6.97
110.	Why did she take drug to kill herself?	Raksmey Kampuchea	6.6.97
111.	Mother sold her daughter to be a prostitute	Koh Sontepheap	13.6.97
112.	Hanging oneself without reason	Koh Sontepheap	18.6.97
113.	Furious son shot his father 3 bullets- not for funeral but just coming out of drunkenness	Raksmey Kampuchea	19.6.97
114.	Shooting father to get out of drunkenness	Raksmey Kampuchea	19.6.97
115.	Slit wife's neck because of jealousy	Koh Sontepheap	20.6.97
116.	Angry with being blamed by his wife, hung himself to commit suicide	Koh Sontepheap	20.6.97
117.	Younger brother-in-law shot to death older brother	Rakmsey Kampuchea	20.06.97
118.	Shooting brother-in-law 8 bullets	Koh Sontepheap	20.06.97
119.	Ungrateful child threatened to kill his mother	Koh Sontepheap	25.6.97
120.	Hot-hearted daughter angry with being blamed, stayed in the hotel	Koh Sontepheap	27.6.97
121.	Father-in-law stabbed his son	Koh Sontepheap	28.6.97
122.	About to sell house, cutting off hand because of argument	Koh Sontepheap	29.6.97
123.	Brutal husband killed wife for 5-chi necklace	Koh Sontepheap	30.6.97
124.	4 children mourned their mother	Koh Sontepheap	02.7.97
125.	Acid destroyed widow's face	Koh Sontepheap	10.7.97
126.	Because of rice with husk, shot his wife and mother-in-law	Raksmey Kampuchea	14- 15.7.97
127.	Returned to children, arrested by the police	Raksmey Kampuchea	19.7.97
128.	Child stabbed father to death on the spot	Raksmey Kampuchea	19.7.97
129.	Step wife scattered acid on first wife	Koh Sontepheap	22.7.97
130.	Arbitrator for children got two times of knife	Koh Sontepheap	24.7.97
131.	Step wife killed her husband and buried him behind the house	Koh Sontepheap	25.7.97
132.	Why poisoned himself or herself?	Koh Sontepheap	25.7.97
133.	Country side widow with savage husband	Koh Sontepheap	26.7.97
134.	Savage man angry with girlfriend breaking away used acid	Koh Sontepheap	22.7.97
135.	Hacking first wife's head to satisfy step-wife	Koh Sontepheap	27- 28.7.97

136.	Hacked father-in-law because of drunkenness	Raksmey Kampuchea	28- 29.7.97
137.	4 People wounded by acid and stabbing	Raksmey Kampuchea	28- 29.7.97
138.	Beating mother because she usually ordered him (her) to do lots things	Raksmey Kampuchea	8.8.97
139.	Step father raped daughter	Raksmey Kampuchea	10.8.97
140.	3-month feast, love began to break up	Koh Sontepheap	10.8.97
141.	Woman accused, man denied	Koh Sontepheap	10- 11.8.97
142.	Angry with wife, took poison	Raksmey Kampuchea	13.8.97
143.	Angry with his wife, drank poison	Koh Sontepheap	13.8.97
144.	Beating his wife's head with ax	Koh Sontepheap	16.8.97
145.	Hanged because of father's beating	Raksmey Kampuchea	20.8.97
146.	Getting blamed, took poison	Raksmey Kampuchea	21.8.97
147.	Forest ranger in Kompong Thom shot his wife	Raksmey Kampuchea	24.8.97

148.	Loving my husband, I scratched with such a razor	Raksme Kampuchea	31.8.97
149.	1 dead 2 injured because of giving advice to grandchildren- step father died, grand father gasped for breath	Koh Sontepheap	10.9.97
150.	Wife spattered acid on husband-he was browned like roasted fish	Koh Sontepheap	11.9.97
151.	Too poor to survive	Koh Sontepheap	13.9.97
152.	Broken hearted, drank acid to commit suicide	Koh Sontepheap	14.9.97
153.	Angry with his wife, drank acid	Raksme Kampuchea	15- 16.9.97
154.	So Cruel ... Tied the wife and cut her ankle tendon	Raksme Kampuchea	18.9.97
155.	Arrested murderer who killed step father	Raksme Kampuchea	21.9.97
156.	Committed suicide because she was beaten by father and blamed by mother	Raksme Kampuchea	24.9.97
157.	Drinking, smoking marijuana, beating mother	Raksme Kampuchea	25.9.97
158.	Hacking wife with knife 4 times because she refused to give 1 chi of gold to him to start a business	Chakraval Newspaper	26.9.97
159.	Savage husband shot his wife with 3 bullets	Koh Sontepheap	28.9.97
160.	With two wives, he hanged himself	Koh Sontepheap	8.10.97
161.	Advising nephew receive one blow of rod	Koh Sontepheap	14.10.97
162.	Angry with father, 2 children used drugs and killed him	Raksme Kampuchea	15.10.97
163.	Bringing son who robbed his father to court	Raksme Kampuchea	16.10.97
164.	Using drugs to kill because father blamed	Raksme Kampuchea	17.10.97
165.	Returning to our house, pity for our children and dear wife	Koh Sontepheap	21.10.97
166.	Disappointed, drank acid to commit suicide	Raksme Kampuchea	25.10.97

167.	Killing own wife and children	Raksmey Kampuchea	31.10.97
168.	First wife hacked step wife 7 times with knife	Koh Sontepheap	02-11-97
169.	Killed foster father, was arrested	Koh Sontepheap	10.11.97
170.	Being spattered with acid because of having two wives	Khmer's People	17.11.97
171.	Hacked step father in Koh Tonlap village, Mongul Borey district	Raksmey Kampuchea	23.11.97
172.	Beating his wife one rod-death	Raksmey Kampuchea	23.11.97
173.	Mother blamed, daughter got angry and drank shampoo	Koh Sontepheap	23.11.97
174.	One shocking tragedy ... Wife was burnt alive	Koh Sontepheap	05.12.97
175.	Monk disappointed with his destiny drank poison	Koh Sontepheap	6.12.97
176.	Shooting from behind –killing	Koh Sontepheap	9.12.97
177.	Ungrateful son stabbed his father	Koh Sontepheap	10.12.97
178.	Strong wife shot her gun in an attempt to kill her husband	Raksmey Kampuchea	16.12.97
179.	Angkulimea in Kean Sway was arrested by the Police	Raksmey Kampuchea	18.12.97
180.	Ungrateful child threatened to cut mother into three parts	Koh Sontepheap	20.12.97
181.	Angry with husband's blaming about money-hung herself	Raksmey Kampuchea	31.12.97
182.	Love suicide	Koh Santepheap	none
183.	Two fatherless children-seemed motherless-were saved	Raksmey Kampuchea	none

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ភ្នំពេញ: អង្គការប្រឆាំងអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងគ្រួសារ ។
- ប្រវត្តិពិតរបស់ស្ត្រីរងគ្រោះដោយអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងគ្រួសារ ។
១៩៩៤ ភ្នំពេញ: អង្គការមូលនិធិអាស៊ី, USAID ។
- សេចក្តីប្រកាសជាតិ និងផែនការសកម្មភាពប្រឆាំងនឹងអំពើហិង្សាក្នុងគ្រួសារ ។
១៩៩៤ ភ្នំពេញ: រដ្ឋលេខាធិការដ្ឋានកិច្ចការនារី ។

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