

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

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

SUMMARY REPORT



*Empowered lives.
Resilient nations.*



United Nations Entity for Gender Equality
and the Empowerment of Women



inspiration in action

PARTNERS FOR PREVENTION. A UNDP, UNFPA, UN WOMEN AND UNV REGIONAL JOINT PROGRAMME FOR GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE PREVENTION IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

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The United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) is a global champion for women and girls; UN Women was established to accelerate progress on meeting their rights worldwide.

The United Nations Volunteers (UNV) programme, is the United Nations organization that contributes to peace and development through volunteerism worldwide.

Partners for Prevention is a UNDP, UNFPA, UN Women and UNV regional joint programme for gender-based violence prevention in Asia and the Pacific.

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SUMMARY REPORT

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FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



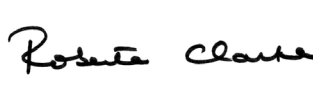
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BACKGROUND

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

The objectives of the study were to:

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

The study was conducted from 2010 to 2013 and was a collaborative effort involving partners from academia, research institutes, civil society, the United Nations family and governments around the globe. It was developed and coordinated by Partners for Prevention with the Medical Research Council of South Africa and study teams in each country who led the surveying (see box 2 at the back of the report). This report is based upon the population-based quantitative survey component of the study, which was conducted with more than 10,000 men and 3,000 women in nine sites across six countries in the region (Bangladesh, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Papua New Guinea and Sri Lanka). The data were collected and analysed from a scientific epidemiological perspective, yet informed by feminist theory. To ensure data comparability across sites, the study used a standardized structured questionnaire, which drew from the Study on Men's Health and Relationships (South African Medical Research Council), the WHO Multi-country Study on Women's Health and Domestic Violence against Women and the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (International Center for Research on Women and Instituto Promundo). Men's perpetration of intimate partner violence and non-partner rape were measured by asking a series of direct, clearly worded questions about the respondent's perpetration of specific acts, as outlined in box 1.

FOR PHYSICAL PARTNER VIOLENCE, MEN WHO HAD BEEN MARRIED, COHABITATED OR HAD A GIRLFRIEND WERE ASKED WHETHER THEY HAD EVER DONE THE FOLLOWING:

- slapped his partner or threw something at her that could hurt her
- pushed or shoved his partner
- hit his partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her
- kicked, dragged, beat, choked or burned his partner
- threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against his partner

FOR SEXUAL PARTNER VIOLENCE, MEN WHO HAD BEEN MARRIED, COHABITATED OR HAD A GIRLFRIEND WERE ASKED WHETHER THEY HAD EVER DONE THE FOLLOWING:

- forced his partner to have sexual intercourse when she did not want to
- had sexual intercourse with his partner when he knew she didn't want it but believed she should agree because she was his wife/partner

FOR NON-PARTNER RAPE, ALL MEN WERE ASKED WHETHER THEY HAD EVER DONE THE FOLLOWING:

- forced a woman who was not his wife or girlfriend at the time to have sex with him
- had sex with a woman or girl when she was too drunk or drugged to say whether she wanted it or not
- had sex with a woman, with other men at the same time, when she didn't consent to sex or they forced her
- had sex with a woman, with other men at the same time, when she was too drunk or drugged to stop them

Male subjects were interviewed by male interviewers and female subjects were interviewed by female interviewers. The study used personal digital assistants (PDAs) for data collection in all sites to address ethical issues and to maximize disclosure. The study followed rigorous international ethical and safety standards for research on violence against women.

The research sites were selected to reflect the diversity of the region, with sites from South Asia, South-East Asia, East Asia and the Pacific, including two post-conflict sites. The countries that were included also required available funding and partner institutions with capacity to conduct the surveys. In all sites, a representative sample of men aged 18–49 was obtained using a multi-stage

cluster sampling strategy; in four sites, women also were sampled. The samples are representative of the selected sites, although in most sites are not nationally representative and not designed to represent the whole Asia-Pacific region.

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

site. This was done to assess the variations among sites and also to explore common themes across the countries in the study.

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

The main findings are grouped into the following thematic subheadings:

- prevalence and patterns of intimate partner violence
- prevalence and patterns of non-partner and partner rape
- the diversity of men's lives: gender practices, experiences of violence and adversity
- factors associated with violence perpetration

PREVALENCE AND PATTERNS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

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

The proportion of ever-partnered men who reported ever having perpetrated physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence in their lifetime varied from 26 percent in Indonesia-rural to 80 percent in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville; in most sites, it was 30–57 percent (figure 1). Although not the primary focus of this report, the study also collected data on economic and emotional violence within an intimate relationship. From 16 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 57 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of ever-partnered men reported perpetration of economically abusive acts against a female intimate partner in their lifetime, while between 41 percent (Sri Lanka-national) and 83 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) reported using at least one emotionally abusive act against a partner in their lifetime.

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

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

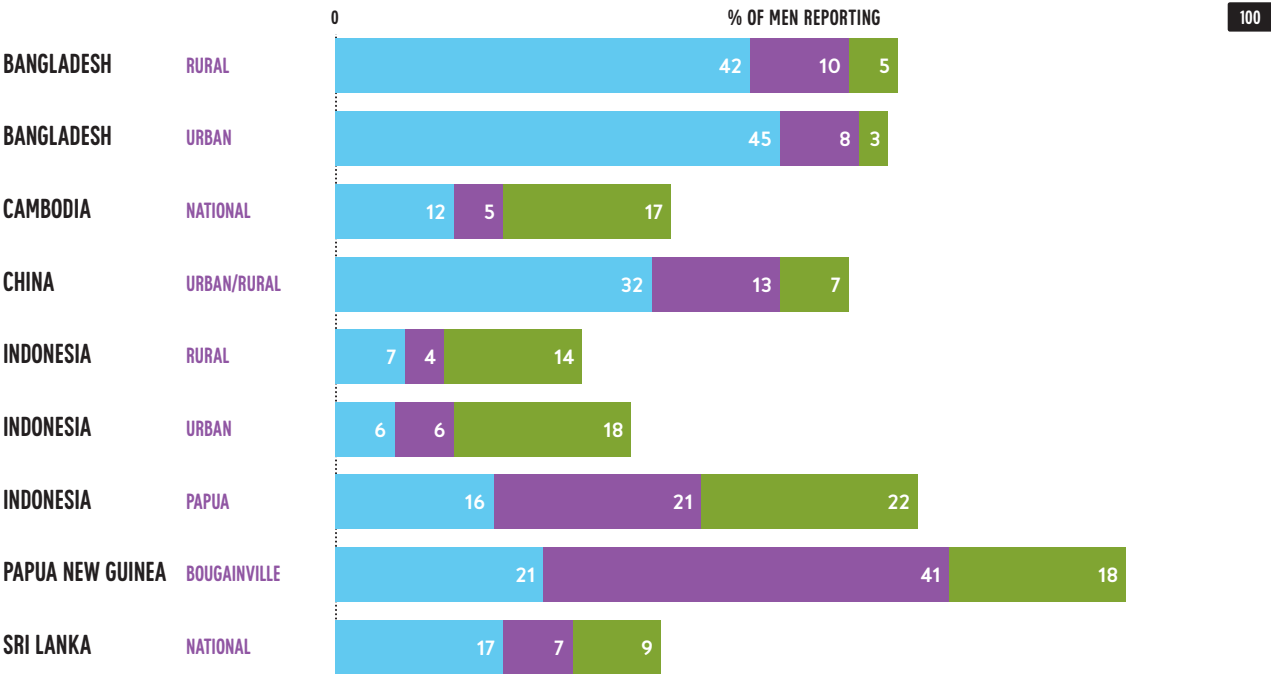
“BOTH MY WIFE AND I HAVE COLLEGE DEGREES. FOR ME, IT IS FINE FOR [MY WIFE] TO BE ACTIVE OUTSIDE [THE HOME] AS LONG AS SHE DOES NOT DO ANYTHING WRONG. I DON'T MIND IF MY WIFE BEFRIENDS OTHER PEOPLE, AS LONG AS SHE SAFEGUARDS MY DIGNITY AS A HUSBAND.”

Man from Aceh, Indonesia

FIGURE 1

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

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



PREVALENCE AND PATTERNS OF NON-PARTNER AND PARTNER RAPE

FINDING: Men's rape of women was pervasive across the region but prevalence varied across sites.

From 10 percent (Bangladesh-urban) to 62 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of all men interviewed reported perpetrating some form of rape against a woman or girl in their lifetime (figure 2). The prevalence of different types of rape also varied greatly across sites, with non-partner rape and gang rape much more common in some sites (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, Indonesia-Papua and Cambodia-national) than in others.

FINDING: Rape of an intimate partner was more common than non-partner rape in most sites.

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

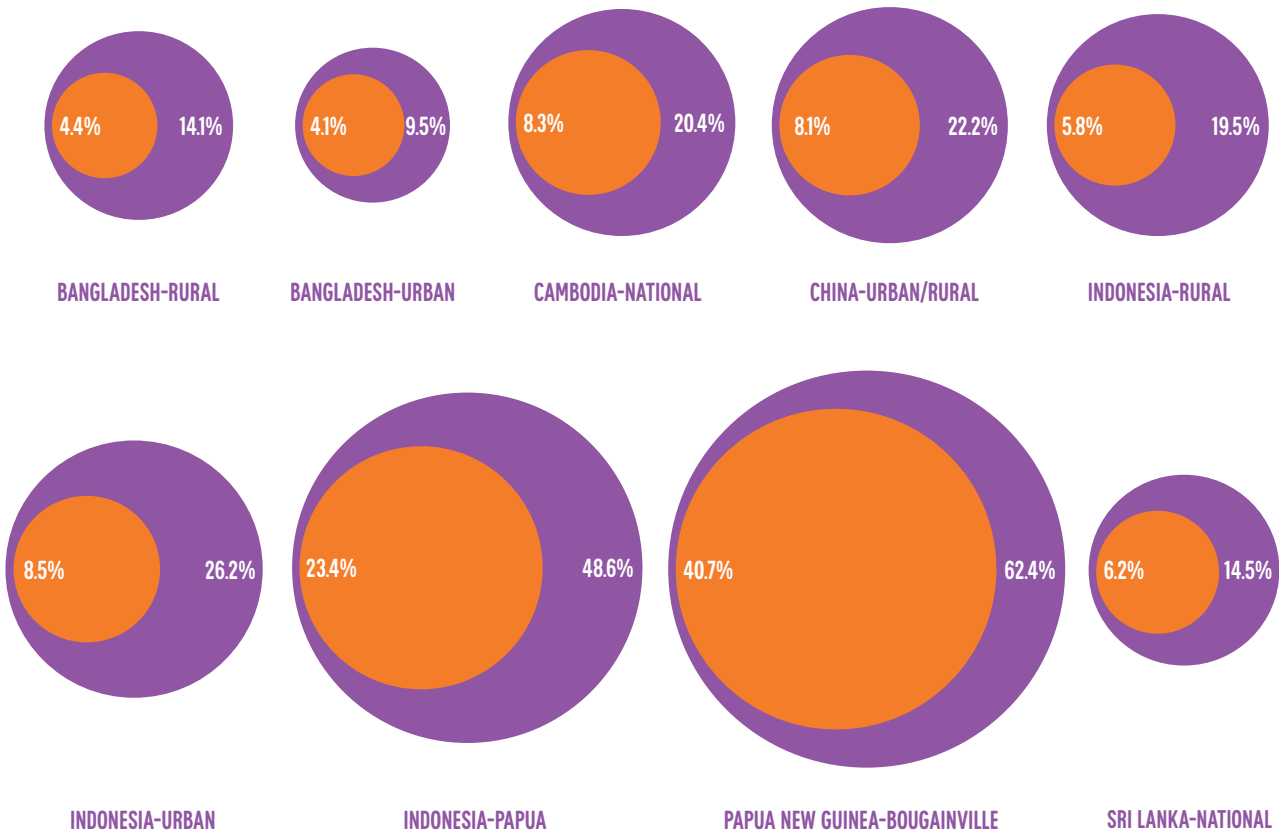
FINDING: Rape perpetration started early in life.

Overall, half (49 percent) of the men who reported having raped a woman did so for the first time when they were teenagers, varying from 25 percent (China-urban/rural) to 64 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville). In some sites, specifically Cambodia-

FIGURE 2

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

● ANY RAPE OF A PARTNER OR NON-PARTNER ● RAPE OF A NON-PARTNER



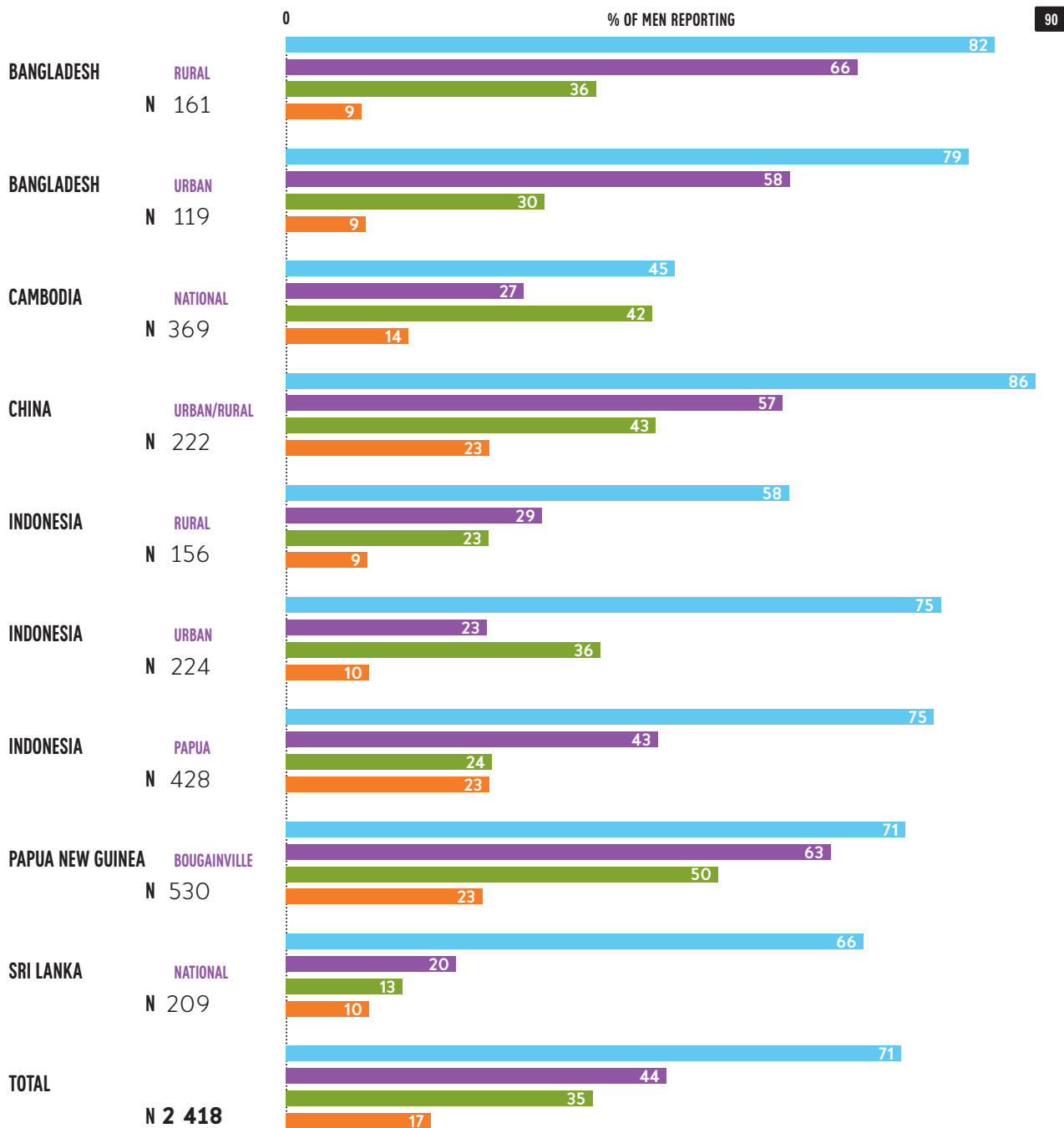
“HE’S A TYPE OF COLONIAL RULER, THE SAME AS MY FATHER. ALL THE TIME HE TELLS ME THAT I AM UGLY, SO IN THE MIRROR I LOOK AND JUST SEE THAT I AM SO UGLY. ALL OUR CHILDREN ARE UNPLANNED BECAUSE HE RAPES ME AND HAS SEX WITH ME ... BUT BROKEN HOMES ONLY BREAK CHILDREN. FOR ME, THAT’S WHY I THINK I STICK TO MY MARRIAGE. BECAUSE MY PARENTS BROKE UP AND I SUFFERED.”

Woman from Bougainville, Papua New Guinea

FIGURE 3

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

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



national, Papua New Guinea-Bougainville and Indonesia-Papua, a relatively large proportion of men reported that they were younger than 15 years at the time they first perpetrated rape.

FINDING: Rape was most commonly motivated by a sense of sexual entitlement.

Across all sites in the study, the most common motivation that men reported for rape perpetration was related to sexual entitlement—men’s belief that they have the right to sex, regardless of consent. In most sites, this was reported by 70–80 percent of men who had raped (figure 3). The second most frequently reported motivation was related to entertainment-seeking—fun or due to boredom—followed by anger or punishment. Although alcohol is often assumed to be a common trigger for violence perpetration, it was the least common response given by men, across all sites, when asked about their possible reasons for raping.

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

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

FINDING: Although not nearly as prevalent as the rape of women, some men also perpetrate rape against other men.

In China-urban/rural, Bangladesh-urban and all three Indonesian sites, around 2 percent of the surveyed men reported having perpetrated rape against another man. In Sri Lanka-national, Cambodia-national and Bangladesh-rural, this was

disclosed by 3–4 percent of the male respondents; in Papua New Guinea-Bougainville, the finding was 8 percent. Most men who had raped another man or men also had raped a female non-partner. The greatest overlap in reporting was between male rape and gang rape perpetration against women.

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

FINDING: Not all men used violence.

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

“‘REAL MEN’ SHOULD BE MATURE, CALM, NOT AFRAID AND SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE THEIR LOVED ONES FEEL SAFE.”

Man from China

FINDING: Men and women supported gender equality in the abstract but less so in practice.

A large majority (between 84 and 99 percent) of respondents, both men and women, believed in the abstract idea of equality—supporting the statement that ‘people should be treated the same whether they are male or female’. Nonetheless, when asked about specific norms related to family and household practices and women’s position, their views were considerably more inequitable. Acceptability of violence against women varied widely across the sites, which appears to reflect genuine differences in how violence against women is viewed across diverse socio-cultural contexts. For example, only 5 percent of men in Indonesia-urban believed that there are times when a woman deserves to be beaten, compared with 62 percent of men in Bangladesh-rural. The attitudes among the women surveyed tended to be more conservative and gender inequitable than their male counterparts, demonstrating how gender norms, including those that contribute to men’s use of violence, can be reinforced by women as well as men. While men generally reported that household decision-making was shared within households, the division of labour within households gave women the responsibility for household work and the care of children.

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

Child abuse was a common phenomenon across the region, with 50 percent (Sri Lanka-national) to 86 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men reporting experiences of childhood emotional abuse and neglect (i.e. being publically humiliated or insulted; parents being too drunk or drugged to care for child etc)(figure 4). From 13 percent (Bangladesh-rural) to 67 percent (Papua New Guinea-Bougainville) of men interviewed reported experiencing childhood physical abuse. From 6 percent (Indonesia-rural) to 37 percent (Bangladesh-urban) reported experiencing sexual abuse before the age of 18 (i.e. forced or coerced into sex or had their genitals/buttocks touched or were forced to touch someone else’s against their will). Men’s experiences of abuse were associated with depression, low life satisfaction, poor health, gang membership, being involved in fights with weapons, alcohol and drug abuse, use of transactional sex and violence perpetration.

FINDING: Some men also experienced rape by other men.

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

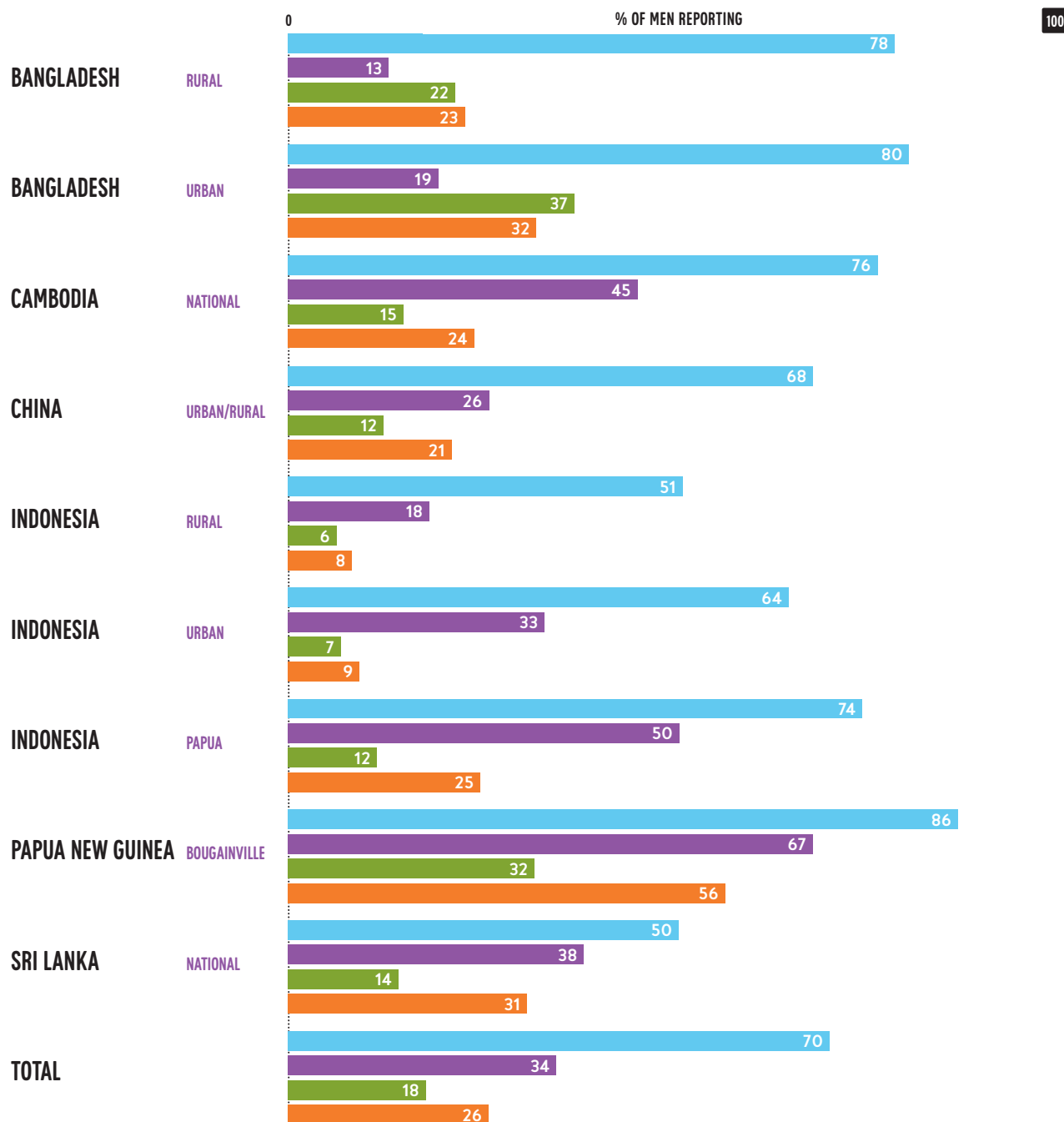
“WOMEN SHALL DO THEIR JOB AND MEN SHALL DO THEIRS ... AFTER A LONG DAY OF WORK, MEN RETURN TO THE HOME. THE WIFE SHOULD COOK FOR HER HUSBAND, SHOULD PREPARE WATER FOR THE SHOWER, THEN TAKE MEALS AND SLEEP TOGETHER, SHOW SOME AFFECTION. I ALWAYS WANT THIS. [A WOMAN’S ONLY JOB IS TO] FEED [HER HUSBAND], CHAT WITH HIM AND THEN SLEEP TOGETHER”

Man from Bangladesh

FIGURE 4

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

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



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

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

FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH VIOLENCE PERPETRATION

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

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

FINDING: Intimate partner violence was largely driven by factors related to gender inequality, childhood experiences and the enactment of harmful forms of masculinity.

The factors found to be most consistently associated with intimate partner violence perpetration across multiple countries include: frequent quarrelling, having had a large number of sexual partners, having had transactional sex and depression (figure 5). At least one form of childhood abuse was associated with intimate partner violence perpetration in all sites, with emotional abuse or neglect, sexual abuse and witnessing abuse of one's mother as the most common. Having a low level of education, current experiences of food insecurity (reflecting lower socio-economic status), alcohol abuse problems, gender inequitable attitudes and controlling behaviour over a partner were also associated with intimate partner violence perpetration, although not across all sites. Many of these factors can be linked to larger social norms and patterns of gender inequality and notions of masculinity in society.

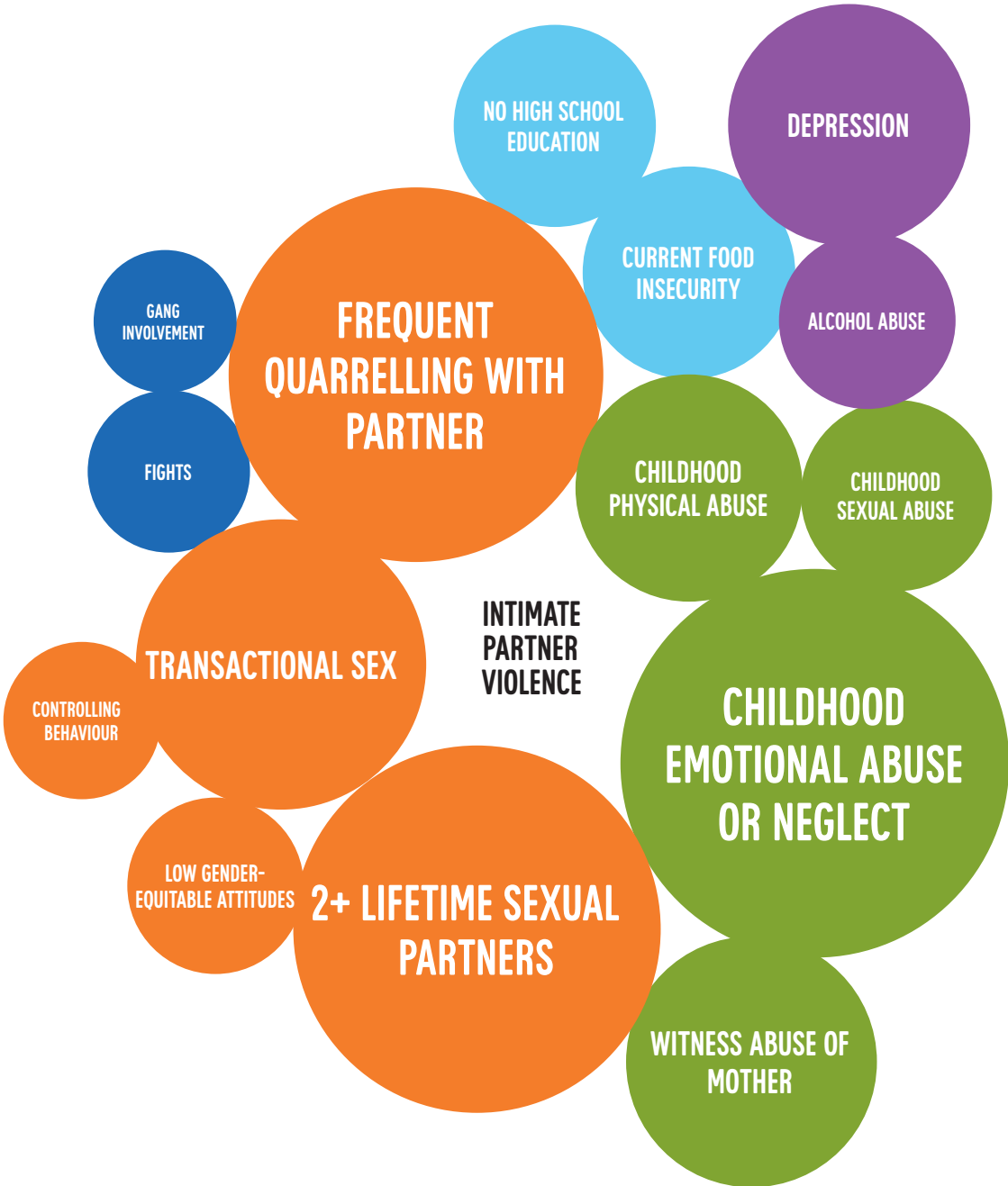
“A GOOD MARRIAGE MEANS A LOVING, CARING, DEVOTED AND DEDICATED WIFE WHO CAN ALWAYS PUT THE HUSBAND'S FAMILY INTEREST ON TOP OF ANYTHING ELSE ... IF I AM ANGRY, I PREFER TO TEACH HER AN INSTANT LESSON. ALTHOUGH I SOMETIMES FEEL BAD ABOUT MY CONDUCT, IT'S NOT A BIG DEAL. IF SHE DISOBEYS, SHE MUST BE PUNISHED. THAT IS NOT WRONG AT ALL.”

Man from Bangladesh

FIGURE 5

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

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



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

Rape perpetration was strongly associated with having more sexual partners, having had transactional sex or sex with a sex worker and using physical violence against female partners (figure 6). These behaviours are interpreted as not merely expressing sex seeking but more so as ideas of masculinity that emphasize heterosexual performance and dominance over women. These masculine ideals also commonly emphasize performances of strength and toughness, which are expressed in gang membership and fights between men with weapons and are significantly associated with rape perpetration. The study shows that rape is about the exertion of power but it can also be the performance of a certain type of masculinity.

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

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

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

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

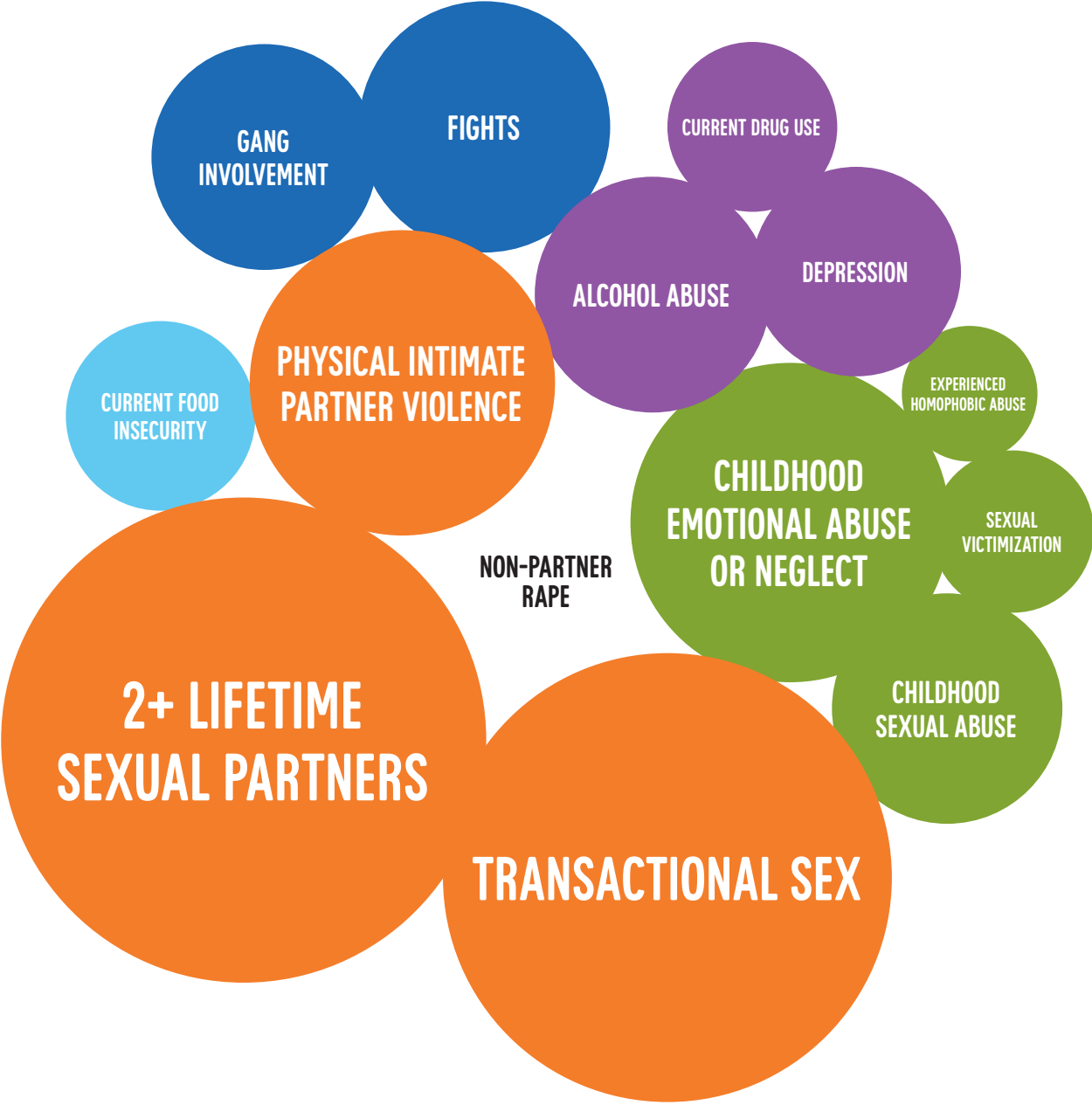
The rates of violence perpetration varied dramatically across sites. Across all sites a number of factors and environmental drivers appeared to be consistently related to violence, including factors related to gender inequality, violent masculinity and experiences of child abuse. However the socio-cultural,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

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

FIGURE 6

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

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



WHAT DO THE FINDINGS MEAN IN A BROADER SOCIAL CONTEXT?

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

“TOTAL EQUALITY SOUNDS FINE ... BUT IF THERE IS A DIFFERENCE IN THINKING, POINTS OF VIEW, PERCEPTIONS OR WORK, THAT EQUALITY MAY AS WELL TURN TO PROBLEMS. IF A WOMAN IS CHEEKY OR SAYS SOMETHING THAT MAKES THE HUSBAND FEEL ASHAMED, VIOLENCE IS INEVITABLE ... IF A MAN BEATS HIS WIFE, THE WIFE MUST HAVE DONE SOMETHING SHE SHOULDN'T. DISOBEDIENT WIVES SHOULD BE BEATEN.”

Man from Viet Nam

Many decades of work by activists and scholars have shown that gender inequality, patriarchy and men's power over women create an environment in which violence against women is widespread and accepted. This study's findings reaffirm that violence against women is an expression of

women's subordination and inequality in the private and public spheres. The factors found to be associated with violence in this study also reflect influential narratives of masculinity that justify and celebrate domination, aggression, strength and a capacity for violence as well as men's heterosexual performance and men's control over women.

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

MEN SHOULD BE STRONG MENTALLY. THEY SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE TO THEMSELVES, THEIR FAMILY AND THEIR RELATIVES. MEN ALSO NEED TO BE BRAVE IN THE FACE OF CONFLICT.”

Man from Aceh, Indonesia

RECOMMENDATIONS

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

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

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

2 Promote non-violent masculinities oriented towards equality and respect

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

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

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

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

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

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

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

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

5 Promote healthy sexuality for men and address male sexual entitlement

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

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

6 End impunity for men who rape

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

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

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

EXAMPLES OF PROGRAMMES AND APPROACHES

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

EDUCATION SECTOR

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

HEALTH SECTOR

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

LEGAL AND JUSTICE SECTORS

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

gender equality into the legal education for practitioners and judges

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

FAMILY AND YOUTH SECTORS

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

MEDIA AND CULTURE SECTORS

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

LABOUR SECTOR

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

SUPPORT NEEDED FROM THE REGIONAL LEVEL

There are critical roles for regional bodies to support the national-level programme and policy recommendations provided. These roles include:

- Working through regional commissions and associations to set and enforce regional normative frameworks related to gender equality and ending violence against women
- Convening practitioners and diverse actors from across the region to inspire learning and connect with the work taking place in other areas of violence prevention
- Supporting coordination efforts that influence changes across the spectrum of work—in the local, national and regional arenas
- Connecting with cutting-edge research and the global literature on violence against women, masculinities and prevention as well as learning from local practitioners and activists across the region who are often located in remote locales and disconnected from the possibilities of rigorous evaluation.

CONCLUSIONS

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

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

Ending violence against women and girls requires their full empowerment and removing the discrimination that they face in all aspects of their

lives. New models of manhood that are healthy, peaceful and based on equality and respect must be promoted. The recommendations presented in this study report aim to move us towards a desired world in which:

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

BOX 2	REGIONAL AND NATIONAL STUDY TEAMS AND ADVISERS
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