

STUDY ON GENDER, MASCULINITY AND SON PREFERENCE IN NEPAL AND VIETNAM

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Study on Gender, Masculinity and Son Preference in Nepal and Vietnam

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Disclaimer

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CREHPA	Center for Research on Environment, Health and Population Activities
DHS	District Health Survey
DFID	Department for International Development
FWLD	Forum for Women Law and Development
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEM	Gender-Equitable Men
GoN	Government of Nepal
GSO	General Statistics Office
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICRW	International Center for Research on Women
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
IRB	Institutional Review Board
IRC	Institutional Review Committee
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
P4P	Partners for Prevention
PATH	Program for Appropriate Technology in Health
PPS	Probability Proportionate to Size
SLC	School Leaving Certificate
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Science
SRU1	Sex Ratio Under age 1
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infections
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
VAW	Violence against Women
VDC	Village Development Committee
WHO	World Health Organization



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Strong son preference in parts of Asia has led to serious discriminatory practices towards girls and women, with disturbing effects on their status, health and development. The significant male surplus in some populations resulting from the excess of male births since 1980 has an impact on the sex ratios at birth and subsequently affected the dynamics of marriage in several regions of this continent. The lack of women available for marriage has created further discrimination through increased violence against women, trafficking, abduction, forced marriages, or sharing brides among brothers as different practices in different countries. Girls who are born also face discrimination in their lives through unequal opportunities for health care, education and fulfilling their aspirations.

This study on Men's Attitudes towards Son Preference has arisen out of such concerns that have been observed in several Asian countries now for decades. This study was conceptualized and designed by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) in New Delhi and was implemented in partnership with two research partners in Nepal and Vietnam. In Nepal the study partner was Center for Research on Environment Health and Population Activities (CREHPA) and in Vietnam, the Institute for Social Development Studies (ISDS). The overall objective of this study is to understand the dimensions, nature and determinants of men's varying attitudes to son preference and gender-based violence. The study adapted the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) survey tool to explore men's attitude towards son preference. IMAGES is one of the most comprehensive surveys ever carried out on the attitudes and behaviors of men aged 18-49 years, on issues related to gender equality, including sexual and reproductive health, maternal health, gender-based violence and men's participation in care-giving and family life.

The household survey with men in both countries was carried out in July-August, 2011. In Nepal, total sample of 1000 men in the age group 18-49 were interviewed across three districts namely Dang, Gorkha and Saptari; in Vietnam the sample comprised of 1424 men from two districts namely Hung Yen in North and Can Tho in south.

The mean age of the men participating in the survey was 32 and 35 in Nepal and Vietnam respectively. Three quarters of men in both the countries reported to be married and one-third of the unmarried men were cohabiting. Level of education was high in Vietnam, among the surveyed men. All of them were literate and only two percent of men reported that they did not attend any formal education. In Nepal, eight percent men were illiterate while others had been to school and one-fifth of them had attended higher secondary. Nepal being a Hindu dominated country majority of men their followed the Hindu religion while in Vietnam little less than two-thirds reported to follow no religion, followed by fifteen percent following Christianity. In terms of occupation, in Nepal nearly half were farmers followed by nearly one-fourth of men who were in service. In Vietnam, around one-third men reported farming as an occupation and nearly one-fourth were working as manual labor.

The study shows that in both the countries majority of men had a moderately gender equitable (neither high nor low) attitude but they favor a conservative gender roles for women. In Nepal, nearly half of the men and in Vietnam more than three-quarter males agreed that a woman's important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family. Interestingly in both countries there was very less agreement on the statement that a woman's most important role is to produce a son for her husband's family. On attitudes around violence against women, in Nepal 44 percent men agree that a woman deserves to be beaten while in Vietnam it was 26 percent. Norms around masculinity was found to be high in both countries; in Vietnam 90 percent men agreed that to be a man you need to be tough. In Nepal 70 percent of men agreed on the same statement. On the value of sons versus daughters, men's attitudes were similar in both countries. Majority (90 percent) of men gave agreement to the statements like 'a man with only daughters is unfortunate' and 'not having a son reflects bad karma and lack of moral virtue'.

Education, occupation and religion were found to be associated with men's attitude towards gender equitable norms in both countries. Men with higher education, working as professionals are more gender equitable.

Men in Nepal and Vietnam are brought up in a socio-familial context where gender discrimination against women is common. More than half (55 percent) of the men in Nepal and two-thirds (66 percent) in Vietnam reported experiencing or witnessing the gender inequality in childhood and the most common form witnessed was restrictions on freedom of their sisters or female cousins. In both countries the GEM scale score was found to be significantly associated with the experience/witness of childhood gender inequality. Other factors associated were different in both countries. For example, caste/ethnicity and economic stress was found significantly associated in Nepal while in Vietnam, age, education and occupation were significantly associated.

There appears to be a clear relationship between men's participation in maternal health care and child care and socio-demographic characteristics. Men in both countries who accompanied their wives/partners on their prenatal visits were more likely to be younger, live in urban areas, have a higher level of education and be professionals. Unsurprisingly, in both countries there was a significant relationship between men's daily participation in the care of children and their GEM scale scores. In addition, in Nepal, a significantly larger proportion of men in nuclear families and who worked in farming helped with the daily care of children, while in Vietnam, men's level of education had a significant relationship with their involvement in the daily care of children.

The study found a high prevalence of violence against intimate partners among surveyed men. In Nepal, about 71 percent of men reported ever using any form of violence against their intimate partner, while in Vietnam, the proportion was 60 percent. The most common form of intimate partner violence (IPV) in both countries was emotional violence, which almost half the sampled men in both countries reported having enacted at some time. Followed by emotional violence was physical violence, reported by two-fifth of the men in Nepal and one-third of men in Vietnam. The responses to violence against women in the past year showed that more than 40 percent of men in Nepal and 25 percent of the Vietnamese men had committed some form of violence in the past year. In both countries, the most common form of violence in the last year, as is the case with ever use, was emotional violence, followed by physical violence.

Age and occupation was significantly associated with IPV in both countries. Older men were more likely to perpetrate violence as compared to men in the age groups 18-24 years in both countries. Occupation levels too have significant effects, men in business or working in shops had a higher likelihood of perpetrating violence as compared to men who were professionals. Education too showed an association in the expected direction but was not statistically significant. Importantly, men with high gender equitable attitude were less likely to perpetrate violence. Unsurprisingly, childhood experiences of bullying and gender inequality played a strong role in both countries as men with experiences of either were almost twice as likely to engage in IPV, especially in Nepal. Similarly, the use of alcohol increased the likelihood of IPV in both countries.

The data shows that in both countries a preference for sons exists among the surveyed men. Most men in both countries supported statements that demonstrated son preference i.e. related to the direct value of having sons. The highest proportion of men in both countries agreed with the statements that sons are important to carry on the family lineage and for support in the old age. Surprisingly, fewer men agreed with the views related to aborting a female fetus, putting a daughter up for adoption, or abandoning a wife who does not bear sons. In both countries, the level of education and type of occupation of men were significantly associated with their son preference attitude. There was significant association between men's son preference and their gender equitable attitudes (GEM scale) and men's control over their wives (relationship control index) in both countries.

The patriarchal nature of Nepalese society combined with socio-economic and religious values creates a strong influence to have a male child in the family. Similarly in Vietnam, it is the patrilineal and patrilocal kinship system that tends to place strong normative pressure on couples to produce at least one son. Men's views about the importance of sons and daughters are highly influenced by traditional customs, gender roles and expectations (eg. only boys can carry on their father's name and continue the family lineage while girls provide emotional support and are expected to be dutiful and hardworking).

Men in this survey had a relatively good awareness of laws and policies on violence against women and law against abortion. Majority of men in Nepal were not aware of correct legal conditions for abortion and in Vietnam this percentage was low. In both countries men favored the law on sex-selection and were aware of it. Nearly one-third of men believed that the sex-selection law can go against women's abortion rights and their rights to choice. On the law regarding inheritance right, a very high percentage of men in Nepal were aware of it but in Vietnam only one-third of men were aware of it. But, in both countries among those who were aware, they considered these laws to be favorable.

This study was first of its kind in both countries that explored men's attitudes on a wide range of issues related to gender equality, son preference, the levels and types of intimate partner violence and knowledge and attitude toward laws and policies related to women's right. The study affirms that high son preference, conservative gender roles and inequitable attitudes persist in both the countries. There is need for more comprehensive, long-term and male-targeted intervention programs or campaigns at national and local levels taking into account men's specific socio-economic conditions that influence their preferences. While the levels of knowledge of laws and policies relating to gender equality is high, there is clearly a greater need for enforcement coupled with effective messaging that not only enlightens about

the laws but also the norms underlying the practices that are being legislated. Because of the relationship between childhood experiences of inequality, gender equitable attitudes and son preference and IPV, early childhood interventions around masculinity and men's role in family also stand out as policy recommendations from this study.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Son preference is a growing problem in a number of Asian countries. Its high prevalence has resulted in substantial levels of excess female child mortality, and has skewed sex ratios in parts of China, India and Vietnam, with emerging signs in Nepal and Pakistan. Responsibility for economic, socio-cultural and religious functions is vested in men in most Asian patriarchal societies. Sons are therefore seen as essential for the survival of the family, for social security in old age, and are assigned a greater value than daughters; they consequently have more power and control over resources, particularly land and property, and over the women of the family. At the state level, this power is often reflected in a country's laws and policies, and contributes to placing women in subordinate positions, both in the private sphere where they are dependent on men economically, and publicly where they have little or no decision-making power and are seen as a burden (Murphy, 2003; Das Gupta et al., 2003; Chow and Berheide, 2004; all cited in Li, 2007).

The societal importance given to boys has translated into deep-rooted discriminatory practices toward girls and women, with devastating effects on their status, health and development and an enormous pressure to produce sons. In the context of declining family size and restrictive policies on reproduction and access to unregulated health services, this pressure can have severe consequences on women's mental and physical health. For men and boys, it has resulted in stereo-typical perceptions about masculinity and impunity by some to practice violent behavior that is often socially sanctioned. The significant male surplus in some populations resulting from the excess of male births since 1980 inevitably has an impact on the context of both women's and men's entry into partnership or marriage. There is evidence that the lack of women available for marriage has led to increased violence against women, trafficking, abduction, forced marriages or brides being shared among brothers (Guilmoto, 2007).

International initiatives to achieve desired reproductive health outcomes – such as reducing unintended pregnancy, stopping the spread of HIV and improving maternal health are increasingly recognizing that these outcomes are affected by gender relations, norms and roles commonly ascribed to women and men, and associated inequalities. In response, governments and international donor agencies have embraced the idea that reproductive health policies and programs should support women's empowerment and gender equality and they have included it in their goals and strategies.

To help move forward the reproductive health and women's empowerment agenda, rigorous data are needed on men's gender-related attitudes and behaviors, including around son preference. This study contributes to the growing evidence base on men by adopting the survey tools of the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES) in Vietnam and Nepal. IMAGES is one of the most comprehensive surveys ever carried out on the attitudes

and behaviors of men aged 18-49 years, on issues related to gender equality, including sexual and reproductive health, maternal and child health, gender-based violence and men's participation in care-giving and family life (Barker et al, 2011). This study uses a modified version of IMAGES to include a focus on son preference.

1.2 Research objectives

The overall objective of this study is to understand the dimensions, nature and determinants of Nepali and Vietnamese men's attitudes to son preference and gender-based violence. The specific objectives of the project are to:

- 1) Assess men's current behaviors and attitudes on a wide range of issues as they relate to gender equality
- 2) Assess men's knowledge and attitudes toward son preference and violence
- 3) Explore contributing factors that can be attributed to men's attitudes and behaviors related to gender-based violence and son preference
- 4) Assess men's knowledge of and attitudes toward policies that have sought to promote gender equality (e.g., gender-based violence, sex selection, family planning and inheritance rights)

1.3 Study context: Nepal and Vietnam

1.3.1 Nepal

Nepal's population is about 27 million with a population growth rate of 1.4 percent (CBS, 2011). The 2001 Population census listed 103 diverse ethnic/caste groups, each with its own distinct languages and culture. Nepal is primarily a Hindu country with more than 81 percent of its population believing in the Hindu religion. The recent DHS study 2011 found that the total fertility rate is 2.6 per woman, reduced from 4.1 in 2001. The literacy rate is 54 percent overall, with an enormous gender gap (65% among men and 43% among women) (Ministry of Health (Nepal)/New Era/ORC Macro, 2006). A large percentage of the population lives in remote areas, without access to basic infrastructure or services. The country is divided into three geographic regions: the terai (plains area), the hills and the mountains. As one moves from the terai up to the mountains, living conditions and access to health care become increasingly difficult. As a result, there are wide discrepancies in health services in different regions.

The economy is agrarian, although most households are not self-sufficient and rely on some non-agricultural sources of revenue. Per capita GDP is estimated to be less than US\$ 500; about 25 percent of the people live below the poverty line and is ranked 157th in the 2011 Human Development Index, lowest in the South Asia region (UNDP, 2011). Development strategies have been hindered, in part, by topography, by marked caste and class distinction and unequal distribution of power and resources, as well as by severe gender discrimination in spheres of public and private life.

Various forms of Gender Based Violence (GBV) exist in Nepal, including, domestic violence, family abuse (polygamy, child marriage, dowry related violence, mental abuse), sexual violence (trafficking, forced sex, sexual harassment), and punishment for witchcraft (*Boxi*). The context

of GBV is interlinked with underlying social, cultural, religious and gender norms and with political conflict in Nepal. Traditional practices also contribute to the exploitation of women, particularly sexual abuse and sex work. For example, within the *Badi* community (in mid-western Terai district) many women have been forced into commercial sex work. The *Deuki* tradition involves families offering young girls to temples to act as dancers in ceremonies; however girls often experience sexual exploitation and enter sex work to earn a living. Similarly, the *Jhuma* are Sherpa traditionally send second-born daughters to monasteries as an offering to ensure the well-being of the girls' family. Dalit women (lowest social caste) face multiple discriminations, maybe accused of *Boxi* (witchcraft) and are extremely vulnerable to sexual exploitation (Hasselman et al, 2006).

Nepal has been classified as having considerable levels of son preference since the World Fertility Surveys first documented the phenomenon in the 1980s (Cleland et. al, 1983). It is believed that there are certain communities which do not rejoice the birth of a daughter, resulting in a deficit of women in those areas (World Bank/DFID, 2006). Son preference is the direct result of the discrimination of women in all aspects of family and community life. There are several rites and rituals that can only be performed by sons such as lighting the funeral pyre. Economically, daughters are considered a liability because of dowry and because they live their natal home upon marriage, so for old age security, parents can only rely economically on sons. Socially, preference is given to sons because of their role in continuing the family lineage. Nepal's patrilineal social structure discourages women from practicing contraception until they have a son. Analysis of the 1996 Nepal Demographic and Health Survey data of 5,902 women showed that the overall contraceptive prevalence was 25 percent, compared with 33 percent if there had been no sex preference—a reduction of eight percentage points, or 24 percent (Leone et al, 2003).

A recent study found that in both the 1991 and 2001 population censuses, the sex ratio before one year of age is lower for females, especially in seven terai districts. The sex ratio is higher among terai high and middle caste/ethnic groups than the hill ethnicity/caste, further indicating 'missing women' in the terai belt of the country. The same study pointed to the existence of sex selective abortion in urban areas of the terai region, where the status of women is low and the girl child is often neglected in the family (CREHPA/UNFPA, 2007a).

Until 2002, abortion was illegal in almost all circumstances in Nepal. However, research has found that unsafe abortions carried out clandestinely before this period were fairly widespread, and were contributing significantly to Nepal's high maternal mortality rates. The open border with India, coupled with the geographical accessibility to and socio-cultural similarities of terai inhabitants with those of Northern India, meant that it was not uncommon for women in these areas to visit Indian border towns for health care, including abortions, which are legal for upto 20 weeks (CREHPA/UNFPA, 2007b).

The 2002 law that legalized abortion in Nepal expressly prohibits sex determination and sex-selective abortion. A woman can legally obtain an abortion up to 12 weeks' gestation, up to 18 weeks in case of rape or incest, and at anytime during pregnancy if her life is at risk or the fetus has congenital anomalies. However, over the last few years, especially after the legislation of abortion, concern has been raised about sex selective abortion in Nepal. A study indicates that because of the legalization of abortion, the easy availability of prenatal sex-determination technologies and abortion clinics, as well as the value given to sons, the demand

for sex-selective abortion could increase in the coming years. Another study conducted in 2010 showed that about 11 percent of Nepali women residing in border areas visited India for sex selective abortion (CREHPA, 2010).

Within the political and legal spheres, there is widespread discrimination against Nepalese women and girls. According to a 2009 report, 'Discriminatory Laws in Nepal and their impact on women', Nepal still had 96 discriminatory provisions and 92 schedules in various acts and provisions, including the Constitution, that have discriminatory provisions which provides various rights and responsibilities only to men which indirectly encourages son preferences. Substantive discrimination exists in the field of nationality, marriage and family relations, sexual offence and property rights. (FWD, 2009).

Despite the many barriers, Nepal has made progress in reducing gender-based discrimination and empowering women over the last decade. Women now have significantly better access to education. Gender-inclusive/friendly policies and national plans of action have been framed to increase women's access to political, economic and social spheres, and to reduce gender-based violence. Legal reforms have been introduced and institutional mechanisms have been established and strengthened in order to ensure gender equality and women's empowerment. In addition to the legalisation of abortion, the Domestic Violence and Punishment Act was passed in May 2009 in Nepal. The country's gender empowerment measurement has improved significantly from 0.391 in 2001 to 0.496 in 2006 (UNFPA, 2007).

1.3.2 Vietnam

Vietnam, with a total population of 87 million people, is ranked thirteenth in the world and has the second largest population in South East Asia. About 70% of the population lives in rural areas, mainly doing agricultural work and having limited access to basic infrastructure or services. The annual population growth rate, as of 2010, is 1.05. The total fertility rate is currently 2.00 per woman, less than 2.25 in 2001 (GSO, 2011). The contraceptive prevalence rate was 79.5% among women aged 15-49 in 2008. The adult literacy rate was 83.7% in 2009, with a huge gender gap, 79.2% among females and 88.3% among males (WB, 2011b).

There are more than 54 culturally distinct ethnic groups of which the Kinh people is the majority, accounting for 89% of the total population. About 6.8 million (7.9% of the total population) are practicing Buddhists, 5.7 million (6.6%) are Catholics, 1.4 million (1.7%) are adherents of Hoa Hao, 0.8 million (0.9%) practice Cao Dai, and 0.7 million (0.9%) are Protestants. The vast majority of Vietnamese people practice ancestor worship in some form (GSO, 2010). Vietnam's average per capita GDP has increased dramatically, from below USD 200 in 1989 to above USD 1,224 in 2010. Vietnam is ranked one of the best performing economies in the world over the last decade and has entered the rank of middle income. Agriculture is still the cornerstone of Vietnam's economic productivity, accounting for almost one fifth of GDP in 2010.

Vietnam, like many countries, has high levels of violence against women. The most recent nationally representative study on domestic violence, conducted in 2009, indicated that 58.3% of ever-partnered women had experienced at least one of three types of domestic violence (physical, sexual and emotional violence), at some point in their marriage. Emotional abuse is the most frequently reported type of violence, with 54% of ever-partnered women having ever experienced it, followed by physical abuse, with a prevalence rate during their lifetime of 32%.

Sexual abuse is reported by 10% of the women surveyed (GSO, 2010). The causes of domestic violence against women are rooted in Vietnam's social, cultural, economic and political context. In the Confucian tradition, women's duties are primarily bounded with housework, procreation and care-giving for the family members. Women are expected to endure difficulties and please their husbands in any circumstances. Domestic violence has been seen as a sensitive and private issue in Vietnam; thus women cannot share their experience with anyone. In the meantime, men have an entitlement to 'teach' their wives in order to protect the honor of the family as well as to show their masculinity (Rydstrøm, 2006). Alcohol and a hot temper are often used to justify men's use of violence against women (Mai et al., 2004).

Strong son preference in Vietnam is rooted in the patrilineal and patrilocal kinship system that tends to place strong normative pressure on people to produce at least one son. This son preference has been perpetuated in the context of a two-child policy. Traditionally, sons are essential to carry on family lines and names, to perform ancestor worship and to take care of parents in their old age. Also, sons are more desired because having a son helps improve a woman's status within the family and a man's masculinity and reputation within the community. Men and women with no sons are often exposed to strong pressures from the extended family as well as experience humiliation within the community.

In parts of Vietnam, there is an imbalance in the sex ratio at birth, which is seen as a demographic manifestation of gender inequality corresponding discrimination against females before birth. In order to meet their strong preference of sons, many couples tend to use advancing technologies, including ultrasonography to determine the sex of the foetus and induced abortion to eliminate unwanted female fetuses (UNFPA, 2011). It has been argued that despite impressive social achievements in the improvement of women's well-being during the past few decades, son preference still persists and hinders the country's efforts towards gender equality.

In recent years, the government of Vietnam has demonstrated its strong commitment to promote gender equality and to eliminate violence against women. The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was ratified by the Government in early 1982. More importantly, in 2006, Vietnam passed the Law on Gender Equity (GEL), which ensures gender equity in all aspects of life and assigns detailed responsibilities to specific organizations, institutions, families and individuals in ensuring these principles. Following this, in 2007, the Government passed the Law on Domestic Violence Prevention and Control (DVL), which provides explicit protection from violence within the family to its members and covers a wide range of acts of domestic violence. The Government has also produced a number of decrees, circulars and national plans of action to address the prevention and control of domestic violence. Reducing gender-based violence is one of the key objectives put forth by the draft National Strategy on Gender Equality 2011-2020.

Also, since 2000, Vietnam has issued a number of policies and laws to regulate sex selection. According to Government Decree No. 104/203/ND-CP issued in 2003, the use of ultrasound and abortion for the purposes of sex selection is illegal. Moreover, the Decree No.114/2006/ND-CP in 2006 also imposes financial penalties for those using ultrasound and abortion for sex identification and revoke practicing licenses and certificates of any individual or organization who violates the above rules for one to three months. However, in reality, the enforcement of these decrees is not effective: there is no monitoring of health providers and no sanctions for

violations of the ban (UNFPA, 2011). Most women know the sex of their child-to-be prior to its birth. The 2010 Population change and Family planning Survey has shown that 75.2 percent of women aged 15-49 who gave the birth from April 2008 to March 2010, knew the sex of the foetus before delivery. A recent study on induced abortion among women in Hanoi indicates that women with more children, particularly those with more daughters or without a son, were more likely to undergo a second-term abortion than a first-term abortion. The authors estimate that, in 2003, 2 percent of all abortions to women with at least one living child were intended to avoid the birth of a female (Belanger and Khuat, 2009).

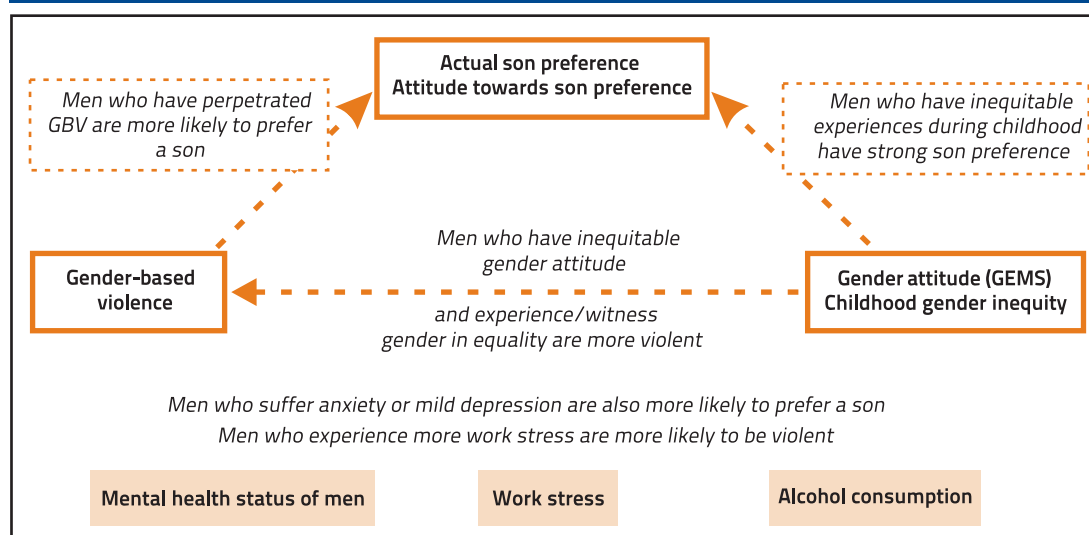
2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Conceptual framework

Gender refers to the widely shared expectations and norms within a society about appropriate male and female roles, responsibilities and behaviors, and the ways in which women and men interact with each other (Gupta, 2000). Gender therefore encompasses masculinities and femininities, power relations between women and men, and structural contexts that reinforce and create these power relations. This study is framed within this understanding of gender as relational and structural, and within the field of ‘masculinities,’ which seeks to understand how men are socialized, how men’s roles are socially constructed, and how these roles and power dynamics change over the lifecycle and in different social contexts (Connell, 1994). This concept of masculinities also enjoins us to examine the diversity of men, the pressures they may perceive to adhere to specific versions of manhood – particularly the widespread belief that being a man means being a provider or having stable employment – and to understand how these roles and power dynamics change historically and by social context within the various domains where social meanings of gender and gender-based inequalities are constructed, and how these are associated with son preference and intimate partner violence (Barker et al, 2011). It is recognized that factors explored in this study may not adequately cover all potential underlying factors linked to son preference and intimate partner violence. The framework posits son preference attitude and use of violence as functions of some contextual and community factors and some household, individual and interpersonal factors. Clearly, the domains overlap to a certain extent and reciprocally influence each other.

FIGURE 2.1

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



2.2. Sampling design and sample size

The study adopted a standard multi-stage cluster sampling design in both countries. The broad approach was to first select the district/province based on the sex ratio at birth. Within the district/province, samples were then distributed in order to get equal representation from the rural and urban areas. The detailed sampling approach adopted in each country is elaborated below:

In Vietnam, the survey used a multistage random sampling strategy, with clusters (enumeration areas) as the primary sampling unit (figure A2.1). The samples were designed to be self-weighting.

- *Stage 1: Selection of province:* The provinces of Hung Yen (sex ratio at birth, SRB = 124) and Can Tho (SRB = 110) were selected for the survey, because of their elevated SRB levels.
- *Stage 2: Selection of communes within each province:* Since the population sizes of Hung Yen and Can Tho are almost the same (1,128,702 and 1,187,089, respectively), the total study sample of 1,680 men was divided equally between the two sites. Based on the rural/urban population distribution in Vietnam, of the 840 men in each site, 588 men (70%) were selected from four rural communes and 252 men (30%) from four urban wards. The eight communes were selected from each province using Probability Proportionate to Size (PPS), based on a list of all the communes in the selected province and their sizes (i.e., the number of households or of people).
- *Stage 3: Selection of clusters within each commune:* Using PPS, two clusters were chosen from each selected commune.
- *Stage 4: Selection of households within a cluster:* An accurate list of households was developed in each cluster with the assistance of local authorities and population motivators. A random selection was made in the list to get a total of 74 households in each cluster of each rural commune and 32 households in each cluster of each urban ward.
- *Stage 5: Selection of men within each household:* If more than one eligible respondent was found in the selected household, then the Kish table in the household selection form was used to identify the eligible man from each selected household for interview (figure A2.1).

In Nepal, the study was based on a stratified two-staged cluster sampling technique. It was carried out in three districts (out of 75), chosen to represent consistently high, medium and average sex ratios of children less than a year of age (SRU1), based on the 2001 population census. It was assumed that the selection of study sites representing districts with varying sex ratios would provide a balanced picture of men's attitudes and behavior pertaining to son preference and masculinity. The three districts chosen for the present study were: Saptari (109/100 females); Gorkha (106/100 females); and Dang (102/100 females).

First stage: The study selected 40 primary sampling units (PSUs) (24 rural wards and 16 urban wards/sub wards) using probability proportion to size (PPS). Given the low level of urbanization in Nepal (15 percent in the 2001 Census), the allocation of proportional urban samples would have been inadequate to reveal significant rural and urban differences, if any. Hence, it was

decided to select 40 percent of the clusters (16 clusters) from the urban areas. To select the clusters, VDCs (Village Development Committee) were listed alphabetically, separately for rural and urban, with their corresponding wards/cluster and their households and populations, and systematic random sampling was applied.

Second stage: A sketch map of each sampled cluster was prepared and divided into 2-5 segments (in the case of more than 100 households), from which a segment was chosen randomly. From an up-to-date list of households, 25 households were selected through systematic random sampling. A screening questionnaire was administered to the head or most knowledgeable person of the household to identify eligible respondents (men aged 18-49 years) in the sampled household. If more than one eligible man was identified in the sampled household, only one man was selected using the KISH table. If a selected household had no man who could be identified as eligible, sampling continued using the same approach until the desired sample size of 25 had been reached in each cluster.

The team interviewed 1,000 men aged 18-49 years (400 urban and 600 rural). The primary sampling unit (PSU) was a village ward or combination of wards of a village development committee (VDC) in a rural area and a municipal sub-ward in an urban area, with at least 100 households. As targeted, 1,000 men aged 18-49 years from 1,283 households were successfully interviewed. A district-wise sample performance is shown in annexure table 2.1.

2.3 Study tools

A structured interviewer-administered paper questionnaire was developed based on the IMAGES survey tool and Partners for Prevention (P4P), translated into the local languages (Nepali and Vietnamese) and pre-tested locally in both countries. Based on the pretesting results, the questionnaires were revised and finalized. Most of the questions were close-ended and some key variables were included in the multiple questions. The individual questionnaire was divided into 11 sections with approximately 250 items and took about an hour to apply in the Nepal study and around 45-60 minutes in Vietnam.

This study focuses on men's attitudes towards gender equity, son preference, and violence (intimate partner violence and other forms), and their knowledge about reproductive health and existing policies. As a consequence, the survey instrument was designed to be relevant to these issues as they applied to adult men in stable, co-habiting relationships as well as those not in a stable relationship. Specific topics in the questionnaire were:

- *Socio-demographic characteristics:* Current age, education, marital status, dowry practices, caste/ethnicity, religion, type of family, sources of income, employment experience, unemployment and underemployment, stress and reactions associated with unemployment
- *Childhood experiences:* Victimization by violence as children, childhood trauma, witnessing of gender-based violence, gender-related attitudes perceived in family of origin, gender patterns of childhood friendships
- *Attitudes about relationship and son preference:* Attitudes toward gender equality, masculinity, son preference and women's reproductive rights
- *Intimate relationship:* Decision making on households' matter, use of violence (physical,

sexual, psychological) against partner, men's use of sexual violence against non-partners

- *Reproductive history of partner:* Date of last pregnancy, practices of ultrasound and outcomes of last pregnancy
- *Preference on family size and composition:* Sex preference, importance of having son or daughter and reasons
- *Knowledge about abortion law:* Knowledge about legal conditions for abortion, place for safe abortion services and ever-experience of abortion
- *Fatherhood:* Number of living children and their sex, use of paternity leave, importance of education, marriage, security, employment for sons and daughters, experiences of humiliation for not having a son, any measures taken to have a son
- *Health and wellbeing:* Mental health issues (depression, suicidal ideation), life style-related questions (substance or alcohol abuse)
- *Policies:* Attitudes toward various gender equality policies of the country
- *Other final questions:* Sexual experience and satisfaction with sexual life, sexual behavior, experience of any signs and symptoms of STIs and use of/victimization of violence in other contexts.

In Vietnam, the questionnaire included some specific questions for the Vietnamese context, such as those related to the bride-price and the number of doctors visited for an ultrasound test. The study excluded items related to dowry and number of wives the respondent had simultaneously, as these were considered irrelevant to the Vietnamese context.

2.4 Conducting the survey

Pre-Survey preparations: In both countries, the field teams underwent five-day intensive training in the application of the research instrument and quality assurance from the core team members, based on standard World Health Organization practices for carrying out research on sensitive issues. There were a total of 12 interviewers in both country field teams. Since the survey respondents were men, all the data collectors were male, because it has been found that male interviewers are likely to get more accurate information on sensitive issues from male respondents.

Prior to the fieldwork in the Vietnam study, the local authorities and the Department of Population and Family Planning of the two selected provinces, Hung Yen and Can Tho, were contacted to obtain their permission and assistance for the research team. The survey was conducted in Hung Yen from 3-10 August, 2011 and in Can Tho from 17-26 August, 2011. In total, 1,424 men were interviewed, 719 in Hung Yen and 705 in Can Tho.

The questionnaire was administered by the interviewers for the first 10 sections and self-administered for the last section with more sensitive questions. Standard procedures were followed to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.

In Nepal, the study was conducted between July and August 2011. Since CREHPA had their own team for the survey, they did not need support in terms of manpower, but prior to the

survey, they took permission from the local authorities. The interviews were conducted at locations convenient for the respondents, usually in a closed room in their homes. Each face-to-face interview took 60-90 minutes. During the field study, core team members visited the study sites to ensure interview quality and respondents' privacy. None of the respondents refused to give an interview, but in a few cases, interviewers had to spend a considerable amount of time in explanations about the study.

2.5 Analysis and variables

The selection of variables in the data analysis was informed by previous research confirming the associations or impact of various factors as shown in framework. This report focuses mainly on descriptive statistics and bi-variate analyses of the associations between educational levels and economic or work-related stress and men's gender-related attitudes, son preference and so on. The Pearson chi-square test was used to measure the association and relations for which $p < 0.05$, considered statistically significant. In addition, multivariate logistic regression was carried out on key variables of interest in the study. Most of the variables used in the analysis are self-explanatory, but some were constructed as described in the following paragraphs.

The GEM scale: As a measure of men's gender-related attitudes, this study applied the Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) scale, originally developed by the Population Council and Promundo with young men aged 15-24 years (Barker et al, 2011) and later adopted by the IMAGES for adult men. In the present study, a GEM scale was created consisting of 15 attitudinal statements in Nepal and 17 statements in Vietnam about different dimension of men's gender attitudes (including sexuality, violence, household tasks, homophobia and male/females roles). These 15 and 17 statements were selected out of a total of 24 statements; using factor analysis and after assessing reliability (Cronbach Alpha scores was 0.79 for Nepal and 0.88 for Vietnam) a composite variable was constructed. The scale results of respondents were trichotomized by their total scores and categorized as 'low equity', 'moderate equity' and 'high equity'.

Economic stress index: This is a binary index created from responses to six statements related to stress or depression as a result of work or income deficiencies. Responses were categorized into 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree', and 'strongly disagree', and then further clubbed into two categories of 'disagree' and 'agree', based on which a composite variable for economic stress was created.

A *Son-preference attitude* variable was created based on 11 of the 12 attitudinal statements about different dimensions of son-preference after factor analysis and after assessing reliability. A similar process, as was applied to the GEM scale, was followed to construct this variable. Based on their scores, respondents were then categorised into 'low', 'medium' or 'high' levels of son preference.

The *Depression index* was created based on responses to the 16 of the 17 statements regarding men's feelings and experiences related to various daily life problems. The scale was developed using factor analysis and internal consistency check (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.77$).

A *Relationship control index* was also created (following the process for creating the GEM scale) based on the eight statements related to different dimensions of partner control and categorized as 'low', 'medium' and 'high'.

The *Positive deviant* indicator was developed to represent men who witnessed/experienced an inequitable gender attitude during childhood and have high-to-moderate gender attitudes now. This composite variable was created by combining the effects of those who experienced gender inequity during childhood and their GEM scale score categorization.

The *Hyper masculine* behavior index, a binary index, was created by combining those who reported physical violence and abuse of alcohol.

2.6 Ethical considerations

The study protocol was approved by ICRW's Institutional Review Board (IRB) and by the Institutional Review Committee (IRC) of the Centre for Research Environment and Population Activities (CREHPA). The study team, including the research assistants were made aware of the sensitivity of the area being explored under the study and took several steps to minimize discomfort to study participants. Ethical guidelines developed by the WHO on studying sensitive issues were maintained throughout the study and beyond. Participants in the study were fully informed about the nature of the study, the research objectives, and the confidentiality of the data, and gave written consent (a thumb-print for those who could not sign their names) for their participation in the study. Standard procedures were followed for ensuring anonymity and confidentiality of the participants.

2.7 Challenges and limitations of data

In Vietnam, the study was carried out in only two provinces, one in the north and one in the south, so the data are not representative for the country as a whole. The analysis, however, does indicate some significant patterns and trends with respect to son preference and gender-based violence that deserve further policy attention. It should be noted here that, in two out of four rural communes, which were randomly selected in Can Tho, the majority of their populations originally migrated from the north as a result of the partition of the country in 1954. Most of them are Catholics. The research team found that this generation has still upheld northern accents, way of life and culture. The fact that the majority of the respondents in the two southern communes have northern origins might produce biases to provincial comparisons.

In Nepal, the study was carried out in the three districts which were selected using the sex ratio of children under one years of age. The findings are meant to be representative at the district level and not for the country. The fieldwork coincided with the peak monsoon, so there were several barriers to physically accessing the target populations. Another challenge was the high migration of men for employment, so it was difficult to find the selected respondents, which resulted in replacements in the sample.

A general limitation of the data could arise from response bias, which is found unavoidable in every interview. In this study, for some 'sensitive' questions, especially about violence and sex selection practices, respondents may tend to give responses that they think are socially and politically acceptable as 'right' or to please the interviewer.

3. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

This chapter lists the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the population under study in the two countries. Furthermore, there is an analysis of economic stress, partner's characteristics and substance abuse if any. Indicators or indices of the levels of depression, masculinity, and relationship control were created and are discussed in this chapter. Some of the socio-economic characteristics of their partners, if any, such as age, and education and income levels are analyzed as these could have a bearing on the study.

3.1 Demographic characteristics

Age: Over a quarter of the respondents in Nepal (29 percent) were below 24 years in age, and over one-third of them (39 percent) interviewed were between 35 and 49 years (table 3.1). In Vietnam, a smaller proportion of the men interviewed were between 18 and 24 years (19 percent) and the majority (54 percent) was in the oldest category of 35 and 49 years. The mean age of the respondents in Nepal was 32 years versus 35 years in Vietnam.

Marital Status and Place of Residence: The large majority of the respondents in both countries (79 percent in Nepal and 76 percent in Vietnam) were currently married (table 3.1). Similarly, the majority of the sampled men in both countries lived in the rural areas.

While a slight majority of the Nepali respondents (54 percent) lived in a nuclear family structure, the vast majority of the men interviewed in Vietnam (72.6 percent) lived in a joint family.

Most of the Nepali men had married at a younger age as their mean age at marriage was 20 years, compared to 25 years for the Vietnamese. In fact, almost half the sample of Nepali men (48 percent) had married before they were 20 years old; in comparison, almost half the Vietnamese men (45 percent) had married after the age of 25.

TABLE 3.1

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS				
Characteristics	Nepal		Vietnam	
	Percentage	n	Percentage	n
Age				
18-24 years	29.1	292	19.1	270
25-34 years	31.7	317	26.9	382
35-49 years	39.1	391	54.0	768
Mean age	31.7	1000	34.9	1425
Marital status				
Currently not married	21.6	216	24.3	1079
Currently Married	78.4	784	75.7	346
Place of residence				
Rural	60.0	600	68.5	976
Urban	40.0	400	31.5	449
Type of family				
Nuclear	59.8	598	72.6	1020
Joint/Extended	40.2	402	28.4	405
Age at marriage				
<20 years	48.3	383	5.7	62
21-24 years	39.7	315	49.1	434
25-49 years	12.0	95	45.2	491
Mean age	20.3	793	24.6	1087

3.2 Socio-economic characteristics

Table 3.2 presents selected social characteristics of the study population. As the table shows, the majority of men in the sample from both countries (55 percent) had studied up to the school leaving certificate level. In Vietnam one-third of them had gone beyond the higher secondary level, and in Nepal, this proportion was 22 percent. In the Nepali sample, 8 percent of the men were illiterate.

The caste/ethnicity analysis of the sample of Nepali men shows that the largest proportion of men in the sample belong to the Brahman/Chhetri group (35 percent) followed by the Janajatis (31 percent), and the *dalits* (22 percent).

TABLE 3.2

SELECTED SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS				
Characteristics	Nepal		Vietnam	
	Percentage	n	Percentage	n
Level of education				
Illiterate	8.0	80	-	-
NFE/up to primary	15.1	151	11.0	157
Primary to SLC	55.2	552	55.6	792
Higher secondary and above	21.7	217	33.4	476
Caste/Ethnicity				
Brahman/Chhetri	35.4	354	-	-
Janajatis	30.8	308	-	-
Disadvantaged non-dalit terai caste group	12.1	121	-	-
Dalits/religious minorities	21.7	217	-	-
Religion				
No religion	-	-	64.4	918
Hindu	92.1	921	-	-
Christian	2.2	22	15.8	225
Buddhist	2.9	29	8.5	121
Muslim	2.8	28	0.1	1
Others	-	-	11.2	160

Almost all the men in Nepal stated that they were Hindus, while in Vietnam the largest group (64 percent) said they were non-religious. Among those who reported belonging to a religion, 16 percent were Christian, 9 percent were Buddhist, and 0.1 percent was Muslim.

Table 3.3 presents the employment and economic characteristics of the interviewed men. Farming was the most common occupation in both countries, 54 percent in Nepal and 36 percent in Vietnam. In Vietnam the second-largest group was manual laborers followed equally by the other two occupational groups, business/shopkeepers and professionals. In Nepal the occupational distribution of the remaining men was a bit different, with professionals forming the second-largest group (19 percent), followed by businessmen (15 percent) and manual laborers (12 percent).

The overwhelming majority of the working men in both countries (80 percent in Nepal and 71 percent in Vietnam) said they work throughout the year, while less than one-fifth in Nepal (17 percent) and one-third (27 percent) in Vietnam said they work seasonally.

TABLE 3.3

SELECTED ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Nepal		Vietnam	
	Percentage	n	Percentage	n
Occupation				
Unemployed/student	-	-	-	-
Professional/service	19.2	170	19.8	252
Manual labor	12.1	107	24.4	311
Business/shop	15.0	133	19.9	254
Farmer	53.7	475	35.9	458
Time of work				
Throughout the year	80.0	708	70.9	905
Seasonally	17.1	151	27.4	350
Once in a while	1.6	14	1.4	18
Currently not working	1.4	12	0.2	3
Main earner of family				
Self	64.9	649	42.9	611
Wife/partner	0.8	8	4.8	68
Both equally	2.1	21	30.1	429
Parents	27.4	274	19.4	276
Siblings	3.8	38	-	-
Others (uncle/aunt / grandparents/son/ daughter)	1.0	10	2.8	40

Regarding the main income earner in the family, the countries showed very different patterns. While the majority of the interviewed men in both countries said they were the main earners, the share varied from 65 percent in Nepal to 43 percent in Vietnam. In Vietnam, 30 percent of the men said that both they and their partners were the main earners in the family, while this proportion in Nepal was only 2 percent. In contrast, in Nepal, the men's parents were cited as the main earners in 27 percent of the cases, while this was so in only one-fifth of the cases in Vietnam.

Dowry and Bride Price: The survey assessed dowry practice of the men at the time of their marriage. Of the sampled men in Nepal, 53 percent said they had not asked for a dowry or paid a bride price during their marriage, while 45 percent reported having received a dowry. Among those who responded that dowry was involved, 85 percent reported that it was given as a gift and only 15 percent stated that it was demanded.

In Vietnam, of the sampled men, 90 percent said they had paid a bride price during their marriage; of these, 97 percent reported having given this as a gift, while 3 percent said it had been demanded by the bride's family.

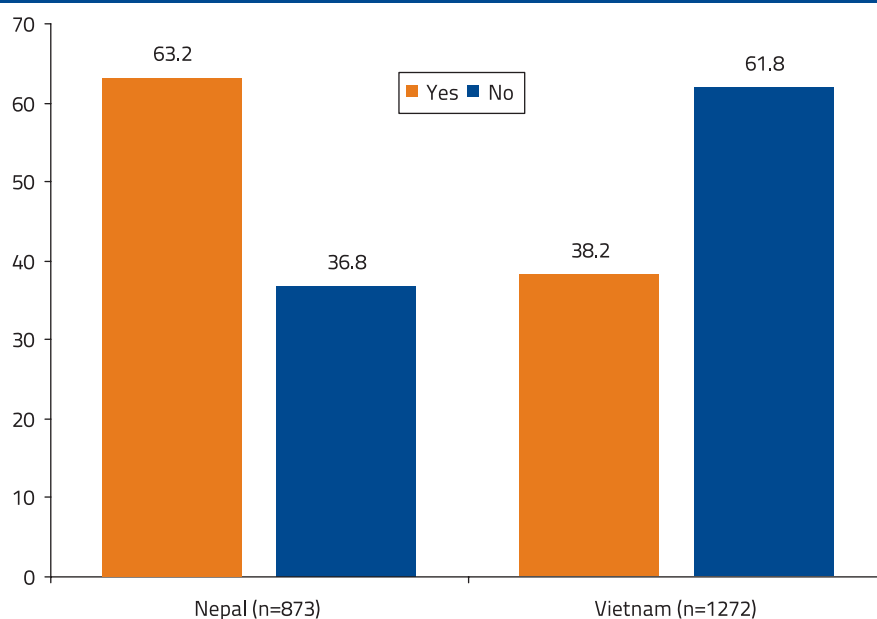
3.3 Economic stress

To further explore characteristics that may affect men's attitudes towards son preference, in addition to asking about their employment status, we also asked the currently employed men specific questions about their work-related stress or depression. Furthermore, given the prevailing, socially expected role of men as breadwinners of the family, economic stress may be an indicator of men's life experiences and a contributing factor to their attitudes toward son preference and use of violence.

As described in Chapter 2, economic stress is an index created from six attitudinal statements on the status of employment (table 3.4). As we can see, the majority of the sampled men in Nepal (63 percent) stated they were experiencing economic stress, compared to 38 percent of the Vietnamese men (figure 3.1).

FIGURE 3.1

MEN'S REPORT OF ECONOMIC STRESS



A fairly large proportion of men in both countries believed they were stressed or depressed from lack of work or income (table 3.4). In almost all the cases, the proportion of Nepali men admitting to feeling stressed or depressed was higher than the Vietnamese men. For instance, while the largest share of men in both countries admitted to feeling stressed because they did not have enough income, in Nepal the proportion was 58 percent, compared to 36 percent in Vietnam. Half the Nepali men stated they were ashamed to face their family if they were out of work, while 30 percent of Vietnamese men admitted to this. Similarly, almost half the Nepali men said they were frequently stressed or depressed because they did not have enough work, and 30 percent of the Vietnamese men said the same. Another important cause of stress or depression among the respondents was the fact that they spent most of the time out of work or looking for work (45 percent for the Nepali men and 35 percent for the Vietnamese).

TABLE 3.4

STATEMENTS OF ECONOMIC STRESS		
Statements	Percentage (Yes)	
	Nepal	Vietnam
I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough work	47.0 (n=873)	29.9 (n=1272)
I am frequently stressed or depressed because of not having enough income	58.4 (n=873)	35.8 (1272)
I sometimes feel ashamed to face my family because I am out of work	50.4 (n=127)	30.4 (n=148)
I spend most of the time out of work or looking for work	45.7 (n=127)	35.1 (n=148)
I have considered leaving my family because I was out of work	3.1 (n=127)	4.1 (n=148)
I sometime drink or stay away from home when I can't find work	0.8 (n=127)	4.7 (n=148)

Only a very small proportion of men in either country agreed with extreme positions arising from economic stress, i.e., they had considered leaving their family because they were out of work, or that they drink or stay away from home when they can't find work.

3.4 Partners characteristics

In Nepal, over two-fifths of the interviewed men's partners were between 25 and 34 years while, a quarter (24 percent), were younger than 24 years (annex table A3.1). In Vietnam, the majority of the partners (57 percent) were between 35 and 49 years of age, and only 8 percent were below 24 years.

Analysis of the partners characteristics showed educational differences between the two countries. For example, while the majority of Nepali men (61 percent) were more educated than their partners, the largest segment in the sample of Vietnamese men (47 percent) said they had the same level of education as their partners. A little over one-tenth (12 percent) of Nepali men said their partners were more educated, while over one-fourth (26 percent) of the Vietnamese respondents said this was the case.

A comparison of the respondents incomes with their partners showed that in 41 percent of the cases Vietnamese men had the same income levels as their partners, while 20 percent of Nepali men earned the same income as their partners. The overwhelming majority of Nepali men (75 percent) earned more than their partners compared to 53 percent of the Vietnamese respondents. A small proportion of the respondents in both countries (2 percent in Nepal and 7 percent in Vietnam) stated that their partner earned more than they did.

3.5 Alcohol and substance abuse

The majority of men in both countries said they had drunk alcohol at some time, with the

proportion ranging from 85 percent of the respondents in Vietnam to 52 percent in Nepal (annex table A3.2). One in six of the respondents from Nepal (17 percent) and 1 percent of the respondents from Vietnam reported having used drugs in the past year.

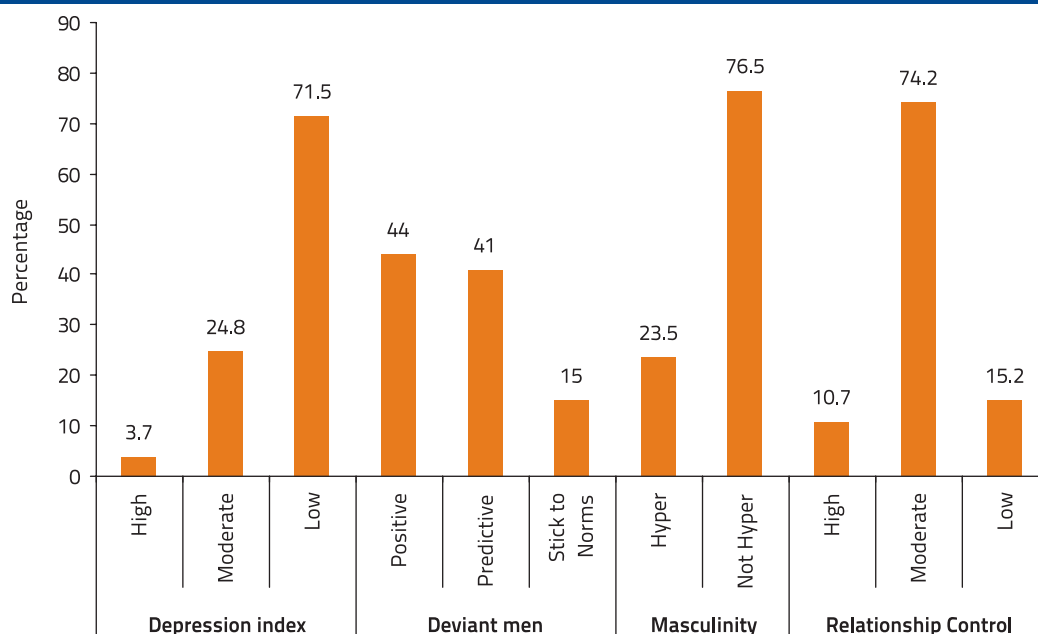
3.6 Other indicators

Four other indicators were created from the information obtained from the respondents as part of the study, and the results from these are given below.

A depression scale index was created based on 16 statements regarding the respondents' feelings and experiences on various issues of daily life in the previous week. The results showed that slightly less than a quarter of the men in both countries (25 percent in Nepal and 24 percent in Vietnam) reported moderate depression in the past week. The proportion of men in the high depression category was fairly low at about 4 percent in Nepal and 1 percent in Vietnam (figures 3.2 and 3.3).

FIGURE 3.2

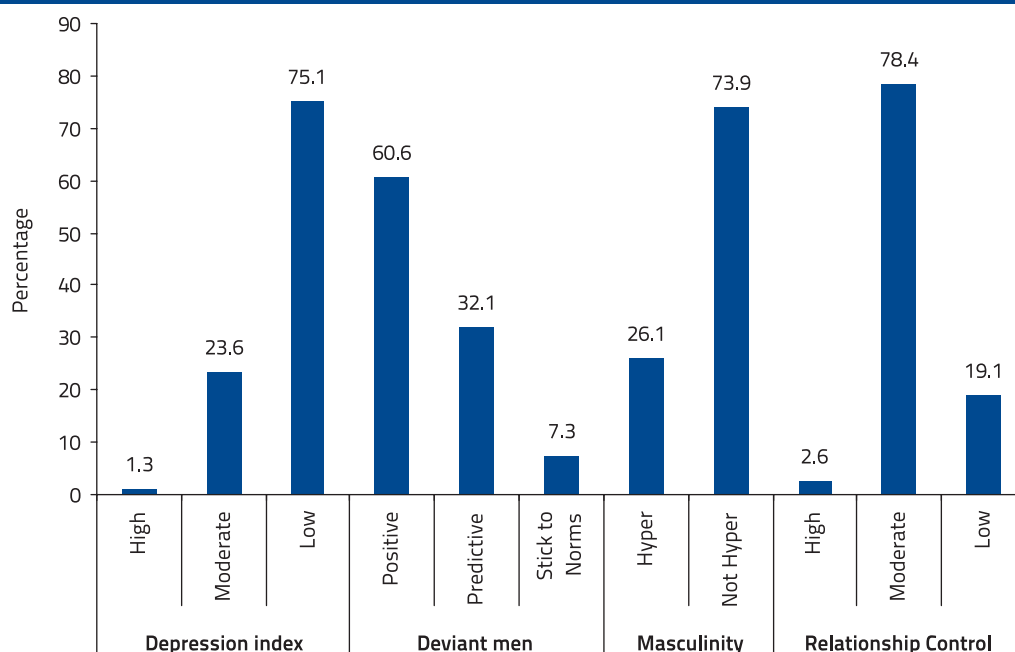
OTHER INDICATORS - NEPAL



The positive deviant indicator was developed to show those who had experienced inequitable gender attitudes during their childhoods and now have high-to-moderate gender equitable attitudes. As described in chapter 2, this composite variable was created by combining those who experienced gender inequity in childhood with their GEM scale scores. The results showed that 44 percent of the men in Nepal and 61 percent of the men in Vietnam were positively deviated on this indicator, so they had experienced inequitable gender attitudes in childhood, but displayed more gender equitable attitudes now. This was followed by the predictatively deviant (41 percent in Nepal and 32 percent in Vietnam); the respondents who 'stick to the norms', i.e., men who had not experienced gender inequity in childhood and had low gender equity were the smallest group, 15 percent in Nepal and 7 percent in Vietnam.

FIGURE 3.3

OTHER INDICATORS - VIETNAM



The hyper-masculinity indicator was created by combining the responses from men who reported perpetuating physical violence and intake of alcohol. It was found that a little over a quarter of men (24%) had hyper-masculine behavior in Nepal and slightly more than a quarter (26%) in Vietnam (figures 3.2 and 3.3).

A relationship control index was created from statements related to the men’s control over women in decision making. Most of the men in both countries, about three-quarters were found to have a moderate relationship controlling attitude towards their partners; around 11 percent of the men in Nepal and 2.6 percent of those in Vietnam had high relationship-controlling attitudes (figures 3.2 and 3.3).

4. MEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS GENDER EQUALITY

Gender equality means that women and men and girls and boys, enjoy the same rights, resources, opportunities and protections. It implies that women and girls have the same rights as men and boys and they are equally entitled to participate fully in the political, social and economic development of their communities. It does not mean that men and women are the same, but that they have equal value and should be accorded equal privileges. There is evidence that expanding a woman's opportunities reduces gender inequality and accelerates development (Dulfo E., 2005). Despite important advances towards equality, socioeconomic differences between men and women still persist both in the developing and developed world.

Recently, policy makers and social scientists have begun to emphasize the role and responsibility of men and boys in promoting gender equality. This emphasis arises from the recognition that women and men must work together in order to achieve more equitable relationships and societies. An important step in this process is understanding men's attitude towards gender equality.

This chapter looks at gender-related attitudes of men in the study areas in Vietnam and Nepal, men's childhood experience of gender inequality and their participation in domestic duties and maternal health care. In addition, we examine associations between these variables and a variety of socio-demographic and other factors.

4.1 Men's attitude towards gender equality - The Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale

An important prerequisite for achieving gender equality is changing men's attitude towards gender norms that they internalize and that influence their behaviors. Men's attitude towards gender norms were assessed using an adapted version of the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale developed initially by the Horizons Program and Instituto Promundo in Brazil (Pulerwitz J. and Barker G., 2008). This scale has been widely adapted to many countries and has shown high levels of validity.

For this survey, 24 statements were used to measure men's attitude towards gender equality which were sub-categorized into: gender roles; sexuality/sexual relationships; violence; reproductive health; masculinity and value of sons and daughters (annex table 4.1). In Nepal and Vietnam 15 and 17 statements respectively were finally selected using factor analysis and after assessing reliability test (Cronbach Alpha score was 0.79 and 0.81 in Nepal and Vietnam respectively) as mentioned in chapter 2. Responses were collated under two broad categories: agree (which combined the responses 'strongly agree' and 'agree') and 'disagree' (which combined the responses 'disagree' and 'strongly disagree').

Overall, the results show that men in both countries were in favor of conservative gender roles (table 4.1). For instance, in Nepal nearly half (48 percent) agreed that 'a woman's most important role is to take care of her house and cook for the family'. Likewise, an overwhelming majority, more than four out of five men (84 percent) agreed that 'a woman should obey her husband'. Although only a little more than one-fifth of the men (22 percent) believed that a 'woman's role is to produce a son for her husband's family', almost all (99 percent) agreed that 'once a woman gets married, she belongs to her husband's family'. Interestingly, less than half the men (43 percent) felt that 'a man should have the final say in all family matters'.

These attitudes were even more pronounced among the Vietnamese men surveyed. A vast majority (81 percent) felt that 'men should have the final say in all family matters' and almost as many (78 percent) felt that 'a woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family'. Also, almost two-thirds (62 percent) agreed that 'once a woman gets married, she belongs to her husband's family'.

Men's attitude towards sexuality and sexual relationships showed some variation (table 4.1). Of the sampled men in Nepal, more than half (52 percent) agreed that 'a woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband', with nearly three-fifth (58 percent) believing that if 'a woman doesn't physically fight back, it's not rape'. Similarly, 79 percent of the men disagreed with the view that a woman who is raped is to blame. Interestingly, in Vietnam, among the surveyed men, almost two-thirds, (62 percent) believed that a woman can refuse to have sex with her husband, while a little over half (55 percent) felt that if 'a woman doesn't physically fight back, it's not rape'.

Interestingly, in both countries there is less agreement on the statement that a woman's role is to produce a son for family compared to some of the other statements of gender attitudes.

On violence against women, while less than half (44 percent) the Nepali men surveyed felt that 'a woman deserves to be beaten at times', more than three-quarters (77 percent) agreed that if a woman does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her. These proportions were far lower among the Vietnamese men surveyed, as only 26 percent agreed with the first statement, and 31 percent agreed with the second. Almost half the Nepali men believed that 'a woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together', while only 23 percent of the Vietnamese men agreed with this. Overall, there was less agreement with the given reasons for violence against women in Vietnam than in Nepal.

In terms of reproductive health, a majority of men (64 percent in Nepal and 74 percent in Vietnam) felt that it was not the woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.

Norms around masculinity are very strong in Vietnam where 90 percent of men agree that to be a man you have to be tough. In Nepal too the norms are strong with about 70 percent men agreeing with this view.

The study results also suggest that Nepalese men have strong masculine attitudes. For example, over two-thirds of men (67 percent) agreed with the statement that 'if someone insults me, I will defend my reputation with force if I have to' and 'to be a man, you need to be tough' (70 percent). Likewise, the half of the men (56 percent) said they would be ashamed to have a homosexual son. In Vietnam the results were more mixed on these indicators: while

TABLE 4.1

GEM SCALE ATTITUDINAL STATEMENTS ADAPTED FOR NEPAL AND VIETNAM

Statements	Nepal (n=1000)	Vietnam (n=1424)
	Agree*	Agree*
Gender Roles		
A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family	48.2	78.1
A woman's most important role is to produce a son for her husband's family	21.6	29.8
I think that a man should have the final say in all family matters	43.0	80.8
Once a woman gets married, she belongs to her husband's family		61.7
Sexuality/ Sexual Relationship		
Men need sex more than women do	45.4	52.8
A woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband	52.1	36.6
When a woman is raped, she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation	20.6	
If a woman doesn't physically fight back, it's not rape	58.0	55.3
Violence		
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	43.6	26.5
If a wife/partner does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her	77.3	30.5
A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together	50.8	23.2
Reproductive Health		
It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	36.2	26.5
I would be outraged if my wife/partner asked me to use a condom		9.5
Masculinity		
If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to		33.7
To be a man, you need to be tough	69.5	90.0
It would be shameful to have a homosexual son	55.6	29.3
Values of Sons and Daughters		
A man with only daughters is unfortunate	8.1	9.7
Not having a son reflects bad karma and lack of moral virtue	9.5	10.3
Only a son can provide ancestor worship		40.8

Note: * This is out of 100 and remaining disagreed to statements.

the overwhelming majority of men (90 percent) felt that to be a man you have to be tough, an encouragingly large proportion (71 percent) did not think it would be shameful to have a homosexual son and two-thirds did not feel the necessity to defend their reputation with force if they were insulted.

On the value of sons versus daughters, men's attitudes were similar in both countries. In Nepal and Vietnam, an overwhelming majority did not agree with the statements that 'a man with only daughters is unfortunate' (92 percent in Nepal and 90 percent in Vietnam), and that 'not having a son reflects bad karma and lack of moral virtue' (around 90 percent in both countries).

FIGURE 4.1A
GENDER ATTITUDE OF MEN IN NEPAL (n=1000)

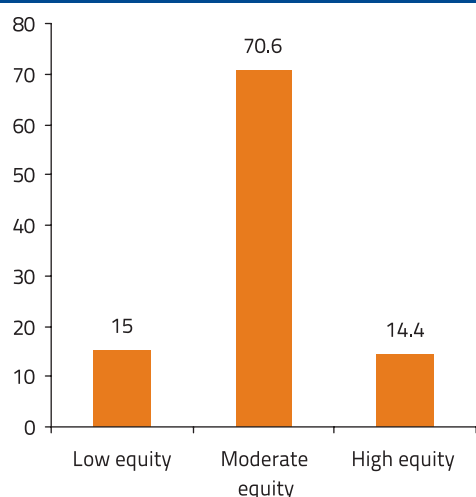
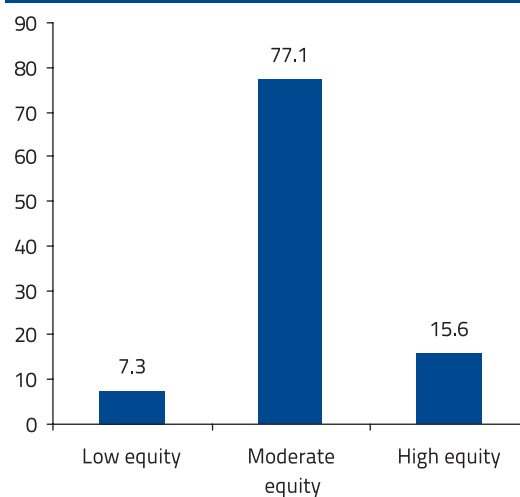


FIGURE 4.1B
GENDER ATTITUDE OF MEN IN VIETNAM (n=1425)



In order to make the results easier to interpret, the respondents were classified into three categories based on their GEM scale scores. These categories were 'low' (18-39), 'moderate' (40-52) and 'high' (53-72) support for equitable gender norms. (figure 4.1a and 4.1b). The results show that in both countries the vast majority of men surveyed (77 percent in Vietnam and 71 percent in Nepal) had moderately equitable attitudes toward the gender norms in the GEM scale. Only 14 percent of Nepali men and 16 percent of the Vietnamese men had highly inequitable gender attitudes. While the proportion of men in both countries with 'low' and 'moderately' equitable gender attitudes was almost the same at 86 percent in Vietnam and 84 percent in Nepal, in Vietnam, a smaller proportion of men belonged to the 'low' equity group (only 7 percent against 15 percent in Nepal).

4.2 Factors associated with men's attitude towards gender equality

The GEM scale scores were tested for their association with socio-demographic characteristics, such as province, residence, age, marital status and education of the respondents, in bi-variate analysis using chi-square test.

In Nepal, an analysis of the men showed that there was a clear significant relationship between their GEM scale scores and education, as 30 percent of the men with secondary schooling

and above scored in the high equity category compared to only 12 percent with primary-senior school education and five percent with only primary school (annex table A4.2). Illiterate men made up the greatest proportion in the low equity category (46 percent). Occupation was found to have an association as 28 percent of the professional men scored in the high equity category versus only around 9.5 percent of the semi-skilled laborers and farmers but overall it was not significant. Caste/ethnicity had significant association with gender equity, it was found that except for the *Brahman/Chhetri* castes, all other castes had about one in five men with the lowest gender equitable attitude; as a corollary, around one-fifth of the Brahmans and chhetri's had high GEM scale scores against only one-tenth of the janajatis and dalits/religious minorities. (annex table A4.2).

In Vietnam, among those in the 'high' GEM scale score category, a larger proportion (17 percent) was in the younger age group (18-24 years) than in the older age range (13 percent in the 35-49 age group) (annex table A4.3). Religious affiliation was found to have some relationship with gender-equitable attitudes, as a relatively smaller share of Buddhist men scored in the high equity category (7 percent) compared to Christian men (17 percent) and those from 'other regions' (50 percent), but it was not significant. Similarly, a slightly larger share of professional men and those in service (around 17 percent) were categorized as having high support for gender equity compared to farmers and manual laborers (14 percent).

4.3. Childhood experience of gender inequality

Early childhood experiences of gender inequality have been found in many studies to shape people's views and behaviors in their later life (Gil-Gonzales et al. 2008; UNICEF 2007; WHO, 2005; Heise, 1998). In this study, we hypothesize that men who have experienced or witnessed gender inequality during their childhood (i.e. having experienced or witnessed until 18 years of age at least one of the acts listed in table 4.2) were more likely to perpetrate gender-based violence as adults.

TABLE 4.2
MEN'S EXPERIENCE OF GENDER INEQUALITY DURING CHILDHOOD

Statements	Nepal (n=1000)		Vietnam (n=1425)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Before I reached 18:				
I saw my sisters/female cousins getting less freedom than myself and my brothers	42.3	57.7	41.1	58.9
I was told that daughters were a liability to the family	16.5	83.5	17.6	82.4
I saw the hardship my parents/relatives went through to pay dowry	19.6	80.4	39.9	60.1
I saw my parents demanding dowry on my brother's marriage	14.1	85.9	38.2	61.8
I saw my sister/female cousin being ill-treated or abandoned on being unable to produce a son	4.7	95.3	5.6	94.4

Men in Nepal and Vietnam are brought up in a socio-familial context where gender discrimination against women is common. In both countries, the most common form of

gender inequality that men witnessed during their childhood was their sisters or female cousins having less freedom than male counterparts in the family (42 percent in Nepal and 41 percent in Vietnam) reflecting the overall gender restrictions in society; the next most common form in both countries was the hardship that their family or relatives went through to pay dowry, although the reported proportion was far lower in Nepal (20 percent) versus Vietnam (40 percent). Encouragingly, a relatively low proportion of men in both countries (5 percent in Nepal and 6 percent in Vietnam) reported having ever seen their sister or female cousin being ill-treated or abandoned because they were not able to produce a son.

FIGURE 4.2A

MEN'S EXPERIENCE OF GENDER INEQUALITY DURING CHILDHOOD IN NEPAL (n=1000)

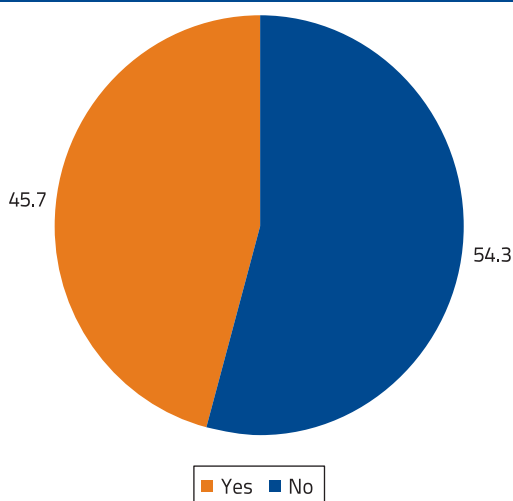
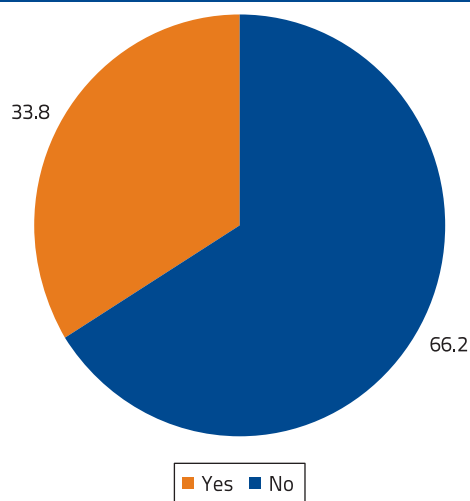


FIGURE 4.2B

MEN'S EXPERIENCE OF GENDER INEQUALITY DURING CHILDHOOD IN VIETNAM (n=1425)



The above five statements (table 4.2) were combined to create a binary index to measure gender inequality in childhood. In both countries, the majority of men reported experiencing or witnessing some form of gender inequality in childhood, more than half in Nepal (54 percent) and two-thirds of men in Vietnam (66 percent) (figures 4.2a and 4.2b).

4.4 Factors associated with childhood gender inequality

To explore the factors associated with men's childhood experience of gender inequality, bivariate analysis using chi-square test was carried out. In Nepal it was found that caste/ethnicity, GEM scale score category and economic stress were significantly associated with childhood experience of gender inequality. For example, disadvantaged non-dalit terai men were significantly more likely to report experiences of gender inequality in childhood than other ethnic groups, as were men who faced economic stress. Likewise, men reporting low gender inequality experience in childhood have a higher gender equitable attitude in adulthood.

TABLE 4.3

MEN'S REPORTED CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCE OF GENDER INEQUALITY BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Nepal (n=1000)		Vietnam (n=1425)	
	Yes (%)	n	Yes (%)	n
Age				
18-24 Years	59.6	292	58.9	270
25-34 Years	52.4	317	65.4	382
35-39 Years	51.9	203	69.5	768
P-value	0.097		<0.01	
Educational Status				
Illiterate	60.0	80	-	-
Up to Primary	55.0	151	68.2	157
Primary to Senior school	51.8	552	70.1	792
Higher Secondary or more	58.1	217	59.2	476
P-value	0.297		<0.01	
Place of Residence				
Rural	55.0	600	66.5	976
Urban	53.2	400	65.7	449
P-value	0.586		0.768	
Caste/Ethnicity				
Brahmin/Chhetri	46.9	354		
Janaties	47.4	308		
Non Dalit Terai	81.8	121		
Dalits/Religious minorities	60.8	217		
P-value	<0.01		NA	
Type of Family				
Nuclear	52.7	598	71.5	123
Joint/Extended	56.7	402	65.7	1302
P-value	0.209		0.194	
Occupation				
Unemployed/Student	53.9	115	-	-
Professionals	55.9	170	63.1	252
Manual Labors	57.8	306	63.0	311
Business/Shops	52.6	133	68.5	254
Farming	50.4	276	71.1	458
P-value	0.09		<0.05	

Characteristics	Nepal (n=1000)		Vietnam (n=1425)	
	Yes (%)	n	Yes (%)	n
Economic Stress				
No	47.0	321	68.8	786
Yes	59.1	552	64.6	486
P-value	<0.01		0.119	
GEM Scale Score Category				
Low	68.7	150	77.9	140
Moderate	51.8	706	65.5	173
High	51.4	144	62.3	212
P-value	<0.01		<0.01	
Total	54.3	1000	66.2	1425

Apart from the GEM scale score category which was significant in both countries, in Vietnam, a completely different set of factors were significantly associated with gender inequality experiences. For example, age, educational status and occupation played a significant role, as older men, less educated men, and those who worked in farming or business were more likely than others to report experiences of gender inequality in childhood (table 4.3).

Some factors such living in a rural versus an urban area, or within joint family vs a nuclear family appeared not to be related to gender inequality experiences in childhood.

4.5 Participation in maternal health care and child care

An indicator of men's support for gender equality is their participation in maternal health and child care. Men's participation in maternal health care, as measured by their participation in prenatal visits with their wife, was low in Nepal and a bit higher in Vietnam. Only about 40 percent of the surveyed men in Nepal reported having accompanied their wife/partner during a prenatal visit for the most recent pregnancy, while 56 percent of the Vietnamese men did so. While a majority of men in both countries took part in the daily care of their children, fewer men did so in Nepal (55 percent) than in Vietnam (71 percent) (table 4.4).

Paternity leave, paid or unpaid, has been promoted as a way to increase men's involvement in child care. A very low proportion of employed men in Nepal took paternity leave at the birth of their last child, and in fact, almost 60 percent of the employed men (i.e. 29 percent of 49 percent) took no leave during the birth of their last child. In Vietnam, 23 percent took no leave, while among the 77 percent who took some leave, there was a variation in terms of the duration of leave: around 30 percent were off work for less than two weeks, and 18 percent for more than three months.

In Vietnam, while the Labor Code has specific provisions for maternity leave, it contains no provision for paid paternity leave. Rather, all workers who become new fathers are entitled to an unpaid leave for personal reasons. The lack of a specific legal framework for paternity

TABLE 4.4

PARTICIPATION IN MATERNAL HEALTH CARE AND CHILD CARE		
Participation	Nepal (n=714)	Vietnam (n=999)
Whether or not accompanied to wife/partner during prenatal visit for the most recent pregnancy		
Yes	39.5	56.4
Whether participated in daily care of a child		
Yes	55.1	71.0
Whether took leave/time off during the birth of the last child		
No leave	28.9	20.4
Less than one week	7.3	10.3
1-2 weeks	8.0	19.2
3-4 weeks	2.0	9.1
1-3 months	2.7	11.7
More than 3 months	0.3	18.4
Not employed/not applicable	51.0	11.0

leave may perpetuate an unequal division of labor within the family and discourage men's participation in the care of children. A fairly high percentage of Vietnamese men taking time off to take care of their newborn baby and their wife (69 percent), together with the relatively high proportion accompanying wives to prenatal care (56 percent), indicates that men in the survey care about maternal and child health.

There appears to be a clear relationship between men's participation in maternal health care and child care and socio-demographic characteristics (annex table A4.4). Men in both countries who accompanied their wives/partners on their prenatal visits were more likely to be younger, live in urban areas (as opposed to rural), have a higher level of education and be professionals (as opposed to farmers). In Nepal, other characteristics that showed a significant relationship with accompanying partners for prenatal visits were scoring in the high equity category on the GEM scale, lower levels of depression and economic stress and caste/ethnicity, where men who were from the Brahman/chhetri caste were more likely to do so than janajatis (this was not relevant for Vietnam). In Vietnam, none of these other factors had a significant relationship with men's participation in prenatal visits.

Unsurprisingly, in both countries there was a significant relationship between men's daily participation in the care of children and their GEM scale scores. In addition, in Nepal, a significantly larger proportion of men in nuclear families and who worked in farming helped with the daily care of children, while in Vietnam, men's level of education had a significant relationship with their involvement in the daily care of children.

4.6 Men's participation in domestic duties

Men's participation in household duties was fairly low in both countries, as domestic work is usually borne by their wives in a majority of the cases (63-67 percent). Over one-tenth of the men in Nepal (11-13 percent) reported that their partners did all the work, while in Vietnam, the percentage of men whose wives did all the work was 4 to 10 percent.

Interestingly, around one-fifth (20-25 percent) of the men in both countries reported sharing the work equally or doing the work together with their partners (table 4.5).

TABLE 4.5
PARTICIPATION IN DOMESTIC DUTIES

Participation of respondent	Type of domestic work					
	Preparing food		Cleaning the house		Washing clothes	
	Nepal	Vietnam	Nepal	Vietnam	Nepal	Vietnam
I do everything	0.3	0.9	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.6
Usually me	0.1	6.6	0.8	5.4	0.5	3.5
Shared equally or done together	19.3	23.3	21.4	26.1	21.2	21.2
Usually partner	66.6	64.1	65.5	63.1	64.9	64.6
Partner does everything	13.0	4.2	11.3	4.0	12.3	9.4
Neither of us do/ we do not live together	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.8
n	794	1101	794	1101	794	1101

5. MEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS AND EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE

Violence against women is one of the most extreme manifestations of gender power inequalities and is used by many men to exert control and dominance over women. This study assessed men's perpetration of different types of violence against their intimate female partners in the two countries under study. In addition, the determinants of violence against an intimate partner are identified and discussed.

5.1 Types of violence reported against a wife/partner

The sample of men was asked a series of questions to assess the prevalence of violence perpetrated by them against their intimate partners. The questions covered acts of emotional violence (five questions), economic violence (three questions), physical violence (five questions) and sexual violence (four questions).¹ The responses to each item were combined to create a composite index for each type of violence.

All men who currently have or ever had a wife/female partner were asked whether they had committed different types of violence against her, including physical, emotional, economic and sexual violence. The term 'violence' did not appear in the survey, instead, a series of questions was asked to measure different acts of violence. The specific questions for the four areas of violence are given below:

Physical violence to wife/partner

- (1) Slapped a wife/partner or threw something at her that could hurt her
- (2) Pushed or shoved a wife/partner in anger
- (3) Hit a wife/partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her
- (4) Kicked, dragged, beaten, choked, or burned a wife/partner
- (5) Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife, or other weapon against a wife/partner

Emotional violence to wife/partner

- (1) Insulted a wife/partner or deliberately made her feel bad about herself
- (2) Belittled or humiliated a wife/partner in front of other people
- (3) Did things to scare or intimidate a wife/partner on purpose, for example, by the way you looked at her, by yelling and smashing things
- (4) Threatened to hurt a wife/partner

¹ See table A5.1 in the annexure for the list of questions and responses by country.

Economic abuse to wife/partner

- (1) Prohibited a partner from getting a job, going to work, trading or earning money
- (2) Took a wife/partner's earnings against her will
- (3) Threw a wife/partner out of the house

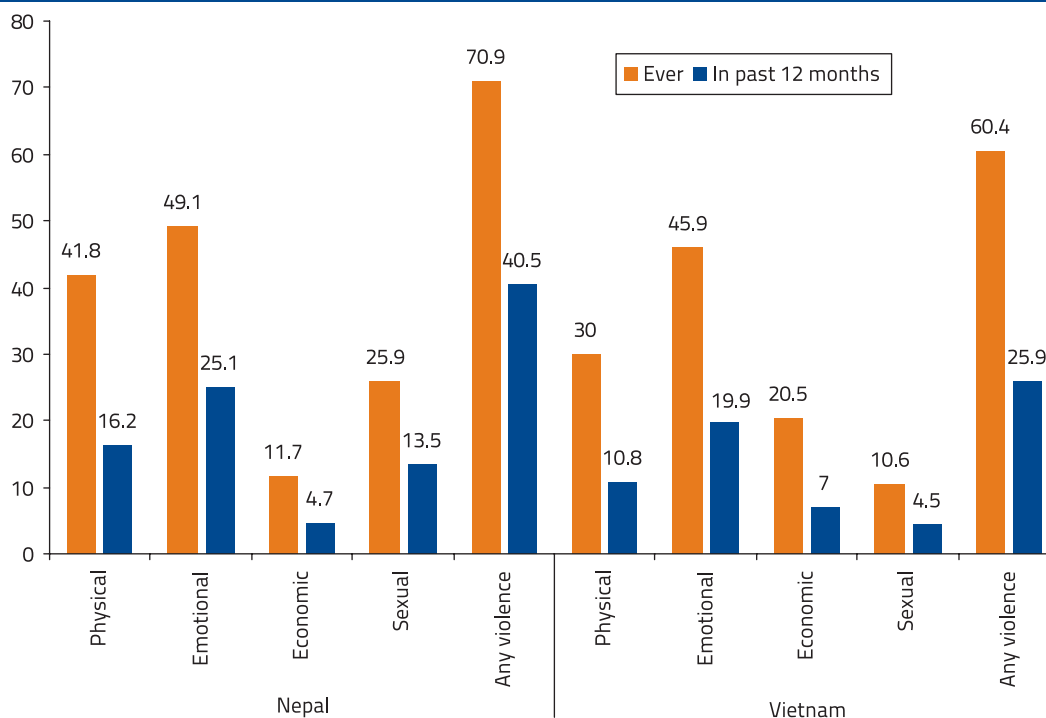
Sexual violence to wife/partner

- Had sex with wife/partner when you knew that she did not want it but you believed she should agree because she was your wife/partner
- Forced wife/partner to have sex with you when she did not want to
- Forced wife/partner to watch pornography when she did not want to
- Forced wife/partner to do something sexual that she did not want to

For the purpose of analysis, if the man committed at least one of the listed abusive acts in a particular category, he was considered to perpetrate that specific form of violence. The questionnaire looked at two periods of time when the acts were committed: during the respondent's lifetime and in the 12 months preceding the interview. For each of the lifetime abusive acts, a follow up question was asked about the frequency with which the violence had happened: once, few or many times.

FIGURE 5.1

PREVALENCE OF KIND OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WIFE/PARTNER



Overall, the results indicated that most forms of violence against women are prevalent in both countries. In Nepal, about 71 percent of men reported ever using any form of violence against their intimate partner, while in Vietnam, the proportion was 60 percent.

The most common form of intimate partner violence (IPV) in both countries was emotional violence, which almost half the sampled men in both countries reported having enacted at some time. The second most common form was physical violence - more than two-fifth of the Nepali men (42 percent) reported being physically violent, while in Vietnam this form of violence was reported by one-third of the sampled men. One-fourth of the Nepali men stated that they had enacted sexual violence, while the proportion of men reporting it in Vietnam was only around one-tenth; economic violence was lowest among Nepali men (only around 12 percent), while one-fifth of the sampled men from Vietnam reported resorting to economic violence at some time.

The responses to violence against women in the past year showed that more than 40 percent of men in Nepal and 26 percent of the Vietnamese men had committed some form of violence in the past year. In both countries, the most common form of violence in the last year, as is the case with ever use, was emotional violence, followed by physical violence.

The data from Vietnam are consistent with the results from the national survey on gender-based violence conducted with female respondents by the General Statistical Office (GSO) in 2009 which revealed that 58 percent of ever-partnered women had experienced at least one form of violence and 27 percent in the past 12 months (GSO, 2010).

As mentioned above, the most commonly perpetrated form was emotional violence in both countries - in Vietnam it took the form of insulting a wife or partner so that they felt bad about themselves (38 percent), while in Nepal, most men had been abusive to scare or intimidate their wife/partner (33 percent) (annex table A5.1). Other common violent acts were pushing or shoving a wife/partner in anger (31 percent in Nepal), slapping a wife/partner or throwing something that could hurt her (28 percent in Vietnam and 24 percent in Nepal) and having sex with a current partner when she did not want it (24 percent in Nepal).

5.2 Violence by selected socio-demographic characteristics

Table 5.1 indicates the percentage distribution of men perpetrating lifetime IPV by select socio-demographic characteristics. The analysis shows that with an increase in educational level the proportion of men perpetrating IPV tends to decline in both countries. In Vietnam, age, too has a significant impact on the use of violence, as the proportion of men reporting violence increases with their age. Thus in Vietnam, older men with fewer years of education are more likely to perpetrate violence against their spouse/wife. In contrast, in Nepal, age, place of residence, and type of family appeared to have no correlation with the lifetime perpetration of violence. Occupation had some correlation with IPV as a lower proportion of professional men in both countries reported using violence compared to other professions such as manual laborers and traders. In Nepal, a high proportion of unemployed men reported using IPV.

Interestingly, in Vietnam the family structure played a role in perpetration of violence against female partners, as men in joint or extended families were far more likely to engage in violent acts both in their lifetime (62 percent) as well as in the recent past (27 percent), than men in nuclear families (43 percent for lifetime and 12 percent in the recent past). No such association was evident in Nepal (table 5.1 and annex table A5.2).

TABLE 5.1

PERPETRATION OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE BY SELECTED SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Nepal (n=1000)		Vietnam (n=1425)	
	Ever	n	Ever	n
Age				
18-24 Years	70.2	131	41.5	106
25-34 Years	69.6	286	56.2	340
35-39 Years	72.1	380	65.0	766
P-value	0.764		<0.01	
Educational Status				
Illiterate	83.8	74	-	-
Up to Primary	77.2	145	65.8	149
Primary to SLC	70.1	425	63.5	705
Higher Secondary or more	60.8	153	51.9	360
P-value	<0.01		<0.01	
Place of Residence				
Rural	69.7	488	60.6	836
Urban	72.8	309	59.8	378
P-value	0.192		0.777	
Type of Family				
Nuclear	71.4	479	42.4	85
Joint/Extended	70.1	318	61.7	1129
P-value	0.378		<0.01	
Occupation				
Unemployed/Student	72.7	33	-	-
Professionals	57.2	138	47.4	211
Manual Labors	78.9	252	67.5	268
Petty trade/shop	80.2	121	61.8	241
Farming	65.3	248	63.1	439
P-value	<0.01		<0.01	
Total	70.9	-	25.9	-

In Nepal, where data were available by ethnicity/caste, there was an association with reported IPV highest among the indigenous (*janajatis*) men (76 percent), followed by men from the Dalit/religious minority (72 percent) (annex table A5.2).

Data on recent violence (annex table A5.2) shows that men's current age, level of education,

caste/ethnicity, and occupation were significantly associated with past year perpetration of violence in Nepal. Interestingly, in contrast to the findings from Vietnam where violence increased with men's age, in Nepal, the proportion of men who had perpetrated violence in the recent past decreased with their age. Responses from Vietnam on recent violence show a correlation between men's age, education levels, and occupation and perpetration of partner violence in the past year.

5.3 Perpetration of violence by selected background characteristics

There is substantial research that suggests that the determinants of gender based violence are related to men's experience of inequities as children, their current level of economic stress and some correlates such as substance abuse. The analysis presented in table 5.2 shows five key predicting variables: their level of gender equity based on their GEM scale score, childhood experiences of gender inequity, work-related stress, alcohol use, and relationship control index². These are all found to be significantly associated with men's reports of violence against intimate partners in one or both countries.

In line with expectations, a clear relationship was observed between GEM scale scores and report of IPV in both countries (table 5.2). The higher the GEM scale score, the less likely are respondents to report violence against their wife/partner. In other words, men who report more equitable gender attitudes are also less violent with their partner. This was more obvious in Nepal, where the proportion of men reporting IPV went from 84 percent (among those low on the GEM scale) to 55 percent (among those high on the GEM scale) than in Vietnam where the corresponding proportions of men went from 70 percent (low on GEM scale) to 55 percent (high on GEM scale).

Unsurprisingly, the results showed that men who had experienced or witnessed gender inequitable behavior in childhood were more likely to perpetrate IPV than those who had not (75 percent vs. 66 percent in Nepal; and 63 percent vs. 54 percent in Vietnam).

The use of alcohol was also found to have positive significant effects on the perpetration of intimate partner violence during men's lifetime in both countries. While men who ever experienced stress because of not having enough work or income were more likely to be violent against a female partner in Nepal, there was no relationship in Vietnam. There appeared to be no relationship between the relationship control index and the likelihood of reporting the use of violence against a female partner in Nepal.

An analysis of the results related to recent violence (annex table A5.3) shows that the relationships between the indicators and the likelihood of violence is almost the same as those for 'ever' having perpetrated IPV: higher levels of violence were related to less gender equitable attitudes, greater experiences of gender inequity in childhood, higher use of alcohol, and economic stress among men. However, the proportion of men perpetrating IPV was lower in Vietnam than in Nepal on almost all the indicators: thus, a larger proportion of Nepali men was likely to have been recently violent with their partners had lower levels of the GEM scale compared with Vietnamese men (47 percent vs. 34 percent); larger proportion of men in Nepal

2 Relationship control index was constructed by summing 8 variables indicating relationship control and then trichotomizing the scores into low, moderate and high categories.

TABLE 5.2

PERPETRATION OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Nepal (n=1000)		Vietnam (n=1425)	
	Ever	n	Ever	n
GEM scale score category				
Low equity	84.3	127	69.8	126
Moderate equity	70.7	573	60.0	918
High equity	54.6	97	55.3	170
P-value	<0.01		<0.05	
Experience of gender inequity in childhood				
Yes	75.4	427	63.4	818
No	65.7	370	54.0	396
P-value	<0.05		<0.01	
Relationship control index				
Low	67.4	89	64.8	145
Moderate	71.7	584	58.3	940
High	69.4	124	70.5	129
P-value	0.768		<0.05	
Ever abuse of alcohol				
Yes	77.3	454	61.2	1208
No	62.4	343	55.2	217
P-value	<0.01		0.087	
Economic Stress				
Yes	74.3	479	60.9	486
No	64.5	276	61.4	786
P-value	<0.01		0.465	
Total	70.9	-	25.9	-

who were recently violent with their partners had childhood experiences of gender equity (41 percent vs. 28 percent), had used alcohol (46 percent vs 27 percent) and faced economic stress (44 percent vs. 29 percent).

5.4 Factors associated with lifetime violence

The relationships observed in bi-variate analysis were reassessed by using multivariate analysis to identify important determinants, adjusting for the confounding effects of other factors. The results of the logistic regression where the dependent variable is 'perpetration of any violence (ever)' and the odd ratios corresponding to the associated factors are presented in

table 5.3 along with their significance levels. In this analysis, we have considered the following determinants of lifetime IPV: age, education levels, caste/ethnicity, occupation, marital status, GEM scale, experience of gender inequity and bullying in childhood, partners relative education level and earnings and alcohol use.

The results (table 5.3) show most of these indicators are significant predictors of men's ever-use of violence against their intimate partners, some more strongly than others. Age, for example, is a strong and significant predictor, as older men are more likely to report ever use of IPV than younger men in both countries. This likelihood is especially strong in Vietnam, where men aged 35-49 years and 24-35 years are more than twice as likely (2.24 times and 2.13 times, respectively) to perpetrate IPV than men aged 18-24 years; similarly in Nepal, men aged 35-49 years are 1.73 times more likely to report ever use of violence compared to the men in the age group 18-24 years. The likelihood of IPV among men aged 24-35 compared to men aged 18-24 years is not significantly different. In Nepal, married men were twice as likely to be violent towards their partners (2.01 times) while in Vietnam marriage did not appear to affect the violence perpetrated against the partner.

Occupation levels too have strong and significant effects on IPV: businessmen and those working in or having a shop are far more likely (2.47 times in Nepal and 1.67 times in Vietnam) to perpetrate violence than those in a profession. The likelihood is also high among manual laborers in Vietnam, who are more than twice as likely (2.1 times) as professionals to use violence against their partners.

The association of violence and education was in the expected direction. The likelihood of perpetuating violence declined with the increasing level of education in both the countries, but the results in the model were not significant.

As expected, the GEM scale score has a strong effect on the likelihood of using violence. The higher the GEM scale score, the less likely are the respondents to enact violence against their wife/partner. In other words, men who report more equitable gender attitudes are also less violent with their partner, especially in Nepal, where the odds ratio was only 0.32 times as likely at the high end of the GEM scale and in Vietnam it was 0.59 at the high end.

Partners' earnings and education levels have a significant bearing on the violence they face, but interestingly the results are contradictory in the two countries. A partner with a lower level of education than the man was more likely (1.44 times) to face violence in Vietnam, while in Nepal she was only half as likely to (0.51 times). In contrast, a partner with lower earnings was more likely to face violence in Nepal (1.49 times), while in Vietnam they were less likely to face violence (0.65 times), but results were not significant in the model.

TABLE 5.3

ODDS RATIOS FROM LOGISTIC REGRESSION FOR DETERMINANTS OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE EVER

Characteristics	Odds ratio for Nepal	Odds ratio for Vietnam
Age		
18-24	1.00	1.00
25-34	1.47	2.13*
35-49	1.73*	2.24*
Education		
Illiterate	1.00	-
Upto primary	0.66	1.00
Primary to secondary	0.57	0.82
Higher secondary and above	0.47	0.63
Caste/Ethnicity		
Brahman/Chhetri	1.00	-
Janajatis	1.01	-
Disadvantaged non dalit terai caste group	0.63	-
Dalits/religious minorities	0.82	-
Occupation		
Professional	1.00	1.00
Manual labor	1.63	2.10**
Business/shop	2.47**	1.67*
Farming	1.34	1.58*
Marital status		
Not married	1.00	1.00
Married	2.01*	1.23
GEM scale		
Low	1.00	1.00
Moderate	0.57*	0.73
High	0.32**	0.59*
Experience of gender inequality in childhood		
Yes	1.00	1.00
No	0.59**	0.67**
Partner has higher education		
Yes	1.00	1.00
No	0.51*	1.44*

Characteristics	Odds ratio for Nepal	Odds ratio for Vietnam
Partner has higher earnings		
Yes	1.00	1.00
No	1.49	0.65
Bullied in childhood		
Yes	1.00	1.00
No	0.51**	0.74*
Ever alcohol use		
Yes	1.00	1.00
No	0.56**	0.66*
-2 Log likelihood	817.31	1360.39

Note: *: significant at 95 percent; **: significant at 99 percent

Unsurprisingly, childhood experiences of bullying and gender inequity played a strong role in both countries, as men with experiences of either were almost twice as likely to engage in IPV, especially in Nepal. Similarly, the use of alcohol increased the likelihood of IPV in both countries.

6. MEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SON PREFERENCE

This chapter explores men's attitude towards son preference and its correlates. The perceived importance of having a daughter and a son and the different reasons for these have been analyzed, along with socio-economic and background characteristics that are significantly related to son preference attitudes in the two countries.

Previous studies have shown that in both Nepal and Vietnam there is a considerable level of son preference. Among the many possible explanations for the existence of son preference in Vietnam, the two most frequently cited reasons are that parents are typically supported in their old age by their son(s), whereas girls usually move away from their families, and that sons are needed to maintain the family line (Leone T, Matthews D et al., 2003). In Nepal sons also are very highly prized because they continue the family name, can perform funeral rituals and are expected to provide support in old age (Haughton J and Haughton D, 1995).

6.1 Son preference attitude

Son preference is the desire to have one or more sons. Measuring son preference directly is challenging. In this study we used a four point scale to assess respondents' agreement with 12 attitudinal statements on different aspects of son preference, including the value of sons, devaluation of daughters, responsibility for the sex of the child, and the consequences for sonless women.

The results (table 6.1) showed mixed attitudes towards son preference. Men had strong son preference attitudes for socio-economic reasons but son preference was weaker on more extreme statements such as aborting a female fetus or putting a female child up for adoption.

Not surprisingly, most men in both countries supported son preference statements related to the direct value of having sons. The highest proportion of men agreed with the view that sons are important to carry on the family lineage (75 percent in Nepal and 69 percent in Vietnam) and for support in old age (60 percent in Nepal and 49 percent in Vietnam). Fewer men agreed with the views related to aborting a female fetus (around 2 percent in either country), putting a daughter up for adoption, or abandoning a wife who does not bear sons (3 percent in Nepal and two percent in Vietnam). There was also little support for statements that denoted a lower value for daughters, i.e. that they are a financial burden (around 10 percent in each country) or considered a misfortune.

Interestingly, two-fifths of the Vietnamese men and a third of men in Nepal agreed with the view that fathering a son was an indicator of their masculinity. A lower proportion in Vietnam (13 percent) believed that it is important for a girl to marry outside her village. The proportion was much higher in Nepal (50 percent) suggesting that exogamy was much more customary in Nepal.

TABLE 6.1

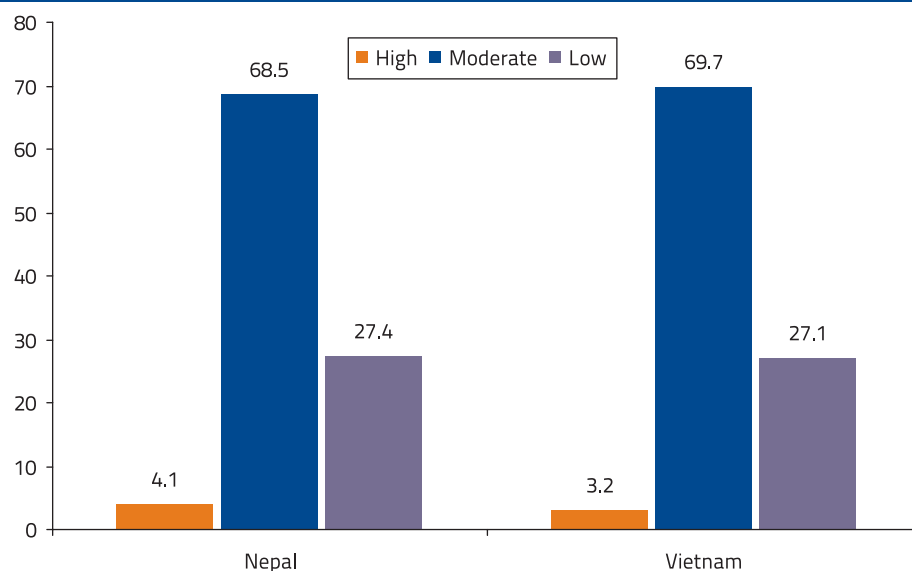
PERCENTAGE OF MEN AGREEING WITH STATEMENTS ABOUT SON PREFERENCE

Statements	Nepal (n=1000)	Vietnam (n=1425)
It is important to have a son to carry on the lineage or family name	74.9	68.6
It is important to have a son to take care of you in your old age	59.6	48.6
It is important for a woman to marry outside her village/city	50.3	13.1
The man is responsible for sex of the child	37.1	26.7
Fathering a male child shows you are a real man	31.4	40.7
The women is responsible for sex of the child	12.2	12.9
Having a daughter is financial burden/loss	9.9	10.7
A couple who has only a female child is unfortunate	8.0	9.3
If a wife partner does not have a son, her husband had good reason to leave her or divorce her	3.1	2.1
If a wife/partner does not have a son, a family has good reason to pressurize a man to leave his wife/partner	3.2	1.6
A couple have a good reason to abort a pregnancy if they learn it is a girl child	1.6	2.2
A couple has a good reason to put female child for adoption	2.0	2.5

A composite index on son preference attitude was developed with men's responses to the above statements. In both countries 11 statements were selected for the construction of the composite index, which was done using factor analysis and reliability testing for consistency as explained in the methodology section in chapter 2. The scores on the index were trichotomized, reflecting high, moderate and low levels of son preference. The results showed that in both countries, nearly three-quarters of the men (69-70 percent in both countries) showed moderate son preference attitude with about a third of men with high son preference in both countries (figure 6.1).

FIGURE 6.1

MEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS SON PREFERENCE



6.2 Factors associated with a son preference attitude

One of the primary aims of this study was to explore the factors that contribute to strong attitudes for son preference among men. Bi-variate and multivariate analysis was conducted using 'strong' or 'moderate' son preference attitude as the dependent variable. We examined the effect of the respondents' socio-demographic and other background characteristics (such as age, years of schooling, religion, marital status and working status, relationship control index, GEM scale score etc.) on son preference attitudes.

The bi-variate analysis of son preference by socio-economic characteristics suggests that in both countries the level of education and type of occupation were significantly associated with son preference attitude (table 6.2). Thus, there was a clear inverse relationship between education and son preference attitudes, as men with higher levels of education displayed a lower preference for sons. Similarly, in the case of occupation, manual laborers and farmers had the highest proportion of men with high/moderate son preference attitudes. Additionally, in Nepal, age was statistically associated with son preference attitudes among men, with older men revealing high or moderate son preference; caste too was significant as the disadvantaged non-dalit castes, dalit caste and religious minority castes had a higher proportion of men with high son preference.

TABLE 6.2

SON PREFERENCE ATTITUDE BY SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Nepal		Vietnam	
	High/Moderate	n	High/Moderate	n
Age				
18-24 years	66.8	292	71.5	270
25-34 years	72.6	317	73.6	382
35-49 years	77.0	391	73.0	768
P-value, n	<0.05	1000	0.83	1425
Marital status				
Not married	69.4	206	73.7	1079
Married	73.4	794	72.7	346
P-value, n	0.23	1000	0.38	1425
Level of education				
Illiterate	92.5	80	0.0	0
NFE/up to primary	87.4	151	80.3	157
Primary to SLC	70.7	552	76.0	792
Higher secondary and above	59.9	217	65.3	476
P-value, n	<0.01	1000	<0.01	1425
Place of residence				
Rural	73.0	600	72.3	976
Urban	72.0	400	74.2	449
P-value, n	0.39	1000	0.26	1425
Caste/Ethnicity				
Brahman/Chhetri	62.1	354	-	-
Janajatis	77.6	308	-	-
Disadvantaged non dalit terai caste group	79.3	121	-	-
Dalits/religious minorities	78.8	217	-	-
P-value, n	<0.01	1000	-	-
Type of family				
Nuclear	74.4	598	66.7	123
Joint/Extended	69.9	402	73.5	1302
P-value, n	0.06	1000	0.07	1425
Occupation				
Unemployed/Student	66.1	115	-	-
Professional/Service	65.9	170	69.8	252
Manual labor	62.6	299	80.4	311
Business/shop	72.9	133	76.0	254
Farmer	78.7	276	69.7	458
P-value, n	<0.01	893	<0.01	1275

Apart from the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents, other background characteristics revealed significant associations between men's attitude towards son preference and their scores on the GEM scale and the relationship control index in both countries (table 6.3). Predictably, the bi-variate chi-square test between GEM scale score category and son preference attitude showed clear directionality and relationship, as men with low equitable attitudes had a higher son preference. Likewise, the relationship control index had a significant and positive relation with son preference attitude: thus, a larger proportion of men with high relationship control attitudes had a high/moderate son preference attitude.

Other background characteristics that were significant only in Vietnam were experience of gender equity in childhood, hyper-masculinity and economic stress. Men's early childhood experience around gender equity had a relatively strong negative association with their attitude towards son preference, i.e., men who had experienced or witnessed gender inequity in their childhood were more likely to prefer sons. Similarly, a higher proportion of men who reported hyper-masculine behavior were likely to have a high son preference attitude, as were men who experienced economic stress.

These two factors were not statistically significant among the sample of Nepali men. However, in Nepal, son preference was significantly associated with depression levels. Thus, a higher proportion of men with high depression or moderate depression levels were more likely to have a high preference for sons.

The bi-variate relationships observed were further tested through multivariate analysis using a logistic regression to identify adjusted associations between son preference attitude and key variables such as support for gender equity and relationship control. A logistic regression model was run, taking into account all the variables found to be significant in the bi-variate analysis, with no strong correlation with each other. A forward stepwise regression method with likelihood ratio criteria was used to get the best-fit model.

The results showed that son preference attitude varies significantly in both countries by men's relationship control, experiences of gender inequity in childhood and their support for gender equity as measured by the GEM scale. The association was especially strong and significant in the case of relationship control, where men with moderately high control over their partners were three times as likely to have a son preference attitude in Nepal, and almost five times as likely in Vietnam compared with men with low relationship control. Interestingly, men with high control over their partners had lower son preference attitudes than those with moderate control.

As expected, men who scored higher on the GEM scale had far lower son preference attitudes than those who scored lower on the scale. The values were almost identical in both countries, with men with high gender equitable attitudes 97-98 percent less likely to report son preference attitude compared to men with low gender equitable attitudes, and 77-78 percent less likely than men who scored moderately on the GEM scale.

Interestingly, experiences of gender inequity in childhood had contrary effects on men in the two countries: in Nepal men who have not experienced or witnessed gender inequity in childhood are 1.5 times more likely to have a son preference attitude, while in Vietnam, the results are as expected.

TABLE 6.3

SON PREFERENCE ATTITUDE BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Nepal		Vietnam	
	High/Moderate	n	High/Moderate	n
GEM Scale				
Low equity	96.0	150	95.7	140
Moderate equity	76.2	706	78.8	1073
High equity	30.6	144	27.8	212
P-value, n	<0.01	1000	<0.01	1425
Experience of gender inequity in childhood				
Yes	72.7	543	75.7	944
No	72.4	457	67.4	481
P-value, n	0.48	1000	<0.01	1425
Depression scale				
High	70.3	37	72.2	25
Moderate	80.6	248	76.8	342
Low	69.9	715	71.6	1058
P-value, n	<0.01	1000	0.17	1425
Relationship control index				
High	87.8	90	89.9	129
Moderate	77.2	626	75.1	941
Low	43.0	128	44.8	145
P-value, n	<0.01	844	<0.01	1215
Hyper masculine behavior				
Yes	74.5	235	82.4	102
No	72.6	609	66.2	551
P-value, n	0.26	844	<0.01	653
Economic stress				
Yes	73.7	552	79.2	786
No	74.1	321	70.1	486
P-value, n	0.38	873	<0.01	1272
Total	72.6	-	72.9	-

In Nepal, age, caste and occupation also had a significant effect on men's attitudes towards son preference. Thus, older men aged 35-49 years were 2.5 times more likely to have son preferring attitudes than younger men aged 18-24 years. Similarly, men who belong to the

TABLE 6.4

ODDS RATIOS FROM LOGISTIC REGRESSION FOR DETERMINANTS OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS SON PREFERENCE

Characteristics	Odds ratio for Nepal	Odds ratio for Vietnam
Age		
18-24	1.00	1.00
25-34	2.05*	1.00
35-49	2.45**	0.84
Education		
Illiterate	1.00	-
Upto primary	0.85	1.00
Primary to secondary	0.41	0.75
Higher secondary and above	0.25	0.46*
Caste/Ethnicity		
Brahman/Chhetri	1.00	-
Janajatis	1.50	-
Disadvantaged non-dalit terai caste group	3.82**	-
Dalits/religious minorities	1.43	-
Occupation		
Professional	1.00	1.00
Manual labor	0.32**	1.24
Business/shop	0.74	1.29
Farming	0.64	0.69
Marital status		
Not married	1.00	1.00
Married	0.42	0.44*
Type of family		
Nuclear	1.00	1.00
Joint/extended	1.01	1.98*
GEM scale		
Low	1.00	1.00
Moderate	0.23**	0.22**
High	0.03**	0.02**
Relationship control		
Low	1.00	1.00
Moderate	3.04**	4.95**
High	2.65**	2.71**
Experience of gender inequity in childhood		
Yes	1.00	1.00
No	1.51**	0.57**
-2 Log likelihood	716.43	1067.17

Note: *: significant at 95 percent; **: significant at 99 percent

disadvantaged, non-dalit, terai caste groups were almost four times (3.8 times) more likely to have son preferring attitudes than the higher caste Brahmin/Chhetri ethnic groups. Interestingly, professional men were most likely to have a son preference attitude than manual laborers who were only one-third as likely to have a son preferring attitude.

In contrast, education, marital status and type of family significantly influenced son preference among the Vietnamese men. Those educated beyond the higher secondary level were only half as likely to have son preference attitude compared to those with only a primary education. Men after marriage are only half as likely to prefer sons as unmarried men but results were not significant in Nepal. Those living in a joint or extended family are two times more likely to display son preference than men in a nuclear family.

6.3 Perceived importance of having a boy or a girl child

The patriarchal nature of Nepalese society combined with socio-economic and religious values creates a strong influence to have a male child in the family. Similarly, in Vietnam the patrilineal and patrilocal kinship system tends to place strong normative pressure on couples to produce at least one son. In the survey, we explored men's perceptions on the importance of having a girl and a boy child.

FIGURE 6.2
PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF HAVING A BOY CHILD OR GIRL CHILD

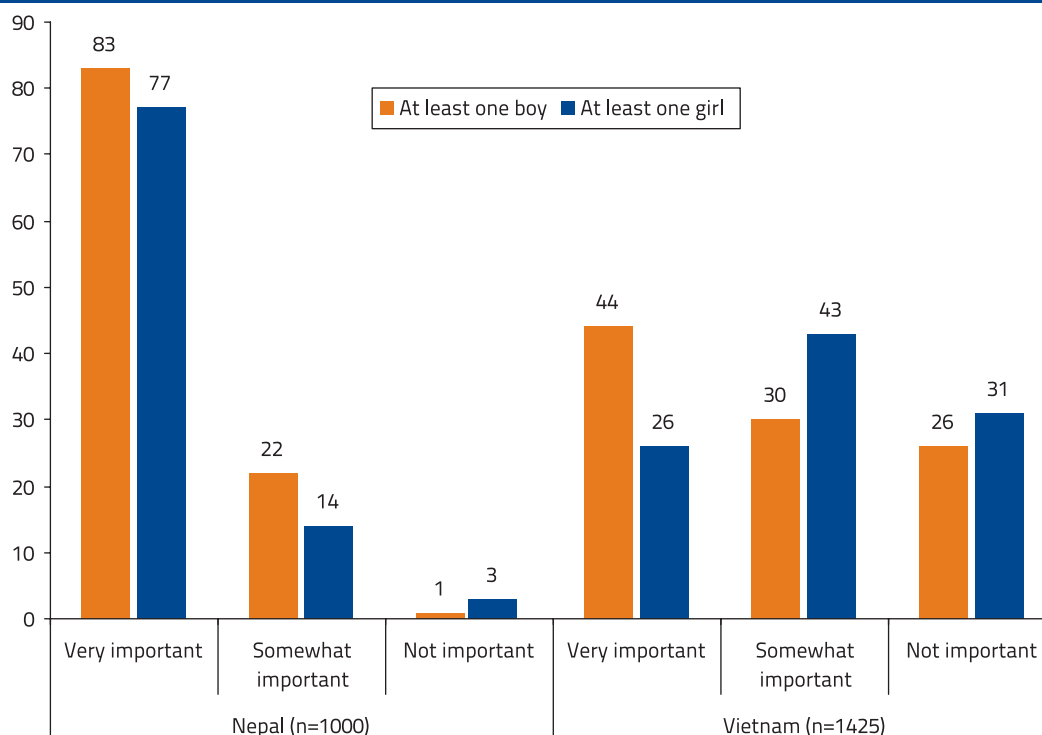


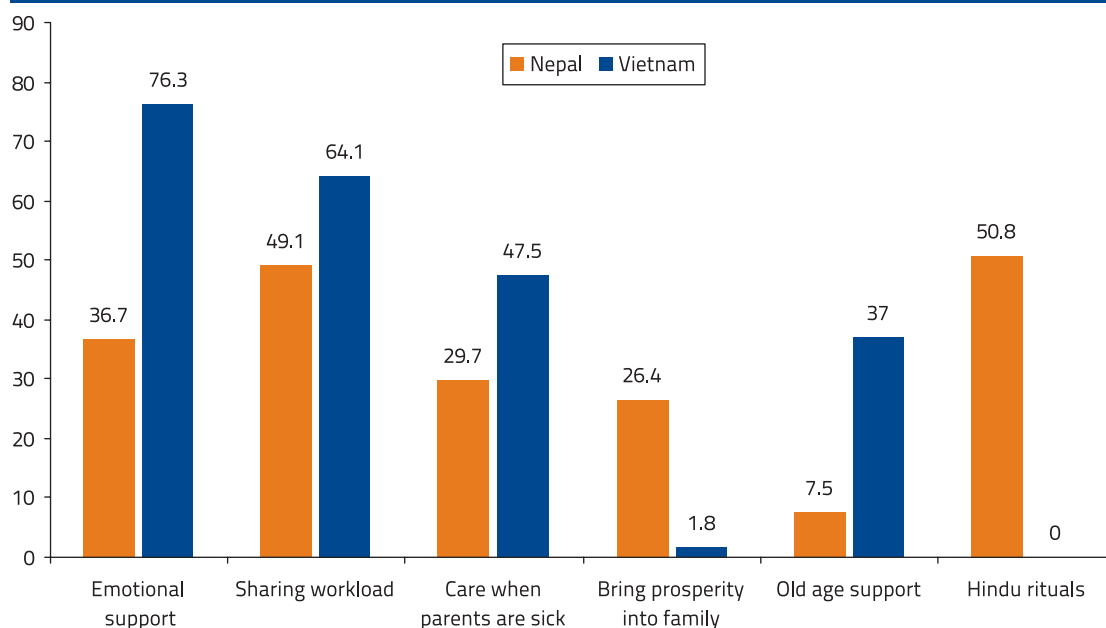
Figure 6.2 displays the distribution of men by perceived importance of having a girl child and a boy child. In Nepal, an overwhelming majority of men consider having at least a son and at least a daughter as very important, although son preference in this context is higher than

daughter preference (83 percent vs 77 percent). In contrast, in Vietnam, the men are much more equally distributed among the three groups – ‘very important’, ‘somewhat important’ and ‘not important’ – on the issue of having at least a son and having at least a daughter. Interestingly, in Vietnam, while almost twice as many men considered it ‘very important’ to have a son as compared to a daughter (44 percent vs 26 percent), more men considered it ‘somewhat important’ to have a daughter than a son (46 percent vs 30 percent).

We also explored why men felt that it was important for them to have a daughter or a son? The specific question asked about reasons for perceiving an importance in having *at least one* girl child or *at least one* boy child in the family. The results indicate that men in the survey value sons and daughters in very different ways. This was consistent in both countries and there were differences across the two countries.

FIGURE 6.3

REASONS FOR HAVING AT LEAST ONE GIRL



The findings demonstrated that girls were considered important for emotional support and sharing the workload, while sons were perceived to be important mainly for socio-economic and religious reasons (figure 6.3 and table 6.5). However, there was a difference in the two countries in the importance ascribed to daughters – while an overwhelming share of Vietnamese men (76 percent) cited the most important reason for having a daughter was for emotional support, the most frequently cited reason among Nepali men was for performing religious rituals, such as *rakshya bandan/bhai tika* (51 percent) (figure 6.3). Interestingly, in Vietnam, girls were seen as a continued support to the family, as a large proportion of Vietnamese men valued daughters for their emotional support and support in old age and when their parents were sick. A smaller proportion of Nepali men valued girl children for these reasons; this reflects Nepali traditions where girls typically leave their paternal homes after marriage and are not expected to support their natal homes after marriage.

TABLE 6.5

PERCEIVED REASONS FOR HAVING A BOY

Reasons to have at least one boy	Having at least one boy	
	Nepal	Vietnam
Lineage	58.0	70.7
Old age support	50.7	51.3
Funeral rites	30.4	16.9
Care when parents are sick	27.4	29.7
Social status	25.2	5.6
Protecting family property	22.2	7.3
Sharing workload	20.7	22.4
Bring prosperity into family	15.2	5.2
Emotional support	11.2	28.1
Ancestor worship	11.5	48.5

Men's views about the importance of sons and daughters are highly influenced by traditional customs and gender roles that dictate only boys can carry on their father's name and continue the family lineage while girls provide emotional support and are expected to be dutiful and hardworking. This was clearly indicated by the survey results which showed that the most important reason for having a son in both countries was the need to carry on the family name, although the proportion of Vietnamese men citing this reason was overwhelmingly larger (at 71 percent) than in Nepal (58 percent). The second and third most important reasons were support in old age, followed by the performance of religious rituals (funeral rites for Nepali men and ancestor worship for the Vietnamese). Sons were also valued in both countries for the care they provided when sick and to share the workload burden. While social status and protecting the family property were also listed as reasons to value sons among the Nepali men, these were not important among the Vietnamese.

7. MEN'S KNOWLEDGE ABOUT AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS LAWS AND POLICIES ON REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH AND RIGHTS

Reproductive health research, programs and policies have focused almost exclusively on women over the years. Recently, however, men's roles and involvement in women's reproductive health have attracted increasing attention. Men's knowledge, attitudes and behaviors have been found to have strong impacts on women's health choices and rights. Research conducted in Vietnam, for example, reveals that husbands are often the ultimate decision makers with regards to the sexual and reproductive health of their wives or partners (Johansson, 1998). Men's knowledge and attitudes towards enabling laws and policies for women are an important area for investigation, given their potential in influencing women's access and use of services and the realization of their rights. This chapter extends the discussions of male involvement by examining men's awareness, attitudes and behaviors around laws and policies relating to reproductive health and gender-based violence.

7.1 Knowledge about abortion laws and services

Laws around abortion may exist, making services legal but may not be well known or utilized due to the social stigma and cultural restrictions around abortion. The respondents in the survey were asked a variety of questions related to abortion services, the laws and conditions under which it was permitted. Men's accurate knowledge and attitudes toward abortion are considered important factors that affect their partners' access to safe abortion services, as well as help promote women's reproductive health and rights. In general, abortion has been legalized and available upon request in Vietnam since 1960 and the rights of women to request an abortion has been highly respected (WHO, 1999). The government has issued a number of laws that regulate abortion.

In Nepal there was a landmark constitutional change in 2002 that made abortion legal in the country. At the time of the survey abortion had been legal in Nepal for several years and there had been a lot of news and advocacy around the issue in the country due to recent constitutional reforms.

Awareness of the abortion law among surveyed men in each country was relatively high. In Vietnam, only 27 percent were not aware of any law that permitted abortion. In Nepal the proportion was slightly higher at 36 percent (table 7.1). Only 8 percent of the men in Vietnam and Nepal believed that any form of induced abortion is prohibited in their country. In Nepal, only 14 percent of the men who were aware that a law existed on abortion could correctly state the legal gestational age for an abortion, i.e. 12 weeks of pregnancy. Another 21 percent of men said that abortion is legally permitted if a pregnancy resulted from rape and incest and within 18 weeks of the gestational period. Among those who were aware of legal abortion in Vietnam, a majority of them stated that an abortion is allowed if the fetus is abnormal (51 percent) and if the pregnancy causes physical or mental problems to the women.

TABLE 7.1

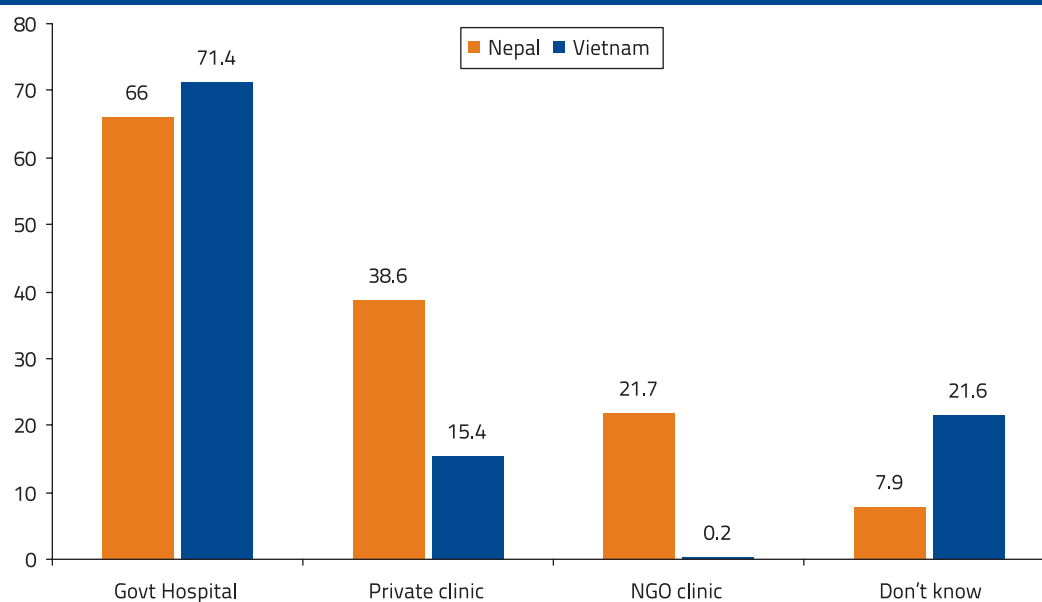
KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ABORTION AND LEGAL CONDITIONS FOR ABORTION

Characteristics	Nepal		Vietnam	
	Percentage	n	Percentage	n
Not aware of an abortion law	35.8	358	26.5	377
Knowledge about condition for legal abortion				
If the pregnancy causes physical or mental problems to the pregnant women	30.1	301	39.7	566
Upto 12 weeks of pregnancy	13.9	139	9.9	141
If the fetus is abnormal	11.3	113	50.6	721
Abortion is not legal	7.6	76	8.4	120
Upto 18 weeks if incest or rape	20.6	206	6.1	87
Sex selection	1.2	12	1.4	20
Unwanted pregnancy/no desire for additional children	10.3	67	3.8	55

Men also need to have good information on where to obtain safe abortion services in case they need to help their wives/partners avail them. The overwhelming majority of men in both countries believed that government hospitals are the safest places a women can access to terminate her pregnancy (figure 7.1), followed by private clinics (39 percent in Nepal and 15 percent in Vietnam). However, a modest proportion in Vietnam (22 percent) and much smaller one in Nepal (8 percent), did not know where these services are available.

FIGURE 7.1

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE PLACE FOR SAFE ABORTION SERVICES



7.2 Attitude towards abortion (by different socio-demographic factors)

Men's attitude towards abortion can also directly affect their wife's or partner's access to safe abortion services. If the husband has a conservative attitude towards abortion, he may prevent his wife or partner from seeking an abortion.

In the survey, male respondents were asked whether they considered it acceptable for a woman to terminate a pregnancy under various circumstances. Overall, the data reveal (table 7.2) a relatively high acceptance of induced abortion among men in the survey. Circumstances that related to the well-being of the woman elicited the most support from men in both countries (around 88 percent); additionally in Vietnam the same proportion of men were in favor of an abortion if the fetus is abnormal (but only 59 percent in Nepal). Most of the men also favored a termination when the pregnancy was the result of a rape (68 percent in Nepal and 58 percent in Vietnam). The social stigma of unmarried pregnancies was apparent in the large share of Nepali men (65 percent), who supported an abortion if the girl was unmarried (in Vietnam the level of support was also high at 43 percent). Roughly half the Nepali men perceive that it is acceptable for a woman to undergo an abortion when she has completed her family size and half the Vietnamese men supported an abortion when the women has economic difficulties and cannot provide for another child (in both these cases, the proportion of men in support in the other country was lower). Interestingly, only a very low proportion of men (2.5 percent in Nepal and 5 percent in Vietnam) supported abortion for a female fetus.

TABLE 7.2

ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS FOR A WOMAN TO HAVE AN ABORTION				
Conditions	Nepal		Vietnam	
	Percentage	n	Percentage	n
If the pregnancy could harm her health	89.2	892	88.2	1257
She is pregnant from rape	68.2	682	58.3	831
She is unmarried and pregnant	65.2	652	42.7	609
The fetus is abnormal	59.3	593	88.0	1254
Pregnancy is unplanned or unwanted	49.5	495	39.6	565
She has difficult economic circumstances/hard to provide for another child	44.0	440	48.9	697
She already has enough children	44.0	440	32.4	461
She already has enough sons	39.8	398	25.1	358
She already has enough daughters	38.6	386	24.7	352
The fetus is female	2.5	25	4.8	68

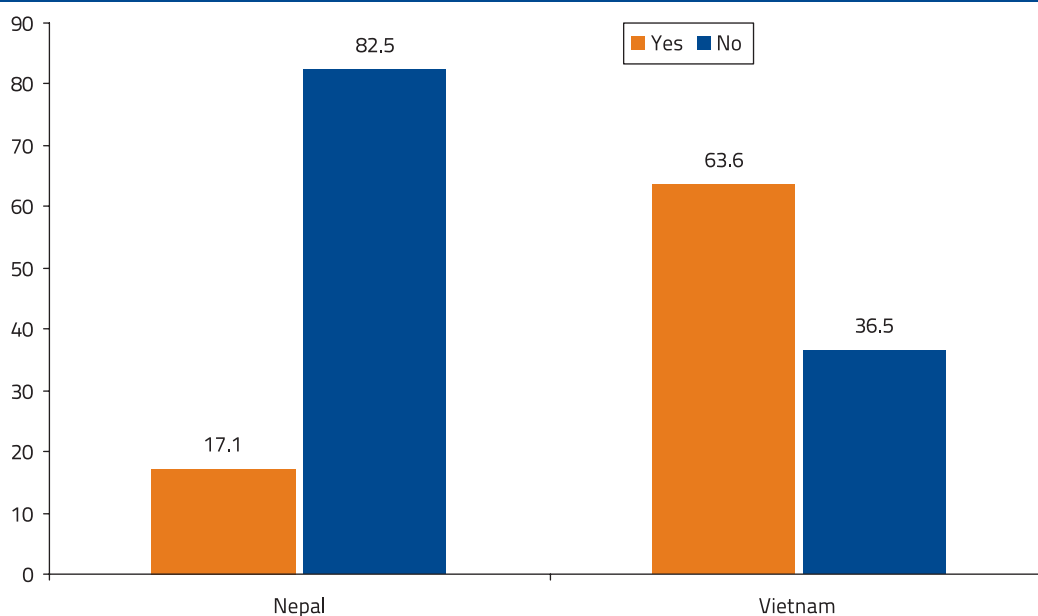
7.3 Knowledge about ultra sound test by wife/partner and attitude towards sex selective abortion

In the survey, men's knowledge of their wife/partner reproductive history and ultrasound tests was also assessed. Since the early 1990s, ultrasonography scanning services have developed rapidly and become a lucrative business in Vietnam. Because of its availability, accessibility and affordability, ultrasound technology has been increasingly used by pregnant women as part of routine pregnancy care (Gammeltoft and Nguyen, 2007). In Nepal, sex selective abortion is not yet a major issue of concern. However in light of the legalization of abortion, easy availability of pre-natal sex-determination technologies and abortion clinics, as well as religious and socio-economic values given to sons, the demand for sex selective abortion could increase in coming years (CREHPA/UNFPA, 2007b). Currently, sex selective abortion in Nepal prevails in the urban areas of the terai region and areas neighboring India's border (CREHPA/UNFPA, 2007a).

Men were asked about whether or not their wife/partner had ever undergone an ultra sound test. The results show that the majority of men in Vietnam (64 percent) noted that their wife/partner had ever gone for an ultrasound test, while this proportion was only 17 percent in Nepal. The lower proportion in Nepal could also be the result of the lack of access to the technology at the scale at which it is available in Vietnam.

FIGURE 7.2

PARTNER EVER UNDERGONE ULTRASOUND TEST



An analysis of ultrasound testing revealed that many of the women had undergone more than one ultrasound test during the last pregnancy in both countries (table 7.3). The figure was more than 30 percent in Nepal whereas in Vietnam the majority of men (62 percent) reported that 3 or more ultrasounds had been performed during their wife's last pregnancy.

The majority of the respondents' wives/partners in Vietnam had taken an obstetrical ultrasound

test during their latest pregnancy after the fourth month (16 weeks) of the pregnancy, while half the men's partners in Nepal had taken the test during the 13-28 week period. Further examination of the reasons for ultrasound testing by gestational age revealed that, in Vietnam, the most frequently mentioned reason was concerns about the fetus's growth and normality (51 percent), followed by concern for a wife's/partner's health (39 percent). In Nepal the most common reasons cited for an ultrasound test were doctor's advice (35 percent) and wife's/partner's health (22 percent).

One in ten of the men in Nepal whose partner had an ultrasound test reported it was because they wanted a son; in Vietnam this was acknowledged by 4.3 percent of the men.

TABLE 7.3

STAGE OF PREGNANCY WHEN ULTRASOUND WAS DONE AND REASON FOR ULTRASOUND

Conditions	Nepal		Vietnam	
	Percentage	n	Percentage	n
Stage of pregnancy when wife/partner had ultrasound				
2-9 weeks	12.8	16	5.1	30
10-12 weeks	24.0	30	7.7	45
13-28 weeks	52.0	65	41.6	243
More than 28 weeks	11.2	14	45.5	266
Reason for having an ultrasound				
Doctor's advice	35.2	44	1.5	10
Wife/partner health	22.4	28	38.9	255
To check fetus condition	16.8	21	-	-
Wanted a son	10.4	13	4.3	28
Risk to fetus	5.6	7	51.2	336
To find whether son or daughter	4.0	5	-	-
Desire for daughter	1.6	2	-	-
Abortion	1.6	2	-	-
To confirm pregnancy	1.6	2	-	-
Family pressure	0.8	1	0.5	3
Other	-	-	3.7	24
Number of ultra sounds done during last pregnancy				
1	68.8	86	15.1	95
2	22.4	28	23.2	146
3 or more	8.8	11	61.7	389
Did the provider disclose the sex of the baby himself/herself during the ultrasound				
Yes	32.0	40	75.1	489
No	60.8	76	18.8	123
I was not present	5.6	7	3.6	24
Don't know	1.6	2	2.3	15

Both Nepal and Vietnam have banned disclosing the sex of the unborn baby to parents during ultrasound tests, yet the survey results indicate that these state regulations were not followed. In our sample, the vast majority of Vietnamese men (75 percent) reported that the sex of the fetus was disclosed by the service providers while undergoing an ultrasound test. This finding echoes what has been found in the GSO 2010 Population Change and Family Planning Survey: 75 percent of women aged 15-49 who gave birth from April 2008 to March 2010 knew the sex of the fetus before delivery. In Nepal, 32 percent of the men reported this.

According to findings from a recent qualitative study on sex ratios in Vietnam, the high proportion of health providers disclosing the sex of the fetus to their clients was attributed to the fierce competition among clinics, strong needs or pressures from clients to know the sex of the fetus and the very loose enforcement of the regulations on the use of ultrasound tests for sex identification. Private clinics in particular face greater competition in the absence of government subsidies, and were more willing to attract clients by offering to let them know the fetal sex which is one of the primary aims for undergoing ultrasound test (UNFPA 2011).

7.4 Men's knowledge and attitude towards policies and laws promoting gender equity

Over the past decade, both Nepal and Vietnam have made significant improvements in terms of policy development and legislation to promote gender equality and women's rights. During this period, three important laws were passed in Nepal: there was an amendment in the country code to legalize abortion under certain conditions, to provide property rights to daughters, 2002 and The Domestic Violence and Punishment Act, 2009. Similarly, Vietnam has enacted the 2006 Law on Gender Equality, the 2007 Law on Domestic Violence Prevention and Control and the 2010 National Strategy on Gender Equality.

Another achievement on gender equality was the establishment of the Gender Equality Department in order to implement the Law on Gender Equality in Vietnam. Since Vietnam has recently experienced a rapid increase in sex ratio at birth, new policies that prohibit the practice of sex identification and sex-selection have been introduced as well as various intervention programs and campaigns to discourage such practices have been carried out in many provinces/cities.

Nepal has taken important steps to put gender based violence on the policy agenda, including the formation of a dedicated cell by the office of the Prime Minister and Council of Ministers for addressing violence through inter-ministerial collaboration. Many other laws such as anti-trafficking acts, law recognizing rape within marriage, and laws to protect women from sexual harassment in the workplace, now exist and are aimed at providing Nepali women with a legal environment which, in theory at least, protects them from violence, stigma, discrimination, and exploitation. In practice, however, implementation and public knowledge of these laws has been less than ideal.

The survey looked at men's attitude towards various laws and policies related to gender equality, including laws on domestic violence, legislation on sex selection, family planning policies and laws on inheritance rights. Among those who knew that there is a law on sex selection, an overwhelming majority in both countries agreed that 'the law is fair as abortion of female fetus is immoral' and that 'the law is important otherwise the number of females available

to be married will be reduced' (table 7.4). There was almost universal support in Vietnam, too, for the statement that 'the law addresses gender-based-discrimination,' while 84 percent of the Nepali men agreed with it. Similarly, an overwhelming majority of Nepali men (95 percent) felt that social security schemes for couples with only daughters would make the law more acceptable, and 74 percent of the Vietnamese men felt the same.

Interestingly, about one-third men (31 percent in Nepal and 38 percent in Vietnam) believed that the sex-selection law can go against women's abortion rights and their right to choice. In Vietnam, in addition, almost 40 percent of the men believed that the law could go against women's mental and physical well being and that it should allow sex-selection for couples with no son; only one in five Nepali men agreed with the last statement.

TABLE 7.4
ATTITUDE TOWARDS LAW TO PREVENT SEX SELECTION

Statements	Nepal		Vietnam	
	% Agree	n	% Agree	n
This law is fair as abortion of female fetus is immoral	98.8	413	96.3	335
The law is important, as without it the number of females to be married will be reduced	98.3	411	98.9	344
The law addresses gender-based discrimination	83.5	349	96.6	336
The law goes against women's abortion rights and their rights to choice	31.3	131	37.6	131
The law can go against women's mental and physical well being	25.4	106	39.1	136
The law should allow sex-selection for couples with no son	17.5	73	38.8	135
Social security schemes for couples with only a daughter would make the law more acceptable	94.7	396	73.6	256

To examine the extent to which men are aware of the consequences of sex selection for the community, the men in the sample were asked to mention all consequences that applied. The most common consequence mentioned by three-quarters of the sample of Vietnamese men and 60 percent of the Nepali men was the deficit of marriageable girls.

Other adverse outcomes from sex-selection identified by men were repeated abortions (39 percent in Vietnam and 31 percent in Nepal) and prostitution (around 20 percent in both countries). A fairly high proportion of the men in Vietnam (35 percent) thought this would lead to an increase in the abduction of girls. Some of these attitudes are reflective of the social biases that exist in society around how girls are valued.

One-fourth of the men in the Nepal survey felt that sex-selection would lead to a rise in

violence (12 percent in Vietnam), while one-fourth of the men in Vietnam felt this would lead to a rise in the trafficking of girls/women (6 percent in Nepal). Other consequences identified included sexual abuse against women (18 percent in Nepal and 11 percent in Vietnam) and an increase in early marriages (12 percent in Nepal and 8 percent in Vietnam).

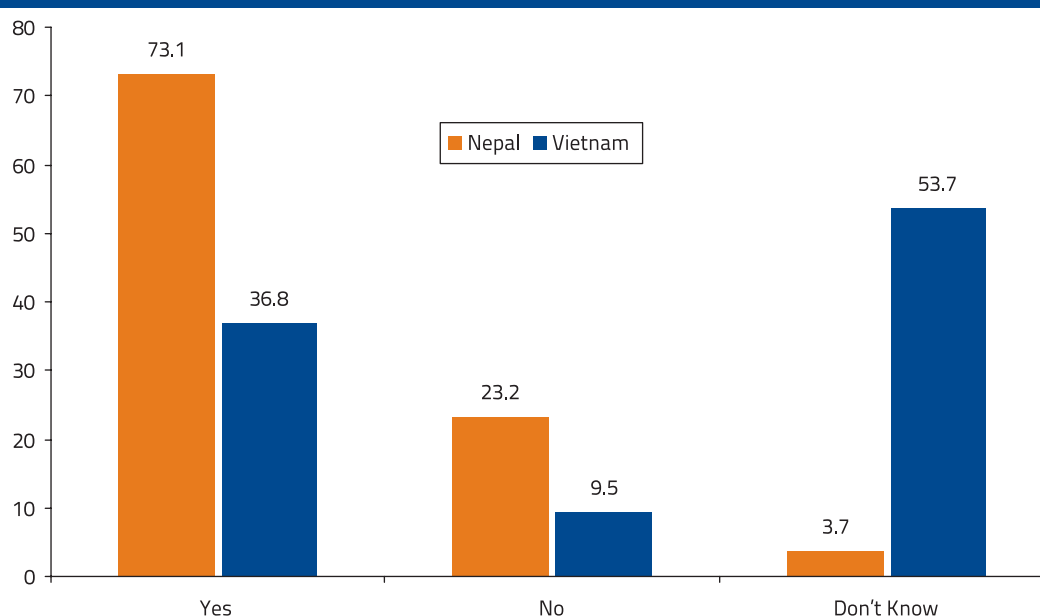
TABLE 7.5
PERCEIVED CONSEQUENCES OF SEX-SELECTIVE ABORTIONS ON THE COMMUNITY

Statements	Nepal		Vietnam	
	% Agree	n	% Agree	n
Fewer girls for marriage	59.5	595	74.7	1064
Repeat abortion	30.6	306	39.4	562
Increase in crime	29.6	296	30.5	435
Increase in prostitution	17.4	174	22.2	317
Increase in sex trafficking of girls/women	6.4	64	23.6	337
Rise in violence	25.8	258	11.5	164
Sexual abuse against women	18.4	184	10.5	149
Increase in number of early marriages	11.7	117	7.8	111
Decrease in female population	4.6	46	13.3	190
Increase abduction of girls	3.5	35	35.2	501
Increase in men's sexual activity	6.0	60	9.1	129

7.5 Knowledge and attitude towards inheritance rights

Another area of exploration was men's awareness of laws and policies related to inheritance rights for all children regardless of sex. The results (figure 7.3) show that the vast majority

FIGURE 7.3
AWARE OF DAUGHTERS' INHERITANCE RIGHTS



of men in Nepal (73 percent) and a little over one-third (37 percent) in Vietnam were aware of laws protecting daughters' inheritance rights. More than half the men in the Vietnamese survey stated that they did not know if daughters had inheritance rights.

Of the men who stated that there is a law on inheritance rights for daughters, an overwhelming majority in both countries approved of these laws. For example, almost all the men (95 percent in Vietnam and 89 percent in Nepal) stated that the inheritance laws in the country were fair for all children. However, an even higher proportion of Nepali men (92 percent) felt that it was unfair for unmarried or deserted daughters.

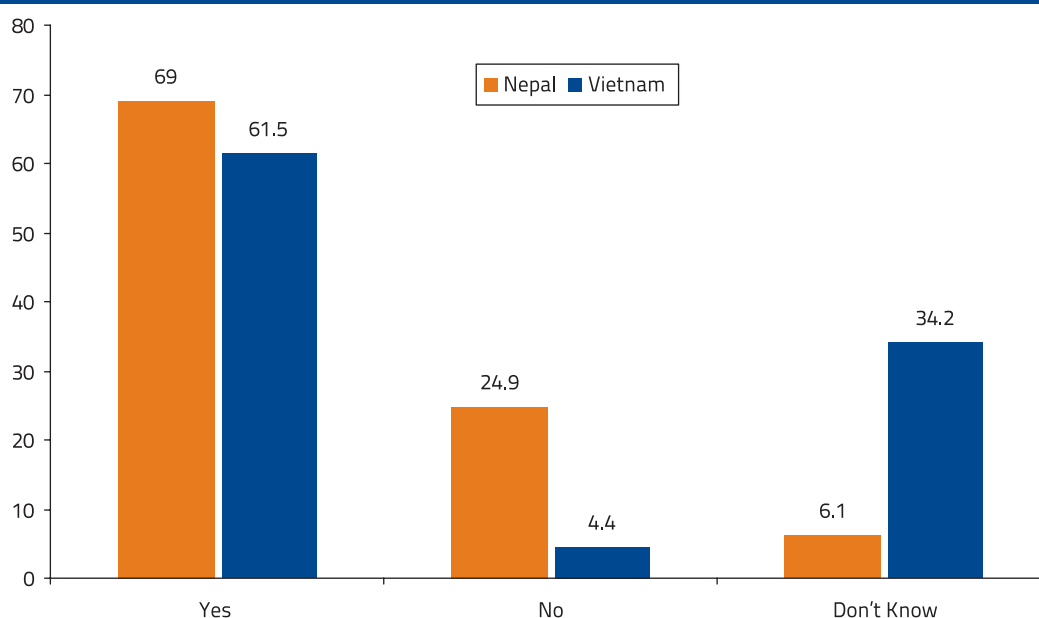
TABLE 7.6
ATTITUDE TOWARDS LAWS ON INHERITANCE RIGHTS

Statements	Nepal (n=731)		Vietnam (n=523)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
It is unfair for sons	10.5	89.5	11.5	88.5
It is unfair only for unmarried/deserted daughters	91.7	8.3	24.1	75.9
Fair for all children	89.2	10.8	94.6	5.4

7.6 Knowledge and attitude towards laws on Violence Against Women

Over two-thirds of the men (69 percent in Nepal and 62 percent in Vietnam) believed there are laws related to VAW in the country (figure 7.4). One-fourth of the men in Nepal believed there were no laws against VAW (the proportion was 4 percent in Vietnam). The relatively high

FIGURE 7.4
AWARE ABOUT LAWS ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN



percentage of men in Vietnam aware of the existence of the newly issued law on violence might be due to the public awareness campaign targeting men to reduce gender-based violence.

Men were also asked about their attitudes toward the law. It indicated their conservative attitudes about the laws (table 7.7). For example, 70 percent of the men in both countries think the laws on VAW in their country make it too easy to bring charges against men (Given the very few who have been formally charged under this law in Nepal, this does not represent a fair assessment of these laws). At the same time, a very large proportion of men (82 percent in Nepal and 70 percent in Vietnam) felt that the laws do not offer enough protection to women who had experienced VAW, and that the laws were not harsh enough (59 percent in Vietnam), or were too harsh (66 percent in Vietnam).

TABLE 7.7
ATTITUDE TOWARDS LAWS ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Statements	Nepal (n=690)			Vietnam (n=875)		
	Agree	Disagree	No opinion	Agree	Disagree	No opinion
They make it too easy for a woman to bring a violence charge against a man	71.2	28.4	0.4	69.0	19.3	11.7
They are too harsh	67.2	32.3	0.4	11.9	66.1	22.1
They are not harsh enough	33.5	65.2	1.3	58.9	19.8	21.4
They do not provide enough protection for victim of violence	81.6	17.8	0.6	69.9	12.7	17.4

7.7 Factors associated with knowledge about different gender-related laws

The survey looked at the socio-demographic factors and other characteristics that influence men's attitudes towards the various laws that protect women in their society, primarily laws that prevent sex-selective abortions, violence against women and inheritance rights for daughters. The results are given in the annex table A7.1.

The analysis showed that some socio-demographic factors significantly influenced men's knowledge in both countries of laws that protect women in their country. For example, education levels were significantly related to men's knowledge about laws preventing sex-selection and violence against women in both countries; they also significantly influenced men's knowledge of daughter's inheritance rights in Nepal, but not in Vietnam. Thus, in both countries, men's awareness of the laws increased with their level of education. In Vietnam, there was high awareness of daughters' inheritance rights at all education levels.

Interestingly, there is no significant relationship between age and knowledge of laws protecting women in either country; knowledge about laws protecting women was equally distributed across all the age groups.

Men's occupation was significantly related to men's knowledge of laws in all three areas in Vietnam, with a lower level of knowledge among farmers, and greater knowledge among professional men; in Nepal, occupation was significantly related only to knowledge of laws protecting women from violence.

Domicile in rural or urban areas was a significant factor in men's knowledge about some laws, such as daughters' inheritance rights, with urban men being more aware in both countries. In Vietnam, urban men were also significantly more aware than the rural men about all the three laws, but in Nepal this factor was only significant for the laws on daughters' inheritance rights.

Men's knowledge about laws to promote gender equity was further assessed by selected background characteristics of respondents and results are presented in the annex table A7.2. Not surprisingly, men's knowledge on these laws was closely related with their support for gender equity as measured by the GEM scale – so that men with high or moderate gender equitable attitudes tended to know more about the laws to promote gender equity. This was true for the men interviewed in both countries for all the laws, except for the Vietnamese men's knowledge on the law to prevent VAW.

Experience of gender inequity in childhood was found to significantly influence men's knowledge of daughters' inheritance rights in both countries, and also on sex-selective laws in Nepal. Similarly, in Nepal, the positive deviant men i.e. those who have experienced/witnessed gender inequality but are equitable, were significantly more likely to know about the three laws to promote gender equity in their country than the others.

These findings suggest the need for more comprehensive, long-term and male-targeted intervention programs or campaigns at national and local levels that take into account men's specific socio-economic and background that influence their levels of knowledge of laws and policies relating to gender equality. While knowledge about laws is modest, there is greater need to influence more positive attitudes about these laws.

8. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The IMAGES Son Preference survey carried out in Nepal and Vietnam has provided unique insights into the nature and determinants of men's varying attitudes towards son preference and gender based violence in both countries. The overall results underscore strong patriarchal and patrilineal structures in Nepal and Vietnam respectively. A moderate proportion of men in both countries support and agree with the conservative gender roles and inequitable norms; a small proportion also have highly conservative and inequitable gender norms. Men's behavior and attitudes towards gender equality is determined and shaped by their experiences in their childhood, perpetuating the inequalities that they generate as adults.

Rigid gender norms do get preserved over generations if childhood experience shapes adult behavior. The departures from these patterns are determined by education, employment and levels of stress that men face in their lives. The findings from Nepal showed that men with low level of literacy, belonging to rural areas and men from disadvantaged *janajatis* and religious minorities hold least gender equitable attitude. In Vietnam, findings also suggest that men from relatively conservative areas and those who did not have access to education are the ones who have rigid gender norms.

In both the countries, majority (more than two thirds) of the men had moderate gender equitable attitudes. Analysis of the individual statements used to measure gender equitable attitudes suggests that men have complex and paradoxical attitudes towards gender equality; they agree with certain egalitarian values and also at the same time approve rigid patriarchal attitudes. For instance, in both countries nearly all men agreed that people should be treated the same whether male or female, and around 90 percent men in both countries disagreed to the statement that men with an only daughter are unfortunate. But at the same time three quarters of the men in Vietnam and almost half of the men in Nepal agreed that a woman's most important role is to take care of her house and cook for her family. In Nepal, over three-quarters and in Vietnam, nearly one-third of the men thought that if a woman does something wrong, her husband has the right to punish her.

Men's role and their participation in maternal health care as well as in domestic duties varied across different activities in both the countries. In both Nepal and Vietnam, nearly half of the men reported that they accompanied their wife/partner during pre-natal visits for more recent pregnancies. Majority of men in both countries reported that they take part in the daily care of the children. Taking paternal leave when a baby is born was not widely practiced among the men in the study, possibly also because it is not a perceived cultural role of men. In Nepal there is a law that provides men 11 days paid leave at the time of birth of each of their first two children. Despite this, only one in five men took leave at birth of their most recent child. Whereas, in Vietnam, the labor code provides specific provisions for maternity leave, it contains no provision for paid paternity leave. Yet majority of men took some leave at the time of birth of the child. The lack of a specific legal framework for paternity leave may

perpetuate an unequal division of labor within the family and discourage men's participation in the care of children.

Men in both countries who accompanied their wives/partners on their prenatal visits were more likely to be younger, live in urban areas (as opposed to rural), have a higher level of education and be professionals (as opposed to farmers). In Nepal, other characteristics that showed a significant relationship with accompanying partners for prenatal visits were men who scored higher values on the GEM scale, had lower levels of depression and economic stress, and were of higher castes. In Vietnam, none of these other factors had a significant relationship with men's participation in prenatal visits.

Unsurprisingly, in both countries there was a significant relationship between men's daily participation in the care of children and their GEM scale scores. In addition, in Nepal, a significantly larger proportion of men in nuclear families and who worked in farming helped with the daily care of children, while in Vietnam, men's level of education had a significant relationship with their involvement in the daily care of children.

The study found that violence against intimate partners is common in Nepal and Vietnam. The survey results showed that 70 percent of men reported ever perpetrating some forms of violence against their intimate partners in Nepal. The results for Nepal were similar to the findings of IMAGES study conducted in India (Barker et al, 2011). In addition, the study further reinforced the findings established by IMAGES study conducted in other countries that use of IPV is associated with men's inequitable gender attitude, experience of gender inequity in childhood and abuse of alcohol. In Vietnam as well, the study found that sixty percent reported perpetrating at least one form of violence against their wife or female partner during their lifetime. This finding is quite consistent with the results of a national survey on gender-based violence conducted with female respondents by the General Statistical Office in 2009, which revealed that 58.3% ever-partnered women ever experienced any form of domestic violence (GSO, 2010).

The fact that men who experience gender inequity in childhood and men who are bullied in childhood are more likely to perpetrate violence reinforces the findings that childhood experiences influence and shape men's attitudes and behavior immensely. Moreover, it highlights the need to encourage and engage boys at a very early stage in gender equitable norms and practices. There is a need to be more sensitive to this relationship and thus pay more attention on the effects of gender socialization of boys and on men and masculinity.

Son preference was found to be prominent in Vietnam in the current study where almost half of the men agreed that having a male child is very important while only a quarter of the men felt that about a female child. These findings in Vietnam were similar to the findings of 2010 qualitative study conducted by UNFPA in the country (UNFPA 2011). The articulated reason for son preference was that sons play a significant role in continuing the family line (reported by more than two-third of men) and taking care of the parents in their old age (reported by nearly half), while girls share household chores as reported by three-fifth of the men and three-fifth reported that girls provide emotional support to the parents. Proportion of men agreeing on extreme attitudes like abortion of female fetus or putting female child for abortion was less than three percent. In Nepal, it was found that men have moderate son preference attitude. Around 80 percent men reported that having son is very important but at

the same time 77 percent reported the importance of a daughter. Over three quarter of men had son preference attitude for socio-economic and religious reasons while the proportion of men agreeing on extreme attitudes such as abortion of female fetus, putting female child for an adoption was less. Findings of the study in Nepal are consistent with previous studies conducted among women in Nepal. A study conducted among women of reproductive ages showed that they faced pressure to bear male children and skewed sex ratio was revealed in some ethnic groups and regions of the country (CREHPA/UNFPA, 2007b).

In both Vietnam and Nepal it was found that among the various determinants of son preference, lack of education is a major factor. Higher educated men are less likely to manifest son preference. In Vietnam, other determinants includes living arrangement (living in an extended family), childhood experience of gender inequality, GEM score, and depression status of the respondents also significantly and positively influence how men value sons. Specifically, those who do not live in an extended family, those who had not ever experienced gender inequality during childhood, those who hold inequitable gender attitudes, and those who suffer from severe depression are found to have more son preference. In Nepal another prominent factor was age, as older men were more likely to have higher son preference attitude, possibly showing certain shifts to more equitable attitudes over time. Younger generations are more exposed to the external world via education and media and the interventions from government and non-governmental sectors on gender, all of which could have had a positive impact.

The result also highlights the need to focus interventions on specific caste/ethnicity in Nepal which was similar to findings of an earlier study conducted among women in the country (CREHPA/UNFPA, 2007b). It is also important to understand the underlying motivation for specific caste/ethnicity to have high/moderate son preference attitude. For instance, ethnicities residing in terai are known to have socio-religious practices such as dowry at the time of daughter's marriage, which could be a strong motivating factor. Moreover, it has been documented that caste is a powerful predictor of empowerment and its interweaving with gender aspects of poverty possibly explains the reason for high son preference attitude among specific caste/ethnicity groups (DFID and the World Bank, 2006).

Despite the fact that some laws are recent, men in both countries have high awareness of laws and policies that promote gender equality. In both the countries, nearly two-third of the men knew that there are laws related to violence against women. However, the contradictory attitudes regarding the laws need further attention. For example, in Nepal, men perceive that laws on violence against women in their country make it easy to bring charges against men indicating that they are skeptical about the law. Men in both countries were well aware of the abortion law in the country, but a very small proportion could report the correct conditions for legal abortion. Attitudes towards the abortion law show that there is high acceptance of induced abortion among men under circumstances where women's health is concerned, fetus is abnormal and if pregnancy is result of rape. Half of the surveyed men in Nepal also supported termination of pregnancy if a woman has completed her family size, and in Vietnam if a woman has economic difficulties and cannot provide for another child, half of the men supported undergoing abortion.

Awareness on inheritance rights of daughters was high among Nepali men whereas in Vietnam most of the men were unaware of this law. But in both countries there was acceptance for this law. Men who were older, illiterate, belonging to religious minorities, having least gender

inequitable attitudes and who had experienced gender inequity in their childhood were unaware of the laws that support women's health and rights. There is a need for more comprehensive, long-term and male-targeted intervention programs or campaigns at national and local levels that take into account men's different socio-characteristics and levels of knowledge of laws and policies relating to gender equality.

There are encouraging signs of positive shifts in men's attitudes towards gender equality. Yet larger scale efforts are required if we are to achieve higher gender equality, eliminate son preference and violence against women. The findings of the study have some important policy/program implications:

- National policies and programs aimed at involving men to promote gender equality, and diminish the relevance of socio-cultural and religious practices that manifest gender discrimination, should be implemented and promoted. Moreover, educational campaigns that focus on redefining men's and women's role in the family, need to be encouraged. Any public awareness and advocacy intervention should be targeted at men to create a supportive environment for women.
- Increasing men's awareness of the significance of laws related to VAW, abortion and other women's rights should be a priority for any public education and advocacy programs. Educating men about the illegality of sex determination tests and monitoring prenatal sex determination clinics are corollary efforts.
- The high prevalence of men's report of use of violence against their intimate partners is a further confirmation of the problem and is a matter of serious concern. Therefore, there is a need for comprehensive and integrated interventions that aim at changing gender-related attitudes; creating spaces where men can discuss and overcome their experienced violence in past, improve skills to deal with disputes between couples, reduce men's related stress and alcohol use, among other factors.
- Works on redefining norms of masculinity and men's role in family by engaging men and boys at an early age both in school, and out of school settings, is critical to any work that aims to transform gender norms in society.
- Education is a protective factor and thus education programs need to be more extensive and encourage school completion for both boys and girls and also integrate curricula that is gender transformative, as well as address various aspects of sexuality and gender issues which contributes to gender-based violence and sex selection practices.

Annexure: Tables and Figures

Tables of chapter 2

TABLE A2.1

DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE SIZE IN NEPAL					
District	Rural clusters	Urban clusters	Rural Sample	Urban sample	Total number of interviews
Saptari	11	4	275	100	375
Gorkha	5	3	125	75	200
Dang	8	9	200	225	425
Total	24	16	600	400	1,000

Tables of chapter 3

TABLE A3.1

PARTNERS CHARACTERISTICS				
Characteristics	Nepal		Vietnam	
	Percentage	n	Percentage	n
Partners age				
18-24 yrs	24.3	193	8.1	89
25-34 yrs	40.7	323	34.8	382
35-49 yrs	35.0	278	57.1	628
Educational differences				
No difference (same level)	26.8	213	46.5	509
I am more educated	61.1	485	27.8	304
She is more educated	12.1	96	25.7	281
Income difference				
Same level	20.4	162	41.0	449
I earn more	75.2	597	52.5	575
She earns more	2.1	17	6.5	71

TABLE A3.2

ALCOHOL AND SUBSTANCE USE				
Characteristics	Nepal		Vietnam	
	Percentage	n	Percentage	n
Ever had alcohol				
Yes	52.4	524	84.8	1208
No	47.6	476	15.2	217
Drug use in past year				
Yes	17.4	174	0.9	13
No	82.6	826	99.1	1412

Tables of chapter 4

TABLE A4.1

MEN'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS GENDER EQUITY				
Statement of gender equity	Nepal (n=1000)		Vietnam (n=1424)	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Gender				
A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family	48.2	51.8	78.1	21.9
A woman should obey her husband	84.0 [#]	16.0	76.4 [*]	23.6
A woman's most important role is to produce a son for her husband's family	21.6	78.4	29.8	70.2
I think that a man should have the final say in all family matters	43.0	57.0	80.8	19.2
Once a woman gets married, she belongs to her husband's family	99.0 [#]	1.0	61.7	38.3
Men should share the work around the house with women such as doing dishes, cleaning and cooking	87.9 [#]	12.1	36.6 [*]	63.4
People should be treated the same whether they are male or female	99.0 [#]	1.0	98.3 [*]	1.7
Sexuality/ Sexual relationship				
Men need sex more than women do	45.4	54.6	52.8	47.2
A woman cannot refuse to have sex with her husband	52.1	47.9	36.6	63.4
When a woman is raped, she is usually to blame for putting herself in that situation	20.6	79.4	62.0 [*]	38.0
If a woman doesn't physically fight back, it's not rape	58.0	48.0	55.3	44.7

Statement of gender equity	Nepal (n=1000)		Vietnam (n=1424)	
	Agree	Disagree	Agree	Disagree
Violence				
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten	43.6	56.4	26.5	73.5
If a wife/partner does something wrong her husband has the right to punish her	77.3	22.7	30.5	69.5
A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together	50.8	49.2	23.2	76.8
Reproductive health				
It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	36.2	63.8	26.5	73.5
I would be outraged if my wife/partner asked me to use a condom	13.4 [#]	86.6	9.5	90.5
Masculinity				
If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to	67.2 [#]	32.8	33.7	66.3
To be a man, you need to be tough	69.5	30.5	90.0	10.0
It would be shameful to have a homosexual son	55.6	44.4	29.3	70.7
Values of Sons and Daughters				
A man with only daughters is unfortunate	8.1	91.9	9.7	90.3
Not having a son reflects bad karma and lack of moral virtue	9.5	90.5	10.3	89.7
Only a son can provide ancestor worship	34.8 [#]	65.2	40.8	59.2
It is acceptable for a parent to receive financial assistance from his daughters	70.6 [#]	29.4	86.5 [*]	13.5
Living in a joint family increases pressure on a couple to produce sons	58.4 [#]	41.6	46.3 [*]	53.7

Note: The # and * symbol corresponding to the numbers denote that these statements were not used for construction of GEM scale in respective countries

TABLE A4.2

GEM SCALE BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS IN NEPAL (n=1000)

Background characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	n
Age^{ns}				
18-24	12.0	71.2	16.8	292
25-34	13.9	73.8	12.3	317
35-49	18.2	67.5	14.3	391
Education^{**}				
Illiterate	46.3	50.0	3.8	80
NFE/up to primary	28.5	66.2	5.3	151
Primary to SLC	11.1	76.8	12.1	552
Higher secondary and above	4.1	65.4	30.4	217
Place of residence				
Rural	18.2	64.3	17.5	600
Urban	10.3	80.0	9.8	400
Caste/Ethnicity^{***}				
Brahman/Chhetri	7.9	72.3	19.8	354
Janajatis	20.1	69.5	10.4	308
Disadvantaged non dalit terai caste group	18.2	65.3	16.5	121
Dalits/religious minorities	17.5	72.4	10.1	217
Family type^{ns}				
Nuclear	14.7	70.7	14.5	598
Joint/Extended	15.4	70.4	14.2	402
Current occupation^{ns}				
Unemployed/Student	1.7	75.7	22.6	115
Professional/	1.8	70.0	28.2	170
Skilled labour	18.7	71.0	10.3	107
Business/shop	12.8	75.9	11.3	133
Semi-skilled labour	25.6	64.8	9.5	199
Farmer	20.7	70.3	9.1	276
Economic stress^{**}				
Yes	19.9	69.9	10.1	552
No	11.5	70.1	18.4	321
Total	15.0	70.6	14.4	1000

TABLE A4.3

GEM SCALE BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS IN VIETNAM (n=1425)

Background characteristics	Low	Moderate	High	n
Age **				
18-24	5.9	77.0	17.0	270
25-34	7.3	75.9	16.8	382
35-49	12.5	74.2	13.3	768
Education ***				
Illiterate				
NFE/up to primary	17.8	70.1	12.1	157
Primary to SLC	11.1	76.4	12.5	792
Higher secondary and above	5.0	75.2	19.7	476
Place of residence ^{ns}				
Rural	9.6	75.7	14.7	976
Urban	10.2	74.4	15.4	449
Religion ^{ns}				
No religion	10.2	74.9	14.8	918
Buddhist	9.9	82.6	7.4	121
Christian	8.9	74.0	17.2	384
Others	0.0	50.0	50.0	2
Family type ^{ns}				
Nuclear	6.5	81.3	12.2	123
Joint/Extended	10.1	74.7	15.1	1302
Current occupation ^{ns}				
Farmer	11.6	74.9	13.5	458
Manual Labor	12.5	74.0	13.5	311
Petty trade/Service	9.1	74.4	16.5	254
Worker/Professional/Other	6.3	77.0	16.7	252
Economic stress * *				
Yes	13.2	76.5	10.3	486
No	8.5	74.2	17.3	786
Total	9.8	75.3	14.9	1425

TABLE A4.4

PARENTING STATUS ACCORDING TO SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Accompaniment to prenatal visit		Took leave at birth of last child		Participation in daily care of child	
	Nepal (n=714)	Vietnam (n=999)	Nepal (n=714)	Vietnam (n=999)	Nepal (n=736)	Vietnam (n=999)
Age (in years)						
18-24	50.0	89.5	24.2	85.0	48.6	65.5
25-34	50.7	84.0	23.1	74.1	55.2	65.8
35-49	29.9	46.1	17.4	66.3	59.5	70.7
P-value	<0.01	<0.01	0.15	<0.05	0.18	0.28
Level of education						
Illiterate	12.9	-	5.7	-	55.6	-
NFE/up to primary	27.3	51.2	13.7	64.5	51.1	59.2
Primary to SLC	43.1	51.8	20.3	67.4	56.1	69.8
Higher secondary and above	57.5	70.2	35.8	74.0	66.1	73.5
P-value	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0.08	0.08	<0.05
Place of residence						
Rural	36.2	53.8	14.6	67.5	59.0	69.5
Urban	44.7	62.7	29.1	71.6	53.2	68.8
P-value	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01		0.07	0.44
Caste/Ethnicity						
Brahman/Chhetri	48.8		27.4		60.4	
Janajatis	31.7		20.3		54.3	
Disadvantaged non dalit terai caste group	44.2		13.0		64.0	
Dalits/religious minorities	33.5		12.0		52.5	
P-value	<0.01		<0.01		0.60	
Type of family						
Nuclear	36.8	60.4	18.4	66.0	60.2	73.2
Joint/Extended	44.0	56.2	23.1	68.8	51.2	69.1
P-value	0.14	0.64	0.07	0.39	<0.05	0.31
Occupation						
Unemployed/Student (ref)	70.0	-	10.0	-	60.0	-
Professional	50.8	73.6	41.8	74.1	60.3	74.4
Manual labor	49.3	53.7	22.2	71.6	58.1	66.8
Business/shop	44.2	66.2	19.5	64.9	58.1	63.7
Farmer	35.4	48.0	7.9	74.1	64.9	72.0
P-value	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0.19	<0.01	0.06

Characteristics	Accompaniment to prenatal visit		Took leave at birth of last child		Participation in daily care of child	
	Nepal (n=714)	Vietnam (n=999)	Nepal (n=714)	Vietnam (n=999)	Nepal (n=736)	Vietnam (n=999)
GEM Scale						
Low equity	23.9	50.0	12.8	70.5	46.2	60.0
Moderate equity	41.1	55.9	19.8	67.6	57.6	67.6
High equity	51.8	63.6	32.5	73.0	66.3	85.9
P-value	<0.01	0.07	<0.01	0.39	<0.05	<0.01
Experience of gender inequity in childhood						
Yes	38.5	55.4	18.8	74.3	59.4	68.7
No	40.7	58.3	21.7	56.8	54.5	70.7
P-value	0.59	0.13	0.19		0.10	0.27
Depression scale						
High	33.3	21.4	14.8	50.0	42.9	64.3
Moderate	30.3	53.6	20.2	76.3	57.8	64.7
Low	43.3	57.8	20.4	66.5	57.2	70.8
P-value	<0.01	0.05	0.77	<0.01	0.31	0.18
Economic stress						
Yes	39.5	52.3	18.9	68.6	53.5	69.6
No	37.9	59.6	22.3	69.0	59.3	69.3
P-value	<0.01	0.03	0.16	0.48	0.07	0.49
Total	39.5	56.4	20.2	68.6	57.1	69.3

Tables of chapter 5

TABLE A5.1

INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE (EVER) BY TYPE OF ACTS				
Type of acts	Nepal		Vietnam	
	Percent	n	Percent	n
Physical violence				
Slapped a wife/partner or thrown something at her that could hurt her	23.9	844	27.5	1215
Pushed or shoved a wife/partner in anger	30.6	844	10.6	1215
Hit a wife/partner with a fist or with something else that could hurt her	9.1	844	4.6	1215
Kicked, dragged, beaten, choked or burned a wife/partner	2.3	844	1.1	1215
Threatened to use or actually used a gun, knife or other weapon against a wife/partner	0.7	844	0.7	1215
Emotional violence				
Insulted a wife/partner or deliberately made her feel bad about herself	20.9	844	38.4	1215
Belittled or humiliated a wife/partner in front of other people	8.2	844	21.0	1215
Done things to scare or intimidate a wife/partner on purpose for example by the way you looked at her, by yelling and smashing things	32.7	844	29.1	1215
Threatened to hurt a wife/partner	16.6	844	17.4	1215
Hurt people your wife/partner cares about as a way of hurting her, or damaged things of importance to her	3.9	844	5.1	1215
Economic abuse				
Prohibited a partner from getting a job, going to work, trading or earning money	5.3	844	16.8	1215
Taken a wife/partner's earnings against her will	4.0	717	3.1	1213
Thrown a wife/partner out of the house	3.2	806	3.4	1215
Sexual violence				
Sex with current or previous wife or girlfriend when you knew she didn't want it but you believed she should agree because she was your wife/partner	23.6	844	8.5	1215
Forced current or previous wife/partner to have sex with you when she did not want to	11.8	844	6.9	1215
Forced current or previous wife/partner to watch pornography when she didn't want to	2.8	844	0.6	1215
Forced current or previous wife/partner to do something sexual that she did not want to do	2.3	844	2.0	1215

TABLE A5.2

PERPETRATION OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE BY SELECTED SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS						
Characteristics	Nepal (n=1000)			Vietnam (n=1425)		
	Ever	Last year	n	Ever	Last year	n
Age						
18-24 Years	70.2	56.5	131	41.5	11.1	106
25-34 Years	69.6	40.2	286	56.2	30.4	340
35-39 Years	72.1	35.3	380	65.0	29.0	766
P-value	0.764	<0.01	-	<0.01	<0.01	-
Educational Status						
Illiterate	83.8	48.6	74	-	-	-
Up to Primary	77.2	42.8	145	65.8	37.6	149
Primary to SLC	70.1	42.4	425	63.5	27.8	705
Higher Secondary or more	60.8	29.4	153	51.9	18.9	360
P-value	<0.01	<0.01	-	<0.01	<0.01	-
Place of Residence						
Rural	69.7	38.9	488	60.6	25.6	836
Urban	72.8	43.0	309	59.8	26.5	378
P-value	0.192	0.325	-	0.777	0.722	-
Type of Family						
Nuclear	71.4	38.0	479	42.4	12.2	85
Joint/Extended	70.1	44.3	318	61.7	27.2	1129
P-value	0.378	0.128	-	<0.01	<0.01	-
Occupation						
Unemployed/Student	72.7	54.5	33	-	-	-
Professionals	57.2	25.4	138	47.4	17.9	211
Manual Labors	78.9	51.4	252	67.5	31.8	268
Petty trade/shop	80.2	41.3	121	61.8	35.4	241
Farming	65.3	35.9	248	63.1	26.9	439
P-value	<0.01	<0.01	-	<0.01	<0.01	-
Caste/Ethnicity						
Brahmin/Chhetri	69.4	39.6	288			
Janaties	76.1	50.6	251			
Non Dalit Terai	59.3	16.3	86			
Dalits/Religious minorities	71.5	39.5	172			
P-value	<0.01	<0.01	-	-		
Total	70.9	40.5	-	25.9	74.1	-

TABLE A5.3

PERPETRATION OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE BY SELECTED BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS

Characteristics	Nepal (n=1000)			Vietnam (n=1425)		
	Ever	Last year	n	Ever	Last year	n
GEM scale						
Low equity	84.3	46.5	127	69.8	33.6	126
Moderate equity	70.7	41.4	573	60.0	24.7	918
High equity	54.6	27.8	97	55.3	26.9	170
P-value	<0.01	<0.05	-	<0.05	0.074	-
Experience of gender inequity in childhood						
Yes	75.4	40.5	427	63.4	28.2	818
No	65.7	40.5	370	54.0	21.4	396
P-value	<0.05	0.248	-	<0.01	<0.01	-
Relationship control index						
Low	67.4	36.0	89	64.8	35.2	145
Moderate	71.7	39.2	584	58.3	28.5	940
High	69.4	50.0	124	70.5	38.8	129
P-value	0.768	0.367	-	<0.05	<0.05	-
Ever abuse of alcohol						
Yes	77.3	46.0	454	61.2	26.8	1208
No	62.4	33.2	343	55.2	20.7	217
P-value	<0.01	<0.01	-	0.087	<0.05	-
Economic Stress						
Yes	74.3	43.6	479	60.9	29.4	486
No	64.5	33.0	276	61.4	27.2	786
P-value	<0.01	<0.01	-	0.465	0.216	-
Total	70.9	40.5	-	25.9	74.1	-

Tables of chapter 7

TABLE A7.1

SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH KNOWLEDGE ABOUT DIFFERENT GENDER-RELATED LAWS						
Characteristics	Preventing sex selective abortion		Violence against women		Inheritance rights to daughters	
	Nepal	Vietnam	Nepal	Vietnam	Nepal	Vietnam
Age						
18-24 years	44.2	21.5	74.3	65.9	71.9	32.6
25-34 years	41.0	27.5	69.3	64.4	74.8	40.3
35-49 years	40.7	24.1	64.7	58.5	72.6	36.7
P - value	0.62	0.19	0.03	0.04	0.71	0.13
Educational status						
Illiterate	22.5	-	38.8	-	72.5	-
Up to primary	31.8	6.4	49.7	36.3	72.2	16.6
Primary to SLC	41.5	20.8	71.6	59.8	71.7	35.9
Higher secondary or more	56.7	36.8	87.1	72.5	77.4	45.2
P - value	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0.45	<0.01
Occupation						
Professional	49.4	35.3	82.9	70.6	74.1	43.7
Manual labor	45.8	18.3	71.0	56.3	67.3	36.0
Business/shop	39.8	28.3	71.4	33.1	66.9	43.7
Farming	37.3	20.3	61.3	5.39	75.8	31.4
P - value	0.03	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0.10	<0.01
Place of residence						
Urban	38.2	33.9	71.5	67.7	67.0	41.4
Rural	44.2	20.3	67.3	58.6	77.2	34.7
P - value	0.04	<0.01	0.09	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01

TABLE A7.2

OTHER FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH KNOWLEDGE ABOUT DIFFERENCE GENDER-RELATED LAWS

Characteristics	Preventing sex selective abortion		Violence against women		Inheritance rights to daughters	
	Nepal	Vietnam	Nepal	Vietnam	Nepal	Vietnam
GEM scale						
Low equity	24.7	20.7	45.3	61.4	66.7	42.1
Moderate equity	39.7	20.7	70.5	59.6	71.8	33.8
High equity	70.1	46.7	86.1	70.8	86.1	48.6
P - value	<0.01	<0.01	<0.01	0.01	<0.01	<0.01
Experience of gender inequity in childhood						
Yes	49.9	24.2	72.0	60.5	76.4	37.1
No	32.2	25.4	65.4	63.4	69.1	36.4
P - value	<0.01	0.33	0.02	0.15	<0.01	0.42
Depression scale						
Low	45.9	26.2	70.6	63.0	73.8	39.0
Moderate	31.0	18.7	66.1	55.7	72.2	29.2
High	35.1	27.8	56.8	61.1	64.9	44.4
P - value	<0.01	0.02	0.11	0.06	0.45	<0.01
Economic stress						
Yes	36.6	17.7	67.6	53.3	71.7	30.9
No	48.9	28.4	69.8	64.9	76.0	41.3
P - value	<0.01	<0.01	0.27	<0.01	0.09	<0.01
Deviant men						
Positive	54.3	24.4	77.0	60.9	78.6	36.6
Predictive	34.6	2.58	69.0	63.0	69.5	35.9
Stick to norms	24.7	20.2	45.3	59.6	66.7	43.3
P - value	<0.01	0.47	<0.01	0.69	<0.01	0.35
Hyper masculinity						
Hyper masculine	31.1	25.2	64.3	59.9	71.9	38.5
Not hyper	45.1	26.4	70.5	61.4	73.5	38.5
P - value	<0.01	0.37	0.04	0.35	0.35	0.52

FIGURE A2.1

SAMPLE DESIGN IN VIETNAM

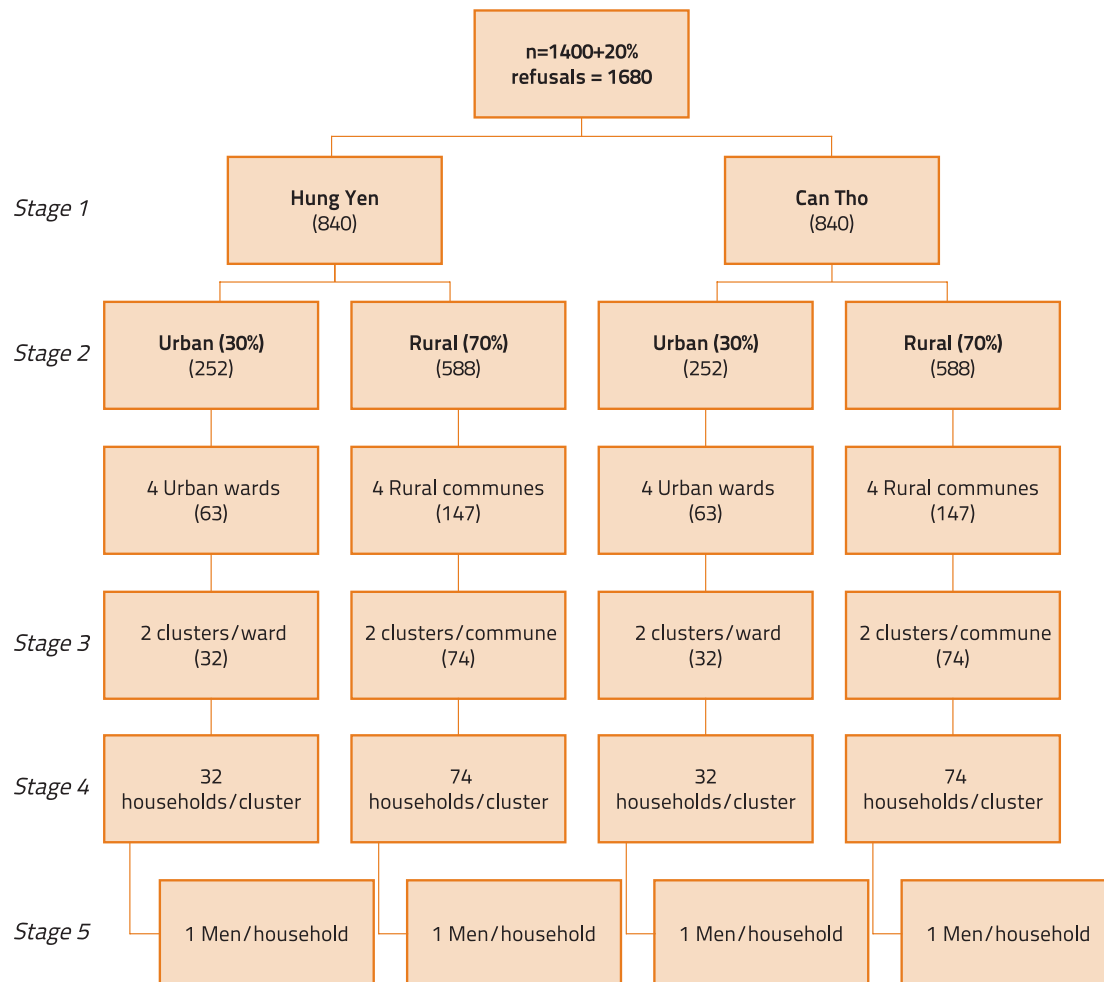


FIGURE A2.2

MAP OF THE RESEARCH LOCATIONS IN VIETNAM



FIGURE A2.3

MAP OF THE RESEARCH LOCATIONS IN NEPAL



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