



MARRIAGE PERCEPTIONS OF FAMILIES IN PHNOM PENH

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This study looks into understanding modern day perceptions and culture of marriages in Cambodia, specifically in Phnom Penh. Through interviews with young girls and discussions with parents, we found out that the girls had limited freedom in the say and choice of their husband. There was a strong sense of filial piety amongst the girls, which accompanies that parents and family input in the consent for marriage. Despite the limited freedom, this is a shift from traditional and conservative societies, where girls has little or almost no say in their marriage. Also, the girls' knowledge of overseas marriage and perspective as a concern with the increasing awareness of marriage trafficking to overseas man. Ultimately, education on marriage and woman empowerment is still lacking. However, through educational programs, we hope to increase their awareness of marriage, and marriage processes to decrease their vulnerable position in their family and society.

Introduction

There has been increasing concern over marriage trafficking of Cambodian women to China and South Korea. Much understanding of this phenomenon by the Cambodian public is through word-of-mouth and local media outlets such as the Phnom Penh Post and Cambodian Daily. Despite extensive research on trafficking of Cambodians to other nations as forced sex workers, fishermen and seafood processing industry workers, little has been done to examine the phenomenon of marriage trafficking of Cambodians to other nations.

Such increasing media concern on marriage trafficking in Cambodia raises many questions, including who is making decisions regarding marriage - Do victims of marriage trafficking truly have the ability to make decisions to choose who they want to marry? Are parents pivotal in their decision to marry to foreign spouses? These are questions that we hope to help unpack through our study of attitudes towards marriage in marginalised urban communities in Cambodia.

This report, therefore, aims to examine attitudes of young women and parents in marginalised urban communities in Phnom Penh towards local and international marriages. Ultimately, this report aims to uncover changing cultural mindsets towards marriage and also provides recommendations to empower young woman and possibly reduce the vulnerability of young women being deceived into Cambodia's marriage trafficking trade.

Background

In our discussion of attitudes of young women and parents of urban communities towards marriages, we utilise the concepts of forced and arranged marriages. Academic understanding of forced marriages have been primarily pivoted in favour of forced marriages under Pol Pot's regime in the Khmer Rouge. Such interest was perhaps more due to the agenda of academics and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) in pushing forced marriages as a crime against humanity [see Jain 2008; Montgomery May 2011; & Anderson and Toy-Cronin 2010]. Such interest also primarily stems from males being equally vulnerable in their absence of choice of their spouse during the Khmer Rouge period.

Despite primarily designing their research based on civil parties who are pursuing legal action for being coerced into marriages under the Khmer Rouge, De Langis, Strasser, Kim and Taing (October 2014) provided coherent understanding of the arrangement of marriages in Cambodia prior to the Khmer Rouge period. They noted that "traditional marriages pre-1975 Cambodia were largely arranged with the consent of the intended, held religious significance ... and had differential gendered impacts on men and women" (p.24). In particular, the social institution of marriage prior to the Khmer Rouge enforces parent-child relations and ensures stability of a 'harmonious society'. Such observations of marriage in the pre-Khmer Rouge period have been expressed below:

Marriages were largely arranged by parents, primarily mothers, and “in most cases, the child’s own inclinations and desires [were] taken into consideration and he/she [was] not forced into doing something distasteful.” In return, parents generally received “obedience, deference, and devotion from their children.” Marriage relationships ranged from those of necessity or convenience to deep mutual “sentiment and regard,” and are most accurately described as alliances between whole families rather than contracts between individuals. The cohesive family unit was considered the foundation of a harmonious society.

(p. 24)

Marriages in Cambodia prior to the Khmer Rouge, therefore, had been largely based on the arrangement by parents but such arrangements were made with respect to the child’s wishes. The parents, then, receive values of filial piety from their children. Given such understanding of the intrinsic link between filial piety and marriage as a social institution in Cambodia, it is therefore imperative for us to address such gap in prevalent literature in understanding the key theme of filial piety in the role of marriage and henceforth develop recommendations in interventions of forced marriages between parents and children.

In addition, it should be noted that marriage is only acknowledged under the principle of mutual consent between one husband and one wife in Cambodia. Under Chapter 3 in the Constitution of Cambodia, Article 45 states that “Marriage shall be conducted according to conditions determined by law based on the principle of mutual consent between one husband and one wife” (n.d.) Interpretation of such article would be that marriage, under the Constitution, should be executed via conditions that are legally recognised; in which are based on the principle of mutual consent between the husband and wife in monogamous marriage. Such views on marriage as laid out by the Constitution in Cambodia has been further extended by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. It has been noted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that “forced marriage is prohibited by Cambodian law, in particular by the Constitution and the Law on Marriage and the Family” (as quoted by Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, December 2003) This was also noted in research conducted by Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada that forced marriage in Cambodia was outlawed in 1989. (February 2007)

Despite the Constitution laying out such conditions based on the principle of mutual consent, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) notes that “...forced marriages still take place since, according to Cambodian tradition, parents decide who their daughters marry. Most marriages in Cambodia are arranged ... (In fact,) about 43 per cent of married women met their husbands for the first time the day they were married, and 78 per cent had no say in the choice of their future husband” (as quoted Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, December 2003)

In essence, this section has outlined several key themes that this research will unravel. This research will utilise concepts of forced marriages and arranged marriages in discussion of our findings. Our discussion of pre-existing literature provides a background understanding of: a)

marriages and their relevant arrangements within the family prior to Khmer Rouge (in particular how the family might arrange the marriage for their children); b) its relevance to the maintenance of parent-child relations in the family; c) the legality of forced and arranged marriages in modern day Cambodia; and d) the current status of arranged marriages in Cambodia.

Methodology

As part of this survey, qualitative methods were adopted to investigate general perceptions of young women and parents of poorer urban communities in Phnom Penh towards local and international marriages.

Through the assistance from Riverkids, we were able to interview 22 girls aged 13-18. Our participants were randomly chosen for the interview by Riverkids. During the interview, there were 1 translator, 1 interviewer, 2 notetakers and the interviewees. All the interviewers were females for ethical reasons. The interviews were conducted in two locations, namely in Riverkids premises and Westline School.

In the first section of the interview, we asked our participants for their biodata. Next we asked open-ended questions regarding marriage. The interview questions can be seen in Appendix A. In each session, we interviewed our participants in pairs with the exception of the last four interviewees. Each session lasted for around forty to fifty minutes. By pairing up the girls for the interview, they were much more at ease to talk and discuss the subject on marriage. Furthermore, they have some time to think about the questions we asked in order to obtain well-contemplated and detailed response. The results of our research were similarly limited by our research setting as many of the participants had similar responses to some of the questions with their partner.

In addition to the interviews, we conducted two Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) activities with a group of mothers and another group of fathers. We aim to use this method to further complement understandings of the cultural perception of marriage. The interview questions can be seen in Appendix B. These parents who were involved in our research had either children or relatives involved in Riverkids programmes. Each PRA lasted approximately one hour and was conducted in Riverkids premises. Each PRA session was gender-specific to ensure that pre-existing gender relations within marriage will not tilt our results in favour of the views of one gender over another. Moreover, participants will not feel pressured when conversing with participants with the same gender. Since we would like to understand more about perceptions of parents in poorer urban communities on marriage, a focus group PRA is desirable.

Given that marriage trafficking is a pressing issue and our interest in the prevention of such cases, we also worked with two other NGOs: Legal Support for Children and Women (LSCW) and Chab Dai; which have extensive knowledge about this topic.

A comparative fieldwork adopting the same methods with the girls and parents was also conducted in rural areas.¹

¹ The comparative field work done in the rural area of Cambodia is in the Takeo Province, a major sending community in the international labour market. We interviewed ten girls in the province and conducted a total of two PRA with a group of mothers and fathers.

Biodata

Girls

Majority of the girls we interviewed are born in Phnom Penh. 6 out of 24 girls are born outside of Phnom Penh province. They were originally from provinces such as Kampong Thom, Kampong Cham, Prey Veng and Pursat Province. All the girls we interviewed are currently staying in Phnom Penh and attending school. Table 1 below reveals the age profile of our participants while Table 2 shows the spread of our participants across different grade levels:

Age	Number of Girls
13	2
14	6
15	9
16	3
17	1

* One of the participants is unsure of her age.

Table 1: Age profile of girls

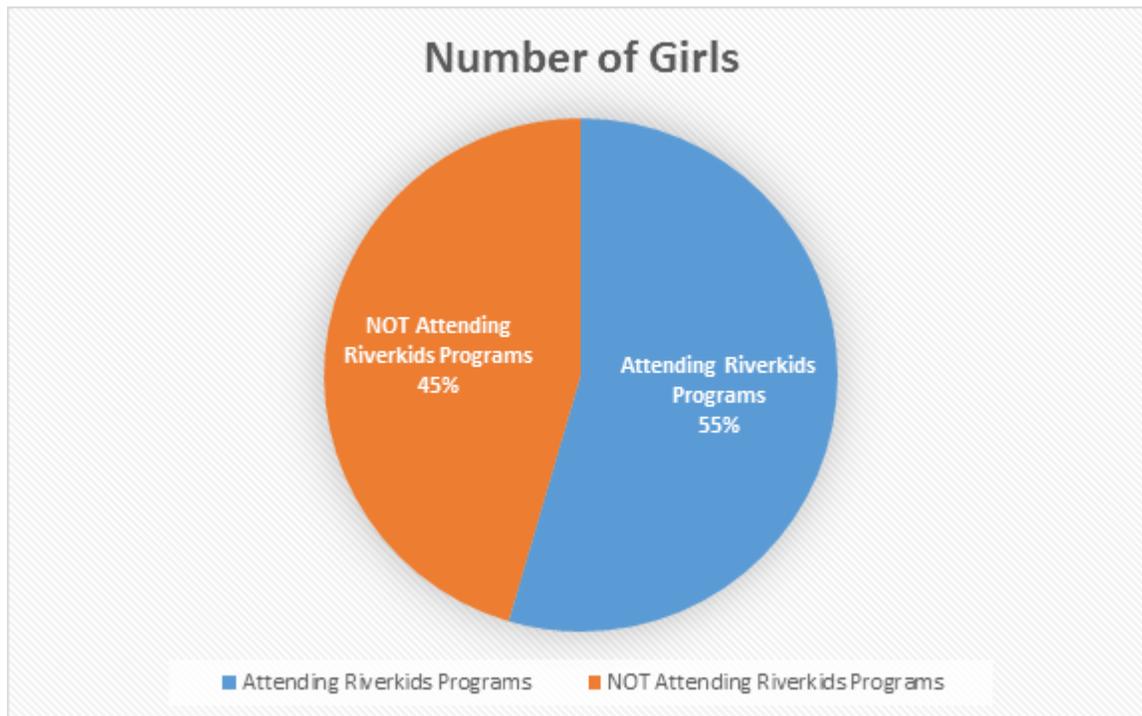
<u>Education Level</u>	<u>Number of Girls</u>
<u>Grade 7</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>Grade 8</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Grade 9</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Grade 10</u>	<u>1</u>

*Participants may not be attending grade level correspondent to their age

Table 2: Educational level of girls

As evident from Table 1 above, the age profile of the girls interviewed ranges 13 to 17; with the majority of around 14 to 15 years old. Table 2, on the other hand, illustrates that the current education level of our participants. Majority of our participants are currently attending Grade 7 and 8.

As mentioned earlier, our interviews composed of both participants who are the beneficiaries of Riverkids programs and participants who are not involved in Riverkids programs. Pie Chart 1 below shows the composition of participants involved in Riverkids Programs:



Pie Chart 1: Percentage of girls attending/not attending Riverkids Programs.

As shown in Pie Chart 1, 55% of the girls that we interviewed are attending Riverkids programs whereas 45% of them are not. A cross-comparative study of attitudes towards marriage between girls who are attending Riverkids and girls who are not attending Riverkids is not conducted. Rather, we aim to conduct research regarding general attitudes and perception of young girls towards marriage.

Parents

Basic biodata from parents who were involved in our research was also collected. Table 3 below shows the general profile of parents that were involved in our study:

		FEMALE				MALE		
Participant number		A	B	C	D	E	F	G
Age		37	47	41	50	46	50	33
Number of children attending RK programmes	Boys:	0	1 (16)	0	0	0	0	0
	Girls:	1 (12)	0	1 (13)	1 (13)	1 (16)	1(12)	0

Table 3: Profile of the parents

As evident from Table 3 above, seven parents were involved in this PRA activity. These participants are from 33 to 50 years of age. All of our participants had daughters, and about 71 per cent of our participants had their daughter attending Riverkids programmes.

Findings

Future Plans

Of the 22 girls that we have interviewed, 20 of them shared that they would like to get married in the future. However, it is not their top priority in five to ten years from now. All of their responses regarding their top priority revolves around getting a stable job and completing their education. The list of the occupations that the girls would like to pursue in time to come can be seen in table 3 below. All of them mentioned that this is their top priority is because they want to earn enough money to support their parents and family. The girls stated that only after they have earned enough money, they would then consider marriage.

The other 2 girls shared that they have no plans for their future yet, either in their careers or in marriage.

List of Occupations	Number of Girls
Doctor	5
Teacher	4
Fashion Designer/ Beautician	3
Nurse	2
Host/MC	1
Accountant	1
Air Stewardess	1
Model	1
Singer	1
Secretary	1

*Two of the participants are uncertain of what type of occupations they would like to pursue.

Table 3: List of occupations that the girls would like to pursue.

Some of the girls were more specific with regards to their marriage plans. 12 of the girls shared that they would like to get married at specific ages or after a few years of working. The age of getting married ranges from about 20-30 years, and 2-4 years after working to get married. This shows that the girls in the urban areas would like to at least finish their education, start working for a few years before getting married. Hence the likelihood of the girls dropping out of school

for marriage is low. However this does not mean that they are not vulnerable to forced or unwanted marriage. Their vulnerability to forced or arranged marriage stems from the fact that they prefer to work first to earn a decent amount of money to improve the financial situation in the family. Therefore, it could be more probable for girls to drop out of school for income rather than for marriage.

As we probed further to ask them why they want to get married, out of the 22 responses, only nine were able to clearly state their reasons. They explain that they want to get married because “they met someone that they like”, “want to have a family” and “it is a tradition that girls will have to marry”. It is surprising to note that the majority of the girls (13) do not have clear reason why they want to get married. It would be desirable for girls to have reasons for wanting to marry, such as meeting someone whom they love. It is therefore essential to understand such reasons to empower girls to be less vulnerable to be pressured by their parents or relatives into marriages.

Filial Piety

Girls

16 of the 22 girls shared that they want to find their own husband. This could possibly be the effect of western ideals and influence. However the other 6 girls mentioned that they will follow and listen to their parents decision in terms of choosing their husband. Such notions of listening to their parents could entail: a) obeying their parents intentions of how they wish for her to find a partner (i.e. whether their parents would wish for the girls to find their partner by themselves or through arranged marriage); and b) arrangements with regards to marriage preparations.

Although the majority of the girls would prefer to look for their husband themselves, their parents still have the final say. The girls mentioned that when their parents disapprove of their future husband-to-be, they will obey their parent’s idea. Some of the reasons that the girls shared with us as to why they will obey their parents are: they are much more knowledgeable, they raised them, they know who will be suitable for them better since they know their daughter well or they are not to disobey their parents. Only one of our interviewees mentioned:

“If my parents disapprove of the man I choose, I would first ask my parents why and try to understand why they reject him.” (SreyLin, 15)

This shows that SreyLin believes in understanding the rationale for their parents’ disapproval instead of just ‘blindly’ listening to them.

Overall, many of the girls believe that the parents ultimately have the final decision in the matters regarding marriage, and possibly towards many other things in life. However we want the girls to know that they have the right to make life choices for themselves and they have the right to say no if they do not want to marry someone that they do not like.

Parents

When asked if they would like their daughters to find their own husband or for them to arrange their daughter's marriage, all of our participants revealed that they would encourage their daughters to find their own spouse. This was indeed surprising, given that most of our participants were married through arranged marriages. Some of our participants recognised that the society is different from where they used to live and hence would prefer for their children to find their own spouses. Participant A noted that "Nowadays it's not like before, our children can find their spouses by themselves."

Ultimately, many of our participants highlighted that they were more concerned over the happiness of their daughter rather than the ability to choose who she marries. Participant C said that "I want to choose a good guy for my daughter; someone my daughter likes and not force her. I don't want the wrong person for my daughter." Participant E, on the other hand, mentioned that "Clothes that may look nice on me may not fit her. It is better if my daughter can find the best man for herself." These quotes illustrate that parents from our research group recognise the importance of their child's happiness over what they want in a potential son-in-law.

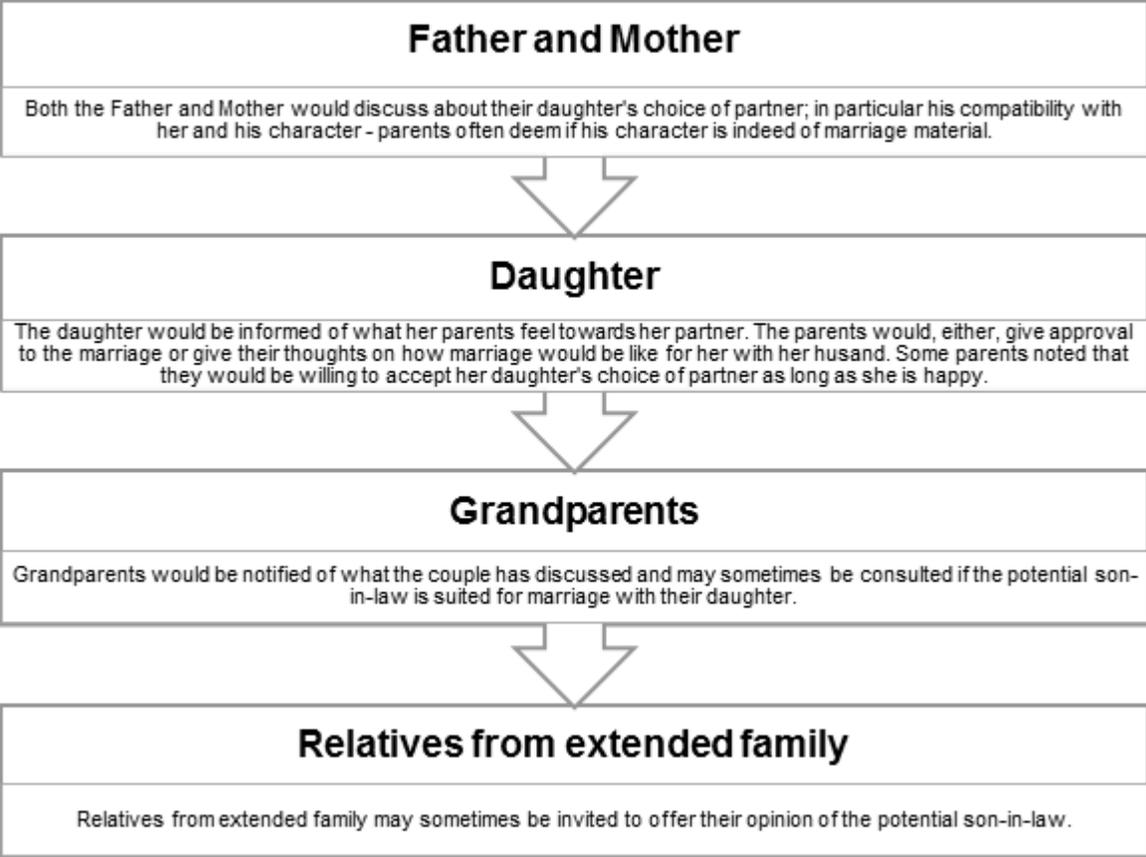
The above findings reveals that an overwhelming number of parents would allow their daughters to find a man of their choice. This finding contrasts with our interviews with girls as discussed earlier. Most girls we interviewed would prefer to find their own spouses but would look up to their parents for their approval of their potential spouses given their knowledge and wealth of life experience. Such a disparity in findings is enlightening because we could understand that daughters are still given the choice to choose a partner of their preference despite their perception that the final choice lies with their parents. This finding also extends to our discussion regarding marriage in the pre-Khmer Rouge times earlier - parents would primarily arrange the marriage but the child would have the ultimate choice in their partner; and in return, the child gives deference and obedience to her parents.

Such findings, therefore, essentially recognise the pivotal role of filial piety and parents being obliged to give advice to their children in marriages between their daughter and her partner. Programs targeted at encouraging marriage based on the principle of mutual consent should therefore ideally involve focus group discussions on marriage as a method of prevention against forced marriages.

Discussion of marriage within the family

Two groups of parents were asked regarding the discussion that the family has with the daughter's marriage. The parents shared a general flow which consisted of the parents making a joint discussion and decision regarding their daughter's choice of husband, and subsequently advising the daughter in her choice. Our participants also shared that grandparents and sometimes relatives are involved in the decision making process. Some mothers also shared

the need for a collective consensus amongst the elders in the family and occasionally the extended family as well. This seems that the family has some same in the approval of the marriage. Flowchart 1 below illustrates a generalised process of discussion that would take place within the family once the daughters of our participants raises the topic of marriage with her partner:



Flowchart 1: Flow of discussion within the family with regards to potential son-in-law

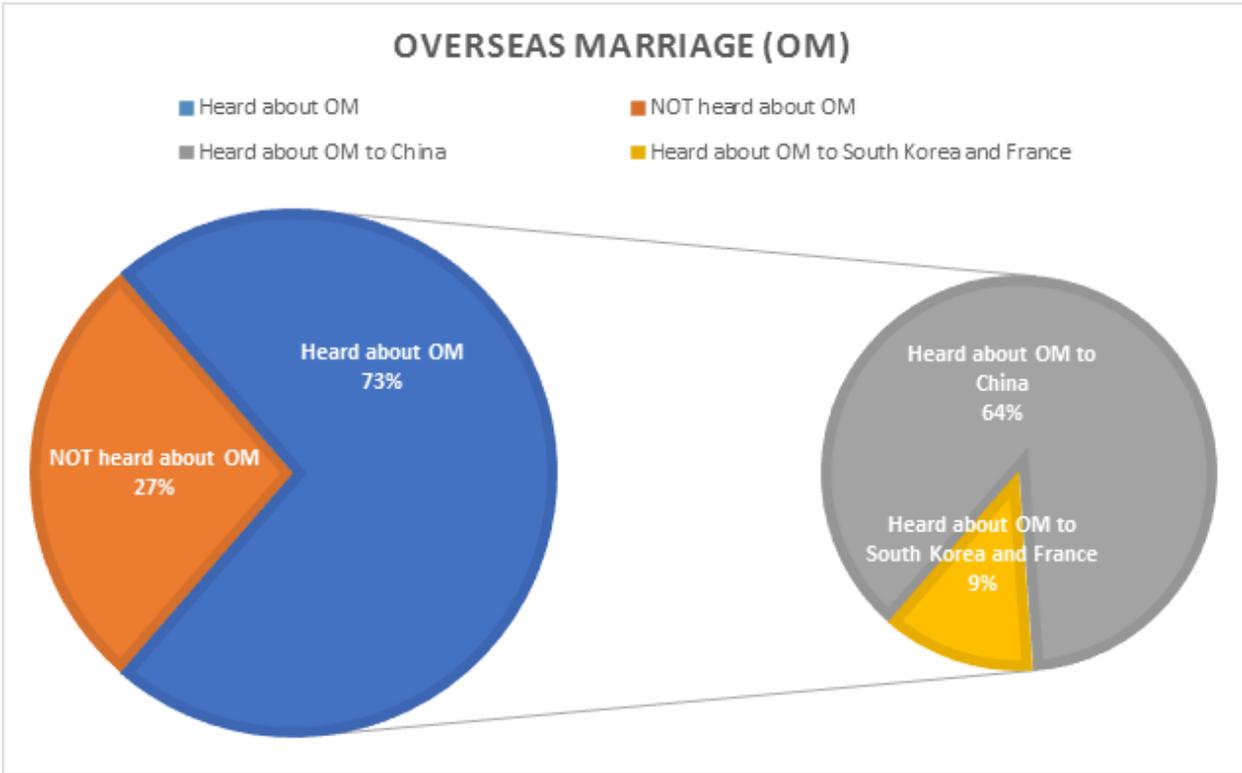
Flowchart 1 represents how discussion might take place within the family as the daughters of our participants raise the topic of marriage with their partner. Our participants were asked about the decision-making process in approving their potential son-in-law. Once the daughter approaches her parents with the intention of marrying her partner, both parents would engage in discussion on whether the partner would be compatible with their daughter. This could include if they find the potential son-in-law to be of marriage material, and his compatibility with their daughter. The daughter is then informed of their opinions on her partner. Some parents reflected that they would still give approval to her marriage with a man that they feel is unsuited for her because they would ultimately want their daughter to be happy. This decision is then passed down to the girl's grandparents; in which they might sometimes be asked on their opinion of the partner. The same is subsequently repeated with relatives from the extended family.

It is worthy of note, however, that such process may not extend to this entire chain of relatives as noted in Flowchart 1. In fact, some of our participants would stop their discussion at the level of grandparents; opting not to involve extended relatives in the discussion of the potential son-in-law. Even though it could be acknowledged that some families would opt not to involve extended relatives in such discussions, it is evident that there is a great concern and level of involvement of relatives with regards to the marriage of a family member. This perhaps extends to what has been discussed earlier - in addition to the maintenance of parent-child relationship, marriage fosters involvement of the entire family and is not delimited to the involvement of parents only.

Such a finding underlines the importance of involving families in prevention of forced marriage arrangements. Despite our participants stating they would prefer their daughter to search for her spouse by her own means, the lengthy discussion within the family illustrates the importance of involving families rather than educating girls to prevent forced marriages. It is therefore essential to work within local culture in such consultation processes to inculcate the importance of helping girls in empowering them the power of being able to be in a marriage based on mutual consent rather than feeling pressured into a forced marriage due to parental pressure.

Hence, as discussed above, the overall approval and planning of the marriage would entail great degree of involvement of family members. With greater concern about the former, parents are now moving away from traditional customs and giving their daughters autonomy to choose their own spouse. However, the freedom is limited as the parents still have some say in the decision, through the form of giving advice or even intervening in the relationship.

Perceptions of overseas marriage



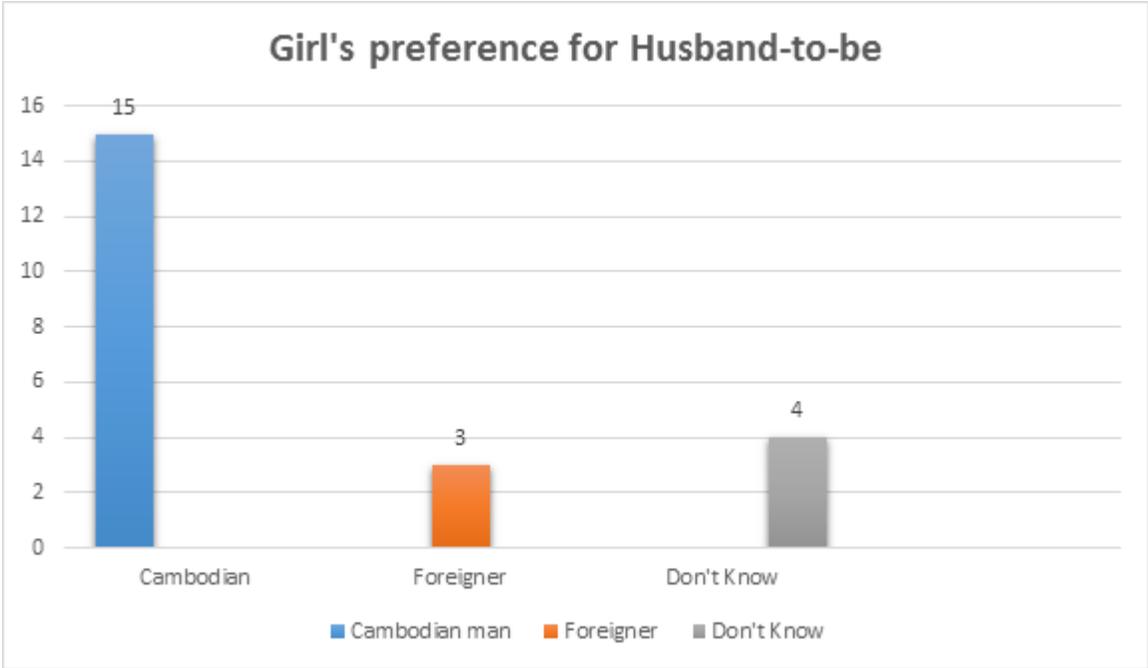
Pie Chart 2: Have they heard about Overseas Marriage(OM)?

73% of the girls mentioned that they have heard about marriage overseas as shown in the pie chart 2. All of the girls who have heard about marriage overseas did so through their relatives and neighbours. Four of the girls heard about overseas marriage through television programmes. 14 of them (64%) heard about marriage to China and the other two (9%) heard about marriage to France and South Korea.

Out of the 14, 8 girls mentioned that overseas marriage was a good experience. The rest stated that they had both positive and negative experiences of overseas marriage. Most of the negative experiences of marriage overseas involve violence or exploitation of the women. It seems like most of the girls have heard about overseas marriage but do not know much about marriage trafficking. In addition the country that they heard most about regarding marriage overseas is China. This further emphasised the issue that marriage to China is rampant. Thus, it is important to raise awareness about what are the issues to look out for in terms of overseas and local marriage and what marriage trafficking is so that girls will not be easily deceived into overseas or local marriage due to the good experience that they have heard.

According to discussion with the NGOs, it is highlighted that one such deceptive tool for marriage is through the recruitment for jobs. Since finding a good job with financial stability is extremely important to the girls, especially after finishing their education, it is essential to

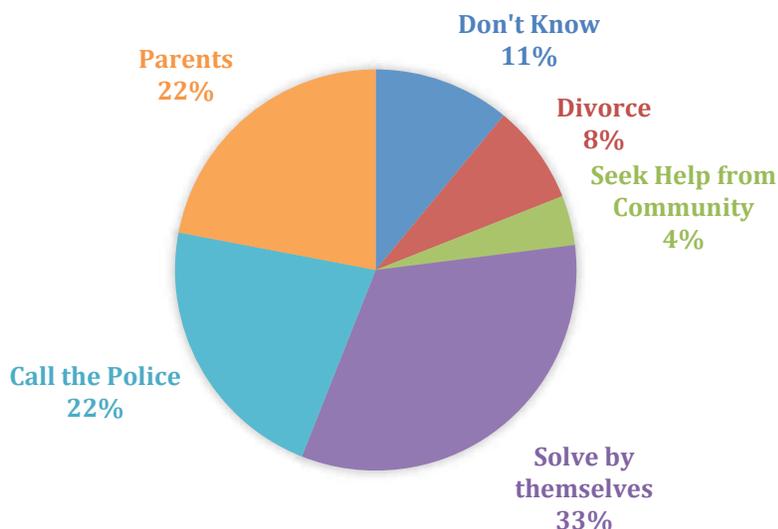
educate the girls on how they can source for a reliable and legal jobs so that it will decrease the chances of them getting trafficked or being exploited for other jobs in return for money.



Bar Graph 1: Girl's preference for husband-to-be.

15 of the girls stated that they prefer to marry a Cambodian man as seen in Bar Graph 1 above. The reason why they prefer Cambodian man is because of the ease of communication as compared to when marrying a foreigner.

WAYS PROPOSED BY GIRLS TO OVERCOME ISSUES IN MARRIAGE



Pie Chart 3: Ways proposed by girls to overcome the issues in marriage.

*Some of the girls mentioned multiple channels on how they will overcome the issues in marriage.

*The issues in marriage that we described to the girls range from domestic issues such as quarrelling, violence, abuse or even knowing that they are being trafficked for marriage.

According to Pie Chart 3, it is noted that when the girls met with a problem in the marriage, most of them will try to solve and overcome the issue by themselves. However, for more severe issues in the marriage such as abuse and violence, they will try to ask their parents for help or even call the police for help. 8% of them would resort to divorce.

One of the girls stated that: "If there are issues within the marriage, I will bring it up to the police and will also ask my parents for help because they can solve the marriage problem better than me. If I am overseas, I will go to the Cambodian embassy. (SreyLin, 15)

It is a good sign that most of the girls would want to be responsible in resolving their issues. However, it would be good for them to know what are the possible hotlines that they can contact should the need arise.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the girls seem to have some idea about marriage, both local and overseas. Accompanied with the parents discussion, there is some hope that the girls have more power and autonomy in the decision of finding her husband than in the past. However, there is still much uncertainty due to the lack of knowledge of marriage plans and perceptions of man in Cambodia and overseas. Hence, it would be desirable for NGOs such as Riverkids to consider the recommendations suggested below to empower girls through education, and also to protect and prevent the girls from being deceived or hurt in forced or arranged marriages:

1. Educate them about what marriage involves and why people get married. Marriage is something that they should not rush into easily and it is not something that they can barter in exchange for money.
2. Educate them about marriage processes. These could include both cultural customs and legal processes. If the girls happen to marry whom they love, what are the legal documents that she need to prepare or things to be careful of in an overseas marriage arrangement.
3. It is also essential to involve parents in such education programmes due to the intrinsic link between Cambodian family values and marriage of the child. Our findings, as suggested earlier, showed girls looking to their parents for the ultimate approval of their marriage partner. It is recommended that focus group discussions be carried out with facilitators in promoting values of marriage based on principles of mutual consent. The use of such focus group discussions would be great to help parents rethink their pre-existing conception of marriage and their role in their daughter's marriage.
4. Increase awareness about marriage trafficking so that they are aware about:
 - a. What marriage trafficking is and what the usual means of recruitment is.
 - b. How they can protect and prevent themselves from being trafficked.
5. It would be good to teach girls how they can overcome problems and protect themselves when something happens in their marriage. For instance, we can give the girls different scenarios of what will happen in a marriage (e.g. violence (physical, verbal, sexual), miscommunication, overworking etc.) and teach them how they can approach and resolve the issue and protect themselves. Also, sound out to the girls the possible channels for help, for example, marriage counsellors, the police, care hotline and embassies (if they are overseas).
6. Teach the girls that they have the right to say NO and they have the power to make life decisions.

Since Riverkids is currently running the Get Ready program for teenage girls between 11 and 21 years old, it may be possible to incorporate some of these recommendations that we have suggested into this programme. These may be more appropriate and relevant for girls who are older, 16 years and above, since they would start thinking and planning for their future.

In conclusion, this study has helped to analyse the perceptions and mindsets that young girls and parents have towards planning for the marriage. We also hope that the measures

suggested will help to protect girls from vulnerability through education, awareness, and early prevention .

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Appendix A: Interview with Girls

Questionnaire- Biodata

Name (for research)		Education level	
Age		Years attending programmes at RK	
Place of Birth (state if current residence is different from this)			
Number of older Siblings (state age)	Boys: Girls:	Number of younger siblings (state age)	Boys: Girls:
Past occupations		Current occupation	

Interview questions

1. Where do you see yourself 5-10 years from now? Married or working or both?
2. When would you see yourself getting married?
3. Why do you want to get married?
4. What is your ideal marriage? Would you want to get married in Cambodia or do you have other plans?
5. Will you be able to plan your marriage? Or will your parents intervene? How do you feel about it?
6. How would you think that marriage would differ if you get married to local and a foreigner. What issues might happen? Do you know anyone that has gone overseas for marriage?
7. How can you overcome the situation?

Appendix B: PRA with parents

Questionnaire- Biodata

Name for research		Education Level	
Age		Age you were married	
Number of Children (indicate age)	Boys: Girls:	Number of children attending RK programmes	Boys: Girls:
Number of children married		How many people are working in your family	
Place of Origin		Current Residence	
Occupation		Occupation of Spouse	

PRA Discussion

1. Arranged or Love- How would you like your daughters to find their husband? Is it by themselves (love), or arranged by you (arrange)?

Love	Arrange

The parents would then indicate on the table with a tick. Next, they would be asked to explain their choice.

2. What are some criterias for choosing/approving the man to be your son-in-law. These criterias shared will be listed on the left most column of the table as seen below.

3. Next, have you heard of Cambodians marrying foreigners? What are some of the countries?

The countries shared will be the headers for rows in the table below.

Criteria	Cambodia	(Another country shared by the participants)
(Criteria 1)		
(Criteria 2)		
(Criteria 3)		

On the table, each participant is required to rank how important that criteria is, from the scale of 1-3, 1 being the least important and 3 being the most important. The scoring was done by country, ie the ranks were first done for Cambodia, then for another country.

They would need to elaborate the reason for the rank for the criteria. Also, participants would be asked if there is a difference in rank for the criteria between countries.

4. Describe the decision making process in approving the man to be your son-in-law.

D F M GP R

D: Daughter, F: Father, M: Mother, GP: Grandparents, R: Relatives.

Participants would point out the decision making process. For example, D→ F+M→ GP+ R → F+M, is one such example. If other players are involved, they would be asked who and how they play a role.