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# Gender & Economic Choice

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## Papua New Guinea country work

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### Rapid Qualitative Assessment to inform the World Development Report (WDR 2012) on Gender

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To inform the *World Development Report on Gender Equality and Development (WDR 2012)*, as well as country policy dialogues and programs, the World Bank commissioned rapid qualitative assessments on gender and economic decision-making. **Papua New Guinea is one of those 10 countries.** The purpose of the assessments undertaken by the Institute of National Affairs was to explore:

- women's and men's subjective views of and experiences with making key economic decisions, such as how to make a living and how to build and protect major assets; and
- whether and how the gender norms that surround these choices may be shifting—as educational opportunities expand, as the economy changes, and as mobile phone and Internet connectivity rises.

The methodology is designed to explore the gender dimensions that surround economic decision-making processes, and whether and how they may be changing. Questions are posed that often require the participants to reflect on and grapple with inequitable gender power relations and social norms in their societies.

The study of power relations is particularly concerned with the use (or abuse) of power by more advantaged social groups; and fundamentally, an examination of the gender dimensions of power relations is about the extent to which men control women. This assessment, however, is exploring whether and how women may be assuming more control over their lives in areas that relate to important economic decisions.

Potential shifts in men's decision making processes are probed as well. And because power is relational, the focus group also examines how major economic decisions are considered, negotiated, and pursued with family members and with other actors in the marketplace and wider community.

The questions seek to uncover whether the processes surrounding economic decision making in the different arenas are gender inclusive and cooperative. Laden with conflict? Or perhaps inaccessible to women? Questions also probe how gender roles and norms in these different arenas may be changing.

Social norms refer to the informal and formal rules that govern what a person can and cannot do as they go about their daily life. Gendered social norms stem from a society's values of what it means to be a "real" woman or a "real" man. Such norms guide what women and men say, what they wear, how they behave. This assessment is looking for evidence of shifting gender norms, and how such shifts may be affecting the economic options and decisions of women and men in their different roles as individuals, members of households, workers, and citizens.

In many if not most societies, gender roles and norms interact to create higher expectations on and more opportunities for males than females to achieve in school, to be good providers, and to command control over assets. Gender roles and norms also dictate that females shoulder disproportionate responsibilities for unpaid domestic and caretaking work, responsibilities that "real" women should not question. However, such gender stereotypes are going through profound changes as more and more women have been pushed and pulled into the paid labor force worldwide. But the gendered social norms that surround men's and women's respective economic and caretaking roles are proving more resistant to change and a source of great stress on both sexes.

In data collected over a decade ago for *Voices of the Poor*, for example, many men across countries were facing unemployment and expressed humiliation and anger over being unable to maintain their status as the sole or main breadwinner in the home. In response, many women took up or expanded their livelihood activities to help their families cope; but they reported feeling overburdened by having to expand these responsibilities on top of their considerable household duties. In numerous contexts where male unemployment is particularly high, increased tensions in the household are widely reported as well as increased alcoholism, domestic violence, and other anti-social behaviors among men. Recent fieldwork conducted to assess the impacts of the global economic crisis suggests that inequitable gender structures and norms, and their consequences, are changing but continue to place great stress on many societies.

The focus group questions are designed to deepen our understanding of these trends by exploring the gender dimensions of processes surrounding women's and men's key choices about education, occupations, and accumulation and protection of major productive assets. These are choices that profoundly shape one's productivity, earning power, resilience to shocks, and social standing; and these choices bear quite directly on the underpinnings and dynamics of gender inequalities in a society and its potential for inclusive development. In addition, some emphasis is placed in the focus group discussions on the transition to adulthood and earning a living because: "The start toward a working life is considered by many social scientists as the most important marker of independence."<sup>1</sup>

It must be stressed that control over economic decisions is but one dimension of understanding gender inequalities. Yet, as Amartya Sen notes, "It so happens that the enhancement of human capabilities also tends to go with an expansion of productivities and earning power."<sup>2</sup>

***This qualitative research was conducted by the Institute for National Affairs, INA, with financial support from the World Bank and the Government of Australia.***

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<sup>1</sup> World Bank. *World Development Report on Youth*. (2007), Washington, DC.: 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Development as Freedom*, New York: Anchor, 2002: 92.

## Executive Summary of Qualitative Research Findings

*Gender equality is about 'both men and women performing roles and tasks, men and women making decisions together, however men dominate or try to dominate in the community.' [Women in Koikin]*

### Introduction, Context, and Methodology

Achieving gender equity in Papua New Guinea remains a challenge. Women and young females are less likely to access formal labor markets and participate as key decision-makers, and the status of women remains low across Papua New Guinea. Gender norms remain unchanged and continue to determine the different roles women and men take on while in certain instances restricting undermining women's abilities as key economic contributors and in development. In communities, youth behavior resulting in unsafe communities compounds the issue of access and restricts easy and safe movement of women and girls. This assessment on **Gender and Economic choice** assesses qualitatively the dynamics of why and how gender norms sometimes shift in ways that enhance women's agency and gender equality. Local researchers convened 63 focus groups in 16 communities<sup>3</sup> between January 2011 and January 2012. The groups were organized by sex and age groups, with male and female youths, and adults each meeting separately. They discussed wide range of topics including reasons for happiness and favorite free time activities; decisions surrounding when to leave school, where to work, and family formation; and gender differences in accumulating savings and controlling major assets. Questions also explored problems of domestic violence, public safety, and women's physical mobility. One module charted how young women and men spend their days, and another explored different levels of power and freedom that a woman or a man might have in their communities.

The study aims to shed light on the changing conditions and environments facing communities in Papua New Guinea, and to explore how perceptions of aspects such as happiness, security, opportunities and political processes are defining and shaping a more equal or unequal environment for women.

### Findings in Key Topic Areas

#### *Perceptions of Happiness in Communities*

**Lack of safety in the community due to increasing incidents of crime, youth's involvement in alcohols and drugs, and lack of services are three common factors that contribute to lack of happiness in all sites and across all groups.** On the other hand, sources of happiness come from access to resources and the ability to make money, but also factors such as access to services and family support and relations play a role. In terms of gender differences, young females are happier than young males (7/11 sites), while adult men report feeling happier than adult women (9/11 sites).

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<sup>3</sup> Field surveys were at two time periods and across the following sites: Ensisi (National Capital District) as an urban site, and in rural sites: Hangan (Buka, Autonomous Region of Bougainville), Koikin (Wewak, ESP), Maiwara (Alotau, MBP), Munum (Lae, Morobe) and Pit (Mt Hagen, WHP) Gabagaba (Central), Muschu (Vanimo, Sandaun), Loni (Manus), Rempi (Madang), Mangai (New Ireland), Faniufa (Goroka, Eastern Highlands), Kulungi (West New Britain), Mepu 1+2 (Western Province), Double Cross Settlement (Oro), and Mata-Womai (Simbu).

The main gender differences are due to, among others, women's struggles daily to make ends meet, women's access to land and resources, and influx of outsiders which bring more problems into communities, breakdown in families and increasing safety concerns.

Across all sites, groups in rural communities related their happiness to access to abundant resources, the ability to make money whenever needed through for example the sale of coffee, cocoa, copra, oil palm, or garden produce, community cooperation, living with families and in their own villages/communities, having access to family support and living in close proximity to towns (and some services). Youths also includes their involvement in community initiatives and decision-making as an important factor for happiness. On the other hand, lack of safety in the community due to increasing incidents of crime, youth's involvement in alcohols and drugs, and lack of services are three common factors that contribute to lack of happiness in all sites and across all groups.

**Male happiness relates to the high priority they give to social networks.** Men consider their friends, acquaintances and neighbors more important in their lives than women do. The system of mutual obligation and reciprocal exchange remains a key feature in Papua New Guinea societies today and reciprocal relations and connections maintained in village life are central and more associated with men. Across the rural sites, everyone is related to each other and people's neighbours are often kin or extended family. Individuals and families, when in need seek help from their families and friends, in instances of need (illness) and to assist in settling other obligations (marriage and death/funeral feasts). Women on the other hand have less time accumulate and maintain friendships. Women and men, generally, do not keep platonic relationships without risking sexual suspicion and jealousy. This can impede on a woman's ability to participate in economic development. Even in rural settings, women's networks are contained in women-only groups within family links. A woman in Munum said women and men kept separate groups and another woman from Pit said her friends were only women and family members.

**All respondents in both rural and urban sites and across all groups share the view that crime rates have increased in the last ten year.** Close proximity with urban centres, main road links and large-scale development activities, which brings about an influx of 'outsiders' are seen as contributing factors to the break-down in law and order by women. There are some differences between genders regarding perceptions of safety in communities. For example, in Loniu, males did not consider their communities unsafe at all now or ten years ago, but adult females clarified that the community is not a safe environment for their daughters who will not move around without being accompanied by brothers or son. It would seem then, safety a female problem.

The issue of personal security affects women's and girls' choices in formal employment outside of their homes/villages or in managing businesses, impacting their economic participation and income generation capacity. Lack of personal safety affects women and girls more than men and boys with regards to finding work outside of their homes and as well managing businesses and women and young girls are sometimes unable to take on employment in the urban areas or elsewhere due to security concerns.

#### ***Education and Labour Market Participation (youth initiative, access to jobs)***

Young people's access to education and participation in the labour market are dictated by a number of issues. The most important of these are cultural and economic factors. Cultural norms continue to determine socially acceptable roles for males and females. Males tend to do heavy work while

women are more involved in caring and household related work, such as selling in markets, looking after pigs and household related work. Girls also spend more time on household and related chores than boys.

Both adults and young people consider education as important for jobs and development in their communities however, lack of opportunities and financial resources are two main factors that cause young people to leave education mid-school. All youths list lack of qualifications and skills as constraining factors to finding paid work, which leads to a reliance on farming, or semi-skilled labour in places such as Maiwara, Double Cross, Kulungi (oil palm) and Koikin and Rempu (tuna cannery). Those who have completed either Grade 10 or 12 level education are often unable to find available work due to 'wantok system' or 'whom who know' system.

Income-generating activities for boys and girls are currently limited to informal markets (e.g. market stalls along the roads, second hand markets) and cash crops. Young women's choices are further limited by cultural norms; for example, they participate in the informal market while young males are more likely to earn a living from cash crops such as coffee or cocoa, copra or oil palm. There is little support available to gain basic business and entrepreneurial skills, which would better prepare youths to live on their own lands, maintain cash crop plots and blocks, and earn a living.

**There is a tendency for parents to invest their scarce resources in a son's education rather than on a daughter's at tertiary levels.** Boys are therefore more likely to complete education with the support of parents after dropping out of school. Girls are more likely to complete their education if given the opportunity while boys leave to take up skills training or jobs training. The decision to discontinue schooling is often made for economic reasons by parents, or sometimes, by young people themselves. Financial support for school fees and expenses is a main factor in youths completing education. In all rural communities, parents and young boys and girls decide to end education mid-school due to lack of financial capacity of parents. Free education is not yet universal and national government scholarships are limited, resulting in large numbers of tertiary school-aged youth drop outs in the villages. Youths' choices and initiatives to participate in labour and market opportunities are limited due to a lack of education and job opportunities. The lack of opportunities for youths for education, skills training and in the labour market is seen as a main cause of youths' consumption of alcohol and drugs, whose production and sale are also a form of easy income. Many youths interviewed express a will to have leaders take control of, and help resolve, issues that affect them, as well as mentor and help them to become more productive in alternative ways to formal jobs within their own communities (boys and girls alike). Youths' participation needs to occur within key decision-making processes within communities, rather than as separate youth volunteer tasks.

Access to markets and labour opportunities for women and young girls are limited due to personal safety concerns and lack of reliable transport. Safe accommodation away from villages is unreliable, hence girls' and women's opportunities are curtailed as a result. Where safe transport alternatives to PMV (public motor vehicles) are provided, women and girls are able to move to and from markets and work places and therefore have higher chances of securing jobs outside of their communities

#### ***Gender norms and economic choices***

Both male youths and adults emphasized that certain customs ensure gender specific roles. Customs and norms continue to determine particular gender roles in communities across PNG (e.g., household related jobs of cleaning, cooking, selling are women jobs, or in the formal sector, heavier

or more technical jobs are men only jobs). Education and awareness programs contribute to the changes in stereotypical gender roles (mechanics, technicians and drivers) and to a certain extent enable more acceptance of equality between men and women. However stronger resistance by males stem from the cultural accepted norm of male-figurehead and is often used to cloak an unease in male ego and unwillingness (when under peer scrutiny or view) to accept changing roles between men and women. And women's do they comply with the norm out fear. Equal decision-making in homes over work, income and other family matters remains a challenge.

### ***Family Formation***

Young people choose their own partners, start families at very young age (girls at 15-18 and often younger than males) and follow their choice of marriage practices. In instances of teenage pregnancy, often a boy has no responsibilities unless forced by parents from either side. Young people get married (normally, at ages 18, 20 for girls and 25 for boys), their spouses, parents, the extended family and clan members inevitably become involved. While parents prefer formal church and customary marriages, most young people to follow neither. Marriage is generally seen to be quite expensive, as customary marriages are expensive, and the requirement of bride price and exchange of gifts and foodstuff is often beyond a family's means to meet.

- Today, most young people will choose a spouse on their own, but seek their parents' consent before marriage.
- Most women agreed that decisions about family planning are primarily made by men.
- Divorce is generally frowned upon and is discouraged in the majority of cases. If there are disagreements in a marriage, a couple will seek help from extended families or friends. Often custom discriminates against women on issues of marital property and custody of children. Women are often left with the children while a man can move on and remarry.
- Custody and divorce issues are only brought to court if the church and other community leaders, including chiefs are unable to resolve the issue.

### ***Different roles in decision-making between men and women***

Domestically, gender norms and cultural practices continue to determine the distinct roles men and women take on. Women are given the role of caring/nurturing and household chores, except in situations where women are bread winners. The cultural norm whereby men are perceived to be the heads of households is used by all groups to explain how decisions are made, in areas ranging from jobs, business and income to family planning. The exception is in households headed by single women or widows. All groups recognize that women/mothers may be breadwinners in some individual family situations; however in general, they maintain that decisions over income must be made together by a husband and wife, or in consultation with a husband. The key challenge remains for women to be able to make informed but independent decisions regarding work, income and family planning.

Across all sites, good husbands and wives are expected to fulfill certain 'caring' roles which were not expected in the past generation. Also husband and wives do not value and observe certain customs or cultural obligations which they did in the past. A good wife/husband respects in-laws in all circumstances, and the wife obeys and listens to the husband (submissive) cares for her family and extended relatives and is a hard worker. A good wife today can earn income. She is humble, faithful, and loyal and has good character, including Christian values. In all sites, both men and women said,

failure to maintain the role of a good wife resulted in tensions, fights and domestic violence. Both men and women in all sites agreed that failure to be a good wife leads to fights and domestic violence.

- Men are seen by all communities as heads of families, who make decisions, while women submit to their husbands in order to maintain harmony in the home. A woman can choose to earn a living either within her community or outside so long as her husband consents. In all sites, in the domestic front, a woman exercises limited control over decisions about work and income, and the power to make decisions and choices also depends on other factors such as women's education working and or being single mothers in their households. All respondents said both men and women make decisions together in order to avoid tensions leading to domestic violence.
- There is some hostility from adult men on the perceived rights of women and gender equality. Some men raised concerns that increased rights of women threatens their respect of men, and that awareness of these rights contributed to domestic violence by encouraging women to talk back and question men's decisions.

Gender norms and roles are evolving but only in limited areas. In the public arena, women are taking on leadership roles in church groups and law and order committees. The latter responsibility is in recognition by the community of the capacity of women to be peace-makers and key to resolving issues and conflicts. In political representation (ward and local-level government), while this remains widely male-dominated, women now have nominated representation and within the community women are able to be vocal and speak out against issues affecting women (e.g. violence) as well as youths (e.g. social disturbances due to increasing influences and consumption of drugs and home-brewed alcohol) and community cooperation in community gatherings. Women, however, lack involvement in key political and strategic decision-making processes.

- Gender equality appears to have improved somewhat, with women now better able to take on leadership roles in the public arena, outside of their homes. In general, women speak more positively about gender equality than men.

### ***Perceptions of Gender-based Violence***

Domestic violence is not seen to be decreasing. Across all sites, both men and women reported, generally, an increase in domestic violence in the last ten years. There is a lot of variation between communities, but commonly cited reasons for this increase include increased use of drugs and alcohol, weak and effective law and order structures within the community, increasing frustrations and general rise in lawlessness. Some women also cited the rise in polygamous marriage, resulting from greater economic opportunities, as a contributing factor, as it leads to jealousy.

While awareness of women's rights is often heralded as an important method for combating domestic violence, the survey indicated that this is at times counter-productive. For example, a man in Munum emphasized that the introduction of laws on violence against women has caused problems between men and women, and has therefore contributed to marital violence, while adults in Koikin emphasized that the changes in gender norms and roles, with women now speaking out publicly against husbands, are unacceptable to males and unbecoming of a wife.

### ***Asset Ownership and Accumulation***

Both men and women work to make an income. There is some agreement that women are more likely to save or spend the money on household goods and food, and that women are better managers of money. They are also seen to take on responsibility of earning money in various ways in the community; however, men often make the decisions about family income and spending. There are no alternative savings or loan systems available to women in communities, so community or church based collective savings mechanisms are often relied upon.

- ***Inheritance and cultural norms***

Inheritance follows from father to elder son in all communities, except in Maiwara, Mangai and Hangan. A son will inherit the father's name, position in the clan, land and rights to make decisions over land and resources. A girl child is only given such rights if there are no sons in a family, but a father will ask his brother or nephew to assist the daughter in decisions over land rights. In Maiwara, Mangai and Hangan, land and resource rights are inherited through the mother, and ownership of land and resources sits with women. However, decisions over these rights, as well as regarding income, spending or savings, tend to be made by males, generally brothers and sons of the female landowners.

- ***Remittances***

Reliance on remittances varies from community to community. For example, women in Gabagaba, Loinu, Mangai rely to a large extent on remittances as a major income, while only a few families rely on remittances in Koikin. Across all sites remittances are often used to offset major customary and cultural obligations, as seen in Hangan, Kulungi, Pit and Maiwara, or for large expenses, such as building family homes. However, many emphasise that there is a shortage of money, and only those who have children working or parents running businesses receive substantial remittances. Both sons and daughters send remittances however when asked, youths agree daughters are more likely to send remittances home to their parents than sons.

- ***Savings and loans***

The study shows low utilization rates of banks and/or loan facilities. Women in particular are unlikely to turn to banks for assistance with loans; instead, friends and family are relied upon for financial assistance. Similarly, savings tend to be kept at home, often in little hiding places. Many respondents emphasized that only business men and women have bank accounts and can obtain loans. Through some individual efforts, some women initiatives in informal markets and small holder/integrated agricultural businesses are beginning to take form, however there is very limited capital available to start small-holder enterprises. There are few community credit schemes available and commercial bank policies are not suited to the average village woman interested in starting and/or expanding her business.

### ***Power and Freedom***

**The group discussion that explored social mobility now and ten years ago, which asked men and women questions about the “ladder of power and freedom”, sought their views on factors of educational qualifications, wealth, jobs and leadership roles, general characteristics, money and friends; with those at the top level reporting having more and those at the bottom less. Generally where men show positive mobility in the ladders of power and freedom, women also indicate the**

same. In a number of communities, men however tended not to want to class themselves into separate levels in terms of wealth and power however they were willing to do so in terms of authority of decision-making in community governments (chiefs higher in the ladder with normal men in the bottom) and making education not necessary. Women on the other hand tended to give more descriptions of qualities for each level of the ladders of power and freedom.

Men tended to use mainly leadership, wealth (land and resources apart from money), and respect and community contribution as common features of social mobility across all sites. Both groups tended to value educational qualifications except where communities had chiefs (Hangan is the only community with female chiefs) which required skills and wisdom in decision-making rather than education. All groups placed elected leaders in the top ladder while leaving lazy and disabled at the bottom end. Community contribution (actively giving, participating and leading and working together) and leadership responsibilities and money (from businesses or by marriage) enables women more positive social mobility. Marriage (widows remarrying or prostitutes leaving their trade to marry a working class man) enabled women to move up the ladder.

Ordinary women either at the bottom or middle can also move up the ladder by 'moving their hands' to make a living through market/selling. Disabled people can get assistance the government to gain skills and be useful or get assistance from their families and neighbors.

The adult males could not see men with leadership roles as chiefs moving down until their deaths whereupon the next person inherits such a position.

### ***Law and Policies***

Most women and men are able to identify laws protecting women against violence as well as from marital rape, and they tend to be aware that there are laws on divorce, custody and division of property. However when asked about the impact of these laws on communities, all groups agree that there has been limited impact, and that there is a general lack of interest to maintain or comply with these laws. Respondents emphasized that in order for laws protecting the rights of women to be respected, greater ownership is necessary, and communities must take more control over policing, and rely less on outside intervention for help.

Separate access to justice and responsiveness of the system was also seen as an area of inequity: respondents emphasized that the current legal system is inadequate to redress the breaking of these laws that were meant to protect women. Court proceedings are expensive and courts and officials are difficult to reach for many women in rural villages, while in some cases, customary decision-making processes prohibit or constrain women and children from accessing legal services.

## Conclusion and Way Forward

A full description of the rich findings of the qualitative research in these 16 communities will be found in the full Report, which will be available in April 2012 on the World Bank and INA websites. The following points are drawn out as key findings from the work:

- Lack of basic services, education and job opportunities for men and women contribute to community unhappiness. The lack of opportunities for youths in education, skills training and labor market is seen as a main cause of youths resorting to alcohol and drug abuse, while their production and sale remain a form of easy income. Youths would like to have leadership take control of issues that affect them and assist to resolve these, mentor and help them to be productive in alternative ways to formal jobs while in their own communities. Youths participation has to involve key decision making in the community and not just in youth volunteer tasks.
- Youth initiatives currently available for income-generating activities for boys and girls are limited to informal markets (eg. market stalls along the roads, second hand market) and cashcrops. Youths seek basic business and entrepreneurial skills and knowledge to be able to live in their own lands, cash crop plots and blocks and make earn a living. Programs to meet this need should capture the current school-leavers and drop-outs, ideally in ways that do not require further educational qualifications or degrees.
- Land and resource security is becoming a challenge as successive governments are not able to make progress in ensuring fair and equal benefit sharing from all resource extraction industries. With development demands forcing the release of land under various land schemes, resource security is further eroded. Resource security is also an issue for women who marry 'outsiders', which may result in their children being discriminated against in resource rights. The current land reforms placing safe guards to ensure resource security, have to be properly applied.
- Women initiatives in informal markets and small holder/integrated agricultural business are beginning to take form as individual efforts, however support capital to start small-holder enterprises is very limited. There are no community credit schemes available consistently across the country, and commercial bank policies are not suited to average village woman interested in starting and/or expanding her business.
- Access to markets and labor opportunities for women and young girls are limited, with primary constraints being personal safety concerns and lack of reliable transport. Safe accommodation away from villages is unreliable and women and girls continue to miss out as a result. Where transport alternatives to PMV are available, women and girls are able to move to and from markets and workplaces, and thus have higher chances of securing jobs outside of their communities.
- School fees and financial support towards school expenses is a main factor in youths completing education. In all rural communities, parents and young boys and girls decide to end a boy/girl's education mid school due to lack of financial capacity of parents. Free education is not implemented universally and national government scholarship is limited resulting in large numbers of tertiary school-aged youths drop outs and school leaders in the villages.

- While boys tend to discuss dropping out of school for practical reasons,(for example to get skills training, or get jobs sooner), girls are likely to continue their education if given the opportunity. There is a need therefore to ensure educational opportunities are geared to the different needs including vocational schools as well as to cater for the generation that has completely missed out.
- Education and awareness programs contribute to the changes in gender stereotypical roles and to a certain extent enabling more sharing and acceptance towards equality between men and women. However stronger resistance by males seems to stem from a culturally accepted norm of male-figurehead which may cloak men's unease or unwillingness (especially when under peer scrutiny or view) to accept changing roles between men and women. Equal decision-making in homes over work, income and other family matters remains a challenge. Education enables men and women a better understanding of cooperating in all decisions, including over work, income and use of income and women's choices to family planning.
- Training for police in dealing with crimes that impact women and girls includes standard protocols, front desk training, how to receive victims complaints etc., with limited specialist units in some stations.
- Gender awareness on laws protecting rights of women and gender based programs need community ownership and initiatives; strong and effective programs may require the community to take control and depend less on outside (central government or donor project) intervention. While men and women understand there are laws against gender based violence and protecting rights of women and children, there is a general lack of interest to maintain or comply with these law under the guise of not fully understanding and been aware of what these laws and provisions mean. The same zeal of adherence given in communities to God's commandment and faith-based principles does not appear to extend to faith-based protection against family and sexual violence. Intervention efforts needs community involvement to have long term sustainability.
- Violence against women and domestic violence is not seen to be decreasing in the last ten years. There is increased awareness and improved communication so there is more reporting, however respondents felt there should a new baseline survey on the actual level of family and sexual violence. Difficult economic situations in households are cited as contributing factors, as is a lack of respect for women and mothers outside the home, resulting in violence of rapes, thefts and physical injuries, which all inflict damages on women and families across the country.
- Respondents felt there is a need for alternative avenues for redress for women in custody and divorce proceedings and help in instances of violence against women/domestic violence; court proceedings are expensive, courts and officials are geographically constrained and inaccessible to average woman in the village and in some cases customary decision-making processes does not enable a woman or child appropriate redress