GENDER ANALYSIS
CARE VANUATU RESILIENCE PROGRAM
Implemented by CARE International in Vanuatu

October 2015 | Sarah Whitfield

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Abbreviations

CAVAW	Committees Against Violence Against Women
CCA	Climate Change Adaptation
CDCCC	Community Disaster and Climate Change Committee
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FHH	Female-Headed Household
PWD	People with Disabilities
VANWODS	Vanuatu Women's Development Scheme
VAW	violence against women
WASH	water, sanitation and hygiene
WGE	Women and Girls Empowerment Program

Executive Summary

Objectives

CARE Vanuatu has been implementing disaster risk reduction (DRR) and climate change adaptation (CCA) projects in Vanuatu and has taken past learning and integrated into the the Resilience Program in Tafea Province. CARE Vanuatu promotes gender equality and supports women's meaningful participation and leadership at community and provincial levels in various ways, in particular through the Community Disaster and Climate Change Committees (CDCCC) and Provincial Disaster Committees. CARE feels that it is essential that women and girls participate equally in resilience program activities and that their capacities and contribution to community resilience is realized and celebrated by the community.

The main purpose of the gender analysis was to collect and analyse data from selected communities in Tafea Province in order to have a better understanding of the varying gender dynamics and socio-cultural contexts that can affect community resilience. It aims to identify areas of progress related to gender equity and the empowerment of women and girls and contributing factors to this success, as well as some of the underlying reasons for continued gender inequalities that can negatively impact a community's ability to respond to disasters and climate change.

The findings from the study are expected to assist CARE Vanuatu target and adapt gender and women and girls empowerment activities to the context of individual communities and islands of Tafea Province in order to build on and improve the gender equality impacts of CARE's programs.

Approach

The study approach was guided by CARE's '*Good Practice Framework for Gender Analysis* which aims to address women's empowerment across the three areas of agency, structure and relations. Research undertaken corresponded to each of these categories and data collection centred around five core areas of inquiry namely: i) gender division of labour; ii) access to and control over resources; iii) household decision-making; iv) participation in public decision-making; and v) violence against women and restorative justice.

A desk review was conducted of a range of secondary sources of data addressing key areas of the study. Field research was conducted in six selected communities from four islands in Tafea Province. Communities visited included Enimah on Tanna; Ikaukau on Aniwa; Mission Bay and Herald Bay on Futuna, Dillon's Bay on South Erromango, and Ipota in North Erromango. Field research included focus group discussions; semi-structured interviews; key informant interviews; and transect walks. Data was collected from women, men, girls and boys and special efforts were made to identify issues of concern to social groups with particular risk factors, such as female headed-households, young mothers and people with disabilities.

The field research was originally planned as a baseline study for March 2015 but then Cyclone Pam struck the islands of Tafea on March 13 2015. The research was postponed until August 2015 and adjusted to reflect the circumstances of the cyclone recovery and to some extent the impacts of El Niño. Key findings of the gender analysis therefore focus on the roles, resources and experiences of women, men, girls and boys in the community both before and after Cyclone Pam. One of the key findings of the research is not only the clear differences between the community on Tanna and those of the outer islands but also the considerable amount of variation between all of communities in a different ways that affect their resilience. Given this variation it is important to consider specific details for each community, however overall findings for each of the core areas of inquiry can be summarized as follows:

Gender Division of Labour

Gardening of crops, caring for livestock, and fishing is undertaken by women and men although their specific roles differ. Planting a new garden is considered the main responsibility of men, particularly with regards to yams because they are considered a highly valued crop for custom ceremonies. Women are generally permitted to garden in 'old' or previously established plots. Both women and men care for pigs, chickens and goats, while men in communities on Erromango look after cattle. Fishing is undertaken by both, with men and boys fishing on the reefs and in deeper waters, and women collecting small fish and shellfish near the shore.

Following Cyclone Pam communities have been working hard to replant crops and vegetable gardens and are encountering a number of challenges related to pests, animals, disease and they are generally struggling to get plants to grow. Gardening is taking up a lot of time for both women and men but female headed households are facing particular challenges as they cannot draw draw on additional labour to help them. In Enimah exposure to multiple hazards is making food security a significant challenge as volcanic ash fall from Mount Yasur is constraining efforts to replant and feed livestock.

Gender distribution in the collection of water is most equitable in Tafea Province compared with other provinces. In all communities women noted that they use water the most for household chores. Women and girls stated that they are responsible for washing clothes with some girls noting that they are keenly aware of the uneven distribution of duties. Village water committees are generally viewed as bodies principally responsible for fixing water supply problems, undertaking repairs and collecting fees to fund these repairs. Roles relating to water resources management are generally based on men's skills to undertake repairs and perceptions about women's ability to effectively manage money. Although there are generally no women with skills to do repairs they do play a role to communicate information about water, particularly in relation to conservation and hygiene.

Women noted childcare as one of their main activities and girls stated they look after their siblings. The presence of grandchildren can further increase women's workload, as well as alleviate the burden for older women. Caring for young children is a role carried out all day by women and one that many, but not all, men are apparently reluctant to take on. Young mothers highlighted heavy workloads and the challenges of raising small children often without the support of fathers. Women from various communities noted the shortage of health care and/or medicine at the dispensaries and the use of custom or traditional medicine and prayer to recover from sickness. Mothers in the communities stated that they are mainly responsible for caring for sick children and taking them to the clinic.

Slightly fewer girls than boys are enrolled in primary school in Tafea Province, whereas at secondary schools this is more or less equal. Women and men share concerns about the impacts of the cyclone on their children's education as many school buildings suffered extensive damage, lack regular access to water and most importantly children do not have enough to eat. Teachers and parents noted that their children's grades have fallen since the cyclone. The possibility of shortening school hours is being considered in some communities due to food shortages. Should younger children stay home, the workload of mothers is likely to increase. Water shortages can pose additional challenges for menstruating girls, as well as the lack of sanitary napkins. Given the economic hardship most parents are experiencing, they are at times struggling to support their children financially or emotionally when away from home.

Community Activities

Women and men are engaged in gender-segregated activities but are often working in cooperation towards the same goal. *Kastom* (custom) marriage and ceremonies and community events mark significant life stages and serve to strengthen family and wider kinship bonds, as well as social ties within the community. Many of these ceremonies are intrinsically linked with the exchange or provision of key resources. In all of the communities, women and men undertake different roles for traditional ceremonies. *Kastom* ceremonies, whether for circumcision, first menstruation, marriage or a funeral, usually entails a feast in the community. Women noted that although these ceremonies involve a

lot of work, they enjoy this time because tasks are carried out together in a spirit of social cooperation. In several communities, women and older girls stated that first menstruation is considered a community affair and a special time in a young girl's life. In many communities female headed households highlighted their dedication to church and community activities, sometimes feeling obligated to represent the family but also the first people to attend training and activities held in the community.

Young people

Young women and young men in the communities noted that they have various opportunities to enjoy themselves in their free time and most community, church and sports activities are undertaken together. In one community suggestions were made to set up a Youth Centre to encourage the learning of new skills and keeping youth busy. Several boys noted that participation in Youth Council helps stop boys from getting into risky activities. Young women and men in the FGDs noted that they no longer have time to do any youth activities because they are helping their families and the community rebuild after the cyclone.

People with Disabilities

In the outer island communities there appears to be a great deal of acceptance and efforts to support and include people with disabilities, whether male or female. However an interview in the community in Tanna revealed that women with disabilities may face particular challenges to be socially accepted in the community. Given the variation in the types and severity of disabilities it is difficult to compare whether women and men or girls and boys with disabilities are treated differently or participate in different ways. It can be said however, that in the outer island communities both women and men with a certain degree of mobility, do participate in community activities, but they do not tend to play a role in decision-making.

Churches

Churches perform a social organizing function and support widows, young mothers or the elderly and women often play often key role in church activities. In all churches men assume leadership roles and women, along with youth have separate groups and representatives. Widows in several communities noted that they tend to prioritize church activities over community events but still carry out duties for both.

Kava and spending time in the nakamal

Many men noted the importance of spending time and drinking kava in the *nakamal* (meeting place) in the evening and in the community in Tanna highlighted their role in providing guidance and advice to the younger boys and men in the community when they come to prepare kava. In several communities some men, but particularly women, expressed concern about the negative consequences arising from the excessive consumption of kava, especially as it resulted in tired and lethargic husbands and fathers who could not help out with household tasks.

Constructing houses and community buildings

House and community building construction is often a cooperative community affair with women and men generally performing separate roles and gender-prescribed activities. Men in the communities generally noted that they are responsible for building the supporting structure of houses and kitchens. Women in the communities stated they weave the walls for houses and kitchens, make rope to bind the wood and make thatch for the roofs of traditional houses. Once they are complete it is usually women and girls who are responsible for sweeping and cleaning houses, kitchens, churches and community halls.

Income-generating activities

Livelihood options for both women and men are extremely limited due to the scarcity of resources (especially so in Enimah). Women's income-generating activities include selling mats and baskets, food such as small fish, crabs and lobsters, vegetables and peanuts, oranges (Ikaukau), bread and *kato* (figure eight shaped doughnuts), phone cards, l*aplap*, fried fish and other prepared food. Some women noted that they sometimes make money by weaving walls for houses or making thatch or tapa but some of these activities are no longer possible due to the cyclone. Men carry coral up from the beach and earn money from selling sandalwood and seedlings, construction work, driving boats, carrying luggage at the airport, renting out guesthouses, or selling fish or coconut crabs to visitors. In some communities women also maintain and sell sandlewood seedlings. In some communities men did not report any income-generating activities, especially in the community on Tanna where men noted that they mainly sell pigs for ceremony or feasts or exchange them for other food. In this community young men noted the lack of jobs and expressed a sense of frustration at their lack of skills and livelihood opportunities, and girls reported no income-generating activities. A few women and men in the communities are engaged in formal employment, such as working at the bank or as teachers and school administrators. All nurses at the health centres and the Air Vanuatu employees are men, whereas teachers and school administrators tend to be both male and female.

Gender differences in livelihoods

There are some notable differences in the income-generating opportunities available to women and men in these communities. In some communities, especially in Erromango men can earn large incomes from sandlewood and timber for example while women in general earn much smaller incomes. In some communities men do not have equal access to income-generating resources (for example boats or logging equipment) and they struggle to earn even small amounts of money.

Mobility and access to internal and external markets

Women's income-generating activities tend to be small-scale, based in or near the home and tend to be mostly focused on an internal economy within the community. Women's access to external markets is largely indirect and their livelihood activities such as selling woven mats, baskets and handicrafts or oranges generally involve limited access and interaction with outside markets.

Diversity and resilience of livelihoods

Damages from the cyclone affected food security and a wide range of resources affecting the incomes of both women and men. Many of the livelihoods rely heavily on locally available land and marine resources that are at considerable risk from disasters and climate change. In some cases incomes are derived from activities that do not rely solely on natural resources, however these incomes can also be impacted by natural hazards. With the exception of Enimah, some women and men noted that they had more than one way to earn money and this diversification helps to increase family incomes and spread risk.

Access to Financial Services

The National Bank of Vanuatu and Western Union have branches in Erromango and Tanna. Futuna and Aniwa do not have banking services but the latter has a Western Union agent. Since the cyclone, and even before, many women struggle to pay back loans or save any money and have withdrawn all of their money or quit the savings and loan schemes altogether.

Roles and Responsibilities in Preparedness, Recovery and Risk Reduction

Women played a key role in preparing their families and communities for Cyclone Pam and began preparations and took warnings more seriously and earlier than men. They stated that men became more active as the cyclone got closer and strengthened shelters and made sure people were able to reach a shelter. Immediate recovery activities of women involved cleaning up homes, weaving walls and roofs, repairing roads, churches and schools, and spending many hours in the gardens. In the hardest hit communities many people have not been able to rebuild traditional houses due to the lack of available materials. Women have primarily been worried about household and community food supply and getting children attending school whereas men were spending a lot of time gardening. Young girls were helping in the community, however young boys tended to be more involved due to community perceptions of their greater capacity and physical strength.

Workload and Shifting Gender Roles

Some women and men in the community on Tanna noted that the water tanks have helped reduce their workload because they no longer have to travel long distances to cart water. Improved access to water eases the burden for women given their various household activities involving the use of water, however the distribution of reproductive and productive activities remains inequitable. Men and women noted that their workload has increased significantly after Cyclone Pam given the demands of rebuilding houses, gardens and kitchens, repairing fences, planting crops and vegetable gardens and trying to find ways to earn money. Female headed households in many communities cannot draw on additional labour to reconstruct their houses, especially at a time when everyone is struggling, and stated that they have to work alone on their own gardens and have a much heavier workload than before.

Access to and Control over Resources

Community members In Tafea use and control a range of key physical and socio-economic resources to secure their livelihoods including land and marine resources, household and community structures, and socio-economic resources. Many of the sustenance and income-earning resources have been destroyed or were damaged by the cyclone and are also at risk of volcanic ash or drought, resulting in differing impacts for women, men and the community as a whole.

Natural resources

Customary systems in Vanuatu evolved to ensure social security, safety and sustainability in traditional subsistence communities and integrate many practices that help to protect women's rights. Most decisions under *kastom* rest with males, particularly where decisions pertain to land management. Land ownership rights are passed on along matrilineal or patrilineal lines but are generally vested in men, while the right to use land can be held by women and men. Land is often the subject of conflict and this negatively impacts both women and men. As Cyclone Pam affected livestock, many community members noted that it has not been possible to undertake important custom ceremonies and expressed concerns that they may not be able to undertake them in the foreseeable future. The lack of natural resources in the communities also affects customary conflict prevention and resolution systems. The inability to enforce custom fines

may have wider implications since these punishments no longer act as a disincentive to commit crimes which potentially affects the security and safety of all community members, including women and girls.

Information and financing

Women and men in all of the outer island communities stated that they receive and rely on warnings and updates about cyclones and any other hazards by mobile telephones, radio, community governance structures and CDCCC members and then information usually travels through the community by word of mouth. There is some awareness of climate change and its potential impacts as a result of awareness raising, training and workshops supported by CARE and other NGOs, although access to early warning and climate information appear to be constrained among some women and men.

Women's and men's traditional knowledge about gardening, fishing, weather forecasting or traditional food preservation techniques can help reduce risk. Women in all communities demonstrate a willingness to innovate and take risks to improve their livelihoods. When provided with relevant information, inputs and support from NGOs and technical agencies, women in particular are eager to experiment with growing and eating different varieties of food or applying with new gardening techniques in the hopes of improving production. There is no evidence to suggest that water committee's access or apply external climate information or rainfall forecasts to manage water resources in their communities.

Household Decision-Making

Men generally stated that 'big' and final decisions in the home were made by men, while women make everyday decisions about the home and children. The extent of women's participation in household decision-making varies considerably according to each household, although in many cases remains limited. Some men generally agreed that women should be involved and noted that they support the *principle* of shared decision-making in the home. Female-heads of households stated that they make their own decisions but might in some instances seek the assistance of the Chief, brother, or relative to support their decisions. Decision-making in schools is different from that in households but it provides an important space for young people. Key decisions for older girls and boys involve romantic relationship. In the outer island communities' findings from the study revealed that attitudes about *kastom* marriage are changing rapidly and it is no longer commonly practiced and young women and young men can to make their own decisions about marriage. This is not the case on Tanna where custom and arranged marriages are still commonly practiced. Some women and men noted that they are making decisions to reduce their risk to disasters and climate change in their own households.

Meaningful Participation in Public Decision-Making

Women do not generally play a role in community governance structures and physical spaces for decision-making *nakamals* are generally reserved for men, although in some communities women can play a role in community decision-making. Several women stated that they could attend community meetings in the *nakamal,* however they are either not allowed to participate in discussions or must ask permission from the men to speak and in some cases their requests to speak are ignored. Women noted that they might participate in discussions if the subject dealt with their husband. Many male key informants were opposed to women's participation in public decision-making, however there were also some who were supportive of women's right to have a voice. Despite their limited role in public decision-making many women demonstrated a keen awareness of their right to participate in decision-making.

Several men expressed a sense of desertion (and perhaps unstated loss of power) at the possibility of women gaining too much knowledge, freedom or ability to participate in public decision-making. Gender-responsive policies and plans

help lay the foundation for gender equality and women's empowerment and Erromango has a good enabling environment in this respect.

Findings from the study indicated that some women participate in discussions and decision-making about water while in others few women make contributions or noted that they do not discuss water issues at all. In all of the communities Water Committees are comprised mostly or solely of male members and the President or Chair of the Water Committee is always a man. Several water committees have female members, however none of these women hold leadership positions but take on roles as Secretaries and Treasurers.

In many communities women stated that they are not involved in planning or decision-making recovery or risk reduction. Even in CDCCCs that have women members, they are often left out of decisions concerning the rebuilding and recovery of their community, causing a sense of frustration and uncertainty about next steps. Sometimes poor decisions are made about the use of community resources and labour as women face various challenges to participate in the CDCCC in a meaningful way.

Constraints and Enabling Factors

In addition to the varying supportive and non-supportive attitudes from community members highlighted above, there are a number of other factors that can help or hinder women and girls' participation in public decision-making. Enabling factors for women's meaningful participation in public decision-making include support from family, particularly husbands, as well as friends and other women in the community; time and opportunity; as well as skills and self-confidence. Constraints for women's ability to meaningfully participate in community meetings include childcare responsibilities, lack of self-confidence, and the risk of violence. Women with key roles in the community appreciate the opportunity to help others and gain new knowledge and skills. Sometimes men may be simply unaware of the constraints women face to meaningfully participate in community discussions. Although, some community leaders do recognise the challenges women and girls face to participate in public discussions there are few targeted programs to improve the self-confidence of girls and build their skills to gradually take on leadership roles.

Violence Against Women and Restorative Justice

As part of CARE's Good Practices Gender Analysis Framework violence against women needs to be addressed as a common feature of supporting people's lives and individuals' empowerment. Across and within the communities there were varying perceptions among women and men about the extent of violence against women in communities. The research team was careful to approach this area sensitively, particularly in order to avoid any backlash from men and male leaders.

After the cyclone families and communities were under a lot of strain and stress and in some cases this has resulted in an increase of domestic violence. However, in other cases women noted that there was in fact a reduction in violence against women as men and women pulled together to rebuild their lives. Support for solar lights and sanitation facilities that have locks on the doors and are closer to home, make women feel safer. Several male leaders noted their roles in conflict prevention involved mainly talking to the people involved. Men noted several deterrents to violence against women including, personal restraint among men, warnings about violence in the *nakamal*, and custom fines and punishments.

Few men, boys and leaders are speaking out to try and change the rates of sexual and physical violence in the community and in several communities some men expressed strong opposition to any awareness-raising about violence against women or women's rights, linking women's right with disrespect towards men. Committees Against Violence Against Women (CAVAWs) have been established in several communities with the aim to protect women and children by seeking

justice, help solve situations of violence against women, and prevent violence against women through awareness-raising activities.

Recommendations

CARE recognizes that resilience activities provide an ideal entry point to enhance gender equality and foster women's participation in decision-making. A range of strategies being undertaken by CARE in Tafea Province are making a real difference to many women's lives and include for example: the ongoing support for women and girls active involvement in all of CARE's resilience activities; the establishment of women-led livelihood initiatives; the promotion of gender-balanced CDCCCs; the support and advocacy for women's and girls leadership at community and Provincial levels; and the purposeful targeting and engagement of men and male leaders at various levels to raise awareness and support for women's participation and decision-making in building resilient communities. Findings from this study indicate that many women and men in the communities are increasingly recognising women's potential contribution to community resilience. However, the research also highlights that continued and targeted support is needed in several communities for men and women to be able to recognise and benefit from the full range of women's knowledge, skills, and capacities for enhanced resilience.

Building on the gender equality impacts of CARE's programs to date the following recommended actions are proposed to strengthen gender equality and women's empowerment in CARE's programming. Recommendations address each of the domains of the Women's Empowerment Framework and are grouped according to the eight elements of the Resilience Framework that guide CARE's work in supporting resilient communities in Vanuatu.

General

- Build trust and relationships in communities where there is resistance to women's rights, particularly with Chiefs and male leaders before embarking on any overt awareness-raising activities about gender equality and the rights of women and girls. Ensure men, particularly Chiefs and community leaders are fully aware and supportive of all planned activities by CARE, particularly activities that specifically target women and girls.
- Ensure CARE staff have the knowledge, capacity and tools to effectively support, monitor and evaluate women's participation in resilience planning and decision-making.

Resilience Framework

1) Basic Needs Met including Safety and Security

Food Security and Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH)

- Prioritise food and water security overall and especially for pregnant and breastfeeding women, and children under 5 years, ensuring special nutritional needs are met for these groups. Ensure babies and young children receive suitable complementary foods.
- Promote the fair distribution of food in the household and raise awareness in the community about the special nutritional needs of pregnant and breastfeeding women.
- Promote the equitable distribution of workloads in gardening and in the home, including shared responsibilities for cooking, washing and childcare. Promote these messages through agriculture and nutrition training and hygiene promotion that targets men and boys, as well as women and girls.

- Ensure women of all ages have equal opportunities to be meaningfully involved in all governance and technical aspects of WASH.
- Collect gender and age disaggregated quantitative WASH data, especially in communities in Tanna to identify key gender issues.

Shelter

- Ensure women are involved in decision-making about reconstruction priorities and FHHs are prioritized for the construction of houses and kitchens.

Vulnerability Assessment

- Build the capacity of CDCCCs to prioritise households according to need for recovery and future resilience activities. Engage women in the community in these processes to support the development of planning and leadership skills, particularly in cases where women are not active in the CDCCCs.
- Update community profiles with robust and relevant data on key social groups for use in all future planning and activities in the field.

Safety and Security

- Conduct gender and disability assessments in communities in Tanna, and identify safety and security issues for women and girls with disabilities. Discuss findings of the assessment with community leaders and women and men in the community.

2) Diverse Livelihoods and Assets

- Increase awareness among women and men about the importance of diversifying assets and livelihoods to spread risk and ensure all existing and proposed livelihood options for women and men include a multi-hazard risk assessment.
- Provide technical support for sustenance and income-generating livelihood options to both men and women to increase overall family food security and to avoid potential backlash against women's economic empowerment.
- Support livelihood initiatives that decrease rather than increase women's workload, for instance focusing on less labour intensive food production and food preservation once food security has been established.
- Strengthen the organizational development of women's groups focused on livelihood initiatives where there is a stated interest and once household food security and recovery activities are well established.
- Support women's capacity building in the construction, maintenance and repair of WASH infrastructure, as well as in forestry, and identify opportunities for women to earn incomes using these new skills.
- Consistently engage with and involve women (and men) with disabilities in new and existing livelihood initiatives, taking care to address the specific needs and abilities of individuals.
- Target both women and men for training in household budgeting and financial management and include a focus on women and men's expenditure priorities and women's role in decision-making about household incomes.

3) Fair, Inclusive and Responsive Decision-Making

- Actively promote gender-balanced CDCCCs in all communities along with women's meaningful roles and participation in community decision-making for resilience.
- Support women's planning processes to identify how women's involvement in recovery activities and women-led initiatives can strengthen their participation in wider community decision-making for resilience.

- Promote gender balance, a diversity of roles for women, and women's meaningful participation and decision-making in strengthened WASH Committees.
- Clearly identify the aims of any newly established Women's WASH Committees and ensure consensus among women, men, Chiefs and male leaders about how Women's WASH Committees will collaborate and make decisions with existing Water Committees.
- Support women's meaningful engagement in the development of community development plans and CDCCC workplans and ensure outputs and outcomes clearly define key roles and opportunities for women's leadership.
- Provide equal opportunities for girls to take on leadership roles in youth-targeted climate change and WASH initiatives, including in schools.

4) Access to Traditional and External Information

- Review the hazard and climate-related information and communication needs and constraints of women (and men) together with CDCCCs and identify strategies to increase their access to early warning and climate information.
- Increase knowledge and practical understanding among women and men in the community of the impacts of hazards, global weather patterns and climate change on women's and men's livelihoods.
- Support gender-balanced training of trainers program for youth in key resilience areas.

5) Innovation and Risk Taking

- Introduce agricultural and livestock livelihood innovations for both men and women in order to spread the workload.
- Engage women and men in an analysis of the viability and sustainability of any new livelihood initiatives. Identify markets, distribution channels and potential benefits for and impacts on women and men prior to introducing new income-generating activities.
- Ensure new livelihood initiatives are well aligned with the short, medium and long-term priorities of women, as well as the development plans of the community and island as a whole.

6) Understand and Act on Shocks and Changes

- Support women's meaningfully participation in community hazard mapping and risk assessments of key sustenance and income-generating resources.
- Promote women's participation in community decision-making for hazard mitigation and climate change adaptation measures.
- Actively and regularly promote the wider community benefits of gender balanced resilience structures and women's meaningful participation in decision-making for resilience at community and provincial levels.

7) Internal and External Networks

- Identify male gender advocates of all ages, including key leaders and together discuss the main barriers to women's meaningful participation in decision-making about resilience in the community and at provincial level.
- Build awareness, strengthen advocacy and promote key messages about young women's leadership and meaningful participation in decision-making for resilience in community youth groups, village councils and Youth Councils.

8) Connected and Responsive Government

- Provide opportunities for Women's Area Council Representatives to discuss the resilience needs and priorities of women and girls with their respective wards.
- Identify the enabling and constraining factors that influence the ability of Women's Area Council Representatives to articulate women's needs and priorities to Area Councils and the Province and provide opportunities to increase their engagement in local area, Island and provincial planning and decision-making for resilience.
- Ensure Provincial officers joining CARE in the field take the time to meet and meaningfully engage with women's Area Council Representatives, women's community representatives, and female youth representatives to discuss women's livelihood and/or WASH needs and priorities.
- Support gender and resilience training for Department of Agriculture and Rural Development interns, Provincial agriculture and fisheries extension officers, and water officers, and promote the practical application of this learning in CARE initiatives.

1 Introduction

1.1 Building Resilience in Vanuatu

The Republic of Vanuatu is made up of over 80 islands of which 68 are inhabited. Its population of approximately 250,000 people is scattered across 12,336 km^2 and its most northerly and southerly outer islands are situated about 1,300 km apart. People reside mainly in the coastal areas of rugged mountainous islands of volcanic origin, although there are several outer lying atoll islands. Approximately seventy five percent (75%) of the population live in the rural areas and are engaged in subsistence livelihoods. The Government of Vanuatu faces significant challenges to deliver basic services such as education, healthcare and support basic infrastructure.

Located in the 'Pacific Ring of Fire' and situated at the center of the Pacific cyclone belt, Vanuatu is considered to be one of the most disaster prone countries in the world. The country is vulnerable to cyclones, earthquakes, tsunamis and volcanic eruptions, as well as droughts, storm surges, coastal and river flooding, and landslides. Within this hazard-prone context, the people of Vanuatu are also facing a range of challenges to their livelihoods resulting from climate change. The Vanuatu Meteorological and Geohazards Department has a range of technological and weather surveillance systems, as well as access to real time data for cyclone tracking, earthquakes and tsunami warnings. Regular climate updates and seasonal forecasts are produced although many remote rural communities are not able to easily access this information. The Department of Local Authorities is aiming to standardise Area Council development planning processes and integrate climate change and disaster risk into plans using hazard information.

1.2 Gender Equality in Vanuatu

Vanuatu is largely a patriarchal and patrilineal society, although there are a few matrilineal societies in some northern and central islands (CEDAW 2003). Communities are organized along traditional customary or *kastom* governance structures and decision-making rests with male village chiefs. As of May 2013, the Malvatamauri National Council of Chiefs, which oversees six provincial councils, has had no women representatives.[1] Community decision-making takes place in the *nakamal (*meeting place), and largely involves men, although in some communities women may attend meetings and in some cases contribute to discussions. Land is considered to be one of, if not the most valuable physical asset in Vanuatu. In Vanuatu 97% of land is under customary tenure, and while women have customary rights to access land, they do not participate in decision-making about land. Vanuatu ranks 131 out of 187 countries on the Gender-related Development Index for 2014.

Various aspects of gender equality in Vanuatu have been well-documented in particular regarding women's access to land, their use of resources, main livelihoods, economic development, access to sexual and reproductive health services, and violence against women (see also bibliography). A wide range of data[2] highlights that many Ni-Vanuatu women face significant inequalities in social, cultural, economic and political domains. Rural women and girls in particular encounter a number of gender-based inequalities – including early and/or arranged marriage, limited access to formal education and health services, gender-based violence, as well as limited participation in community decision-making.

Vanuatu has a number of laws that support the protection of women including the Family Protection Act, Penal Code, the Employment Act, Matrimonial Clauses, Maintenance of Children, Control of Marriage and Divorce Bill. Vanuatu ratified CEDAW in 1995. The National Gender Equality Policy was drafted and passed in 2015. Together, these provide an overarching framework for the Government of Vanuatu to identify gender issues and promote gender equality and the empowerment of Ni-Vanuatu women. However, while the formal legal system in Vanuatu offers significant protection to

[1] Morgan, W. (May 2013) *Governance, Leadership And Accountability In Vanuatu*: *A Review Of The Literature*, Oxfam, p.27; McCafferty, M. (July 2011) *Financial Services Sector Assessment of Vanuatu*, Pacific Financial Inclusion Program, UNDP: Suva, p.7; AusAID, (2012) *Delivery Strategy Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development (PWSPD): 2012 – 2022 Pacific Gender Equality Initiative* p.18.

[2] For brief summaries of gender equality and women's empowerment in Vanuatu see the *Desk Review for Women and Girls Empowerment Programme* CARE International in Vanuatu February 2014 and *CARE Rapid Gender Analysis* April 2015.

women and the enabling environment for gender equality continues to strengthen, most women, particularly those in rural areas, have little knowledge of their rights and the Government and legal system are often unable to implement policies and enforce women's rights.

1.3 CARE'S RESILIENCE PROGRAM

The '*Yumi Strong*' Resilience Program builds upon previous disaster risk reduction (DRR) and climate change adaptation (CCA) projects implemented by CARE and aims to contribute to improved food, water and economic security of people in remote island communities in Tafea province. The Program is focused on diversifying livelihood and income opportunities and ensuring communities have increased access to knowledge and networks to better cope with shocks and disasters and adapt to climate change. It also supports participatory and gender-responsive community development planning that fully integrates climate change and disaster risk information to address the priorities of all groups in the communities. It seeks to enhance DRR capacities at both local and provincial levels and aims to strengthen the capacity of the Tafea Provincial Government to be able to effectively anticipate and respond to the impacts of climate change and disasters.

One of the underlying principles of the Resilience Program holds that attention to gender-specific vulnerability and capacities within the resilience program can have positive flow-on effects to other areas of community life. CARE feels that it is essential that women and girls participate equally in resilience program activities and that their capacities and contribution to community resilience are realised and celebrated by the community. CARE seeks to positively influence resilience practice and policy through its models of engaging women and girls. The Program promotes gender equality and supports women's meaningful participation in public decision-making and leadership at community and provincial levels, in particular through the CDCCCs and Provincial Disaster Committees. Given the discrimination faced by women and girls in Vanuatu being traditionally excluded from decision-making, CARE has specifically incorporated an objective to increase women's voices, representation, decision-making and leadership opportunities.

The Resilience Program is aligned with CARE's Women and Girls Empowerment (WGE) Program - '*Leftemap Sista*'. The WGE Program aims to ensure women and girls have access to information and resources to build self-confidence and identify or create opportunities to participate fully, freely and safely in society. Through the Program, CARE has been supporting a range of activities, with a special focus on the empowerment of girls in Tafea Province. Activities include conducting life skills training using a peer education approach with particular emphasis on building the confidence of young girls to negotiate relationships and make healthy life, sexual and reproductive choices.

1.4 TROPICAL CYCLONE PAM

On the evening of March 13 2015 Tropical Cyclone Pam struck Vanuatu. The category 5 cyclone carried winds speeds of 270 km per hour with gusts up to 320 km per hour and brought heavy rain and storm surges to the islands. The storm caused widespread damage across Vanuatu, with the Provinces of Shefa, where the capital Port Vila is located, Malampa and Tafea being the most affected. Eleven fatalities were reported and early warning systems, disaster preparedness training and evacuation centres reportedly prevented a higher death toll. The storm affected an estimated 188,000 people[3] across 26 islands and destroyed critical infrastructure, displaced thousands and severely impacted food security and various productive sectors including agriculture, livestock, fisheries and forestry.[4] In the most affected communities of Tafea Province houses, kitchens, toilets, water supply systems and schools were damaged or completely destroyed and gardens, livestock, and food sources were severely impacted. Although many people have demonstrated remarkable resilience in the face of such a destructive event, it will take some time for communities to recover and

[3] Cyclone Pam Humanitarian Action Plan, 23 April 2015, Government of Vanuatu.
[4] Vanuatu Food Security and Agriculture Cluster, Cyclone Pam Medium and Long-term Recovery and Rehabilitation Strategy 2015-2017.

rebuild their livelihoods from Cyclone Pam.

1.5 El Niño and other hazards

Several additional factors compound the severity of the situation and affect people's ability to recover. Cyclone Pam struck during an El Niño year and the associated drought and water scarcity is severely affecting people's ability to rebuild their gardens, both for food security and livelihoods. These conditions are severely compounding the already precarious situation for people living near Mount Yasur on Tanna where ash fall regularly destroys food crops, vegetables and fodder for livestock.

2 Objectives, Approach and Methodology

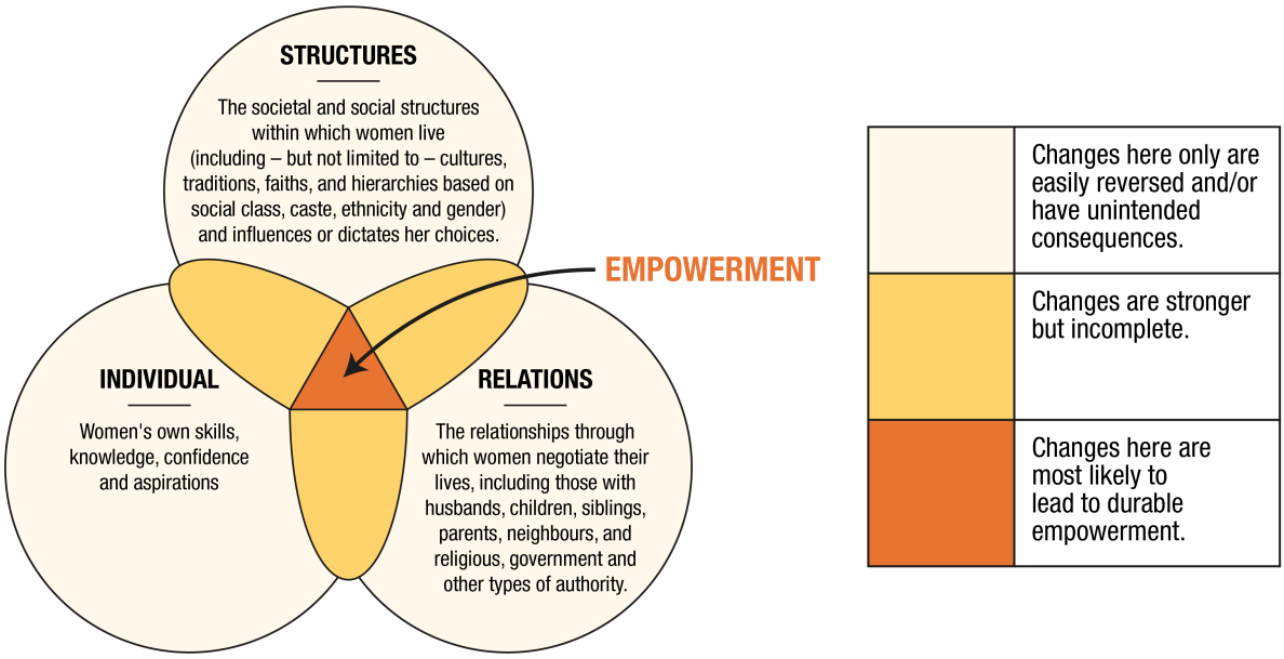
2.1 Objectives

The main purpose of this gender analysis was to support, build on and improve the gender equality impacts of CARE Vanuatu's Resilience Program. The objectives of this study was to collect and analyse data from selected communities in Tafea Province in order to have a better understanding of the varying gender dynamics and socio-cultural contexts that can affect community resilience. It sought to identify areas of progress related to gender equity and the empowerment of women and girls and the contributing factors to this success, as well as the underlying reasons for continued gender inequalities that can negatively impact a community's ability to respond to disasters and climate change. The Terms of Reference are attached as Annex A.

Findings and recommendations from this study are intended to guide and improve CARE Vanuatu's Resilience Program, as well as inform CARE's WGE Program and current recovery activities in Tafea Province. It is hoped that ongoing reflection of the findings, as well as the collection of additional data from these and other communities, will help ensure project strategies and activities effectively respond to the local realities of women, men, boys and girls, including those with disabilities, while concurrently enhancing gender equality and fostering the empowerment of women and girls.

2.2 Approach

The study approach was guided by CARE's '*Good Practice Framework for Gender Analysis*'[5] which aims to address women's empowerment across the three areas of its Women's Empowerment Framework. For lasting impact, CARE believes women's women empowerment is achieved through the combined effect of changes in three critical areas: individual (sometimes called agency), relations and structures.[6] The research addressed different aspects of each of these conceptual domains.



Data collection centred around five core areas of inquiry that were deemed most relevant to the project and to CARE's other areas of focus namely:

[5] http://pqdl.care.org/gendertoolkit/Resources/Good%20Practices%20Brief.pdf
[6] CARE (2010) *Strong Women, Strong Communities: CARE's Holistic Approach To Empowering Women And Girls In The Fight Against Poverty,* p.12.

- Gender Division of labour
- Access to and Control Over Resources
- Household Decision-Making
- Participation in Public Decision-Making
- Violence Against Women and Restorative Justice

Information was collected from communities on: i) the roles and responsibilities of women, men, girls and boys; ii) the use, ownership and decision-making of key resources and associated socio-economic resources that support livelihoods; iii-iv) the gender dimensions of decision-making both in the home and the community; and v) the varying perceptions, attitudes and domestic and legal responses to violence against women. The analysis also considered how gender intersects with other potential risk factors including age, maritall status and disability that can potentially increase vulnerability.

The original intention to carry out a baseline study was somewhat complicated by the devastating impacts of Cyclone Pam on the communities. The study was therefore adjusted to collect data about the gender dimensions of the communities before, as well as after, the cyclone resulting in an opportunity to gain considerable insight into the gendered nature of resilience in Tafea Province.

2.3 Methodology

A desk review was conducted of a range of secondary sources of data on key areas of the study. This included reports and related analyses from the national census and the national population and housing survey; key reporting documents about human rights in Vanuatu; reports about sexual and reproductive health and violence against women produced by the Ministry of Health and the Vanuatu Women's Centre; and the National Gender Equality Policy. Selected documents and reports from key partners and advisory groups working in Tafea Province were also reviewed. A range of project, planning, scoping and monitoring and evaluation reports, as well as data sets from CARE Vanuatu were examined, particularly those related to Cyclone Pam recovery including the Post Disaster Needs Assessment. Selected research papers were used to provide additional insight into issues relating to land rights, justice and agriculture in Vanuatu. A bibliography is attached as Annex B.

There is a significant amount of national level data addressing different dimensions of resilience, livelihoods and gender equality in Vanuatu. Much of the data is disaggregated by gender and age, urban and rural populations, gender and by province. However, care was taken to avoid drawing conclusions about data related to Tafea Province given the significant differences between Tanna and the outer islands in terms of culture and context. Apart from data recently collected by CARE, there is limited gender-disaggregated qualitative or qualitative data available for the islands and communities in Tafea. Basic gender and age disaggregated data at the household level collected by CARE during the second round of food distribution was reviewed during the fieldwork and used to identify female-headed households and any other high risk groups or individuals that could be included in Focus Group Discussions and interviews during the field research.

Primary Data Collection

Field research was conducted in six communities from four islands in Tafea Province using the methods outlined below. Communities visited for this research include **Enimah** on Tanna, **Ikaukau** on Aniwa, **Mission Bay** and **Herald Bay** on Futuna, **Dillon's Bay** on South Erromango, and **Ipota** in North Erromango. A breakdown of the groups and roles of participants involved in the data collection is attached as Annex C. The communities involved in the study were selected to provide a cross-section of views and experiences from each of the islands where CARE is working and were deemed relatively accessible and convenient to reach within the timeframe of the study.

- **Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)** were used to gather qualitative data. The groups for the discussions were designed to ensure that different sections of society were represented, with gender, age and household status being key selection criteria. In total 28 focus group discussions were undertaken with groups of women, female-headed households, young mothers, girls, men, young men and boys. Female-headed households mostly tended to include older widows, however older single women, and in some cases single young mothers were also in attendance. In one community additional FGDs were held with chiefs and key informants.
- **Semi-Structured Interviews** were undertaken with selected community members to gather additional data and cross-validate the findings of the FGDs. Specific efforts were made to interview individuals with particular risk factors. In total 24 semi-structured interviews were undertaken with women, women from female-headed households, women with disabilities, young mothers, an elderly woman, a man with a disability, a father of an adult daughter with a disability, a middle-aged man, a young man, a widower, and an elderly men.
- **Key Informant Interviews were undertaken** to provide key insights and additional data, as well as to gauge the general views of community leaders related to key research areas. A total of 37 key informants were interviewed (13 women and 25 men), with more male participants given the gender imbalance of existing community leadership structures.
- **Transect Walks** were undertaken with individuals in order to gather data in a more relaxed and informal setting as well as observe different aspects of community life first hand. A total of 16 transect walks were undertaken with women, female-headed households, young women, and men.

One day prior to the fieldwork team members participated in a one-day introduction to the research and training for data collection. A total of seven CARE Vanuatu staff were involved in the data collection in Enimah (three men and four women), with four of these staff members (2 women and 2 men) continuing on to support data collection in Aniwa, Futuna and Erromango.

Teams of two female CARE staff conducted the FGDs and interviews with women and teams of two men conducted the FGDs and interviews with men. Team members took care to introduce and discuss potentially sensitive topics such as violence against women in an appropriate manner particularly with reticent men, and with members of the community in Tanna where CARE had yet to establish a long-term relationship. Debriefings were held at the end of each day during which team members recounted and reflected on the findings and process of the data collection.

Limitations of the Study

- The study was originally scheduled to take place in March just as Cyclone Pam struck the islands of Tafea. At that time it was anticipated that household surveys would form part of the data collection methodology, particularly in order to collect baseline socio-economic quantitative data in a range of areas. When the fieldwork was undertaken five months later the methodology did not include household surveys because community members were still operating in a recovery mode and in any case, the timeframe would have been insufficient to translate surveys and train enumerators. In addition, the amount of time in each community would have been insufficient to ensure representative and statistically significant sampling.
- Beyond basic demographic data there is very limited baseline socio-economic data specific to the communities selected for the study. Basic disaggregated data at the household level from the second round of food distribution was used to help identify female-headed households and any high-risk groups or individuals to participate in FGDs or interviews. These data sheets revealed a number of inconsistencies and did not adequately identify groups or individuals at risk. Data was then analysed to identify individuals at risk and key informants were asked to confirm the information.
- Some of the team members were relatively new to CARE and had never participated in field research which in some cases, limited the extent of probing questions. This was mitigated by ensuring at least one experienced CARE staff member on each team and encouraging all team members to participate in the debriefings to provide clarification and additional information.

- A flight was cancelled and delayed for two days due to bad weather and this slightly altered the schedule, particularly in relation to the planned participatory analysis that was to be undertaken in the last community after all data had been collected. However the delay did enable team members to conduct interviews with several key informants and team members received a brief introduction of the analytical process.

3 Overall Context of the Selected Communities

3.1 General information

Tafea Province is located at the southern tip of the Republic of Vanuatu and is made up of the five islands of **T**anna, **A**niwa, **F**utuna, **E**rromango and **A**neityum[7] covering an area of approximately 1,628 km^2. According to the 2009 National Population and Housing Census Tafea Province has a population of 32,540 people. It also has the highest number of people per household and the highest dependency ratio [8] in Vanuatu (108) suggesting heavy burdens for women given their reproductive roles responsibilities (see Vanuatu Gender Monograph).

Tafea Province is governed by a local authority structure, with decentralized leadership at the province, area and ward (village) level. Erromango is split into two separate wards (North and South). Area Councils are comprised of the Area Secretary and six members each representing chiefs, churches, businesses, youth, disability and women. The women's representatives for the Area Councils of Anima, Futuna and North and South Erromango reside in Ikaukau, Mission Bay, Ipota and Dillon's Bay respectively.

Given their location, the islands are at high risk of various natural and geological hazards including cyclones, floods, volcano eruptions, tsunamis but also slow onset hazards such as drought and this is further compounded by the impacts of climate change. While inherent cultural resilience is particularly strong among the communities of Tafea, its geographical isolation, and lack of national government service delivery in all sectors make its people especially vulnerable. Basic challenges include infrequent transport for marketing, expensive flights, transportation by small boats to outer islands, and a lack of communication.

Resident populations are fluid as people travel and move to other islands at different times of the year for various reasons including work, school, training and various family obligations. The outer islands of Tafea are serviced by weekly flights from Tanna and irregular shipping services. Many of the communities on these islands are remote and transportation is mainly limited to travel by boat and on foot. All islands have access to mobile phone reception although some communities do not have coverage and receive only weak radio signals. Few people access any forms of mass media. All islands have primary school facilities. Some communities also have secondary schools with male and female boarding students (ie Herald Bay and Ipota).

All islands reportedly have a health centre, dispensary or aid post although health services are generally inadequately staffed and/or have limited medicine and medical supplies and equipment. Community members often have to travel to access healthcare services and people with serious health concerns are generally referred to the hospital on Tanna or Port Vila. Many community members use traditional medicines to deal with illnesses. The communities of Ipota, Dillon's Bay and Mission Bay have dispensaries with a small maternity room staffed by male nurse aids who have basic training and first aid skills. There are no dispensaries in Herald Bay or Enimah and community members have to travel to access healthcare.

[7] The island and people of Aneityum are not addressed in this study.
[8] The dependency ratio is a comparison of the number of people at working age (age 15-64) versus those who are at ages where they are likely to depend on others for their care and wellbeing (ages 0-14 and 65 and above). The dependency ratio for Tafea is 108 dependents per 100 people of working age.

Water supplies in Tafea are typically gravity-fed from spring intakes or small rivers combined with rainwater harvesting in some of the house or school roof catchment areas. Sanitation systems typically being used include simple pit latrines (or bush toilets). Only some communities use pour flush (using buckets) toilets or septic tank systems. Hygiene is poorly practiced in general with soap not abundantly being used.

The population of Tafea has various language groups and differing social structures. Besides various Christian denominations there are a number of *Kastom* villages where women have in general a lower status than men. Several John Frum communities are located in Aniwa and Tanna.

In Tanna information and services relating to violence against women can be sourced from the Police Centre or the Vanuatu Women Centre. Outer island communities do not have access to any police and counseling services. The Tafea Police Head Office in Tanna has few staff and limited resources making it extremely difficult to service the outer islands. In Tanna rape cases are processed and perpetrators prosecuted.[9] The Police have done awareness on sexual offences and provide counseling but are not trained to facilitate longer sessions. [10]

3.2 Resources and livelihoods

The main subsistence crops grown by the communities in this study include manioc, banana, yam, taro Fiji, and sweet potato (*kumala*). Main vegetables include Island, Chinese and English cabbage, edible ferns, peanuts and corn and many communities are now growing a range of new fast growing vegetables to support food security. Both men and women tend to work for subsistence and earn money by selling some of their produce.

Men's main livelihood activities in outer island communities consist of fishing (tuna, marlin, reef fish), lobster, coconut crabs, sandalwood, with few cash crops. Community members on Aniwa and Futuna regularly access deep sea fish, lobster and coastal marine resources such as small fish, crabs and lobsters, as do people in Erromango although to a lesser degree. Sandalwood is exported by all communities with the exception of Enimah and is the main export of Erromango. According to the Erromango Integrated Development Plan 78% of the households plant sandalwood, 63% are maintain nurseries of other tree species and 6% of the household own a timber sawmills. Mainly a few families have access to very large acres of land with plantations of sandalwood and timber (kauri and pine) while many others have much less land and no access to logging equipment.

Women's main livelihood activities include weaving and selling mats and baskets, sales of prepared foods within the community, sewing clothes for sale, vegetable and fruit gardens. Women also engage in some fishing from the shore and on the reef. Livestock in all communities consists mainly of pigs, chickens, and goats. Community members living next to rivers for example Dillon's Bay and Ipota occasionally collect river prawns. Pandanus is a key resource for women, particularly in Futuna and Aniwa where it is woven into mats, baskets and handicrafts that are sold to visitors or transported to Port Vila for sale by families and local organisations. Communities in Futuna are known for their high quality mats and handicrafts. The larger communities have small shops stocked with basic food and non-food items. People also receive remittances from family members working in Port Vila or on other islands in Vanuatu.

[9] See *CARE Girls' Services Mapping Report* for more information.
[10] A wide range of provincial and national level data and information about violence against women is contained in the *National Survey on Women's Lives and Family Relationships* produced in May 2011 by the Vanuatu Women's Centre in Partnership with the Vanuatu National Statistics Office, as well as the *Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights Needs Assessment: Vanuatu* published by the Ministry of Health in February 2015.

3.3 Profiles of the Selected Communities

In addition to the general information outlined above, some additional details specific to the communities are noted below as they relate to their level of resilience. Demographic data for the communities collected from CARE during the Food Distribution in 2015 is attached in Table 1 in Annex D.

Enimah, Tanna

Enimah (pop. 38, 22 female and 16 male) is located in the South East of Tanna which is the third largest island in Vanuatu and serves as its provincial centre with the capital Isangel located in the south west. Tanna is home to approximately 29,000 people or around eighty percent (80%) of the Province's population. The island is serviced by two daily flights from Port Vila from the national carrier, as well as air charters. Services remain basic although there is road infrastructure around the island, access to public transport, a hospital, schools and representatives from all government departments. Tourists come to Tanna to visit Mt Yasur, the most publicly accessible active volcano in the world. Tanna is one of the most fertile islands in Vanuatu and cash crops include kava, coffee, coconut, copra, and other fruits and vegetables.

Enimah is located a considerable distance from the sea Enimah is situated next to Mt Yasur. As a consequence, the community experiences acid rain and crops and vegetation are regularly affected by ash resulting. The water supply in Enimah is gravity-fed from a spring intake to storage tanks which is at times interrupted during heavy rain. There is a freshwater spring by the sea located approximately 15-30 min walk that is accessed during low tide. Enimah is a traditional and patriarchal *Kastom* village although some people are members of the Presbyterian Church.

Ikaukau, Aniwa

Ikaukau (pop. 235, 124 female and 111 male) is located on the Island of Aniwa, a small coral island in the southernmost province of Tafea that rises 42 meters above sea level. Aniwa has the closest proximity to Tanna and its provincial services. The island has erosive volcanic soils and only a limited amount of land for each family. As there are no rivers, streams or lakes community members rely solely on rainwater harvesting for their freshwater consumption. The island is known for periodic droughts with the last drought in 2013 requiring external assistance through the NDMO[11]. Several marine community conservation areas have been established in Aniwa and access to the lagoon remains restricted except for times such as customary fishing rituals.

In Ikaukau at times growing vegetables is limited by drought and water shortages. As result of awareness raising about food security, villages have reportedly planted a reserve garden of taro. Oranges are normally a principal export for many community members and is sold at local markets in Tanna and Port Vila. Rainwater is harvested from roof catchments using a combination of polythene tanks, fibreglass tanks, or ferro-cements tanks. In addition, groundwater is accessed using boreholes and water pumps. Some households that do not have corrugated iron roofing share a tank with three or four other households or can access a larger community water tank for drinking and cooking. Large fish such as tuna, marlin and wahoo and sometimes lobster are caught using traditional canoes and is transported by boat for sale in Tanna. There are up to 11 different religious groups in Ikaukau including members of the John Frum movement.

[11] Aniwa Drought Assessment Report, Vanuatu National Disaster Management Office, 2013

Mission Bay and Herald Bay, Futuna

Mission Bay (pop. 152, 73 male and 79 female) and Herald Bay (pop 321, 151 female and 170 male) are located on the island of Futuna, an island with a very distinctive profile as it was formed by the uplift of an underwater volcano. The island is surrounded by sheer cliffs and steep hillsides and the coastal waters around Futuna are rich in marine resources. Due to the rugged terrain there are no roads or vehicles and most people travel between villages on foot. Mission Bay has a gravity-fed system for their water supply. The community of Herald Bay is located high up on a plateau accessible via a steep path from the coast. A significant portion of the income of the Futunese comes from fishing as there are few other alternative sources.

Dillon's Bay and Ipota, Erromango

Dillon's Bay (pop 564, 272 female 292 male) and Ipota (pop 487, 231 female and 256 male) are located in the south west and east respectively of Erromango, Vanuatu's fourth largest island. Erromango is mountainous and the interior consists mainly of dissected volcanic craters in the northern half of the island and a chain of peaks in the south. The peaks slope down to a narrow coastal plain where the majority of the main communities are located. The island is renowned for its sandalwood trees and hardwood forests with 78% of the households planting sandalwood, 63% maintaining nurseries of other tree species and 6% of the households owning a timber sawmill[12]. Erromango has a few roads which are used to bring passengers to and from the airports and transport timber and agriculture exports. People in Dillon's Bay and Ipota also keep cattle, with some families owning large herds while a few other families own only one or two cows. Dillon's Bay is situated on the coast at the mouth of a wide and shallow river, surrounded by steep hills whereas Ipota is situated on the coast adjacent to the airport, with several households living on the opposite side of a narrow river. The communities of Ipota and Dillon's Bay face added risk of flooding and tsunamis. Both villages know various religious denominations including churches of the Seventh Day Adventist, Presbyterian, and Praise and Worship.

[12] Erromango Integrated Development Plan. 2014.

4 Key Findings

The following is a descriptive analysis of the findings for each of the core areas of inquiry. Study findings highlight that while many dimensions of gender inequality noted at national level hold true, there are significant variations both across and within the communities of Tafea Province. Data and examples are presented in relation to the selected communities and specific references are made to areas and issues of concern to particular communities or islands. All quotations presented in the study represent exact wording of informants or the closest possible translation by CARE staff members on the research team.

4.1 Gender Division of Labour

4.1.1 Household/Reproductive Activities

Gardening

Women and men in all of the communities stated that gardening is one of their main activities. In Enimah women prepare the soil or *'brush'* the garden, dig and plant manioc, kumala, water taro, taro Fiji, banana, corn, and coconut and also remove pests from the plants. They stated that both men and women do weeding. Some households have smaller plots for vegetables and women noted that women, and sometimes men do gardening in smaller plots close to the home.

Men in the communities also noted gardening as one of their main activities. In Enimah men stated that they are mainly responsible for preparing the soil and planting in larger gardens and noted that only men plant the yam seedling in July with harvesting and a special ceremony taking place the following April. In Enimah and Dillon's Bay preparing and planting a new garden is considered the main responsibility of men, particularly with regards to yams because they are considered a highly valued crop for custom ceremonies. In Dillon's Bay several men noted that both women and men plant yam but women can only plant in 'old' or previously established gardens. Both women and men stated they do gardening every day and women reported that men do not go to the garden if they attend a meeting in the *nakamal* and women do not do gardening when they are menstruating. Women are also forbidden from planting yam during menstruation. Women also noted that they collect food growing wild in the bush, as well as leaves for traditional medicine.

In Ikaukau both women and men stated that they plant, weed, and harvest crops. Women in Dillon's Bay and Mission Bay noted that both women and men do gardening, often undertaking the tasks in a spirit of cooperation. As one woman in Dillon's Bay noted, *'we help each other in the garden. We work together.'* In Herald Bay and Ipota both girls and boys stated that they work together in the gardens.

Both women and men (but particularly women) in the communities reported that they have been spending many hours in the garden every day replanting, watering and tending crops since Cyclone Pam. In Enimah women and men reported that they are replanting crops over and over again only to

Some of the challenges of gardening in Erromango

- *'There is a big need to find food, after relief supplies are finished. Replanting is hard work for men now. Sometimes things are not growing, too hot sun, climate changes. We plant in the same land three or four times. Our gardens are not like before.'* (man Dillon's Bay)
- *'I am replanting the same crop 3-4 times in one area, but there are no signs of growing.' (woman Dillon's Bay)*
- *'We repeat planting 4-5 times. Sometimes we choose a different area but it's still the same.' (woman Dillon's Bay)*
- *'Plants don't grow. We planted island cabbage and kumala but it takes a long time to grow.' (young mother* Dillon's Bay)
- *'But insects damaging the crops, tomatoes, Chinese cabbage, round and island cabbage.' (FHH Dillon's Bay)*
- *'The pumpkins were starting but then they died.' (woman Ipota)*

watch leaves shrivel and die during a period of volcanic ash fall.

Many women and men in the outer island communities a stated that they are experiencing a range of challenges to grow food, particularly in communities on Erromango. In Dillon's Bay woman and men stated that they cannot plant gardens far away because the pigs eat everything and even planting closer to homes offers minimal protection. In Ipota community members are facing similar challenges with pigs and rats were also noted as on ongoing problem. Women in Dillon's Bay and Ipota also noted damage to vegetables caused by insects and disease. Women and men in these communities noted their ongoing efforts to replant because crops are not growing.

Widows in particular highlighted their efforts to regain their food security after the cyclone. As one FHH in Dillon's stated, *'after Pam it is hard to survive, we plant but things are not growing well.'* In Ipota a widow echoed similar struggles stating, *'we feel like giving up sometime but still we keep trying with the gardening and planting food.'* In Dillon's Bay and Ipota FHHs also highlighted theft from the garden both by children and adults as a problem. As a widow in Dillon's Bay noted, 'sometimes people steal food from the garden. We have to walk some distance to get food from the garden but when we go to harvest there is no more food left.'

An elderly widow from Ipota complained about her own grandchildren stealing from her garden stating 'sometimes my grandchildren go and eat everything in their garden. Then I feel like giving up.' The theft of food can be particularly discouraging for FHHs who often are not able to draw on additional labour to help them replant gardens, particularly at a time when all households are struggling to replant their gardens. In addition, FHHs may be an easy target for theft because there are no males at home whose presence might dissuade would-be thieves and it may be difficult to get support from chiefs to stop them as theft from gardens is generally not considered to be a serious crime.

Although communities on Futuna suffered comparatively less damage, a man in Herald Bay also stated that he has to keep replanting his food garden, as well as the sandalwood. In Mission Bay a woman noted her attempts to grow other plants and use other techniques that had proved to be ineffective. 'The manioc is not growing. We have tried to grow other crops – kumala. We tried composting but it's not working.'

Caring for livestock and hunting

In Enimah women noted that they look after pigs, chickens, cows and goats but highlighted that many of these activities were no longer undertaken because there were very few animals left or fodder after the cyclone and the volcanic ash fall. A man in Enimah noted that men's first priority is the livestock saying that *'men think of feeding the cows, pigs, chickens first thing in the morning.'* Women in Ikaukau noted that everyone feeds animals but men kill the pigs. Women in Dillon's Bay stated that they look after pigs and chickens. Boys in Herald Bay noted they feed animals, as well as hunt for wild animals and birds. Boys in Mission Bay also noted that they go hunting for flying foxes. Men in Ipota and Dillon's Bay reportedly hunt wild pigs however during the study few mentioned hunting as one of their main activities.

Fishing

Fishing is undertaken to varying degrees by women, men, boys and girls in all of the communities except Enimah. In Ikaukau men stated that fishing is one of their most important activities for sustenance, income and pleasure. Men and boys in many of the communities noted that they go fishing in the sea on the reefs and into deeper waters whereas women stated that they collect small fish and shellfish closer to shore. The waters around Futuna contain abundant marine life and men and women regularly access the sea. Women in Mission Bay and Herald Bay noted that they sometimes go fishing and that mostly women collect shellfish. Men in Mission Bay noted that catching a big fish increases men's status. Girls and boys living in these communities stated that they sometimes do in-shore fishing or collect shellfish, particularly on weekends. Most fishing on Erromango is undertaken for subsistence rather than export. In Dillon's Bay a woman noted that both women and men occasionally go fishing in the river to catch lobsters (prawns)

for dinner, usually after returning from the garden. One man in Ipota noted that he sometimes goes fishing on the weekend for fish, shellfish and crab.

Food preparation and cooking

In all of the communities, women of all ages – whether married, FHHs, young mothers or girls - consistently noted food preparation and cooking as one of their main activities, whereas men did not report this or noted this as an occasional activity. Women reported that they spend a lot of their time in this activity. Cooking is done in separate kitchens over open fires that produce a lot of smoke that can be damaging to women's health. Women, men, girls and boys in all of the FGDs stated that they collect firewood. Women in the communities stated that they are mainly responsible for managing and planning household meals and food consumption. In Ipota one woman noted that she is expected to have food prepared when her husband and brother return home from the *nakamal*. In Enimah, men and women noted that wives, sisters or daughters are expected to bring food to the men to the *nakamal* in the evening. They come unseen to the 'barrier' or boundary on the edge of the *nakamal* and rustle the bushes or make a noise to indicate that they have brought food and the man comes to get the food. Men in the FGD noted that food brought by the women to the *nakamal* was important to ensure a good harvest. In this way women bear an additional responsibility for the success or failure of the harvest – a challenge in Enimah even at the best of times.

In the communities cooking is strongly associated with expected gender norms, however gradual changes are taking place in some communities. Several women and key informants in the communities on Erromango noted that some men cook sometimes. A woman in Dillon's Bay noted, *'only a few men help with the cooking.'* Several other women noted that cooking duties are shared by husband and wife especially if the woman is working outside the home. A woman in Ipota stated, *'I am a very busy lady. So we both share the cooking.'* Another stated, *'I work so I have some money to buy breakfast. My husband cooks sometimes for the kids before they go to school.'* Several women noted that some men occasionally help to prepare food or cook, particularly '*if there is no other woman or girl to help cook*'. In Herald Bay, Dillon's Bay, Ipota several men noted that they prepare food and cook, however many of these added the qualifier *'sometimes'* when asked how often they cooked. A few younger single men and widowers in the communities stated that they cook and do everything that women do in the home. In Enimah a key informant was a notable exception to the rest of the men in the community, noting that he was *'proud to help his wife in the home …and to do the cooking when my wife has her period.*'

In Ikaukau men cook at their fishing camps during the period for custom fishing. Men noted that during this time men are not supposed to eat certain foods to ensure a good catch and women bring food down to the shore for the men to cook. In some cases certain foods are prepared only by women or by men. For example, in Ikaukau a FHH noted that only women make laplap and a woman said only men get the fire for the *laplap,* the *simboro*, and the *punia* (types of prepared cooked food*).* She also stated that only men grate coconut.

In all of the communities it is considered a cultural taboo for women to cook during menstruation and some men and women in the FGDs noted that is a time during which they sometimes cook. Taboos around cooking during menstruation generally shifts labour to other female family members. Women in the FGDs noted that during this time they mainly receive assistance from daughters or other female relatives. As one FHH noted, *'men might cook if women are menstruating, mostly if there is no daughter or other women to do it.'* In Enimah many women and men in the communities noted that men are not happy if they have to cook. As one woman stated *'some fathers drink kava, don't want to help if mothers have their period. Then daughters do the cooking. If fathers are cooking they are very angry.'* The vast majority of men noted their strong aversion to taking on this task stating that *'mostly it's shameful (for men) to be seen doing the cooking.'* In Ipota a women noted that she occasionally asks her young sons to lend a hand at this time particularly to prepare their own breakfast before going to school and added that her husband would often complain and get angry about having to help cook. She noted that since she explained to him that women's bodies were God's creation and that menstruation was part of the life-giving process he has become more accepting of this role.

Menstruation places a number of other restrictions on women in some communities. In Enimah men in the FGD noted that menstruating women are not supposed to go into the garden with new yam at the risk of having a bad harvest. In Dillon's Bay a female informant noted that women should not go in new houses made of wild cane or with walls of coconut fronds and if women or girls have their period they are supposed to stay in another house or in the old house or kitchen. She added that some women in Tanna use their own cup, plate and spoon at this time. However she stated that these practices are not as strong as before and that now only some people in Dillon's Bay would follow them due in large part to gender awareness training.

Gender roles in WASH

Existing data reveals that gender distribution of water collection is most equitable in Tafea Province compared with other provinces, where adult women collect water in 43.2 % of households and in 44.3% of households adult men collect water. Female and male child under 15 years collect water in 5.5 and 3.8 percent households respectively[13]. Quantitative data is not available regarding the time and frequency spent collecting or using these resources. During the fieldwork women, men, girls and boys of all ages from the communities stated that they collect water. In all communities women noted that they use water the most for household chores. In Enimah men in the FGDs reported that they were mainly responsible for carting water, whereas women in the FGDs also noted water collection as one of their main activities. Men mentioned the heavy burden and considerable distance to cart water uphill from the spring near the sea during the dry season. They added that this burden has been eased for some households residing close to the water tank recently provided by CARE but highlighted that many people still had to cart water long distances over difficult terrain. In Herald Bay men in the FGD noted if needed, men travel up to the source to fetch water, adding that, '*only men go to the source, it's far away'.*

In Herald Bay girls at the secondary school stated there was not enough water for several days after the cyclone and during that time both girls and boys collected water from the tank. In Ipota the Secretary of the Water Committee stated that everyone was going to the river to bathe after Cyclone Pam and that everyone - men, women and children carried water back to the house.

Women and girls in all of the communities noted washing clothes as one of their main activities for example stating, *'only ladies do the washing' and' only women and girls wash clothes.'* Women only seek assistance with their laundry from other women, children or grandchildren, as one woman in Ipota stated, *'f I am working I ask another woman to help.'* During the study there was only one exception of a man in Enimah who stated that he washes clothes. Boys boarding at schools in Futuna and Ipota stated that they are supposed to wash their own clothes. During the FGDs girls from the secondary schools in Herald Bay and Ipota reported that they sometimes wash clothes for boys who ask them. Girls in Ikaukau were keenly aware of the uneven distribution of duties and the heavy workload associated with washing clothes. As one girl stated, *'the boys never help with washing. The girls have to do it all – carry the clothes down and back. Sometimes it is hard work, the sun is strong and the ground is hot.'* Washing clothes takes a lot of time and women often have to juggle several household tasks at once. As one woman in Enimah stated, *'sometimes if you're washing the clothes and you ask your husband to look after the kids, he's not happy.'* In Dillon's Bay many women noted the heavy workload associated with washing clothes in the river.

In Ikaukau women in the FGD noted that women were involved in the construction of toilets but men generally took on more of these responsibilities. As one woman noted, *'both women and men build the house for the toilet but it is mostly men's work.'* In Herald Bay a woman was observed weaving the walls for the toilet for the new SDA church. FHHs stated that *'most'* people wash their hands before preparing food and that it is the responsibility of both parents to remind children to wash their hands. Women in the FGD stated that the soap provided during the recovery is finished.

[13] Vanuatu Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS, 2007). Ministry of Health and UNICEF.

Men and women in the communities generally tend to view water committees as bodies principally responsible for fixing water supply problems, undertaking repairs and collecting fees to fund these repairs. The allocation of roles relating to water resource management is generally based on men's training and skills to undertake repairs and perceptions about women's ability to effectively manage money. As in many of the communities, a young woman from Ikaukau noted, *'the treasurer is a woman and the man is responsible for doing the repair.'*

In all of the communities men are responsible for maintaining water tanks, infrastructure and hardware and addressing problems with the water supply – such as leakages, low water pressure or water stoppage. Both women and men noted that men are in charge of decisions about repairs and only men are trained as 'plumbers' and able to undertake repairs that mostly involve fixing taps and broken pipes. There are no women in the communities who have the skills to be able to do repairs. In the aftermath of the cyclone water supply was disrupted in the communities. Men and women noted that men were generally responsible for fixing pipes to restore water supply to the community.

Women elected or selected to sit on water committees In Ikaukau, Dillon's Bay and Ipota have taken on the role of Secretary and/or Treasurer and are assigned the task of collecting fees to pay the plumber – an unenviable task given the condition of many of the water systems and one made even more difficult due to the income shortfalls following the cyclone. As the Secretary of the Water Committee in Ipota noted, *'money is a problem. Now I don't ask anymore. Sometimes the Chief helped me. In the meeting he tells people to give money and some give it in the meeting. Sometimes the President helps, but mostly he just sends us.'*

In some communities such as Ipota, communicating information about water issues is generally the responsibility of the male leaders. The Secretary Water Committee noted, *'if there's a problem with the piped supply they tell people in a meeting not to use water from community tank for bathing or cooking, only for drinking. It is up to the President or Chief to let people know.'* However in other communities such as Ikaukau women also play a role to communicate information about water, mainly encouraging people to conserve when supplies start to run low.

Caring for children

Women in all of the communities noted childcare as one of their main activities. Girls in the FGDs also noted that they look after younger siblings. According to the 2009 Vanuatu Census 21% of households in Tafea are multi-generational. The presence of grandchildren can increase women's workload, as well as alleviate the burden for many older women. Whether living on their own, with husbands or with their grown children, grandmothers in the FGD stated that they care for their grandchildren for example feeding them breakfast and preparing them for school. Many of these women also stated that grandchildren often assist them with their household tasks such as collecting firewood, water, helping with cooking and washing.

Caring for young children is a role carried out all day and every day and according to many women in the FGDs, is one that many men are apparently very reluctant to take on. In Enimah women stated that in general most men in the community do not play a role in childcare, however there are some exceptions. As one woman noted, '*only a few men look after the children.'* One widow in Enimah reflected that there have been no significant changes in the roles of women or men in the community adding *'change only occurs if the wife goes to work outside the home than the husband has to care for the children. This only happens if he is a good husband.'* In some communities some men do take care of children some of the time and observations during the fieldwork showed a few men relatively engaged with their children. A man in Ikaukau noted, *'spending time with my family'* as one of his main activities. Most women have to carry out childcare duties and household responsibilities in parallel, while this may not be the case for men. As one woman in Ikaukau noted, *'my husband helps to care for the children but he does not have any other household duties.'* In Enimah several men tend to consider their main child-rearing responsibility centres on providing guidance and advice to their family, especially young boys, often undertaking this activity at convenient times between other activities. As

one man stated, *'men will talk to their family in the morning and in the evening if they come back early from drinking kava.'*

In Ikaukau young mothers in the FGD highlighted the challenges of raising small children, often without the support of fathers. Many reported having particularly heavy workloads and expressed frustration at the lack of assistance from husbands, stating *'we work hard and men often do not support us by helping with the kids.'...'We sometimes feel tired and angry that men aren't doing anything to help.'*

There are some circumstances where men have little option but to care for young children. For example, there is an elderly man in Dillon's Bay who is raising his young grandchildren because his daughters went to Port Vila. A key informant noted that he does all the activities at home and the children help him. There is also a man in Herald Bay living with his daughter who has a very limited physical mobility and her young daughter and by necessity he has to fulfill the full range of household tasks.

In Ipota and Enimah women, men and the nurses stated that women are generally responsible for caring for sick children and bringing them to the clinic. Various community members highlighted the poor health care services and lack of medicine. The Nurse in Enimah stated *'mostly only women care for children and take children to the clinic'* and the Nurse in Ipota stated that mothers usually came to the clinic with their children adding that '*only sometimes fathers come too.'* For women in Enimah brining sick children to the nearest health centre is a particularly long journey, with one women stating, *'if someone is sick we have to walk to the clinic and we have to walk about 5 hours to get there. Then we walk back home.'* The Nurse stated that women normally travel to Lenakel to give birth. It is important to highlight that although they may not be the main caretakers when children fall ill, many fathers in the communities care deeply about their children's health.

Women and men of all ages from various communities noted the shortage of medicine at the dispensaries and the use of custom or traditional medicine and prayer to recover from sickness. For example, in Herald Bay a man noted that sometimes women use traditional medicine or *'just pray.'* A women also stated, *'it is a long distance (to Mission Bay) so we use traditional medicine or prayer.'* In Ikaukau widows stated that they drink custom medicine if they get sick and if it gets worse they get medicine from the clinic, adding that older women know which kinds of traditional medicine to use and that members of John Frum use custom medicine. In Ipota girls in the FGD stated that the school pays for their health visit and medicine, however there is often not enough medicine at the dispensary and in these cases the nurse tells them to drink a lot of water. Young women in this community also stated that they use traditional medicine for serious sickness and if it does not work they go to Port Vila. In Enimah the Nurse said that both women and men collect and use custom medicine. In his view these practices negatively influence people's health because they mainly use traditional medicine and wait too long to get medical treatment. *'They (women and men) only come when it's too late.'* He noted that but noted that it often harms more than helps adding that *'people should only use safe kinds'.*

Getting an education

According to recent education data for Tafea Province[14] (see School Mapping Report) slightly fewer girls than boys are enrolled in primary school (47% of primary students are girls as compared with 53% boys). Enrollment of girls and boys at secondary schools is more or less equal however while most of the total primary school age population in Tafea is enrolled in primary school, 71% of the total secondary school age population are not enrolled in secondary school. Older women in the FGD stated they do did not get education because girls were not supposed to go to school in the past but emphasized that *'now we support both girls and boys to go to school.'* Girls in the FGD also stressed the importance

[14] *Vanuatu School Mapping Report* 2012, Policy and Planning Unit, Department of Education Port Vila, Vanuatu.

of education stating, '*when a girl gets her first period she might stay home from school but after that she should go all the time.'*

In Ikaukau girls in the FGD stated there was no discrimination between girls and boys in terms of school attendance or paying school fees. The CDCCC Chair noted that some John Frum children, both girls and boys go to school while others stay at home.

Some teachers make an effort to address the range of needs of different types of students and for example, the teacher in Herald Bay would like to have disability training for the teachers stating that, *'parents don't send these children (girls and boys) to school right away and then when they arrive they have fallen behind.'*

In Ipota women in the FGD and members of Vanuatu's Women's Centre's Network of Rural Committees Against Violence Against Women (CAVAW) stated that some children living close by across the river do not attend primary school. During a transect walk a widow living across the river verified this information saying *'some of my grandchildren don't go to school. They are about 10 years or maybe a bit older - boys and some girls.'* She stated that she did not know the reasons why they did not attend school. When children stay home from school the burden or work and responsibility often increases for mothers.

In Ikaukau young mothers in the FGD noted that there was a low standard of primary education, uneducated teachers who were not trained well and limited resources. Beyond primary school students have to travel to another island to attend secondary school. One young mother in Ikaukau stated, *'when girls are away at school they sometimes find some subjects too hard and feel like giving up.'* Poor foundations in primary school can potentially affect decision-making about life choices and family planning as it increase the likelihood that girls choose relationships over schoolwork.

The *CARE Girls' Services Mapping Report* noted violence against girls in schools as a constraint to girls' education, noting that the Teaching Service Commission in Tanna highlighted *'a lot of teacher to student incidents, many involving sexual harassment and violence*'. It also states that the Vanuatu Education Policy and Advocacy Coalition commented on the lack of protection from home to the outside community as a significant challenge for girls in Tanna. According to the TAFEA Provincial Education Office (TPEO) many girls do not continue their schooling after pregnancy due to cultural expectations, peer pressure, and a lack of parental support stemming from a fear of family embarrassment. These attitudes cut short education and career opportunities for girls, whereas boys are not affected in the same way because they do not face the same stigma. In Herald Bay and Ipota boys and girls in the FGDs stated that when a pregnancy occurs both the girl and the boy are normally sent home. They noted that the only Sexual and Reproductive Health advice they receive from parents and teachers is to avoid romantic relationships from developing altogether. The TPEO encourages girls to sit exams if they are suspended or expelled from school for being pregnant. One of the boys in the FGD in Herald Bay confirmed this practice noting a case where a pregnant girl was allowed to sit her exams.

During the FGDs both women and men from the outer island communities involved in the study noted their concern about the impacts of the cyclone on their children's education. In Dillon's Bay for example a man stated, *'some men are struggling to supply food for the kids to go to school.'* In Ikaukau the Area Secretary noted that the Chiefs and parents have been discussing the possibility of shortening school hours because children do not have enough food to eat. Girls in the FGD confirmed this situation noting that there is not enough food at home and sometimes they get hungry at school. After the cyclone the primary school in Ikaukau was closed for two weeks so this would be an additional disruption to the children's education. Should younger children stay home from school the workload for mothers is likely to increase although some women may get more assistance in with gardening and other household tasks.

In Ipota, both female and male secondary students in Ipota face a number of challenges to acquire an education. The Chief noted various challenges related to the school including, *'land disputes that have caused politics in the school'*, *'the lack of permanent teachers - most are just volunteers*', and *'negotiations about the school management and structure.'* He added that *'people from other places from Erro take their kids out of the school in Ipota'*. During the

interviews teachers and parents noted concern that their children's grades have fallen since the cyclone. A mother of one of the students stated, *'after Pam we went to get the reports for the students and the teacher said they found a big difference because the children had failed many of their subjects. They discussed this with the parents. Maybe they did not eat enough food.'* Given what children have gone through over the past few months the decreasing performance of students may be due to any number of reasons. The ongoing challenges of the school are now compounded by the complete destruction of the secondary school building in the cyclone.

In Herald Bay FGDs girls and boys boarding at the school noted weekly water cuts and the lack of solar lighting to be able to study some nights. Water shortages can result in additional challenges for menstruating girls and one of the girls mentioned the lack of sanitary napkins. Given the economic hardship most parents are experiencing many are struggling to be able to support their children financially or emotionally when they are away from home either. No doubt the cyclone has been traumatic for girls and boys alike and students boarding away from home may be feeling particularly neglected during the recovery period and many parents now have limited ability to provide comfort. In Herald Bay one of the boys in the FGD noted that sometimes they feel their parents are forgetting them because they do not receive any calls or parcels.

4.1.2 Community Activities

As in villages throughout Vanuatu, community activities form an integral part of everyday life for people in Tafea Province. Throughout the field research women and men were observed undertaking generally gender-specific community activities and working in cooperation to achieve the same goal. For example, in Herald Bay men were building pews and women were decorating the church and weaving the walls for a toilet in preparation for a church opening. In Mission Bay women were cooking food for the men who were constructing a new house.

Custom marriage, kastom ceremonies and community events mark significant life stages and serve to strengthen family and wider kinship bonds as well as social ties within the community. Many of these ceremonies are intrinsically linked with the exchange or provision of key resources. In all of the communities, women and men undertake different roles for custom or traditional ceremonies. Custom ceremonies, whether for circumcision, first menstruation, marriage or a funeral usually entails a feast in the community.[15] In all of the communities women are mainly responsible for food preparation and cooking, and setting out mats for community activities and events, with girls usually helping the women. In Enimah women and men in particular highlighted the importance of k*astom* ceremonies. The women's church representative stated, *'women do a lot of work in the church and the community, for custom ceremonies – they do the food, they prepare everything.'* For custom marriages men collect pigs and kava while women make custom dresses and weave mats and then come together to present bride price. In Enimah women in the FGD noted that they come together during funerals to publicly express grief for the deceased offering comfort for female relatives throughout the mourning period. This was also observed during a funeral which was taking place in Dillon's Bay during the research. Women noted that although custom ceremonies involve a lot of work they enjoy this time because tasks are carried out together in a spirit of social cooperation and '*women are happy, eating good food and dancing.'* The women added that the *kastom* ceremony they value most is the marriage ceremony because they enjoy the dancing.

In the outer island communities men in the FGDs stated that they are responsible for providing fish and meat for custom ceremonies and community events and also collect firewood. Young men in the FGDs noted that they had to do a lot of work in preparation for custom ceremonies and some were not always happy about these chores. As one young man noted, 'the *Chiefs tell us to help with ceremonies. Preparing for ceremony takes up a lot of time but we can't say anything.'* Other young men however appreciated the value of the ceremonies, with one young man stating, *'it is important to understand custom, especially for ceremonies and history, all of the roles.'* In Herald Bay men stated that organizing a ceremony, being in charge of a community event, sponsoring a feast, providing a pig or big fish and cutting

[15] The Nurse in Dillon's Bay stated that that circumcisions are done in the hospital and no ceremony is performed.

a lot of firewood were activities that increased men's status. A man in Herald Bay noted that one of the most important occasions for men is a trading ceremony, where *'some men maybe kill a big pig then come together to talk about land, history, forefathers.'*

In several communities, women and older girls stated that first menstruation is considered a community affair and a special time in a young girl's life. In Enimah women stated that during a girl's first menstruation a mother will care for her daughter at home and afterwards the girl is brought to the sea for bathing and this is followed by a ceremony and feast. A women also noted that some practices regarding menstruation have changed stating, *'in the olden days, girls moved out to a separate house nearby but now girls still live at home after their first menstruation.'* In Ikaukau women and girls stated that first menstruation is a special time for women and girls, celebrated with girlfriends and rituals signifying friendship. One of the girls in the FGD explained the activities surrounding a girl's first menstruation:

> *There is a traditional ceremony for a girl's first period that lasts 6 days. The girl stays with other girls who have had their period and they all sleep in one house. In the morning they grate coconuts, put on oil, swim in the sea and the mothers bring them food. We like that time, it is good, a lot of fun. We share every experience. A*lso *when we are together we all get the same tattoos. It is a time for enjoying.'*

Young people

Childhood and youth is a special time and young people in the communities noted that in normal times they have various opportunities to enjoy themselves in their free time. During the FGDs young women and young men noted that most community, church and sports activities are undertaken together and these include for example playing sports, holding swimming competitions, singing songs during community ceremonies and events, putting on skits, and sometimes watching videos on the weekend. Several communities have a sports day once a week for both girls and boys. A youth leader in Enimah noted that he organizes sports, walking, gardening, and that *'both girls and boys are always included.'* Young men in the secondary schools in Herald Bay and Ipota stated that hunting, fishing, sports and drinking kava were the main leisure activities that boys and young men did that did not include the girls.

In Ipota young women noted that the young people want to set up a Youth Centre to encourage them to learn new skills and keep them busy. '*It is one of our dreams. Both girls and boys will take part in that program.'* The Youth Representative noted that *'socializing in youth groups in church and schools has positive impacts the lives of boys and girls.'* He also added that participation in the Youth Council was important because it *'reduces boys getting into risky activities.*' One young man stated that the Chief, Council members and village leaders (most of whom are male) decide about which young people are responsible for planning and taking on key roles in youth activities. In Herald Bay boys noted their appreciation for the Youth Council '*because it helps us cooperate together'* but also noted a specific challenge that boys faced during group activities, stating *'there is peer pressure, for example to drink home brew'* and added that *'some got suspended for drinking it.'* Young women and young men in the FGDs in the communities noted that they no longer have time to do any youth activities because they are helping their families and the community rebuild after the cyclone.

People with Disabilities

Around 13% of women and 12% of men reported a disability in the 2009 census, with less than 1% of men and women reporting a severe disability. Women with disabilities are among the most marginalised of all women in Vanuatu. Despite a national disability policy, services are limited. The Vanuatu Society for Disabled People provides some support but most care of persons with disability is left to family members.

In the outer island communities interviews with men and women with disabilities and their caregivers, as well as personal observation in the communities highlighted a great deal of acceptance and efforts to support and include people with disabilities, whether male or female. This substantiates findings in a scoping undertaken by the CARE Disability Advisor to Futuna, Dillon's Bay and Ipota.[16] In Ikaukau for example, a young man with a physical disability expressed overall satisfaction with his participation and the ways in which he is made to feel included in the community. He stated that other people communicate well with him and he does not feel any discrimination and stated, *'they don't treat me differently in any way.'* He noted that he cuts grass for the community, participates in gardening with the *Nasara*[17] and participated in the DRR training provided by CARE. Another example comes from Mission Bay where a young woman with a disability attends community meetings, has her own raised plot for growing vegetables and enjoys relaxed interaction with women and girls of all ages. Despite her physical disability this young woman moves around the community independently however at times this independence can place her at risk. During the fieldwork several young people came to her aid when they found her sleeping outside in the cold during an evening church event, and they had some difficulty getting her to return home. No family members or other adults were present. The incident highlighted that women and girls may lack adequate supervision from family and/or adult community members in order to avoid undue risks.

Given the variation in the types and severity of disabilities it is difficult to compare whether women or men with disabilities are treated differently or participate in different ways in particular communities. However it can be said that both women and men that were interviewed for the study who had a certain degree of mobility participated in community activities, however they did not tend play a role in decision-making. There is no data about the overall situation of women and girls with disabilities in Enimah, however an older woman with a physical disability stated that she faces significant challenges to participate in community activities. She stated that people laugh at her and children make fun or stare at her and added, *'when I do things (ie participate in public) sometimes people look down on me and don't want to see me.'* She stated that she is not invited to community activities and feels like an outsider and added, *'I don't feel like I'm part of the community.'* She added that her brother and family support her and the church provides a more welcoming environment, where '*church members and leaders appreciate me.'*

Church

In all of the communities churches perform a social organizing function and often organize activities to support widows, young mothers and the elderly. Church structures and decision-making processes are generally dominated by men however women, along with youth usually have separate groups and play key roles in organising and carrying out church activities. For example, in Enimah a women's church representative stated that *'women (in the church) help vulnerable people, people with disabilities and women without husbands.'* None of the men in the communities mentioned the existence of any men's church groups.

Widows in FHHs in Ikaukau, Mission Bay, Herald Bay, and Dillon's Bay noted that they regularly participated in church-related activities. In Mission Bay women from the church stated that they meet once a week to have meetings or do activities such as weaving together. In Herald Bay women also noted that they do weaving together with the women's church groups. Several widows in FHHs take on key roles and responsibilities in this domain by default and noted that they tend to prioritize church activities over community events but still carry out duties for both. For example, a FHH in Mission Bay stated, *'during church activities I have to represent the family. Church activities are the priority, not community activities. But I do community work, including cooking for community activities.'* In Ipota one FHH noted, *'we clean up or do cooking if there is a big feast. We are always faithful to come to the activities. Unless it rains, then we stay at home.'* Several widows stated they were obligated to represent the family in community activities since their husbands had died. Widows in Ikaukau stated, *'I have to carry out the responsibilities of both husband and wife in the*

[16] See CARE Disability Scoping Report by Karen Roberts.

[17] In Ikauakau '*nasara'* is the local name for villages (of which there are three).

community' and *'we are the first people to participate in community activities, especially community work. It is our responsibility since our husband died.'* Members of the CARE field team also noted that FHHs in Dillon's Bay are the first people to attend training and activities organized by CARE and are the first to speak up. Widows in FHHs

In Enimah men in the FGDs mostly spoke about their *kastom* activities and did not refer to the church, suggesting that church activities are not generally prioritized by men. By comparison women noted their participation in various church activities such as attending church services, cleaning the church and singing together with men in the church choir. They also stated that they helped rebuild the church together with the men. The women's church representative noted that women come together for bible study and prayer, to weave, and to do outreach for vulnerable people. Women added that women generally do a lot of work both in the church and the community, and for example organised fundraising for a well and the purchase of two sewing machines for the women. In Enimah a Pastor noted that everybody participates in church activities – youth[18], women, men's groups adding that '*even girls are not left out and included in activities.*' One of the church leaders stated that church attendance rose immediately after the cyclone but has since dropped off again. *'Before not many people went to church. Right after the cyclone many people went. Now there are less people.'* Women in the FGD also stated that the women's church program has stopped operations since the cyclone.

In Ikaukau the Chief also stated that he plays a key role in the church and a young man with a disability stated that he cleans up the church, plays a key role as deacon and sometimes leads services. In Herald Bay men in the FGDs did not mention church as one of their main activities however they noted that they collect and carry sand and coral from the beach and make cement for graves at the church cemetery. Women and men often take on gender-segregated roles in the church and during a transect walk, men in the community were observed putting together pews for a new SDA church, while women were decorating the church and weaving the walls for the new toilet. In Dillon's Bay, very few men were seen returning from church at which point one of the women in the community stated that *'women are the main ones going to church.'* The weekly attendance rate for women and men of different church denominations is unknown, however several church leaders noted that a range of different people, participated in church activities.

Drinking kava and spending time in the nakamal

In Enimah, many men noted the importance of spending time and drinking kava in the *nakamal* in the evening. Several men highlighted that this time was a good opportunity for men to speak with young boys who come to help prepare the kava for example stating, *'we spend a lot of time in the nakamal - giving advice, teaching moral values to boys, telling stories.'* In several communities women and men of varying age expressed concern about the negative consequences arising from the excessive consumption of kava, particularly for women. In Enimah a young man in the FGD stated that '*youth (male) who drink kava don't show up to youth programs.*' Women stated, '*some fathers drink kava and don't want to help*' and '*men are not waking. They drink kava and don't want to help the women at home. If they drink too much kava, they feel sleepy. When the woman asks him to help with the kids, he says he's too tired.'* In Ipota women reported considerable consumption of kava by some men, with many drinking every day resulting in tired and lethargic husbands and fathers. During a mid-morning transect walk with a woman in Ipota, a woman minding several young children stated that her husband was sleeping, adding *'he is tired from drinking kava last night. He drinks everyday.'*

In Herald Bay older men in the FGD expressed concern about the amount of kava being consumed especially by younger men. Boys at the secondary school listed kava drinking as one of their activities when they are at home. Widows in this community noted that men of all ages drink kava, although several older men in the FGD stated they did not drink very

[18] In Enimah one of the FHHs in the FGD stated *'there are no women or youth groups here.'* It is possible she meant that there are no community-wide groups for women or youth, since there are church-based groups for women and youth.

much kava but mostly smoked tobacco. In Ikaukau men in the FGD noted they do not drink a lot of kava and the Chief stated that men are only allowed to drink one shell.

In several communities women are prohibited from drinking kava. For example In Enimah women noted that they are not allowed to drink kava or smoke and in Mission Bay women in the FGDs stated that women who drink kava are reported immediately to the Chief.

Construction of houses and community buildings

House construction is often a cooperative community with women and men generally performing separate gender-specific activities. Women generally weave mats, walls and make thatch for the roof while men build the main structure. Men in the communities generally noted that they are responsible for building the supporting structure of houses and kitchens. Women in the communities stated they weave the walls for houses and kitchens, make rope to bind the wood and make thatch for the roofs of traditional houses. Women also weave sleeping mats. In Enimah women stated that they enjoy doing activities together because *'helping each other makes us happy.'* In Mission Bay during the fieldwork men of all ages were busy building a house for one of the community members, carrying materials up from the beach and doing construction,[19] while women in the community cooked for the men. A girl in Mission Bay stated, *'in Futuna people work together, not like other places.'* Once they are complete it is usually women and girls who are responsible for sweeping and cleaning houses, kitchens, churches and community halls.

4.1.3 Income-Generating Activities

In Enimah livelihood options for both women and men are extremely limited. In Enimah women noted that they normally sell mats and baskets to earn money for school fees and sometimes coconuts but these activities are no longer possible due to the shortage of pandanus and coconuts. Another woman who used to work in a resort before it was damaged and a woman with a disability who sells phone cards. Apart from selling pigs for ceremony or feasts or exchanging them for other food men in the FGD or interviews did not report any other income-generating activities stated, *'we do not have any resources to get big money and we don't want to sell the land.'* Intermittent ash fall from the volcano affects the community's natural resources and Cyclone Pam has further exacerbated their precarious existence. Young men in this community noted the shortage of jobs and expressed a sense of frustration at their lack of skills and livelihood opportunities stating, *'the gardens and livestock are spoiled because of the disaster. We don't know how to make anything. We lose hope. We look for work in Vila but they don't have any work and there is a lot of corruption.'* In the FGDs girls reported no income-generating activities, stating *'we don't do anything to earn money.'*

In the outer island communities women and men involved in the study normally pursue a range of livelihood options that draw mostly on their natural resource base. In these communities women's income-generating activities include selling food such as small fish, crabs and lobsters, vegetables and peanuts from the garden, the sale of bread and *kato* (figure eight shaped doughnuts) and refill phone cards. During a transect walk in Ikaukau one woman stated that she and her husband earn money from bread and her job is to take the orders while her husband does the baking. Many women sell l*aplap*, fried fish and other prepared food, particularly during small markets organized by the women in the community or provide cooked meals for people staying in guest houses. In Ikaukau women and men of all ages earn the majority of their household incomes through the sale of oranges. Everyone is involved, including girls who stated that they normally help by climbing trees to collect the oranges. In all communities women of all ages and including those with disabilities weave mats, baskets and handicrafts to sell to visitors at resorts in Tanna or through family and contacts or Port Villa and girls from all of the communities help with the weaving. In Herald Bay, apart from weaving, the main

[19] During the research men in Mission Bay were not available to participate in a FGD because they were occupied building a two-story house.

income of women is selling fish, small crabs, coconut crabs and lobster in the community. Some women noted that they sometimes make money by weaving walls for houses or making thatch or tapa. In Mission Bay women stated that they recently started a sewing project and once a week they get together to improve these skills in the hope of selling clothes through ACTIV. Several women in the communities noted that they earn money by cooking for visitors and during special community events. Several women and men earn small incomes from running simple guesthouses, although washing and cooking for guests and visitors is normally carried out by women. In Ipota, Herald Bay, and Dillon's Bay, women run small shops selling basic items, although in most cases these shops are owned by men. In Ipota some women reported that they sell cigarettes and eggs, as well as refill cards, kato and bread.

In addition, men and women, including FHHs, in Mission Bay and Herald Bay stated that they earn money transporting cargo from the beach. Men from these communities also noted that they carry coral up from the beach, as well as earn money from selling sandalwood and doing construction work. Several men in the communities make money driving boats; carrying luggage at the airport; renting out guesthouses; or selling coconut crabs to visitors. Boys in Herald Bay stated they sometimes earn money from working in a friend's garden.

Many men in the communities noted that they earn money from selling reef or deep sea fish, lobster and crabs within the community or sending it to Tanna and Port Vila to sell. As one man in Herald Bay stated, *'men who own boats or canoes are the ones who make the most money.'* Some men in Ipota and Dillon's Bay also sell beef. In Ipota women noted that both women and men sell pigs and goats, however it was mostly women who sold chickens.

A few women and men in the communities are engaged in formal employment, for example in the bank or school. In the communities in the study all of the nurses at the health centres and all of the Air Vanuatu agents are men, whereas teachers and school administrators are both male and female.

Sandalwood is an important source of income for community members particularly in Dillon's Bay and Ipota, and to a lesser extent Ikaukau. Seedlings are established and mature trees are sold to licensed sandalwood agents during a government regulated time period. The wood is then exported abroad for further processing. Key informants in Dillon's Bay stated that a few men earn relatively large incomes selling big shipments of sandalwood and timber. A young man in Ipota noted that he earns a small income cleaning or selling sandalwood. Another young man living in a FHH noted that he does small jobs and cleans sandalwood. In Ikaukau both women and men noted that they plant maintain and sell sandalwood seedlings, but it is mainly men who clean and sell the wood. Some men noted that they do not have any incomes, for example a man in Herald Bay stated, *'I don't do anything to make money.'*

Gender Differences

Women and men of all ages play roles in meeting basic needs. The gender roles of women and men often complement each other. However sometimes gender norms about roles can reinforce gender inequality, for example giving men opportunities to earn money while women do not earn money for their complementary roles. For example women in Ipota, Dillon's Bay and Ikaukau collect fees for repairs to water supplies, while men who carry out the repairs earn money. Or in some cases men get paid to help construct a house (ie Mission Bay) or a community building while women cook meals for the men for free.

Income generation is a particular challenge for women and men living on small islands and communities located in remote areas. Although many of these challenges, such as distance and access to markets are the same for both women and men there are some notable differences in the income-generating opportunities available to women and men in

these communities.[20] Given that Enimah reported almost no income-generating activities, the findings about livelihoods noted below focuses principally on the outer island communities.

Income-earning potential

In Dillon's Bay men were quick to highlight one of the main differences between the income-earning potential of women and men. As one man in Dillon's Bay noted, 'women *are quick to earn but make just small amounts. Men can quickly earn big incomes.'* The Area Secretary also noted '*small income is earned by women, men earn bigger incomes from jobs and sandalwood.'* Despite the size of women's incomes, everyone in the communities noted that women's incomes provide valuable contributions to the welfare of the family. It is important to highlight that all men do not have the same access to income-generating resources. As a man in Ipota noted, *'only some men can access the sea – not all can dive. And only some men do logging or have equipment to get the timber.'*[21] Ownership of land and sandalwood does not necessarily guarantee incomes for men. As a man in Dillon's Bay noted, '*many men don't have any sources of income. Some have sandalwood but it takes time to harvest. And there are no buyers for sandalwood now. And there is a seasonal time to sell and quotas.'*

Only a few men earn big incomes and many men struggle to earn even small amounts of money. A key informant in Dillon's Bay stated, '*big money goes to men and women are responsible for paying school fees.'* However, many men in the study also said that any money they make is used to pay for basic needs and that they pay for school fees. As one man in Ipota stated, *'I try hard to find money to help the family and especially for school fees'.* In this regard, both girls and boys in Herald Bay and Ipota expressed concern about their parents' ability to pay school fees since the cyclone. As girls in the Ipota noted, *'most parents earn income from sandalwood but the cyclone destroyed it so there is no money for school fees'* and *'before the cyclone, we lived a normal life. After Pam we lost most of the things at home and at school. Parents normally earn small income for school fees but parents use this (money) to pay for all the broken things. We don't know about our studies, if we will have to stop.'*

Mobility and access to internal and external markets

Women's income-generating activities tend to be small-scale, based in or near the home and tend to be mostly focused on an internal economy within the community. Sales of food, mats and handicrafts is supplemented by sales to occasional visitors to the communities. Women's access to external markets is largely indirect and their livelihood activities such as selling woven mats, baskets and handicrafts or oranges generally involve limited access and interaction with outside markets. Both women and men in Ikaukau normally export oranges but it is men who are generally involved in transporting this produce and acting as intermediaries. Men's income-generating opportunities for example deep sea fishing, raising cattle or logging generally provide men with more physical freedom and mobility. Some men, but not all, sell large fish and seafood and sandalwood through external markets to other islands. Men who are able to travel and access external markets benefit from the potential exposure to new information, people and ideas. A woman in Enimah who worked at a resort before the cyclone noted that it is better for men to work outside the home,

[20] Several findings of this study are consistent with the *CARE Situation Analysis of livelihoods* which outlines access to markets and formal and informal financial services available in Tanna.

[21] It is not the case that all men own land and high earning resources and women do not. The main divisions of resource ownership often fall along family lines, not gender... Inequalities in resource ownership and decision-making and the associated income-earning opportunities are mainly influenced by inheritance and family status. For example in Dillon's Bay, the wife of the Chief noted that big herds of cows are mostly owned by a couple of families and some families have only 1 or 2 cows if any. She also noted that the families near the school are less affluent than other parts of the village. *'There are Chiefly families, people who have more land and resources and people who have less. There is a big gap – inequality in the community. Twenty percent of the men have disposable income from land, sandalwood and timber and the others just have kava, cigarettes, and fish.'*

suggesting that women's outside employment and/or higher income-generating opportunities are not the norm and may be considered less socially acceptable in this community.

Diversity and resilience of livelihoods

Damages from the cyclone has affected a wide range of income-generating resources, affecting the incomes of both women and men. In Ikaukau the orange crop that provides income for both women and men is completely destroyed and will take many years to recover. Many women and men in this community noted serious concerns about how to pay for their children's education because a significant proportion of this income is used to pay for school fees and transport children to secondary schools on other islands in Tafea. As one woman noted, *'we (husband and wife) used to sell oranges for school fees but now don't know what to do.'* Women in almost all of the communities highlighted the shortage of pandanus to make mats, baskets and handicrafts.

In Herald Bay women stated that the pandanus they had prepared was destroyed during the cyclone. The only exception seemed to be in Mission Bay, where women seemed to have enough supply because they were busy preparing pandanus and weaving during the FGD. Damage to guest houses means loss of incomes for both women and men and damage to sandalwood trees and seedlings affects the incomes of men and to a lesser extent some women. The loss of livestock means women are selling fewer chickens and men are selling less beef. A woman in Ipota noted that men used to sell meat once a week but now sold it perhaps once a month during workshops or meetings. The shortage of *natakura* means women cannot make thatch for roofs or weave walls for traditional houses which results in lost income for the women who would normally get paid to weave and make thatch. As one woman noted in Ikaukau noted, *'there are no leaves to do the roof. Normally I look for the leaves and then my husband will ask other women from the church and pay them.'*

Many of the livelihoods of women and men rely heavily on locally available land and marine resources that are at considerable risk from disasters and climate change. In some cases women and men derive incomes from activities that do not rely solely on natural resources. These include for example, the sale of *kato*, bread and refill cards, carrying cargo from the beach or luggage from the plane, driving boats and trucks, running shops, selling clothing, as well as formal employment. However these sources of income can also be impacted by natural hazards. With the exception of Enimah, some women and men in the communities noted that they had more than one way to earn money and this diversification helps to increase family incomes and spread risk.

Access to Financial Services

The National Bank of Vanuatu and Western Union have branches in Erromango and Tanna. Futuna and Aniwa do not have banking services but the latter has a Western Union agent.

Vanuatu Women's Development Scheme (VANWODS) provides micro-finance to small-scale women entrepreneurs in Tanna. In Enimah women reported that since the cyclone some women have quit the savings scheme set up by VANWODS because they do not have any money and cannot afford to deposit even a very small amount of money every two weeks.

A Women's Savings and Loan Association was established in Dillon's Bay where *'any woman can be a member, men can also join and every member can make a decision.'* Women deposit small amounts of money when they can and take out loans for small businesses or to pay for school fees. Women in the FGD reported that the Association has been inactive for some time. According to the President of the Women's Savings and Loan, there used to be 96 members but membership had dropped to 56 people. Several women reported that they had to withdraw their money from the Savings and Loan and many noted they were struggling to pay back loans or save any money. A meeting was held to discuss the potential closure of the Association but in the end they decided to continue operations. She stated, *'before the cyclone nothing was happening with the Savings and loan. If just re-opened last week. We had a meeting and we*

said we have to close the bank but others said - No it has really helped us a lot.' The President of the Savings and Loan noted, *'the woman deposit when they have it but it is hard to save now because many people have no money. We have much less money in the bank than before.'*

In Ipota several women in the FGD noted that they used to have a savings and loan scheme in the community but now held accounts at the National Bank of Vanuatu after being told that their money would be safer. These women stated that they had previously attended training organized by the bank and were now discussing ways to save small amounts of money again. (Additional information about savings and loans and household financial decision-making is detailed in Section C.)

4.1.4 Roles and Responsibilities in Preparedness, Recovery and Risk Reduction

According to CARE women played a key role in preparing their families and communities for Cyclone Pam. Women stated that they began preparations and took warnings more seriously and earlier than men. They stated that men became more active participants in the preparation as the cyclone got closer and played a major role in ensuring the shelters were fortified and people were able to reach a shelter. Consistently, women reported feeling frustrated that their concerns about the cyclone were not taken more seriously earlier by men (CARE Gender and Protection Monitoring Report March 2015).

During the study women and men in the communities stated they undertook various actions to prepare for the cyclone. CARE reported that women ensured food and water were inside the shelter and mainly looked after the family, while men prepared houses and cut down trees. Responses during the FGDs highlight that women and men in the communities often undertook many of the same tasks, stating that they cut manioc, stored water, food, and firewood and sought refuge in safe houses. In Herald Bay girls and boys in the FGD noted that they cut down trees, got food and water and made sure all of the girls were safe in the dormitory. Several tasks undertaken by men and women in preparation for the cyclone also differed. In Herald Bay men in the FGD noted they strengthened houses and in Ikaukau and Mission Bay men stated that they moved boats to higher ground. Men and women also reported that during the height of the storm men held onto the roofs of traditional safe houses while women held onto the children.

Despite people's best efforts women and men reported that many resources were damaged or destroyed. Immediate recovery activities of women involved cleaning up homes, weaving walls and roofs and cleaning up the community generally and ensuring and that basic living areas are rebuilt such as toilets and kitchens. During early recovery women stated that that were primarily worried about household and community food supply and paying school fees; were busy looking after children and caring for the elderly; and getting schools repaired so children could go back to school (CARE Gender and Protection Report).

During the FGDs women and men, boys and girls in all communities stated that have been working hard to rebuild their lives. As a woman in Ipota noted, *'men and women rebuild houses and work together to plant more root crops.'* Women of all ages in the outer island communities noted they have been undertaking a range of recovery activities since the cyclone. In Ikaukau girls noted that they did *'clean up and started to make the thatched roof.'* In Dillon's Bay women helped to clean up the community, repair the road, church and school. As the Area Secretary highlighted, *'women contribute a lot to find materials for rebuilding, gardening and other contributions to assist in recovery.'* Women and men in the FGDs reported that they spend many hours in the garden every day replanting, watering and tending crops. During the fieldwork in Ikaukau and Mission Bay women were observed organizing food sent from a women's group in Santo to be distribution among the households in the community. As one women in Dillon's Bay noted, *'Ladies are the first to do everything in the community.'*

In Ipota and Dillon's Bay men in the FGDs noted that since the cyclone they have been spending a lot of time gardening to earn money but mainly to survive. As one man in Dillon's Bay noted, *'we have started planting sandalwood to earn an*

income and crops to eat. Planting is a priority for survival.' Men stated they were involved in removing debris and clearing footpaths, repairing fences around gardens, helping to prepare and plant gardens and rebuilding homes, schools and community structures. In Ipota a young man noted that he participated in community recovery work, helped rebuild teachers' houses and toilets for students, and cleaned up the school. In Enimah men stated that they did reconstruction work and cleared roads and according to a male youth leader *'men do the hard work'* in the recovery. CARE reported that in the early recovery phase young girls were helping in the community, however young boys tended to be more involved due to community perceptions of their greater capacity and physical strength.

Many houses and kitchens were damaged or completely during the cyclone, especially in communities in Erromango and Tanna. Both women and men noted that they worked together to repair houses and kitchens and in some cases to build houses in completely new locations. However in the hardest hit communities many people have not been able to rebuild traditional houses due to the lack of available materials. In Ipota and Enimah in particular, women in the FGDs stated that since their houses and kitchens have been destroyed many people are sharing houses and kitchens with family members. Some women reported that they are now living in rather crowded conditions. One woman in Ipota explained her current living arrangements as follows, *'Our house was completely destroyed by the cyclone. We slept outside in a temporary shelter. Now there are 12 people, including children sleeping in 2 small houses and 1 kitchen. It is too many people for this small space.'* Women noted that this sometimes strains relations but they are making the best out of the situation.

In Ipota a woman noted that although there are now a lot of mouths to feed all of the women in the household help out. Many FHHs in these communities noted they were particularly unhappy with their living arrangements and really want to move into their own homes and use their own kitchens again. As women in Ipota noted, *'we live with family now but want someone to build us houses to be on our own.'* and *'we can be nearby but want our own space.'* In Enimah a women with a disability who previously lived on her own noted her discomfort staying with her brother and his family adding, *'it is not the custom to live with your brother.'* Whether staying in temporary houses on their own or sharing houses and kitchens with family, FHHs in all of the communities noted their inability to access labour to help them rebuild houses, kitchens or sandalwood nurseries.

4.1.5 Workload and Shifting Gender Roles

In Mission Bay, Herald Bay, Dillon's Bay and Ikaukau women in the FGDs stated that they normally have enough time to relax. For example, in Ikaukau women noted that Sunday is their day of rest and they normally relax on weekends and enjoy time and celebrations with family. They added that they also rest when there is a death or during Christmas or when relatives visit, adding, *'then we don't do hard work in the garden.'* They also noted they do not go to the garden when CARE comes to do training. Apart from a break from gardening, women continue to carry out a range of activities during community activities and celebrations in addition to normal daily household tasks. Women usually have to combine household responsibilities with community activities or training opportunities, whereas this is rarely a concern for men who may on occasion judge women harshly for this balancing act. For example, one man in Enimah stated, *'custom can cause problems because women are more interested in dancing and don't pay attention to their children.'*

This juggling act was particularly evident during the fieldwork in Enimah, Herald Bay and Ipota and Ikaukau, where women in the FGDs and several interviews were often carrying, and caring for their own children, grandchildren, as well as other young children. By comparison, very few children were present during the men's FGD or interviews. Child-care responsibilities can limit women's opportunities to gain knowledge and skills during workshops and training and hinder their meaningful participation in community meetings. As the Peace Corps volunteer in Dillon's Bay noted, *'women in community meetings often have children crawling all over them no doubt making it difficult for them to participate.'*

In Enimah women in the FGDs emphasised their heavy and unequal workload. For example women stated, '*women are lower and have a lot of work'* and *'mothers do everything!'* They added that gardening takes up a lot of time and they

spend considerably more time in the garden than men. They also noted that women with many young children tended to have the heaviest workload while younger women without children might have slightly less work. Women stated that they have fewer opportunities for leisure activities and perhaps for this reason they noted that they really look forward to custom ceremonies where they can dance in the *nakamal*.

A man in Herald Bay stated that women are *'like princesses…they stay home and the men do everything.'* No other men, or women, in the study stated that women do less work than men. In Dillon's Bay several women noted the growing recognition among some men of women's heavy and unequal workloads. They partially attributed this growing awareness to a workshop held by the Vanuatu Women's Council about the importance of sharing roles in the home. However at the same time many of the women noted that change in the division of household responsibilities takes time. *'The ladies told their husbands that sharing in the home is very helpful. My husband was ok because he was helpful before but some men still don't help.'*

Workloads during the recovery phase

In Enimah women and men noted that the water tanks have helped reduce the workload of people living nearby who no longer have to travel long distance to cart water.[22] In addition, the improved access to water eases the burden for women in particular given their various household activities involving the use of water. However these women's workload continues to remain exceptionally heavy and the distribution of reproductive and productive activities remain inequitable.

Women and men in all of the communities stated that they are working hard to re-establish gardens and find food. Workloads for both women and men have multiplied. Labour is a critical resource in the communities. During the FGD and interviews both men and women noted that their workload has increased significantly given the demands of rebuilding houses, gardens and kitchens, repairing fences and canoes, and planting crops and vegetable gardens and finding money. For example in Ipota one man noted *'after the cyclone we have a heavy workload. We have to find ways to get money, replant crops, do rebuilding activities'* and a man in Dillon's Bay stated, *'after the cyclone – men's workload doubles or triples. Now we are trying to supply food for the family, help those that are in need of new shelter, do rebuilding.'* Women and men, girls and boys especially in Enimah and Ipota now spend time searching for traditional foods. In Enimah, it was apparent that everyone has very little of the energy needed to recover and rebuild.

FHHs in many communities stated that they have to work alone on their own gardens and have a much heavier workload than before. As one widow in Dillon's Bay simply stated, *'we have too much work.'* In Dillon's Bay one of the women reported that changes to the river have increased the workload for women who wash clothes in the river. She stated, *'the flooding, during the cyclone and at other times, changes the river and now there is not enough place to dry clothes. Women have to carry all the heavy wet clothes home.'* She added that children sometimes help to carry the clothes back to the house. A girl in the FGD noted that women, with the help of girls, carry their laundry to wash in a brackish freshwater pond when water supplies run low. Various recovery activities that men undertake – such as building new gardens, fences, graves and houses - are undertaken periodically and have an eventual completion date.

In all communities the household activities that women undertake - such as food preparation, cooking, caring for children, washing clothes - are undertaken on a regular or daily basis with limited flexibility in terms of timing. In some cases the repetitive nature of women's normal activities also plays itself out in their recovery activities. For example, due to the shortage of materials to make thatch some women have resorted to using coconut leaves but these only last a short time so women have to carry out this activity on an ongoing basis. As a FHH in Ipota noted, *'we don't have any natakura to do the roof – it lasts years. The coconut lasts only a few weeks in the rain but we prepare it daily and use it for the roof.'*

[22] Both women and men in the FGD stated that additional tanks were needed given the size of the area.

Since the cyclone workloads have increased for many women as they rebuild and take on new recovery activities in addition to their usual household and childrearing tasks. While many men stated their appreciation for women's active role in recovery no women or men reported a shift in the gender divisions of labour. For example, in Enimah men reported that they are spending less time in the *nakamal* however neither men nor women reported that men's increased time with their families has resulted in a decrease in the workload of women or girls. While some men in the FGD stated they have more time to talk with their family they did not report that they are spending more time cooking, washing or caring for children in the home. In general, women and men in any of the communities did not highlight any significant shifts in the divisions of labour or any redistribution of household responsibilities since the cyclone.

During times of water scarcity women, men and children in the communities fetch water from alternative sources. In some cases such as Herald Bay, men are required to travel further distances than women to fetch water. In situations of heavy rain or landslides where fallen rocks or trees damage pipes men travel to the location to clear debris and the few men who have the necessary skills in the community do repairs. Water scarcity increases the workload of men and women in communities where they are required to travel a considerable distance to fetch water. Any shortages of water places additional burdens on women who use more water than men a daily basis for food preparation, cooking, washing clothes, and bathing children. Women in Dillon's Bay and Ipota noted that when piped water systems fail they use the river to fetch water or carry clothes there to do washing. In Ikaukau women, reported that when water supplies dwindle they, with the help of girls, carry the clothes to a brackish pond to do washing. In Herald Bay female and male students the FGDs highlighted the intermittent supply of water at the school and if they are indeed undertaking the same reproductive chores at school this should impact girls and boys equally.

Boys in Herald Bay noted their heavy workload before and after the cyclone, complaining that they have too much hard work to do gardening and gathering firewood. One boy noted that he considered the distribution of tasks and workload at home to be fair, stating that *'everyone is treated equally at home – girls and boys.'* In Ipota students had a cook prior to cyclone Pam but since they can no longer afford this service now both girls and boys are cooking their own food and this may be a new role for many of the boys.[23] In Ikaukau girls in the FGD noted an equal distribution of chores in school stating, *'girls and boys are treated the same in school. We change jobs but everyone does them.'* However the girls were clearly aware of the existing inequality related to chores in the home stating, *'boys have more free time because girls have to help to do things in the home.'...'Sometimes we say it's not fair but it never changes.'*

Appreciating Women's Roles in Recovery

Male key informants and men of all ages expressed their appreciation for women's considerable contribution in the home and the community during the recovery period.

- *'Women do most of the jobs. They look for materials, cook the food, and make thatch for the roof while men do the construction, get ropes and coconut leaves. But some women also do this.' (Ipota)*
- *'Women have responded well after the disaster - planting gardens, managing the home, making sure there is enough food. And women help to build a new house.' (Ipota)*
- *'Women were helpful for the recovery and giving advice to young men and young women.' (Ipota)*
- *'After women are building back better. Women are concerned about the household and food.' (Ikaukau)*

In Enimah the Youth Leader noted his appreciation for what girls are doing, saying '*girls do more jobs in recovery... They do construction, look for material, look for food, prepare food, look after siblings.'* Chiefs in the FGD also noted their appreciation for the contribution of women, as well as the various roles that both women and men have taken on during recovery. There may be a greater recognition of the more visible community roles that women have been undertaking in extraordinary circumstances.

[23] It would be useful to have gather more data in this regard. It also suggests a possible lost income for the woman who used to do the cooking. In Ipota a woman noted that students no longer board in the community on the weekends because it is now too difficult for the families to feed them.

However while Chiefs, male key informants and men in general noted their appreciation for all the work that women and girls are doing in recovery and even in the home, few men highlighted women's *uneven* workload in the home or in the gardens. One of the few comments comparing the workload of women and men came from the Chief in Ipota who stated, *'after the disaster women contribute a lot at home and it seems that women do more work in the garden than men.'* While both men and women noted women's involvement in a range of recovery activities, few highlighted women's engagement in public decision-making for recovery and risk reduction. Section D provides additional details about this aspect of women's roles in recovery.

Support Mechanisms in the Communities

- *'We (the youth group) visit widows or help in someone's garden.' (young man Enimah)*
- *'The women and the community help the widows. Grandchildren help to collect firewood, cook and wash.' (FHH Dillon's Bay)*
- *'Women contribute a lot in the community especially the women's group they support widows, people with disabilities. (Chief Ipota)*
- *'My husband died and all my children live in Port Vila. I have a young boy who lives with me, a relative to help me around the house and my son-in-law also helps because his wife died. My children are supportive.' (FHH Herald Bay)*
- *'We have a youth group. We visit vulnerable people – widows, people with disabilities. We do outreach program, pray and have fellowship with poor people – give them food, clothes.' (girl Ipota)*

Female-Headed Households

Many of the people who shared their views for the study felt community members operated in a positive way to help one another. For example, the Chief in Ikaukau stated, '*we come together to decide how to divide community work. For example, today we do the garden for this household'* and a young man with a disability stated, *'people share in the community, the community cooperates together.'* In many of the communities there is recognition that people with specific needs including widows, FHHs, young mothers and people with disabilities often need additional support in normal circumstances, as well as during and after disasters.

In Dillon's Bay FHHs stated that they are recognized and well treated by the community who provide assistance in times of need. The Peace Corps volunteer in Dillon's Bay echoed the opinion that people in the community support FHHs, widows and young mothers. One women noted that churches tend to help their own members and did not care for the most vulnerable groups in the community in general. Communities such as Dillon's Bay have recognized the special assistance these and other households might require and have categorized households according to need, based on sources of income and connections to family in Port Vila drawn up a list of all those households. In the aftermath of Cyclone Pam FHHs in Dillon's Bay stated that they their needs have been prioritised by the community. One FHH noted, *'we (widows) were the first to receive rice, relief supplies (from community members living in Port Vila). We feel we are first priority in the community.'* Another stated, *'we are living alone but realize that we receive even more than some couples living together had before the cyclone. Boats brought milk and Milo. These are blessings, things we didn't have before.'* Yet another added, *'we feel there is someone looking after us in the community.'* Young mothers also noted that various people supported them and made sure their basic needs are met. As one young mother stated, *'we are trying our best to survive. We get support from friends, family, community who give food or help with gardening.'*

Some responses from FHHs about their workload

- *'Sometimes we have to work too much. The workload is heavy without the husbands' (FHH Dillon's Bay)*
- *'We have too much work and get sick.' (FHH Ipota)*
- *'Sometimes I have too much work at home so I have to stay back at home and don't go to community activities.' (FHH Mission Bay)*
- *'I had too much work so now I am sick. Before my husband just sat smoking tobacco and talking while I was working hard in the garden.' (FHH Herald Bay)*
- *'We are doing all the work. I feel so tired and wish my husband was alive. It was a big shock when he died. Now there is no more helping hand and no more safety. The children are grown up and don't help and some have moved to Vila.' (FHH Ikaukau)*

Both women and men without spouses noted that they take on additional responsibilities. Several FHHs, specifically older widows from Dillon's Bay, Herald Bay and Ipota stated that they receive support from various sources including the, church, women and youth groups, the community in general, grandchildren and other women. Chiefs and young people in Ikaukau and Enimah noted that they made efforts to reach out to widows and people with disabilities. However in Ipota, Dillon's Bay, Mission Bay, Ikaukau and Enimah during the FGDs many FHHs, in particular widows stated they had very heavy workloads.

Women, men and CDCCC members in several communities noted that the safety of pregnant women, children and the elderly was a priority concern during the cyclone. However responses in the FGDs suggest the CDCCCs demonstrated differing abilities to address the specific needs of women, FHHs and vulnerable groups during the recovery phase. For example, in Herald Bay a woman in the FGD stated *'the Committee (CDC) does not recognise the needs of widows in the community.'* Responses from some people in some of the communities suggest that some do not feel cared for. FHHs in Ikaukau in particular lamented their lack of support and social interaction in the community. One widow in the FGD reported sadly, *'now I don't have anyone to talk to – I go to church, come back home and go to bed.'* In some cases, social support may be difficult to for FHH to access due to restricted social interaction with other women. For example, in Enimah one FHH stated, '*sometimes I can't talk to other women because there is jealousy'* while another added, '*sometimes people think we are interested in their husbands.'*

An overall changing social environment may be impacting FHHs as well as other social groups. Older women in Enimah noted that changing attitudes are negatively affecting social relationships between women and men and also in the community overall. One woman noted, *'before it was a different relationship between women and men. Also between young people and elders. Everyone showed more respect for one another.'* In Herald Bay the son-in-law of an elderly widow reflected on the changing morals, behaviours and values of community members, stating, *'people eat from my mother-in-law's garden but don't replant. Before people used to respect each other. Now people trespass and steal (ie coconuts). Now footpaths are everywhere and people take what they want.'* In Ikaukau an older man in a FGD also noted a change in the way the community functions stating that *'men used to cooperate together, now it is changing. People are not wanting to help each, maybe it is caused by education.'*

During FGDs and interviews with FHHs in Ikaukau, Herald Bay and Ipota women noted that although they receive assistance of food from the church or the community they feel neglected by family members, specifically grown sons living with their spouses and children. As another woman from a FHH reflected, *'the community and church cares, sometimes youth he*lp *but not my own family, my own children. They don't even care for their own mother. I feel sad, only my husband helped me.'* The study revealed that many FHHs are struggling to source food and assistance to rebuild their houses. One FHH noted *'I built my own house - I started it but I can't finish and there is nobody to help'* while another noted, *'I have to find someone to help rebuild the sandalwood nursery of my brother 's son (who is away).'* The number of women who echoed these sentiments underscore the challenging circumstances that many FHH find themselves in. Several widows in Ipota also stated that they do not feel cared for by their married sons or the community in general but that the church provided support. As one FHH stated, *'our sons don't take into us into consideration. The community does not help or recognise us, only the church.'* An elderly widow in Ipota noted that since the cyclone destroyed her house she is now living with her son but resists asking for his assistance. *'I want to ask him to help with the garden or the house but I leave them alone because of his wife.'* The reasons for the lack of assistance from these men are unknown and these women's sons may be unable or unwilling to help. In any case many FHHs are not able to draw on family for support.

In addition, for many young people living in single parent households either permanently or for part of the year can increase workloads for boys and girls alike, as well as impact their education. In Ikaukau girls noted that they take on additional caregiving roles in the absence of fathers or mothers in the home. As one girl noted '*we look after our mother especially if the father is gone or take on mother's roles if the mother is away.'* A young man in Ipota living with his widowed mother noted his heavy workload and continual struggle to find small jobs and money to help his family. He

stated, '*my mother wanted me to go back to school but I decided not to because it is too hard for her to find money for school fees and I have a lot of work to do at home.'*

On a more positive noted, several FHHs stated that widowhood also brought about some positive changes in their lives. Some widows reported that they in fact had less work and a greater degree of freedom to undertake the tasks they wanted when they wanted. For example, a widow in Herald Bay stated, '*Now I am happy to feel free and have less work. Children can help and I look after them. It is good.'* No longer burdened by childcare responsibilities, many FHHs noted that they have more time to devote to church activities and help out with community work with many adding that they are usually the first people to offer their support.

Physical and Psychological Health

Given their usual roles caring for the well-being of children women reported a range of health concerns related to the availability of health services. Women, particularly young mothers in Ikaukau, Dillon's Bay and Ipota stated that children are not getting vaccinated because of the lack of medical staff and/or vaccines. The Nurse in Ipota noted that the compressor on the solar fridge is broken and they were waiting for someone from Port Vila to come and undertake repairs. The Nurse in Dillon's Bay also reported that the solar refrigerator was not functioning and they were waiting to receive a new battery from Tanna. In Ikaukau a woman noted that the CDCCC can give out medicine now but nobody has money to pay for it. In Dillon's Bay young mothers in the FGD also stated that they were unable to pay for services at the clinic.

In the immediate aftermath women expressed concerns about caring for sick children especially given the shortage of food and some women reported having to walk long distances to bring their children to health centres (Gender and Monitoring Report).

Water scarcity leads to a variety of impacts on health especially among children. In Ipota women noted that for about three weeks after the cyclone children had scabies and some had diarrhea. Young women in the FGD stated that they only used a natural leaf when the babies had scabies. A CDCCC member in Ikaukau noted an increase in cases of diarrhea among children after the cyclone because children were eating a lot of fallen fruit, adding, *'this also happens during mango season. Children just take and eat fruit without washing their hands.'* The Nurse in Dillon's Bay noted that several children had diarrhea the previous week adding, *'the water is ok but maybe there is a problem with hygiene and sanitation, people not washing their hands, sharing the same toilets. And some people have no money for soap.'* A boy in Herald Bay noted that the lack of water at the school affected the students' hygiene adding, *'our hygiene suffers and since there is no nurse aide we use custom medicine'.*

During the FGDs none of the women or men highlighted sanitation, health or hygiene as part of the Water Committee's mandate for their community. The Nurse in Ipota noted that he had not done any promotion or workshops in the community. In Ikaukau women stated that during the dry season people are told to conserve water during community meetings where they do not generally discuss hygiene or sanitation. As one widow stated *'we don't really talk about those things (hygiene or sanitation).'* In Enimah the Nurse stated that every village has a male and female health spokesperson and that he received nutrition and sanitation awareness training from the Ministry of Health and gave awareness sessions about hygiene to *women* before the cyclone. Children are particularly susceptible to water-borne diseases and when children fall ill women's caregiving responsibilities tend to increase. As the health of children deteriorate further as a result of water shortages, poor sanitation, water-borne diseases, and poor nutrition many women in the communities face increasing difficulty accessing adequate medical care for their children.

In Enimah women and men reported a range of health impacts from both the volcano and the cyclone. Women and men noted that many people had developed strong coughs from breathing in ash from the volcano and many older people in particular had difficulty breathing. A man in the FGD stated that children are brought inside the house when the air quality is bad. Women and men in the FGDs said that in general they felt tired and weak and got sick easily. Women

reported getting *'tight legs'* and stomach pains. Both women and men expressed concern that children are not eating well and women highlighted that children were also tired and weak. The Nurse emphasised the overall poor health of everyone in the community and noted that their weight is decreasing. *'The health of all of the people here is poor - physically, socially, spiritually, mentally.'* He added that any livestock are not kept in pens and wander around the community, further increasing people's health risks.

During the early recovery phase CARE noted that women in Tafea Province stated they felt traumatised and concerned about another cyclone striking again, and pregnant women expressed anxiety about the future and giving birth. No doubt many men may also felt traumatised and for example young men in Dillon's Bay stated, '*even we were scared during the cyclone.'* Several months later many women and men remain very concerned about the present and the future health and schooling of their children. In Ipota women and men in the FGDs reported that they are struggling to stay positive and the Chief in Ipota described the current state of mind of community members as follows: *'The cyclone has spoiled the social environment around the community. People feel they are not safe and are worried about how to survive. They are recovering but it is slow.'* In Enimah the situation is having a significant negative psychological impact on both women and men in Enimah which was clearly evident during the short time spent in the community. Both women and men expressed feelings of anxiety and hopelessness. For example, a man in the FGD stated, *'every night we worry about what will we eat tomorrow.'* and a women simply stated, '*we have no hope.'* Discussions with community members in Dillon's Bay suggest an altogether more hopeful mindset. This is likely the result of various factors including existing governance structures, access to networks within and outside the community and perhaps most importantly women's ability to mobilise for recovery (discussed further in Section 4).[24]

4.2 Access to and Control Over Resources

Community members In Tafea use a range of resources to secure their livelihoods. These include but are not limited to physical resources from the land, as well as marine resources, household and community structures such as houses and kitchens, as well as key socio-economic resources.

This section examines to what extent women and men access and use and control key physical and socio-economic resources that are essential components of a community's resilience. It considers whether these resources are used alone or shared them with immediate family, extended family or other women or men. It examines who owns and controls these resources or who is involved in decision-making about these resources. In particular this section highlights that many of the sustenance and income-earning resources that have been destroyed or damaged by the cyclone or volcanic ash or at risk due to water scarcity result in differing impacts for women, men and the community as a whole. Throughout the fieldwork people were more inclined to discuss the fact that they no longer had a number of key resources at all than discuss who made decisions about what they now could scarcely find. For example, in Enimah women and men spoke more about the resources they have lost than what they have and who made decisions about them. As one women noted, *'if we have enough food we live happily we are healthy and strong also if we have good houses and water supply.'* Along the same lines, a man in Ikaukau stated*, 'Things are fair, we are happy as long as we have enough of our basic needs.'*

[24] In Dillon's Bay the church plays a key role in helping people respond to shocks and contributing to building positive attitudes - a critical factor for recovery and resilience. Pastors interviewed for the study stated that believe the disaster happened because of family issues and conflict in the community and consider the cyclone to be a blessing in disguise. With the utmost optimism one of the Pastors stated*, 'Disaster can be a good thing to shape people's lives. It makes them think beyond their capacity, about how to improve their lives. It came to change everybody. The cyclone makes everybody change for the better. We are building back better. Some have recovered and people who didn't have anything now have more. It's a most abundant blessing for people who had little before... And now we have plans to reconcile at Christmas for one week.'*

4.2.1 Physical Resources

LAND[25]

The strength of customary systems is that they have evolved to ensure social security, safety and sustainability in traditional subsistence communities. As such, *kastom* integrates many practices that go some way toward protecting women's rights, albeit through their social relationships with men, either as mothers, children, sisters, nieces, wives, widows or orphans. In addition, *kastom* often provides traditional avenues for women to gain rank within society, permitting them access to, and participation in, decision-making processes. This is usually limited, however, with most decisions under *kastom* still resting with the males, particularly where the decisions pertain to land management. Women and men in the FGDs stated they rely on family to access land, food or money.

Land ownership

During the FGDs men generally had much more to say about land than women. In all communities, women and men in the FGDs and interviews stated that land, whether for household or communal use is owned by men. In Ikaukau a man in the FGD noted that household land is owned by male family members and communal land is owned by the chief. Men and women stated that ownership rights are passed on along matrilineal or patrilineal lines but are generally vested in men, while the right to use land can be held by women and men.[26] During the FGDs women and men noted that land is passed on to men in the family and explained various forms of inheritance, some of which can disadvantage women. For example, a man In Enimah noted that land is passed on to his first born son and if he does not have a son he adopts a boy from his brother to continue the blood line. A man in Ikaukau stated, '*land is patrilineal, passed from generation to generation through males.'* Men in Herald Bay stated that land is passed from generation to generation and *'men know if it's their father's land they have ownership.'* In Ipota men stated, *'men have the right to make decisions about land, including who will have the land after he dies.'* and *'according to their custom, only men decide - ownership and passing on land is decided by men only. Fathers pass on land to the son, making him the decision-maker.*

During an interview in Dillon's Bay the Area Secretary stated '*only men own land. There is no experience of women owning land.'* Another said women can sometimes own land if the man does not have a son, or a women could be involved if the brother gives the land to his sister's son. A woman shared this view stating *'men are always the owners of the land. It transfers from one generation to another, through the female relative if there are no boys.'* A man in the FGD emphasized that naming sons after the father allowed them to have ownership of the land. *'This can help that boy. It's proof if there is an argument, then they know that he is the rightful owner. Women can also give names to sons if the father dies and he hasn't given the name to the son.' The Chief noted that a 'father with only girls will adopt a boy to take up ownership of the land and will be given the rightful name for landownership.* Another man noted that it *'might be ok'* for a man to give land to his sister's daughter, adding 'the *main thing is that it remains in the family.*' One man stated 't*he closest (male) neighbor can get ownership if the owner dies and doesn't have a son. But this is the last option.'*

Uses of land

Women's access to and control over land is based on custom where the land belongs to everyone. Customary rights and practices prevail. Women have rights to use the land to feed their family and in some circumstances can provide input, usually through their brothers, over succession of ownership. Women and men in all of the communities stated they have access to land. Land is used to build houses, kitchens and home gardens and land further away is accessed to plant gardens of root crops, bananas and other vegetables. In communities throughout Vanuatu, '*in the rural economy,*

[25] See *the Vanuatu Land Program Design Document* that includes a very comprehensive gender analysis of land ownership and decision-making Vanuatu.
[26] Ibid.

access to land and land usages is determined primarily by men' (CEDAW para. 14.6). When women want to access land owned by others they ask permission from male landowners. As a woman in Ipota noted, *'women use land for gardening. We ask the Chief and landowner to use the land.'* In some cases, land that is designated communal access may be deemed unsuitable or inaccessible for gardening.

Women and men stated that there are common understandings in the community surrounding the access of land. For example, in Dillon's Bay the Area Secretary stated that women who marry outside the community are able to come back and use the land for gardening. The Chief noted that *'women have no power to own the land but have access to develop the land. Women can access land owned by their brothers.'* However in some cases even when they have rights to access their brother or father's land, the findings suggest that sometimes women, particularly absentee caretakers may not be able to exercise control over this land. As a FHH in Mission Bay noted, *'sometimes other people want to use my (father's) land. I married a man from away and they say – Well we can use it because you moved out.'* An interview with an elderly widow in Herald Bay also highlighted that sometimes people challenge these kastom practices especially when these rights to land rest with woman. Findings from this study substantiates other data that suggests that *kastom* processes have been undermined as people migrate for work, education or escape has led to many absentee landholders and some people (particularly women) have lost some of their rights, while others (particularly youth) openly challenge the structures and practices of *kastom*[27].

Women and men in all of the communities stated that custom and arranged marriages build ties between families and provide families and the couple with access to resources including land, allowing family members to visit one another and seek support when needed. Even young people agreed with many of the advantages of custom or arranged marriage, however did not agree with the practice in general. These marriage practices, including the exchange of women along with pigs, kava and mats, remains strongest in Tanna, compared with the outer islands. However many people also noted various disadvantages to arranged marriages and stated that arranged marriage is changing and no longer commonly practiced. Various factors associated with custom marriage contribute to resilience and as this type of marriage practices face, so too do many of the accompanying factors that help to build resilient livelihoods for both women and men.

Marriage and divorce can have different impacts on women's access to land depending on their individual circumstances. Custom marriage builds bonds between families and enables women and men and their families to access land in different locations. As noted by a widow in Mission Bay, *'custom marriage is useful because it ensures people can own and access land.'* Marriage enables women to obtain user rights to her husband's land. However these rights can end if the marriage breaks down and a woman may be left with nothing and be forced to leave especially if she only has daughters. For example, in Enimah a FHH noted that *'If a husband finds another woman, he can tell his wife to leave but she can stay if she has a son. She can say she'll stay with her son. If she has only girls she has to leave.'* In the outer island communities women and men noted that if women stay on the land after a divorce they continue to have access to the land. As one man in Dillon's Bay noted, *'if a man leaves his wife for another women, she is the caretaker of the land until her son or brother-in-law takes over the land.'* When couples separate land ownership ensures men continue to have access to resources whereas it often puts women at a serious disadvantage with limited options. As a young woman in Ikaukau noted, *'after a divorce young women own nothing - they have no access to land if they return. But the boy can come back to his land.'*

In Herald Bay women in the FGD stated that they are entitled to use their husband's land after he dies. FHHs in Ikaukau also noted that when husbands die women still have some measure of control over the land, adding that being the caretaker of their land imparts widows with a certain amount of status in the community. In some cases, daughters can be caretakers of their deceased father's land if they do not have a brother, and then after her death the land is passed on to her uncle. As a man in Enimah stated *'if he had no son, his daughter looks after the land until she dies, then it passes to his brother.'*

[27] Naupa, A. & Simo J. (2008) *Matrilineal Land Tenure in Vanuatu.*

Participation and decision-making about land

In the communities any discussions about land are taken very seriously and largely attended by men only. This was highlighted during the fieldwork in Herald Bay, where men were attending a community meeting to discuss land to build a new SDA church and no women were in attendance. In all communities and without exception men and women stated that men made decisions about land. However during the FGD a few men in the communities stated that women could contribute to discussions in certain circumstances, such as when women have knowledge of the oral history and collective memory of the land.

- *'Only men make decisions about land and control land use.' (man Enimah)*
- *'All men are doing decisions about land.' (man Enimah)*
- *'Decisions are made by the father. If he dies then the brother makes the decisions.' (man Ikaukau)*
- *'Men in the family own the land and make decisions about the land.' (man Ipota)*
- *'Men own the land not women. The son is the one who takes control.' (woman Ipota)*
- *'If the father has died, and he had brothers they all have the decision-making about land use.' (man Ipota)*
- *'Men are the only ones that can own and make decisions about land.' (man Dillon's Bay)*
- *'Women have no part of discussion of any land problems or any decisions on land use.' (man Dillon's Bay)*
- *'In Erro everybody uses land but men control land.' (Pastor Dillon's Bay)*
- *'Women are not involved in discussions about land. My father goes to meetings but doesn't tell me what happened.' (woman Ipota)*

The issue of women's lack of control over land and land usages is gradually being recognized as indicated by the recommendation from the September 2006 National Land Summit involving Chiefs, Vanuatu Cultural Centre and NGO that when land is being sold, all stakeholders, including women, must be consulted.[28]

Women's contributions to decision-making about land

- *'Women can say their views but the final decision is the man's.' (man Enimah)*
- *'A women could be involved if the brother gives the land to his sister's son.' (man Dillon's Bay)*
- *'Women can contribute by relating the history of the land because women also know this.' (Chief Dillon's Bay)*
- *'Women should be able to say something about the land if they know about the history, then they should also contribute.' (man Ipota)*
- *'The ownership of land is by men. But women must have a say in the land decision-making because she is from a tribe in this community. They also are a witness of landownership with have knowledge of the history of the bloodlines or tribes.' (Chief Ipota)*

Conflict

Land is often the subject of conflict and this negatively impacts both women and men. For some families large amounts of high-earning resources can be at stake, such as in Erromango. As a Pastor in Dillon's Bay noted *'there are lots of land conflicts, people think about their future livelihoods.'* In other cases increasing population pressures can lead to land disputes. In Ikaukau a man noted that the growing population has resulted in a land conflict between brothers. Land conflicts often lead to considerable social tension in the community and result in insecurity and anxiety for the people and families involved in the disputes. In Dillon's Bay during the FGD a young man stated that he went to court because some people were trying to steal his grandmother's land and another stated *'sometimes we can't concentrate on our schooling because we are worried about people taking over our land.'* Land disputes also lead to considerable anxiety and uncertainty among tenants who fear being evicted. Given their lack of participation in meetings about land women in particular have very little input and control over their future in these cases. A women in Ipota shared her concerns in this regard. *'There is a land conflict and the process is still in court. It*

[28] Government of Vanuatu *National 4th and 5th CEDAW Report (2008 – 2012).*

affects the community. The landowner wants to send everyone away back to their own land. I feel badly because we've been here a long time since the early 1980's. All our children were born here.[29]

WATER

Access and uses

In all communities' women and men stated they access water for drinking, bathing, watering vegetables and feeding small livestock. Men in the FGDs also noted that they use water for kava and, in Dillon's Bay used it for cattle. Additional uses of water reported by the women included cooking, washing dishes and clothes, and bathing children. A man in Herald Bay and a man in Ikaukau also stated they sometimes use water for cooking. In Dillon's Bay several men also stated that they use water for cooking, as well as drinking, watering gardens, washing and bathing. FHHs and young women noted that access the piped water supply but also fetch water from the river, do washing in the river and use rainwater for drinking and cooking. Both women and men in the FGDs noted they have access to water although all noted that supply may be intermittent. As one woman stated, *'sometimes there is a shortage of water. But we are happy because we have the river and rainwater for drinking.'* Several FHHs added that sometimes when there is a shortage of water grandchildren help them to collect water and bring clothes to and from the river to wash. In Ikaukau, during a transect walk one young woman noted that she does not use water from the tank shared among several households for drinking but instead collects rainwater or walks down the road to gather water from the palm.

In Enimah, men in the FGD stated that it was mostly men who collect water from the spring, adding that the convenience of piped water now makes them unwilling to walk the distance to fetch water. As one man stated, *'when there is no water we have to go (get spring water) at low tide. But we get used to getting water from the tap and now get lazy.'* However women in this community noted that everyone - women, men and children collect water from this spring by the sea. Additional data is needed from this community to determine the actual gender division of labour and workloads related to water. In Herald Bay men noted that it is only men who fetch water from further away when needed.

Household decision-making about water

The study revealed a wide range of responses related to household decision-making about water across and within the communities, with women and men in the FGDs and interviewed stating that decisions about water are made by women, by men, and by both women and men together. In Herald Bay men in the FGD generally agreed that women manage the water and make decisions about the water at home. In Ipota the Secretary of the Water Committee stated that women manage the water and that decisions about water were *'made by the couple.'* In Enimah women in the FGD stated that mostly women used water and women make decisions about water use in the home while several men in their FGD had either different perspectives or personal experiences about the household management of water resources with one man in the FGD stating *'mostly men manage the water.'* In Ikaukau responses varied, with some women and men stating that decision-making about water was undertaken by 'fathers' or men while others noted that women made the decisions about water. However the majority of people in the FGDs stated that both husbands and wives made decisions together about water, as the following comments indicate by young women indicate. *'Decision-making about water in the home is shared'* and *'All decisions about water are made by women and men.'* In some cases women and men make very important household decisions about water together. For example, a man in Ikaukau noted that he and his wife made plans and have taken a decision together to increase their water security, stating *'If there's extra money – we save for a permanent concrete house in order to have a roof for the water tank.'* Also in this community a women noted during a

[29] It is important to highlight that land ownership in many communities is not equally distributed which means in many cases access to land and resources divides along family lines making this an important determinant of vulnerability. For example, in Ikaukau a man in the FGD noted that families have different status stating, *'individual families have control of land but it depends on the names - high ranking families have more land.'* In Dillon's Bay people living on the other side of the river do not own the land but are allowed to stay and use it because their children attend the local school.

transect walk that decision-making about the placement of toilets is usually shared by husbands and wives, stating '*both decide where the toilet should go.'*

In Ikaukau access to water can be constrained for some women who share a tank as it is common practice for owners of the roof attached to lock them when travelling to their gardens or going abroad. Women stated that it is usually men who make decisions about cleaning and locking communal tanks shared between several households. As one woman explained, *'when there is enough water it's ok. Only in the dry season. Other families (about 3 or 4) use the tank. My husband looks after the water and he locks the tank. The quality of the water is good. My son cleans the tank if he sees it gets dirty.'* During an interview a woman reported that a young woman with small children using a shared tank was *'forced to learn not to waste water'* when the owner of the tank locked it when he went away. Another woman noted that sometimes the water tank was not unlocked in time for women to prepare their children for school. This practice can pose particular burdens on women given their various household responsibilities requiring the use of water. Additional findings related to women's participation in community decision-making about water, sanitation and hygiene is discussed further in Section 4.

GARDENS, CROPS AND VEGETABLES

Access and decision-making

In the communities, women and men access individual and shared gardens of varying sizes, located further away and closer to home, and grow crops or vegetables or a combination of both. In the communities visited both women and men have gardens where they plant root crops, bananas and other vegetables. Many gardens for root crops are located some distance from the home, however some people, particularly in Dillon's Bay and Ipota are now planting closer to home to prevent their crops being eaten or damaged by wild animals. In Ipota, during a transect walk an elderly woman showed the garden of kumala that she had planted herself on the slope beside the graves of her husband and father and noted that she makes decisions about her garden. Recently data collect by CARE in the outer islands of Tafea revealed that men and women have approximately the equal influence in buying and planting food[30].

In all communities some gardens belong to men, some to women, and in some cases both women and men work in shared gardens together. In some communities certain parcels of land are reserved for men, women or grown children where they plant separate gardens. A distinction is often made between new gardens and old gardens, with men largely responsible for newly established gardens, especially for yam, and women tending what are commonly called 'old' gardens, which may have diminished fertility. For example, in Ipota a man noted that men and women have different gardens, one for yam and other gardens for other crops, adding that even older children have their own gardens. He added that men make and are responsible for new gardens while women '*make the old garden and make decisions about them.'*

In various communities yam is considered a special crop and is largely owned by men. In Enimah women noted that men value yam above all other crops especially because they are used in feasts and custom ceremonies. In Aniwa the harvesting period of yam is from March to June and harvesting yam usually coincides with marriage, circumcisions and other custom ceremonies. In Ikaukau, men in the FGD stated that women make decisions about gardens except for the yam, adding that bringing yam and other food to ceremonies gives men status. Women in the FGD held the same view stating that they make decisions about cassava and manioc or corn, taro and other vegetables but not yam. A man in Dillon's Bay also stated that men decide about yam, while women make decisions about other crops and vegetables. In Ipota, a man in the FGD stated that men are responsible for new gardens and especially yam. Another stated*, 'yam is the crop that men decide most about.'*

[30] CARE *Yumi Grow* Baseline Data 2015.

In Herald Bay a women in the FGD mentioned several crops that men control. *'Only men are in charge of the 'fusi' banana. And only men can make decisions about yam and taro.'* In Herald Bay until recently gardening crops was traditionally considered men's role. The recent establishment of home vegetable gardens now enables women to apply new gardening skills, grow different foods and make decisions about what food they prepare for meals and whether they want to sell some of these vegetables in the community. In all communities woman stated that women make their own decisions about their crops, what to eat and what to sell.

Smaller vegetables close to home are mainly tended by women, however these are not exclusive to women and both men and women noted that sometimes husbands also worked in these gardens. Women noted that they are generally in charge of deciding whether to eat or sell these vegetables. In some cases vegetable gardens close to home have also been established by young men. Many larger gardens were seen where couples work together to grow both root crops and other vegetables. A small raised plot constructed for a young woman with a disability in Mission Bay had cabbages growing in it requiring minimal tending until harvesting.[31]

Women are generally responsible for food preparation, cooking and feeding their families however during the FGDs both women, men, girls and boys in all of the communities highlighted food shortages as a priority concern. Nutrition is suffering as women reported that everyone is eating less overall, eating bush food and very little local root crops. Some people noted they supplement their diet with rice if they can afford it. The lack of food is particularly acute for people in Enimah where crops are destroyed by acid rain and volcanic ash falling onto their gardens. While men may own the land and both woman and men work in the gardens, at present they have very little control over what the land provides. Cyclone Pam has exacerbated the already precarious food security situation among community members in Enimah.

In Enimah during the FGD and interviews women and men of all ages stated that everyone in the community has very little to eat. Every one of all ages is now digging up 'bush rope' or (*napatum*) [32] which has become an essential food for survival. In Dillon's Bay and Ipota people of all ages noted the scarcity of food. A FHH in Dillon's Bay stated, *'we eat wild root, bush rope. The kids are eating it, everyone.'* In Ipota a man in the FGD stated, *'there is a shortage of food - most of the people are eating mainly rope now'* and a girl at secondary school confirmed the general eating patterns in the community, *'there is a small amount of food only so we are eating bush rope as our main food.'* In Enimah women noted they are now only eating traditional foods they can find including bush rope, a type of mushroom or fungus that grows on logs, small fruits *(nawan papa)* and young leaves that grow on trees *(manarfi or nambalago?),* and the very few remaining coconuts

CARE reported that during the early recovery stage women wanted more certainty about the timing of the flow of food assistance. Findings from this study suggest that women use a variety of different strategies to cope with food shortages. In Ikaukau the Area Secretary noted that everyone eats three meals a day but there is less food on the plate. In Dillon's Bay a women stated that children eat first and are given three meals a day while parents often eat only twice a day. During the FGD in Dillon's Bay many women highlighted their role in conserving food and feeding the family. Many women proudly stated that they had carefully conserved their supply of rice. As women in Ipota stated, *'women budget wisely to make sure there is enough for all the children to eat'* and *'I manage every meal. I serve only small amounts of rice with more vegetables.'* In Enimah one woman noted that when she goes to the garden she digs out a kumala, breaks off a piece and puts the rest back in the ground.

Serious food shortages, particularly in Enimah leave women and men with limited energy to undertake the physically demanding tasks necessary for survival. In Enimah during a FGD one woman recounted a recent episode where a woman in the community had fainted. The woman reportedly woke in the morning, fried flour and gave it to her children. Since there was nothing left to eat she and her husband went to the garden to look for food. When they returned home empty-handed the woman fainted.

[31] The small size of this garden somewhat limits this woman's ability to contribute to food security.

[32] 'Bush rope' is a root with a texture like sugar cane that is dug up from the ground and chewed raw and spit out to extract starch.

In some communities women may have already had limited energy due to anemia. In Ikaukau women stated that anemia was a concern for women and the CDCCC Chair stated *'some women are bleeding for many months - lots have anemia.'* In Dillon's Bay the Nurse noted that some women might be anemic but he did not know if this had been the case before or after the cyclone. He stated that he advises women to go to Tanna or Port Vila to get their blood tested and tells them to eat well and take folic acid. The Nurse in Ipota stated that he did not think many women had anemia, noted that he had not seen many people with symptoms and added that only antenatal women are given iron tablets.[33]

In all of the communities women and men in the FGDs stated that children's eating is prioritised, especially for children attending school. As one woman in Ipota noted, *'on school days we have to eat 3 meals because we have kids in the home. On weekends maybe we only have two meals.'* In many cases both women and men eat together after the children. For example, in Enimah and Ipota several woman in the FGDs and interviews stated that children are fed first and then both parents eat. A woman in Ipota stressed that nobody in the family should go hungry stating, *'it is not easy. First the kids eat, then everyone eats together. Everyone should eat, even the women.'*

In the early recovery stage CARE reported that in general women were feeding their husbands and children before themselves. There is evidence that this practice takes place in various households particularly in Enimah and Ipota. In Enimah women noted that in many cases women eat last and when there is not enough to go around women usually go without food. For example women in the FGD stated, *'sometimes women don't eat' and 'we are the last to eat. If the food is finished the mother only has water.'* Pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers and their infants in these households are at particularly high risk of malnutrition, as are babies and very young children who need appropriate complementary foods. The Nurse in Ipota stated that pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers are reporting that they do not eat enough food adding that '*here children and fathers eat first and any leftovers are for the mother.'* Women in the FGDs stated that the weight of the babies of breastfeeding mothers appears to be decreasing because the mothers do not have enough milk. In Enimah breastfeeding mothers in the FGD also noted the deteriorating health of mothers and babies. They also expressed their concerns about babies coughing from the ash and struggling to breathe while feeding.

Women's Community Gardens

Following Cyclone Pam women in the communities except Enimah have established Women's Community Gardens with seeds provided by CARE. Each community has a different number of plots and different arrangements for maintenance and women generally take turns to water and weed. Since Cyclone Pam women have established women's community vegetable gardens for the first time in Ipota, Dillon's Bay and Ikaukau using seeds provided by CARE. Community gardens involving both women and men had already been established in Futuna during a prior climate change adaptation project supported by CARE, however in Mission Bay the community garden is now overgrown as some women choose to focus their efforts towards home gardens. Women prepared the soil, made loose fences out of mosquito netting and planted the seeds. The women take turns weeding, watering and tending to the garden. At the time of the fieldwork the gardens in Dillon's Bay and Ipota had already producing vegetables, while the plants in the garden in Ikaukau (located some distance from the village without any apparent water source?) has just started growing.

Women members are responsible for the garden and make all decisions. Meetings for the garden are usually held once a week. The women share or sell the vegetables to community members and members get a reduced rate. In Dillon's Bay women are allowed to take some food if they weed. In all communities women stated that they had not made a plan or decided what to do with the money collected so far but would likely use it to buy more seeds. The women in Erromango stated they are taking seeds from the '*white poon'* (cabbage) and drying corn kernels from one of the gardens in Dillon's

[33] Additional data is needed to determine the rates of anemia among women and men in the communities.

Bay but noted that they were unsure how to propagate many of the other vegetables. During the study men in all of the participating communities noted their appreciation for women's contribution to the community's food security.

Although women make decisions about resources it appeared they sometimes they lack control over the fruits of their labour. Although women and men access individual or shared gardens, many of them, particularly in Dillon's Bay and Ipota noted their lack of control in dealing with animals such as wild pigs and rats who damage their gardens. Women in Mission Bay stated that some gardens are growing well after the seedlings from CARE but sometimes children come and eat everything. Both women and men appear to lack the necessary information and physical and technical inputs to address a range of challenges in their gardens both before and after the cyclone.

Kava, Tobacco and Marijuana

During the study men of varying ages stated that they buy and drink kava. Men, especially in Enimah, noted that importance kava for custom ceremonies and fines as well as the exchange for food. One man simply stated *'one of men's most important resources is kava.'* Kava is used and sold almost exclusively by men. During this study men in the FGD in any of communities did not report kava as a significant income-earning resource however more investigation is needed to definitively state the extent of kava production and local sales in the communities. In Herald Bay older men in the FGD noted that men do not sell kava because only small quantities are grown and it is all consumed locally. In Dillon's Bay a man in an interview noted that kava is usually shipped in from outside and stated, *'kava only comes on the plane Saturdays, sometimes Tuesdays. Men consume it as soon as it arrives and they drink it all day.'*

Tobacco and marijuana are other resources that tend to be used exclusively by men in the communities. In Herald Bay, Dillon's Bay and Ipota men in the FGDs stated they smoke tobacco. The Nurse in Ipota noted that many men of all ages smoke tobacco and several elderly men have developed a chronic cough from smoking. He added that that he could not comment on marijuana usage suggesting that users perhaps hid this kind of information from him. In Enimah young men in the FGD stated they smoke marijuana. None of the women in the FGDs said they smoked tobacco, however it appears that its income-earning potential is not exclusive to men because one women in Ipota noted that she sold cigarettes.

The FGDs revealed variable levels of kava consumption and changing practices across and within communities and households since the cyclone. In Enimah men noted that prior to the cyclone they used to go the *nakamal* in the late afternoon or early evening and stayed until late, drinking several bowls of kava. Some men stated that they are now drinking less kava and going home earlier either because they either have less money or there is an overall shortage of kava. As one man stated, '*we used to have between 5 and 10 serves in the evening but now there is not much kava.'* One man stated that the decrease in kava consumption has had a positive effect because some men now spend more time with their families. He stated, *'when we rest we tell stories to our children and now (drinking less kava) we have more time with our families.'* Another man in the same FGD however noted an increase in his kava consumption describing it as a strategy to increase his family's food intake stating, '*I drink so I don't go home and eat my family's food*.'

Marine Resources

In all communities both women and men noted that they access coastal zones. As one woman in Herald Bay noted*, 'fish belong to everyone.'* Women stated that they do in-shore fishing and collect seafood close to shore. Several men from Dillon's Bay noted fish from the river and the ocean as important resources and women noted that both women and men access the river to catch lobsters/prawns when they want to eat it for dinner. Men access to the reefs and deeper water. A man in Herald Bay noted that bringing large fish to ceremonies also confers status on men. In some circumstances men's access to their fishing areas can be restricted. For example, in Ikaukau men have been prohibited from diving on

the reef by the Chiefs because of overfishing. In the FGD men noted that spear fishing on the reef is banned, except in one area however women are still allowed to fish with bamboo poles. In Ipota men in the FGD also noted that fishing in some areas is also restricted.

In Ikaukau the Chief noted that traditional fishing gives men status. Custom fishing is a special time for men particularly since fishing has been prohibited much of the year by the Chiefs to address overfishing. One young man with a disability noted that he goes to the camp during the custom fishing season despite not being able to fish. Men fish at night and sing a special custom song that is repeated the number of times the number of fish they have caught. The women listen to the singing to know how many men fish will be arriving in the village. Men noted that during this time widows and others who may not be able to get fish are also given fish. Both women and men noted that it is a enjoyable time for everyone in the community.

In all communities men noted that traditional canoes, boats and freezers are owned by men. All of the boat drivers are men. In Enimah men did not report owning any boats. Men use boats for fishing and transporting people and cargo. In Ikaukau men stated that women can also use the canoes to fish near shore but do not go out to deeper water and that women and girls can use the fishing hut during the year. During a transect walk several girls were seen using one of the huts.

During the FGDs men and women in several communities noted the impacts on marine resources. In Ikaukau the Area Secretary noted that the cyclone damaged a lot of reefs. A man in Ikaukau noted that the men were surprised how far the water and waves had come inland. Although many canoes in Ikaukau were saved, several canoes and fishing camps were damaged. The Chief stated that the men have rebuilt the camps and are in the process of repairing canoes. Men in Mission Bay and Herald Bay also noted damage to reefs and coral washed away from beaches, as well as a destroyed boat motor even though it had been moved to higher ground. Various women noted the loss of fish for sustenance. For example during the FGD women in Mission Bay stated that the cyclone had damaged the reef and one woman added that *'now the small fish are gone.'* A woman in Ipota also stated that marine resources are not as abundant stating, *'we don't find some resources after Pam –it is hard to find seafood, fish.'* In some cases damaged roads and paths have decrease mobility for men and women, further restricting access to food sources. For example, in Enimah a woman noted that they no longer go to the sea stating, *'we used to go to the sea once a week. Now never. There was landslide from the cyclone so now we are scared to go because the road is not good.'*

Livestock

In the communities, chickens, goats and pigs tend to be owned by families and households more so than individuals. Women, men, boys and girls in all communities stated they were responsible for feeding and watering livestock. Both women and men stated that they make decisions about smaller livestock alone and in many cases together with their spouses. In Ipota women in the FGD noted that both women and men sell pigs and goats, but it is mostly women who sell chickens. In Enimah men in the FGD stated they sell and exchange pigs for food, and use them for custom marriages and ceremonies, adding that giving big pigs increases their status. FHHs and single men stated they control their own resources, including any livestock they own. For example, a widow in Enimah noted that there are times when she takes decisions about her resources. *'I make decisions about whether to give my chickens or pigs when people ask for them.'* In some communities, for example in Dillon's Bay chickens are marked to prevent theft. In all communities men own and make decisions about cattle and this was evident in Ipota men when arrived to the community gathering to sell a freshly slaughtered cow.

Some community members have restricted access to certain animal foods because of religion or custom. For example, a woman from Enimah noted that members of the SDA church do not own pigs and the Nurse in Enimah stated that pregnant women should not eat chicken. It is unknown how widespread this belief might be and whether this prohibition extends to eggs. Restricted access to this source of protein may have consequences on the nutritional intake

of pregnant women, whose diets are already extremely poor. Limited incomes also constrain many people's access to protein sources. As a widow in Ipota noted, *'I don't have much money and can't afford things. I see people selling fish or meat and I just watch because I don't have money to buy those things.'*

As a result of Cyclone Pam livestock is in very short supply in the most affected areas. During the fieldwork chickens and pigs were found to be most abundant in Ikaukau, many roaming freely and reportedly causing damage to gardens. By comparison few livestock was seen in Enimah. Women in the FGDs stated that women and men used to keep a lot of animals - chickens, pigs and goats – but that most of the chickens died in the cyclone. In the FGDs both women and men highlighted that the additional damage to vegetation caused by volcano ash means they no longer have fodder for the remaining animals. As one man stated, *'After the cyclone everything is a worry – all the crops and livestock are damaged and we have no more food to feed the livestock.'* At present men have precious few pigs to gain wealth or status, exchange and use for ceremonies. Women cannot access key sources of protein to feed themselves and their families.

Many women and men stated that since Cyclone Pam it has not been possible to undertake custom ceremonies or celebrations and expressed concern that they may not be able to undertake them in the foreseeable future. In Enimah the lack of resources in the communities means it has not been possible to undertake custom/kastom ceremonies of any sort. As one woman in Enimah noted, *'It is a big worry. Now we don't how we will do the custom ceremony because we don't have any good food.'* Without mats, pigs, chickens or kava to exchange people cannot get married in custom arrangements. Girls get their first period without an accompanying rite of passage and boys' circumcisions have had to be suspended. As a man in the FGD stated, '*we don't know what to do, when to have circumcision. We have to move it to 2017.'* People gather for funerals and women demonstrate their grief but it is no longer possible to mark this or any significant event in the community with a feast. Rather than leading to a reduced workload women's activities now have a singular focus on the basic needs for survival. In Enimah women in the FGD stated, '*'we are no longer doing any ceremonies. Everything has stopped because we struggle every day to get food.'* And a woman in Dillon's Bay stated, *'before when there is a death we prepared food. Now we only cry with the grieving family, show we are sad.'*

The lack of resources in the communities also affects customary conflict prevention and resolution systems. As one woman in Enimah reported, *'now there is a problem because we can't do custom ceremonies or do custom fines.'* The inability to enforce custom fines may have wider implications since these punishments no longer act as a disincentive to commit crimes which potentially affects the security and safety of all community members, including women and girls.

4.2.2 Socio-Economic Resources for Resilient livelihoods

Traditional and External Information

Early Warning

Women and men access both traditional and external information to act on shocks and receive this information from different sources. Women and men in the outer island communities stated that they receive and rely on warnings and updates about cyclones and any other hazards by mobile telephones, radio, community governance structures and CDCCC members. They added that information then usually travels through the community by word of mouth. In Enimah, one woman in the FGD noted that people received messages about Cyclone Pam on their phone, however information may not have been transmitted effectively to all community members as one woman stated, *and 'we didn't get a lot of information about the cyclone. We were surprised.'*[34] In the outer island communities women, men, girls and boys stated that they had attended DRR training from CARE and had learned about cyclone tracking and colour alerts and how to prepare. As a female student in Ipota noted, *'we did CARE DRR training. I remember if a cyclone is coming, how to look at the map, different colour alerts and what to do.'*[35] Women and men in the FGD did not report any significant differences regarding to their access to early warning information in these communities stating that DRR training had involved both women and men, as well as girls and boys in the schools.[36]

Traditional Knowledge

In Herald Bay an older man noted that he used his traditional knowledge to inform him about Cyclone Pam stating, *'before the cyclone, I observed the trees, clouds and the sea.'* In Ipota people's faith in a man's steadfast predictions that he could control the weather led many community members to carry out minimal efforts to prepare or seek shelter in designated evacuation centers. The ensuing rescue efforts across a flooded river of approximately 30 people at the height of the storm put many lives at risk including those of women and children. According to the Nurse, *'people were not prepared. There are custom beliefs and an elderly man said he could control the weather. In the dry season he predicted rain and they came so they believed him. During the cyclone at the last minute people were rushing around. Now they don't believe him and at the meetings they stop him from talking.'*

Reviving women and men's traditional knowledge about gardening, fishing, weather forecasting or traditional food preservation techniques can help reduce risk. A man in Herald Bay noted that he had participated in training about seasonal planting with CARE which had been very helpful to learn information that had once been forgotten. *'I took part in CARE training about seasonal planting. Old people don't want to share their knowledge so this helps us to know when to plant and when to harvest. We forgot but now we know.'* In the same community, an elderly widow was observed preparing *'mara'* – preserved bananas given to her from people in Matagni, a nearby village.

Climate Information, Forecasting

Climate information and seasonal forecasts are sent from the Meteorological Department by radio and telephones. A notice board has been installed in Herald Bay to enable community members to access information about weather, climate and disasters. Notice boards in the other communities visited have yet to be installed and Ipota does not have a community hall to post information.

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[34] Lessons learnt from Tropical Cyclone Pam. Tafea Provincial Disaster Committtee' June 2015.

[35] See CARE reports from Cyclone Pam.

There is evidence to suggest women, men, girls, boys and People with Disabilities (PWD) in Mission Bay and Herald Bay are aware of climate change and its potential impacts as a result of awareness raising, training and workshops supported by CARE and other NGOs.[37] Baseline data recently collected by CARE from the outer islands communities of Tafea Province reveals that more women than men know about El Niño and more women than men are not aware of El Niño. Findings from this study revealed limited knowledge of climate change or El Niño or La Niña among most women and men in the outer island communities. For example, in Ikaukau women in the FGDs and transect walks had not heard about El Niño, la Niña or climate change and/or had very little understanding of the potential impacts on women's livelihoods and their community garden. Also in Ipota women in the FGDs and the girls at the secondary school also demonstrated limited awareness of these weather patterns and any associated impacts. In Dillon's Bay however, several women in the FGDs recalled that people from the Department of Agriculture had talked to them about El Niño and la Niña.

Some women, and some men, face specific constraints to access early warning and climate information. Findings from the End of Project Evaluation of the Climate Change Adaptation NGO Consortium Project reported that 42% of women from a small combined sampling of community members in Herald Bay and Mission Bay were able to access information on the causes and impacts of climate change and weather forecasting compared to 53% of men. Some of the challenges noted by women regarding access to information included not having a radio to listen to weather forecasts; not being able to read the community noticeboards; not being part of council meetings where information is shared; and being unable to attend awareness and training events due to other commitments. No data was available to indicate whether men noted the same or different constraints than women. According to data collected by CARE, early on in the recovery phase women expressed a desire for more information about weather forecasts and how they can be better prepared in future.

There is no indication that water committees access or apply external climate information, rainfall forecasts to manage water resources in their communities. For example, the Secretary of the Water Committee stated that the Committee did not access or use any data regarding expected rainfall during an El Niño year. In any case, given women's limited roles on the Water Committee, women members would not likely be involved in making any decisions based on climate data (for more details see Section 4).

Training and Technical Support

Internal and external training opportunities enable women and men to acquire new knowledge, ideas and skills and transfer learning back into the community. Women and men in all of the outer island communities noted that they had received information and attended training in a range of areas including, disaster preparedness; basic first aid; agriculture and climate change adaptation; forestry; fisheries; household saving and financial management; savings with the National Bank of Vanuatu; gender equality women's rights and Violence Against Women, nutrition, health, hygiene, family planning, HIV/STIs and life skills.[38] In Ipota and Dillon's Bay family planning workshops were conducted by male nurses and Peace Corps volunteers. Previous DRR and CCA training by CARE was conducted by gender-balanced teams of facilitators. It is unknown whether other awareness-raising activities, training workshops and technical support provided to the communities was conducted by women, men or both together. Not all communities received the same training and, as noted by several people in the FGDs not everyone in the community attended all training. In Dillon's Bay women of all ages stated that they had attended various workshops and technical training. In contrast, women in Enimah stated that they have not attended any training or workshops. Several women and men stated that

[37] CARE Vanuatu was a partner in the Vanuatu Climate Change Adaptation NGO Consortium Project implemented from July 2012 through to the end of December 2014 and supported four communities in Futuna including Herald Bay and Mission Bay in the areas of community gardening, targeted training of food and nutrition, women's empowerment, and the development of climate change resource materials.
[38] This is not an exhaustive review of all awareness-raising activities and training that have taken place in the communities and there may be other examples.

they had attended external training in Tanna and Port Vila. There did not seem to be any indication of men preventing women from participating in meetings or travelling to attend external training, however additional data is needed to draw any conclusions in this regard.

In many cases training is conducted to increase the knowledge and skills of both women and men in the community. For example, both men and women in the outer islands stated that they had attended the same workshops in particular to learn about DRR and basic first aid (all); agriculture and climate change (Futuna); fisheries and forestry (Ikaukau),) and savings (Ipota by the National Bank of Vanuatu and Dillon's Bay). Although shelter training in Ipota may have been targeted to both women and men, only men mentioned they had participated. In recognition that family planning and Sexual and Reproductive Health needs everybody's buy-in, training has targeted both women and men and particularly young people.
In the outer island communities women and girls in the FGDs noted that they had participated in awareness-raising workshops about gender equality, women's rights and violence against women (VAW). In Dillon's Bay and Ipota the Vanuatu Women's Centre delivered awareness raising workshops about violence against women and helped to set up CAVAWs. In Mission Bay and Herald Bay women also noted that they had received training and support to set up CAVAWs however they are not operational. Men in Dillon's Bay, Ipota and Ikaukau also noted that they had received awareness workshops about women's rights and violence against women. It is unknown whether men in Herald Bay and Mission Bay participated in workshops about women's rights or VAW. Resistance to these concepts among men in Herald Bay (discussed further in Section E) may be due to any number of reasons including but not limited to, their exclusion in the training, their lack of understanding or the approach and delivery of the training. In some cases training that targets both women and men was specifically designed to alter existing gender-based inequalities. For example, in Dillon's Bay women in the FGD stated that men and women in the community had received training by the Vanuatu Women's Council about women's rights, gender equality, violence against women and shared responsibilities in the home.

In Dillon's Bay and Ipota young women and men noted their participation in life skills training conducted by the Vanuatu Women's Centre, that also included a focus on VAW and children's rights. In Herald Bay the girls at the secondary school also noted their participation life skills training. In this instance the specific targeting of girls in this training, likely coupled with resistance from prior awareness raising about women's rights and VAW, resulted in backlash among some men in the community.

In keeping with social norms and expectations surrounding women's roles in food preparation and cooking, training in nutrition mainly targets women and girls. Nutrition training was delivered to community members in Herald Bay and Mission Bay and taught women how to prepare and cook traditional and new vegetables. In Mission Bay a girl noted that she had attended training about cooking and in Ipota a women stated that she had attended training about nutrition for cooking in a guest house and restaurant. During the study the Area Secretary in Ikaukau requested nutrition and cooking methods and recipes for women. Hygiene training has also tended to target women. In Enimah the Nurse noted that he would like women to be trained in food preservation and personal and home hygiene but did not state whether men might also be involved in this training.

Women and men in the FGDs noted a few cases where they had received capacity-building to enhance livelihoods.[39] In Mission Bay women stated they had received training to support the marketing of hand woven mats and handicrafts and more recently sewing from ACTIV. In Ikaukau women stated that the community had received training about fisheries, and forestry (sandalwood, hardwoods) however it is now known if or how women and men were specifically targeted or to what extent they participated in this training. In Dillon's Bay women in the FGDs noted they had received agriculture training, and both women and men in Mission Bay and Herald Bay attended capacity-building to support adaptive community gardening within the context of climate change. During this training, women learned new skills in home gardening, an area in which they had no previous experience that has provided them with a small but important new

[39] For more information about gender issues in agriculture see Review of Vanuatu Agricultural Extension.

source of income. Recent activities supported by CARE have targeted both women and men's activities and income sources. For example in Ikaukau, recovery plans focus on livelihood activities for both women and men such as poultry, marine resources and gardening. Recent training and technical inputs for community gardening mainly supports women-led initiatives to develop innovative solutions to address local recovery and longer term resilience priorities.

In Dillon's Bay and Ipota women received training in savings and budgeting through VANWODS and the National Bank of Vanuatu respectively. A woman in Ipota noted that she had participated in business training. None of the men in the study noted that they had participated in any training about savings or household budgeting.

In some cases, women or men may not have equal opportunities to attend training workshops or acquire technical skills due to expected gender norms and roles. For example in Ikaukau several men in the FGD, as well as the Chief noted that they had attended workshops to learn about the maintenance and construction of rainwater tanks. They also noted that some young men had received technical training to rebuild tanks and two young men had recently been trained to maintain and repair the new desalination unit. There was no evidence to suggest women in the community had participated in any of these workshops or were provided the opportunity to acquire these technical skills.

In other cases training may not be accessible to women when it does not take into consideration their household and livelihood activities and workloads. In some communities women's considerable workload in food production can constrain women's time and energy to participate in community training. For example, women in Ikaukau noted that an organisation came to talk to them about water and hygiene but women who were at the garden did not have a chance to attend. In some cases other duties prevent both women and men from attending workshops. For example, In Ipota a primary school teacher noted that she did go to workshops because she is usually teaching when they are held and another woman noted that she was too busy to attend workshops because she had to work in the store.

Risk-Taking and Innovation

Women in all of the communities demonstrate a willingness to innovate and take risks to improve their livelihoods. When provided with relevant information, inputs and support from NGOs and technical agencies women in particular appear eager to experiment with growing and eating different varieties of food or applying new gardening techniques in the hopes of improving production. The main examples of community members taking risks and innovating to strengthen livelihoods in normal conditions come from Futuna, where CARE had previously implemented a climate change adaptation project. Women and men in Herald Bay and Mission Bay learned how and when to grow and water different types of plants; pest management; diversification and increased production of more disaster resilient crops; and the use of mulch and compost. When Cyclone Pam struck women and men in Futuna were fortunate to have had a head start learning how to grow new and different kinds of food and making improvements where required. In Mission Bay a women noted that she was preserving seeds to replant while another stated she had started a new garden in a higher location to protect the plants from sea spray.

In Herald Bay a man noted his use of traditional knowledge to improve his garden, stating *'I'm using basalt as fertilizer on kumala and watermelon and it really helps a lot. It was introduced by my grandmother before. Just after the cyclone I started using it.'* Women in the other outer islands have also taken up the challenge of planting new gardens of vegetables – something many had never done before. *'Now we are growing many things – cabbage, lettuce, before only manioc and island cabbage.' (CDCCC member)* In Enimah by necessity women are also prepared to try new and different solutions to enhance their food security. During a transect walk a woman stated that had received some advice from some volunteers and have tried various techniques using traditional materials to protect plants from the volcano ash but so far without any success.

Understand and Act on Shocks

Access to information, coupled with awareness-raising and training support the development of attitudes and behaviours that create a belief system and culture that enables people to understands and act on shocks. Findings from this study suggest that these combination of these factors have enabled the vast majority of women and men in the outer island communities to respond appropriately to Cyclone Pam in order to save lives. For example, a women in Ipota stated, *'I've been to CARE workshops to learn how to get ready for a cyclone. I know the yellow alert means it's time to move. We put wood on the grass house to strengthen it and tightened the wires.'* Men in this community noted that they were happy to have attended the DRR training with one man adding, *'during the cyclone both women and men used all their skills.'*

Slow onset weather events and hazards require a number of risk reduction measures, well before water supplies start to run low. It appear women and men in some communities have yet to have a firm grasp of the range of impacts or necessary steps to strengthen and protect livelihoods during El Niño and la Niña events. For example, in Ikaukau water scarcity is a concern and a young woman noted that *during* the dry season people at the weekly community meeting are told to conserve water and in general do not receive any other advice to protect livelihoods or health.

Women and men in the outer island communities noted they have been struggling to get their root crops to grow and are encountering problems with pests in their vegetable gardens. During the study some women in some of the outer island communities stated they had a general awareness of El Niño or climate change but added that they had not taken any actions to strengthen the resilience of their livelihoods. In some cases they were willing to take action but did not have the necessary resources. For example, women in Ipota stated:

- *'I know about El Nño, it means more sun, but I am not doing anything special.'*
- *'The seeds are going well but we have nothing to protect the plants.'*
- *'I read a small book but I haven't done anything to protect my garden. It said things like using tobacco leaves but now we don't even have these anymore. And we need soda to wash on the plants so the insects don't eat them.'*

4.3 Household Decision-Making

The following section examines community view concerning the prevailing attitudes and extent of women's participation in household decision-making; financial decision-making and expenditure priorities; and decision-making for resilience.

4.3.1 Prevailing attitudes and extent of participation in household decision-making

In Enimah women and men in the FGDs noted that men are generally considered the head of the household and make the final decisions. As one woman noted, *'women make decisions in the home but men have the last decision.'* FHHs stated that they make all decisions in the home, except in cases where the brother-in-law owns the land in which case he makes the decisions. A woman with a disability stated that she has a lower status than his brother's wife and that her older brother makes decisions and these are not always acceptable. She noted, *'sometimes I feel upset about his decisions but follow anyway.'* Women in the FGD noted that one the main times when women make decisions is in relation to their son's circumcision. '*The mother can make decisions about when to have the circumcision ceremony.'* This area of decision-making for women was also mentioned by young men in the FGD. As one young man noted, '*The main time for women to make decisions is only once during circumcision. This is when they (men) look to women, especially the mother and appreciate her role. The father gives food and make a speech to the mother's family to thank them. After life goes back to normal for them.'* Older men in Enimah expressed dissatisfaction with women's ability to make decisions about their behavior and dress, saying '*the problem is younger women don't show respect when passing elders. They don't cover up their body as much as before.'* Using a common biblical analogy, a church leader noted that men are 'higher' because they come Eve came from Adam's rib.

In a rare exception the Nurse stated that there is *'gender equity'* and *'equal decision-making'* in his home. The Women's Church Representative in Enimah stated *' now it's changing a bit, but men are still considered the head of the household so still make the final decisions.'* She noted that decision-making in the household needs to change and become more equitable because *'women and men have different views. They have to sit and discuss and after decide together. If they work together the work can go smoothly.'*

In Ikaukau men in the FGDs generally agreed that women should be involved in decision-making, with one man reasoning *'women know how women feel.'* They stated that decision-making is mainly done by women but men make decisions related to fishing. FHHs stated that they make their own decisions, adding that in some instances they might seek the assistance of the Chief, brother, or relative to support their decisions. *'Sometimes we seek help from Chief, for example if grown boys don't listen to their mother.'* One FHH noted, *'first I go to my brother, then to the Chief. When the Chief helps me I am glad – this is a time that someone is supporting me.'* Young mothers stated that they are involved in decision-making in the home, with one mother stating *'couples work together to find solutions.'* Girls in Ikaukau noted that their fathers made most of the decisions in the home and they preferred to discuss issues with their mothers because *'the father sometimes speaks harder.'* They noted that girls make decisions about going somewhere or in relation to their participation in sports, youth or community activities and adding that they have opportunities to take on key roles. As one girl noted, *'decisions by girls happen for celebrations. And they can decide if they want to take on leadership roles in activities.'*

In Herald Bay important decision-making among boys and girls boarding at the secondary school takes place among their peers. Decision-making in school is different from households but an important space for decision-making among young people. Girls at the school had different views about who makes decisions in the home. At first all of the girls clearly stated, *'fathers makes decisions!'* then added *'but about money both make decisions', 'and also about schooling.'* Boys in the FGD held varying opinions about decision in the home. One boy stated that men always make decisions, but then added sometimes women make decisions about money. Another stated that women make decisions in the home about school and how to punish children. Some boys stated that *'many men don't think women should make decisions - otherwise maybe one day they will control the men'.* A few noted that they did not like the decisions made by girls about their dress and *'showing off'* behavior. The boys noted that the Principal (female) makes decisions, also the Head Boy, Boarding master/Dean who looks after the boys. They said they make their own decisions about going diving or fishing in their free time and decide to about organizing activities at Christmas time, or to fishing, hunting, gardening and walking in the bush on the weekend - just boys. They noted that sometimes elders support them with decisions but added that if they do not they decide not to go to the *nakamal* to prepare the kava for them. Some of the boys stated that they talk back to the female French teacher and make the decision whether or not to attend her class. They said they do not get in as much trouble because she is a female teacher. Girls noted that poor decisions such as skipping school, coming in late or speaking out leads to detention or punishment such as getting coral from the beach. A young mother with a disability confined to living with her father said that her father makes all of the decisions at home.

In Mission Bay a woman highlighted the shared responsibilities and decision-making that takes place in her home, stating, *'me and my husband work together to build the garden. We look after the family together. There is good cooperation and we share decision-making.'* Widows stated that since they have no husbands they are considered the head of the household and they make all of the decisions about everything essentially because there is nobody else to do it. Girls noted that decisions about relationships are made by the girl, the boy, or sometimes both together. Their only complaint about decision-making was about grandparents (guardians) asking them to work in the garden when they had to study.

In Dillon's Bay both women and men in the FGD generally agreed that men do the decision-making but women were sometimes involved or made their own decisions. A man noted, *'men do all the decisions but there is involvement of women, for example to decide what is to be planted or how big garden should be.'* In the FGD FHHs noted that they have

considerable freedom to make their own choices, for example stating, *'we do all decisions and do whatever we want to do.'* Young mothers without husbands also said they make their own decisions. Young men in the FGD stated their friends help them make decisions but their uncle from their mother's side is the person they are most close to that they can talk to *'more than chief, more than parents.*' One young man noted, *'we decide when we need to relax and after the cyclone we decided to help the community.'* Some men can make decisions about relaxation where others may be more constrained by household responsibilities.

Various men in the FGD and male key informants in Dillon's Bay expressed considerable support for the *principle* of shared decision-making in the home. For example, an older man stated, *'men and women must make decisions together because they work in the garden together.'* At the same time some men displayed noted a double standard noting their opposition to women's decisions to wear sunglasses and earrings. Young men also stated they were in favour of shared decision-making, stating *'in decisions between men and women everyone should be treated equally.'* The Chief in particular noted his support for appreciation for women's contributions and support for shared decision-making in the home, stating, that '*household decision-making is respectful when the whole family takes part.'* He added*, 'women play a big role in caring for the safety and security of their children. They assist the men a lot in the home management with all their efforts. We should always appreciate what women are doing. Men need to lean on women's advice. There is a need for both sides of opinions in the home. Men dominate ownership of all things but it is better to have everyone exercise their rights to make decisions.*

The Church pastors in Dillon's Bay stated *'women and men are equal but do decision-making in different ways.'* One of the pastors noted that *'in a home one decision can make a big difference'* and shared how he had learned to include his own wife in decision-making. *'Sometimes I made my own decision but then I came to realize I was doing the wrong thing and my wife should have a view.'* He emphasized that shared decision-making by husbands and wives should be part of raising children in a loving and respectful home and added, *'husband and wife should support each other, share their views and teach their children.'*

> *'I tell my husband – you built our house, you can do everything like put up the posts but you need the rope to tie everything together. Women represent the rope - without it the house won't stay up.' (Woman Ipota)*

In Ipota women in the FGD generally expressed the view that husbands and fathers make decision in the home. A few women stated that they sometimes made decisions. FHHs stated they make their own decisions such as whether to go to the garden or stay home. As one FHH stated *'we do what we want to do.'* Girls stated they do not do any decision-making as this is the role of the parents. Young women in the FGD stated that only men do decision-making in the home, however tthey made decisions about travelling, spending money, setting prices for food they sell and about sports, particularly for a big community event. One man stated that both *'women and men are part of decision-making in the home.'* However for the most part men in the FGD generally noted that men make 'big' and 'final' decisions in the home, whereas women make everyday decisions about the home and children.

- 'Men are the decision-makers in the home but women have more capacity now and they can do some decisions. But they cannot do the final decision – it is the men.'
- 'Women also can make decisions in the home. We need women's decisions inside the home. But if they disagree men are the head of the household so in the end women should accept what men have decided.'
- 'There are differences in leadership. Men make big decisions to help the family. Make sure about the safety of the family. Make sure the community is safe. Women manage the home and kitchen, make sure children are going to school. It's hard for men to do all the home management.'

The Chief in Ipota highlighted that it was not easy for women to make decisions with controlling husbands who, in any case should make the final decision. He stated, *'girls and women can be part of decision-making in a household. Sometimes where women find it hard might be due to the husband – if he is too hard with the women and he takes control of all the decisions. But men should make the last decision in the home.'*

A young man living in a FHH in Ipota noted that his mother and uncles make decisions in the home but he sometimes does not agree with them. He stated that sometimes he goes to his uncles to override a decision made by his mother. *'I wanted to sell sandalwood planted by my (late) father. My mother decided not to harvest it. Because she didn't agree I approached my uncles to help and they said I could sell it.'* In addition, due to his economic circumstances in his home he noted that he sometimes has to make difficult decisions, for example to quit school, even if his mother did not agree.

4.3.2 Financial decision-making and expenditure priorities

The CEDAW Report 2009 states that men tend to view money they earn as their own and spend it on kava or alcohol while women are more likely to use money for household purposes such as food and school fees. According to the report men tend to view money they earn as their own and spend it on kava or alcohol while women are more likely to use money for household purposes such as food and school fees.[40] The findings of this study support this conclusion to a certain extent, however it is important to add that many men in the study noted that much of their income is also directed towards basic needs and school fees. Findings from this study indicated that it is important to consider the varied nature of individual dynamics of household decision-making about money. Although several men said the money they have is spent mainly on kava and that men use more money than women it is important to examine specific contexts. Quantitative data would be useful is this regard to get a clearer picture of household spending patterns in these specific communities. As for household expenditures on food, according to recent baseline data collected by CARE men and women in the outer islands have approximately equal influence in buying and planting food.

In Enimah there were varying responses regarding financial decision-making in the home. In the FGD several men said they give any money they get to the wife to manage because *'ladies are responsible for everything in the home.'* However in some cases women look after the money but do not necessarily have any control over it. *'I give money to my wife but she has to hand it over when I ask for it. Women is the bank. Man is the boss of the bank.'* Several men reported that they use money more than woman and needed women to manage it otherwise they spend it on non-essential items. *'I give the money to my wife otherwise I will spend all the money on kava.'* One man in the FGD noted that he gives some money to his wife and the rest to other men *'to show his goodness.'*

In Ikaukau women in the FGD and interviews stated they use their incomes to pay for school fees, buy soap for washing, food, and general basic needs. In one case a woman reported that her husband earns money and uses it to pay for school fees. However the majority of women said they manage household incomes and do the planning and decision-making about money. As one woman noted *'when men are still fishing, women make the plan.'* Women generally noted that they control the family's finances. A young mother also stated simply, *'I decide how to spend the money.'* One woman in the FGD stated that the distribution of money to men is sometimes linked to household chores. She noted, *'women say to men - you have to complete all your duties then you can have your kava allowance.'* Men in the FGD generally agreed that women managed household income but that decisions about saving for large purchases were shared. One members of the CARE team noted that they had observed that when women or men in the communities have extra income, for example from oranges or sandalwood, it is often used to buy processed food such as white rice, tin meat, noodles and sweets.

[40] Office Of The Prime Minister And Department Of Women's Affairs Port Vila, Vanuatu (September 2004), *Combined Initial, Second and Third Reports on the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, p.56;* Pinolpuig, G (September 2013) *Gender Mapping: Actors And Initiatives Promoting Gender Equality In Vanuatu,* World Bank, DRAFT

In Herald Bay financial decision-making appears to vary according to the household. Women in the FGD stated that '*women manage any money that comes'* and *'women make the decisions about spending money'*...*'because women know best how to manage the things in the home.' One woman noted that this was not* the case in all households adding that in some families *'the wife makes money but the husband advises how it should be spent.'* Boys noted that sometimes women make decisions, especially about money – how to use and spend money.

A cross-section of responses from women in Mission Bay:

- *'Men decide how to spend money. They are the head of the household.'*
- *'Sometimes women look after the money, but men decide how to spend it.'*
- *'The mother must talk to the father to manage money for school fees.'*
- *'Sometimes women have money and both decide how to spend.'*
- *'If the money belongs to the women and the papa tries to use it the mama says it is her money and her right to make the decision.'*

In Mission Bay women and FHHs in the FGD noted that they use money for basic needs such as soap, school fees, and church meetings on other islands. They also stated '*we buy things for people with disabilities and the elderly.'* Women expressed a range of financial decision-making practices in the home, with many stating men decide about how to spend money and others saying sometimes both women and men should decide together and a few women saying women should make decisions about their own money. The Area Secretary noted that he makes decisions about his income and his wife makes decisions about the money she earns from weaving and selling vegetables.

In Dillon's Bay women in the FGD stated that women usually manage household finances but both women and men make decisions about how to spend money, both separately and together. Women stated that women manage the money at home and '*both women and men make decisions about school fees, how to spend the money and look after the children.' The President of the Savings and Loan* noted, *'I make decisions about the Savings and Loan. My husband allowed me to work. He's a good husband. We both look after the money in the home but I mostly look after it.'* A young woman stated, *'men do all of the decisions at home, except about money and household things.' (young woman Dillon's Bay)* In some cases women's incomes may be redirected for community purposes for example, a woman in Dillon's Bay noted, *'women are paid to work in the community garden and then put the money into the basket.'*

Several men stated that they make decisions about sandalwood and tended to make decisions about their own incomes. One man stated that women and men should manage money together, however this depended on a woman's contribution. He stated, *'money should be managed by both women and men except maybe if I plant everything and she is just sitting around.'* Some men noted that household incomes are and should be managed mainly by women because '*women are the best managers of income in the household'* while others noted that women and men made decisions about money together. Several men also stated that women tended to spend money on household items while men spent it on kava and non-essential items. As one of the pastors noted, '*management and control of money is done by women, they use money wisely for spending for the household. Men waste money on unnecessary things.'*

In Ipota women in the FGD and interviews stated that they use money for school fees, food, soap, solar lights, and medicine for children. One widow noted that the small money she earns is shared with her children and grandchildren. Women generally agreed that men tend to earn higher incomes than women and women decide how to spend small amounts of money. Several women stated that they have to *'chase'* their husbands to get money to pay for essential household items. For example, a woman stated, *'If my husband kills a bullock I send the kids to ask him for money. Then he sends them back without anything. I tell him I have to pay for the things in the house and the kids and then he gives it to me.'*

Women also noted that they are more likely to budget and save money than men, although sometimes both husbands and wives put money in a savings account. As one woman noted, *'small money we put in the bank and we opened an account for the children. I look after the money and use half for food, soap, sugar, school fees and save the other half.'* It appears that in some cases the management of joint bank accounts may not be shared equal among wives and husbands. One women stated that men can spend all of the money in a shared bank account, suggesting that in some cases women's money may be safer in a personal account or savings scheme. She explained, *'I have my own money. But I have to ask my husband for money to pay for things for the house. I have to ask him to give me money otherwise he would spend everything. We put money in the National Bank. I took it out of the Savings and loan because the people from the bank told us it wasn't safe there. If we don't have any money in the account he tells me.'*

Some views from men in Ipota about financial decision-making in the home

- *'Men normally earn more money from fish, lobster, sandalwood. But no matter if men make more money at the end he straight away he gives it to his manager – who is his wife.'*
- *'The wife has better money management, especially for necessary things. Men are very fast in spending.'*
- *'My wife manages the money. She does the spending. If men have the money they will spend it on all sorts of things. She is trusted when handling money for the family.'*
- *'Women are careful to make decisions about spending money. Spending covers the whole needs of the family. Women are good managers of incomes.'*

Men of all ages in Ipota generally agreed that men earn more money than women, often spent it quickly on unnecessary items, and that women are *'trusted'* to wisely manage household incomes. One man added that couples decide together about household budgets but women managed the spending, stating, *'both decide on budgeting the income and women spend it according to what they have planned'.*

4.3.3 Household Decision-Making for Resilience

Some women and men noted that they are making decisions to reduce their risk to disasters and climate change in their own households. Some women, particularly FHHs, make decisions to increase the resilience of their livelihoods alone often related to different or more of certain kinds of plants that might be more resilient to cyclones. For example, in Mission Bay one woman noted that she had taken steps to protect her garden during very dry weather conditions, stating, *'before I planted big trees to go over the garden to protect from the sun and so the roots hold the water in heavy rain.'* Many women in the communities stated that they are now making different decisions about planting and in particular selecting plants such as kumala, taro fiji and island cabbage that are better able to withstand strong winds. For example, in Herald Bay, a widow stated that she plants more taro Fiji which is low to the ground and therefore better protected and in Ipota a women stated that she planted island cabbage '*which is better in case of cyclone*'.

In other cases, men are making decisions about their own livelihoods. For example men in Ikaukau expressed concerned about rising sea level and moved canoes inland. Men also make big decisions about resilience alone that may have broader implications on the family overall. As a man in Herald Bay noted, *'I'm planning not to build tall houses – to reduce the height.'*

In many cases women and men are cooperating and making risk reduction decisions together, often deciding to plant crops that are more resilient to cyclones. For example, one woman in Dillon's Bay noted, *'we, my husband and I, learned lots of lessons after this - we learned to prepare well in advance. Now we plant kumala, water taro...'*

4.4 Meaningful Participation in Public Decision-Making

4.4.1 Participation of women and girls in public decision-making, attitudes and socio-cultural expectations

Findings from this study highlight that in several communities, women do not generally play key roles in community governance structures. In the communities the *nakamal* is the main setting for community discussions and decision-making. In many cases it is largely reserved for men but in some communities women are increasingly playing a role. The following section examines the extent of participation by women and girls in public decision-making, female leadership roles and the attitudes and socio-cultural expectations that shape this aspect of their lives. This is followed by an examination of women's participation in community decision-making about WASH and resilience. Factors that constrain and enable women's participation in public-decision-making are highlighted and the chapter closes with examples of women's mobilization in the communities.

In Enimah although women are allowed in the *nakamal* at certain times of day and during certain ceremonies, this public space is largely reserved for discussions, leisure and decision-making undertaken by men. Women's physical access to this space is often restricted and women are not permitted to go near the *nakamal* in the afternoon and the evening. The Youth Representative confirmed that women are not allowed in the *nakamal* except during ceremonies '*where they perform their own special dances after men have put away their kava.'* Women in the FGDs and interviews stated that while they could attend some community meetings in the *nakamal* they are either not allowed to participate in discussions or must first ask permission from the men to speak. Throughout the FGDs there were references to women '*showing men respect'* and '*staying down'*. For example women stated, *'when they give us permission to talk we talk, otherwise we stay down'*; *'Women can speak normally at home but women have to ask permission to speak in a meeting'* and *'If she wants to speak she puts up her hand to show them respect, then the men might say –' You can speak.'* Overall women stated that it was generally men who participated in community discussions. As one women noted, *'normally men only speak in the nakamal because of culture.'* FHHs in particular noted that they were not permitted to speak given their very low status. As one woman from a FHH stated, *'we are not allowed to speak in meetings because there is no man in the house. We are considered lower than dogs. '*

Men in the FGD held these same views with one man stating that woman '*could be Secretary (during a meeting) but they have no right to speak.'* The male Youth Representative confirmed these practices, noting that women were generally not permitted to speak in meetings and stated *'here women can go to meetings but they can't say anything. Men mostly don't let women speak, only listen.'* One of the chiefs held the opinion that women's sphere of decision-making overall should be restricted to food for the home and for supporting other families. *He stated, 'women should only make decisions about the food in the garden for using in the home or for supporting other families.'*

Several women in Enimah noted that there were occasions when a woman might participate in discussions, for example if the subject dealt with her husband. A Woman's Church Representative indicated that decision-making is only carried out by men and that 'w*omen respect the men a lot every time they are doing the decision-making'* and added that '*women contribute when men don't make right decisions.'* Some men in the FGD noted that they appreciate women's input but stipulated caveats that did not apply equally to men. Men tended to conflate women's rights to speak and participate in community meetings with their levels of education, their behavior towards men, and they way they dressed. For example one man stated, *'women can maybe talk if they are educated. The problem is that young women don't show respect, for example when passing us (older men). They (young women) don't cover up as much as before.'* Various male key informants stated that they were not in favour of women's participation in public decision-making. During a FGD with the Chiefs most of them clearly stated their opposition to women's involvement in community decision-making and the remainder did not state any contrasting opinions. As one of the Chiefs stated, *'women should not take part in decision-making. Women should respect men. Decision-making (by women) makes it hard to maintain the relationship.'* The Chief Security Officer also shared these views. A notable exception was the male Nurse who highlighted his support for women's involvement in decision-making stating, '*it is good for both parties to be involved in decision-making. We must let women express themselves - their ideas might help.'* Despite their limited role in public decision-making, women in

the FGDs demonstrated an important awareness of their right to participate in public decision-making stating, *'CARE gives us the right to talk.'*

In Ikaukau several women in the FGD noted that women now participate in community meetings and this is a significant change from the past. As one woman noted, '*at first only men were doing things. Now women participate in community decision-making.'* The Chief stated that he makes decisions about important things and that all of the chiefs in Aniwa make decisions, however he also highlighted the changing roles of women in community decision-making stating, *'we invite women to participate in this decision-making. There is shared decision-making. Now women contribute to discussions.'* Girls in the FGD said they participate equally in school stating that *'everyone contributes – girls and boys talk in school'* signaling a positive start to building girls' confidence to participate in community decision-making in the future. Young women and men noted that youth groups have boy and girl leaders.

During separate interviews, the Chief and the CDCCC Chair stated that the participation of women members of John Frum in community decision-making is limited and added that women from John Frum are not allowed to make decisions in their *nakamal,* which is separate from the rest of the community. Although these particular women may be constrained in terms of public decision-making within their specific community, their opportunities to build skills and confidence and participate in the wider community may be opening up for some women. Interviews with several women from the John Frum community revealed that some of their members, including women, mingled with the wider community, participated in community activities and sent their children to school. It was not possible to collect quantitative sex-disaggregated data, however one woman from John Frum stated, *'it is changing for some people.'*

In Herald Bay women in the FGD shared few thoughts about their roles in community decision-making. By comparison, men expressed an array of opinions on the subject of women's participation in public decision-making with many stating their opposition. As one man stated, '*men should make decisions'*. Men either noted their opposition to women's participation in public decision-making or stated specific locations where women are permitted to make decisions such as the church, women's groups and the home. For example stating, *'women can only make decisions in the women's group'* and *'I don't agree with women's decision-making in public but in the house is ok because women know the needs of the children.'* The Area Secretary noted several spaces that were open to women's decision-making, stating that women could be present during community discussions in the church and the Area Council and *'in the nakamal if the Chief asks, if it's a public decision or if it has to do with awareness.'* One man stated, *'women cannot attend anything in the nakamal'* adding that there are even restrictions on men's participation in community meetings where '*only a few men can talk - people who know the land, including the Chief.'* One man revealed limited faith in women's ability to make positive contributions to community discussions stating, *'if women are encouraged to speak, they talk too much. Later they will realize they said something that is wrong.'* During an interview one man in Herald Bay demonstrated particularly strong views about women's participation in community decision-making, using a parable in which he likened women to the *nasiko* (kingfisher). In this version of the story the *nasiko* and the rat were planning to travel out to sea on a pawpaw and before they left the rat pleaded with the *nasiko* not to eat the pawpaw. When they were out on the water the *nasiko* ate the pawpaw and flew away while the rat drowned. He, like several other men in the FGD seemed to fear desertion (and perhaps unstated loss of power) at the possibility of women gaining too much knowledge, freedom and confidence to participate in public decision-making. Boys in the FGD expressed views similar to their older male counterparts, for example stating that *'women should not do any decision-making, only men'* and *'women should not be involved when men are making decisions.'*

In Mission Bay women in the FGD stated that '*mostly men speak and make decisions*' and *'old men make most decisions'* highlighting that, like in many communities, both age and gender are a factor in community decision-making. On a more positive note one woman added, *'but at least women are present in the meetings.'* Positions of leadership often provide women with opportunities to travel and attend training. A woman interviewed in this community noted that her church had invited her to a seminar in Port Vila perhaps ten years ago where they talked about the Vanuatu National Gender Equality Policy. She stated that when the returning participants shared their new knowledge with the community it resulted in a backlash among some men. She added that over time a range of awareness-raising activities in the

community are beginning to gradually change the attitudes among some, but not all, men about women's participation in public decision-making. She stated, *'according to custom men are strong, women are down, and only men should talk. But they told us that women have good things to say too. When the women told the men they got cross. Then donors said the same message and men start to change their mind and agree that women have good ideas. But some men still have strong heads.'*

In Dillon's Bay women generally noted that there has been a definite change and increase in women's participation in community decision-making. For example, women noted that, *'more women are speaking up in meetings'* and *'before only men made decisions. Now sometimes ladies take more decisions in the community.'* They also stated that, *'women take some very important decisions'* and '*women do decision-making and voice their concerns in the Community Council.'* Several women in the community have taken up a number of key roles in the community and many active community mobilisers. Possibly in reaction to the increasing empowerment of some women in the community, several men in the FGD noted their opposition to women's participation in community decision-making. Some men are holding firm to chiefly and customary decision-making practices largely run by men. One man stated, *'only the Chief has the right to make meaningful decisions and he is a man not a woman.'* Several men expressed an aversion to changes regarding women's participation in community meetings and decision-making, for example stating, *'women are now calling for meetings instead of men. It is a big change and we don't like it.'* Another stated*, 'custom values are lost when women get more involved in decision-making.'* While some men stated that women could participate in discussions they added that they could not make decisions for example stating, *'women can share their concerns but authority rests with men to make final decisions.'*

Unlike their elders, young men in the FGD expressed their supported for women's and girls' decision-making stating, '*women and girls have big responsibility – they must be part of decision-making in the community.'* During the discussion one young man narrowed the parameters regarding the participation and decision-making of girls and young women stating, *'sometimes girls and women's decision-making in community meetings depends on the agenda and their interest.'* It remains to be seen whether these comments would be applied equally to boys and men. They also commented favorably on the shared planning and participation of girls in sports and social activities and the strong involvement of girls' in the Youth Council. However they added that it was their responsibility to bring issues of concern to the main decision-makers in the community. As one boy noted, *'boys and girls discuss things then come up with compromise but boys take the concerns to the Chief and other leaders.'*

Gender-responsive policies and plans help lay the foundation for gender equality and women's empowerment. The DRAFT *Erromango Integrated Development Plan* developed by the Erromango Technical Advisory Committee includes a chapter on gender, makes reference to CEDAW and women's rights, and emphasizes women's leadership in the Council even noting the possibility of electing a female Chair of the Council and '*women to any other high position where merit and qualification is considered.*' All of the members of the committee are male, however several women reportedly play key advisory roles. The Plan lays the foundation for the social and economic development of the whole island and it is notable that the preamble is written by the Chief of Dillon's Bay and states, *'women must be respected to make their own decisions on reproduction, so that they can play a role in lobbying and politics. Women play active role in communities apart from being the managers at home.'* During an interview the Chief had many positive things to say about women's participation in community decision-making. He noted his appreciation for all that women do for their families and to assist in the recovery and added that many women do not need leadership training because they have acquired the necessary leadership skills through managing the home. He noted that he encourages women to come to meetings and advises them to play a part in the development of the community, emphasising that combining the views of both women and men benefits the whole community. *'Women and men have different talents, skills and knowledge, qualifications. These should be put together to fulfill the plans of the community.'*

The Area Secretary noted his appreciation for women's contributions in the recovery and also stated that women's input into decision-making benefited everyone in the community. He stated, '*it is better to have women's participation to support livelihoods in the recovery. When women are allowed to share their concerns it leads to a good decision that will*

cover the interests of everyone in the community.' He noted that *'in general women are not allowed to participate very much'* and added that final decisions rested with men. On a personal note he stated that he supported women to speak up during Council meetings. He also expressed a note of caution regarding women working in isolation and the limits of women's rights with respect to traditional values stating, *'women should participate in decision-making but must work together with men. Women's rights have a limit. In the community women's rights should respect the traditional values.'* Noting his overall support for women he concluded by saying, '*at the end of the day men decide but if we make a cake all the women have to put on the cream because women do a very big thing in the community.'* Pastors interviewed for this study stated their overall support for women's leadership apart from the highest position for example stating, *'nothing can stop women from being a leader in any position in anything. But there are certain limits - only men can be a Chief.'*

In Ipota women in the FGD noted that most decisions in the community are made by men and that they face a number of challenges to participate in community discussions and decision-making. As one woman noted, *'men do most of the decisions. Sometimes we raise our hands to speak but men don't even let us speak.'* Several women noted that they have become frustrated because men do not give them the opportunity to share their views in meetings. As one woman noted, '*I can talk. In community meetings it's not fair because the women have to hold up their hand to talk. The men don't let you speak and the men just keep on talking when they want.'* She reported that during the last meeting she spoke with some of her friends and they decided that if the men did not let them speak they should walk out. In the end, *'they didn't let us speak so we left. Now when one of the men asks me to come to a meeting I will come and I will say everything – how it isn't fair.'*

During their FGD several men in Ipota noted that women could participate and share their concerns in community discussions and Council meetings. As one man stated, *'Chiefs are the only decision-makers in the community. Decisions is based on the discussions between the Chiefs, Council members and the community – this also includes women.'* Several men placed restrictions on women's participation, for example stating that women should not be involved in discussions about land and should be limited to decisions in the home and 'less important' issues. As one man noted, *'women can participate in smol smol thing'.* Overall the men in the FGD did not support women taking on roles as decision-makers or leaders in the community, however a few stated that women could be leaders at national level. As one man noted, *'society needs women's empowerment to contribute to the welfare of everyone. At some point women can be leaders if men aren't able to do this role. They can be leaders in national or provincial government - everything except in custom systems – in the nakamal.'* One man clearly takes great pride in participating in Council meetings and, like many other men holds customary practices in high regard and does not appreciate being interrupted in this role. *'Sometimes women don't have respect for custom. Sometimes during a Council meeting I'm giving ideas and my wife comes around and calls out when I'm inside the meeting.'* A man in the FGD stated that *'the Community Council, Chief, and church* leaders all *support the women's group.'* However, it would appear that many women have yet to experience support from the general male population in the community. As another woman noted, '*sometimes women give their ideas but men do not support them in Council or community meetings. Most of the time the men look down on the women.'*

Boys in the FGD seemed to be of two minds about women's participation in decision-making, with some expressing their support and others noting their opposition. For example, one boy noted, *'it is not good for women to be leaders because men are the heads in the community',* while others stated, *'women can be leaders, they have the right in decision-making as leaders'* and *'women should also be part of decision-making because they are part of the community.'*

During an interview the Chief stated that '*women contribute a lot to decision-making in the community',* while at the same time describing the constraining environment for women to participate in community decision-making, noting '*in our culture women don't talk in meetings'* and *'in the community men think that women can make decisions at home but not in public.'* He added, *'some men don't think women should make decisions but they agree that women can share their ideas and points of view.'* He added that women are not permitted to take on leadership roles nor can they make

decisions in the community stating, *'in the community, women cannot take the lead. All the men take the lead. They can share their concerns in Council meetings but according to custom men have the last word and decisions.'*

During an interview an older man stated that there is a change regarding women's participation in the community. He stated, *'before women didn't have a chance to speak but now it has changed and women can speak. They have the right to give their opinion.'* Notably, he expressed his appreciation for the contributions of women in the community and the home and linked their hard work with their right to voice their opinions. '*At the end of the day all the women do all the hard work. Men do all the talking and women do all the work. For example – if men decide about a custom activity, they can decide and say yes, but in the end all the women do everything -prepare the food, feed the children...'*

4.4.2 Constraints and Enabling Factors

In Ipota, the Chief noted women's lack of awareness of their rights stating, '*some women are aware of their rights but some don't even know their rights. If they know these rights it will be better and it will benefit the children.'* However women's awareness of their rights in many circumstances is generally insufficient due to the range of other barriers that hinder women's participation in public fora. In addition to the supportive and non-supportive attitudes of community members highlighted above, there are a number of other factors that can help or hinder women and girls' participation in public decision-making. Attendance at community meetings is an important first step in being able to acquire knowledge and information and exposure to public decision-making processes. Self- confidence is needed to join in discussions, share views and participate in decision-making, if and when spaces literally and figuratively open up for women. Support from family, particularly husbands, as well as friends and other women in the community can make all the difference for women. These, and other factors combine to create a small pool of often older women who are able to effectively participate in community decision-making.

Child care responsibilities, particularly for young children often constrains women's ability to effectively participate in community meetings. In Herald Bay for example during the FGD women were caring for a number of young children and in fact more children were in attendance than adults. One woman's child-care responsibilities prevented her from participating in a transect walk because she could not find anyone to look after her young children. One of the members of CAVAW in Dillon's Bay noted that there are some women and men living near the school who never come to community meetings. She stated that they did not know why they did not attend meetings or training, adding that distance should not be an issue since people living further away on the other side of the river always attended meetings. She noted that the women in this area often said that they had household chores to do but mostly considered this to just be an excuse. Informants noted that this is a less affluent part of the village and the Chief has personally tried to encourage them to come they still are not interested. Further examination is needed to uncover the reasons why some women, as well as some men, do not participate in community activities.

The Area Secretary in Futuna stated that men's attitudes about women's participation in both the public and private sphere hindered women's self-confidence. He noted, *'women are too shy to speak because they have been stepped down many times.'* In Ipota the lone female CDCCC member also noted that many women and girls lack the self-confidence to participate effectively stating, *'women have so much to say but only a few can do it. Especially girls, girls don't want to say anything. They were brought up with this kind of mentality.'* This was evident during the FGD with girls at the secondary school who were very reluctant to speak or answer any questions despite encouragement from the research team. The male members of the research team added that boys were also quiet during their FGD suggesting there may be additional factors to consider related to the school and/or community environment both before and after the cyclone. Pastors in Dillon's Bay revealed an awareness of various constraints that women face to effectively participation in public, including women's lack of self-confidence. They noted, *'during discussions, women are shy and they hardly talk in front of a big audience. It is good to separate them into different groups so they can discuss and come up with their ideas.'* and *'sometimes women have the skills but they don't realize – it's just the mentality, their confidence that stops them.'*

In some cases the risk of violence acts a significant hindrance to some women's participation in community decision-making. As one man in Herald Bay noted, *'if you talk too much you might get a punch from your husband after.'*

Data from the Girls Social and Economic Forum in Tafea Province supported by CARE highlighted negative attitudes among both men and women towards girls' ability to lead and represent their community. This also seemed to be the case among some fo the boys in Herald Bay who stated that they did not approve of their girlfriend getting asked by the teacher to speak in public, lead in devotion, or share information in school because '*we do not want her to stand up and talk to everybody.'* Opinions of boys about their girlfriend's participation in public can negatively influence girls' decisions to pursue opportunities to gain valuable leadership skills and self-confidence.

In many communities often only a small number of women are willing and able to assume leadership roles. In interviews several women leaders stated that their community role is often challenging and a difficult one to relinquish once they have taken on the mantle. As a Women's Church Representative in Enimah noted, '*I have had the position for 6 years but nobody else who can do it. I ask three ladies to take the position but they cannot stand in front of people and talk. Sometimes I am tired but there is nobody else to do it.'* The President of the Savings and Loan Association in Dillon's Bay had a similar experience stating, *'I said 'now I want a change.' I wanted to give other women a chance but the other women said - No you must do it.'*

Women with key roles in the community appreciate the opportunity to gain new knowledge and skills and help others without expectations of monetary rewards. They stated that they receive support from community members, friends and family, especially husbands. For example, the Women's Church Representative in Enimah stated, *'I fall back on my beliefs if others disagree. The attitudes of friends and family helps – they trust and support me.'* The female CDCCC member in Ipota said she enjoys her role and always gets praise and support from her husband. She stated, *'sometimes people say 'Why are you doing it – it is only a voluntary job. But I don't care. I help people, widows, people with disabilities, old people. I get training in Tanna and learn new things. People say I am doing a good job.'* She added, *'my husband praises me, says that it's good. He never discourages me. After the cyclone some of the boys want to talk strong but my husband supports me and the CDC.'* One of the Pastors in Dillon's Bay noted that attitudes of men sometimes constrained women's ability to participate but added that support from husbands was very helpful for example stating, *'but if men support their wives everything should be ok'* and *'It depends on how supportive the husband is - it starts from the home.'* However one added a caveat to women's leadership related to her key household responsibilities stating, *'but if a woman cannot look after her own home (ie kids, fighting) she cannot be a leader.'*

In Mission Bay women in the FGD highlighted that women encourage other women to take on leadership roles. However there is evidence to suggest women leaders can sometimes experience jealousy and become the object of community gossip.[41] As might be expected with anyone who takes on key positions, at times women leaders experience negative reactions from women and men in the community. For example, one woman leader in Dillon's Bay noted, *'some women are jealous, they look down on me.'* However at the time many women stated that they receive support and encouragement from both women and men. *'Sometimes women don't support me and I just feel like quitting. But sometimes they do support me.' Another woman stated, 'Some women put other women (leaders) down. Others encourage them in what they do.'* One woman had only positive things to say stating, *'most women really support me, they trust me.'* Change takes time. According to women leaders in the community, while some men still struggle with the idea of women leaders many women are also gaining newfound respect from men. As one woman in Dillon's Bay noted, *'sometimes men look down on us if we are leaders. But I think men think better of me because I'm a leader.'*

The report from the Girls Social and Economic Forum (WGE) highlighted the lack of support for young girls to stand for youth roles in Area Councils and other committees. Girls and young women often have limited opportunities to participate in public decision-making. However even when offered the opportunity, young women may not get the support they need from their female or male peers. The Area Secretary in Futuna noted, *'in the Executive Council of the*

[41] This data was gathered during the End of Project Evaluation for *Yumi Redi* 2 DRR Project in November 2014.

Youth Council it is always men and women appointing men as leaders.' In Herald Bay girls at the secondary school stated that decision-making by students is limited overall and there is no student council. They noted that the main responsibilities of the Head Girl are to look after the welfare of the girls; make sure the girls follow school rules and go to bed; and help them when they have problems. Findings from this study revealed one case where a community leader recognises the challenges women and girls face to participate in public discussions. The Head Teacher at the school noted that he is doing his best to increase girls' exposure to decision-making processes in order to build their skills and self-confidence to take on leadership roles, however is facing some challenges. He noted, *'we are trying to establish a Student Council to give girls more opportunities to make decisions but this is difficult because this decision has to go through the School Chairman.'*

The teacher also spoke about the life skills training undertaken by the girls to help build their self-confidence. Initially there was some resistance about the training from some of the men but the teacher pressed on. He stated that after the training there was some backlash from some of the men that he attributed to a lack of understanding and clear explanations beforehand. When the men found out about the training they were apparently interested in knowing more but by then it had already finished. The girls and the teacher stated that the training was very useful and recommended that boys should also be given the opportunity to participate in future in order to increase their awareness. During the FGD the communication skills and confidence of many of the girls were clearly evident which is likely a result of a combination of factors including, the girls' upbringing, the peer environment and education system,[42] the support received from teachers and the principal, and the life skills training. In light of the comments made by various men and women in the community it appears unlikely that students' views are particularly influenced by the prevailing attitudes about women's participation in Herald Bay.

Commonly accepted seating arrangements can often impede women's participation in public. As an outside observer to the community, the Peace Corps Volunteer in Dillon's Bay offered his assessment of the dynamics of women's participation in community meetings. '*In community meetings the women are off to the side or sit on the floor. Separate seating - with women on the floor and men sitting on the benches - supports the power dynamic. This set up doesn't make it easy for women to speak. Also the women have children crawling all over them. The men say to the women, 'So, what do you think?' and the women freeze, don't say anything and the men assume everything is fine and move on.'*

Sometimes men may be simply unaware of the constraints women face to participate in community discussions. This seemed to be the case during the women's FGD in Mission Bay when a male leader in the community sat down and shared his views about women's needs and the women immediately stopped contributing to the discussion.

In some cases young mothers may face unique challenges to participate in public decision-making. In Dillon's Bay young mothers in the FGD noted that they found it difficulty to speak in public because of their own lack of confidence. They stated, *'we are afraid to voice our requests'* and *'we still feel shy and uncomfortable standing in front.'* Coupled with this lack of confidence, they also stated that they felt stigmatized in the community because of their unplanned pregnancies. As one young mother noted, *'sometimes when we say something the community says we already caused a big problem (by getting pregnant) and say negative things which keeps our morale down.'*

4.4.3 Women and Girls Mobilization

Many of the communities normally hold meetings once a week to make plans, discuss upcoming events and ceremonies or identify people's needs. Women and men in several communities noted that since the cyclone community meetings have been suspended. In Herald Bay, Ipota and Enimah women and men noted shortcomings with the existing

[42] The girls and boys at the school in Herald Bay come from all of the islands of Tafea. Many parents want their children to attend this school because it has a good reputation.

governance structures, particularly during this recovery phase. As a widower in Herald Bay noted, *'now the chiefs are not playing their roles or don't know about their roles. The chief system isn't working in the community. Some decisions aren't fair and they are ignoring the widows.'* In some cases women have taken matters into their own hands.

When women's voices are silenced and planning, decision-making spaces are restricted and existing governance structures are not meeting the community's needs some women in the communities elect to mobilise themselves either convey their needs and priorities to male leaders or to take action. The extent to which women involved in the study have mobilized themselves generally, and more specifically to address risk and build resilience varies considerably across the communities. In many communities women struggle to articulate their views to the Area Council and the Province. Apart from Provincial fora organized by CARE, there is little evidence to suggest that the government is able to adequately consult with or respond to the resilience needs and priorities of the women in these communities. More details and key examples from each of the communities are detailed below.

In Enimah men in the FGD noted that weekly community meetings are no longer held because there is too much work. As one man noted, *'people used to come when they ring the bell. Before everyone came but now people aren't coming because they are trying to survive.'* Women in the FGD stated that women are now holding meetings every Monday when everyone in the area comes to Enimah, taking steps to address the current food shortage in the community. As one woman explains, *'before the Chiefs held meetings but since the cyclone they are not doing their duty. Now women are coming together every Monday, every woman in areas 1 to 10. Women talk a lot together and decide to put in a letter to Tanna and ask for food but we have not got an answer. The Chief has also supported this and sent a letter to CARE.'* These may be first but important steps for women's social mobilising in Enimah. Construction of a Women's Centre has just begun, with posts in the ground right beside the water tanks provided by CARE in July. The women stated that the building will be a house to make baskets and mats but noted the lack of pandanus to do weaving. The women noted that now they do not know what else they might do when they meet. They also stated that a Woman's Council was established with the help of CARE when the water tanks arrived stating, *'It is the first time we do it here'* and added, *'but we are not sure what it is for.'*

In Mission Bay and Herald Bay women noted that they get together to make plans and take group decisions within their own community and the island as a whole. A good example is women's lead role in organizing the very successful *'Futuna Climadaptation Festival'* in 2013 which drew a host of government representatives and visitors from various organisations. Women in Mission Bay reported that once a month women in Futuna get together and mostly discuss church activities. Meetings of women's church groups in particular are opportunities for women to discuss their idea and often to engage both men and women in community activities. On occasion women initiate projects that involve a high degree of cooperation among both women and men to reach shared goals. As one woman in Mission Bay noted, *'if we want a project or a house the women talk together and ask men to help and ask women to help make the thatch roof and weave the walls.'*

The Women's Representative on the Area Council for Futuna resides in Mission Bay. Women in the FGD stated that she is active and engaged in this small community. As one woman stated '*the Women's Representative speaks to the women and learns what they want in the women's meeting.* Women in the FGD noted that there are occasions when the Women's Representative is permitted to make a decision. As one woman noted, *'sometimes men let her (the Women's Representative) make a decision.'* The Area Secretary in Futuna noted that the role of the Woman's Representative to the Council is to bring forward women's concerns. However he admitted that there is minimal evidence of the impact of this role to date given the limited number of Council meetings to date. He added that the potential contribution of the Women's Representative would also depend on the meeting agenda.

The CDCCC Chair in Mission Bay stated that the community has just established a village council to work with the Area Council. He added that this Council will have seven or eight members including a Women's Representative, as well as male and female Youth Representatives. He added that they have not had any meetings to date. The women in the FGD appeared unaware of this new body stating, *'there are no other women representatives really'* and noting that they did

not hold regular meetings. Women in Herald Bay noted that there are women representatives for each church but not for the community.

In Dillon's Bay women are especially successful and well known for mobilising themselves and the community. There are several women leaders in this community and generally speaking, these few outspoken older women work hard to enhance the lives of women and the community as a whole. The Peace Corps Volunteer confirmed this view stating, *'as a group of women, they bring up views to the Council and make suggestions. They are only a few but they seem to effectively represent the views of the women in the community.'* The wife of the Chief and member of CAVAW who comes from a village further south on Erromango noted a very clear difference in the nature of women's participation from this community stating, *'it is different here than in the South. Women want to talk about everything here. They voice their views, sometimes they disagree.'* Several men and many male key informants stated that the presence of these strong women has a positive aspect on the community.

Dillon's Bay has an effective Women's Association that meets together regularly to discuss the needs of women's, make plans and organize activities for the benefit of women and the community as a whole. The Association is comprised of 14 members with two representatives from each of the seven areas and works with women in the community particularly to support women in need. One of their main activities used to include fundraising events to raise funds for widows and young mothers in the community. Women in the FGD noted that since the cyclone they have had to put activities on hold to concentrate on recovery and food security. As one women noted, *'before we had a small association, where women met together to come up with ideas to help each other. We decided to bring food and sell it to raise money for people, called 'Bring and Buy.' We don't do it anymore since Cyclone Pam. Now we have to concentrate on growing vegetables.'* Women in this community have discussed the need for a Women's Centre for some time. Since the cyclone they have been using a large blue tent received during the cyclone recovery to hold workshops and acquire new skills for example sewing and painting.

In Ipota women have also established a Women's Association. The Women's Council and CAVAW sit inside the Association. There is a Women's Representative for the North Erromango Council and a female co-representative for the Community Youth Club. Women in the FGD stated that the Women's Association is an effective way to share information and make plans together. They have meetings and organize activities for example weaving mats and making custom dresses, or sewing and cooking and selling the items to raise funds for the poorer members of the community. They also discuss activities and big events that will involve women in the community, Erromango, Tanna or Port Vila. Unfortunately plans do not always work out as hoped and last year their project proposal for a women's market house did not get approval. Women in this community also stated that since the cyclone they have not been able to continue with food sales through the Women's Association. Many women in the FGD noted that they make decisions on the Women's Council and noted their overall satisfaction with this body. As one woman stated, *'the Women's Council help women, they talk about violence against women and how to make a good home.'* The Women's Association appears to be an effective mechanism to transfer information from the Area Council to women in the community. As one woman noted, *'the Leader of the Women's Association and the Women's Representative from the Council share their views. After Council meetings the Women's Representative shares everything with the Women's Association.'* While women appear to effectively mobilize themselves to discuss and share their views and ideas, it seems male Council members may not be listening since women in the FGD noted that although the concerns they share with the Area Council are often not given due consideration. As one women stated, *'they should listen to the women's group. The Council doesn't agree with the women's group's concerns. But women's concerns affect everybody.'*

4.4.3 Women's Participation in Community Decision-making for Resilience

Findings from the study indicate that in some communities women, either as members of governance structures or as members of the community, participate in discussions and decision-making about water resources and resilience, while in others women do not generally contribute to resilience discussions or decision-making. The capacity and

commitment of the CDCCCs and Water Committees to consult with and respond to the resilience needs and priorities of women varies. Further details from each of the communities are noted below.

Community Disaster and Climate Change Committees (CDCCCs)

Ikaukau holds the honour of having the only female CDCCCC Coordinator in Vanuatu. As an active and engaged member in the community she regularly takes a lead role in organizing community activities and in decision-making processes. Her leadership role was evident as communities in Aniwa were deciding on the future allocation of a henhouse that would be provided by CARE and during the distribution of food that was sent on the ship from a women's group in Santo. Field observation also confirmed the active participation of another female CDCCCC member in the distribution.

In Mission Bay women were also engaged in organising food sent from the women in Santo. However, there was no indication from the women that female CDCCC members or women in general play a particularly meaningful role in community decision-making for resilience. In Herald Bay women in the FGD stated that the CDCCCC has two women members and added that one has been living in Port Vila *'a long time.'* Overall these women appeared to be unaware of the specific roles of women on the CDCCC and stated that '*during the cyclone, the men from the CDC went around warning everyone.'* The CDCCC member present in this discussion noted that during the cyclone she did not have a particular role and mainly stayed at home to look after her children. Responses suggest that women on the CDCCC do not seem to be involved in planning or decision-making about resilience. As one FHH noted, *'men from CDC are planning to clear the path to the caves.'* It has been suggested that men in Futuna are increasingly supporting women's decision making for example, through the CDCCC, community gardening groups, village councils, and area councils.[43] However findings from this study suggests there is still a long way to go.

In Dillon's Bay, women play a key role in resilience and helping the community recover from Cyclone Pam (see more below), and according to the Chief, '*some women belong to CDCCC and are very active.'*

In Ipota the only remaining women member on the CDCCC noted that as a woman she faces various challenges to participate in the CDCCC in a meaningful way. She noted that she is not given to the chance to take on any key roles in the Committee and would be happy to take on more responsibility adding, '*sometimes men take control of everything.'* She stated that she tries her best to participate but *'mostly the men talk and I stay quiet. If they ask me to say something I speak. I try to let them know I want to say something for example, when we are talking about an assessment on the other side of the airport and I am doing the same job as the others. I put up my hand and then they let me speak.'* She also shared her views about the general nature of women's limited participation in the community, providing further confirmation of the recent time when women walked out of a meeting. *'Sometimes women can say something but the people running the meetings don't want to hear the women speak. One meeting they didn't let some of the women speak. The men just ignored the women with their hands up so they all got up and walked out.'* She noted that the other woman on the CDCCC is now working at the bank and can no longer be part of the Committee. She stated that she is now the only woman working alongside five men and hopes to have another women join the Committee for solidarity and support noting, *'we haven't talked about getting another member. I need one friend there. It was helpful to have another woman on the Committee.'*

[43] See CCA NGO Consortium Project…

Water Committees

In **Enimah**, the Water Committee is comprised solely of male chiefs from each of the ten areas.[44]

In Ikaukau it would appear that decision-making about water or sanitation infrastructure may not systematically prioritise households such as FHHs. As one FHH noted, *'I was last to get a water tank because other houses have strong men to help build it.'* It is unknown to what extent women were involved in decision-making about the desalination unit - a significant community asset, however as noted previously men were selected to receive training for its maintain and repair.

In Herald Bay men in the FGD men stated that the Water Committee is comprised of selected members of the CDCCC and that the Chair of the Committee is always a man. The Area Secretary noted there is one woman on the Water Committee and she is the Secretary, and that women are involved in decision-making about water. If there is indeed a woman on the Committee, some women are apparently unaware of her role because women in the FGD stated, *'men are on the Water Committee. Women don't know anything about it.'* Women in the FGD noted that they were consulted and agreed about the location of the gravity-fed communal tank.

In Mission Bay women in the FGDs noted that there is a Water Committee, comprised of two or three male members and that should a problem arise several men go to the water source and fix the problem. They noted that they are not involved in decision-making about water because water was not a subject of community discussions. As one woman stated simply, *'we have enough water. We don't really discuss water in the community.'*

In Dillon's Bay a man in the FGD stated *'the Chair of the Water Committee is always a man.'* Women highlighted that some of the Committee members are women and the Peace Corps volunteer stated that there has been no opposition to proposed plans to ensure 50% of the membership on the Water Committee is made up of women. He added that at present the Committee often does not effectively convey information to the women members and is in many other ways generally dysfunctional. During the FGD women stated that their views are taken into consideration during community discussions and decision-making about water. As one women stated, *'the Water Committee does listen to what women want.'* The Area Secretary also noted that women share their views about water and the overall development of the community stating, *'at some point do share their concerns – especially concerning water and ways to develop the community.'*

In Ipota the Water Committee has two female members who hold the positions of Secretary and Treasurer. The Secretary of the Committee stated that the women members were far more dedicated members than the men on the Committee, stating that *'most members don't come to the meetings, only the President and me and the other woman. We are always faithful to attend meetings.'* She noted that once a month there is a meeting to discuss any water issues with the community and only a few women participate in the meetings and discussions tend to be dominated by men. She stated, *'usually men dominate in the meeting. Women sometimes give their views. They sit separately and only a few women say anything – the ones who are brave enough to talk.'* A man in the FGD noted that there is a *'women's representative'* on the Water Committee. It is unknown whether either of the women serve on the Committee in their own capacity or have been elected to represent women's interests in some way. In any case, in light of the comments of the Secretary of the Water Committee it is unlikely that the needs and interests of women in the community are systematically presented or addressed by the Water Committee.

In many communities men generally make decisions about shared household tanks and also tend to be responsible for making decisions about larger community tanks. For example, in Ipota the Secretary of the Water Committee noted that the Air Vanuatu agent maintains the tank and locks it if water is running low. A young men in this community stated that

[44] A Women's Water Committee was established in Enimah when CARE came to install water tanks in July 2015 however the women in the FGD were not clear about the role.

the plumber and Water Committee make decisions about water management in the community. However the Secretary highlighted that decision-making about water is not inclusive and at times the Coordinator makes decisions on his own outside of the Committee structure.

Resilience

In many communities women stated that they are not involved in planning or decision-making for recovery or risk reduction. CARE reported that in the early recovery women were left out of community decision-making and wanted to be more involved in decision-making. Even in CDCCCs that have women members, they were reportedly often left out of decision-making concerning the rebuilding and recovery of their community, which resulted in a sense of frustration and uncertainty among women about next steps. They added that sometimes poor decisions were made about the use of community resources and labour. They also stated that in some cases women felt men were more concerned with rebuilding the community than with helping their own families. The report also notes that many women feel they now have more confidence to advocate for their needs. This view was also emphasised during the FGDs where several women noted their dissatisfaction with the ability of community leaders to listen and respond to the needs and priorities of women in relation to community resilience activities. As one woman in Herald Bay simply stated, '*men don't listen to women's needs.'*

Findings from this study highlight that in many cases it is male leaders and men who are making community decisions about recovery and actions to reduce risk. Men make important decisions affecting community resilience especially when these decisions involve land and potential relocation. The Chief in Ipota stated, *'the community is part of the plan, they are deciding on land to build a safe house for the people. There are plans to relocate the village further up the hill (sea has moved inland).'* Given that community discussions about land are generally considered men's domain and women noted their challenges in speaking during community meetings (particularly in this community), it appears unlikely that women were meaningfully involved in this planning for resilience. In many cases where 'the community' is reportedly involved in planning for recovery or 'building back better', women highlighted that they are generally unable to voice their views. In addition, in order for some communities to move forward and strengthen their overall resilience women have to wait until men and male leaders resolve outstanding land conflicts.

However, some communities such as Dillon's Bay and Ikaukau tell a different story about women's participation in the recovery. The Chief recognizes the important of the women in the community, stating, *'The Women's Association are powerful in the relief activities.'*

A New Government: Women in Dillon's Bay Lead Recovery Efforts

The combined efforts of everyone in the community significantly improve a community's ability to recover from disaster. In Dillon's Bay the Chief stated his great appreciation for women's leadership roles in the recovery stating, *'women are taking up leading roles and are very committed to sharing the roles equally with men.... Women helped a lot in categorising the people in the community in terms of vulnerability, prioritising 47* households that *need assistance. Women helped a lot in this planning.'*

As is the case throughout Vanuatu, family ties and networks within and outside the community are critical factors for resilience for people in Tafea Province. Connection to family in other islands and Port Villa can help people survive difficult times and relatives send food or money to those in need when they can and women play an important role in maintaining these connections. The Women's Association in Dillon's Bay organised fundraising in Port Vila to assist the community after Cyclone Pam, while at the same time planting home and community gardens to secure food for their families. This was an impressive exercise and the Chief noted, *'now it looks like all the women are a government. The women got organized together and sold some food to pay for the freight to send food bought through fundraising in Port Vila. At the same time they were also busy setting up the CARE home and community gardens.'*

4.5 Violence Against Women and Restorative Justice

For this study it was not possible to extract data specific to the communities in Tafea Province from existing national surveys, and equally important, to identify any key differences between the data collected from Tanna and from the outer islands. Given the sensitive nature of this topic and lack of appropriate training and protection measures in place the study did not delve into the personal dimensions of VAW that would fall under the individual or agency aspects of the CARE Women's Empowerment Framework. Data was however collected in relation to the other areas of the framework relating to relations and structures. The following section examines the perceptions of violence generally and more specifically violence against women among different community members are presented, along with views about the safety, security and protection of women and girls; conflict resolution mechanisms and approaches to prevention of VAW, including the roles of the Committees Against Violence Against Women. Study findings related to VAW should only be considered an initial foray into this complex area of women's lives.

4.5.1 Perceptions of Violence and VAW in the Community

Across and within the communities there were varying perceptions among women and men about the extent of VAW in the communities. Given that a relationship had yet to be firmly established between CARE and the community of Enimah, the research team approached this area sensitively and cautiously, particularly in order to avoid any backlash from men and chose to ask questions for men centering mainly on violence in general. Discussions among the young men centred around violence in general. During the FGDs in Enimah young men mentioned they fight with their fathers about custom marriage and fight amongst themselves when drinking and smoking marijuana. One young man noted, *'young men fight between themselves about girls and food, especially when they smoke marijuana because they get hungry.'* They stated that the current scarcity of food makes tempers flare up. Responses suggest a culture of violence among the young men but also an awareness of the need to change and they concluded the FGD by stating that they were pleased to have had the opportunity to share their views. *'We are glad to have CARE come and talk about everything. Maybe it can help us to change our bad behavior.*' Several women in the FGDs noted that violence against women was common. As one woman noted, '*women and men can discuss things but men can hit you if you argue.'* The Women's Church Representative simply stated *'men and women fight. If it is very bad they go to the nakamal.'*

In Ikaukau women expressed varying opinions about the extent of VAW in the community in general and against women in particular. One woman stated *'there is not big violence, only mothers growl at children. We live happily.'* Men in the FGD and the Chief held a similar view stating that there was not a lot of violence in the community or against women and girls. Others however had different perceptions stating that VAW does occur in the community and as one woman noted that *'violence always affects women. Fighting can be arguing and physical and divorce can happen.'* FHHs stated *'there is violence in the home'* and '*I feel bad if a man is beating his wife.'* A young man noted that *'violence happens a lot, especially with parents quarrelling.'* Some men said rape does happen sometimes and *'it can happen within their own family.'* Girls in the FGD stated that *'sometimes mothers and fathers fight'* and *'sometimes men are getting drunk. Young men yell and sometimes fight with words, sometimes fight with hands. We go and see because we want to know what's happening but sometimes we are scared and go and hide.'*

In Herald Bay men in the FGDs generally reported that they *'don't like violence'.* An older man stated that *'if we are involved in violence a lot – we are losing our culture, custom and respect.'* The men recounted two separate cases where men from other islands had changed their previous attitudes and behavior about violence against women after living in Futuna. As one man noted, *'he always beat his wife but changed when he saw that people from Futuna don't do that.'* The added that in both cases the men ended up taking on key roles in the church.

In Mission Bay women and FHHs in the FGD reported relatively low levels of violence in the community and stated there were no cases of rape. One woman stated that *'people argue at home but it is not too bad. Men and women work together.'* One of the FHHs stated *'in Futuna there are small arguments, not big violence like Tanna.'* Girls generally felt

the same, saying, *'sometimes there is fighting between women and men but not too much.'* FHHs reflected on the changing times and fighting, divorce and family break ups associated with violence, stating, *'divorce is happening because of violence and the Chief can't solve it. It is breaking up the family – children are going to live with one of the parents.'* One woman stated that she did not support violence against children saying that *'parents should only talk to them instead of whipping them.'*

In Dillon's Bay women of all ages demonstrated a keen awareness of VAW and the rights-based approach, for example stating *'we know what violence is and know our rights.'* Young women stated that they had attended a VAW workshop and also highlighted their awareness saying, *'we are aware that women have the right to be protected.'* It would appear that awareness about women's rights and VAW among the female population is only part of the picture as a widow in the FGD noted that in relation to VAW, *'men do not respect widows or young girls.'*
Men in the FGD held a range of views and opinions about women's rights and violence. One man linked VAW and increased rights for women and children stating, *'when women are given rights there is more violence and when children are given rights there is more violence.*' Another man stated that serious violence against women has decreased but been replaced by divorce. He stated, *'before a lot of women were killed through violence but now there is more divorce.'* According to one man the definition of violence against women depended on the location of the incident as he noted that *'violence is only about criminal acts outside not within the home.'* Young men in the FGD stated that '*violence is about not living according to the law'* and noted that violence against women is not common in the community but stated '*sometimes it happens.'* They expressed particular concern about the impacts of violence on the upbringing of children stating, *'violence is not a good thing in the home, it doesn't teach kids well. We want a happy home.'* Young men also noted the impacts of violence on their own participation in the wider community stating that boys growing up with violence in the home did not receive good teaching and became less active in the community. Overall the young men acknowledged the need to support women's safety and their rights. As one young man stated *'girls and women shou*ld be *safe – they have rights.'*

The Chief in Dillon's Bay revealed an understanding of both the physical and emotional control aspects of VAW, stating that '*violence is when a man kills his wife or child or when men don't allow women to make their own choices.*' He and the Area Secretary noted that there were not a lot of cases of serious violence in the community. The Peace Corps volunteer however stated, *'there is definitely VAW in the community'* and added that although there is no alcohol in the village, there are still problems associated with home brew. During an interview an older man stated that his attitude and violent behavior towards his wife had changed, saying *'when I was younger I used to hit my wife. I drank kava and alcohol and had too much energy. Now I've changed, I'm more patient.'*

In Ipota young women demonstrated a broader understanding of violence stating, '*violence is disturbing another person's rights. Women, children can be victims of rape, sexual abuse, and emotional violence.*' During the FGD men limited the definition of violence to physical aspects and *'doing damage to somebody to their body or causing death.* A young woman noted that *'there is not much fighting, only small fights between women and men.'* A young man held the same view saying *'there is not much violence between couples in the community'* and the Chief also noted that *'there is not much violence in the community'.* However many other community members held different opinions. Women in the FGD generally agreed that *'there is a lot of vio*lence *against women in the community.'* CAVAW members stated that '*most women in the community experience all different kinds of violence – cutting with a knife, burning someone with fire, hitting with the hand, punching, slapping, throwing stones or kicking.*' The Nurse noted, *'women sometimes come in with swollen faces, maybe about one a month, bruises, cuts, especially around the face from husbands punching them.*' Both CAVAW members and young men in FGD mentioned cases of rape against girls that happened a few years ago. In one situation two boys were involved and in the other one the man was sent to jail in Vila. Women in the FGD and CAVAW members also spoke about the higher levels of violence on the other side of the river with '*men fighting, women fighting, and vio*lence against women *in the home.'* Members of CAVAW confirmed this situation, stating that '*there is a lot of fighting there between women and men there but we don't know why.'* They added that some of the children do not go to school and men spend the small amount of money they have on kava. A widow living on the other side of the river confirmed that fighting took place among her son and his wife. *'I don't like it. I tell her that if he is*

speaking strongly to stand down, not to argue and then he won't hit her.' One man stated his general acceptance of VAW stating, *'men can hit their wife if they have a good reason but not hard'* while another man stated his opposition to VAW stating that '*fighting inside the home is not a good thing.'*

Girls and boys in the FGDs at the school noted their concern about parents fighting in the home. Boys stated '*there is violence in Ipota and violence in the home is not good because it leads to divorce and breakup of the family causes problems for girls and boys*.' Girls specifically noted concern for their mother's well being with one girl stating, '*if our parents fight at home we worry about our mothers and can't concentrate on our studies.'* They also noted the potential impacts of violence in the home on their studies. As one girl stated, '*if parents get divorced it affects our schooling. Parents work together to pay for school fees and if they divorce, maybe the mother can't support her daughter anymore and has to take her out of school. Sometimes she is not sure if she can continue her studies because of this situation*.' During the discussion girls also noted the impact of violence in the home on their own behavior saying '*if their parents are fighting every day, they can get into other activities, misbehave, maybe do something that hurts their mother or father.'*

According to information gathered from CARE, in the days after the cyclone families and communities were under a lot of strain and stress in some cases this resulted in an increase of domestic violence. In other cases women noted that there was in fact a reduction in VAW as men and women pulled together to rebuild their lives. None of the women or men in any of the communities reported any increases in VAW since Cyclone Pam and one woman in Ipota suggested that VAW may have in fact decreased stating, *'after the cyclone there is not a lot of violence – maybe there is even less violence against women now because our energy is spent trying to survive... there is no point in arguing*.' It is important to emphasise that this should not be considered a definitive conclusion about the extent of VAW in the communities during the recovery period.

4.5.2 Causes of Conflict

In Enimah various women stated that asking men to help out with household duties was often a cause of conflict for example stating, *'women asking for help can sometimes end up in fighting'; 'Or they fight if the wife asks the husband to collect firewood and he doesn't want to go' and 'sometimes if you're washing the clothes and you ask your husband to look after the kids he's not happy.'*

In Ikaukau women in the FGDs also reported that arguments in the home usually centred on sharing responsibilities in the home, as well as woman or men having affairs.

In many communities women and men of all ages linked custom marriage arrangements with marital conflict and VAW. In Enimah the Youth Leader noted that custom marriage can lead to conflict in the home, as did the church pastor who stated, *'custom marriage can be a problem sometimes. It is better if people understand each other, go to the same church.'* In Mission Bay a woman in the FGD noted custom marriage as a possible cause of VAW stating *'it is ok but only if the boy is good. If he is bad he might beat her up or go with other girls.'*

In Mission Bay girls stated that fighting in the community often involves land and at times disputes could also involve women. One girl stated, *'sometimes there is violence between men, young men, loud words and fighting about land. Sometimes women are involved in arguments when others try to take over some of their land.'*

In Herald Bay most boys felt that *'violence mostly happens because of cheating'* and expressed concern that *'violence against women causes parents to divorce.'* One boy was of the opinion that both parents shared responsibility for conflict and violence at home and emphasized that women's actions can cause violence. He stated *'violence comes from both sides - it can be the mother's fault, for example if she does not prepare food for the nakamal (for all the men to share).'* The other boys in the discussion generally disagreed with this view and stated *'violence is bad'* and felt that engaging in violence in general had negative outcomes for boys. As one boy noted, *'a boy who is violent won't have any friends, and the more you're involved the easier it is for you to keep doing it.'*

In Ipota women noted a range of issues that initiated domestic disputes and violence including **family planning, affairs and jealousy, money, and household responsibilities.**

- *'A husband can get mad if the wife decides to have the operation (to stop having children) without him. He might go with another woman because he wants to have more kids.'*
- *'Women die from worrying, husbands cheating on them make them sick.'*
- *'We quarrel over money and doing jobs in the home.'*
- *'When it's that time (menstruation) my son helps and in the morning the kids they have to prepare their own breakfast and the rice. My husband also has to help sometimes and he would get angry and complain that he had to prepare food and cook. I explained that God made our bodies like this, to give life and I didn't choose for it to be this way. I explained it to him and now he is better and doesn't get as cross.'*

In Dillon's Bay the Area Secretary noted marital affairs is one of the main causes of conflict, stating '*the main problem is the husband has an affair with another woman*' and added '*so other women are often involved in cases of violence.'*

In Ipota a man in the FGD stated that conflicts are caused by a woman's lack of respect for their husband or his decisions stating, *'conflicts happen when women don't respect their husbands or don't agree with men's decisions.'* Members of CAVAW in this community stated that '*violence can happen anytime'.*

4.5.3 Perceptions about Safety, Security and Protection

During the study women spoke about their general perceptions about safety and security in the community. Although many women noted they felt safe in their homes it is important to highlight that existing data highlights that most cases of sexual abuse and VAW happen in the home and are perpetrated by male family members. The study did not investigate personal experiences of violence against women and girls in the home or community.

In Enimah women in the FGDs noted that they generally feel safe in their own homes, however they reported a number of circumstances where they felt unsafe in the community. They noted that they get nervous walking alone at night or to another village and sometimes they are afraid to go the toilet at night. Women expressed a range of different fears including spirits when someone has died, thieves, and boys who smoke marijuana. They added that they did not feel nervous with their children. One woman with a disability noted that she considered her brother to be one of her main forms of protection. Several men and key informants in Enimah stated that the role of the Chief Security Officer does not relate to protection of community members but mainly involves carrying out the orders of the Chief and ensuring people pay custom fines and beating offenders. As one man noted, *'(Village) security is responsible for carrying out punishment. Like he might make the man give the pig. But the first punishment might be to physically punish the man.'*

In Ikaukau a few girls said that at night sometimes they are scared to go to the toilet or to the garden by themselves. When asked what they were scared of, one girl added *'I'm scared of boys, scared they'll see me.'* Overall, women living with their husbands and children, and girls in the FGD reported feeling safe in the community. As one girl said *'it is good to be a girl here.'* However FHHs, particularly widows in the community, expressed significant concern about their safety both inside and outside the home. In the FGDs they stated *'sometimes I don't feel safe walking alone...I have nobody to*

talk to and then think of my husband.' Others stated *'we feel unsafe because we live by ourselves'* and *'I don't feel safe walking to collect firewood or doing the gardening by myself.'* Fears ranged from *'men chasing me'* to concerns about having an accident while alone. Women and girls stated that the company of others was their main form of protection, as well as communicating plans to family. Woman stated, *'to feel safe we tell husbands where we are going'* and *'I feel safe when my husband is walking with me, sharing responsibilities.'* Girls said they bring along a girl friend when they walk somewhere and that the company of father or brothers make them feel safe. FHHs noted that being with their grandchildren '*walking and telling stories with the them'* put them at ease. Some men see themselves as protectors of women in the community as demonstrated by one man's assertion - *'We protect the women.'*

In Mission Bay and Herald Bay FHHs, specifically widows stated that they feel safe and protected in the community, with many taking great comfort in prayer. As one widow in Herald Bay noted *'prayer is my protection against violence.'* Statements from FHHs in Mission Bay such as, *'I feel safe to walk around'*; '*I feel protected, safe around my grandchildren and believe in God who will protect me'*; and *'Every place is safe. I am only scared of the devil but prayer makes me feel protected'* suggest that women feel relatively safe in this community. In Herald Bay girls in the FGD noted that the principle, the teacher or parents might not believe them if they told them about violence or rape. They also stated that girls might choose to keep a violent incidence with a boy or man secret from their parents because they did not want to worry their parents or might get blamed for getting in the situation in the first place. One girl recounted a previous attack by a man while walking alone one night in Port Vila. The girls knew about her experience and encouraged her to share the story, suggesting an open and supportive peer environment for girls to discuss VAW and girls.

In Dillon's Bay women of all ages related times and places when they were concerned for their safety. During the FGD one woman stated *'sometimes women don't feel safe because they are walking alone, they are afraid of rape.'* Young women said they feel unsafe when they were walking alone to the garden or fishing both in the daytime or nighttime and FHHs stated that on occasion they feel unsafe when they are going to the garden alone or walking at nighttime by themselves to the toilet or to the neighbor. Their fears include '*men walking around that they might harm us'* and *'men taking drugs.'* Widows noted a change in women's safety from earlier times stating, *'before we walked by ourselves and felt safe, now we are scared to walk at night.'* Women in this community also said that the company of family made them feel safe, for example stating, *'we feel protected when children or husband is beside, if he comes with us wherever we want to go'* and FHHs stated they feel safer walking with their grandchildren or dogs. Another woman noted her faith helps her feel safe, stating, *'I pray to God for protection.'* Young women stated that *'to be protected we walk in twos or take our children or husband with us or the dog and use a torch at night.'*

In Ipota women and girls reported feeling different levels of safety and security. One women noted *'I feel safe, no dangers, no robbers except for people stealing food'* and a young woman stated, *'I feel safe everywhere, I'm not worried.'* However many women stated they felt unsafe at different times and places including, '*walking alone at night time', 'in the garden in the day'* and *'at night going to the toilet'*. One woman said she was *'afraid of men, of getting killed or raped.*' One young woman in the FGD stated, *'I'm afraid to walk alone at night. I'm afraid of boys or men because they can rape us, or a killing might take place at night. Also of boys smoking drugs.'* FHHs stated that they are *'afraid of men…we are worried they might come into our homes.'* Some of the girls in the FGD also expressed fears for their safety for example saying, *'I don't feel safe at night when going to the toilet – I'm afraid of the devil'* and *'also of going to special events by ourselves… anything might happen to us.'* One women's concern for her safety clearly constrains her mobility. She stated, *'I stay at home during the daytime so I feel safe. And I don't walk at nighttime.'*

Being in the company of friends and family was most cited as the most common way for women and girls in Ipota to feel safe. Young women stated they *'feel protected walking with family', 'with brothers and sisters'* and *'with friends at night'.* One of the girls stated, *'we feel safe when we walk with our friends or the boarding master. And we feel safe at home around our brothers and sisters'.* FHHs stated '*we feel safe with our grandchildren, telling stories together - they are our protection walking to the garden. Also we feel safe living with family members – we feel someone still cares for us.'* A women in the FGD was one of the few to note that the Chief helped her to feel safe. She stated *'the Chief protects*

people.' A boy in the FGD expressed his concern for women's safety stating *'for the safety of women, widows and girls, for their own security and safety, when they go to the garden they should ask people to come with them.'*

4.5.4 Conflict Resolution

In Enimah women in the FGD women noted that several people and steps would normally be involved in situations involving violence. As one woman noted *'during a serious fight the chief or a neighbor might get involved. The Chief has advisors, a Committee and Secretary who takes minutes. The Chief will say to give a fine - a chicken or pig. The fine goes up if you do it again which normally stops people from doing it again. The village police get involved only once something serious has happened that can't be resolved by the chief.'* The Women's Church Representative confirmed this approach noting that if the fighting is very bad they go to the *nakamal,* the Chief or the church, and the chief will counsel the people and solve the problem. The Chiefs described their main role in the community as follows: *'Our main role is to solve conflicts, especially between boys and girls. I find ways for both parties to agree.'* Chiefs noted that they were able to get support from other chiefs to help mediate if needed. During the FGD men generally agreed that resolving conflict in customary way is the best way to solve problems because the process is easy, equitable and restores respect to different parties. They added, *'Chiefs can penalize in an easy way that is respectful to both parties. He makes it fair.'*

Demonstrating the limitations of the modern way of punishment, the Chief Security Officer in Enimah told the story of a wife with six children whose husband beat her after accusing her of having an affair. She pressed charges and the man went to prison. She asked the chief to get him released and she withdrew the charges expecting him to come back to her. But the man was very angry that he had gone to prison and never went back to her leaving her alone with her children. He concluded by saying *'this way didn't solve anything for the husband or the wife.'*

In Ikaukau women noted that *'small things'* could be solved by the family and that they also used the church to solve problems among husbands and wives. They went on to say*, 'if we cannot control the situation we go to the Chief... And in the end we have to make custom ceremony.'* Men noted that *'young couples fighting is solved by custom. The Chief gives three warnings. The first fine is a chicken, the second is a pig, and the third time the Chief talks to the police (in Tanna).'* Men in the FGD emphasised that the public ceremony of *'saying sorry'* is considered just as important as the fine. In most cases, fair resolutions and restoration of justice and dignity for women involved in cases of VAW are completely dependent on the skills and empathy of Chiefs. One woman stated, *'we talk with the Chief about problems'* highlighting the importance of trust and open lines of communication between women and some Chief. The Chief stated that he handles cases of violence and comments such as *'I give advice to the people'* highlighted his role as conciliator rather than judge.

In Ikaukau women and men in the FGDs noted that cases of rape generally require the involvement of parents. Women stated that parents decide together whether the pursuit of legal remedies for serious issues is warranted. As one woman noted, *'for rape it depends on the parents of the victim – if they want to bring it to the court.'* Young men also stated that the Chief helps to solve problems and parents are involved in situations of rape. Several men mentioned the case a few years ago of younger man raping a young girl. When it happened the parents of the victim pressed charges and the man went to prison. Afterwards the parents asked the chief if he could intervene and a custom ceremony was performed to mend relations. However the girl faces ongoing stigmatization as was apparent in one young man's comment, *'everyone knows and other boys aren't interested in getting married to her.'*

Pregnancy usually has much more serious repercussions for girls than boys. Girls at the school in Herald Bay the FGD stated that relationships with boys are taken very seriously by parents and if they get suspended girls generally receive a much harsher treatment than boys with both fathers and mothers punishing girls. They stated, *'when you come home suspended from school for a relationship – parents whip you with an electric strap or small stick or punch you... Sometimes in Aniwa and Tanna they might chase you with a knife... Boys don't get the same punishment - parents are easier on them.'*

In Herald Bay men in the FGD expressed a strong preference for the Chief's key role in conflict resolution. They did not see the Chief making decisions in isolation and noted that the Chief talks to the community to help solve problems. Men noted that different transgressions such as hitting your wife, cheating or stealing merited different punishments. For example, *'if you punch your wife, the Chief talks to you, tells you not to do it again. You usually don't get a fine.'* Another man stated that *'people are seriously punished only if the person cheated. Smaller things like stealing from the garden is not so bad.'* Men in the FGD were generally opposed to the pursuit of modern legal avenues in cases of VAW. Summarising the views of the group one man stated, *'you should use custom to solve problems…we don't want it to go to law'*. However one older man interviewed separately noted that he was in favour of modern legal means if other approaches could not reached a solution. He stated, *'it is best for the Chief to solve problems. If this doesn't work, it is ok to take it further and use legal ways.'* The Area Secretary noted his support for a step-by-step approach involving a range of parties to resolve conflicts in the home and showed no opposition to either CAVAW or modern legal methods of conflict resolution as a last resort. *'People should go first to the Chief who can sort it out peacefully. They should use the Chief and church leaders for spiritual counseling. And CAVAW should work with the chief and church. The law is the last option.'*

In Mission Bay women also stated that several people and steps were involved to solve conflicts and parties should work together. One woman stated, *'if there is a big fight in the house, the pastor and elders will help to solve it. They will talk to the woman. The church helps first, then the chief.'* They noted that the church does not talk about domestic violence in sermons but speaks to women informally. They also noted that women and men intervene during marital disputes because both believe it is important to stop the fighting. FHHs noted that '*violence between couples should be solved in the family before being brought to the Chief.'* One widow stated*, 'family and church help to solve problems of couples. If the Chief solves the problem he gives them fines to pay to make peace.'* They noted that custom fines are intended to repair relations between the different parties and include pigs, kava, and mats. They added that women are also fined if they were involved in an affair and that fines are also paid to the Chief. One woman noted that if a woman has a problem *'she has the right to go and talk to CAVAW office'* but it is not clear how easy it might be to do this or to receive support using this approach given sentiments about the CAVAW among the Chiefs in Futuna. One woman re-emphasised that VAW required cooperation between the Church and the Chief, who should *'work together'*, while another noted her suppport for the use of legal means to address VAW if needed stating, '*it's ok to use the law in cases of VAW.'*

In Dillon's Bay women in the FGDs stated that *'families solve conflicts.'* Both younger and older women stated that if they cannot solve problems themselves or they get worse they go to Chief. One man in the FGD stated his preference for customary conflict resolution saying *'traditional ways of resolving things that involve the Chief and church is better than modern or legal ways.'* Young men in the discussions tended to agree with this view, with one young man noting that '*violence is only solved by the leadership of the Chief, through giving penalties to the perpetrator such as kava, mat, pig and chicken.'* An older man noted that custom ways were not always sufficient and *'what is serious needs to be brought to the police and the law to reduce criminal acts.'* The Chief noted that traditional methods of resolving conflicts can and should be used to protect vulnerable members of the community. He stated, *'even the custom laws can protect women and children, even people with disabilities and the more vulnerable. They are fundamental ways of respect that value the rights of everyone. The penalty is not expensive according to the traditional ways of resolving conflicts and the judgments are fair for everyone.'* The overall importance of the role of the Chief in solving conflicts in the community suggests that their awareness of VAW, personal competencies and overall leadership skills is essential to be able to effectively protect the rights of women and people in need of protection.

During the KIIs it was apparent that several church leaders in Dillon's Bay take their role of peacemaker and healer of domestic relationships seriously. In particular, the pastors emphasised the need to reach out to the perpetrator, rather than punish him by legal means in order to change his behavior and mend relations. One Pastor noted, '*sending someone to jail can change bad attitudes but sometimes they cannot change. It is better to give love, so he still knows there is someone that respects him. It restores relationships.' 'When there is a conflict, I will be there to counsel, gives support, show love to both people. This might give him the man a chance to learn from his mistake. Modern laws are*

only for the outward appearance, not for within. Only God can change the heart of someone who has committed the criminal act.'

In Ipota women of all ages noted various people and steps that were potentially involved in conflict resolution including chiefs, husband and wives, family members, police and justice authorities in Port Vila, church leaders, and CAVAW. Women and FHHs noted that *'problems are solved in the family first. Then it goes to the Chief to solve the problem.'* The Chief sets custom fines and he stated *'solving violence in custom judgment always follows the seriousness of the problems. I make the decisions. The penalties of violence are solved with mats, pigs and kava.*' Women stated that 'p*arents or any other relatives go and represent the wife to explain her side of things.'* In the FGD and interviews women did not report being dissatisfied with the existing method of conflict resolution, however additional research is needed to ascertain the full extent of women's satisfaction with customary methods of conflict resolution. In this regard one woman stated, *'if women decide they aren't happy with the Chief's decision they have another meeting to try to get a fairer solution.'* Men in the FGD generally supported the Chief's role in conflict resolution. For example, one man noted that '*custom ways of dealing with this is the best way, disciplining the woman or man who commits the violence. Also keeping them apart for a certain amount of time solves the problem for both women and men.'* One of the men added another way men solve marital conflicts – through divorce stating, *'if a woman has hard characters that families dislike – as men we can divorce her.'*

Women and men in the FGDs in Ipota reported that custom methods of conflict resolution were not always sufficient and other steps might be needed. As one woman added that *'if things get worse they send the person to prison in Vila.' A* young man agreed noting that the Chief reports the incident to the police when it is very serious. However this process likely takes time because, as the young women in the FGD noted, there is no police post in Ipota and the Correctional Police Officer's role is mostly just to collect information and '*mostly for example if a young boy is smoking marijuana or fighting he rings the police in Tanna to talk to that boy.'* A young woman added that CAVAW also plays a role stating, *'if it's serious, they report it to CAVAW, to the main lady in Port Narvin, then it goes to Port Vila.'* Women also stated that church leaders also play an important role in preventing and/or reducing VAW. As one woman stated, *'they talk about peace and give advice to people who are fighting which helps a lot.'* Another women noted, *'the Pastor talks about violence against women in the church and with his family.'*

Members of CAVAW noted that they first counsel the women and try to help her solve the situation. After it goes to the Chief CAVAW members will undertake more formal procedures to protect her safety if needed. As one member explained, *'if women have a problem we talk with the person who has the problem to try and help her. If a woman faces a problem, first she goes to the chief. If he doesn't help she goes to the CAVAW. They will write a letter to the Head Office who can help to get a letter to keep the husband away from the wife (restraining order).*'

4.5.5 Prevention

In Enimah several male leaders noted their roles in conflict prevention involved mainly talking to the people involved. One church leader stated *'I go to visit people in their home, especially to talk about married life.'* A male youth leader stated *'If there is a problem between young people I deal with it first. I help to solve most problems before they go to the chief - especially between girlfriend and boyfriend.'* Women in the FGD also mentioned the church's role in preventing conflict, noting that the pastor encourages people not to fight. Men in the FGD noted several deterrents of violence against women including personal restraint among men, warnings about violence in the *nakama*l, and custom fines and punishments. For example one man stated *'during an argument between husband and wife the man must walk away or he will punch the woman'* and one of the chiefs stated *'if the man gets angry he should walk out, cool off and then come back.'* The Village Security Officer stated that he *'advises people about (general) violence at the beginning in the nakamal'* while men in the FGD stated *'if a boy rapes a girl he gets a punishment…they are aware of the penalties and this acts to prevent it from happening.'*

In Herald Bay the majority of the boys placed responsibility for restraint and problem solving squarely on the shoulders of men. As one boy noted, *'Fathers should not fight with the mothers. Fathers should know the problem first, what caused it and must know ways to solve the problem without using vio*lence.*'* One boy noted the importance of communication between couples and religion to reduce violence against women in the home and noted that *'the best solution is to talk and put God before everything.'* In order to prevent a man getting violent with his wife one man suggested that *'if men want to fight with their wives, they* should go *out and do hard work or gardening to get rid of their anger.'*

Data from the Girls Social and Economic Forum (WGE) highlighted that not enough men and boy and leaders are speaking out and working to try and change the rates of sexual and physical violence in the community and the Province. During an interview in Herald Bay an older man reported that he had never heard the Chief talk about violence against women but that he had heard messages delivered in the church and stated that, *'when the AOG preacher says when you fight you go to hell'*. The Area Secretary also noted that church pastors raise the issue of VAW. The boys also reported that they had never heard the Chief say anything about violence against women.
In Dillon's Bay an older man interviewed for the study stated that although he no longer drinks kava and suggested that drinking kava might help to prevent VAW because it makes men sleepy and avoids violence. He stated, *'if you drink (kava) then you come home and go to bed.'* In a similar vein, according to young men one of the best ways to prevent violence more generally involved making wise choices about their activities. *'We mostly drink kava in the evenings. Or watch movies or go fishing or diving, telling stories – these activities bring happiness to us and our families, instead of doing bad activities.'*

Findings from this study revealed that men in Dillon's Bay have a general awareness about CEDAW. Discussions highlighted varying opinions among men about the benefits and drawbacks of the Convention for women. For example, a man noted that *'CEDAW guarantees the laws and rights of women.'* Another man held the view that CEDAW is ultimately not in the best interest of women. He stated, *'since CEDAW it has helped to stop VAW but the opposite is it brings more divorce. Instead of solving the problem for women it makes it worse for them.'* According to the Chief VAW needed to be reduced in multiple ways and stated, '*young men and women should depend on the church and also structures they have in the community so they have good values and feel secure in the community. But we still need assistance.'* Echoing the views of parishioners, church leaders stated that they consider it their responsibility to work with couples and family to prevent or minimize conflicts in the home and *'visit couples before they get married and after they know each other.'*[45] The Pastor expressed his support for increased awareness about rights in general stating that this would benefit the community as a whole, stating, *'we need to have awareness of the rights of children, women and people with disabilities to improve the standard of livelihoods of the people. We need to collect views from everyone in the community. The focus on rights provides a secure environment for everyone in the community.'*

The CAVAWs perform multiple roles and aim to protect women and children by seeking justice, help solve situations of violence against women, and prevent VAW through awareness-raising activities.

In Emimah men expressed strong opposition to any awareness-raising about VAW or women's rights in the community, linking women's right with disrespect towards men. As one man stated *'we don't want women and girls to know about their rights. Girls will take what they learn... they won't be as respectful.'* Another voiced concern that it might influence their ways of solving problems. One of the Chiefs echoed these sentiments expressing his disapproval of the possibility of increased power among women. *'We do not want VAW awareness in the community. Awareness would give power to women and then they start to disrespect men.'*[46]

In Futuna there was an attempt to establish CAVAWs in the beginning of the year the Chiefs prohibited it. As one woman noted, '*people in the community knew about VAW already but CAVAW had to stop because it's against custom and*

[45] The Chief in Dillon's Bay requested a copy of the Gender Analysis report to help him work with the community.
[46] Due to the circumstances and the desire of many community members and key informants to participate in the study a separate FGD was undertaken with the Chiefs. The team conducting the FGD noted that some of the Chiefs may have said more or different things if they had been interviewed separately.

culture.' Another woman added '*they said if women know their rights there will be a big problem.'* The teacher in Herald Bay confirmed this situation stating *'VAW awareness caused a lot of issues. The men don't want women to know their rights.'* Boys in the FGD in Herald Bay further validated this information saying, *'someone from VWC came to talk to us about violence against women and women's rights. They talked to the boys and the girls. They started a group but the Chiefs didn't agree so there is no violence against women group anymore.*' Apart from a few FHHs, women in these communities were generally reticent to discuss the CAVAW and appeared resigned to the decision.

Like their counterparts in Enimah, men in Herald Bay expressed strong opposition to awareness-raising about VAW. As one man said bluntly *'we don't like that the other group came to do awareness about violence against women'* Responses from other members of the community suggest these views reflect some men's personal concerns about possible repercussions as perpetrators of VAW and/or their fear of women gaining power and concerns about women losing 'respect' for men as they begin to exercise their rights. As the Chief noted, '*we know about violence against women because of the awareness by VCW. But there is a strong culture so the Committee wasn't set up. We don't want women to take control of the men.'*

When appropriately conducted awareness-raising and gender training can have a big impact on people's attitudes. The Area Secretary in Herald Bay noted that that he had been to training about VAW *'two or three times in Tanna'*. In addition he stated that the police from Port Vila had come to do a 'Goodwill Tour' that helped to raise awareness about VAW. In his view, *'most of the complaints were from the men who were causing the most trouble and they felt trapped and thought they might not keep their status/positions.*' He also noted that some of the strategies presented during the VAW awareness raising were not appropriate to the context of the community, for example stating that *'the VAW awareness gave people toll free numbers – which isn't much use and people forget everything anyway.'*

CAVAWs have been established in the other communities to address violence against women and girls. A CAVAW was established by the Vanuatu Council of Women in Aniwa and officers from Tanna have gone to each of the communities including Ikaukau to undertake awareness-raising activities. CAVAW is operating in Dillon's Bay and has three women members, including the wife of the Chief and her position in the community gives the Committee a definite advantage. She noted, *'when I speak or other Committee members speak, he (the Chief/my husband) supports me, and he helps the men who might be complaining to understand.'* She added that it is taking time for men in the community to feel comfortable discussing VAW, noting that *'some men are ok hearing about VAW but some aren't.'* Women in the FGD stated that VAW awareness with men is scheduled to take place later in the year.

In Ipota, the CAVAW has recently been established and its five members are beginning to build their knowledge and capacity following recent one week training in July 2015 in Port Narvin. Upon their return the Committee spoke to the Women's Association in August about this training. High-level support is important in the fight to end VAW and members of CAVAW in Ipota were pleased to report that the Chief supports CAVAW and gender equality. There appears to be a fairly open acceptance of talking about VAW in the community and CAVAW members noted that *'most people feel it's ok to talk about VAW.'* One man stated that increasing awareness about VAW helps to make the community safer because '*human rights awareness has influenced the ways of living in the community and it protects women, girls, children.'* A contributing factor may have been awareness-raising sessions carried out by Police several years ago during a Goodwill Tour. Part of the role of CAVAW is procedure-oriented for example writing reports and letters to get a restraining order or child maintenance in the event custom systems prove to be ineffective. However the Committee has also been working to raise awareness and working in cooperation with various members in the community. As one member noted, *'we work with the Chiefs Council, talk about VAW. We encourage the Nurse to help girls and boys with family planning. We work with the churches and the Women's Representative. Everyone should work together to stop VAW. And we have regular contact with the CAVAW Head Office.'* Many women in the FGD generally considered the CAVAW to be a useful addition for women to seek assistance in cases of violence against women. As one woman noted, *'if talking to chief doesn't work, then she talks to the CAVAW lady in Port Narvin and asks her to help fix it.'* After the interview the CAVAW members showed their various posters, brochures, booklets about VAW but given that they community does not have a community hall or women's centre they have nowhere to post the material.

5 Recommendations

CARE recognizes that resilience activities provide an ideal entry point to enhance gender equality and foster women's participation in decision-making. A range of strategies being undertaken by CARE in Tafea Province are making a real difference to many women's lives and include for example: the ongoing support for women and girls active involvement in all of CARE's resilience activities; the establishment of women-led livelihood initiatives; the promotion of gender-balanced CDCCCs; the support and advocacy for women's and girls leadership at community and Provincial levels; and the purposeful targeting and engagement of men and male leaders at various levels to raise awareness and support for women's participation and decision-making in building resilient communities.

Findings from this study indicate that many women and men in the communities are increasingly recognising women's potential contribution to community resilience. However, the research also highlights that continued and targeted support is needed in several communities for men and women to be able to recognise and benefit from the full range of women's knowledge, skills, and capacities for enhanced resilience.

Building on the gender equality impacts of CARE's programs to date the following recommended actions are proposed to strengthen gender equality and women's empowerment in CARE's programming. Recommendations address different aspects of the CARE Women's Empowerment Framework and are grouped according to the eight elements of the Resilience Framework (attached as Annex E) that guide CARE's work in supporting resilient communities in Vanuatu.

General

- Build trust and relationships in communities where there is resistance to women's rights, particularly with Chiefs and male leaders before embarking on any overt awareness-raising activities about gender equality and the rights of women and girls. Ensure men, particularly chiefs and community leaders are fully aware and supportive of all planned activities by CARE, particularly activities that specifically target women and girls.
- Ensure CARE staff have the knowledge, capacity and tools to effectively support, monitor and evaluate women's participation in resilience planning and decision-making.

Resilience Framework

1) Basic Needs Met including Safety and Security

Food Security and Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH)

- Prioritise food and water security overall and especially for pregnant and breastfeeding women, and children under 5 years, ensuring special nutritional needs are met for these groups. Ensure babies and young children receive suitable complementary foods.
- Promote the fair distribution of food in the household and raise awareness in the community about the special nutritional needs of pregnant and breastfeeding women.
- Promote the equitable distribution of workloads in gardening and in the home, including shared responsibilities for cooking, washing and childcare. Promote these messages through agriculture and nutrition training and hygiene promotion that targets men and boys, as well as women and girls.
- Ensure women of all ages have equal opportunities to be meaningfully involved in all governance and technical aspects of WASH.

- Collect gender and age disaggregated quantitative WASH data, especially in communities in Tanna to identify key gender issues.

Shelter

- Ensure women are involved in decision-making about reconstruction priorities and FHHs are prioritized for the construction of houses and kitchens.

Vulnerability Assessment

- Build the capacity of CDCCCs to prioritise households according to need for recovery and future resilience activities. Engage women in the community in these processes to support the development of planning and leadership skills, particularly in cases where women are not active in the CDCCCs.
- Update community profiles with robust and relevant data on key social groups for use in all future planning and activities in the field.

Safety and Security

- Conduct gender and disability assessments in communities in Tanna, and identify safety and security issues for women and girls with disabilities. Discuss findings of the assessment with community leaders and women and men in the community.

2) Diverse Livelihoods and Assets

- Increase awareness among women and men about the importance of diversifying assets and livelihoods to spread risk and ensure all existing and proposed livelihood options for women and men include a multi-hazard risk assessment.
- Provide technical support for sustenance and income-generating livelihood options to both men and women to increase overall family food security and to avoid potential backlash against women's economic empowerment.
- Support livelihood initiatives that decrease rather than increase women's workload, for instance focusing on less labour intensive food production and food preservation once food security has been established.
- Strengthen the organizational development of women's groups focused on livelihood initiatives where there is a stated interest and once household food security and recovery activities are well established.
- Support women's capacity-building in the construction, maintenance and repair of WASH infrastructure, as well as in forestry, and identify opportunities for women to earn incomes using these new skills.
- Consistently engage with and involve women (and men) with disabilities in new and existing livelihood initiatives, taking care to address the specific needs and abilities of individuals.
- Target both women and men for training in household budgeting and financial management and include a focus on women and men's expenditure priorities and women's role in decision-making about household incomes.

3) Fair, Inclusive and Responsive Decision-Making

- Actively promote gender-balanced CDCCCs in all communities along with women's meaningful roles and participation in community decision-making for resilience.
- Support women's planning processes to identify how women's involvement in recovery activities and women-led initiatives can strengthen their participation in wider community decision-making for resilience.
- Promote gender balance, a diversity of roles for women, and women's meaningful participation and decision-making in strengthened WASH Committees.

- Clearly identify the aims of any newly established Women's WASH Committees and ensure consensus among women, men, Chiefs and male leaders about how Women's WASH Committees will collaborate and make decisions with existing Water Committees.
- Support women's meaningful engagement in the development of community development plans and CDCCC workplans and ensure outputs and outcomes clearly define key roles and opportunities for women's leadership.
- Provide equal opportunities for girls to take on leadership roles in youth-targeted climate change and WASH initiatives, including in schools.

4) Access to Traditional and External Information

- Review the hazard and climate-related information and communication needs and constraints of women (and men) together with CDCCCs and identify strategies to increase their access to early warning and climate information.
- Increase knowledge and practical understanding among women and men in the community of the impacts of hazards, global weather patterns and climate change on women's and men's livelihoods.
- Support gender-balanced training of trainers program for youth in key resilience areas.

5) Innovation and Risk Taking

- Introduce agricultural and livestock livelihood innovations for both men and women in order to spread the workload.
- Engage women and men in an analysis of the viability and sustainability of any new livelihood initiatives. Identify markets, distribution channels and potential benefits for and impacts on women and men prior to introducing new income-generating activities.
- Ensure new livelihood initiatives are well-aligned with the short, medium and long term priorities of women, as well as the development plans of the community and island as a whole.

6) Understand and Act on Shocks and Changes

- Support women's meaningfully participation in community hazard mapping and risk assessments of key sustenance and income-generating resources.
- Promote women's participation in community decision-making for hazard mitigation and climate change adaptation measures.
- Actively and regularly promote the wider community benefits of gender balanced resilience structures and women's meaningful participation in decision-making for resilience at community and provincial levels.

7) Internal and External Networks

- Identify male gender advocates of all ages, including key leaders and together discuss the main barriers to women's meaningful participation in decision-making about resilience in the community and at provincial level.
- Build awareness, strengthen advocacy and promote key messages about young women's leadership and meaningful participation in decision-making for resilience in community youth groups, village councils and Youth Councils.

8) Connected and Responsive Government

- Provide opportunities for Women's Area Council Representatives to discuss the resilience needs and priorities of women and girls with their respective wards.
- Identify the enabling and constraining factors that influence the ability of Women's Area Council Representatives to articulate women's needs and priorities to Area Councils and the Province and provide opportunities to increase their engagement in local area, Island and Provincial planning and decision-making for resilience.
- Ensure Provincial officers joining CARE in the field take the time to meet and meaningfully engage with women's Area Council Representatives, women's community representatives, and female youth representatives to discuss women's livelihood and/or WASH needs and priorities.
- Support gender and resilience training for Department of Agriculture and Rural Development interns, Provincial agriculture and fisheries extension officers, and water officers, and promote the practical application of this learning in CARE initiatives.

Annex A Terms of Reference

CARE INTERNATIONAL IN VANUATU
BASELINE GENDER ANALYSIS CONSULTANCY TERMS OF REFERENCE
RESILIENCE PROGRAM, VANUATU
JANUARY 2015

INTRODUCTION

CARE International in Vanuatu is seeking a qualified consultant with technical skills in gender and resilience. The consultant will conduct a community based gender analysis which will inform CARE's current and future projects to ensure that project activities are targeting and adapting their activities to the context of individual communities and islands of CARE's operation.

Gender analysis geographical focus: Aneitym, Aniwa, Erromango, Futuna and Tanna Islands, Tafea Province

Time-frame: February – April 2015

Estimated time for the analysis: 30 working days (with travel between February and March 2015) and final report to be submitted in April 2015

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

Vanuatu is a traditionally male dominated and largely patriarchal society. Men are overwhelmingly the heads of households, are twice as likely as women to be in paid employment and hold the majority of positions of power and decision-making authority within the home and community. In addition to lack of participation in leadership roles and public life generally, women in Vanuatu face high rates of domestic violence and bear the burden of the majority of the household work including caring for children and relatives, and growing the family's food as well.
CARE International has been operational in Vanuatu since 2008 and has been implementing WASH, disaster risk reduction (DRR) and climate change adaptation (CCA) projects. Since 2014 these projects have been complemented by a Women and Girls Empowerment program.

Previous WASH, DRR and CCA projects have been gender-responsive in their design and implementation ensuring both women and men benefit equally from the outcomes. They have also had some positive outcomes for women particularly in the areas of leadership and livelihoods.

To address women and girls' vulnerability and capitalise on the capacity of women, CARE ensures women and girls are central to all resilience program activities. Women's leadership is promoted through and benefits from positions on Community Disaster and Climate Change Committees (CDCCC) and Provincial Disaster Committees (PDC). CARE feels that it is essential that women and girls participate equally in resilience program activities and that their capacities and contribution to community resilience is realized and celebrated by the community. Addressing gender-specific vulnerability within resilience programs can have positive flow on effects to other areas of community life.

Looking forward, we would like to continue to systematically build on and improve the gender equality impacts of CARE's programs to date. Having a holistic gender analysis will inform our ongoing program decision making and provide a basis from which our progress can be measured over time.

PURPOSE

To ensure CARE's programs are responding to the different gender dynamics and context experienced in each community and island, a more in-depth gender analysis is required. The gender analysis will identify factors and barriers impacting on gender equity and women and girls empowerment, identifying where success has been made already and exploring some of the underlying reasons for continued gender inequity in resilience issues to the impacts of natural hazards and climate change.

This consultancy will support the broader resilience program to strengthen its gender sensitivity. The analysis will enable the resilience and women and girls empowerment projects to target and adapt their gender and women and girls empowerment activities to the context of individual communities and islands of Tafea Province. This will strengthen the impact the program has on the empowerment of women and girls and contribute to narrowing the gender divide that Vanuatu society experiences.

SPECIFIC CONSULTANCY OBJECTIVES

The purpose of the consultancy will be as follows:

1) Using the CARE 'Good Practice Framework for Gender Analysis[47]' conduct community based gender assessments to identify the issues men, women, boys and girls face in the areas of division of labour, household decision making, control over productive assets, access of public spaces and services, claiming rights and meaningful participation in public decision making, control over one's body, violence and restorative justice, and aspirations and strategic interests. Analysis should also look include women and girls with a disability. Data must be disaggregated by sex as well as other key variables such as age and disability, and where appropriate factors such as livelihood type.

2) Based on these assessments, develop a gender analysis for each community and island identifying the different roles and responsibilities, access to resources, domestic and traditional law, and legal and cultural issues which affect the resilience of women, girls, men and boys, including people with a disability.

3) Provide recommendations on how to target project activities that will overcome the gender-based cultural barriers that are preventing girls and women from feeling safe, valued and respected and able to meaningful participate in community decision making fora. This will include strategies for the engagement of duty bearers and men/boys. Recommendations on enabling people with a disability to participate in and benefit from the project should also be provided.

Ethical considerations
Consultants must adhere to the following values:
 Inclusion: The selection of research participants should be inclusive of marginalised groups and be mindful of barriers such as gender, age and disability. Consultants should also be aware of the different ways in which children and women express themselves.
 Informed consent: The purposes and processes of the research must be fully explained to participants in a way that they can understand. Participants must be informed of their right to refuse or to withdraw from the research at any time. Verbal or written consent should be obtained without coercion.
 Risks: The risks of involving children and women in the research must be considered. Information that may place participants at risk should be withheld and necessary measures to protect vulnerable people from placing themselves at risk should be taken.
 Confidentiality: Conditional confidentiality should be offered to all participants. Throughout the research data should be kept secure. As a general rule, data should be de-identified and reported information should not be attributable to specific respondents.

CONSULTANCY DELIVERABLES

The output of the consultancy will be a report that includes (but is not limited to) the following:
a) Executive Summary
b) Summary of gender analysis for each community and island
c) Provide recommendations on how to target project activities that will overcome the gender-based cultural barriers that are preventing girls and women from feeling safe, valued and respected and able to meaningful participate in community decision-making fora. This will include strategies for the engagement of duty bearers and men/boys. Recommendations on enabling people with a disability to participate in and benefit from the project should also be provided.

EVALUATION TIMEFRAME

[47] http://pqdl.care.org/gendertoolkit/Resources/Good%20Practices%20Brief.pdf

Indicative timeframes for completion of key milestones (exact number of days per task to be determined in partnership with the successful consultant):

Phase I (Preparation)	
Friday 6 February 2015	Consultancy Advertised
Monday 15 February 2015	Expressions of Interest to be submitted
Wednesday 17 February 2015	Notification of the successful consultant
w/c 23 February 2015	Desk-based analysis and development of analysis frameworks and in-country analysis plan. This will include referring to CARE key resources including the Women's Empowerment Framework, Good practices framework for gender analysis Visa approval processes commenced as required

Phase II (Gender Analysis)	
March 2015	In-country fieldwork, Vanuatu This will include a pre-briefing with the CARE team, the training of enumerators and a session with staff to discuss initial findings
April 2015	Submission of draft analysis report
	Submission of revised and final draft evaluation Report and case study
	Final analysis report received (by 13 April 2015)

CONSULTANT EXPERIENCE

For the duration of the in-country fieldwork, it is proposed that the consultant will be supported by local staff for data collection where needed. Local staff will assist with: providing local context; data collection; translation; connection with local level organizations as needed and any specific delegated tasks. The consultant will be responsible for managing local staff, including a one-day training in any specific tools to be used for the analysis.

The consultant will be expected to have the following skills and experience:

- A master degree or equivalent in international development, applied anthropology, social science, climate change, disaster risk reduction or related field.
- Strong technical and analytical skills in gender, resilience, research and analysis including strong skills in quantitative and qualitative research methods;
- Strong expertise in gender and community-based resilience projects/programs;
- Proven experience in writing high quality reports including evaluation, reviews or research reports for publication;
- High quality communication skills, including the ability to speak and write clearly and effectively; listen to others; and facilitate and encourage participation from others, including in cross-cultural contexts;
- Strong management skills, including the ability to manage time; set and adjust priorities; foresee risks and allow for contingencies;
- Demonstrated knowledge and experience of working in developing countries

EXPRESSIONS OF INTEREST

Expressions of Interest should include:

1. A maximum 2 page statement of capability introducing the assessor/organisation and how the skills and competencies described above are met, using concrete examples
2. Current CV of the consultant
3. One example of a previous evaluation / research article / analysis conducted by the consultant
4. A budget covering major costs for the evaluation or part of the assignment proposed. It is preferred to pay an agreed price for the totality of the work. The total budget for all consultant fees should not exceed AUD 15,000. Reasonable costs for international travel, visa costs, in-country travel, per diem, accommodation and all costs of meetings and evaluation workshops, will be covered directly by CARE. A full quotation should include all of the following:

- Total cost for the scope of work to be undertaken and expected number of days;
- Specific point of departure/return to take up the consultancy; and
- Confirmation of availability to complete the analysis between February – April 2015

Expressions of interest should be submitted to Charlie Damon, Vanuatu Program Manager

Email: Charlie.Damon@careint.org. **Closing date Monday 15 February.**

Shortlisted consultants will be contacted and asked to produce a maximum 2-page outline of the proposed analysis process including proposed methodology for addressing the analysis core areas outlined in the 'Specific Consultancy Objectives of this terms of reference.

FURTHER INFORMATION

Please contact Charlie Damon, Vanuatu Program Manager
Email: Charlie.Damon@careint.org
Tel: +678 22951

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Annex C Summary of Data Collection

Community	Island	Focus Group Discussions	Key Informant Interviews	Semi-structured Interviews	Transect Walks
Enimah	Tanna	• Women (2) • FHHs • Men • Young men • Chiefs (m)	• Pastors (2)- Neil Thomas Ministry (m) • Nurse (m) • Teacher (m) • Youth Representative (m) • Chief Security Officer (m) • President of Presbyterian Women's Church Group (f)	• 1 woman • 1 woman with a disability	• 2 women
Ikaukau	Aniwa	• Women • FHHs • Young Mothers • Girls • Men	• Chief (m) • CDCCC Chair (f) • CDCCC member (f) • Chief Development / member of John Frum (m) • Baptist church leader (m)	• 1 man with a disability • 4 FHHs • 1 elderly man	• 1 FHH • 3 young women (including 2 members of John Frum)
Mission Bay	Futuna	• Women	• CDCCC Rep (m) • Fisheries Rep (m) • Business Rep (m) • Youth Rep (m) • Security/Community Police (m) • Area Councilor (m) • Pastor's wife (f)	• 1 woman • 1 woman with a disability • 1 FHH • 2 girls • 1 elderly man • 1 elderly woman	• 1 woman
Herald Bay	Futuna	• Women • FHHs • Girls • Men • Boys	• Area Secretary (m) • Headmaster/Teacher (m)	• 1 young mother • 1 woman with a disability • 1 widower • Father of children with disabilities	• 1 woman • 1 man
Dillon's Bay	Erromango	• Women • FHHs • Young mothers • Men • Young men	• Chief, Chairman South Erromango Southern Ward Council (m) • Area Secretary, South Erromango (m) • Nurse (m) • Pastors (2 Praise and Worship and Presbyterian) (m) • Wife of Chief and CAVAW member (f) • President Women's Savings and Loan (f)	• I woman • 1 man	• 4 women • 1 man
Ipota	Erromango	• Women • FHHs • Young mothers • Girls • Men (Older) • Boys	• Chairman Chiefs Council (m) • Nurse (m) • Secretary Water Committee, Assistant CDCCC Chair (f) (Martha Yahwo) • 5 members of CAVAW (Violence Against Women Committee (f) • Adventist Women's Representative	• 2 women • 1 FHH • 1 young mother • 1 young man • 1 man	• 1 FHH • 1 woman
Total		28	37	27	16

Annex D Demographic Data for the Selected Communities

Table 1

Demographics (Food Distribution Sept 2015)														
Community	**Island**	**Total population**	**Total number of Households**	**Average household size**	**Total population disaggregated**		**Under 5 years**		**5-17 years**		**18-60 years**		**Over 60 years**	
					F	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**
Enimah	Tanna	38	9	4.2	22	16	3	4	5	7	14	5	0	0
Ikaukau	Aniwa	235	65	3.6	124	111	21	18	36	34	54	51	13	8
Herald Bay	Futuna	321	61	5.2	151	170	15	30	71	77	59	62	6	1
Mission Bay	Futuna	152	34	4.4	73	79	9	6	31	31	27	36	6	6
Ipota	Erromango (North)	487 (494)	106 (98)	4.6 (5)	231 (241)	256 (256)	24 (26)	37 (34)	101 (128)	117 (145)	99 (135)	99 (147)	7 (6)	3 (2)
Dillon's Bay	Erromango (South)	564 (683)	152 (155)	3.7 (4.1)	272 (316)	292 (322)	13 (35)	12 (18)	128 (128)	150 (145)	114 (135)	112 (147)	17 (18)	18 (12)

Notes

1. In Enimah there are only 5 adult men in the community? There are almost three times as many women between 18-60 years than men. There are no women or men over 60 years.
2. In Herald Bay there are twice as many boys as girls under 5 years. The adult population (18-60) in made up of 42% women, compared with 58% men.
3. In Ipota 39% of children under 5 years are girls compared with 61% who are boys. This the main contributing factor to the gender differential in the total population. There are more than twice as many women over 60 years than men.
4. In Ikaukau 62% of people over 60 years are female. Almost 10% of total female population is over 60 years and 7% of the total male population is over 60 years.
5. Herald Bay has the highest average household size of 5.5 people per household while Ikaukau has the lowest with 3.6 people per household.
6. Dillon's Bay and Ipota have slightly fewer girls than boys in the community. Both have 46% girls and 54% boys between the ages of 5-17.
7. In Ipota and Dillon's Bay there is a significant difference in the data from the third and fourth round of food distribution. This may be due to mobility and movement between the islands. There are large increases in the data for children under 5 years for Dillon's Bay and children between 5-17 years for Ipota (see bracketed figures). Household size increased for both communities. An increase in the number of dependents can potentially lead to an increase in women's workload in the home.

Table 2

Female-Headed Households People with Disabilities			
Community	**Island**	**Total Number of FHHs**	**Total Number of People with Disabilities**
Enimah	Tanna	1	N/D
Ikaukau	Aniwa	9	2
Herald Bay	Futuna	5	7
Mission Bay	Futuna	2 (4)	9
Ipota	Erromango (North)	N/D	N/D
Dillon's Bay	Erromango (South)	N/D (19)	N/D (13)

Notes

1. Bracketed figures show data collected during the study.
1. There is no available sex and age disaggregated data of PWDs.
2. There is no available age disaggregated data for FHHs. This is useful to identify younger and older FHHs.
3. The PWD data is not disaggregated by type or severity of disability.
4. It would be useful to identify any FHHs that also contain PWDs and whether the FHH has a disability. At present there is no available data.

Annex E Gender-Response Resilience Framework

- Provincial authorities and Area Councils consult with and respond to the needs and priorities of women and men in the communities for resilient community development
- Women and men of all ages, and particularly those from high risk groups have the capacity and opportunity to articulate priorities to government and service providers
- Provincial authorities and Area Councils consult with and respond to the resilience needs and priorities articulated by Women's Representatives

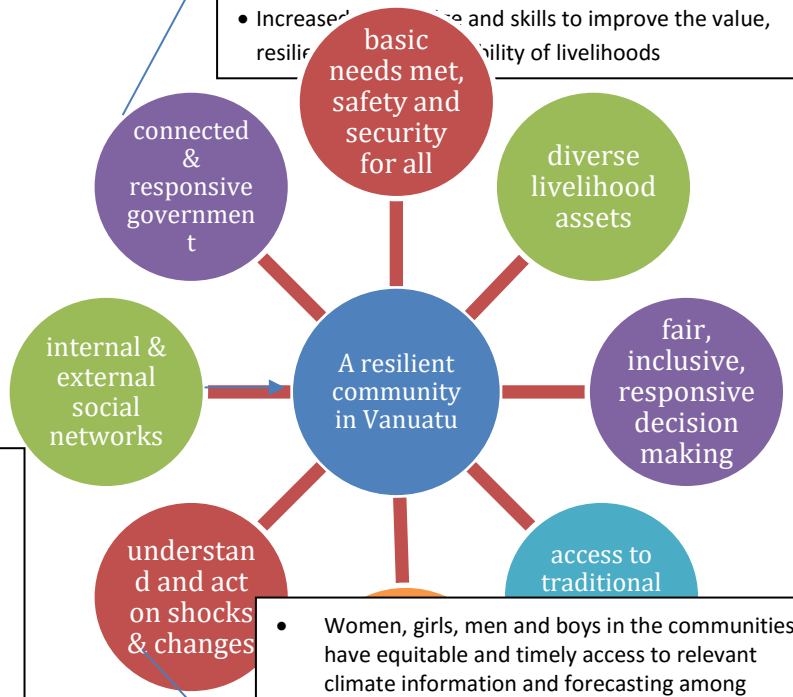
- Male gender advocates, women's representatives, female youth representatives, and CDCCCs and water committees effectively network in support of women's participation in decision-making for resilience
- Young women leaders actively participate in a

- Provincial authorities and extension officers understand and use disaster and climate knowledge to help women and men in the communities plan for, and effectively respond to disasters and climate change
- Women, men, and young people understand and use disaster and climate knowledge and skills to plan and implement household and community responses to reduce disaster risks and adapt to climate change
- Women and men understand the risks of a range of hazards to their sustenance and income-generating resources and take action to reduce their risks

- Women, men, girls and boys, including people with disabilities have improved and equitable access to nutritious food; safe water, sanitation and hygiene; shelter; and safety and security
- Reduced workload for women, particularly FHHs, to meet basic needs

ng women
d income

- Increased e and skills to improve the value, resili ility of livelihoods



- Increased confidence, skills and opportunities among women and girls to meaningfully participate in resilience planning and decision-making in homes, schools and communities and at provincial level
- Equitable representation and meaningful participation and decision-making by women in community resilience structures (ie CDCCCs and Water Committees)
- Inclusive decision-making for resilience that considers the needs and priorities of women and men of all ages, people with disabilities and groups with particular risks (FHHs and young mothers)

- Women, girls, men and boys in the communities have equitable and timely access to relevant climate information and forecasting among

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their

- Women and men in the communities have the knowledge, capacity and willingness to innovate and take risks to increase the resilience of livelihoods