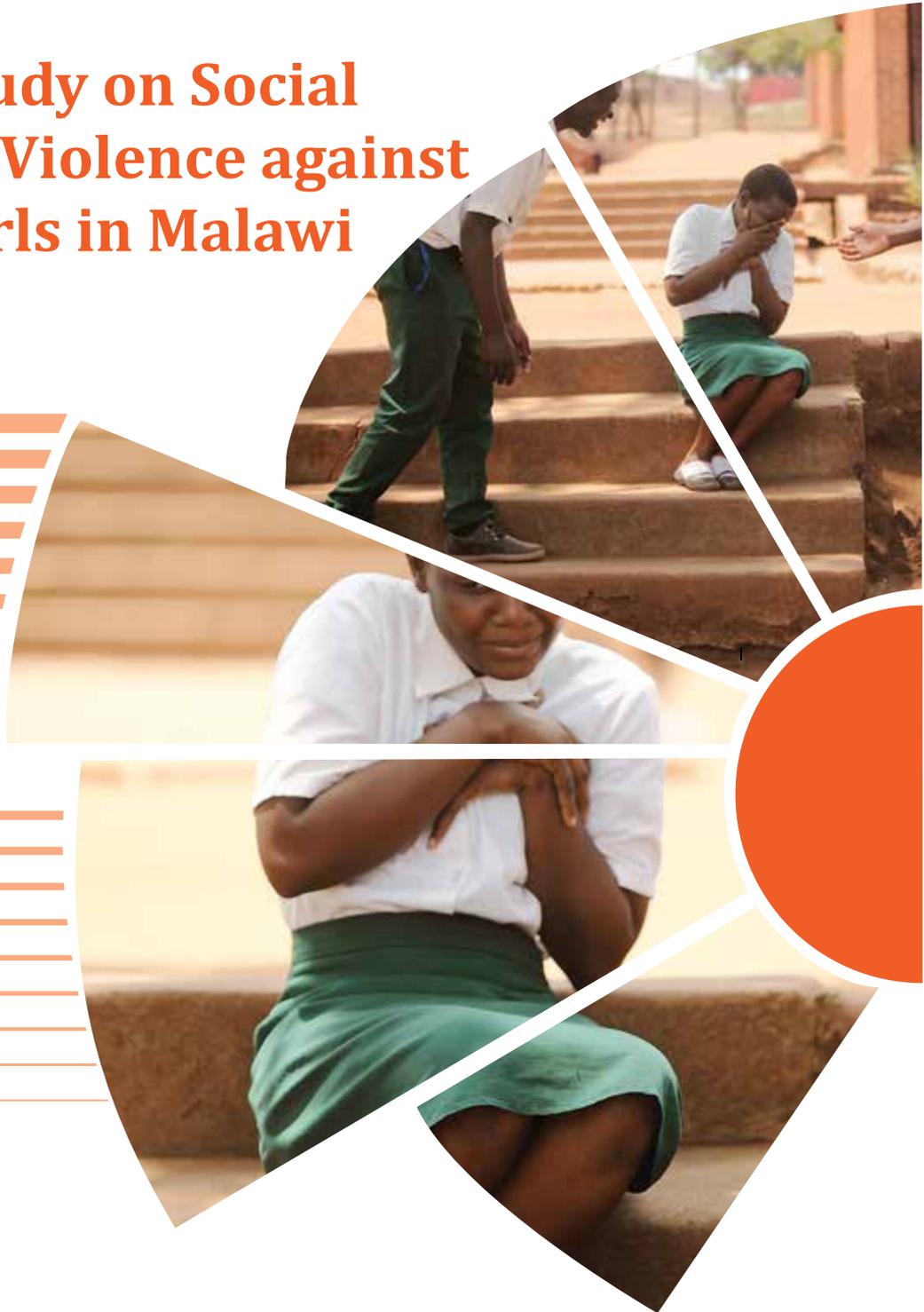


Perceptions Study on Social Norms around Violence against Women and Girls in Malawi



**FINAL REPORT
SEPTEMBER 2018**



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Acronyms

CEFM	Child, Early, and Forced Marriage
EVAW	Ending Violence Against Women and Girls
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
FPI	Flagship Programme Initiative
GII	Gender Inequality Index
KAP	Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practices
MDHS	Malawi Demographic and Health Survey
MGCSWD	Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability & Social Welfare
MWK	Malawi Kwacha
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
UN	United Nations
UNDAF	United Nations Development Assistance Framework
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
USD	United States Dollars
VACS	Violence Against Children Survey
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
WEP	Women’s Empowerment Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

Key Terms

Behaviours¹	Behaviours are what someone actually does.
Attitudes²	An attitude is a tendency to evaluate something (a person, symbol, belief, object) with some degree of favour or disfavor.
Reference groups^{3,4}	Reference groups are those people whose opinions matter to an individual's decision about how to act and what to believe. Reference groups can shift depending upon the issue.
Social norms⁵	Social norms are widely held beliefs about what is typical and appropriate in a reference group. Social norms are shared beliefs about others. This includes a) beliefs about what others in a group 'actually do' (what is typical behaviour) and b) what others in a group think others 'ought to do' (what is appropriate behaviour). These beliefs shape the 'social expectations' within a group of people. Social norm may or may not be based on accurate beliefs about attitudes and behaviours of others.
Violence against women⁶	Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) is a gross violation of human rights and a global public health problem of epidemic proportion. VAWG manifests in various forms of physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence that occur in public and private spaces. VAWG undermines the mental and physical health and well-being of women and girls and can have a negative impact on their long-term sense of safety, stability, and peace⁷. VAWG also has serious implications for the development and advancement of women and girls, and their contribution to the economy and national development⁸.

Violence against women is “any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.”

Source: 1993 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women

Globally, World Health Organization (WHO) data estimates that 1 out of 3 women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by a partner, or sexual violence by a non-partner in their lifetime⁹. In addition, the 2014 United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) study, *Hidden in Plain Sight*,¹⁰ estimates that globally, 120 million girls under 20 years of age (about 1 in 10 girls) have been subjected to forced sexual intercourse or other forced sexual acts. Globally, millions of more women and girls are estimated to be exploited in prostitution and pornography each year, most of the time deceived and/or forced into sexual exploitation with false promises by human traffickers. Also, child, early, and forced marriage (CEFM) and other forms of harmful practices, such as female genital mutilation/cutting (FGM/C), constitute and contribute to VAWG.

Women and girls located at the margins, due to their intersectional identities, are at increased risk of social and economic discrimination and violence due to their marginalized status within communities and societies. Marginalized women include asylum seekers, refugees, internally displaced persons, documented and undocumented migrant women, ethnic minority and indigenous women, women living in disaster or conflict affected areas, elderly women, women with disabilities, and women with HIV/AIDS, among others.¹¹ Because of their intersectional identities, women and girls at the margins have fewer opportunities to access support services, protection, and justice when they experience VAWG.

There is no single factor that causes VAWG; rather VAWG is caused by a combination of elements operating at different levels of the ‘social ecology’ that perpetuates and reinforces gender discriminatory and biased attitudes, norms, and practices that contribute to the pervasive imbalance of power that exists between men and women within societies.¹²

These elements include:¹³

- Individual factors - person’s attitudes or beliefs that condone VAWG, and a person’s developmental history, agency, aspirations, and self-efficacy^{14, 15}
- Social factors - person’s social relationships and household dynamics, and harmful social and gender norms.¹⁶
- Material factors - household poverty and lack of economic opportunities for women and girls, and weak infrastructure.
- Structural forces or macro-level factors - conflict, weak or discriminatory legal and institutional frameworks, racism, rules about who can own and inherit property, and gender ideologies¹⁷ that underpin gendered differences in power and social status that affects realities at all the other levels.¹⁸

VAWG programming has focused on addressing individual, material, and structural factors. Empowerment programmes have focused on expanding the aspirations of women and girls and building their agency (individual level), establishing savings and loans groups (material), and advocating for change to discriminatory and punitive laws and introducing new laws that protect women and girls (structural). Less common has been interventions that focus on social norms and social change. Evidence-based programming suggests that sustained prevention of VAWG requires addressing social norms that hinder women and girls’ rights and perpetuates gender imbalances and VAWG.

Background to this Study

Ending violence against women and girls (EVAW) is a priority area in UN Women Malawi's Country Strategic Note 2018-2022). This priority area is aligned with UN Women's Global Strategic Plan 2018-2021 and the United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) for Malawi 2019-2023, and aims to contribute to the gender-responsive implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.¹⁹ The Root Cause Analysis conducted as part of the Common Country Assessment for the UNDAF for Malawi 2019-2023 identified stigma, discrimination and VAWG among the major human rights challenges facing Malawi, and factors such as early marriage, harmful traditional practices, religious beliefs, low levels of literacy, and low economic status of women as major factors contributing to VAWG.²⁰

UN Women Malawi is implementing the Women's Empowerment Programme (WEP) 2018-2021²¹ with the aim of ensuring that women and girls enjoy their full rights and positively contribute to, and benefit from social, economic, and political development in Malawi. The WEP 2018-2021 consists of three thematic components, one of which is EVAW. The EVAW thematic area is aligned with Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5: Achieve Gender Equality and Empower Women and Girls and UN Women's Flagship Programme Initiative (FPI), particularly Strategic Impact Area 3: Prevention and Elimination of VAWG with a focus on prevention and access to essential services for EVAW.

In the framework of the WEP 2018-2021, UN Women Malawi joint with the Government of Malawi²² and civil society partners has agreed to conduct this *Perceptions Study on Social Norms around Violence against Women and Girls* (hereinafter referred to as the *Perceptions Study on Social Norms*). This *Perceptions Study on Social Norms* will serve as a baseline study for the EVAW thematic component of the WEP 2018-2021. In Data and findings from this study will be used to develop a better understanding of the social norms, attitudes, and behaviours that hinder women and girls' rights and perpetuate gender imbalances and VAWG in Malawi²³.

The Power of Social Norms

"Social psychologists recognize the powerful influence of social group identity on individual attitudes and behaviours."²⁴ In general, individuals strive to belong and to 'fit in' with relevant social groups, and in doing so, individuals adopt and conform to the social norms of the group.²⁵ In some cases, individuals face pressure to conform to the social norms of a social group, and social groups sanction members who deviate from the groups' social norms and standards.²⁶ Sanctioning typically occurs through shaming, shunning and ostracism.²⁷

Conformity to the social norms and standards of a social group is "not a human weakness to be overcome, but a basic feature of human psychology that can motivate outcomes that are both prosocial and anti-social."²⁸ Given this reality, it is important to understand the power of social norms, which reach into all corners of people's public and private lives every day. Social norms reach even further than state-based laws because any member of a social group can enforce the group's social norms, and the resources to enforce social norms are unlimited²⁹. Bear in mind, however, individuals may conform to social norms in their external behaviours, but privately disagree with the social norm (hold attitudes that contradict the social norms)³⁰.

Power of Social Norms Related to VAWG

A man's perception that men in his community do not hit their wives is likely to constrain him from abusing his own wife; if he were to hit abuse his wife he might invite community disapproval or isolation. Social norms do not only work to constrain behaviour, but also license behaviour. The perception that rape is common in a man's community might license him to force his wife to have sex with him, with the understanding that he will not experience any social sanctions. He might even experience social approval for taking sex from his wife, even if through force. This example demonstrates how positive and negative behaviours are enforced through social norms and such constraining and licensing forces of social sanctioning.

Source: Paluck, E.L. & L. Bell (2010). Social norms marking aimed at gender-based violence: A literature review and critical assessment. International Rescue Committee, p. 9.

Alexander-Scott, Bell and Holden³¹ offer a review of the important components of social norms. Although there are many definitions of social norms from a range of theoretical perspectives and academic disciplines, there is general agreement that social norms have three important components:³²

- 1) **Social norms are shared beliefs about others.** This includes: a) beliefs about what others in a group *‘actually do’* (what is typical behaviour and b) what others in a group think others *‘ought to do’* (what is appropriate behaviour)? These beliefs shape the *‘social expectations’* within a group of people.

Because social norms are shared beliefs about others, these beliefs can sometimes be incorrect.³³ On the one hand, people may mistakenly think behaviours are more typical than they are. On the other hand, a majority of a group may privately reject a behaviour but, adhere to the behaviour because they incorrectly assume everybody else thinks it is appropriate (referred to as *pluralistic ignorance*).^{34,35} In social psychology, *pluralistic ignorance* is where the majority disapproves of a behaviour but assumes everyone else approves of the behaviour (the failure of individuals to recognize that others in the social group privately disagree with the perceived social norm). Pluralistic ignorance can account for why dysfunctional group behaviours, such as VAWG, are sustained over time when individuals do not realize the extent of private support for overturning the social norm.³⁶ Pluralistic ignorance can account for the endurance of customs that harm individuals, such as FGM/C, even after many individuals in the social group are convinced of that the practice is harmful to girls and women.³⁷

- 2) **Social norms exist within reference groups.** A ‘reference group’ or ‘reference network’ is the group of people important to an individual when they are making decisions.³⁸ It is important to note that the reference group may be dispersed and distant, rather than concentrated and located in physical proximity to the individual making the decision.

- 3) **Social norms are maintained, in part, by approval and disapproval within the reference group.** Persons who violate social expectation within a reference group are likely to be sanctioned or punished by the group, whereas persons who comply with social norms may be rewarded. Sanctions can range from direct punishment to loss of opportunities via ostracism.^{39,40} The desire to conform to social expectations of a reference group, and the implicit or explicit threat of sanctions, means social norms can be more persuasive and significant in some situations than other factors, such as the threat of more formal punishment by the State. It also means that norms to comply with certain expected behaviours can override legal prohibitions. For example, intimate partner violence is still common in many countries where the practice is illegal.

‘Social norms’ are widely held beliefs about what is typical and appropriate in a reference group. Social norms may or may not be based on accurate beliefs about attitudes and behaviours of others. Social norms a rule of behaviour that people in a group conform to because they believe:

- a) Most other people in the group conform to it (it is typical behaviour) AND
- b) Most other people in the group believe they ought to conform to it (it is appropriate behaviour)

Source: Alexander-Scott, M., E. Bell & J. Holden (2016). *DFID Guidance Notes: Shifting Social Norms to Tackle Violence Against Women and Girls*. London: VAW Helpdesk, p. 9-11.

It is important to understand that social norms are distinct from individual’s personal beliefs and attitudes. This is because an individual may hold personal beliefs and attitudes that differ from the social norms of the social group. For instance, an individual may hold personal beliefs about VAWG (e.g., that a country develops when establishing laws that protect women and children and against domestic violence), or have private attitudes that do not support wife abuse (e.g., beliefs that a husband does not have the right to hit or beat his wife and/or children), but these beliefs and attitudes may conflict with the social norms that individual perceives in his local community (e.g., men should use violence to discipline and control their wives and children, particularly for behaviours that transgress behavioural expectations of women and girls).⁴¹

Bear in mind, social norms are only perceptions of a group’s typical or desired behaviour; yet, individuals do not base their ideas about social norms on representative opinion surveys of what is truly desirable for their group; therefore, individuals often misperceive social norms, and their perceptions of the groups social norms may be “exaggerated, outdated, or plain wrong.”⁴² Still, however, incorrectly perceived social norms can have a strong effect on individual’s attitudes and behaviours, because it is the perception of the social norm that influences attitudes and behaviours.⁴³ This is why this *Perceptions Study of Social Norms* is important, as it will be used to develop a better understanding of the social norms, attitudes, and behaviours that hinder women and girls’ rights and perpetuate gender imbalances and VAWG in Malawi.

Distinguishing Among Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours

It is important to recognize the difference between social norms, personal attitudes, and behaviours as they are the focus of this study. **Social norms** are those widely held beliefs about what is typical and appropriate in a reference group; beliefs about what other people think should be done. Social norms may or may not be based on accurate beliefs about attitudes and behaviours of others.⁴⁴ In comparison, **behaviours** are what someone actually does. Although beliefs and behaviours are linked, it is often a social norm that will influence a behaviour and a behaviour can influence a social norm.⁴⁵ While a social norm is a shared belief, a **personal attitude** is a “tendency to evaluate something (a person, symbol, belief, object) with some degree of favour or disfavor.”⁴⁶ Personal attitudes are unlikely to direct behaviour for the majority of people in a reference group, particularly when social norms contradict the attitude⁴⁷. While social norms, personal attitudes, and behaviours are not mutually exclusive, they often reinforce each other. In particular, over time, what an individual does because of social norms (social expectations) can become internalized and adhered to because of internal motivations, regardless of what others think.⁴⁸

Situational Analysis of Women and Girls in Malawi

Malawi is a small landlocked low-income developing country in Southern Africa with an estimated population of 17.3 million people. Females constitute 52% of the population of Malawi. Although the Constitution of the Republic of Malawi adopted in 1994, and amended in 2010, provides for gender equality between men and women, women and girls experience many obstacles and barriers that perpetuate gender disparities and produce gender inequalities in the division of power, participation and control over resources and decision-making processes, which leave most Malawian women’s disadvantages in many aspects of socioeconomic, legal, and political life.⁴⁹

The Gender Equality Act of 2013 also promotes gender equality, equal integration, influence, empowerment, dignity, and opportunities for men and women in all functions of society, and prohibits and provides redress for sex discrimination, harmful practices, and sexual harassment.

Gender discrimination is the most pervasive form of bias and the costliest in terms of impact on sustainable development and achievement of human rights in Malawi.⁵⁰ On the Gender Inequality Index (GII),⁵¹ Malawi scores high (0.614) on gender inequality.⁵² The low score is mainly attributed to negative social norms and discriminatory practices, resulting in low levels of representation in policies and the economy with 93% of women in unpaid labour compared to 79% of men. Ending gender discrimination

and empowering women and girls are important to Malawi’s achievement of national goals and the SDGs.^{53,54}

In Malawi, gender discrimination and VAWG is widespread and widely acknowledged as a significant human rights challenge.^{55,56} The Malawi Demographic Health Survey (MDHS) has been conducted three times over the past 14 years and has documented women’s experiences with gender discrimination and domestic violence, and attitudes toward wife beating. In addition, in 2013, a National Survey of Violence against Children and Youth Women in Malawi was conducted (hereinafter referred to as the 2013 VACS). Findings from the 2004 MDHS, 2010 MDHS, and 2015-2016 MDHS studies are discussed in the sections that follow.

Chapter 3, Section 13 of the Constitution of the Republic of Malawi maintains “the State shall actively promote the welfare and development of the people of Malawi by progressively adopting and implementing policies and legislation aimed at achieving the goals of gender equality. To obtain (a) gender equality through the (iii) implementation of policies to address social issues such as domestic violence, security of the person, lack of maternity benefits, economic exploitation and rights to property.”

Source: Retrieved on 10 June from: <http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en/countries/africa/malawi>

Age at First Marriage. Women tend to marry considerably earlier than men in Malawi. The 2015-2016 MDHS found the median age at first marriage is 18.2 years among women aged 25-49 years (up from 17.8 years in 1992), compared to 23 years among men age 25-49 years. For men age 25-54 years, the median age at first marriage remained essentially unchanged between 1992 and 2015-16 (23.5 years and 23.0 years respectively).⁵⁸

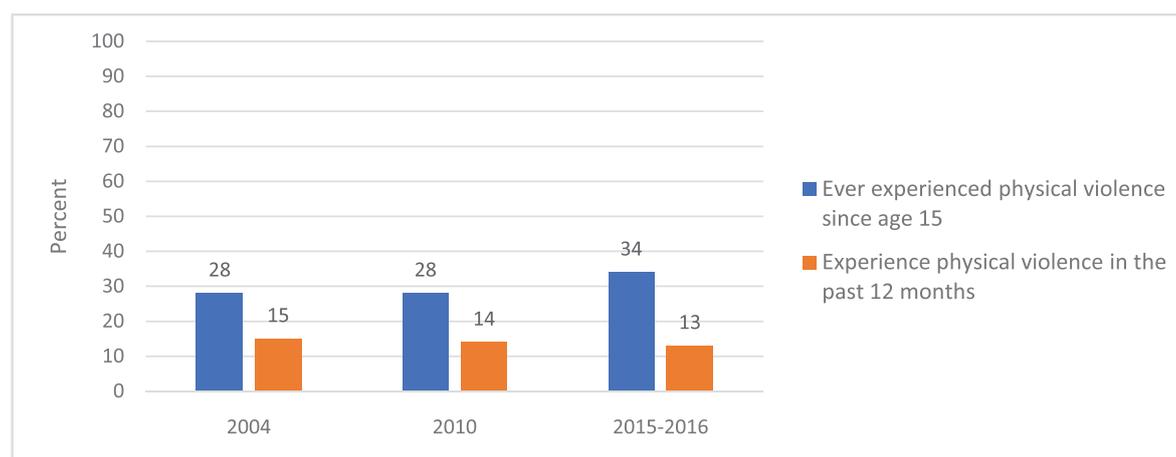
Most notable is that 47% of women married before their 18th birthday (down from 52% in 1992); whereas, only 8% of men married at such a young age.⁵⁹ Urban women tend to marry later than rural women (19.7 years versus 18.0 years respectively, 1.7 years older among urban women than rural women). Regional variations indicate that women in the Central region marry at a slightly older age than women in the Southern and Northern regions.⁶⁰

Polygamy. The 2015-2016 MDHS found that 13% of women reported that their husband or partner has other wives (down from 20% in 1992), while the percentage of men who reported multiple wives was about half that of women (7%, down from 9% in 1992). Women living in rural areas were nearly three times more likely to report co-wives (14%), compared to women living in urban areas (5%). Women in the Northern region (18%) reported the highest percentage of co-wives, compared to women in the Southern region (11%).⁶¹

Women's Experience of Physical Violence since Age 15. According to the 2015-2016 MDHS, 34% of women age 15-49 years, ever experienced physical violence since age 15, and 13% experienced such violence in the 12 months preceding the survey. Similarly, the 2010 MDHS and 2004 found that 28% of women age 15-49 years experienced physical violence since age 15, and 14% of women in 2010 and 15% in 2004 experienced physical violence in the 12 months preceding the survey. Chart 1 reveals there has been little change over time (from 2004 to 2016) in women's experience with physical violence since age 15 years.

If current prevalence rates are significantly lower than lifetime prevalence rates it may demonstrate the positive impact of EAW initiatives; whereas, if current prevalence rates remain high in relation to lifetime prevalence rates it can demonstrate the need for more effective EAW policies and initiatives.

Chart 1. Women's experience of physical violence in Malawi (2004, 2010, 2015-2016)



Sources: 2004 MDHS, 2010 MDHS, and 2015-2016 MDHS

The 2004 MDHS and 2015-2016 MDHS asked women age 15-49 years who have ever been pregnant whether they experienced physical violence during a pregnancy. Both the 2004 MDHS and 2015-2016 MDHS found that 5% of women who were ever-pregnant reported they experienced violence during pregnancy in the. Violence during pregnancy can have serious consequences for the health of women and their unborn children.⁶²

It is notable that the 2015-2016 MDHS found that 23% of never-married women ever experienced physical violence since age 15, whereas 47% of divorced/separated/widowed women and 35% of married women/women living with a partner experienced physical violence since age 15.

Gender and Education

- 39% of women and 58% of men completed primary school
- 27% of women and 32% of men completed secondary schooling
- 59% of women are literate, compared to 73% of men

Source: UN Women. Women's Empowerment Programme (WEP), Dec 2017-Dec 2020, p. 5.

The 2015-2016 MDHS found small variations in women's experiences of physical violence by urban-rural residence and by region (Northern, Central, Southern). In particular, 38% of urban women ever experienced physical violence since age 15, compared with 33% of rural women. By region, a higher percentage of women in the Northern region (40%) experienced physical violence than women in the Central (33%) and Southern (34%) regions.⁶³

Among all women aged 15-49 who experienced physical violence since age 15, the 2015-2016 MDHS found that nearly half (46%) reported current husbands were the perpetrators of the violence, and 26% reported former husbands were the perpetrators. The 2015-2016 MDHS found that among ever-married women, 53% reported their current husbands were the perpetrators of the physical violence, and 31% reported former husbands as perpetrators. For never-married women, nearly all reported perpetrators were family members that included mothers/step-mothers, fathers/step-fathers, sisters or brothers, and other relatives. Only 6% of never-married women reported the perpetrator of physical violence was a current boyfriend and 6% identified a teacher as the perpetrator.⁶⁴

Girls' Experience of Physical Violence in Childhood. The 2013 VACS found among females age 18-24 years, 42% experienced physical abuse prior to 18 year of age, with 52% of victims experiencing their first incident of physical abuse between 6 and 11 years. Among those who experienced childhood physical abuse, 79% experienced multiple incidents of physical abuse.⁶⁵ Among females age 13-17 years, 41% experienced physical abuse in the past 12 months, with 83% of victims experiencing multiple incidents.⁶⁶

Among female victims age 18-24 years, 24% reported childhood physical abuse by a parent/adult relative, 17% by a childhood peer, and 17% an adult community member.⁶⁷ In comparison, among female victims age 13-17 years, 21% reported physical abuse by an adult community member, 21% by a parent/adult relative, and 19% by a peer.⁶⁸

Among female victims age 18-24 years who experienced childhood physical abuse, 20% experienced physical injury as a result of the abuse and 17% reported missing school as a result of the physical abuse.⁶⁹ Among female victims age 13-17 years, 16% reported a physical injury as a result of abuse.⁷⁰

Women's Experience of Sexual Violence since Age 15. According to the 2015-2016 MDHS, 20% of women age 15-49 years, ever experienced sexual violence, and 14% experienced sexual violence in the 12 months preceding the survey. In comparison, the 2010 MDHS found that 25% of all women age 15-49 years, ever experienced sexual violence.⁷¹ The 2015-2016 MDHS found that overall, 8% of women reported they first experienced sexual violence before 22 years of age, including 4% who experienced sexual violence before 18 years of age. Similar data is not available in the 2004 MDHS.

The 2015-2016 MDHS also found that urban women (17%) were somewhat less likely than rural women (21%) to experience sexual violence. By region, sexual violence is somewhat more common in the Central region (25%) than in the Northern (21%) and Southern (17%) regions.

Among ever-married women, the 2015-2016 MDHS found that 63% of women age 15-49 years who experienced sexual violence reported their current husband was the perpetrator, and 31% reported a former husband was the perpetrator of the sexual violence. Only 5% of ever-married women mentioned strangers as perpetrators of sexual violence. Among never-married women, 38% reported a current or former boyfriend was most often the perpetrator, whereas 22% reported the perpetrator was a stranger and 18% reported a friend or acquaintance was the perpetrator of sexual violence.⁷²

The 2015-2016 MDHS also found experiences of sexual violence varied from a high of 23% among Seventh Day Adventist/Baptist women to a low of 14% among women in the 'other' Christian category. By ethnicity, Sena women (11%) were least likely and Ngoni women (25%) were most likely to experience sexual violence.

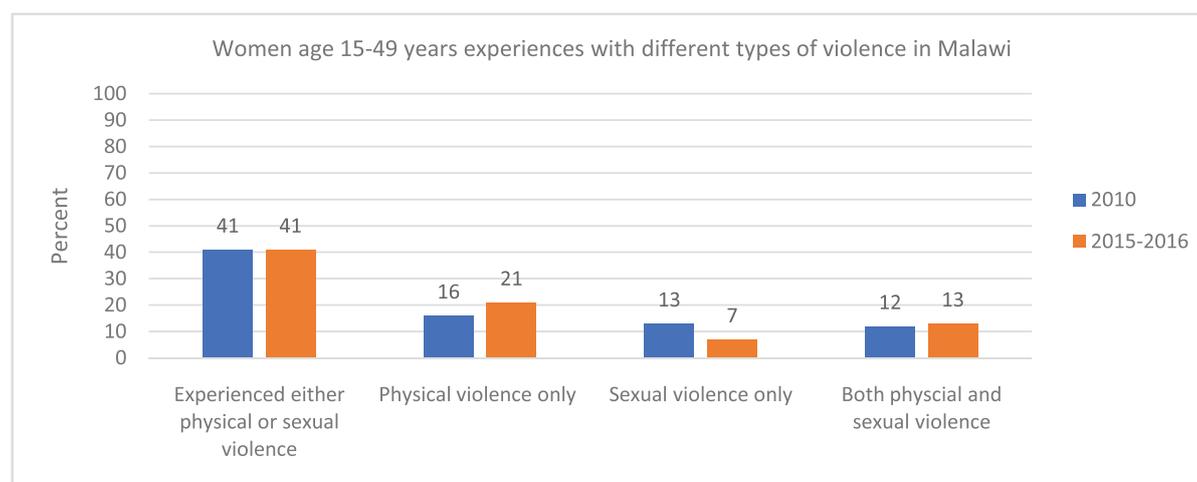
Girls' Experience of Sexual Abuse in Childhood. The 2013 VACS found among females age 18-24 years, 22% experienced sexual abuse prior to the age of 18 years, with 68% of female victims experiencing multiple incidents of sexual abuse. The average age for the first incident of sexual abuse was 14.3 years.⁷³ Among females age 13-17 years, 23% experienced sexual abuse in the 12 months prior to the survey, with 76% of female victims experiencing multiple incidents of sexual abuse. The average age of the first incident of sexual abuse was 13.5 years.⁷⁴

Among females age 18-24 years, the perpetrator of sexual abuse was often a spouse, boyfriend or romantic partner (33%), followed by a classmate/schoolmate (16%). Forty-nine percent of victims reported their perpetrator was perceived to be 5 or more years older.⁷⁵ Among females age 13-17 years, the perpetrator was often a classmate/school mate (32%), followed by a boyfriend, romantic partner or spouse (26%). Twenty-seven percent of victims reported the perpetrator was perceived to be 5 or more years older.⁷⁶

Girls' Experience of Emotional Violence in Childhood. Twenty percent of females' age 18-24 years reported experiencing emotional violence in childhood, with 85% experiencing emotional violence on multiple occasions and 64% experiencing their first incident of emotional violence between 12 and 17 years of age. Twenty-three percent of females' age 13-17 years reported experiencing emotional violence in the past 12 months, with 83% of victims experiencing emotional violence on multiple occasions and 72% experienced their first incident of emotional violence between 12 and 17 years of age. Perpetrators of childhood emotional violence were most frequently parents, aunts or uncles.⁷⁷

Women's Experience of Different Forms of Violence since Age 15. Physical and sexual violence may not occur in isolation; rather, women may experience a combination of different forms of violence.⁷⁸ The 2010 MDHS and 2015-2016 MDHS found that 41% of women experienced either physical or sexual violence (see Chart 2). 2015-2016 MDHS found that 21% of women experienced physical violence only, 7% experienced sexual violence only, and 13% experienced both physical and sexual violence.⁷⁹ The 2010 MDHS found that 16% of women experienced physical violence only, 13% experienced sexual violence only, and 12% experienced both physical and sexual violence. Similar data is not available in the 2004 MDHS.

Chart 2. Women's experience of different types of violence in Malawi (2010, 2015-2016)



Sources: 2010 MDHS and 2015-2016 MDHS

Girls' Experience of Different Forms of Violence in Childhood. Among females age 18-24 years, 55% reported experiencing some form of violence - sexual, physical or emotional violence - during childhood. Those who experienced violence, 32% experienced one form of violence, 16% experienced two forms of violence, and 7% experienced all three forms of violence. Similarly, among females age 13-17 years, 56% reported experiencing some form of violence - sexual, physical or emotional violence - in the last 12 months. Those who experienced violence, 31% experienced one form of violence, 20% experienced two forms of violence, and 5% experienced all three forms of violence.⁸⁰

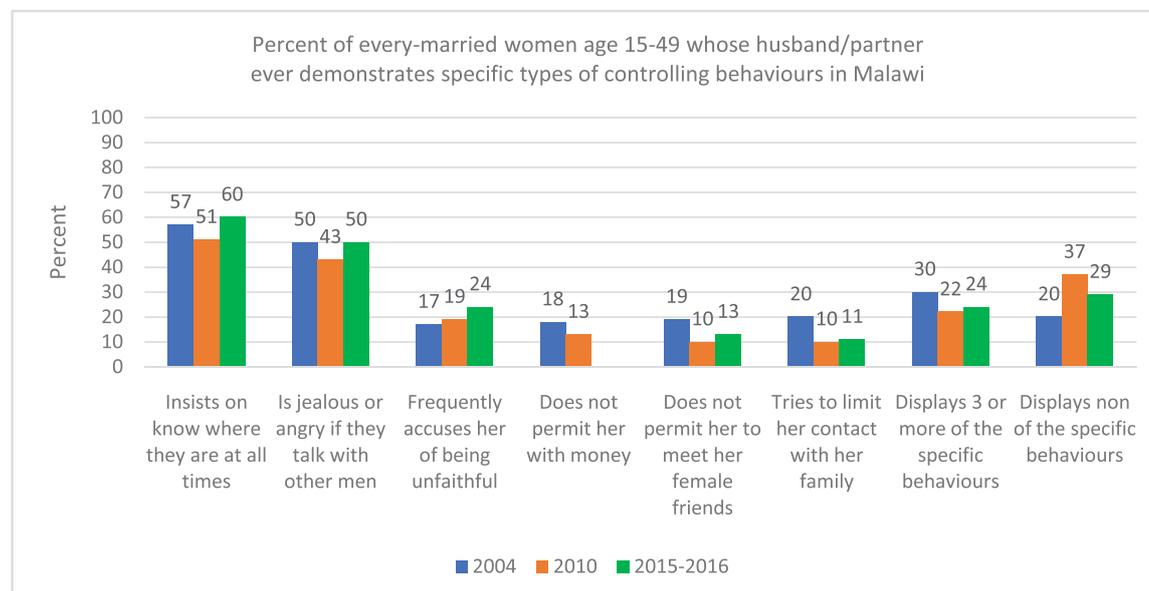
Women's Experience of Controlling Behaviours by Husbands. Attempts by husbands to closely control and monitor their wives' behaviour are important early warning signs and correlates of violence in a relationship.⁸¹ Chart 3 reveals similarities and changes in findings from the 2004 MDHS, 2010, and 2015-2016 as it relates to women's experience of controlling behaviours by husbands. The 2015-2016 MDHS found that 60% of ever-married women reported their husband insists on knowing where they are at all times, 50% reported their husband is jealous or angry if they talk with other men, 24% reported their husband frequently accuses them of being unfaithful, 13% reported their husband does not permit them to meet their female friends, and 11% reported their husband tries to limit their contact with their family. Overall, 24% of ever-married women reported their husbands displayed three or more of the specified behaviours, and 29% reported their husband displays none of these controlling behaviours.⁸²

The 2015-2016 MDHS found that women's report of their husband's controlling behaviours varies by religion. Ever-married women whose husbands display at least three of the above specified behaviours ranged from a high of 26% for Catholic women to a low of 17% for women categorized as 'other' Christian faiths.⁸³

In comparison, the 2010 MDHS found that 51% of ever-married women reported their husband insists on knowing where they are at all times, 43% report their husband is jealous or angry if they talk to other men, 19% reported their husband frequently accuses them of being unfaithful, 13% reported their husband does not trust them with any money, and 10% reported their husband does not permit them to meet their female friends and tries to limit their contact with their family. Overall, 22% of ever-married women reported their husband displays three or more of these controlling behaviours, and 37% reported their husband displays none of these controlling behaviours.⁸⁴

Finally, the 2004 MDHS found that as many as 57% of ever-married women reported their husband insists on knowing where they are at all times, and 50% of women reported their husband gets jealous or angry if they talk to other men. In addition, 20% of women reported their husband tries to limit their contact with family, 19% reported their husband does not permit them to meet their female friends, 18% reported their husband does not trust them with money, and 17% reported their husband frequently accuses them of being unfaithful. Overall, 30% of ever-married women reported their husband displays three or more of these controlling behaviours, and 20% said their husband displays none of these controlling behaviours.⁸⁵

Chart 3. Women’s experience of controlling behaviours by husbands in Malawi (2004, 2010, 2015-2016)



Sources: 2004 MDHS, 2010 MDHS, and 2015-2016 MDHS

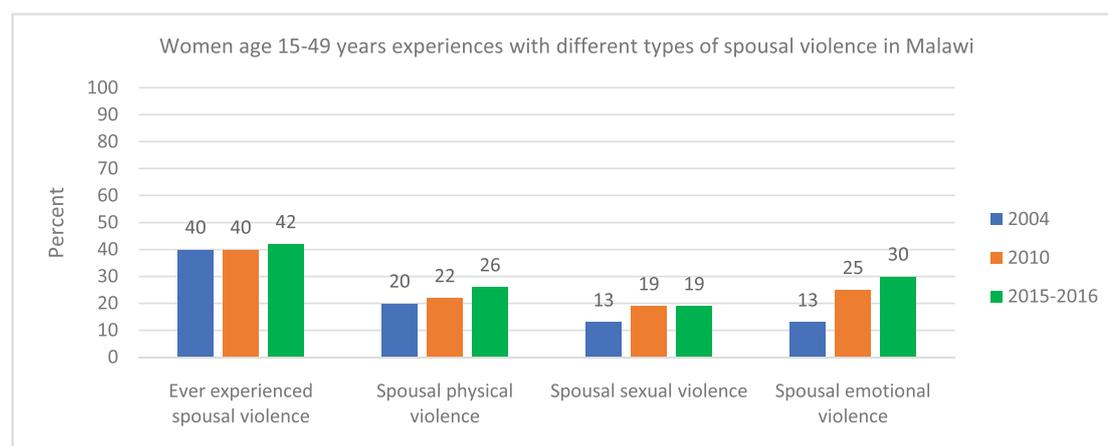
Women’s Experience of Spousal Violence. The 2015-2016 MDHS found that 42% of ever-married women ever experienced spousal violence - physical, sexual, or emotional violence - by their current or most recent spouse (for formerly married women), and 33% experienced at least one of these forms of violence in the 12 months preceding the survey. In particular, 26% of ever-married women experienced spousal physical violence, 19% experienced spousal sexual violence, and 30% experienced spousal emotional violence. In the 12 months preceding the survey, 16% of ever-married women experienced spousal physical violence, 15% experienced spousal sexual violence, and 23% experienced spousal emotional violence. Although spousal violence does not vary by urban-rural residence, it is less common among women in the Southern region (37%) than in the Northern or Central regions (47% each).⁸⁶

The 2010 MDHS found that 40% of ever-married women ever experienced spousal violence – physical, sexual, or emotional violence – by their current or most recent spouse (for formerly married women). In particular, 22% of ever-married women experienced spousal physical violence, 19% experienced spousal sexual violence, and 25% experienced spousal emotional violence. In the 12 months preceding the survey, 15% of ever-married women experienced spousal physical violence, 13% experienced spousal sexual violence, and 21% suffered spousal emotional violence.

Similarly, the 2004 MDHS found that 40% of ever-married women ever experienced spousal violence - any form of physical, sexual, or emotional abuse - at the hands of their husband or partner. In particular, 13% of women experienced spousal emotional violence, 20% experienced spousal physical violence, and 13% experienced spousal sexual violence.

Chart 4 reveals the rates of women’s experiences with spousal violence has remained comparable over time; however, there has been significant variation in the experiences of each of the different types of violence over time. Women’s reports of spousal physical violence increased from 20% in 2004 to 22% in 2010 and 26% in 2015-16, while spousal emotional violence increased from 13% in 2004 to 25% in 2010, and 30% in 2015-2016. These findings suggest that spousal violence may be increasing.⁸⁷

Chart 4. Women’s experience of different types of spousal violence in Malawi (2004, 2010, 2015-2016)



Sources: 2004 MDHS, 2010 MDHS, and 2015-2016 MDHS

Intergenerational Effects of Domestic Violence. Intergenerational effects of spousal violence are evident in Malawi. The 2015-2016 MDHS found that women who reported their fathers beat their mothers were much more likely (53%) to experience spousal violence than women who reported their fathers did not beat their mothers (38%).⁸⁸

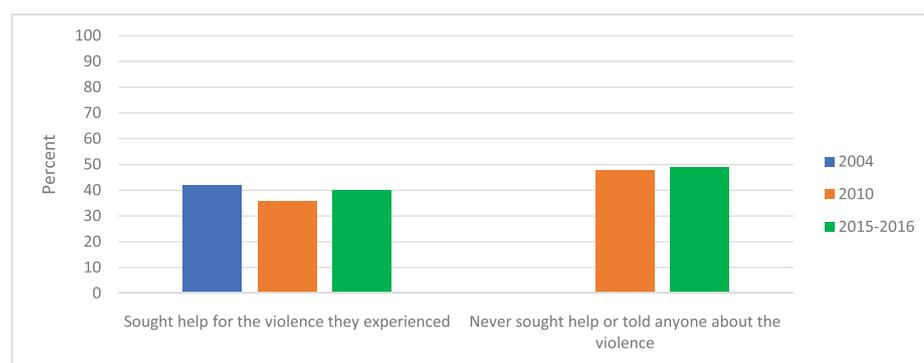
The 2013 VACS also found among females aged 18-24 years who experienced physical violence, 50% witnessed violence in the home before turning 18 years of age, and 29% of females aged 13-17 years who experienced physical violence witnessed abuse in the home.⁸⁹

Help-Seeking Behaviours of Women Who Experience Violence. The 2015-2016 MDHS found that 40% of all women who ever experienced physical or sexual violence sought help to stop the violence, whereas 49% of women never sought help or told anyone about the violence they experienced (see Chart 5). Women who experienced both physical and sexual violence were more likely to seek help (55%), compared to women who experienced only physical violence (35%) or only sexual violence (30%). The 2015-2016 MDHS found little difference among women in urban and rural areas when it came to help-seeking behaviours. There were, however, regional differences; in particular, women in the Central region (43%) was more likely to seek help for the violence they experienced, compared to women in the Northern (35%) and Southern (39%) regions.

In comparison, the 2010 MDHS found that 36% of women who experience physical or sexual violence never tell anyone about it, and 48% of women never seek help. It was reported that women who experience only sexual violence are less likely than women who experience physical violence to seek help.⁹⁰

Finally, the 2004 MDHS found that 42% of women who experienced violence sought help. Data on the proportion of women who never sought help or told anyone about the violence experienced was not reported in the 2004 MDHS. The likelihood that a woman sought help for domestic violence depended on the perpetrator. Women who were abused by their previous husbands were more likely to have sought help (52%). Women whose perpetrators were not their spouse were the least likely to seek help. Also, the 2004 MDHS found that probability of seeking help increased with the frequency of violence; 49% of women who experienced physical or sexual violence four or more times in the past year sought help, whereas 40% of women who experienced violence once in the past year sought help.⁹¹

Chart 5. Help-seeking among women who experience violence



Sources: 2004 MDHS, 2010 MDHS, and 2015-2016 MDHS

Note: Data on the proportion of women who never sought help or told anyone about the violence experience was not reported in the 2004 MDHS.

Over the years, the proportion of women who have sought help from different sources has varied significantly. The 2015-2016 MDHS found that among the women who experienced physical and/or sexual violence and sought help, the most common source of help was a woman's own family (62%). The second most common source for help was a woman's husband's family (33%). Only 1 in 10 women sought help from a friend. Among institutional sources of help, the most common is the police (10%), religious leaders (2%), and doctors/medical personnel (2%).⁹²

In comparison, the 2010 MDHS found that only 17 of women who sought help from family, 18% sought help from in-laws, and 4% sought help from friends or neighbours. Among institutional sources of help, only 4% of women sought help from the police, 3% sought help from a traditional authority or chief, and less than 1% sought help from a religious leader.⁹³

The 2004 MDHS found that as many as 44% of women sought help from other relatives or friends, 33% sought help from their own family, and 11% sought help from their in-laws. While women who are abused by their husbands tend to go to other relatives or friends for help, women whose perpetrator is not her husband tend to seek help from their own family.⁹⁴

Help-Seeking Behaviours of Girls Who Experience Violence in Childhood. The 2013 VACS found that among females age 18-24 years who were physically abused, 64% told someone about the abuse, but only 10% received services. Forty percentage of female victims age 18-24 years who reported they did not seek help maintained it was because they did not see the physical abuse as a problem.⁹⁵ In addition, 61% of females aged 18-24 years who were sexually abused in childhood told someone about the abuse (usually a friend), but only 9% ever received professional services.⁹⁶

In comparison, females age 13-17 years who were physically abused, 60% told someone about the abuse, but only 11% received services. Thirty-seven percent of female victims age 13-17 who reported they did not access services reported it was because they did not see the physical abuse as a problem, and 34% thought the physical abuse was their fault.⁹⁷ Similarly, 60% of females age 13-17 years who were sexually abused told someone about the abuse (usually a relative, but they also told friends), but only 3% received professional services.⁹⁸ Female victims age 18-24 years of age were three times more likely to receive professional services than female victims age 13-17 years.⁹⁹

Tolerance for VAWG in Malawi

Traditional customs, gender stereotypes, and attitudes supportive of spousal violence are still deeply entrenched in Malawian society, resulting in widespread VAWG.¹⁰⁰ At the same time, VAWG is widely acknowledged as a great concern and significant human rights challenge.^{101,102} To address this issue, Malawi has enacted a series of legislative acts that will be explained below.

Women and Men's Attitudes toward Wife Beating. For instance, the 2015-2016 MDHS found that 16% of women and 13% of men 15-49 years held the belief that a husband is justified in beating his wife for at least one of the five Specific circumstances, including for burning food, arguing with their husband, going out without telling their husband, neglecting the children, and refusing sexual intercourse. Attitudes toward wife beating did not appear to change since the 2010 MDHS when 13% of women and men agreed with at least one of the reasons justifying wife beating.

According to the 2015-2016 MDHS, attitudes that accept wife beating are higher in rural areas than in urban areas. In particular, 18% of women and 14% of men in rural areas agreed that wife beating was justified in at least one of the five specified circumstances, compared to 11% of women and 9% of men in urban areas. Also, women (25%) and men (21%) in the Northern region were more accepting of wife beating, compared to their counterparts in other regions (17% or less in other regions).¹⁰³

The 2013 VACS found among females age 18-24 years, 42% held the belief that it is acceptable for a husband to beat his wife if she goes out without tell him, if she neglects the children, if she argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him, or if she burns the food under one or more circumstances. In particular, 92% endorsed one or more negative gender biases, 41% believed a woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together, and 22% disclosed that they had used violence against a partner.

Similarly, among females aged 13-17 years, 40% held the belief that it is acceptable for a husband to beat his wife if she goes out without telling him, if she neglects the children, if she argues with him, if she refuses to have sex with him, or if she burns the food under one or more circumstances. In addition, 73% endorsed one or more negative gender biases, 39% believed a woman should tolerate violence to keep the family together, and 17% disclosed that they had used violence against a partner. The most commonly accepted reason for a husband beating his wife was if she neglected the children. The most common gender bias towards sexual practices was the belief that women who carry condoms are 'loose'.¹⁰⁴

Women and Men's Attitudes toward Negotiating Sexual Relations with Husbands. According to the 2015-2016 MDHS, the majority of women (66%) and men (74%) in Malawi believe that a woman is justified in refusing sex if she knows her husband had sex with other women. The majority of women (82%) and men (88%) also reported a woman is justified in asking her husband to use a condom if he has a sexually transmitted infection (STI). The percentage of women and men who reported attitudes that promote safe sex negotiation has not changed substantially since 2010. In 2010, 70% of women and 78% of men believed women are justified in refusing sex if she knows her husband had sex with other women. In addition, 85% of women and 91% of men report a woman is justified in refusing sex if she knows her husband had sex with other women.¹⁰⁵

The 2015-2016 MDHS also found that women (75%) and men (83%) in urban areas are more likely to believe a woman is justified in refusing sex with her husband if she knows he has had sex with other women, compared with women and men in rural areas (65% and 72% respectively). Women (87%) and men (94%) in urban areas were also more likely to believe a woman is justified in asking her husband to use a condom if he has STI, compared with women and men in rural areas (80% and 87% respectively). Also, fewer women (63%) and men (61%) in the Northern Region held the belief that a woman is justified in refusing to have sex with a man if she knows he has had sex with other women. Women and men in the Northern region were also less likely to support safe sex negotiation than their counterparts in other regions. For example, 63% of women in the Northern region held the belief that a woman is justified in refusing sex compared with 67% of women in the central and Southern regions.¹⁰⁶

The 2013 VACS found that 90% of females and 80% of males age 18-24 years endorsed one of the following gender biases: that men should decide when to have sex; that men need more sex than women; that men need other women; that women who carry condoms are 'loose'; and that women should tolerate violence in order to keep the family together.

Constitution of the Republic of Malawi. The Constitution of the Republic of Malawi addresses VAWG in several sections. For instance, Section 19 of the Constitution of the Republic of Malawi maintains no person shall be subject to torture of any kind of cruelty, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In addition, Section 22 provides that each member of the family shall enjoy full and equal respect and shall be protected by law against all forms of neglect cruelty or exploitation.¹⁰⁷ Section 24 provides that any law that discriminates against women on the basis of gender or marital status shall be invalid and legislation shall be passed to eliminate customs and practices that discriminate against women, particularly practices such as sexual abuse, harassment, and violence.¹⁰⁸ VAWG is addressed in Section 27 of the Constitution which maintains no person shall be held in slavery or servitude or shall be subjected to forced labour or labour that amounts to servitude. Section 23 also provides that children are entitled to protection from economic exploitation or any treatment, work, or punishment that is, or is likely to be hazardous, interfere with their education, or is harmful to their health or physical, mental, spiritual or social development.¹⁰⁹

Prevention of Domestic Violence Act of 2006. The 2006 Prevention of Domestic Violence Act provides a civil framework for addressing various acts of violence among people within domestic relationships, including eliminating gender-based violence from occurring within domestic relationships, and to provide for effective legal remedies and other social services to persons affected by domestic violence.¹¹⁰

Child Care, Justice, and Protection Act of 2010. The Child Care, Justice, and Protection Act of 2010 prohibits child betrothal, forced child marriage, and harmful practices against children. The Act specifically states that "a person who, unlawfully takes, retains or conceals a child without the consent of the parent or without the consent of any other person who has lawful custody of the child commits an offense and shall be liable to imprisonment for 10 years."¹¹¹

Marriage, Divorce and Family Relations Act of 2015. In 2015, the Marriage, Divorce and Family Relations Act (Marriage Act) of 2015 took an important step toward preventing child marriage by establishing 18 years as the minimum age of marriage. Malawi's child marriage rates are among the highest in the world with 1 out of 2 girls married before their 18th birthday.^{112,113} Despite this important legal reform, the minimum age of marriage set in the Marriage Act of 2015 is not absolute because under Malawi's constitution, girls and boys aged 15-18 years can be married with parental consent.¹¹⁴ In addition, the constitution does not specifically prohibit marriage of children under 15 years of age, but directs the government to 'discourage' such marriages.¹¹⁵ Thus, an absolute ban on marriage of children under 18 years of age would require a constitutional amendment.¹¹⁶

The Marriage Act of 2015 contains strong protections for married women, giving equal status to both parties and a new requirement to register marriages with the government.¹¹⁷ The legislation does not make any changes related to polygamy, which is prohibited and punishable upon conviction with a five-year prison sentence and a fine of MWK100 thousand (about USD220); yet, polygamy continues to be legal with regard to all the other forms of marriage.¹¹⁸

Why Conduct a Perceptions Study on Social Norms around VAWG in Malawi?

The costs incurred in dealing with cases of VAWG by different sectors have a significant bearing on the economic growth and development of the country, because the resources being used on handling VAWG could be channeled to other productive uses for wealth creation. In Malawi, the direct economic cost of handling physical domestic violence cases in 2013 was estimated at MKW 877 million (USD 2,698,462), at an average cost per case of MKW1,800 (USD 5.5).

In Malawi, national population-based survey research has been conducted over time on women and girls' experiences with physical and sexual violence, in general, and physical, sexual, emotional and economic violence within intimate partner relations. This research has also measured some attitudes toward wife beating. Building upon this research, UN Women Malawi is supporting this *Perceptions Study of Social Norms around VAWG*, particularly in the five project districts - Mzimba, Karonga, Dedza, Mangochi, and Salima - that UN Women and its partners intend on implementing the WEP 2018-2021. In keeping with the TOR this *Perceptions Study on Social Norms around VAWG* aims to:

- Gather reliable baseline data and information on the social norms, attitudes, and behaviours that hinder women and girls' rights and perpetuate gender imbalances and VAWG in Malawi.
- To document social norms and attitudes toward existing efforts to identify and respond to incidents of VAWG and ensure the protection of VAWG survivors.
- Analyse data and generate findings that will allow for a better understanding of existing knowledge and attitudes, prevailing social norms and cultural practices of using VAWG, including in marriage, intimate partner relationships, and families.
- Analyse data and generate findings that will allow for a better understanding of social norms, attitudes, and behaviours among professionals who work with VAWG survivors and vulnerable families.
- Data and findings from this study will be used to inform public policy dialogue, support the development of policies and programs, and to develop communication initiatives.
- Use the data and findings to set a baseline for communication initiatives of UN Women and the Government of Malawi, and against which to measure their impact and other project impacts. The data and findings can be used to inform the formulation of key messages for communication initiatives on the women and girls' rights and EAW.

UN Women maintains that addressing harmful socio-cultural norms and practices will have positive implication across a number of areas, including reducing incidents of VAWG and eliminating harmful traditional practices that give rise to practices standing in the way of development.¹¹⁹ Good practices of working with chiefs and other traditional leaders already exist and can be built upon based upon data and findings from this study.¹²⁰ Also, data and findings from this study can inform policymakers and service providers as they try to meet the needs of VAWG survivors.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Study Purpose and Scope

The purpose of this study was to gather baseline information and data on social norms that hinder women and girls' rights and perpetuates gender inequality and VAWG in Malawi. The scope of the study was to collect information and data from a cross-section of key stakeholders relevant to the WEP 2018-2021, including the general public, opinion leaders, media, government, donors, and civil society staff in five districts – Dedza, Karonga, Mangochi, Mzimba and Salima.

Data and findings from this study can be used to map harmful practices that communities perceive as normal and acceptable and that perpetuates VAWG, including harmful practices that influence child marriage and early marriages, and to inform how UN Women and its partners can implement behaviour change projects aimed at promoting favourable social norms and attitudes at community levels. In particular, data and findings from this study can be used to inform the design of the EVAW Social Norms Project 2018-2021, which will be implemented by UN Women and its partners and can serve as a baseline against which to measure project impact. Finally, data and findings from this study can also be used to inform public policy dialogue and to formulate key messages for communication initiatives on women's rights, gender equality, and EVAW.

Study Sites

This study does not aim to be representative or to represent the entire country, but it does cover five districts – Dedza, Karonga, Mangochi, Mzimba and Salima.¹²¹ The sample districts were pre-selected by UN Women, considering geographic and population diversity of Malawi and envisioned project activities. At least two to three days were spent in each of the districts to meet with and collect data from key stakeholders.

Sample of Key Stakeholders

A targeted, non-random sampling framework was used to identify representatives from each of the following target groups. In each of the five districts. The goal was to sample a cross-section of key stakeholders, including:

- General public adults – men and women age 18-49 years
- Local opinion leaders – traditional leaders, chiefs, faith-based leaders
- District and community officers – social welfare officers, district planning officers and extension officers (DPD, DSO, DLO, DEMO), gender officers (Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability & Social Welfare, MGCDSW), police victim support officers, community victim support unit staff, mother group members, health surveillance assistants (Ministry of Health), teachers (Ministry of Education).
- Community-based organizations – fathers' groups
- Media representatives – radio broadcasters with experience covering news stories related to gender-based violence and women's issues

Table 1. Sample and Data Collection Methods

Target Group	Data Collection Method by District	No. Districts	Total Target Sample Size	Target Sample by District
Adults, 18-65 years (males and females)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey (conducted as one-on-one interview) 	5 Districts Community level	200 total (100 females, 100 males)	40 adults (20 females and 20 males)
Local opinion leaders (traditional leaders, chiefs, faith-based leaders)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey (administered as 1 group) 1 FGD (10 persons) 	5 Districts Community level	50 total	10 per district
Social welfare officers who work on women and girls' issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey (administered as 1 group) 1 FGD (10 persons) 	5 Districts District centre	50 total	10 per district
District planning officers and extension officers (DPD, DSO, DLO, DEMO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey (administered as 1 group) 1 FGD (10 persons) 	5 Districts District centre	50 total	10 per district
Police victim support officers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey (administered as one group) 1 FGD (10 persons) 	5 Districts District centre	50 total	10 per district
Community victim support unit staff	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey (administered as 1 group) 1 FGD (10 persons) 	5 Districts Community level	50 total	10 per district
Mothers group members	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey (administered as 1 group) 1 FGD (10 persons) 	5 Districts Community level	50 total	10 per district
Health surveillance assistants (Ministry of Health)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey (administered as 1 group) 1 FGD (10 persons) 	5 Districts Community level	50 total	10 per district
Teachers (Ministry of Education).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey (administered as 1 group) 1 FGD (10 persons) 	5 Districts Community level	50 total	10 per district
Media representatives (journalists and reporters from radio, newspapers, television, and internet)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey 1 FGD (1-2 persons per district) 1 FGD (3-5 persons in Lilongwe) 	5 Districts and Lilongwe	15 total	1-2 per district & 3-5 in Lilongwe
UN Agencies (UNFPA, UNAIDS, UNICEF) and other international development agencies (Plan International, OXFAM, NGOGCN, Norwegian Church Aid)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> One-on-one and/or small group Interviews (3-5 persons) 	Lilongwe	7 agencies and ministries	

Table 1 provides information about the sample, including the target groups, data collection method by the number of districts, target sample size, and target sample by district. The data collection methods and sample allowed for a good cross-section of respondents.

The international and national consultants worked in collaboration with UN Women to arrange meetings and travel plans for each of the five districts and in Lilongwe in advance of the international consultant's mission trip to Malawi. A detailed mission trip itinerary was developed in advance of the international consultant's mission trip and data collection in the field (see Annex A for an example itinerary).

Measuring Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours

In order to assess whether social norms were sustaining attitudes and behaviours that hinder women and girls' rights and perpetuate gender imbalances and VAWG in Malawi, our goal was to study if people follow the behaviours because they believe others do it (typical) and/or because they think others expect them to do it (appropriate).¹²² The measurement of social norms requires different questions and metrics compared to the measurement of attitudes and behaviours (see Annex B). Social norms require uncovering beliefs held by others – regardless of whether these beliefs are correct or incorrect – and reference groups.¹²³

Some key questions to explore when measuring whether or not a pattern of behaviour is driven by social norms:¹²⁴

- Whose opinion matters to the target population? Who is the reference group?
- Is the behaviour perceived as typical among the reference group?
- Is the behaviour perceived to be appropriate among the reference group?
- Are there consequences or social sanctions for noncompliance or departing from this behaviour?
- Would the majority of people still act this way even if others disagreed?

Reference groups are those people whose expectations matter to a given individual in a situation or an individual's choice; those to whom the individual refers. Reference groups are important to identify, particularly the most influential reference group(s) for a particular behaviour. Reference groups can be identified with questions, such as *'Who do you ask about...?'* or *'List 5 people who are important to you when making decisions about your relationships.'*¹²⁵ Analysis of reference groups – family, friends, co-workers, media figures, community leaders/chiefs, and religious leaders – can yield important insight and serve to inform programming. Bear in mind, however, individuals are often influenced by multiple reference groups at any one time.¹²⁶

Qualitative research methods can be used to identify the presence of social norms. Qualitative research and conversations with local stakeholders and men and women allowed researchers to explore social expectations around a particular behaviour and related to reference groups, and the consequences or social sanctions, if any, for noncompliance or departing from the expected behaviour. Vignettes of hypothetical scenarios have been used to provide space for conversation and to elicit beliefs and expectations about social norms and among reference groups.¹²⁷

Quantitative methods were also used to identify social norms. However, measuring social norms does not replace measuring attitudes and behaviours; these measures complement each other. Comparing social norms with attitudes and behaviours may reveal the extent to which norms are based on accurate or inaccurate perceptions of others, which can be useful in informing programming.¹²⁸ Annex B provides an example of measures, example indicators, and example questions for measuring social norms, attitudes, and behaviours related to intimate partner violence.

Quantitative measurement of social norms can be used to assess programme impact on social norms from the baseline, midline and/or endline.¹²⁹ Measuring shifts over time in social norms, along with attitudes and behaviours, is important because social norms are not static, rather social norms can and do change over time.¹³⁰ "Changes in demographics, educational level, economics, or conflict situations in any community can drive shifts in behaviours and social norms, as can individual activists, change-makers, and groups of like-minded people who organise to change the status quo."¹³¹

Data Collection Methods and Tools

A mixed method approach was used to generate a combination of quantitative and qualitative data related to social norms, attitudes, and behaviours that hinder women and girls' rights and perpetuates gender imbalances and VAWG in Malawi. To collect quantitative data, a *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey* was administered to key stakeholders in each of the five districts by the international and national consultants, with technical support from UN Women.

To collect qualitative data, one-on-one, small group interviews and focus group discussion (FGD) were conducted with the same respondents who completed the *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey*. Each of these data collection methods are described in the sections that follow.

Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey

The *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey* was designed to be relevant to the target groups which will be sampled, but there is significant overlap and alignment of questions so that comparisons can be made within and across target groups as it relates to social norms, attitudes, and behaviours that hinder women and girls' rights and perpetuates gender imbalances and VAWG in Malawi. The *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviour Survey* were also used to collect social network and demographic data needed to conduct within group and between group comparisons.

The Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey included a series of close-ended questions designed to collect quantitative data related to each of the following social norms, attitudes and behaviour variables:

Social Norms Variables

- Structures that limit gender equality and advancement of women and girls
- Women's empowerment and gender equality
- Tolerance/acceptance of domestic violence against women/girls
- Victim-Blaming
- Beliefs about the rights of women and girls in the family and society
- Tolerance/acceptance of child, early, and forced marriage
- Tolerance/acceptance of sexual VAWG
- Tolerance/acceptance of initiatives EAW initiatives
- Punishment of perpetrators

Attitude Variables

- Domestic violence against women/girls
- Understanding of domestic and sexual violence against women/girls
- Seriousness of domestic and sexual violence against women/girls
- Child, early, and forced marriage
- Sexual VAWG
- Seriousness of sexual violence
- Police Responses to VAWG
- EAW Laws
- Report to police

Behaviour Variables

- Individual willingness to report incidents of domestic and sexual violence against women/girls
- Sources of information about domestic and sexual violence against women/girls
- Report to police

The *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey* also focused on measuring information about social networks that influence social norms and individual's attitudes and/or behaviours, such as family, friends, peers, coworkers, community leaders and religious institutions. Demographic information was also collected, including gender, age, tribe, marital status, and educational level.

Given the *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey* focused on subject matter that is sensitive in nature, respondents could be reluctant to disclose social norms, attitudes, and behaviours; therefore, attempts were made to design the *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey* to ensure respondents feel comfortable and able to disclose. In particular, the initial sections of the survey collected information on less sensitive topics, such as demographic information, and more sensitive topics were explored later in the survey.

Attention was also given to the wording of survey directions. Respondents will be forewarned about the focus of the survey and the sensitive nature of some of the questions. Respondents were also informed that their responses will remain anonymous and confidential; no names or identifiers were recorded. The survey was a self-report survey, so respondents were instructed to read and answer each of the questions on their own, although they are in a room with others in their target groups. For instance, 10 social welfare officers in a district who work on women and girls' issues were invited to meet at the same time during which they were instructed to complete the survey, and after they completed the survey were asked to participate in an FGD.

Respondents were informed that they could skip questions they do not want to answer or end the survey at any time without penalty. All surveys were immediately collected by the consultants when they were completed and placed in a sealed envelope. On average, it took about 40 to 60 minutes for respondents to complete the *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey*. Respondents were neither paid nor provided any incentives to complete the survey.

Ministerial and central-level authorities in Lilongwe were not surveyed; however, media representatives in Lilongwe were surveyed.

Interviews and FGDs

Following completion of the survey, FGDs were conducted with the same district officials in order to collect qualitative data that could be used to supplement the quantitative data from the *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey*. The FGDs were conducted using a structured questionnaire. FGDs took about 30 to 45 minutes to complete. Respondents were neither paid nor provided any incentives to complete the interview or FGD. Structured interview schedules were used to guide the FGDs and included questions related to social norms and attitudes (see Annex D).

Social Norms and Attitudes Variables:-

- Gender equality and inequality as it related to education, marriage, family planning, health care, work and family resources, land, and agricultural input
- Tolerance/acceptance of VAWG
- Tolerance/acceptance of wife abuse
- Tolerance/acceptance of child marriage, early marriage, and forced marriage
- Tolerance/acceptance of EAW initiatives
- Tolerance/acceptance of initiatives to promote and protect women and girls' rights
- Beliefs that VAWG in public and private is an issue in Malawi
- Beliefs about the rights of women and girls in the family and society
- Public's responsibilities to report suspected/known cases of VAWG
- Who should have the authority and responsibility to respond to VAWG
- Demand for policies and protection of women and girls from gender-based violence

All FGDs were conducted in the language of preference to the respondents. UN Women provided the international consultant with a translator.

Confidentiality

All respondents were guaranteed confidentiality. To ensure confidentiality, names were not recorded anywhere in surveys or in FGD and/or interview notes; instead, all groups and/or individual respondents were assigned an ID Number which was recorded in the survey. In addition, each agency/organization that participated in the study was assigned a sector of working code.

In the findings section of this study, generic categories were used to identify and differentiate respondents based upon their gender and/or sector of work. The district will be identified.

Study Team

This baseline study was conducted by two consultants, including Dr. Robin Haarr (international researcher from the United States) and Villa Ezala (national researcher from Malawi) with support from six local data collectors. The study approach and data collection tools were developed by Dr. Robin Haarr who worked closely with UN Women and the national consultant to ensure they were relevant to this study. UN Women reviewed and approved the study design and

data collection tools prior to beginning the study. The international and national consultants were provided logistical support, including scheduling interviews, transportation, and translation services by UN Women.

Data Management and Analysis

All *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Surveys* and interviews or FGDs were conducted in English and/or Chichewa. In the case of the *Social Norms, Attitudes and Behaviours Survey*, data entry and processing procedures were carried out by Dr. Robin Haarr in Dedza, Salima, Mangochi, and partly in Mzimba. Data entry and processing procedures in Mzimba and Karonga were completed with support from one of the local data collectors.

Dr. Robin Haarr developed a standardized approach for coding and inputting all survey responses into SPSS. Data cleaning was carried prior to data analysis. Close-ended questions were analysed in SPSS using frequencies and cross-tabulations to explore differences based upon the type of respondent (e.g., general public adults, social welfare and child protection officers, media representatives, etc.), demographics of respondents (e.g., age, sex, level of education, etc.), and district.

Qualitative data from Interviews and FGDs were input into Word for coding and analysis. The international and national consultants worked together and with local data collectors to ensure interviews and FGDs in Chichewa were transferred into English.

Limitations

The main limitation of this baseline study was that while this study aimed to sample a cross-section of the public and stakeholders, the samples were not representative of the five districts selected for inclusion. This is due to a lack of resources and time allocated for the mission trip and this consultancy.

CHAPTER 3: SAMPLE

This chapter reveals the sample size and sample characteristics for this study of social norms. The data presented include the characteristics of the total sample, and the characteristics of the samples of general public adults and district officials.

Total Sample

Table 3.1 shows 692 respondents were sampled in the five districts, of which 57.8% (n=400) were district officials and 42.2% (n=292) were general public adults. The sample was equally distributed across districts, including 19.8% of respondents in Dedza, 20.1% of respondents in Karonga, 20.1% in Mangochi, 18.2% in Mzimba, and 21.8% of respondents in Salima.

In terms of sex, 57.1% of the sample were male and 40.8% were female; some respondents did not report their sex. The sample ranged in age from 18 to 66 years age or more. A larger proportion of respondents were 25-34 years (24.6%), 35-44 years (32.2%), and 45-54 years (19.5%), compared to 18-24 years (11.4%) and 55-54 years (10.5%) or 66+ years (1.2%). Because a small proportion of respondents were 66+ years, for purposes of analysis, respondents who were 66+ years were merged with respondent's age 55-64 years.

Table 3.1. Total sample characteristics		
	Total Sample N=692	
District	N	%
Dedza	137	19.8
Karonga	139	20.1
Mangochi	139	20.1
Mzimba	126	18.2
Salima	151	21.8
Type of Respondent		
General public adults	292	42.2
District officials	400	57.8
Gender		
Female	282	40.8
Male	395	57.1
Age		
18-24 years	79	11.4
25-34 years	170	24.6
35-44 years	223	32.2
45-54 years	135	19.5
55-64 years	73	10.5
66+ years	8	1.2
Highest level of education completed		
Less than a primary education	64	9.2
Primary education	230	33.2
Secondary education	286	41.3
Incomplete higher education	57	8.2
Higher education/university degree	55	7.9

In terms of level of education completed, Table 3.1 shows that 33.2% of respondents had only a primary education and 41.3% had a secondary education. Far fewer respondents had less than a primary education (9.2%), an incomplete higher education (8.2%), or a higher education/university degree (7.9%)

Sample of General Public Adults

Table 3.2 shows the characteristics of the sample of general public adults (n=292). Of the 292 general public adults sampled, they were fairly equally distributed across districts, including 20.9% of respondents in Dedza, 24.0% respondents in Karonga, 17.5% in Mangochi, 16.4% in Mzimba, and 21.2% of respondents in Salima.

The sample of general public adults included a fairly equal representative of males (50.7%) and females (48.6%). In terms of age, 20.9% of adults were 18-24 years, 26.7% were 25-34 years, and 24.0% were 35-44 years. Few respondents were 45-54 years (15.8%) and 55-65 years (12.0%). In terms of marital status, the majority of adults were married and living with their spouse (61.0%). Far fewer respondents were divorced (10.3%), single/never married (9.2%), married, but not living with their spouse (9.2%), a widow/widower (7.5%), and single, but living with a partner/civic marriage (2.7%).

Table 3.2. General public adults sample characteristics		
	General Public Adults Sample N=292	
District	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Dedza	61	20.9
Karonga	70	24.0
Mangochi	51	17.5
Mzimba	48	16.4
Salima	62	21.2
Gender		
Female	142	48.6
Male	148	50.7
Age		
18-24 years	61	20.9
25-34 years	78	26.7
35-44 years	70	24.0
45-54 years	46	15.8
55-65 years	35	12.0
Marital status		
Single, never married	27	9.2
Single, living with partner/civic marriage	8	2.7
Married, living with spouse	178	61.0
Married, but not living with spouse	27	9.2
Divorced	30	10.3
Widow/widower	22	7.5
Tribe or ethnic status		
Chewa	75	25.7
Tumbuka	46	15.8
Lomwe	3	1.0
Tonga	1	.3
Yao	48	16.4
Nkhonde	68	23.3
Ngoni	51	17.5
Highest level of education completed		
Less than a primary education	38	13.0
Primary education	158	54.1
Secondary education	91	31.2
Incomplete higher education	5	1.7

In terms of tribe or ethnic status, Table 3.2 shows that 25.7% of adults were Chewa, 23.3% were Nkhonde, 17.5% were Ngoni, 16.4% were Yao, and 15.8% were Tumbuka. Very few respondents were Lomwe (1.0%) or Yao (0.3%). In terms of the highest level of education completed, the majority of adults had only a primary education (54.1%), while 31.2% had a secondary education. Far fewer respondents had less than primary education (13.0%) or an incomplete higher education (1.7%).

Sample of District Officials

Finally, Table 3.3 shows the characteristics of the sample of district officials (n=400). Of the 400 district officials sampled, they were fairly equally distributed across districts, including 19.0% of respondents in Dedza, 17.3% respondents in Karonga, 22.0% in Mangochi, 19.5% in Mzimba, and 22.3% of respondents in Salima.

The majority of district officials were male (61.8%); only 35.0% were female. In terms of age, the majority of district officials were 25-34 years (23.0%), 35-44 years (38.3%), and 45-54 years (22.3%). Fewer district officials were 18-24 years (4.5%), 55-65 years (9.5%) or 66+ years (2.0%). In terms of the highest level of education completed, the majority of district officials had secondary education (48.0%). Only 13.0% of district officials had an incomplete higher education and 13.8% had a higher education/university degree. Although few in number, it is notable that 18.0% of district officials had primary education and 6.5% had less than primary education.

Table 3.3. District officials sample characteristics		
	General Public Adults Sample N=400	
District	n	%
Dedza	76	19.0
Karonga	69	17.3
Mangochi	88	22.0
Mzimba	78	19.5
Salima	89	22.3
Gender		
Female	140	35.0
Male	247	61.8
Age		
18-24 years	18	4.5
25-34 years	92	23.0
35-44 years	153	38.3
45-54 years	89	22.3
55-65 years	38	9.5
66+ years	8	2.0
Highest level of education completed		
Less than a primary education	26	6.5
Primary education	72	18.0
Secondary education	195	48.8
Incomplete higher education	52	13.0
Higher education/university degree	55	13.8
Work sector		
Traditional leaders/chiefs	54	13.5
Social welfare/child protection officers	55	13.8
District planning officers	6	1.5
Extension officers	9	2.3
Police officers	54	13.5
District gender officers	5	1.3
Community victim support unit staff	27	6.8
Mothers groups	36	9.0
Health care workers/health surveillance assistants	41	10.3
Education (teachers, school managers, PTA)	61	15.3
Media	2	.5
Faith-based leaders/religion leaders	12	3.0
Community police force members	7	1.8
Fathers groups	5	1.3
Judiciary	4	1.0
Other	20	5.0

Finally, Table 3.3 shows the sectors of work in which district officials worked. A larger proportion of respondents were from the education sectors (15.3%), including teachers, school managers, and members of the Parent-Teachers Association (PTA). In addition, 13.8% of district officials were social welfare/child protection officers 13.5% were traditional leaders/chiefs, 13.5% were district police officers, 10.3% were health care workers and health surveillance assistants. The sample of district officials also included representatives from mothers' groups (9.0%), district gender officers (6.8%), community victim support unit staff (6.8%), and faith-based leaders/religious leaders (3.0%). District officials from other sectors of work were also sampled, but far fewer in numbers.

CHAPTER 4: SOCIAL NORMS IN MALAWI

This chapter reveals findings from district officials and general public adults sampled in each of the five districts and includes a comparison between general public adults and district officials. This includes findings related to social norms related to gender equality, VAWG, including harmful practices and child marriage and early marriages. This chapter also reveals social norms related to the victim-blaming of VAWG survivors and public responses to VAWG.

Social Norms Related to Gender Equality

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions designed to measure social norms related to gender and gender equality, including gender preference at birth, girls' education, marriage and family, women's employment, women's health care, and women and land use. The findings presented in the sections that follow demonstrate a lack of social norms that support gender equality in the five districts.

Social Norms Related to Gender Preference at Birth. In each of the five districts, both district officials and general public adults were asked about social norms in the district related to sex preference at birth. In particular, respondents were asked how many women in their community think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl. Table 4.1 shows that for the full sample, 1 out of 3 or 34.6% of all respondents maintained most or all of the women in their districts think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl, which is indicative of social norms. In addition, more 1 out of 2 or 56.9% of all respondents maintained about half or more of the women in their districts think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl.

Table 4.1 shows that respondents in Karonga (48.5%) and Mangochi (41.2%) were more likely to think that most or all of the women in their districts think it is better to give birth to a boy than a woman, compared to respondents in Dedza (23.0%), Mzimba (31.3%), and Salima (27.4%). This data reflects the social norms within the districts.

Table 4.1. Perceptions of social norms related to gender preference at birth

In your community, how many women think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl?	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	2.1	0.0	7.1	0.0	0.0	1.6
Most of them	32.5	23.0	41.4	41.2	31.3	25.8
About half of them	22.3	21.3	21.4	23.5	39.6	9.7
A few of them	33.6	34.4	27.1	29.4	27.1	48.4
None of them	6.8	2.7	2.9	3.9	2.1	11.3

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 53.58

Sex Differences. Data in Table 4.1 was analysis of sex difference however, there were no statistically significant sex differences in perceptions of the social norms related to giving birth to boys versus girls.

Social Norms Related to Girls' Education. Both district officials and general public adults were also asked about social norms in the district related to girl's education, particularly how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education and how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. Table 4.2 reveals that 43.9% of all respondents maintained most or all of the girls/women in their districts are free to make decisions about their education, which is indicative of social norms. It is notable that nearly 22.7% of all respondents reported none or only a few girls/women in their districts are free to make decisions about their education. There were significant differences as respondents in Karonga (48.9%), Dedza (45.4%) and Mzimba (44.4%) were more likely than respondents in Mangochi (37.4%) and Salima (34.4%) to report that most or all of the girls/women in their districts are free to make decisions about their education. District officials in Mangochi (43.1%) and Salima (41.4%) were more likely to report that a few or none of the girls/women in their districts are free to make decisions about their education.

Table 4.2. Social norms related to girl's education

In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education? ¹	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	15.1	18.2	21.9	11.5	20.6	4.6
Most of them	28.8	37.2	27.0	25.9	23.8	29.8
About half of them	20.6	21.2	19.0	17.3	20.6	24.5
A few of them	33.6	21.2	29.9	42.4	34.1	39.7
None of them	1.0	1.5	2.2	0.7	0.0	0.7
In your community, how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls? ²						
All of them	3.8	5.1	6.5	3.6	1.6	2.0
Most of them	42.1	33.8	37.4	39.6	38.1	50.3
About half of them	17.5	16.9	15.1	20.1	22.2	13.9
A few of them	26.8	37.5	26.6	15.8	29.4	25.2
None of the them	7.7	4.4	13.7	5.8	7.1	7.3

¹ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 46.41; ² Sign = .001, Chi-square = 46.72

Sex Differences. Data in Table 4.2 was analysed for sex differences in social norms related to girls' education. The most notable differences were that female respondents (25.7%) were three times more likely than male respondents (7.6%) to report that all of the girls/women in their district are free to make decisions about their education; whereas, male respondents were more likely to maintain (32.2%) or about half (23.0%) of the girls/women are free to make decisions about their education, compare to females (25.0% and 16.8% respectively; sign = .000). There were no statistically significant differences in perceptions as to how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls.

Social Norms Related to Marriage and Family. When it comes to social norms related to marriage and family, Table 4.3 shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 55.4% of respondents in each of the five districts maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about who to marry, which is indicative of social norms. There were no significant district differences as it related to social norms related to making decisions about who to marry.

When it comes to decision-making related to how many children to have and the upbringing of children, Table 4.3 shows that only 27.1% of all respondents maintained that most or all of the girls/women in their districts are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. It is notable that nearly 1 out of 2 or 46.7% of respondents reported that either none or only a few of the girls/women in the five districts are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. There were significant district differences. In particular, respondents in Dedza (35.3%) were more likely than respondents in Mangochi (28.1%), Mzimba (26.2%), Salima (24.5%), and Karonga (21.6%) to report that most or all of the girls/women in their districts are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. It is also notable that as many as 59.9% of respondents in Karonga, 48.3% in Salima, 42.9% in Mzimba, 41.2% in Dedza, and 40.8% in Mangochi report either none or only a few girls/women in their districts are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of the children.

When it comes to making decisions about the household budget and major household purchases, Table 4.3 shows that only 23.2% of respondents maintained most or all of the girls/women in their districts are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases; this data is indicative of social norms. At the same time, more than 1 out of 2 or 52.7% of respondents maintained that none or only a few of the girls/women in their district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. There were significant differences among the districts. In particular, respondents from Mangochi (28.2%), Dedza (26.4%) and Karonga (26.6%) were more likely than respondents in Mzimba (17.5%) and Salima (17.5%) to report that about most or all of the girls/women in their districts are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. In comparison, 63.7% of respondents in Salima, 56.4% in Mzimba, 53.2% in Karonga, 47.8% in Dedza and 41.3% in Mangochi maintained none or only a few of the girls/women in their district are able to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases.

Table 4.3. Social norms related to marriage and family

In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about . . .	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Who to marry?¹						
All of them	14.3	16.9	19.4	11.5	16.7	7.9
Most of them	41.1	41.2	42.4	34.5	38.9	47.7
About half of them	16.2	16.9	15.8	20.9	12.7	14.6
A few of them	23.6	20.6	18.0	25.9	26.2	27.2
None of them	3.0	2.2	4.3	2.9	4.0	2.0
How many children to have and the upbringing of children?²						
All of them	5.4	11.8	3.6	3.6	5.6	2.6
Most of them	21.7	23.5	18.0	24.5	20.6	21.9
About half of them	24.3	22.1	18.7	28.1	27.8	25.2
A few of them	40.2	36.8	48.9	35.3	39.7	40.4
None of them	6.7	4.4	10.8	6.5	3.2	7.9
The household budget and major household purchases?³						
All of them	3.6	5.1	1.4	4.3	4.0	3.4
Most of them	19.6	21.3	25.2	23.9	13.5	14.1
About half of them	22.1	23.5	16.5	28.3	25.4	17.4
A few of them	45.1	39.0	41.7	38.4	53.2	53.0
None of them	7.6	8.8	11.5	2.9	3.2	10.7

¹Sign = .072, Chi-square = 29.85; ²Sign = .022, Chi-square = 34.64; ³Sign = .005, Chi-square = 39.98

Table 4.4 also shows that 44.6% of all respondents reported most or all of the parents in their districts think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, whereas 65.7% of all respondents reported about half or more of the parents in their districts think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. It is notable that 1 out of 3 or 33.7% of all respondents reported only a few or none of the parents in their districts think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. There were significant district differences. In particular, respondents in Karonga (36.7%), Salima (36.4%) and Mangochi (35.2%) were more likely to report that none or only a few parents in their districts think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, compared to respondents in Dedza (24.1%) and Mzimba (31.2%). In comparison, respondents in Dedza (52.6%), Karonga (48.2%), Salima (45.1%) and Mzimba (42.2%) were more likely than respondents in Mangochi (32.9%) to report that most of the parents think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry.

Table 4.4. Social norms related to marriage of young women

In your community, how many parents think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry?	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	8.4	7.3	15.8	5.8	7.2	6.0
Most of them	36.2	45.3	32.4	28.1	36.0	39.1
About half of them	21.1	23.4	15.1	29.5	24.8	13.9
A few of them	30.2	21.9	31.7	33.8	26.4	36.4
None of them	3.5	2.2	5.0	1.4	4.8	4.0

Sign = .001, Chi-square = 44.05

Sex Differences. Data from Tables 4.3 and 4.4 were analysed to reveal some sex differences. Females (19.6%) were more likely to report that all of the women in their districts are free to make decisions about who to marry, compared to males (10.4%); whereas, males (20.0%) were more likely than females (11.0%) to report about half of the girls/women are free to make decisions about who to marry (sign = .002). There were no significant sex differences in perceptions of social norms related to

providing young women with the right to choose who they will marry and decision-making as to how many children to have and the upbringing of children.

In regard to decision-making related to household purchases, analyses revealed males (24.9%) were two times more likely than females (11.8%) to report that most women are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases, whereas females (11.4%) were two times more likely than males (4.8%) to report that no women are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases (sign = .000).

Social Norms Related to Women's Employment. Table 4.5 shows that only 1 out of 4 or 25.4% of all respondents maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home, whereas 49.9% of all respondents maintained a few girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home. There were no significant district differences.

Table 4.5. Social norms related to women's employment						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home?_	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	5.5	8.8	9.4	2.2	2.4	4.7
Most of them	19.9	25.0	15.8	20.1	19.0	19.5
About half of them	22.1	18.4	18.7	25.2	23.8	24.2
A few of them	44.1	42.6	43.9	43.9	43.7	46.3
None of them	5.8	3.7	7.9	5.8	7.1	4.7

Sign = .177, Chi-square = 25.67

Sex Differences. Analysis of data from Table 4.5 revealed significant sex differences. In particular, females were significantly more likely to report most (23.5%) or about half (26.3%) the girls/women are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home, compared to males (17.3% and 19.3% respectively). In comparison, males were more likely to report only a few (48.6%) or none (6.4%) of the girls/women are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home, compared to females (38.4% and 3.9% respectively; sign = .026).

Social Norms Related to Women's Health Care. In regard to women's health care, Table 4.6 shows that as many as 62.1% of all respondents maintained most or all of the women in their districts are free to make decisions about their health and health care, which is indicative of social norms. There were significant district differences. Respondents in Karonga (69.8%) were significantly more likely than respondents in Mangochi (58.7%), Salima (57.4%) and Mzimba (55.5%) to maintain most or all of the women in their districts are free to make decisions about their health and health care. Respondents in Dedza (48.6%) were least like to report that most or all of the women in their district are free to make decisions about their health and health care. At the same time, 26.2% of respondents in Mzimba, 24.0% in Salima, and 22.5% in Mangochi reported none or only a few women in their districts are free to make decisions about their health and health care.

Table 4.6. Social norms related to women's health care						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about their health and health care?_	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	19.9	21.2	19.4	23.2	23.8	12.7
Most of them	42.2	27.4	50.4	35.5	31.7	44.7
About half of them	15.4	12.4	10.8	17.4	18.3	18.0
A few of them	20.1	16.8	15.8	22.5	24.6	21.3
None of them	1.2	0.7	0.7	0.0	1.6	2.7

Sign = .043; Chi-square = 31.99

Sex Differences. Analysis of data in Table 4.6 revealed significant sex differences. Females (27.8%) were nearly two times more likely than males (14.2%) to report that all the women in their districts are free to make decisions about their health and health care. In comparison, males were more likely to report about half (18.5%) to only a few (23.1%) women are free to make decisions about their health and health care, compared to females (11.4% and 15.3% respectively; sign = .000).

Social Norms Related to Women and Land Use. Finally, Table 4.7 shows that only 1 out of 3 or 32.9% of all respondents reported women in their districts are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions; this is indicative of social norms. At the same time, 1 out of 2 or 49.9% of all respondents reported none or only a few of the women in their districts are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions. There were significant district differences. Respondents in Mzimba (58.4%), Salima (57.3%) and Karonga (54.7%) were more likely than respondents from Dedza (44.6%) and Mangochi (34.5%) to report that none or only a few of the women in their districts are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions. Respondents in Karonga (23.0%) were most likely to report that none of the women in their district are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions.

Table 4.7. Social norms related to women and land use						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions?	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	8.4	9.5	12.2	6.5	8.8	5.3
Most of them	24.5	29.2	22.3	31.7	15.2	23.3
About half of them	16.5	16.1	10.8	25.5	10.8	14.0
A few of them	37.7	38.0	31.7	30.2	44.8	44.0
None of them	12.2	6.6	23.0	4.3	13.6	13.3

Sign = .000; Chi-square = 60.63

Sex Differences. Analyses of data in Table 4.7 revealed significant sex differences. Males (31.2%) were two times more likely than female (14.9%) to report most women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions; whereas, females were significantly more likely to report only a few (44.8%) to none (18.9%) of the women in their districts are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions, compared to males (33.2% and 7.4% respectively; sign = .000).

Social Norms and Attitudes Related to Wife Abuse

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a series of questions that measured social norms and attitudes related to wife abuse. Findings are presented in the sections that follow.

Social Norms Related to Wife Abuse. Table 4.8 reveals the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, it is notable that 1 out of 4 of all respondents reported that most or all of the men in their district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husband (30.3%), arguing with their husband (28.5%), going out without telling their husband (25.2%), and refusing sexual intercourse (25.1%). Fewer respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children (17.1%).

There were significant district differences on all but one of these measures; except for wife abuse for neglecting the children. Most notable is that respondents in Dedza (42.6%) were significantly more likely to report that most or all of the men in their district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husband, compared to 33.3% of respondent in Mzimba, 28.8% in Karonga, 26.6% in Salima and 20.9% in Mangochi. Although fewer in number, still a significant proportion of respondents in each of the districts reported most or all of the men in their districts sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husband.

Respondents in Mzimba (36.0%) and Dedza (35.0%) were more likely to report that most or all of the men in their districts sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with their husbands, compared to respondents in Salima (27.2%), Karonga (23.7%) and Mangochi (21.6%). In addition, respondents in Mzimba (36.8%) and Dedza (31.4%) were more likely to report that most or all of the men in their districts sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband, compared to respondents in Karonga (23.0%), Mangochi (18.7%), and Salima (17.9%). These data are reflective of social norms in the districts. Similarly, respondents in Mzimba (35.2%) and Dedza (32.8%) were more likely to report that most or all of the men in their districts sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse, compared to respondents in and Salima (20.5%), Mangochi (19.4%) and Karonga (18.8%).

Table 4.8. Social norms related to wife abuse						
In your community, how many men do you think sometimes hit or beat their wives for . . .	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Disobeying their husband¹						
All of them	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.6	1.3
Most of them	29.6	41.9	28.8	20.9	31.7	25.3
About half of them	21.6	27.2	14.4	23.7	22.2	20.7
A few of them	42.6	27.9	46.0	37.4	40.5	50.0
None of them	4.2	1.5	10.1	5.0	3.2	1.3
Arguing with their husband²						
All of them	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.7
Most of them	27.9	34.3	23.7	21.6	34.4	26.5
About half of them	21.3	28.5	12.9	23.0	20.8	21.2
A few of them	44.9	35.0	52.5	47.5	39.2	49.0
None of them	4.1	0.0	10.8	5.0	2.4	2.0
Going out without telling their husband³						
All of them	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.8	1.3
Most of them	24.6	30.7	23.0	18.7	36.0	16.6
About half of them	19.8	21.9	18.7	21.6	20.0	17.2
A few of them	44.4	42.3	41.0	48.9	33.6	54.3
None of them	7.1	1.5	11.5	7.2	5.6	9.3
Neglecting the children⁴						
All of them	1.0	2.2	0.7	0.0	1.6	0.7
Most of them	16.1	17.5	17.3	15.1	22.4	9.3
About half of them	17.2	21.9	11.5	17.3	18.4	17.3
A few of them	48.8	46.7	51.1	46.0	44.0	55.3
None of them	13.8	9.5	15.8	18.0	11.2	14.0
Refusing sexual intercourse⁵						
All of them	3.8	2.9	9.4	1.4	2.4	2.6
Most of them	21.3	29.9	9.4	18.0	32.8	17.9
About half of them	20.3	21.9	26.1	23.7	18.4	11.9
A few of them	34.2	27.0	27.5	26.7	28.0	49.7
None of them	6.2	4.4	8.0	8.6	4.0	6.0

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 52.46; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 54.25; ³ Sign = .002, Chi-square = 42.49; ⁴ Sign = .240, Chi-square = 24.05

⁵Sign = .000, Chi-square = 70.91

Table 4.9 shows that as many as 69.6% of all respondents reported most people in their districts would disapprove of a man if he beats his wife for disobeying, while 9.6% of all respondents reported most people would approve of his actions and 21.9% reported most people would think it is none of their business. There were no significant differences between districts.

Table 4.9. Social norms supportive of wife abuse						
If a man in your community beats his wife for disobeying, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Approve of his actions	9.6	7.3	11.0	7.2	11.1	11.3
Disapprove of his actions	69.6	66.4	72.1	69.8	68.3	71.3
Think it was none of their business	18.2	21.9	14.7	20.9	19.0	14.7

Sign = .705, Chi-square = 8.98

Sex Differences. Analysis of data in Tables 4.8 and 4.9 reveals significant differences between males and females in their perceptions of social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, females (34.2%) were more likely than males (26.1%) to report that most men in their districts sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying; to compare, males (46.4%) were more likely than females (38.4%) to report only a few men sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying them (sign = .051). In addition, females (33.1%) were more likely than men (23.8%) to report most men in their districts sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing their husbands, whereas males (49.1%) were more likely than females (39.9%) to report only a few men sometimes hit

or beat their wives for arguing with them (sign = .019). Males were also more likely to report about half (24.6%) or only a few (39.0%) men in their district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse, compared to females (15.4% and 28.2% respectively; sign = .000). There were no statistically significant sex differences in respondents' perceptions of how many men hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband.

Surprisingly, males (20.6%) were more likely than females (12.8%) to report about half the men in their districts sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children, whereas females (19.2%) were two times more likely than males (9.6%) to report that none of the men in their districts sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children (sign = .004).

There were also significant sex differences in perceptions of social norms related to how most people in their community (district) would think if a man beat his wife for disobeying. Males (77.1%) were significantly more likely than females (59.6%) to report most people in the community would disapprove of a man beating his wife for disobeying, whereas females (28.6%) were more than two times more likely than males (10.7%) to report most people in the community would think it is none of their business (sign = .000).

Attitudes toward Wife Abuse. Table 4.10 reveals respondent's personal attitudes toward wife abuse. In particular, the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, 39.8% of all respondents believe if a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man. Some respondents (14.8%) also held the belief that a husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her. Finally, 1 out of 3 or 33.7% of all respondents held the belief that a woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together. The only significant district differences were related to the attitude that a woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage. In particular, respondents in Mzimba (44.8%) and Karonga (41.7%) were more likely to believe a woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together, compared to respondents in Mangochi (31.9%), Dedza (26.3%) and Salima (25.2%).

Table 4.10. Attitudes toward wife abuse						
	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
If a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man ¹	39.8	34.3	40.3	42.0	42.1	40.4
A husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her ²	17.9	14.8	20.9	21.2	18.4	14.6
A woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together ³	33.7	26.3	41.7	31.9	44.8	25.2

¹Sign = .473, Chi-square = 7.60; ²Sign = .485, Chi-square = 7.49; ³Sign = .001, Chi-square = 25.37

Sex Differences. Analysis of data in Table 4.10 revealed there were no significant sex differences in respondents' attitudes that a husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her and/or if a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of the man. Females (47.0%), however, were significantly more likely than males (23.7%) to believe a woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together (sign = .000).

Social Norms Related to Sexual Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a question that measured social norms related to sexual violence. Table 4.11 shows that 1 out of 2 or 50.2% of all respondents maintained most or all of the young men in their districts sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, and 3 out of 4 or 74.9% of all respondents maintained about half or more of the young men in their districts sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations. There were significant district differences. In particular, respondents in Dedza (59.1%), Mangochi (59.0%) and Salima (53.6%) were more likely to report that most or all of the young men sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, compared to respondents in Karonga (41.0%) and Mzimba (36.5%).

Table 4.11. Social norms related to sexual violence

In your community, how many young men do you think sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations? ¹	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	3.5	5.1	1.4	5.0	0.0	5.3
Most of them	46.7	54.0	39.6	54.0	36.5	48.3
About half of them	24.7	21.9	26.6	27.3	25.4	22.5
A few of them	19.2	16.1	23.7	10.8	27.8	18.5
None of them	2.3	0.7	2.9	1.4	4.8	2.0
In your community, how many people believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or is married to? ²						
All of them	8.8	7.3	8.0	7.2	7.9	13.3
Most of them	38.4	35.0	39.9	41.0	34.1	41.3
About half of them	13.6	19.7	13.8	13.7	12.7	8.7
A few of them	24.2	29.9	16.7	25.2	23.0	26.0
None of them	12.9	6.6	21.0	11.5	15.9	10.0

¹Sign = .003, Chi-square = 41.77; ²Sign = .001, Chi-square = 45.97

Table 4.11 also reveals that 47.2% of all respondents reported most or all of the people in their districts believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with whom she is married, and 60.8% of all respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married. There were significant district differences. Respondents in Salima (54.6%) were more likely than respondents in Mangochi (48.2%), Karonga (47.9%), Dedza (42.3%), and Mzimba (42.0%) to maintain that most or all of the people in their districts hold this view.

Sex Differences. Data in Table 4.11 was analysed and revealed significant sex differences in social norms related to sexual violence. Females were more likely to report all (5.0%) or most (53.9%) of the young men in their districts sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, compared to males (2.5% and 41.8% respectively). In comparison, males were more likely to report only a few (23.3%) or none (4.8%) of the young men in their districts sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, compared to females (13.8% and 18% respectively; sign = .001).

The analysis also found that males were more likely to report that all (10.7%) and about half (18.6%) of the people in their district believe a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or is married to, compared to females (6.7% and 7.1% respectively). In comparison, females (17.0%) were more likely than males (8.9%) to report that none of the people in their district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or is married to (sign = .000).

Social Norms Related to Harmful Practices

This study also included a focus on traditional practices (*miyambo* in Chichewa) that are considered to be harmful practices to women and girls. The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions related to the occurrence of various traditional practices in each of the five districts, and whether respondents believe most people in the district consider them to be harmful to women and girls, and if respondents recognized the harm done to women and girls by these traditional practices. Qualitative data related to traditional practices was also collected through focus group discussions with district officials and one-on-one interviews with general public adults. Both qualitative and quantitative data related to harmful practices are presented in this section.

Frequency of Traditional Practices. Table 4.12 reveals that each of the different traditional practices listed occurs to varying degrees in the five districts where this study was conducted, and there were significant differences in the willingness of respondents to report the occurrence of such traditional practices in their districts. The most common traditional practice that often occur in the five districts is polygamy. In general, 68.7% of all respondents reported that polygamy ‘often’ occurs in their districts and 27.0% reported polygamy ‘sometimes’ occurs. Only 4.1% of all respondents reported polygamy ‘never’ occurs in their districts. Nearly all respondents in Karonga (89.9%) and Mangochi (84.9%) reported polygamy ‘often’ occurs in their districts; and as many as 2 out of 3 or 69.8% of respondents in Mzimba and

Table 4.12. Frequency of traditional practices

In your community, how often do each of the following traditional practices occur . . .	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
Polygamy¹	%	%	%	%	%	%
Never	4.1	9.0	2.9	2.9	4.0	2.0
Sometimes	27.0	61.2	7.2	11.4	26.2	29.7
Often	68.7	29.1	89.9	84.9	69.8	68.2
Wife inheritance²						
Never	54.0	82.7	6.5	79.1	26.2	73.0
Sometimes	31.7	13.5	60.4	15.1	52.4	18.9
Often	10.4	0.0	31.7	2.2	18.3	0.7
Bonus wife³						
Never	67.5	80.9	37.7	83.9	51.2	81.8
Sometimes	18.3	10.7	39.1	7.3	29.6	6.1
Often	4.0	0.8	13.0	0.0	4.0	2.0
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor⁴						
Never	72.8	80.3	61.3	83.2	60.3	77.9
Sometimes	11.5	10.6	19.0	8.0	10.3	9.4
Often	4.1	0.8	8.0	1.5	8.7	2.0
Wife swapping⁵						
Never	75.2	73.1	82.0	71.7	69.6	78.7
Sometimes	12.2	16.4	2.9	15.2	15.2	12.0
Often	3.5	1.5	5.8	6.5	2.4	1.3
Removing dust⁶						
Never	71.5	75.8	85.0	45.6	71.8	78.2
Sometimes	13.7	14.4	2.2	27.9	8.9	15.0
Often	7.2	2.3	4.3	22.8	2.4	4.1
Labia pulling/stretching⁷						
Never	31.8	18.9	38.7	59.7	25.8	15.5
Sometimes	17.4	17.4	8.0	27.3	11.3	21.6
Often	40.9	53.0	38.7	7.2	46.0	59.5
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter⁸						
Never	47.3	44.4	64.0	35.5	49.2	43.9
Sometimes	42.6	46.3	30.2	51.4	36.3	48.0
Often	5.6	5.2	4.3	10.1	4.0	4.1
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices⁹						
Never	57.3	71.4	90.6	8.6	67.5	50.3
Sometimes	14.8	15.0	2.2	18.0	15.9	22.4
Often	22.4	9.0	2.2	73.4	4.8	20.4
Fisi¹⁰						
Never	59.0	57.1	74.8	56.9	62.7	44.6
Sometimes	28.4	30.8	17.3	29.2	19.0	43.9
Often	3.7	4.5	2.2	4.4	4.0	3.4
When a woman's husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brother¹¹						
Never	75.0	77.3	73.4	79.9	69.0	75.0
Sometimes	10.7	6.8	14.4	7.9	11.9	12.2
Often	2.3	2.3	2.2	0.7	4.8	2.0
A man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased¹²						
Never	77.5	79.7	78.4	74.8	73.6	80.4
Sometimes	9.9	8.3	8.6	15.1	8.8	8.8
Often	2.8	2.3	6.5	0.7	3.2	1.4
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula¹³						
Never	67.5	69.9	87.8	63.3	68.3	49.7
Sometimes	16.5	12.0	5.8	18.0	11.9	32.9
Often	5.4	3.8	2.2	7.2	1.6	11.4

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 149.53; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 320.98; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 146.36; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 49.27

⁵ Sign = .005, Chi-square = 28.41; ⁶ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 133.34; ⁷ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 150.46; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 43.41

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 347.49; ¹⁰ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 41.82; ¹¹ Sign = .401, Chi-square = 12.57; ¹² Sign = .069, Chi-square = 19.91

¹³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 87.80

68.2% in Salima reported polygamy 'often' occurs in their districts. In comparison, only 29.1% of respondents in Dedza reported polygamy 'often' occurs in their district, but 61.2% reported polygamy occurs 'sometimes'.

Another common traditional practice is labia pulling/stretching. Table 4.12 shows that 40.9% of all respondents reported labia pulling/stretching 'often' occurs in their districts, and 17.4% reported labia pulling/stretching occurs 'sometimes'. There were significant district differences. As many as 1 out of 2 or 59.5% of respondents in Salima and 53.0% in Dedza reported labia pulling/stretching 'often' occurs in their districts. In addition, 46.0% of respondents in Mzimba and 38.7% in Karonga reported labia pulling/stretching 'often' occurs in their districts. In comparison, only 7.2% of respondents in Mangochi reported labia pulling/stretching 'often' occurs in their district.

Table 4.12 shows that 1 out of 5, about 22.4% of all respondents also reported that post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices 'often' occurs in their districts, and 14.8% reported such dances and practices 'sometimes' occurs. There are significant district differences. Most notable, as many as 73.4% of respondents in Mangochi reported post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices 'often' occur in their district, and 18.0% reported they sometimes occur. Also, 20.4% of respondents in Salima reported such post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices 'often' occur and 22.4% reported they 'sometimes' occur. It is also notable that as many as 90.6% of respondents reported that post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices 'never' occur in their districts.

It is notable that although 10.4% of all respondents reported wife inheritance 'often' occurs and 31.7% reported this practice 'sometimes' occurs in their districts. Most notable is that 31.7% of respondent in Karonga reported wife inheritance 'often' occurs and 60.4% reported this practice 'sometimes' occurs in their district. Although to a lesser extent, 18.3% of respondent in Mzimba reported wife inheritance 'often' occurs and 52.4% reported this practice 'sometimes' occurs in their district. Respondents from Dedza (82.7%), Mangochi (79.1%) and Salima (73.0%) were much more likely to report that wife inheritance 'never' occurs in their districts.

Finally, although only 3.7% of all respondents reported that Fisi 'often' occurs in their districts, 28.4% reported the practice 'sometimes' occurs. Respondents in Salima (43.9%) were most likely to report that Fisi 'sometimes' occurs, compared to 30.8% of respondents in Dedza, 29.2% in Mangochi, 19.0% in Mzimba, and 17.3% in Karonga. Respondents in Karonga (74.8%) were most likely to report that Fisi 'never' occurs in their district. Table 4.12 shows that each of the other traditional practices occur far less frequently in each of the five districts.

Sex Differences. Analysis of data in Table 4.12 revealed there were no sex differences in perceptions of the frequency of many of the traditional practices listed in Table 6.11, except for removing dust, labia pulling/stretching, and fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters. In particular, males (16.7%) were more likely than females (9.1%) to report that removing dust 'sometimes' occurs in their districts; whereas, females (76.3%) were more likely than males (68.7%) to report that removing dust 'never' occurs in their districts (sign = .041). Males (50.3%) were also more likely than females (31.2%) to report that 'sometimes' fathers have sexual intercourse with their daughters, whereas females (58.0%) were more likely to report fathers 'never' have sexual intercourse with their daughters (sign = .000). In comparison, females (59.4%) were two times more likely than male (28.3%) to report that labia pulling/stretching 'often' occurs in their districts. Males were more likely to report that labia pulling/stretching only 'sometimes' (20.8%) or 'never' (37.3%) occurs, compared to females (12.7% and 22.5% respectively; sign = .000).

Recognition of Traditional Practices as Harmful to Females. Respondents were also asked if most believe in the district (communities) believe each of the traditional practices identified in Table 4.12 is harmful to women and girls. Table 4.13 shows the proportion of respondents who felt that most people in the district believe each of these traditional practices as harmful to women and girls. Respondents who reported the traditional practices were considered good practices or did not occur in their communities are not included in Table 4.13. The focus is only on the social norms that recognize traditional practices as harmful practices.

Most notable is that as many as 76.7% of all respondents maintained most people believe polygamy is a harmful practice for females, 61.9% reported most people believe wife inheritance is a harmful practice for females, 59.6% reported most people believe fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters is a harmful practice for females, and 54.7% of all respondents reported Fisi is a harmful practice for females. Respondents in Salima (83.9%), Dedza (82.8%) and Karonga (81.9%) were more likely to report that most people in their districts recognize polygamy as a harmful practice; this is more often than district officials in Mzimba (72.4%) and Mangochi (61.9%). As it relates to wife inheritance, respondents in Karonga (88.5%) were most likely to report that most people in their district recognize wife inheritance as a harmful practice, compared to Mzimba (65.3%),

Salima (54.7%), Mangochi (52.5%) and Dedza (48.5%). As it related to fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters, respondents in Mangochi (64.7%) and Salima (63.3%) were more likely than respondents in Mzimba (56.9%), Karonga (56.1%) and Dedza (56.1%) to report that most people in their district believe the practice of fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters is a harmful practice to females. Similarly, respondents in Salima (68.9%) were most likely to report that most people in their district believe the practice of Fisi is harmful to females, compared to respondents in Mangochi (52.8%), Dedza (52.2%), Mzimba (50.0%) and Karonga (48.9%).

Table 4.13. Social norms related to harmful practices

In your community, do most people believe the following traditions and practices are harmful practices for females?	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Polygamy ¹	76.7	82.8	81.9	61.9	72.4	83.9
Wife inheritance ²	61.9	48.5	88.5	52.5	65.3	54.7
Bonus wife ³	49.0	40.5	64.0	46.8	50.4	43.2
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor ⁴	44.9	40.9	55.4	47.5	35.8	43.5
Wife swapping ⁵	41.8	43.9	36.7	48.5	36.1	43.2
Removing dust ⁶	45.3	43.2	29.9	55.1	38.8	48.6
Labia pulling/stretching ⁷	30.8	24.8	35.3	37.0	23.8	31.9
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter ⁸	59.6	56.1	56.1	64.7	56.9	63.3
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices ⁹	34.6	32.6	34.5	42.4	27.0	35.4
Fisi ¹⁰	54.7	52.2	48.9	52.8	50.0	68.9
When a woman's husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brother ¹¹	43.1	38.6	38.8	46.4	39.5	51.0
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased ¹²	43.0	38.3	37.4	45.3	40.7	52.0
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula ¹³	38.6	36.7	39.6	42.3	31.7	41.8

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 42.76; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 109.07; ³ Sign = .008, Chi-square = 26.71

⁴ Sign = .067, Chi-square = 19.99; ⁵ Sign = .026, Chi-square = 17.45; ⁶ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 43.48

⁷ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 96.20; ⁸ Sign = .004, Chi-square = 28.69; ⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 117.43;

¹⁰ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 39.36; ¹¹ Sign = .382, Chi-square = 12.82; ¹² Sign = .087, Chi-square = 19.04

¹³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 55.00

Respondents were less likely to report that most people in their districts consider each of the other traditional practices listed in Table 4.13 as harmful to women and girls. In particular, 49.0% of reported that most people in their districts consider the practice of giving a bonus wife is a harmful practice to females. Respondents in Karonga (64.0%) were most likely to recognize the practice of bonus wives as a harmful practice, compared to respondents in Mzimba (50.4%), Mangochi (46.8%), Salima (43.2%) and Dedza (40.5%).

In addition, 45.3% of all respondents recognized removing dust as a harmful practice, 44.9% recognized parents offering their daughter in marriage to the creditor as payment for their debt as a harmful practice, 43.1% recognized the expectation that a woman having sexual intercourse with her husband's brother upon the death of her husband as a harmful practice, and 43.0% maintained most people in their districts consider the practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased as a harmful practice.

Finally, as many as 1 out of 3 respondents recognized practices such as practices for girls who become pregnant before undergoing *chindakula* (38.6%), post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices (34.6%), and labia pulling/stretching (30.8%) as harmful practices to women and girls. There are district differences related to each of these traditional practices.

Sex Differences. Analysis of data in Table 4.13 revealed sex differences when it came to recognizing traditional practices as harmful practices to women and girls. The only traditional practice that females (81.2%) were more likely than male (73.2%) to recognize as harmful to females was polygamy (sign = .012). In comparison, males recognized all of the other traditional practices in Table 6.13 as harmful to females. For instance, males were more likely to recognize practices such as wife inheritance (69.1%) and bonus wives (56.4%) as harmful practices to females, compared to females (50.9% and 36.8% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .000 respectively). Males were also more likely to recognize wife swapping (50.3%) and Fisi (62.8%) as harmful to females, compared to females (28.6% and 42.9% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .000). Males were also more likely to identify harmful practices, such as when a woman’s husband dies, she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband’s brother (52.4%) and the practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased (52.5%), compared to females (29.6% and 29.3% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .000 respectively).

Males were also more likely to recognize removing dust (53.3%) and post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices (43.0%) as harmful to females, compared to females (32.1% and 22.6% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .000 respectively). Males (48.3%) were also more likely than females (26.3%) to identify it as harmful the practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing *chindakula* (sign = .000). Surprisingly, males (41.5%) were also more likely than females (16.4%) to recognize labia pulling/stretching as a harmful practice for females (sign = .000).

Males (53.6%) also more likely than females (32.5%) to identify parents offering their daughter in marriage to their creditor as payment for their debt as a harmful practice (sign = .000). And, males (69.3%) were more likely than females (45.5%) to identify fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters as harmful practices that affects females (sign = .000).

Negative Effects of Traditional Practices. In the survey respondents were asked, “Do women and girls face any harm from the different forms of traditional practises (miyambo) discussed?” Table 4.14 show that as many as 87.7% of respondents recognized that women and girls face harm from the different traditional practices identified in Tables 4.12 and 4.13. There are no significant differences based upon the district.

Table 4.14. Recognition of harm done to women and girls from traditional practices						
	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Women and girls experience harm from the different traditional practices	87.7	82.7	92.1	87.4	91.7	84.9

Sign = .179, Chi-square = 11.42

Sex Differences. Males (91.0%) were more likely than females (82.2%) to recognize women and girls experience harm from the differences traditional practices they experience (sign = .000).

Emerging Forms of VAWG

District officials were also asked about new forms of VAWG occurring in their district, particularly new forms of VAWG occurring among the younger population and/or new forms of VAWG emerging as a result to changes in modifications of traditional practices.

Social Norms Related to Child marriage and early marriage of Girls

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included questions related to child marriage and early marriage of girls. Table 4.15 shows that as many of 1 out of 3 or 33.8% of all respondents reported they believe most or all of the girls in their districts get married before 15 years of age. Moreover, 62.3% of all respondents reported about half or more of the girls in their districts get married before 15 years of age. Respondents in Mangochi (46.8%) and Salima (39.1%) were more likely to report that most of the girls in their districts get married before 15 years of age, compared to respondents in Mzimba (30.2%), Karonga (28.8%) and Dedza (22.6%). Respondents in Dedza (43.8%) were most likely to report that only a few girls in their district get married before 15 years of age.

Table 4.15 also shows that as many as 1 out of 2 or 55.7% of respondents reported that most or all of the girls in their districts get married before 18 years of age, and as many as 3 out of 4 or 78.4% of respondent reported that about half or more of the girls in their districts get married before 18 years of age. There were significant district differences. In particular, respondents from Mangochi (66.9%) were more likely to report that most or all of the girls in their districts get married before 18 years of age, compared to respondents from Salima (55.6%), Karonga (52.6%), Mzimba (51.6%), and Dedza (51.1%).

Table 4.15. Social norms related to child marriage and early marriage of girls						
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 15 years of age? ¹	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	0.6	0.7	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.0
Most of them	33.2	22.6	28.8	44.6	30.2	39.1
About half of them	24.4	28.5	23.0	26.6	25.4	19.2
A few of them	33.5	43.8	37.4	29.4	30.2	36.4
None of them	7.5	2.9	10.8	5.8	14.3	4.6
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 18 years of age? ²						
All of them	2.2	1.5	5.8	1.4	0.8	1.3
Most of them	53.5	49.6	46.8	65.5	50.8	54.3
About half of them	22.7	29.9	22.3	18.0	23.8	19.9
A few of them	19.2	19.0	19.4	12.9	24.6	20.5
None of them	2.2	0.0	5.8	0.7	0.0	4.0

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 57.97; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 51.52

Respondents were asked what would be the reaction of most people in their districts if parents arranged for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age. Table 4.16 shows that although nearly 2 out of 3 or 63.9% of respondents felt that parents in the district would disapprove of parents arranging for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, yet nearly 1 out of 4 or 28.2% of respondents reported that most people would think it was none of their business, and 7.1% would approve of the parents' actions. There were no significant differences among the districts.

Table 4.16. Social norms supportive of child marriage and early marriage						
If parents in this community arrange for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Approve of their actions	7.1	5.8	3.6	10.8	10.3	5.3
Disapprove of their actions	63.9	68.6	63.3	54.7	61.9	70.2
Think it was none of their business	28.2	25.5	34.2	33.1	27.0	23.2

Sign = .142, Chi-square = 17.20

Sex Differences. Data in Tables 4.15 and 4.16 were analysed and revealed no significant sex differences in perceptions of social norms related to child marriage before 15 years of age. There were, however, sex differences in perceptions of social norms related to marriage before 18 years of age. In particular, females were more likely to report that all (3.5%) and most (65.2%) of the girls get married before 18 years of age, compared to males (1.3% and 44.3% respectively). In comparison, males were more likely to report about half (27.8%) or only a few (23.8%) girls get married before 18 years of age, compared to females (15.6% and 13.5% respectively; sign = .000).

In regard to responses to child marriage, males (70.9%) were more likely than female (53.9%) to report most people in their districts would disapprove of a parents' actions if they arranged for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age. In comparison, females (37.6%) were more likely than males (21.5%) to mention most people would think it is none of their business if parents arranged for their daughters to be married at 15 years of age (sign = .000).

Understanding the Relationship between Child marriage and early marriage and Violence.

Table 4.17 shows that as many as 74.1% of respondents understand there is a relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence, particularly that girls who are married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family. There are no statistically significant differences among the districts.

Sex Differences. Data in Table 4.17 was analysed and there were no sex differences in understanding the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence, i.e., girls married before age 18 are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family.

Table 4.17. Understanding the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence						
	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Girls married before age 18 are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family	74.1	71.5	76.3	77.0	65.1	79.5

Sign = .232, Chi-square = 10.49

Victim-Blaming of Female Survivors of Violence

Societal attitudes that cast the blame on girls and women for causing problems in the family and justifications for the use of VAWG in the family, leads to victim-blaming from family, friends, and authorities. In Malawi, victim-blaming serves as a barrier for women and girls wanting to access protection from VAWG. In terms of victim-blaming for wife abuse, respondents were asked how many people in the community believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, as well as how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to someone outside of their family about the abuse or violence in their marriage.

Table 4.18 shows that nearly 1 out of 3 or 31.9% of all respondents reported most or all of the community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, and 1 out of 2 or 50.6% of all respondents maintained about half or more of community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault. Also, 1 out of 3 or 33.4% of all respondents reported that most or all of the people in the community believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage, and more than 1 out of 2 or 58.2% of all respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse of violence in the marriage. These findings are indicative of such social norms in each of the five districts included in this study.

The only statistically significant district differences relate to people believing a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to someone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage. In particular, respondents in Salima (38.5%) and Mzimba (37.1%), Mzimba (34.3%) and Dedza (34.3%) were more likely to report that most or all of the people in their districts believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage, compared to respondents Karonga (23.1%).

Table 4.18. Social norms related to victim-blaming for wife abuse						
In your community, how many believe when a woman is beat by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	4.8	4.4	8.0	5.1	3.2	3.3
Most of them	27.1	27.7	23.2	23.9	30.2	30.5
About half of them	18.7	21.2	14.5	14.5	22.2	21.2
A few of them	44.5	44.5	50.7	47.8	40.5	39.1
None of them	3.0	1.5	0.7	5.1	2.4	5.3
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage? ²						
All of them	5.1	4.4	7.9	5.1	1.6	6.0
Most of them	28.3	29.9	15.1	29.2	35.5	32.5
About half of them	22.1	24.8	23.7	21.2	21.0	19.9
A few of them	34.3	33.6	36.7	33.6	30.6	36.4
None of them	9.0	5.8	14.4	10.2	9.7	5.3

¹ Sign = .122, Chi-square = 27.48; ² Sign = .049, Chi-square = 31.48

Table 4.19 shows that only 13.6% of respondents reported most or all of the people in their districts believe that when a woman is raped, she is partly to blame or at fault, and 1 out of 3 or 33.4% of respondents reported about half of the people in the community believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault. There were significant district differences. In particular, respondents in Mzimba (19.8%), Dedza (14.6%) and Salima (13.3%) were more likely to report most or all of the people believe that when a woman is raped, she is partly to blame or at fault, compared to respondents in Karonga (10.8%) and Mangochi (9.3%).

Table 4.19. Social norms related to victim-blaming for sexual violence						
In your community, how many people believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	0.3	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0
Most of them	13.3	14.6	10.8	8.6	19.8	13.3
About half of them	19.8	19.0	26.6	18.7	16.7	18.0
A few of them	43.1	53.3	30.9	43.2	34.1	52.7
None of them	20.8	11.7	29.5	35.2	23.0	15.3
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped?						
All of them	5.8	5.1	8.6	4.3	4.8	6.0
Most of them	26.0	29.9	14.4	26.8	30.2	29.1
About half of them	16.8	17.5	12.2	18.8	17.5	17.9
A few of them	34.2	39.4	36.0	30.4	26.2	37.7
None of them	15.9	7.3	26.6	18.8	19.0	8.6

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 53.69; ²Sign = .001, Chi-square = 45.25

Table 4.19 also shows that 31.8% of respondents reported most or all of the people in their districts believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, and 48.6% of respondents reported about half or more of the people in their districts believe that a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped. There were significant district differences. Respondents in Salima (35.1%), Mzimba (35.0%), Dedza (35.0%) and Mangochi (31.1%) were more likely to report that most or all of the people in their districts believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, compared to respondents in Karonga (23.0%).

Victim-blaming attitudes of this kind marginalize women and girls who experience violence and make it hard for them to come forward and report the violence/abuse in their lives and families. If victims know that society or a frontline service provider will blame them for the violence/abuse, she will not feel safe or comfortable coming forward and talking about or reporting it. Victim-blaming attitudes also reinforce what the abuser has been saying all along, that it is the victim's fault that the violence/abuse happens. By engaging in victim-blaming attitudes, society allows the abuser to commit acts of violence/abuse, including sexual assault/rape, while avoiding accountability for their actions.

Sex Differences. Data in Table 4.19 was analysed to reveal there are no statistically significant sex differences in perceptions as to how many people in the districts believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault or that she should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of her family about abuse or violence in their marriage. Similarly, there were no statistically significant sex differences in perceptions as to how many people in the districts believe a young woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped. There were sex differences, however, in perceptions as to how many people in the district believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault. In particular, males (23.1%) were more likely than females (16.0%) to report that about half of the people in their districts believe when a woman is raped, she is partly to blame or at fault; whereas females (94.2%) were more likely than males (39.6%) to report only a few people in their districts would blame the rape victim (sign = .069).

Public Responses to VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included several questions that measured individual responses to VAWG, particular what respondents would do if they witnessed a woman being beaten by her husband and if they saw or heard a woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man. Respondents were asked to report all the responses they would take in such situations, so they could identify more than one response; therefore, column percentages will not total 100.0%.

Table 4.20 shows that 74.3% of all respondents reported they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, and 1 out of 2 or 51.4% reported they would report the incident to the police. Respondents in Karonga (84.9%) and Mzimba (78.6%) were more likely to report they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, compared to respondents in Dedza (73.0%), Salima (70.9%), and Mangochi (64.7%). Respondents in Mangochi (59.7%), Mzimba (57.1%) and Salima (53.6%) were also more likely to report that they would report the incident to the police, compared to respondents in Dedza (49.6%) and Karonga (37.4%).

Table 4.20. Public responses to wife abuse						
What would you do if you witnessed a woman being beat by her husband?	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	7.7	10.9	4.3	9.4	4.8	8.6
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	2.3	2.9	0.7	2.9	1.6	3.3
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	74.3	73.0	84.9	64.7	78.6	70.9
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	51.4	49.6	37.4	59.7	57.1	53.6
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	5.6	7.3	7.9	3.6	3.2	6.0

¹Sign = .162, Chi-square = 6.54; ²Sign = .568, Chi-square = 2.94; ³Sign = .002, Chi-square = 17.06; ⁴Sign = .002, Chi-square = 16.87

⁵Sign = .329, Chi-square = 4.62

Respondents were also asked what they would do if they witnessed a young woman being beaten by her boyfriend (dating violence). Table 4.21 shows that 3 out of 4 or 75.7% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help the young woman that was being beaten by their boyfriend, and 44.7% maintained they would report the incident to the police. There were a few significant differences between districts, except as it relates to reporting the incident to the police. Respondent in Mzimba (57.9%) and Mangochi (55.4%) were more likely than respondents in Salima (40.4%), Dedza (37.2%) and Karonga (33.8%) to mention they would report the incident of dating violence to the police.

Table 4.21. Public responses to dating violence						
What would you do if you witnessed a young woman being beat by her boyfriend?	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	6.8	10.2	5.0	7.9	4.0	6.6
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	1.7	0.7	1.4	1.4	2.4	2.6
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	75.7	78.1	79.1	67.6	77.8	76.2
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	44.7	37.2	33.8	55.4	57.9	40.4
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	5.3	7.3	6.5	5.0	3.2	4.6

¹Sign = .151, Chi-square = 6.73; ²Sign = .735, Chi-square = 2.00; ³Sign = .161, Chi-square = 6.57; ⁴Sign = .000, Chi-square = 26.26

⁵Sign = .603, Chi-square = 2.73

What would respondents do if they saw or heard of a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, Table 4.22 shows that 73.8% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help a woman who they saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, and 61.2% of respondents reported they would report the incident to the police. There were a couple of district differences. In particular, respondents in Karonga (84.9%), Dedza (75.2%) and Mzimba (72.0%) were more likely to report they would intervene and try to help if they saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man, compared to respondents in Salima (68.9%) and Mangochi (68.1%). Respondents in Salima (69.5%) and Mzimba (66.4%) were more likely to report they would report the incident of sexual violence to the police, compared to respondents in Mangochi (60.9%), Dedza (55.5%) and Karonga (53.2%).

Table 4.22. Public responses to sexual violence

What would you do if you saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man?	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	4.1	5.8	2.9	2.9	4.0	4.6
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.8	1.3
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	73.8	75.2	84.9	68.1	72.0	68.9
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	61.2	55.5	53.2	60.9	66.4	69.5
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	3.5	7.3	3.6	1.4	0.8	4.0

¹Sign = .695, Chi-square = 2.22; ² Sign = .776, Chi-square = 1.78; ³ Sign = .022, Chi-square = 11.45; ⁴ Sign = .034, Chi-square = 10.44

Sex Differences. Data in Tables 4.20, 4.21 and 4.22 was analysed and revealed statistically sex significant differences in terms of responses to wife abuse. Although a small proportion of respondents reported they would walk away and not intervene if they witnessed a woman being beaten by her husband, the analysis did find that females (11.7%) were two times more likely than males (5.1%) to report they would walk away and not intervene (sign = .002). On the other hand, males (78.5%) were more likely than females (68.8%) to report they would intervene and try to help the woman (sign = .004). At the same time, although only a small proportion of respondents, males (8.4%) were four times more likely than females (2.1%) to report that if they witnessed a woman being beaten by her husband they would not report the incident to anyone (sign = .001).

In terms of responses to dating violence (i.e., witnessing a young woman being beaten by her boyfriend). The only sex difference was that males (80.0%) were more likely than females (69.1%) to report they would intervene and try to help young woman that they witnessed being beaten by her boyfriend (sign = .001). In comparison, females (49.6%) were more likely than men (40.5%) to mention they would report the incident to the police (sign = .018). Although only a small proportion of respondents, males (8.4%) were six times more likely than female (1.4%) to mention they would not report the incident to anyone (sign = .000)

As it relates to responses to sexual violence, although few in numbers, females (6.4%) were two times more likely than males (2.5%) to report they would walk away and not intervene if they saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man (sign = .013); whereas, males (4.8%) were more likely than females (1.8%) to report they would not report the incident to anyone (sign = .035). In comparison, males (78.7%) were more likely than females (67.6%) to report they would intervene and try to help than women who is being sexually assaulted/raped; sign = .001).

Help-Seeking Behaviours of Female Survivors of Violence

Respondents were asked about the help-seeking behaviours of women and girls who experience violence. Table 4.23 shows that 2 out of 3 or 68.0% of all respondents reported they thought that women/girls in their districts who experience violence would be 'very likely' to seek medical care and tell the doctor or nurse about the violence, and 70.4% reported they thought that women/girls in their districts who experience violence would be 'very likely' to report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs.

Table 4.23. Help-seeking behaviours of female survivors of violence

In your community, if a woman/girl experiences violence how likely would they be to . . .	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Seek medical care and tell the doctor/nurse about the violence ¹						
Not likely	12.4	10.3	10.8	18.0	15.2	8.1
Somewhat likely	19.2	13.2	15.8	23.0	22.4	21.5
Very likely	68.0	76.5	73.4	58.3	60.8	70.5
Report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs ²						
Not likely	11.0	11.0	7.2	15.1	15.1	7.3
Somewhat likely	18.0	14.0	11.5	22.3	22.2	20.0
Very likely	70.4	75.0	80.6	62.6	61.9	71.3

¹Sign = .021, Chi-square = 23.87; ² Sign = .025, Chi-square = 23.37

There are significant district differences. Table 4.23 reveals respondents in Dedza (76.5%), Karonga (73.4%) and Salima (70.5%) were more likely to maintain women/girls who experience violence are 'very likely' to seek medical care and tell the medical workers about the violence, compared to 60.8% of respondents in Mzimba and 58.3% in Mangochi. Similarly, respondents in Karonga (80.6%), Dedza (75.0%) and Salima (71.3%) were more likely to maintain women/girls who experience violence would be 'very likely' to report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs.

Respondents were also asked what advice they would give to a family member who experienced wife abuse or was raped, and how confident they were the police would register and investigate the complaint. Table 4.24 shows that as many as 90.4% of respondents reported that if their sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured that they would be 'very likely' to encourage her to report the incident to the police. In addition, 79.4% of respondents reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their sister's complaint of wife abuse. There were no statistically significant district differences.

Table 4.24. Advice to wife abuse victims and confidence in the police response to wife abuse						
If your sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured how likely would you be to encourage her to report the incident to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not likely	2.2	1.5	0.7	3.6	3.2	2.0
Somewhat likely	7.1	6.6	3.6	8.7	6.4	10.0
Very likely	90.4	91.2	95.7	87.7	89.6	88.0
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your sister's complaint? ²						
Not confident	3.8	2.2	5.8	5.8	5.6	0.0
Somewhat confident	16.1	15.4	10.1	18.1	16.8	19.7
Very confident	79.4	81.6	83.3	75.4	76.8	79.6

¹ Sign = .425, Chi-square = 12.26; ² Sign = .197, Chi-square = 15.88

Table 4.25 shows that as many as 96.7% of respondents reported that if their daughter were the victim of rape that they would be 'very likely' to report the crime to the police, and 85.5% of respondents reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their daughter's complaint of rape. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials. There were no statistically significant district differences.

Table 4.25. Advice to rape victims and confident in the police response to wife abuse						
If your daughter were the victim of rape, how likely would you be to report the crime to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not likely	0.4	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0
Somewhat likely	2.8	3.6	2.9	0.7	4.8	2.0
Very likely	96.7	95.6	97.1	99.3	92.9	98.0
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your daughter's complaint? ²						
Not confident	2.0	2.9	2.2	2.2	3.2	0.0
Somewhat confident	12.0	9.5	6.5	13.8	11.9	18.0
Very confident	85.5	87.6	89.9	83.3	84.9	82.0

¹ Sign = .222, Chi-square = 15.36; ² Sign = .079, Chi-square = 19.41

Sex Differences. Analysis of data in Table 4.24 and 4.25 revealed sex differences in social norms related to help-seeking behaviours of female survivors of violence. Females (73.0%) were more likely than males (64.5%) to report it is 'very likely' that women and girls who experience violence are likely to seek medical care and to tell the doctor or nurse about the violence they experienced; whereas, males (23.0%) were more likely than females (14.5%) to report women and girls are only 'somewhat likely' to seek medical care and to tell health workers about the violence they experienced (sign = .007). There were no sex differences. It is perceived women and girls who experience violence would report the incident to traditional leaders or chiefs.

In terms of advice they would give to a female family member to report their experiences with marital violence and sexual violence to the police, there were no sex differences. There were no sex differences in the level of confidence they would have the police would register and investigate their report of gender-based violence.

Perceived Seriousness of VAWG

Respondents were asked to rate how serious a problem is family/marital violence and sexual assault/rape of women. Table 4.26 shows that 47.1% of respondents identified family/marital violence as a 'serious problem' in the five districts included in this study, 27.1% identified family/marital violence as a 'moderate problem', and 20.7% identified family/marital violence as a 'minor problem'. Far fewer respondents identified family/marital violence as 'not a problem' (4.9%). There are no statistically significant district differences.

Table 4.26. Perceived seriousness of family/marital violence						
In your community, how serious a Problem is family/marital violence?	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not a problem	4.9	1.5	8.6	7.2	4.8	2.6
Minor problem	20.7	18.2	24.5	20.9	22.6	17.9
Moderate problem	27.1	32.8	25.2	24.5	23.4	29.1
Serious problem	47.1	47.3	41.7	47.5	48.4	50.3

Sign = .168, Chi-square = 21.28

Table 4.27 shows that only 23.7% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in the five districts and 21.8% identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'moderate problem'. It is notable that 39.7% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape as a 'minor problem' in the districts, and 13.8% of respondents maintained sexual assault/rape of women and girls is 'not a problem' in the districts. There were significant district differences. In particular, respondents in Mangochi (18.7%) were least likely to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' compared to respondents in the other districts. At the same time, respondents in Mangochi (44.6%) were most likely to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem' in their district, compared to respondents in the other districts. It is also notable that respondents in Karonga (23.0%) were more likely to report sexual assault/rape of women and girls is 'not a problem' in their district.

Table 4.27. Perceived seriousness of sexual assault/rape (Karonga)						
In your community, how serious a problem is sexual assault/rape of women and girls?	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not a problem	13.8	8.8	23.0	12.9	18.4	6.8
Minor problem	39.7	38.7	38.1	44.6	37.6	39.5
Moderate problem	21.8	27.7	12.2	23.7	21.6	23.8
Serious problem	23.7	24.8	23.7	18.7	21.6	29.3

Sign = .001, Chi-square = 40.47

Sex Differences. Data in Tables 4.26 and 4.27 were analysed and revealed statistically significant sex differences in the perceived seriousness of VAWG in the districts. In particular, females (53.6%) were more likely than males (42.8%) to perceive marital violence as a 'serious problem' in their districts, whereas males were more likely to see marital violence as a 'minor problem' (23.5%) or 'not a problem at all' (7.1%) compared to females (16.8% and 1.8% respectively, sign = .001). There were no sex differences in the perceived seriousness of sexual assault/rape of women in the districts.

Sources of Information on VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure what sources of information adults in the general public and district officials rely upon to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 6.28 shows that as many as 76.6% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the mass media, 72.3% receive information from informal networks, 63.5% receive information from community leaders, and 38.7% receive information from family survivors of violence.

In regard to mass media, as many as 3 out of 4 or 75.9% of respondents receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the radio. An interview with broadcasters from the local radio station revealed that they cover stories on gender issues and have a special radio talk programme on gender-based violence that is broadcast once a week live and then rebroadcast during the week. Sometimes government representatives and/or local NGOs are invited to participate in the programme. The local radio station also has a 'chat with women' programme that is broadcast three times a week and designed to target women in particular. Radio broadcasters reported the challenges they face with broadcasting these programmes is the lack of knowledge related to women's issues and gender-based violence, so they feel they would benefit significantly from gender-based violence training and gender issues.

Only 1 out of 3 respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the TV (32.8%) and newspapers (37.2%). Far fewer respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the internet (21.9%). District officials (90.8%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (59.0%) to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from mass media.

Table 4.28. Sources of information related to family/marital violence						
Sources of information on women and girls who experience family/marital violence	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mass media	76.7	76.6	72.7	80.6	76.2	77.5
TV ¹	29.5	32.8	25.9	33.1	29.4	26.5
Radio ²	73.7	75.9	65.5	76.3	74.6	76.2
Newspapers ³	35.4	37.2	28.8	38.8	37.3	35.1
Internet ⁴	15.3	21.9	8.6	12.9	17.5	15.9
Informal networks	69.4	72.3	66.2	72.7	69.8	66.2
Family ⁵	56.8	62.8	57.6	59.0	59.5	46.4
Friends ⁶	60.1	62.0	58.3	59.7	60.3	60.3
Community leaders	57.1	63.5	55.4	54.0	52.4	59.6
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	53.6	60.6	53.2	48.9	49.2	55.6
Religious leaders ⁸	29.5	35.8	14.4	33.1	34.9	29.8
Female survivors of violence ⁹	34.1	38.7	23.7	31.7	38.1	38.4
Other ¹⁰	5.1	2.9	0.7	9.4	7.1	5.3

¹ Sign = .537, Chi-square = 3.13; ² Sign = .185, Chi-square = 6.20; ³ Sign = .435, Chi-square = 3.79; ⁴ Sign = .034, Chi-square = 10.45

⁵ Sign = .052, Chi-square = 9.39; ⁶ Sign = .981, Chi-square = .422; ⁷ Sign = .273, Chi-square = 5.15; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.51

⁹ Sign = .034, Chi-square = 10.43; ¹⁰ Sign = .010, Chi-square = 13.25

In regard to informal networks, respondents were equally likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from family (62.8%) and friends (62.0%). There were also no significant differences between general public adults and district officials when it comes to informal networks being sources of information on family/marital violence.

In regard to community leaders, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from community leaders/chiefs (60.6%) versus religious leaders (35.8%). District officials (47.4%) were two times more likely to receive information from religious leaders than adults in the general public (21.3%). Finally, Table 4.23 shows that district officials (59.2%) were four times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experienced family/marital violence than adults in the general public (13.1%).

Table 4.29 shows information sources on women and girls who experience sexual violence. In particular, 82.5% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence from the mass media, 67.9% receive information from informal networks, 50.4% receive information from community leaders, and 27.0% receive information from family survivors of violence.

In regard to mass media, as many as 80.3% of respondents receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence. Fewer respondents receive information from newspapers (36.5%), TV (31.4%), and the internet (22.6%). District officials (93.4%) were significantly more likely to receive information from mass media than general public adults (68.9%). In fact, district officials were significantly more likely to receive information all means of mass media. In terms of mass media, general public adults were more likely to receive information about sexual assault/rape from the radio (2 out of 3 or 68.9%).

Table 4.29. Sources of information related to sexual assault/rape						
Sources of information on women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mass media	79.0	82.5	73.4	79.1	81.7	78.8
TV ¹	25.0	31.4	18.0	28.1	26.2	21.9
Radio ²	77.7	80.3	73.4	77.0	81.7	76.8
Newspapers ³	34.2	36.5	25.9	38.8	33.3	36.4
Internet ⁴	14.9	22.6	5.8	12.2	16.7	17.2
Informal networks	65.5	67.9	68.3	68.3	62.7	60.3
Family ⁵	48.7	49.6	54.0	51.8	50.0	39.1
Friends ⁶	58.7	62.0	61.2	59.0	57.1	54.3
Community leaders	49.9	50.4	45.3	50.4	42.9	58.9
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	47.7	47.4	43.2	47.5	41.3	57.6
Religious leaders ⁸	21.4	24.8	7.9	25.2	28.6	21.2
Female survivors of violence ⁹	27.5	27.0	19.4	23.7	31.7	35.1
Other ¹⁰	3.2	2.2	0.7	5.0	6.3	2.0

¹ Sign = .084, Chi-square = 8.21; ² Sign = .504, Chi-square = 3.33; ³ Sign = .179, Chi-square = 6.28; ⁴ Sign = .002, Chi-square = 17.37

⁵ Sign = .099, Chi-square = 7.81; ⁶ Sign = .679, Chi-square = 2.31; ⁷ Sign = .056, Chi-square = 9.19; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 21.03

⁹ Sign = .026, Chi-square = 11.07; ¹⁰ Sign = .049, Chi-square = 9.54

In regard to informal networks, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape by a friend (62.0%) versus their family (49.6%); this is the case for both district officials and adults in the general public. In regard to community leaders, respondents were nearly two times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from community leaders/chiefs (47.8%) than religious leaders (24.8%). Both general public adults and district officials were more likely to receive information about sexual violence from community leaders/chiefs than religious leaders, whereas district officials (30.3%) were more likely than general public adults (18.0%) to identify religious leaders as a source of information on sexual VAWG. Finally, Table 4.24 shows that district officials (44.7%) were nine times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence than adults in the general public (4.9%).

Sex Differences. Males were more likely to receive information from the TV about women and girls who experience family violence (32.7%) and sexual violence (28.1%), compared to females (24.5% and 20.2% respectively; sign = .021 and sign = .019 respectively). Similarly, males were more likely to receive information from the radio about women and girls who experience family violence (86.3%) and sexual violence (86.3%), compared to females (55.7% and 65.6% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .000 respectively). Analysis also revealed males were more likely to receive information from newspapers about women and girls who experience family violence (41.3%) and sexual violence (39.5%), compared to females (27.0% and 27.0% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .001 respectively). Although there were no sex differences in terms of receiving information from the internet about women and girls who experience family violence, there were sex differences in the internet being a source of information about women who experience sexual assault/rape. In particular, males (17.5%) were more likely than females to receive information about women who experience sexual assault/rape from the internet (sign = .028).

In terms of informal networks, there were no sex differences in terms of receiving information from family about women and girls who experience family violence and/or sexual violence, but there were sex differences in terms of getting such information from friends. Females were more likely to receive information from friends about women and girls who experience family violence (27.3%) and sexual violence (66.7%), compared to males (51.9% and 53.2% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .000 respectively).

When it comes to receiving information about family/marital violence from community leaders, males were more likely to receive information from community leaders and chiefs about women and girls who experience family/marital violence (63.3%) and sexual violence (60.0%), compared to females (39.7% and 30.9% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .000 respectively). Males were also more likely to report they receive information from religious leaders about women and girls who experience family/marital violence (38.0%) and sexual violence (28.4%), compared to females (17.0% and 12.1% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .000 respectively).

Finally, there were no sex differences when it came to receiving information about women and girls who experience family/ marital violence and/or sexual violence. There were also no sex differences in receiving information from other sources.

Publication of Victim and Perpetrator Identities in Mass Media

In recent years, protecting VAWG survivors' identities in media coverage has been a growing focus. This is because international research has found that when the names of VAWG survivors, particularly child victims, and other identifying information appears in the media it can exacerbate trauma, complicate recovery, discourage future disclosures and inhibit cooperation with authorities for the women and girls involved.¹³² The *District Officials Survey* measured attitudes toward publishing in mass media the names and photos of VAWG survivors and/or their perpetrators.

District officials were asked if they thought the names and identities of women and girls who are victims of violence and perpetrators of such violence should be reported and published in the mass media. Table 4.30 shows that 39.5% of district officials maintained the names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media. In addition, nearly 3 out of 4 or 71.6% of district officials held the belief that the names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media. This finding reveals a lack of understanding among district officials as to the need to protect the identities of women and girls who experience violence, and the negative consequences of publicizing the identities of VAWG survivors.

Table 4.30. Publication of victim and perpetrator identities in mass media						
	Total Sample N=400	Dedza N=76	Karonga N=69	Mangochi N=88	Mzimba N=78	Salima N=89
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media ¹	39.5	36.0	44.9	45.5	39.5	32.2
Names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media ²	71.6	58.1	79.7	77.3	62.8	78.7

¹ Sign = .004, Chi-square = 22.79; ² Sign = .006, Chi-square = 21.47

There were significant district differences. Respondents in Mangochi (45.5%) and Karonga (44.9%) were more likely than respondents in Mzimba (39.5%), Dedza (36.0%) and Salima (32.2%) to report the names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media. In addition, respondents in Karonga (79.7%), Salima (78.7%) and Mangochi (77.3%) were more likely to report the names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media, compared to respondents in Mzimba (62.8%) and Dedza (58.1%).

Sex Differences. Data in Table 4.30 was analysed and revealed no sex differences among district officials in their perceptions as to the publication of victim and perpetrator identities in mass media.

Social Norms Related to Government Responsibility to Protect Women and Girls from Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms related to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members. Table 4.31 shows that the majority of respondents reported that most or all of the people in their districts think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members, and to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from child marriage.

Table 4.31 shows that 2 out of 3 or 66.8% of all respondents reported that most or all of the people in their districts think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family. Moreover, 82.9% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district hold this view. Respondents in Karonga (73.4%) were more likely than respondent in Mzimba (66.7%), Salima (66.0%), Dedza (65.7%) and Mangochi (62.6%) to maintain that most or all of the people in their district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home/family.

Table 4.31. Social norms relate to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence

In your community, how many people think the government has a responsibility to protect . . .	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Women and girls from violence in the home/family¹						
All of them	19.8	24.1	23.0	17.3	17.5	17.3
Most of them	47.0	41.6	50.4	45.3	49.2	48.7
About half of them	16.1	18.2	12.2	15.1	13.5	20.7
A few of them	15.8	16.1	11.5	21.6	16.7	13.3
None of them	0.7	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.8	0.0
Women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members²						
All of them	20.4	19.0	28.8	19.4	19.0	16.0
Most of them	46.5	46.7	46.0	43.2	46.8	49.3
About half of them	15.3	16.8	10.8	15.1	16.7	17.3
A few of them	16.4	16.8	12.2	21.6	13.5	17.3
None of them	0.9	0.7	2.2	0.7	0.8	0.0
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage³						
All of them	17.7	19.9	25.9	13.7	17.5	12.0
Most of them	42.5	45.6	41.7	40.3	41.3	43.3
About half of them	17.0	16.9	14.4	15.1	20.6	18.0
A few of them	21.0	16.9	15.1	28.8	17.5	26.0
None of them	1.6	0.7	2.9	2.2	1.6	0.7

¹ Sign = .016, Chi-square = 35.79; ² Sign = .015, Chi-square = 36.20; ³ Sign = .025, Chi-square = 34.18

In addition, 2 out of 3 or 66.9% of respondents reported that, most or all of the people in their districts think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members, and 82.2% of respondents reported that about half of the people in the district holds this view. Respondents in Karonga (74.8%) were significantly more likely to hold this view than respondents from Mzimba (65.8%), Dedza (65.7%), Salima (65.3%) and Mangochi (62.6%).

Finally, 60.2% of respondents also reported that most or all of the people in their districts think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from child marriage, and 77.2% of respondents reported about half of them held this view. There were significant district differences. Respondents in Karonga (67.6%) and Dedza (65.5%) were more likely to believe most or all of the people in their districts think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than age 18 from marriage, compared to respondents in Mzimba (58.8%), Salima (55.3%) and Mangochi (54.0%).

Respondents were also asked about the importance of having laws that protect women and girls from violence. Table 4.32 shows that 76.3% of respondents maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence, 77.2% maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from sexual assault and rape, and 83.0% maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect girls younger than age 18 from marriage. There were significant district differences only in relation to protecting girls younger than age 18 from marriage. Respondents in Salima (87.3%) and Karonga (87.0%) were more likely to believe it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage, compared to respondents in Mangochi (82.0%), Dedza (81.6%) and Mzimba (76.2%). Respondents in Mzimba (4.8%) were actually more likely than respondents from the other district to maintain it is 'not important to have laws that protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage.

Table 4.32. Importance of laws that protect women and girls from violence

How important is it to have laws in Malawi that protect . . .	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Women and girls from marital violence¹						
Not important	1.3	0.7	2.9	1.4	0.8	0.7
Important	22.2	25.7	23.7	23.7	19.0	18.8
Very important	76.3	73.5	13.4	74.8	79.4	80.5
Women and girls from sexual assault/rape²						
Not important	1.2	1.5	0.7	1.4	1.6	0.7
Important	21.2	16.9	23.0	25.9	23.8	16.7
Very important	77.2	81.6	76.3	72.9	73.0	82.7
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage³						
Not important	1.9	0.7	0.0	1.4	4.8	2.7
Important	14.7	17.6	13.0	16.5	16.7	10.0
Very important	83.0	81.6	87.0	82.0	76.2	87.3

¹Sign = .494, Chi-square = 11.41; ²Sign = .345, Chi-square = 13.34; ³Sign = .005, Chi-square = 28.45

Sex Differences. Further analysis of data in Table 4.32 revealed sex differences in perceptions of social norms related to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence. In particular, females (24.5%) were more likely than males (16.5%) to report all of the people in their districts think the government as a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family; whereas, males (20.3%) were more likely than females (10.6%) to report about half of the people in their districts think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from family/martial violence (sign = .007). Females were also more likely to report all (20.6%) or most (46.5%) of the people in their districts think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than age 18 from marriage, compared to males (15.3% and 39.7% respectively). In comparison, males were more likely to report about half (20.6%) or only a few (23.2%) people in their districts hold this view of government responsibility to protect girls younger than age 18 from marriage, compared to females (12.8% and 18.1% respectively; sign = .023). There were no sex differences in the perceived social norms related to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members.

Analysis also revealed that sex differences in perceptions on the importance of having laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from violence. Most notable is that males were more likely to report it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from family/marital violence (86.0%) and sexual assault/rape (86.3%), compared to females (62.8% and 65.2% respectively). Females (34.8%) were more likely to report it is only 'important' to have laws that protect women and girls from family/marital violence (34.8%) and sexual assault/rape (32.6%), compared to males (13.3% and 12.5% respectively; sign = .000 and sign = .000 respectively). Similarly, males (89.0%) were more likely than females (75.5%) to report it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect girls younger than age 18 from marriage. Females (20.6%) were more likely than males (10.2%) to report it is only 'important' to have laws that protect girls younger than age 18 from marriage (sign = .000).

Social Norms Supporting Punishment of Perpetrators of VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms supporting the punishment of perpetrators of VAWG, including family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 4.33 shows that only 46.9% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in their districts believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 3 or 34.2% of respondents thought only a few or none of the women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence be punished by the justice system. Respondents in Mangochi (40.9%) were most likely to report that none or a few of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. In comparison, respondents from Karonga (50.4%), Salima (49.0%) and Dedza (48.9) were more likely to report that most or all of the women in their districts believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system, compared to respondents from Mangochi (40.1% and Mzimba (46.0%).

Table 4.33. Social norms supporting punishment of perpetrators of VAWG

In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system? ¹	Total Sample N=692	Dedza N=137	Karonga N=139	Mangochi N=139	Mzimba N=126	Salima N=151
	%	%	%	%	%	%
All of them	12.9	10.9	17.3	12.4	12.7	11.4
Most of them	34.0	38.0	33.1	27.7	33.3	37.6
About half of them	18.2	17.5	13.7	19.0	15.9	24.2
A few of them	32.7	32.1	35.3	38.0	31.7	26.8
None of them	1.5	0.7	0.0	2.9	4.0	0.0
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system? ²						
All of them	15.7	15.4	18.0	10.9	18.4	16.1
Most of them	41.0	41.9	42.4	42.3	35.2	42.3
About half of them	16.9	19.1	10.8	17.5	18.4	18.8
A few of them	24.9	22.1	28.8	25.5	25.6	22.8
None of them	1.2	0.7	0.0	3.6	1.6	0.0

¹Sign = .038, Chi-square = 32.56; ²Sign = .237, Chi-square = 24.12

Similarly, 56.7% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in their districts believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 4 or 26.1% of respondents thought none or only a few women in their districts believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. There were no significant district differences.

Sex Differences. Data in Table 4.33 was analysed to reveal sex differences in social norms related to the punishment of perpetrators of VAWG. In particular, females were more likely to report all (17.1%) or most (35.4%) of the women in their districts believe it is important that men who commit acts of family/marital violence are punished by the justice system, compared to males (9.7% and 32.8% respectively). Whereas, males were more likely to report about half (20.6%) or only a few (34.6%) women believe it is important that men who commit acts of family/marital violence are punished by the justice system, compared to females (15.4% and 30.4% respectively; sign = .050).

Females were also more likely to report all (21.1%) or most (46.2%) of the women in their districts believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system, compared to males (11.7% and 37.8% respectively). Males (29.6%) were actually more likely than females (18.6%) to report only a few women believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system (sign = .000).

District Officials' Responses to VAWG

The *District Officials Survey* included several questions to assess their experiences with responding to VAWG. Table 6.34 shows that 81.5% of all district officials surveyed in the five-study district reported they have to deal with women and girls who experience violence in their job/position. Among those district officials who reported having to deal with VAWG survivors in their work, 94.4% reported when they encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence they are responsible for responding to the incident, 89.3% maintained, they are required to register or record VAWG incidents, and 85.8% reported their agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases.

When asked how often they actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention, only 40.7% of all respondents reported they 'frequently' register or record such incidents, 22.8% 'sometimes' register or record such incidents, and 18.3% 'rarely' register or record such incidents. Only 18.8% of district officials reported they never register or report incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention. There were district differences, as respondents in Salima (54.2%) and Mangochi (44.1%) were most likely to report they 'frequently' register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention, while respondents in Karonga (27.0%) were least likely to 'frequently' register or record incidents of VAWG. In comparison, respondents in Karonga (33.3%) were most likely to report that they 'rarely' register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention.

Table 4.34. District officials' responses to VAWG

	Total Sample N=400	Dedza N=76	Karonga N=69	Mangochi N=88	Mzimba N=78	Salima N=89
	%	%	%	%	%	%
In your job/position you have to deal with VAWG survivors ¹	81.5	80.3	91.3	77.3	78.2	82.0
	N=323	N=61	N=63	N=66	N=61	N=72
When you encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence you are responsible for responding to the incident ²	94.4	98.4	98.4	90.9	88.5	95.8
You are required to register or record the incident of VAWG ³	89.3	90.2	85.7	95.6	86.9	87.7
Your agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases ⁴	85.8	85.0	81.0	86.8	89.8	86.3
How often do you actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to your attention? ⁵						
Never	18.8	16.7	33.3	8.8	21.3	15.3
Rarely	17.6	18.3	17.5	20.6	21.3	11.1
Sometimes	22.8	26.7	22.2	26.5	19.7	19.4
Frequently	40.7	38.3	27.0	44.1	37.7	54.2

¹Sign = .379, Chi-square = 8.58; ²Sign = .034, Chi-square = 16.61; ³Sign = .050, Chi-square = 15.39; ⁴Sign = .960, Chi-square = 2.53

⁵Sign = .038, Chi-square = 22.00

Sex Differences. Data from Table 4.34 was analysed and revealed no sex differences among district officials in their responses to VAWG.

Attitudes toward the Treatment of VAWG Survivors. District officials were also asked how important it is that women and girls who experience violence be treated with care and compassion by the police and courts, and be provided with legal assistance and protection and support. Most notable, Table 4.35 shows that 92.7% of district officials reported it is 'very important' that VAWG survivors be treated with care and compassion by police and courts. In addition, 93.8% of respondents reported it is 'very important' that VAWG survivors be provided with legal assistance, and 95.2% report, it is important that women and girls who experience violence be provided with protection and support. There were no notable district differences in district officials' attitudes.

Table 4.35. District officials' treatment of VAWG survivors

How important is it that women and girls who experience violence be . . .	Total Sample N=400	Dedza N=76	Karonga N=69	Mangochi N=88	Mzimba N=78	Salima N=89
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Treated with care and compassion by police and courts ¹						
Not important	2.0	2.6	1.4	1.1	5.1	0.0
Somewhat important	4.0	3.9	4.3	6.8	1.3	3.4
Very important	92.7	92.1	94.2	88.6	92.3	96.6
Provided with legal assistance ²						
Not important	1.3	1.3	1.4	1.1	2.6	0.0
Somewhat important	4.5	5.3	4.3	3.4	9.0	1.1
Very important	93.8	92.1	94.2	94.3	88.5	98.9
Provided with protection and support ³						
Not important	1.8	1.3	2.9	0.0	5.1	0.0
Somewhat important	3.0	2.6	0.0	6.8	3.8	1.1
Very important	95.2	96.1	97.1	93.2	91.0	98.9

¹Sign = .247, Chi-square = 14.89; ²Sign = .470, Chi-square = 11.70; ³Sign = .034, Chi-square = 16.65

Sex Differences. Data in Table 4.35 was analysed and revealed no sex differences among district officials in their perceptions of the treatment of VAWG survivors.

Training Received by District Officials

Finally, district officials were asked about the training they received in the past one to two years related to women’s rights, gender equality, and VAWG. Table 4.36 shows that 52.0% of district officials reported receiving training related to women rights and/or gender equality, 55.5% of district officials reported receiving training related to VAAWG/VAWG., 59.4% received training on VAC, and 53.3% received training on child marriage. In addition, 54.1% of the district received training on case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG, and 53.8% received training on how to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors.

There are some notable district differences, such as district officials in Dedza were least likely to receive training in the past one to two years on women’s rights and/or gender equality (34.2%) and VAWG/GBV (47.9%), compared to district officials in the other districts. District officials in Mangochi (68.2%) and Karonga (63.8%) were most likely to receive training in the past one to two years on VAC.

Table 4.36. Training received by district officials						
Training received in the past one to two year	Total Sample N=400	Dedza N=76	Karonga N=69	Mangochi N=88	Mzimba N=78	Salima N=89
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Women’s rights and/or gender equality ¹	52.0	34.2	59.4	53.4	55.1	57.3
VAWG/GBV ²	55.5	47.9	69.6	53.4	51.3	56.3
Violence against children (VAC) ³	59.4	54.7	63.8	68.2	52.6	57.3
Child marriage ⁴	53.3	44.0	53.6	59.1	53.9	54.5
How to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors ⁵	54.1	41.3	55.1	59.8	52.6	60.0
Case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG	53.8	41.3	62.3	55.2	55.1	55.1

¹ Sign = .003, Chi-square = 22.98; ² Sign = .083, Chi-square = 16.31; ³ Sign = .042; Chi-square = 8.14; ⁴ Sign = .652, Chi-square = 5.96

⁵ Sign = .301, Chi-square = 9.51; ⁶ Sign = .280, Chi-square = 9.80

Sex Differences. Data in Table 4.36 was analysed and revealed no sex differences among district officials in terms of being trained over the past one to years on women’s rights, gender equality, and/or child marriage. Male district officials, however, were more likely to be trained on gender-based violence and/or VAWG (60.0%) and violence against children (64.3%), compared to female district officials (46.3% and 50.0% respectively; sign = .025 and sign = .010 respectively).

There were also no sex differences among district officials in terms of being trained over the past one to two years on how to refer and coordinate protection and support services for women and girls who experience violence, and on case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG.

CHAPTER 5: SOCIAL NORMS IN DEDZA

This chapter reveals findings from district officials and general public adults sampled in Dedza and includes a comparison between general public adults and district officials. This includes findings of social norms related to gender equality, VAWG, including wife abuse, sexual violence, harmful practices and child marriage. This chapter also reveals social norms related to victim-blaming of VAWG survivors and public responses to VAWG.

Social Norms Related to Gender Equality

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions designed to measure social norms related to gender and gender equality, including gender preference at birth, girls' education, marriage and family, women's employment, women's health care, and women and land use. Findings presented in the sections that follow demonstrate a lack of social norms that support gender equality in Dedza.

Social Norms Related to Gender Preference at Birth. Both district officials and general public adults were asked about social norms in the district related to sex preference at birth. In particular, respondents were asked how many women in their community think it's better to give birth to a boy than a girl. Table 5.1 shows that nearly 1 out of 4 or 23.4% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in Dedza think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl, which is indicative of social norms. In addition, nearly 1 out of 2 or 47.5% of respondents in Dedza maintained about half or more of the women in the district think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl. There was no significant difference between district officials and general public adults in their response to this question.

Table 5.1. Social norms related to gender preference at birth (Dedza)

In your community, how many women think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl?	Total Sample N=136		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=75	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	3.9
Most of them	29	21.2	14	23.0	15	19.7
About half of them	33	24.1	13	21.3	20	26.3
A few of them	48	35.0	21	34.4	27	35.5
None of them	15	10.9	8	13.1	7	9.2

Sign = .571, Chi-square = 3.85

Social Norms Related to Girls' Education. Both district officials and general public adults were also asked about social norms in the district related to girl's education, particularly how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education and how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. Table 5.2 reveals that more than 1 out of 2 or 55.4% of respondents in Dedza maintained most or all of the girls/women in their district/communities are free to make decisions about their education, which is indicative of social norms. General public adults (50.8%) were nearly two times more likely than district officials (26.3%) to maintain that most of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about their education. In comparison, district officials (32.9%) were nearly five times more likely than general public adults (6.6%) to maintain only a few girls/women are free to make decisions about their education.

At the same time, respondents reported girls/women are free to make decisions about their education, more than 1 out of 3 or 38.9% of respondents in Dedza maintained most or all of the parents in the district think it is better to educate boys than girls, which is indicative of social norms. In fact, more than 1 out of 2 or 55.8% of respondents maintained about half or more parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. There was no difference between district officials and general public adults when it came to perceptions of the social norms in the district related to sex preference in education.

Table 5.2. Social norms related to girl's education (Dedza)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education? ¹	Total Sample N=136		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=75	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	25	18.2	10	16.4	15	19.7
Most of them	51	37.2	31	50.8	20	26.3
About half of them	29	21.2	16	26.2	13	17.1
A few of them	29	21.2	4	6.6	25	32.9
None of them	2	1.5	0	0.0	2	2.6
In your community, how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls? ²						
All of them	7	5.1	1	1.6	6	8.0
Most of them	46	33.8	22	36.1	24	32.0
About half of them	23	16.9	10	16.4	13	17.3
A few of them	51	37.5	24	39.3	27	36.0

¹ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 20.49; ² Sign = .575, Chi-square = 3.83

Social Norms Related to Marriage and Family. When it comes to social norms related to marriage and family, Table 5.3 shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 58.1% of respondents in Dedza maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about who to marry, which is indicative of social norms. It is interesting that district officials (25.3%) were nearly four times more likely than general public adults (6.6%) to maintain that all of the girls/women in Dedza are free to make decisions about who to marry, but were also more likely to maintain only a few girls/women are free to make decisions about who to marry compared to general public adults (29.3% and 9.8% respectively). In comparison, more than 1 out of 2 or 55.7% of general public adults maintained most of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about who to marry.

Table 5.3. Social norms related to marriage and family (Dedza)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about . . .	Total Sample N=136		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=75	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Who to marry? ¹						
All of them	23	16.9	4	6.6	19	25.3
Most of them	56	41.2	34	55.7	22	29.3
About half of them	23	16.9	17	27.9	6	8.0
A few of them	28	20.6	6	9.8	22	29.3
None of them	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	4.0
How many children to have and the upbringing of children? ²						
All of them	16	11.8	0	0.0	16	21.1
Most of them	32	23.5	16	26.7	16	21.1
About half of them	30	22.1	21	35.0	9	11.8
A few of them	50	36.8	18	30.0	32	42.1
None of them	6	4.4	5	8.3	1	1.3
The household budget and major household purchases? ³						
All of them	7	5.1	0	0.0	7	9.2
Most of them	29	21.3	16	26.7	13	17.1
About half of them	32	23.5	19	31.7	13	17.1
A few of them	53	39.0	17	28.3	36	47.4
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 31.65; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 27.89; ³ Sign = .003, Chi-square = 17.95

When it comes to decision-making related to how many children to have and the upbringing of children, Table 5.3 shows that only 1 out of 3 or 35.3% of respondents in Dedza maintained most all of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials (42.2%) were more likely than general public adults (26.7%) to report that most or all of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children; whereas general public adults (35.0%) were more likely to maintain about half of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. It is notable that 42.1% of district officials and 30.0% of general public adults maintained only a few girls/women are free to make decisions as to how many children to have and the upbringing of children.

When it comes to making decisions about the household budget and major household purchases, Table 5.3 shows that only 1 out 4 or 26.4% of respondents in Dedza maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases; this data is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, general public adults (26.7%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (17.1%) to report that most of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. Also, district officials (31.7%) were more likely than general public adults (17.1%) to mention that about of the girls/women in the district are able to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. In comparison, nearly 1 out of 2 or 47.4% of general public adults maintained only a few girls/women in the district are able to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases.

Table 5.4 also shows that only 1 out of 2 or 52.6% of respondents reported most or all of the parents in Dedza think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, whereas 3 out of 4 or 76.0% of respondents reported about half or more of the parents in Dedza think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. It is notable that nearly 1 out of 4 or 24.1% of respondents reported only a few or none of the parents in Dedza think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. There were significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public. In particular, district officials were significantly more likely to report that only a few parents in Dedza think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry.

Table 5.4. Social norms related to marriage of young women (Dedza)

In your community, how many parents think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry?	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	10	7.3	2	3.3	8	10.5
Most of them	62	45.3	30	49.2	32	42.1
About half of them	32	23.4	25	41.0	7	9.2
A few of them	30	21.9	3	4.9	27	35.5
None of them	3	2.2	1	1.6	2	2.6

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 32.07

Social Norms Related to Women's Employment. Table 5.5 shows that only 1 out of 3 or 33.8% of women respondents maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home, whereas 42.6% of respondents maintained a few girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, some district officials (15.8%) reported that all girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home; whereas no general public adults perceived this as a social norm in the communities. In comparison, nearly 1 out of 3 or 31.7% of general public adults maintained about half of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home.

Table 5.5. Social norms related to women's employment (Dedza)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home?	Total Sample N=136		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=75	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	12	8.8	0	0.0	12	15.8
Most of them	34	25.0	15	25.0	19	25.0
About half of them	25	18.4	19	31.7	6	7.9
A few of them	58	42.6	25	41.7	33	43.4
None of them	5	3.7	0	0.0	5	6.6

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 23.78

Social Norms Related to Women's Health Care. In regard to women's health care, Table 5.6 shows that as many as 2 out of 3 or 68.6% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district are free to make decisions about their health and health care, which is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. General public adults (68.9%) were two times more likely than district officials (30.0%) to maintain most women are free to make decisions about their health and health care. In comparison, district officials (27.6%) were eight times more likely than general public adults (3.3%) to maintain only a few women are free to make decisions about their health and health care.

Table 5.6. Social norms related to women's health care (Dedza)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about their health and health care?	Total Sample N=136		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=75	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	29	21.2	11	18.0	18	23.7
Most of them	65	47.4	42	68.9	23	30.3
About half of them	17	12.4	5	8.2	12	15.8
A few of them	23	16.8	2	3.3	21	27.6
None of them	1	0.7	1	1.6	0	0.0

Sign = .000; Chi-square = 27.51

Social Norms Related to Women and Land Use. Finally, Table 5.7 shows that only 1 out of 3 or 38.7% of respondents reported women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions; this is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. District officials (17.1%) were more likely than general public adults (0.0%) to report all of the women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions. In comparison, general public adults were more likely to report that about half to most of the women in their communities are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions.

Table 5.7. Social norms related to women and land use (Dedza)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions?	Total Sample N=136		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=75	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	13	9.5	0	0.0	13	17.1
Most of them	40	29.2	21	34.4	19	25.0
About half of them	22	16.1	14	23.0	8	10.5
A few of them	52	38.0	22	36.1	30	39.5
None of them	9	6.6	4	6.6	5	6.6

Sign = .008; Chi-square = 15.62

Social Norms and Attitudes Related to Wife Abuse

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a series of questions that measured social norms and attitudes related to wife abuse. Findings are presented in the sections that follow.

Social Norms Related to Wife Abuse. Table 5.8 reveals the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, as 42.6% of respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying them, and 2 out of 3 or 69.8% of respondents reported that about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying them. In addition, as many as 1 out of 3 or 35.0% of respondents reported most or all of them men sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with them, and 63.5% of respondents report, about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with them.

Table 5.8 also shows that nearly 1 out of 3 or 31.4% of respondents maintained most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband, and 1 out of 2 or 53.3% of respondents reported about half or more of the men sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband. In addition, nearly 1 out of 3 or 32.8% of respondents maintained most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse, and 1 out of 2 or 54.7% of respondent maintained about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse. Finally, 19.7% of respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children, and 41.6% of respondents report about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children. These findings are indicative of social norms related to wife abuse or domestic violence against women in the context of marriage.

There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults as it relates to how many men in the community sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husbands, arguing with their husbands, going out without telling their husband, and refusing sexual intercourse. In particular, general public adults were significantly more likely to report that most or all men in the community sometimes hit or beat their wives, than did district officials. In fact, as many as 1 out of 2 or 55.0% of general public adults reported most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husbands, compared to 32.9% of district officials. In addition, 42.6% of general public adults reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with their husband, compared to 28.9% of district officials. Also, general public adults (44.2%) were two times more likely than district officials (21.1%) to report that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband. Finally, 39.3% of general public adults, compared to 27.6% of district officials reported that most or all of the men in the district hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse.

Table 5.8. Social norms related to wife abuse (Dedza)						
In your community, how many men do you think sometimes hit or beat their wives for . . .	Total Sample N=136		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=75	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Disobeying their husband¹						
All of them	1	0.7	1	1.7	0	0.0
Most of them	57	41.9	32	53.3	25	32.9
About half of them	37	27.2	20	33.3	17	22.4
A few of them	38	27.9	7	11.7	31	40.8
None of them	2	1.5	0	0.0	2	2.6
Arguing with their husband²						
All of them	1	0.7	1	1.6	0	0.0
Most of them	47	34.3	25	41.0	22	28.9
About half of them	39	28.5	24	39.3	15	19.7
A few of them	48	35.0	11	18.0	37	48.7
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Going out without telling their husband³						
All of them	1	0.7	1	1.6	0	0.0
Most of them	42	30.7	26	42.6	16	21.1
About half of them	30	21.9	17	27.9	13	17.1
A few of them	58	42.3	15	24.6	43	56.6
None of them	2	1.5	2	3.3	0	0.0
Neglecting the children⁴						
All of them	3	2.2	2	3.3	1	1.3
Most of them	24	17.5	13	21.3	11	14.5
About half of them	30	21.9	17	27.9	13	17.1
A few of them	64	46.7	22	36.1	42	55.3
None of them	13	9.5	6	9.8	7	9.2
Refusing sexual intercourse⁵						
All of them	4	2.9	1	1.6	3	3.9
Most of them	41	29.9	23	37.7	18	23.7
About half of them	30	21.9	18	29.5	12	15.8
A few of them	37	27.0	8	13.1	29	38.2
None of them	6	4.4	2	3.3	4	5.3

¹ Sign = .002, Chi-square = 18.64; ² Sign = .001, Chi-square = 17.92; ³ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 22.05; ⁴ Sign = .294, Chi-square = 6.13

⁵ Sign = .016, Chi-square = 13.97

Table 5.9 shows that 2 out of 3 or 66.4% of respondents reported most people in the community would disapprove of a man if he beats his wife for disobeying, while 7.3% reported that most people would approve of his actions and 21.9% reported most people would think it is none of their business. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, general public adults (31.3%) were most likely to report that most people in the community would think it was none of their business if a man beats his wife for disobeying him, compared to district officials (14.5%). District officials (13.2%) were more likely than general public adults (0.0%) to report that most people in the community would approve of a man beating his wife for disobeying.

Table 5.9. Social norms supportive of wife abuse (Dedza)						
If a man in your community beats his wife for disobeying, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of his actions	10	7.3	0	0.0	10	13.2
Disapprove of his actions	91	66.4	41	67.2	50	65.8
Think it was none of their business	30	21.9	19	31.3	11	14.5

Sign = .003, Chi-square = 14.22

Focus group discussions with district officials revealed that wife abuse would not be acceptable if a man beat his wife to the point that she is severely injured, such as experiences broken bones or is hacked with a knife and bleeding.

“When the wife is not listening to the husband she can get slapped and this is overlooked . . . if it is a slap or small slaps, the women do not say, they hide it, but if the woman is bleeding that is when she will go out with a cut or broken bone, at that point the people will take action.” (Community Victim Support Unit, Dedza)

Attitudes toward Wife Abuse. Table 5.10 reveals respondent’s personal attitudes toward wife abuse. In particular, the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, 34.4% of respondents believe if a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man. Surprisingly, district officials (44.7%) were two times more likely to hold this attitude compared to adults in the general public (21.3%). Some respondents (14.8%) also held the belief that a husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her. Finally, 26.3% of respondents held the belief that a woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together. There were no statistically significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public related to the last two attitudinal measures.

Table 5.10. Attitudes toward wife abuse (Dedza)						
	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
If a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man ¹	47	34.4	13	21.3	34	44.7
A husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her ²	20	14.8	13	21.3	7	9.5
A woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together ³	35	26.3	18	31.6	17	22.4

¹Sign = .016, Chi-square = 8.25; ²Sign = .123, Chi-square = 4.19; ³Sign = .233, Chi-square = 1.42

Social Norms Related to Sexual Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a question that measured social norms related to sexual VAWG. Table 5.11 shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 59.1% of respondents maintained most or all of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, and 81.0% of respondents maintained about half or more of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations. Although the majority of general public adults (59.0%) and district officials (59.2%) held the belief that most or all of the young men sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, there were some significant differences between general public adults and district officials.

Table 5.11. Social norms related to sexual violence (Dedza)						
In your community, how many young men do you think sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations? ¹	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	7	5.1	3	4.9	4	5.3
Most of them	74	54.0	33	54.1	41	53.9
About half of them	20	21.9	22	36.1	8	10.5
A few of them	22	16.1	3	4.9	19	25.0
None of them	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	3.9
In your community, how many people believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or is married to? ²						
All of them	10	7.3	1	1.6	9	11.8
Most of them	48	35.0	15	24.6	33	43.4
About half of them	27	19.7	20	32.8	7	9.2
A few of them	41	29.9	16	26.2	25	32.9
None of them	9	6.6	7	11.5	2	2.6

¹Sign = .001, Chi-square = 21.80; ²Sign = .000, Chi-square = 24.82

Table 5.11 also reveals that more than 1 out of 3 or 42.3% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with whom she is married, and nearly 2 out of 3 or 62.0% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married. District officials (55.2%) were significantly more likely to maintain people in this district hold this view, compared to adults in the general public (26.2%); whereas, 59.0% of general public adults held the believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married.

Social Norms Related to Harmful Practices

This study also included a focus on traditional practices (*miyambo* in Chichewa) that are considered to be harmful practices to women and girls. The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions related to the occurrence of various traditional practices in Dedza and whether respondents believe most people in the district consider them to be harmful to women and girls, and if respondents recognized the harm done to women and girls by these traditional practices. Qualitative data related to traditional practices was also collected through focus group discussions with district officials and one-on-one interviews with general public adults. Both qualitative and quantitative data related to harmful practices are presented in this section.

“A lot of the miyambo favors men and not women.” (General Public Adults, Dedza)

Frequency of Traditional Practices. Table 5.12 reveals that each of the different traditional practices listed occurs to varying degrees in Dedza, and there were significant differences in the willingness of general public adults and district officials to report the occurrence of such traditional practices in the district. One of the most common traditional practices identified was labia pulling/stretching. In general, 53.0% of respondents reported that labia pulling/stretching often occurs in Dedza, and 17.4% reported it occurs sometimes. General public adults (73.7%) were significantly more likely to report that labia pulling/stretching often occurs in the communities, compared to district officials (37.3%).

“What happens is that if a woman or girl does not do labia pulling the girls is considered unattractive to men so the husbands usually leave her in search of a labia pulling woman.” (General Public Adults, Dedza)

Polygamy is another traditional practice that occurs in Dedza. In general, 29.1% of respondents reported polygamy occurs often in Dedza, and 61.2% reported it occurs sometimes. District officials (30.3%) were more likely to report that polygamy often occurs in Dedza, compared to adults in the general public (17.6%), although the difference was not statistically significant.

Although it reportedly does not occur often in Dedza, fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (46.3%) and Fisi (30.8%) were frequently reported as occurring sometimes in Dedza. District officials (75.0%) were actually significantly more likely to report that fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters sometimes occurs in Dedza, compared to general public adults (8.6%). Adults in the general public were actually most likely to report that fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters never occurs in Dedza (82.8%), compared to district officials (14.5%).

Fisi is another traditional practice that respondents reported sometimes occurs in Dedza. There is the practice of Fisi for initiation which traditionally occurs at the time of puberty for girls and Fisi for procreation. In the case of Fisi for procreation, “the fisi comes in because the couple cannot have children. In most cases it is a joint decision of the husband and wife because they feel ashamed that there is no child in the home, so they bring in a Fisi to impregnate the woman” (*Community Victim Support Unit*). Table 5.12 reveals nearly 1 out of 3 or 30.8% of respondents reported that Fisi sometimes occurs. District officials (43.4%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (13.8%) to report that Fisi sometimes occurs in Dedza; whereas 82.8% of general public adults reported that Fisi never occurs in their communities. Each of the other forms of traditional practices listed in Table 5.12 reportedly occurred in Dedza, but to a lesser extent than labia pulling/stretching, polygamy, fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters, and Fisi.

Other traditional practices that were reported to occur in Dedza included:

- *Kudika* – situations where a married couple will refrain from having sex when their daughter is pregnant and until she gives birth because the grandparents-to-be, particularly the grandmother-to-be is scared that if they do not refrain from having sex that the grandchild will be born with a disease. During this time the grandfather-to-be will seek relations with other women to protect his family. If the child is stillborn or bleeding others will know that the grandparents-to-be did not refrain from having sex during the daughter’s pregnancy.
- *Chinzake* – situations where if two families are friends and there is a wedding and the daughter is getting married, the family will go to visit the family getting married and bring their youngest daughter, and reinforce with the daughter about the importance of getting married. At this point, the young girl should aim to get married and may even drop out of school and enter into a child marriage and early marriage as early as age 13 to 14 years. The parents are the ones that will help the girls to find and arrange a marriage for the girl at this age.

Table 5.12. Frequency of traditional practices (Dedza)

In your community, how often do each of the following traditional practices occur . . .	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy¹						
Never	12	9.0	5	8.6	7	9.2
Sometimes	82	61.2	37	63.8	45	59.2
Often	39	29.1	16	17.6	23	30.3
Wife inheritance²						
Never	110	82.7	57	98.3	53	70.7
Sometimes	18	13.5	1	1.7	17	22.7
Often	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Bonus wife³						
Never	106	80.9	57	100.0	49	66.2
Sometimes	14	10.7	0	0.0	14	18.9
Often	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.4
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor⁴						
Never	106	80.3	56	98.2	50	66.7
Sometimes	14	10.6	1	1.8	13	17.3
Often	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
Wife swapping⁵						
Never	98	73.1	55	94.8	43	56.6
Sometimes	22	16.4	3	5.2	19	25.0
Often	2	1.5	0	0.0	2	2.6
Removing dust⁶						
Never	100	75.8	56	96.6	44	59.5
Sometimes	19	14.4	0	0.0	19	25.7
Often	3	2.3	1	1.7	2	2.7
Labia pulling/stretching⁷						
Never	25	18.9	9	15.8	16	21.3
Sometimes	23	17.4	5	8.8	18	24.0
Often	70	53.0	42	73.7	28	37.3
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter⁸						
Never	59	44.0	48	82.8	11	14.5
Sometimes	62	46.3	5	8.6	57	75.0
Often	7	5.2	2	3.4	5	6.6
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices⁹						
Never	95	71.4	57	98.3	38	50.7
Sometimes	20	15.0	0	0.0	20	26.7
Often	12	9.0	0	0.0	12	16.0
Fisi¹⁰						
Never	76	57.1	48	82.8	28	37.3
Sometimes	41	30.8	8	13.8	33	43.4
Often	6	4.5	1	1.7	5	6.7
When a woman's husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brother¹¹						
Never	102	77.3	55	98.2	47	61.8
Sometimes	9	6.8	0	0.0	9	11.8
Often	3	2.3	1	1.8	2	2.6
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased¹²						
Never	106	79.7	56	98.2	50	65.8
Sometimes	11	8.3	0	0.0	11	14.5
Often	3	2.3	1	1.8	2	2.6
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula¹³						
Never	93	69.9	53	93.0	40	52.6
Sometimes	16	12.0	2	3.5	14	18.4
Often	5	3.8	1	1.8	4	5.3

¹ Sign = .809, Chi-square = .97; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 17.48; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 23.80; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.55⁵ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.14; ⁶ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.61; ⁷ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.32; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 66.89⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 36.89; ¹⁰ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 27.86; ¹¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.52; ¹² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 22.42¹³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.64

- *Child Labour* – Young girls are forced by their parents, particularly mothers, to perform household chores that are meant for adults in the family. For instance, girls 8 to 10 years of age are required to fetch water and cook, watch their siblings, and work in the fields. In some cases, girls are required to work from early in the morning until late at night with little or no food, in which case they are denied the opportunity to attend school. General public adults explained that “*girls and women are harmed because they are given the responsibility of taking care of children when they themselves are also not mature.*”
- *Property grabbing* – women and girls suffer when their father/parent dies and relative from the husband’s family grabs their property leaving them without anything in the sense that it is their relatives who strive to have the wealth of the family.

Recognition of Traditional Practices as Harmful to Females. Respondents were also asked if most believe in the district (communities) believe each of the traditional practices identified in Table 5.12 are harmful to women and girls. Table 5.13 shows the proportion of respondents who felt that most people in the district believe each of these traditional practices as harmful to women and girls. Respondents who reported the traditional practices were considered good practices or did not occur in their communities are not included in Table 5.13. The focus is only on the social norms that recognize traditional practices as harmful practices.

Most notable is that as many as 82.8% of respondents maintained most people believe polygamy is a harmful practice for females. Public adults (93.1%) were more likely to report that most people in their communities recognize polygamy as a harmful practice more often than did district officials (75.0%). The majority of respondents also reported that most people recognized fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (56.1%) and Fisi (52.2%) as harmful practices for females. District officials were significantly more likely to report that most people in the district believe fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (77.6%) and Fisi (65.8%) are harmful practices, compared to general public adults (26.8% and 34.5% respectively).

Respondents were less likely to believe most people in the district consider each of the other traditional practices listed in Table 5.12 as harmful to women and girls. In particular, general public adults were significantly less likely to recognize that most people believe the traditional practices are harmful to females, compared to district official. Notable is that only 24.8% of respondents reported that most people in Dedza believe that labia pulling/stretching is a harmful practice for females. General public adults (17.2%) were significantly less likely to recognize that most people believe labia pulling/stretching is a harmful practice, compared to district officials.

Table 5.13. Social norms related to harmful practices (Dedza)						
In your community, do most people believe the following traditions and practices are harmful practices for females?	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy ¹	113	82.8	54	93.1	57	75.0
Wife inheritance ²	64	48.5	13	22.8	51	68.0
Bonus wife ³	53	40.5	13	22.8	40	54.1
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor ⁴	54	40.9	14	24.6	40	53.3
Wife swapping ⁵	58	43.9	14	24.6	44	58.7
Removing dust ⁶	57	43.2	13	22.8	44	58.7
Labia pulling/stretching ⁷	33	24.8	10	17.2	23	30.7
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter ⁸	74	56.1	15	26.8	59	77.6
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices ⁹	43	32.6	14	24.6	29	38.7
Fisi ¹⁰	70	52.2	20	34.5	50	65.8
When a woman’s husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband’s brother? ¹¹	51	38.6	13	23.2	38	50.0
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased? ¹²	51	38.3	14	24.6	37	48.7
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula? ¹³	47	46.7	13	23.2	34	47.2

¹ Sign = .001, Chi-square = .15.61; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 36.55; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 24.72; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.61

⁵ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 27.95; ⁶ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 28.11; ⁷ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 16.66; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 55.63

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 21.49; ¹⁰ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 34.13; ¹¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 17.23; ¹² Sign = .001, Chi-square = 14.00

¹³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.88

District officials recognized that traditional practices are harmful to young girls, particularly when they are forced to get married to older men by their parents due to poverty. As health surveillance assistants explained, “Parents marry off their daughter at a younger age because of poverty, and because they are young they are having problems giving birth and at-risk of STDs and HIV/AIDS because they are having sex at a young age. They are also at risk of dropping out of school” (Health Surveillance Assistant, Dedza).

“Some of the miyambo like ‘removing dust’ and ‘wife inheritance’ are bad because a lot of people or women can get infected with different kinds of diseases.” (Gender Public Adults, Dedza)

Negative Effects of Traditional Practices. Table 5.14 shows that as many as 82.7% of respondents recognized that women and girls face harm from the different traditional practices identified in Tables 4.10 and 4.11.

	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls experience harm from the different traditional practices	110	82.7	46	79.3	64	85.3

Sign = .045, Chi-square = 6.20

Focus group discussions with district officials and interviews with adults in the general public revealed both groups recognize that women and girls are at increased risk of sexual transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV/AIDS from traditional practices. Girls are also at increased risk of early pregnancies, particularly when it comes to initiation ceremonies and Fisi for initiation. After the initiation ceremonies girls are told to go and practice what they learned during the initiation ceremony, particularly how to have sex. Early pregnancy can also result in girls becoming pregnant at any early age, placing them at risk of reproductive and health problems, including fistula. Girls are also at risk of marrying at an early age. In the quotes below, both district officials and general public adults describe the negative effects of initiation ceremonies, particularly those that include Fisi.

“When girls reach puberty and go to the initiation ceremony that is when parents see changes in the girls, where you start to hear that your daughter was with such a man. Parents don’t know what their daughters were told during the initiation ceremony. The teachers at the initiation ceremony should be ladies from the church and what the girls are taught during the initiation ceremony depends on what the teachers teach. It is usually the mother who sends their daughter to the initiation ceremony when they start their period and they will be there for three to four days. When they send their girls, they are sent to a church they believe their teachers will teach the right things. Back in the day, it was not done at the church, it was done at the village and a lot of kids were complaining that they were not treated well when they were there, so they made changes. Back in the days when the initiation ceremony was done in the village, the girls were so scared and they would come out with the right things – listen to your elders and boys and girls are not supposed to do this – and if they don’t listen to that they will send her back. Now, when they come back, parents see the changes – the stubbornness, sleeping around, and disrespect. So, even if you ask them they never say what transpired, and they are advised that anyone who has not undergone the initiation ceremony cannot be a friend to you because you are different.” (Community Victim Support Unit, Dedza)

“These cultural practices end up spoiling girls with these traditional practices. Girls are told things which are contrary to their age which then psychologically spoils them. For example, others end up involved in prostitution.” (General Public Adults, Dedza)

Dedza district officials also explained that initiation ceremonies also have a negative impact girls’ education because during the initiation ceremonies they are absent from school, then once they come out of the ceremony, their focus shifts from away from their education to getting married. This impacts girl’s literacy, particularly if they drop out of school.

“One of the challenges that comes in is the dropout of school, the other thing is that once they have experienced this kind of traditional practice, once they go to school they don’t concentrate. To add to that point, they see the traditional practice, upon undergoing initiation ceremony for girls, when they have graduated from that ceremony they are given different kinds of gifts and when they receive the gifts, and there are different types of gifts that can amount to 1,000 MWK (1.50 USD); they now feel they have those resources, they take away an interest in education.” (Social Welfare, Dedza)

“When they come out of initiation ceremonies, they get gifts that are in relation to starting their own families. These are household items. Therefore, it encourages them to get married early because they are motivated that if they can gift me like this now, what more on my wedding? So, they really just venture into marriage.” (Teachers, Dedza)

District officials explained that practices such as wife swapping, which is commonly practiced in Dedza, negatively affects women because it places them at risk of contracting STDs, including HIV/AIDs. In most cases, the wife swapping decisions are made by husbands and is based upon the relationship between the two men and families. Each of the men will enjoy the others’ wife sexually.

“Maybe the men come from a drinking joint, and they make the decision to wife swap because they want to see if the women are different, if the one woman is huge and the other woman is slim, and they want to see if the fat woman or slim woman is better or how the slim woman is different from the other fat wife. When there is a fat wife and slim wife, the fat wife’s vagina is loose and the other is tight and the men want to see if they are different. If we agree to today that we will do the wife swapping, it will not continue, it will just be today. It doesn’t mean the agreement applies to the future . . . but, if the moment they swap and then he enjoys the friend’s wife, they can continue that without the husband knowing” (Health Surveillance Assistants, Dedza).

When it comes to wife swapping, women have no voice or decision-making power because *“the men are the heads of the family, every decision is made by the men, women don’t, we just follow” (Health Surveillance Assistants, Dedza)*. Thus, once the men agree to wife swap, no one can say no, not even the woman.

When it comes to Fisi, general public adults explained the *“Fisi practice is harmful to and girls because these men mostly don’t know their health status and also don’t know the females’ health status, and they break into the woman’s houses and sleep with them without protection, increasing the risk of getting infected and/or infecting the woman, spreading the STDs in the process” (General Public Adult, Dedza)*. Women in the general public repeatedly described the practice of Fisi as *“occurring against the will of the woman.”* This same respondent went on to explain, *“They (men) break into a woman’s house and sleep with her without her consent, it is a sort of breaking in rape” (General Public Adult, Dedza)*.

In the case of polygamy, which is commonly practiced in Dedza, general public adults reported that polygamy leads to the spread of STDs and HIV/AIDS. Polygamy also contributes to women and their children living in poverty *“because the husband has a lot of responsibility”* and *“everything is shared.”* Furthermore, *“the first marriage suffers a lot; the man literally abandons the first family most of the times.”* Some general public adults also reported that polygamy *“leaves the first wife miserable”* and contributes to jealousy among women, which can lead to women practicing witchcraft and attempting to kill each other. Other explained that, *“children from the first marriage are treated as orphans”* due to the father’s abandonment of the ‘first family’ and increased attention and focus on the most wives and family.

“Most time, the second wife uses traditional medicine to curse the first wife, so that the husband should stop supporting the first wife.” (General Public Adults, Dedza)

Emerging Forms of VAWG

District officials were also asked about new forms of VAWG occurring in their district, particularly new forms of VAWG occurring among the younger population and/or new forms of VAWG emerging as a result to changes in modifications of traditional practices. District officials in Dedza spoke about the violent nature of some of the video shows that children and youth are watching in the communities, particularly pornography films. After viewing these films, children and youth want to practice what they have seen in pornography films. Children and youth are also watching pornography films and viewing pornographic images on their phones, and sharing these images via WhatsApp. As a result, the *“younger generation is engaging in sexual practices when they are not even mature to do those things” (Health Surveillance Assistants, Dedza)*.

District officials in Dedza reported that some boys after watching pornography films are taking girls to practice the sexual acts they saw in the films on the girls. They explained that three to four boys might take one girl to practice on her. In Lilongwe these are often referred to group parties or ‘G parties’, but in the districts; they are given a different name sometimes.

Some members of mother groups in Dedza maintained that easy access to pornographic materials through new technology, such as WhatsApp, has become a source of emotional violence towards women as it encourages extra marital affairs among men. One respondent explained, *“They [men] look for pornographic material on the internet and this pornography leads to*

them just to masturbate or seek sex from outside leaving us hanging” (Mothers group, Dedza). Another respondent added, “With the coming in of technology, the men concentrate on their phones, ignoring us. Most of the times they talk with another woman; therefore, this also is a form of violence against us women” (Mother group, Dedza).

In addition, some district officials held the belief that rape cases are on the rise because of the increased access to pornographic images with modern technology. For instance, district officials spoke about how easy access to pornography dilutes respect for women’s bodies, and exposure to western media has resulted in changes in the way women and girls dress in the community, increasing the number of rapes in the community. For instance, teachers in Dedza held the belief that “there’s an increase in rape cases because most of the time when the boys spend so much time consuming pornographic materials they start looking for girls to try it on . . . Also, the issue of not dressing appropriately is perpetuated by the social media, and this leads to a lot of rape cases” (Teachers, Dedza).

Social Norms Related to Child marriage and early marriage of Girls

The *Adult General Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included questions related to child marriage and early marriage of girls. Table 5.15 shows that as many of 1 out of 4 or 23.3% of respondents reported they believe most or all of the girls in Dedza get married before 15 years of age. Moreover, 1 out of 2 or 51.8% of respondents reported about half or more of the girls in Dedza get married before 15 years of age. There were no significant differences between district officials and gender public adults.

Table 5.15. Social norms related to child marriage and early marriage of girls (Dedza)						
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 15 years of age? ¹	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.3
Most of them	31	22.6	15	24.6	16	21.1
About half of them	39	28.5	21	34.4	18	23.7
A few of them	60	43.8	23	37.7	37	48.7
None of them	4	2.9	1	1.6	3	3.9
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 18 years of age? ²						
All of them	2	1.5	2	3.3	0	0.0
Most of them	68	49.6	35	57.4	33	43.4
About half of them	41	29.9	18	29.5	23	30.3
A few of them	26	19.0	6	9.8	20	26.3
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

¹ Sign = .559, Chi-square = 3.94; ² Sign = .034, Chi-square = 8.67

Table 5.15 also shows that as many as 1 out of 2 or 51.1% of respondents reported that most or all of the girls in Dedza get married before 18 years of age, and as many as 81.0% of respondent reported that about half or more of the girls in Dedza get married before 18 years of age. General public adults (60.7%) were significantly more likely to report that most or all of the girls in Dedza get married before 18 years of age, compared to 43.4% of district officials. District officials (26.3%) were more likely than general public adults (9.8%) to report that a few girls in Dedza get married before 18 years of age.

Respondents were asked what would be the reaction of most people in the Dedza if parents arranged for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age. Table 5.16 shows that although 2 out of 3 or 68.6% of respondents felt that parents in the district would disapprove of parents arranging for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, as many as 1 out of 4 or 25.5% of respondents reports that most people would think it was none of their business and 5.8% would approve of the parents’ actions. There was no significant difference between general public adults and district officials on this measure.

Table 5.16. Social norms supportive of child marriage and early marriage (Dedza)						
If parents in this community arrange for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of their actions	8	5.8	2	3.3	6	7.9
Disapprove of their actions	94	68.6	40	65.6	54	71.1
Think it was none of their business	35	25.5	19	31.1	16	21.1

Sign = .255, Chi-square = 2.73

Two different district officials recognized that *“a lot of girls are harmed because their parents choose the men who they should marry”* and *“a lot of girls are forced into early marriages by parents because of poverty.”* The latter district official went on to explain that *“because of poverty when parents see a rich man in the village they force the young girls to marry such a man because they know they will get a little something from him and this harms the girls because once she is married she drops out of school.”*

“Girls are forced into early marriages, they don’t have the right to choose what they want to do in the future because everything is decided by the parents” (Health Surveillance Assistants, Dedza).

Some district officials also spoke about the emotional abuse and psychological effects related to harmful practices. As one district official explained, *“some victims suffer permanent disfigurement, especially where physical violence is applied on the victims.”*

Understanding the Relationship between Child marriage and early marriage and Violence. Table 5.17 shows that as many as 71.5% of respondents understand there is a relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence, particularly that girls who are married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family.

Table 5.17. Understanding the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence (Dedza)						
	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Girls married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family	98	71.5	39	63.9	59	77.6

Sign = .109, Chi-square = 4.44

Victim-Blaming of Female Survivors of Violence

Societal attitudes that cast the blame on girls and women for causing problems in the family and justifications for the use of VAWG in the family, leads to victim-blaming from family, friends, and authorities. In Malawi, victim-blaming serves as a barrier for women and girls wanting to access protection from VAWG. In terms of victim-blaming for wife abuse, respondents were asked how many people in the community believe that a woman is beaten by her husband, she is partly to blame or at fault. They were also asked, how many believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to someone outside of their family about the abuse or violence in their marriage.

Table 5.18. Social norms related to victim-blaming for wife abuse (Dedza)

In your community, how many believe when a woman is beat by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=136		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=75	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	6	4.4	1	1.6	5	6.6
Most of them	38	27.7	11	18.0	27	35.5
About half of them	29	21.2	18	29.5	11	14.5
A few of them	61	44.5	29	47.5	32	42.1
None of them	2	1.5	1	1.6	1	1.3
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage? ²						
All of them	6	4.4	1	1.6	5	6.6
Most of them	41	29.9	15	24.6	26	34.2
About half of them	34	24.8	21	34.4	13	17.1
A few of them	46	33.6	21	34.4	25	32.9
None of them	8	5.8	3	4.9	5	6.6

¹Sign = .057, Chi-square = 10.73; ²Sign = .117, Chi-square = 8.81

Table 5.18 shows that nearly 1 out of 3 or 32.1% of respondent reported most or all of the community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, and even more respondents (1 out of 2 or 53.3%) maintain about half or more of community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault. Also, 1 out of 3 or 34.3% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in the community believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage, and 1 out of 2 or 59.1% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse of violence in the marriage. These findings are indicative that such social norms exist in the district.

Focus group data revealed that when district officials were asked what advice they would give a woman who has been beaten by her husband, respondents often indicated they would want to hear both sides of the story first before advising the young woman what she should do because it may have been the woman's fault that she was raped. One member of a community-based organization explained, *"Let's look at the root causes of the issue, perhaps the woman is negligent, she got drunk, she comes home late"* (Community-Based Organization, Dedza). Some mothers group members also explained that they would need to *"find out what really happened for her to be beaten by her husband that often, then advise her to go to the police station or NGOs dealing with issues of that nature"*, (Mothers Group, Dedza)

Most district officials looked at wife beating as a minor issue that can be resolved with counselling, but should not be a reason for divorce. This attitude could be grounded in the fact that women are often blamed for her own victimization and she is expected endure the abuse for the sake of the marriage and family. Social welfare officers also maintained women should first work with community level officials to resolve the problems in her marriage before coming and reporting the incident to the district level.

"Our aim is not to end the relationship; our aim is to build the relationship. If they don't want to be together we advise them to go to court. We advise on what steps to go through before coming, such as getting help from the counsellor in the community, the traditional authority or the chief. Also, at the community level there is the community victim support unit; those are units where people who experience violence, they assist them and if it fails there they can come to the district level at our office" (Social Welfare, Dedza).

Both men and women in the general public maintained they would focus on encouraging the woman to reconcile with her abusive husband because in many cases they blamed the woman for her own victimization. For example, one woman explained, *"advise her [a battered woman] to go and call the husband and hear both sides of the story and tell them to forgive each other"* (Adult Female, Dedza). Similarly, another woman said that she would *"advise her to get along with the husband and check who she is associating with because sometimes its friends who encourage bad behaviours"* (Adult Female, Dedza). One male also

stated, “Depending on the cause of women being beaten, advising her to change her manners can help if she is the reason why she was beaten by her husband” (Adult Male, Dedza). One woman said, that she would encourage the woman to remain silent and “ask her not to answer the husband starts talking” (Adult Female, Dedza); this implies somehow there is a perception that a woman’s silence will end the violence.

There was a range of other advice that men and women in the general public maintained they would give to a woman who is experiencing marital violence. Several women said that they would advise a battered woman “to move out and stay with her family” because “one day she will be killed [by her abusive husband]” (Adult Females, Dedza). One man reported that he would “help her to report the case to the traditional leaders so that they can give her appropriate support” (Adult Male, Dedza). Another woman said that she would encourage the woman to get some small loans and start a business, while other women maintained they would tell her to “beat the husband back when the fight starts” (Adult Female, Dedza).

Table 5.19 shows that only 15.3% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault, and 1 out of 3 or 34.3% of respondents reported about half of the people in the community believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault. Tables 5.18 and 5.19 shows that people are much more likely to believe that women are partly to blame or at fault for being hit or beat by their husbands, than being raped. District officials (25.0%) were significantly more likely to report that most or all of the people in the district believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault, compared to 3.3% of general public adults.

Similar to the findings from Table 5.18, Table 5.19 found that 35.0% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in the district believe that a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, and 1 out of 2 or 52.5% of respondent reported that about half or more of the people in the district believe that a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped. District officials (48.7%) were much more likely to report that many people believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, compared to adults in the general public (18.0%).

Table 5.19. Social norms related to victim-blaming for sexual violence (Dedza)						
In your community, how many people believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.3
Most of them	20	14.6	2	3.3	18	23.7
About half of them	26	19.0	19	31.1	7	9.2
A few of them	73	53.	32	52.5	41	53.9
None of them	16	11.7	8	13.1	8	10.5
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped?						
All of them	7	5.1	1	1.6	6	7.9
Most of them	41	29.9	10	16.4	31	40.8
About half of them	24	17.5	16	26.2	8	10.5
A few of them	54	39.4	29	47.5	25	32.9
None of them	10	7.3	5	8.2	5	6.6

¹ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 20.05; ² Sign = .005, Chi-square = 16.85

Victim-blaming attitudes of this kind marginalize women and girls who experience violence and make it hard for them to come forward and report the violence/abuse in their lives and families. If victims know that society or a frontline service provider will blame them for the violence/abuse, she will not feel safe or comfortable coming forward and talking about or reporting it. Victim-blaming attitudes also reinforce what the abuser has been saying all along, that it is the victim’s fault that the violence/abuse happens. By engaging in victim-blaming attitudes, society allows the abuser to commit acts of violence/abuse, including sexual assault/rape, while avoiding accountability for their actions.

Public Responses to VAWG

The *Adult General Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included several questions that measured individual responses to VAWG, particular what respondents would do if they witnessed a woman being beaten by her husband and if they saw or heard a woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man. Respondents were asked to report all responses they would take in such situations, so they could identify more than one response; therefore, column percentages will not total 100.0%.

Table 5.20 shows that nearly 3 out of 4 or 73.0% of respondent reported they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, and 1 out of 2 or 49.6% of respondents reported they would report the incident to the police. General public adults (83.6%) were significantly more likely to report they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, compared to district officials (64.5%). At the same time, general public adults (16.4%) were more likely than district officials (0.0%) to report they would not report the incident to anyone.

Table 5.20. Public responses to wife abuse (Dedza)						
What would you do if you witnessed a woman being beat by her husband?	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	15	10.9	7	11.5	8	10.5
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	4	2.9	0	0.0	4	5.3
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	100	73.0	51	83.6	49	64.5
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	68	49.6	25	41.0	43	56.6
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	10	7.3	10	16.4	0	0.0

¹Sign = .860, Chi-square = .031; ²Sign = .069, Chi-square = 3.31; ³Sign = .012, Chi-square = 6.28; ⁴Sign = .070, Chi-square = 3.29

⁵Sign = .000, Chi-square = 13.44

Respondents were also asked what they would do if they witnessed a young woman being beaten by her boyfriend (dating violence). Table 5.21 shows that 3 out of 4 or 78.1% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help the young woman that was being beaten by their boyfriend, and 1 out of 3 or 37.2% maintained they would report the incident to the police. It is notable that respondents were less likely to report an incident of dating violence to the police than they would wife abuse (see Table 5.16). There were several significant differences between district officials and general public adults.

Table 5.21. Public responses to dating violence (Dedza)						
What would you do if you witnessed a young woman being beat by her boyfriend?	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	14	10.2	10	16.4	4	5.3
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.3
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	107	78.1	49	80.3	58	76.3
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	51	37.2	13	21.3	38	50.0
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	10	7.3	10	16.4	0	0.0

¹Sign = .033, Chi-square = 4.57; ²Sign = .369, Chi-square = .81; ³Sign = .573, Chi-square = .32; ⁴Sign = .001, Chi-square = 11.92

⁵Sign = .000, Chi-square = 13.44

What would respondents do if they saw or heard of a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, Table 5.22 shows that 3 out of 4 or 75.2% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help a woman who they saw or heard being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, and 1 out of 2 or 55.5% of respondents reported they would report the incident to the police. There were a couple of differences between district officials and adults in the general public. In particular, general public adults (13.1%) were more likely to report they would walk away and not intervene if they saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man, compared to district officials (0.0%). In comparison, district officials (64.5%) were more likely than general public adults (44.3%) to report the incident to the police.

District officials and general public adults were asked, 'Under what circumstances would a man be criticized or punished for hitting/beating his wife? Qualitative data revealed that almost all of the respondents maintained that a man would be criticized by the community and/or should be punished for extreme incidents of violence, whereas other forms of physical and

psychological violence were considered minor and not warranting any punishment or reaction from the community. Acts of wife abuse that general public adults' thought were serious enough for a man to be criticized or punished included: "beating a woman until the woman's body parts are broken", "if he used an object when beating, and the wife is hurt so much", and "beating the wife regularly, injuring the wife up to the extent that she loses blood" (General Public Adults, Dedza). Other respondents maintained a man would be criticized or punished for pouring hot water or hot porridge on the woman, beating the woman to the point that she faints, and injuring the woman by cutting her with an axe or a knife and "chopping off some body organs of the woman", and "beating the woman to the pulp" (General Public Adults, Dedza). Similarly, district officials explained a man would be criticized or punished "if he has hacked his wife, if there is blood involved" (Community-Based Organization, Dedza) and "if the wife is injured and there is evidence the arm has been broken or blood was coming out" (District Social Welfare, Dedza). Still, others explained that "tampering with her private parts" and "undressing the woman in public" should result in a man being criticized or punished, and if he kills his wife.

In comparison, district officials maintained whether a man would be criticized or punished for hitting/beat his wife would "depend on the extent of the damage, but most of the time it is when the victim herself issues a complaint, and when we [district officials] see that it [the hitting/beat] is a repetitive situation" (Teachers, Dedza). Some Mothers Group members and traditional leaders maintained the violence has to be "happening frequently" and "has to be done consistently" for there to be a response and/or punishment. District officials also maintained "there has to be clear evidence that he [the husband] did the thing [beat his wife]" (District Planning Officers, Dedza) for there to be a response or punishment.

Table 5.22. Public responses to sexual violence (Dedza)

What would you do if you saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man?	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	8	5.8	8	13.1	0	0.0
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.3
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	103	75.2	50	82.0	53	69.7
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	76	55.5	27	44.3	49	64.5
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	10	7.3	6	9.8	4	5.3

¹ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 10.59; ² Sign = .369, Chi-square = .81; ³ Sign = .100, Chi-square = 2.71; ⁴ Sign = .018, Chi-square = 5.60

⁵ Sign = .306, Chi-square = 1.05

Help-Seeking Behaviours of Female Survivors of Violence

Respondents were asked about the help-seeking behaviours of women and girls who experience violence. Table 5.23 shows that 3 out of 4 of respondents reported they thought that women/girls in Dedza who experience violence would be 'very likely' to seek medical care and tell the doctor or nurse about the violence (76.5%) and to report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs (75.0%). General public adults were significantly more likely to hold these views than district officials.

Table 5.23. Help-seeking behaviours of female survivors of violence (Dedza)

In your community, if a woman/girl experiences violence how likely would they be to . . .	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Seek medical care and tell the doctor/nurse about the violence ¹						
Not likely	14	10.3	0	0.0	14	18.7
Somewhat likely	18	13.2	3	4.9	15	20.0
Very likely	104	76.5	58	95.2	46	61.3
Report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs ²						
Not likely	15	11.0	2	3.3	13	17.3
Somewhat likely	19	14.0	2	3.3	17	22.7
Very likely	102	75.0	57	93.4	45	60.0

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 22.18; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.09

Respondents were also asked what advice they would give to a family member who experienced wife abuse or was raped, and how confident they were the police would register and investigate the complaint. Table 5.24 shows that as many as 91.2% of respondents reported that if their sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured that they would be ‘very likely’ to encourage her to report the incident to the police. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials. In addition, 81.6% of respondents reported they would be ‘very confident’ that the police would register and investigate their sister’s complaint of wife abuse. Surprisingly, district officials (23.7%) were more likely than general public adults (5.0%) to report they are only ‘somewhat confident’ that the police would register and investigate their sister’s complaint of wife abuse; whereas nearly all general public adults (93.3%) were ‘very confident’ the police would register and investigate their sister’s complaint, compared to district officials (72.4%).

Table 5.24. Advice to wife abuse victims and confidence in the police response to wife abuse (Dedza)						
If your sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured how likely would you be to encourage her to report the incident to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not likely	2	1.5	1	1.6	1	1.3
Somewhat likely	9	6.6	3	4.9	6	7.9
Very likely	125	91.2	57	93.4	58	89.5
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your sister’s complaint? ²						
Not confident	3	2.2	1	1.7	2	2.6
Somewhat confident	21	15.4	3	5.0	18	23.7
Very confident	111	81.6	56	93.3	55	72.4

¹ Sign = .179, Chi-square = 1.34; ² Sign = .016, Chi-square = 10.32

Table 5.25 shows that 95.6% of respondents reported, if their daughter were the victim of rape they would be ‘very likely’ to report the crime to the police, and 87.6% reported they would be ‘very confident’ that the police would register and investigate their daughter’s complaint of rape. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials.

Table 5.25. Advice to rape victims and confident in the police response to wife abuse (Dedza)						
If your daughter were the victim of rape, how likely would you be to report the crime to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not likely	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.13
Somewhat likely	5	3.6	2	3.3	3	3.9
Very likely	131	95.6	59	96.7	72	94.7
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your daughter’s complaint? ²						
Not confident	4	2.9	1	1.6	3	3.9
Somewhat confident	13	9.5	3	4.9	10	13.2
Very confident	120	87.6	57	93.4	63	82.9

¹ Sign = .652, Chi-square = .86; ² Sign = .177, Chi-square = 3.47

Perceived Seriousness of VAWG

Respondents were asked to rate how serious a problem is family/marital violence and sexual assault/rape of women. Table 5.26 shows that 47.4% of respondents identified family/marital violence as a ‘serious problem’ in Dedza, and 32.8% identified it as a ‘moderate problem’. Far fewer respondents identified family/marital violence as a ‘minor problem’ (18.2%) or ‘not a problem’ (1.5%). District officials (59.2%) were significantly more likely to identify family/marital violence as a ‘serious problem’ in Dedza, compared to general public adults (32.8%); whereas general public adults (37.7%) were fourteen times more likely than district officials (2.6%) to maintain family/marital violence is a ‘minor problem’ in Dedza.

Table 5.26. Perceived seriousness of family/marital violence (Dedza)						
In your community, how serious a problem is family/marital violence?	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not a problem	2	1.5	1	1.6	1	1.3
Minor problem	25	18.2	23	37.7	2	2.6
Moderate problem	45	32.8	17	27.9	28	36.8
Serious problem	65	47.4	20	32.8	45	59.2

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 28.64

Table 5.27 shows that only 24.8% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in Dedza and 27.7% of respondent identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'moderate problem'. Surprisingly, as many as 1 out of 3 or 38.7% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem'. District officials (38.2%) were four times more likely than general public adults (8.2%) to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in Dedza. In comparison, general public adults were significantly more likely to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem' (50.8%) or 'not a problem' (18.0%), compared to district officials (28.9% and 1.3% respectively) in Dedza.

Table 5.27. Perceived seriousness of sexual assault/rape (Dedza)						
In your community, how serious a problem is sexual assault/rape of women and girls?	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not a problem	12	8.8	11	18.0	1	1.3
Minor problem	53	38.7	31	50.8	22	28.9
Moderate problem	38	27.7	14	23.0	24	31.6
Serious problem	34	24.8	5	8.2	29	38.2

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 28.13

Sources of Information on VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure what sources of information adults in the general public and district officials rely upon to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 5.28 shows that as many as 76.6% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the mass media, 72.3% receive information from informal networks, 63.5% receive information from community leaders, and 38.7% receive information from family survivors of violence.

In regard to mass media, as many as 3 out of 4 or 75.9% of respondents receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the radio. An interview with broadcasters from the local radio station revealed that they cover stories on gender issues and have a special radio talk programme on gender-based violence that is broadcast once a week live and then rebroadcast during the week. Sometimes government representatives and/or local NGOs are invited to participate in the programme. The local radio station also has a 'chat with women' programme that is broadcast three times a week and designed to target women in particular. Radio broadcasters reported the challenges they face with broadcasting these programmes is the lack of knowledge related to women's issues and gender-based violence, so they feel they would benefit significantly from gender-based violence training and gender issues.

Only 1 out of 3 respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the TV (32.8%) and newspapers (37.2%). Far fewer respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the internet (21.9%). District officials (90.8%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (59.0%) to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from mass media.

Table 5.28. Sources of information related to family/marital violence (Dedza)						
Sources of information on women and girls who experience family/marital violence	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mass media	105	76.6	36	59.0	69	90.8
TV ¹	45	32.8	2	3.3	43	46.6
Radio ²	104	75.9	36	59.0	68	89.5
Newspapers ³	51	37.2	1	1.6	50	65.8
Internet ⁴	30	21.9	0	0.0	30	39.5
Informal networks	99	72.3	40	65.6	59	77.6
Family ⁵	86	62.8	33	54.1	53	69.7
Friends ⁶	85	62.0	38	62.3	47	61.8
Community leaders	87	63.5	34	55.7	53	69.7
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	83	60.6	33	54.1	50	65.8
Religious leaders ⁸	49	35.8	13	21.3	36	47.4
Female survivors of violence ⁹	53	38.7	8	13.1	45	59.2
Other ¹⁰	4	2.9	1	1.6	3	3.9

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 43.58; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 17.17; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 59.59; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 30.83

⁵ Sign = .060, Chi-square = 3.54; ⁶ Sign = .957, Chi-square = .00; ⁷ Sign = .164, Chi-square = 1.94; ⁸ Sign = .002, Chi-square = 10.00

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 30.31; ¹⁰ Sign = .425, Chi-square = .64

In regard to informal networks, respondents were equally likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from family (62.8%) and friends (62.0%). There were also no significant differences between general public adults and district officials when it comes to informal networks being sources of information on family/marital violence.

In regard to community leaders, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from community leaders/chiefs (60.6%) versus religious leaders (35.8%). District officials (47.4%) were two times more likely to receive information from religious leaders than adults in the general public (21.3%). Finally, Table 5.23 shows that district officials (59.2%) were four times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experienced family/marital violence than adults in the general public (13.1%).

Table 5.29 shows information sources on women and girls who experience sexual violence. In particular, 82.5% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence from the mass media, 67.9% receive information from informal networks, 50.4% receive information from community leaders, and 27.0% receive information from family survivors of violence.

Table 5.29. Sources of information related to sexual assault/rape (Dedza)

Sources of information on women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mass media	113	82.5	42	68.9	71	93.4
TV ¹	43	31.4	2	3.3	41	53.9
Radio ²	110	80.3	42	68.9	68	89.5
Newspapers ³	50	36.5	1	1.6	49	64.5
Internet ⁴	31	22.6	0	0.0	31	40.8
Informal networks	93	67.9	39	63.9	54	71.1
Family ⁵	68	49.6	26	42.6	42	53.3
Friends ⁶	85	62.0	35	57.4	50	65.8
Community leaders	69	50.4	27	44.3	42	55.3
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	65	47.4	27	44.3	38	50.0
Religious leaders ⁸	34	24.8	11	18.0	23	30.3
Female survivors of violence ⁹	47	27.0	3	4.9	34	44.7
Other ¹⁰	3	2.2	1	1.6	2	2.6

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 40.34; ² Sign = .003, Chi-square = 9.09; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 57.65; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 32.16

⁵ Sign = .141, Chi-square = 2.16; ⁶ Sign = .313, Chi-square = 1.02; ⁷ Sign = .504, Chi-square = .45; ⁸ Sign = .100, Chi-square = 2.71

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 27.22; ¹⁰ Sign = .693, Chi-square = .156

In regard to mass media, as many as 80.3% of respondents receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence. Fewer respondents receive information from newspapers (36.5%), TV (31.4%), and the internet (22.6%). District officials (93.4%) were significantly more likely to receive information from mass media than general public adults (68.9%). In fact, district officials were significantly more likely to receive information all means of mass media. In terms of mass media, general public adults were more likely to receive information about sexual assault/rape from the radio (2 out of 3 or 68.9%).

In regard to informal networks, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from a friend (62.0%) versus their family (49.6%); this is the case for both district officials and adults in the general public. In regard to community leaders, respondents were nearly two times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from community leaders/chiefs (47.8%) than religious leaders (24.8%). Both general public adults and district officials were more likely to receive information about sexual violence from community leaders/chiefs than religious leaders, whereas district officials (30.3%) were more likely than general public adults (18.0%) to identify religious leaders as a source of information on sexual VAWG. Finally, Table 5.29 shows that district officials (44.7%) were nine times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence than adults in the general public (4.9%).

Publication of Victim and Perpetrator Identities in Mass Media

In recent years, protecting VAWG survivors' identities in media coverage has been a growing focus. This is because international research has found that when the names of VAWG survivors, particularly child victims, and other identifying information appears in the media it can exacerbate trauma, complicate recovery, discourage future disclosures and inhibit cooperation with authorities for the women and girls involved.¹³³ The *District Officials Survey* measured attitudes toward publishing in mass media the names and photos of VAWG survivors and/or their perpetrators.

District officials were asked if they thought the names and identities of women and girls who are victims of violence and perpetrators of such violence should be reported and published in the mass media. Table 5.30 shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 58.1% of district officials maintained the names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media. In addition, 1 out of 3 or 36.0% of district officials held the belief that names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media. This finding reveals a lack of understanding among district officials as to the need to protect the identities of women and girls who experience violence, and the negative consequences of publicizing the identities of VAWG survivors.

Table 5.30. Publication of victim and perpetrator identities in mass media (Dedza)

	District Officials N=76	
	n	%
Names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media	27	36.0
Names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media	43	58.1

Social Norms Related to Government Responsibility to Protect Women and Girls from Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms related to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members. Table 5.31 shows that the majority of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Dedza think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members, and to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage.

Table 5.31 shows that 2 out of 3 or 65.7% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Dedza think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family. Moreover, 83.9% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district hold this view. District officials (31.6%) were significantly more likely to report that all of the people in Dedza think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family. At the same time, district officials (25.0%) were more likely to report that only a few people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family.

In addition, 2 out of 3 or 65.7% of respondents reports most or all of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members, and 82.5% of respondents reported that about half of the people in the district hold this view. District officials (27.6%) were significantly more likely to report that a few or none of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members.

Finally, 2 out of 3 or 65.5% of respondents also reported that most or all of the people in Dedza think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage, and 82.4% of respondents reported about half of them held this view. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. Most notable is that district officials (29.3%) were more likely than general public adults (3.3%) to report that a few or none of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage.

Table 5.31. Social norms relate to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence (Dedza)

In your community, how many people think the government has a responsibility to protect . . .	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from violence in the home / family¹						
All of them	33	24.1	9	14.8	24	31.6
Most of them	57	41.6	33	54.1	24	31.6
About half of them	25	18.2	16	26.2	9	11.8
A few of them	22	16.1	3	4.9	19	25.0
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members²						
All of them	26	19.0	11	18.0	15	19.7
Most of them	64	46.7	31	50.8	33	43.4
About half of them	23	16.8	16	26.2	7	9.2
A few of them	23	16.8	3	4.9	20	26.3
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.3
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage³						
All of them	27	19.9	12	19.7	15	20.0
Most of them	62	45.6	33	54.1	29	38.7
About half of them	23	16.9	14	23.0	9	12.0
A few of them	23	16.9	2	3.3	21	28.0
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.3

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.44; ² Sign = .003, Chi-square = 16.32; ³ Sign = .002, Chi-square = 17.11

Respondents were also asked about the importance of having laws that protect women and girls from violence. Table 5.32 shows that 73.5% of respondents maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence, 81.6% maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from sexual assault and rape, and 81.6% also maintains girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage. District officials were significantly more likely to maintain it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence (88.0%) and sexual assault/rape (90.7%), compared to general public adults (55.6% and 70.5% respectively); general public adults were more likely to report it is only 'important' to have such laws.

Table 5.32. Importance of laws that protect women and girls from violence (Dedza)

How important is it to have laws in Malawi that protect . . .	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from marital violence¹						
Not important	1	0.7	1	1.6	0	0.0
Important	35	25.7	26	42.6	9	12.0
Very important	100	73.5	34	55.6	66	88.0
Women and girls from sexual assault/rape²						
Not important	2	1.5	1	1.6	1	1.3
Important	23	16.9	17	27.9	6	8.0
Very important	111	81.6	43	70.5	68	90.7
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage³						
Not important	1	0.7	1	1.6	0	0.0
Important	24	17.6	14	23.0	10	13.3
Very important	111	81.6	46	75.4	65	86.7

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.25; ² Sign = .008, Chi-square = 9.55; ³ Sign = .172, Chi-square = 3.52

Some district officials explained that since international organizations and NGOs have been training people in the districts and promoting women’s rights and women’s empowerment. As a result, district officials maintain “women are able to voice out, they are able to influence the daughters” (*Health Surveillance Assistants, Dedza*).

Social Norms Supporting Punishment of Perpetrators of VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms supporting the punishment of perpetrators of VAWG, including family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 5.33 shows that only 48.9% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 3 or 32.8% of respondent thought only a few or none of the women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. District officials (42.1%) were more likely than general public adults (21.3%) to report that a few or none of the women in Dedza believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system.

Table 5.33. Social norms supporting punishment of perpetrators of VAWG (Dedza)						
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system? ¹	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	15	10.9	6	9.8	9	11.8
Most of them	52	38.0	26	42.6	26	34.2
About half of them	24	17.6	15	24.6	9	11.8
A few of them	44	32.1	13	21.3	31	40.8
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.3
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system? ²						
All of them	21	15.4	7	11.5	14	18.7
Most of them	57	41.9	32	52.5	25	33.3
About half of them	26	19.1	16	26.2	10	13.2
A few of them	30	22.1	5	8.2	25	33.3
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1

¹Sign = .077, Chi-square = 9.94; ²Sign = .002, Chi-square = 18.67

Similarly, only 57.3% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 5 or 22.8% of respondent thought only a few or none of the women in Dedza believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. District officials (34.4%) were significantly more likely to believe that only a few or none of the women in Dedza believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. In comparison, general public adults (53.5%) were more likely than district officials (33.3%) to report most women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system.

District Officials’ Responses to VAWG

The *District Officials Survey* included several questions to assess their experiences with responding to VAWG. Table 5.34 shows that 80.3% of the district officials surveyed reported they have to deal with women and girls who experience violence in their job/position. Among those district officials who reported having to deal with VAWG survivors in their work, 98.4% reported when they encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence they are responsible for responding to the incident, 90.2% maintained they are required to register or record VAWG incidents, and 85.0% reported their agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases. When asked how often they actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention, only 38.3% reported they frequently register or record such incidents, 26.7% sometimes register or record such incidents, 18.3% rarely register or record such incidents, and 16.7% never register or record such incidents.

Table 5.34. District officials' responses to VAWG (Dedza)		
	District Officials N=76	
	n	%
In your job/position you have to deal with VAWG survivors	61	80.3
	N=61	
When you encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence you are responsible for responding to the incident	60	98.4
You are required to register or record the incident of VAWG	55	90.2
Your agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases	51	85.0
How often do you actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to your attention?		
Never	10	16.7
Rarely	11	18.3
Sometimes	16	26.7
Frequently	23	38.3

Focus group discussions with district officials revealed that social welfare officers, police victims support unit officers, and community victim support unit volunteers reported that battered wives are first encouraged to go to marriage counselling and if they do not work they can take it to the police. Typically, social welfare officers and victim support unit officers will counsel couples and try to provide them support and guidance to reconcile. In most cases, there is little if any punishment handed down to the husband who commits acts of violence against his wife. In some cases, abusive husbands maybe threatened by social welfare officers and/or police victim support unit officers that if the violence happens again in the next few months or if the woman comes back and complains against the man will be arrested and taken to the police. In many cases, district officials will work with the traditional authorities and/or village chiefs to handle the situation, and the traditional authority will decide what should happen. In most cases, this involves deciding if a perpetrator should pay with a chicken or a goat. District officials explained that if a woman is abused by her husband to the point that she is hurt and bleeding the issue usually goes straight to the police because *"if there is blood there is a criminal act"* (Health Surveillance Assistant, Dedza). However, the police often lack the financial resources needed to investigate the case and the transport needed to visit the village where the crime was committed, particularly if the incident occurred outside of the district centre.

If a woman is raped, district officials explained rape victims are taken to the hospital to get the health certification to verify the rape and then sent back to the police station to file a complaint. Once the police have the medical report verifying a rape that has occurred, the police can begin to investigate the case and search for the perpetrator.

"Rape victims will go to the immediate family to tell them what happened, then the family will take the issue with the chief, and when they go to the chief, they coordinate with the police and hunt for the culprit; at this time, it goes to the community victim support unit and then the lady is sent to the hospital. If the rape case is verified the perpetrator will be hunted and brought to the police." (Community Victim Support Unit, Dedza)

"Before, people hurt or become victims of violence they go straight to the police, but now they are encouraged to go to the hospital and then go to the police. Before a lot of people were bleeding out because they would say bring us to the police, now they changed it and victims go to the hospital first for medical attention, and then after that go to the police." (Health Surveillance Assistants, Dedza)

Attitudes toward the Treatment of VAWG Survivors. District officials were also asked how important it is that women and girls who experience violence be treated with care and compassion by the police and courts, and be provided with legal assistance and protection and support (see Table 5.35). Most notable is that 92.1% of district officials reported it is 'very important' that VAWG survivors be treated with care and compassion by police and courts, 92.1% of district officials reported it is 'very important' that VAWG survivors be provided with legal assistance, and 96.1% of district officials reported it is 'very important' that VAWG survivors be provided with protection and support.

Table 5.35. District officials' treatment of VAWG survivors (Dedza)		
How important is it that women and girls who experience violence be . . .	District Officials N=76	
	n	%
Treated with care and compassion by police and courts		
Not important	2	2.6
Somewhat important	3	3.9
Very important	70	92.1
Provided with legal assistance		
Not important	1	1.3
Somewhat important	4	5.3
Very important	70	92.1
Provided with protection and support		
Not important	1	1.3
Somewhat important	2	2.6
Very important	73	96.1

Protection from VAWG

Respondents were asked about the protection and service needs in Dedza for women and girls who experience gender-based violence. In terms of protection and service needs, respondents emphasized the need for **development and enforcement of by-laws** that protect women and girls from VAWG, including harmful practices, and punishes perpetrators of VAWG. Respondents in Dedza also spoke about having by-laws that aim to reduce early marriage by imposing fines on families that marry off their daughters before the age of 18 and/or parents who do not send their daughters to school.

Traditional leaders also maintained efforts to protect women and girls from violence requires “encouraging them to dress properly” and “holding regular meetings to orient girls about the dangers of revealing dress.” Traditional leaders thought this could be accomplished through “community mobilization and the use of initiators (*anankungwi*) who can instill the culture as it was before.” There was also discussion among traditional leaders of the need to develop by-laws that would discourage negative behaviours, such as by-laws that would serve to reduce alcohol consumption among women. Some traditional leaders argued, “There should be a curfew to stop women from drinking till late because drinking among women is a serious problem in this area” (*Traditional Leaders, Dedza*). Traditional leaders were unaware of the discriminatory nature of their thinking or the by-laws they were proposed, practices that would reinforce gender inequalities within families and communities. One must ask the question, why were traditional leaders not worried about the impact of alcohol consumption on men and families, and a contributing factor in VAWG?

District planning officers felt a joint effort is needed in Dedza to address VAWG and that there was a benefit in bringing together key stakeholders in the community to “discuss and come up with solutions” to better address VAWG. Several district officials also called for **civic education** for the public to raise their awareness and understanding of VAWG and harmful traditional practices, and to make them aware of legislation that aims to protect women and girls who experience gender-based violence.

Availability of VAWG-Related Services

Respondents were asked if there were sufficient services and qualified professionals available in Mangochi to work with women and girls who are victims/survivors of violence. Qualitative data revealed respondents believed VAWG-related services and qualified professionals were available in Mangochi to some extent, but that they were not sufficient. Respondents explained “the gaps are always there” (Police, Dedza). For instance, there are few police offices and child protection workers in Dedza who address VAWG. In addition, there is a “one-stop centre where you find the nurse, police, and social welfare, and in our district, yes it exists on paper, but in terms of practice it is not operational.” These same respondents went on to explain, “A victim is about 80 km to the one-stop centre, so to access services from the one-stop centre it is a problem” (Police, Dedza).

“The services are there, however, people are usually afraid to go through the procedures so they usually just stop pursuing justice. Even clinicians are sometimes afraid to get involved in a case that has gone to court.”
(District Planning Officer, Dedza)

Other district officials reported, “there are no sufficient services in this area because, just in this traditional authority we only have one office and the officer of the victim support unit is not even around. The police unit is even very far away” (Teachers, Dedza). The government does receive some support from NGOs that focus VAWG issues, however, still there are not enough VAWG-related services in Dedza,

Training Received by District Officials

Finally, district officials were asked about the training they received in the past one to two years related to women’s rights, gender equality, and VAWG. Table 5.36 shows that only 54.7% of district officials reported receiving training related to VAC, 47.9% received training related to VAWG/GBV, 44.0% received training on child marriage, 41.3% were trained on how to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors, and case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG, and 34.2% received training on women’s rights and/or gender equality.

Table 5.36. Training received by district officials		
Training received in the past one to two year	District Officials N=76	
	n	%
Women’s rights and/or gender equality	26	34.2
VAWG/GBV	35	47.9
Violence against children (VAC)	41	54.7
Child marriage	33	44.0
How to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors	31	41.3
Case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG	31	41.3

CHAPTER 6: SOCIAL NORMS IN KARONGA

This chapter reveals findings from district officials and general public adults sampled in Karonga and includes a comparison between general public adults and district officials. This includes findings related to social norms related to gender equality, VAWG, including harmful practices and child marriage and early marriages. This chapter also reveals social norms related to victim-blaming of VAWG survivors and public responses to VAWG.

Social Norms Related to Gender Equality

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions designed to measure social norms related to gender and gender equality, including gender preference at birth, girls' education, marriage and family, women's employment, women's health care, and women and land use. Findings presented in the sections that follow demonstrate a lack of social norms that support gender equality in Karonga.

Social Norms Related to Gender Preference at Birth. Both district officials and general public adults were asked about social norms in the district related to sex preference at birth. In particular, respondents were asked how many women in their community think it will be better to give birth to a boy than a girl. Table 6.1 shows that more than 1 out of 3 or 36.0% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in Karonga think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl, which is indicative of social norms. In addition, more 1 out of 2 or 54.7% of respondents in Karonga maintained about half or more of the women in the district think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl. General public adults (48.5%) were significantly more likely than district officials (23.1%) to report that most or all of the women in Karonga think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl.

Table 6.1. Social norms related to gender preference at birth (Karonga)

In your community, how many women think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	6	4.3	5	7.1	1	1.4
Most of them	44	31.7	29	41.4	15	21.7
About half of them	26	18.7	15	21.4	11	15.9
A few of them	45	32.4	19	27.1	26	37.7
None of them	13	9.4	2	2.9	11	15.9

Sign = .001, Chi-square = 20.05

Social Norms Related to Girls' Education. Both district officials and general public adults were also asked about social norms in the district related to girl's education, particularly how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education and how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. Table 6.2 reveals that nearly 1 out of 2 or 48.9% of respondents in Karonga maintained most or all of the girls/women in their district/communities are free to make decisions about their education, which is indicative of social norms. It is notable that nearly 1 out of 3 or 32.1% of respondents reported none or only a few girls/women in Karonga are free to make decisions about their education. General public adults (78.2%) were four times more likely than district officials (19.1%) to maintain that most or all of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about their education. In comparison, 1 out of 2 or 55.9% of district officials maintained only a few girls/women are free to make decisions about their education, compared to only 4.3% of general public adults.

At the same time, 43.9% of respondents reported most or all of the parents in Karonga think it is better to educate boys than girls, which is indicative of social norms. In addition, more than 1 out of 2 or 59.0% of respondents reported about half of the parents in Karonga think it is better to educate boys than girls. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults when it came to perceptions of the social norms in the district related to sex preference in education. In particular, general public adults (25.7%) were significantly more likely to report that about half of the parents in their communities think it is better to educate boys than girls, compared to district officials (4.3%).

Table 6.2. Social norms related to girl's education (Karonga)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	30	21.9	27	39.1	3	4.4
Most of them	37	27.0	27	39.1	10	14.7
About half of them	26	19.0	12	17.4	14	20.6
A few of them	41	29.9	3	4.3	38	55.9
None of them	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	4.4
In your community, how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls? ²						
All of them	9	6.5	6	8.6	3	4.3
Most of them	52	37.4	25	35.7	27	39.1
About half of them	21	15.1	18	25.7	3	4.3
A few of them	37	26.6	14	20.0	23	33.3
None of the them	19	13.7	7	10.0	12	17.4

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 60.04; ² Sign = .006, Chi-square = 16.29

Social Norms Related to Marriage and Family. When it comes to social norms related to marriage and family, Table 6.3 shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 61.8% of respondents in Karonga maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about who to marry, which is indicative of social norms. It is interesting that general public adults (27.6%) were two times more likely district officials (11.6%) to report that all of the girls/women in Karonga are free to make decisions about who to marry. General public adults were also more likely to report that about half or most of the girls/women in Karonga are free to make decisions about who to marry. In comparison, general public adults (30.4%) were five times more likely than general public adults (5.7%) to maintain that a few of the girls/women in Karonga are free to make decisions about who to marry.

Table 6.3. Social norms related to marriage and family (Karonga)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Who to marry? ¹						
All of them	27	19.4	19	27.1	8	11.6
Most of them	59	42.4	33	47.1	26	37.7
About half of them	22	15.8	14	20.0	8	11.6
A few of them	25	18.0	4	5.7	21	30.4
None of them	6	4.3	0	0.0	6	8.7
How many children to have and the upbringing of children? ²						
All of them	5	3.6	0	0.0	5	7.2
Most of them	25	18.0	13	18.6	12	17.4
About half of them	26	18.7	22	31.4	4	5.8
A few of them	68	48.9	30	42.9	38	55.1
None of them	15	10.8	5	7.1	10	14.5
The household budget and major household purchases? ³						
All of them	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.9
Most of them	35	25.2	21	30.0	14	20.3
About half of them	23	16.5	19	27.1	4	5.8
A few of them	58	41.7	18	25.7	40	58.0
None of them	16	11.5	12	17.1	4	5.8

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 24.50; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.10; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 30.52

When it comes to decision-making related to how many children to have and the upbringing of children, Table 6.3 shows that only 21.6% of respondents maintained that most of the girls/women in Karonga are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. It is notable that more than 1 out of 2 or 59.7% of respondents reported that either none or only a few of the girls/women in Karonga are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials (55.1%) were more likely than general public adults (42.9%) to report that only a few of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. It is also notable that district officials (14.5%) were two times more likely than general public adults (7.1%) to report that none of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of the children. General public adults (31.4%) were five times more likely than district officials (5.8%) to report that about half of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children.

When it comes to making decisions about the household budget and major household purchases, Table 6.3 shows that only 1 out of 4 or 26.6% of respondents maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases; this data is indicative of social norms. At the same time, more than 1 out of 2 or 53.2% of respondents maintained that none or only a few of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, general public adults (57.1%) were two times more likely than general public adults (26.1%) to report that about half or most of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. In comparison, district officials (58.0%) were two times more likely than general public adults (25.7) to maintain only a few of the girls/women in the district are able to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. Although fewer in number, general public adults (17.1%) were significantly more likely than district officials (5.8%) also more likely to report none of the girls/women in the district are able to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases.

Table 6.4 also shows that nearly 1 out of 2 or 48.2% of respondents reported most or all of the parents in Karonga think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, whereas 63.3% of respondents reported about half or more of the parents in Karonga think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. It is notable that nearly 1 out of 3 or 31.7% of respondents reported only a few or none of the parents in Karonga think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. There were significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public. In particular, district officials (47.8%) were three times more likely to report that only a few parents in Karonga think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, compared to general public adults (15.7%). In comparison, general public adults (44.3%) were two times more likely than district officials (20.3%) to report that most of the parents think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry.

Table 6.4. Social norms related to marriage of young women (Karonga)

In your community, how many parents think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	22	15.8	10	14.3	12	17.4
Most of them	45	32.4	31	44.3	14	20.3
About half of them	21	15.1	14	20.0	7	10.1
A few of them	44	31.7	11	15.7	33	47.8
None of them	7	5.0	4	5.7	3	4.3

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.07

Social Norms Related to Women's Employment. Table 6.5 shows that only 1 out of 4 or 25.2% of women respondents maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home, whereas 43.9% of respondents maintained a few girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials (29.0%) were more likely than general public adults (21.4%) to report that most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home.

Table 6.5. Social norms related to women's employment (Karonga)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	13	9.4	3	4.3	10	14.5
Most of them	22	15.8	12	17.1	10	14.5
About half of them	26	18.7	20	28.6	6	8.7
A few of them	61	43.9	30	42.9	31	44.9
None of them	11	7.9	5	7.1	6	8.7

Sign = .004, Chi-square = 17.59

Social Norms Related to Women's Health Care. In regard to women's health care, Table 6.6 shows that as many as 2 out of 3 or 69.8% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district are free to make decisions about their health and health care, which is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. General public adults (91.4%) were more likely than district officials (47.4%) to maintain most women or all of the women are free to make decisions about their health and health care. In comparison, district officials (31.9%) were more than general public adults (0.0%) to maintain only a few women are free to make decisions about their health and health care.

Table 6.6. Social norms related to women's health care (Karonga)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about their health and health care?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	27	19.4	18	25.7	9	13.0
Most of them	70	50.4	46	65.7	24	34.8
About half of them	15	10.8	6	8.6	9	13.0
A few of them	22	15.8	0	0.0	22	31.9
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.4

Sign = .000; Chi-square = 37.51

Social Norms Related to Women and Land Use. Finally, Table 6.7 shows that only 1 out of 3 or 34.5% of respondents reported women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions; this is indicative of social norms. At the same time, 1 out of 2 or 54.7% of respondents reported none or only a few of the women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. District officials (52.2%) were four times more likely than general public adults (11.4%) to report that only a few women in Karonga are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions. In addition, general public adults (32.9%) were two times more likely than district officials (13.0%) to report none of the women in Karonga are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions. District officials revealed that women do not usually own land in Karonga. Family land is divided among the sons in the family, under the assumption that daughters will farm on their husband's land when they get married. As one district official explained, "If a woman is married, she can't farm her father's land. She will get land from the husband she marries" (Police Officer, Karonga).

Table 6.7. Social norms related to women and land use (Karonga)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	17	12.2	0	0.0	17	24.6
Most of them	31	22.3	25	35.7	6	8.7
About half of them	15	10.8	14	20.0	1	1.4
A few of them	44	31.7	8	11.4	36	52.2
None of them	32	23.0	23	32.9	9	13.0

Sign = .000; Chi-square = 63.85

Social Norms and Attitudes Related to Wife Abuse

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a series of questions that measured social norms and attitudes related to wife abuse. Findings are presented in the sections that follow.

Social Norms Related to Wife Abuse. Table 6.8 reveals the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, it is notable that 1 out of 4 respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husband (28.8%), arguing with their husband (23.7%), and going out without telling their husband (23.0%). Fewer respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children (18.0%) and refusing sexual intercourse (18.8%). The majority of respondents reported that none or a few of the men in Karonga sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husband (56.1%), arguing with their husband (63.3%), going out without telling their husband (52.5%), and/or neglecting the children (66.9%). Far fewer respondents reported that none or a few of the respondents reported that none or a few of the men in Karonga sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse (35.5%).

There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults on each of these measures. Most notable is that district officials were significantly more likely to report that none or only a few men in Karonga sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husband (59.4%) and arguing with their husband (71.0%), compared to general public adults (52.9% and 55.7% respectively). In addition, district officials were more likely to report only a few men in Karonga sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband (50.7%) and neglecting the children (56.5%), compared to general public adults (31.4% and 45.7% respectively). In comparison, district officials (29.0%) were three times more likely than general public adults (8.6%) to report that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse.

Table 6.8. Social norms related to wife abuse (Karonga)						
In your community, how many men do you think sometimes hit or beat their wives for . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Disobeying their husband¹						
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	40	28.8	17	24.3	23	33.3
About half of them	20	14.4	16	22.9	4	5.8
A few of them	64	46.0	23	32.9	41	59.4
None of them	14	10.1	14	20.0	0	0.0
Arguing with their husband²						
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	33	23.7	18	25.7	15	21.7
About half of them	18	12.9	13	18.6	5	7.2
A few of them	73	52.5	27	38.6	46	66.7
None of them	15	10.8	12	17.1	3	4.3
Going out without telling their husband³						
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	32	23.0	15	21.4	17	24.6
About half of them	26	18.7	20	28.6	6	8.7
A few of them	57	41.0	22	31.4	35	50.7
None of them	16	11.5	12	17.1	4	5.8
Neglecting the children⁴						
All of them	1	0.7	1	1.4	0	0.0
Most of them	24	17.3	5	7.1	19	27.5
About half of them	16	11.5	16	22.9	0	0.0
A few of them	71	51.1	32	45.7	39	56.5
None of them	22	15.8	15	21.4	7	10.1
Refusing sexual intercourse⁵						
All of them	13	9.4	1	1.4	12	17.4
Most of them	13	9.4	5	7.2	8	11.6
About half of them	36	26.1	26	37.7	10	14.5
A few of them	38	27.5	17	24.6	21	30.4
None of them	11	8.0	4	5.8	7	10.1

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 28.16; ² Sign = .003, Chi-square = 14.17; ³ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 19.12; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 30.56

⁵ Sign = .002, Chi-square = 19.28

Table 6.9 shows that as many as 72.1% of respondents reported most people in the community would disapprove of a man if he beats his wife for disobeying, while 11.0% reported that most people would approve of his actions and 14.7% reported most people would think it is none of their business. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, general public adults (77.1%) and district officials (66.7%) were most likely to report that most people in the community would disapprove of his actions. At the same time, however, district officials (22.7%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (0.0%) to report that if a man in their community beats his wife for disobeying him, most people would approve of his actions. In comparison, general public adults (22.9%) were more likely than district officials (6.1%) to report that if a man in their community beat his wife for disobeying him, most people would think it was none of their business.

Table 6.9. Social norms supportive of wife abuse (Karonga)						
If a man in your community beats his wife for disobeying, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of his actions	15	11.0	0	0.0	15	22.7
Disapprove of his actions	98	72.1	54	77.1	44	66.7
Think it was none of their business	20	14.7	16	22.9	4	6.1

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 26.13

Attitudes toward Wife Abuse. Table 6.10 reveals respondent's personal attitudes toward wife abuse. In particular, the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, 40.3% of respondents believe if a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man. Surprisingly, district officials (63.8%) were three times more likely to hold this attitude compared to adults in the general public (17.1%). Some respondents (20.9%) also held the belief that a husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her. Finally, 41.7% of respondents held the belief that a woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together. There were no statistically significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public related to the last two attitudinal measures.

Table 6.10. Attitudes toward wife abuse (Karonga)						
	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
If a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man ¹	56	40.3	12	17.1	44	63.8
A husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her ²	29	20.9	14	20.0	15	21.7
A woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together ³	58	41.7	28	40.0	30	43.5

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 35.40; ² Sign = .196, Chi-square = 3.26; ³ Sign = .678, Chi-square = .173

Social Norms Related to Sexual Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a question that measured social norms related to sexual VAWG. Table 6.11 shows that 41.0% of respondents maintained most or all of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, and 2 out of 3 or 67.6% of respondents maintained about half or more of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations. Although the majority of general public adults (44.3%) and district officials (37.6%) held the belief that most or all of the young men sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, there were some significant differences between general public adults and district officials, as many as 31.9% of district officials reported only a few young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations.

Table 6.11. Social norms related to sexual violence (Karonga)						
In your community, how many young men do you think sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	2	1.4	1	1.4	1	1.4
Most of them	55	39.6	30	42.9	25	36.2
About half of them	37	26.6	28	40.0	9	13.0
A few of them	33	23.7	11	15.7	22	31.9
None of them	8	5.8	0	0.0	8	11.6
In your community, how many people believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or is married to? ²						
All of them	11	8.0	0	0.0	11	15.9
Most of them	55	39.9	31	44.9	24	34.8
About half of them	19	13.8	16	23.2	3	4.3
A few of them	23	16.7	12	17.4	11	15.9
None of them	29	21.0	9	13.0	20	29.0

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.87; ²Sign = .000, Chi-square = 26.00

Table 6.11 also reveals that 47.9% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with whom she is married, and 61.7% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married. District officials (50.7%) were significantly more likely to maintain that most or all of the people in Karonga hold this view, compared to adults in the general public (44.9%); whereas, 68.1% of general public adults held the believe that about half or most of the people believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married.

Social Norms Related to Harmful Practices

This study also included a focus on traditional practices (*miyambo* in Chichewa) that are considered to be harmful practices to women and girls. The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions related to the occurrence of various traditional practices in Karonga and whether respondents believe most people in the district consider them to be harmful to women and girls, and if respondents recognized the harm done to women and girls by these traditional practices. Qualitative data related to traditional practices was also collected through focus group discussions with district officials and one-on-one interviews with general public adults. Both qualitative and quantitative data related to harmful practices are presented in this section.

Frequency of Traditional Practices. Table 6.12 reveals that each of the different traditional practices listed occurs to varying degrees in Karonga, and there were significant differences in the willingness of general public adults and district officials to report the occurrence of such traditional practices in the district. The most common traditional practice that often occurs in Karonga is polygamy (88.9%). In general, 38.7% of respondents reported that labia pulling/stretching occurs often in Karonga. General public adults (61.4%) were significantly more likely to report that labia pulling/stretching often occurs in the communities, compared to district officials (14.9%). In addition, 31.7% of respondents reported wife inheritance often occur in Karonga, and 60.4% reported it occurs sometimes.

Although it reportedly does not occur often in Karonga, the practice of giving bonus wives (39.1%) and fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (30.2%) were reported as sometimes occurring in Karonga. District officials (75.0%) were actually significantly more likely to report that fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters sometimes occurs in Karonga, compared to general public adults (8.6%). District officials were more likely to report that the practice of giving bonus wives either often (21.7%) or sometimes (46.4%) occurs, compared to general public adults (4.3% and 31.9% respectively). In addition, district officials were more likely to report that fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters either often (8.7%) or sometimes occurs (39.1%), compared to general public adults (0.0% and 12.4% respectively).

Table 6.12 also shows that although very few respondents reported that often (8.0%) or sometimes (19.0%) parents in Karonga offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor as payment for their debt. District officials were actually more likely to report that parents in Karonga often (15.9%) or sometimes (62.1%) offer their daughter in marriage as payment for their debt, compared to general public adults (0.0% and 11.8% respectively).

Other traditional practices reported occur in Karonga, include:

- *Lipililo* – This is when a woman’s in-laws die, her parents have to bring a cow to the funeral, and if they do not the woman will be mocked by the relatives of the husband. The same happens if a woman’s parents die, the husband’s parents are expected to bring a cow to the funeral. The exchange of cows only happens when both biological parents of both parties die. The cow will be killed and feasted on.
- *Chokolo* – Only the younger brother can take over the wife after the funeral of his older brother. A woman can choose to say no to *chokolo* and just ask the younger brother to help take care of her children or she can go all the way and move in with the younger brother and live as husband and wife. If a wife dies, the parents of the woman may give the husband/man the sister of his wife (usually it is financially motivated).
- *Chithyola minga* – If a boy/man takes a girl/woman as his wife without the consent of her parents, they have to pay a fine.
- *Forced marriage* - If a girl is found with a boy, her parents may take her to the boy and force them to get married. Parents will normally encourage this if the boy comes from a wealthy family. The girl has no say and can’t escape the marriage, unless the boy runs away from home.
- *Chiphosola* – If a boy/man gets a girl/woman pregnant out-of-wedlock, the man pays the girl’s parents money to take the child. In most cases, the mother of the child would be denied access to the child once the payment has been made. And, if a child is born out-of-wedlock, the child is considered a foreigner and the family does not give them land (*msiwana*)
- When a boy/man’s family fails to pay the bride price (*lobola*), the girl’s family will come back to take their girl away they pay bride price. This can be traumatizing to the girl, as it is as if her family is in control of her marriage. And, if a woman dies her husband’s family has to finish paying the bride price, otherwise the family will refuse to bury the woman until the debt is settled.
- During menstruation a girl/woman is not allowed to put salt on food, as putting salt on food will make everyone sick.

Table 6.12. Frequency of traditional practices (Karonga)

In your community, how often do each of the following traditional practices occur . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy¹						
Never	4	2.9	0	0.0	4	5.8
Sometimes	10	7.2	5	7.1	5	7.2
Often	125	89.9	65	92.9	60	87.0
Wife inheritance²						
Never	9	6.5	2	2.9	7	10.1
Sometimes	84	60.4	49	70.0	35	50.7
Often	44	31.7	18	25.7	26	37.7
Bonus wife³						
Never	52	37.7	38	55.1	14	20.3
Sometimes	54	39.1	22	31.9	32	46.4
Often	18	13.0	3	4.3	15	21.7
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor⁴						
Never	84	61.3	51	75.0	33	47.8
Sometimes	26	19.0	8	11.8	18	26.1
Often	11	8.0	0	0.0	11	15.9
Wife swapping⁵						
Never	114	82.0	66	94.3	48	69.6
Sometimes	4	2.9	0	0.0	4	5.8
Often	8	5.8	2	2.9	6	8.7
Removing dust⁶						
Never	119	85.6	64	91.4	55	79.7
Sometimes	3	2.2	2	2.9	1	1.4
Often	6	4.3	0	0.0	6	8.7
Labia pulling/stretching⁷						
Never	53	38.7	22	31.4	31	46.3
Sometimes	11	8.0	3	4.3	8	11.9
Often	53	38.7	43	61.4	10	14.9
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter⁸						
Never	89	64.0	55	78.6	34	49.3
Sometimes	42	30.2	15	21.4	27	39.1
Often	6	4.3	0	0.0	6	8.7
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices⁹						
Never	126	90.6	70	100.0	56	81.2
Sometimes	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	4.3
Often	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	4.3
Fisi¹⁰						
Never	104	74.8	49	70.0	55	79.7
Sometimes	24	17.3	17	24.3	7	10.1
Often	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	4.3
When a woman's husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brother¹¹						
Never	102	73.4	68	97.1	34	49.3
Sometimes	10	14.4	0	0.0	20	29.0
Often	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	4.3
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased¹²						
Never	109	78.4	55	78.6	54	78.3
Sometimes	12	8.6	11	15.9	1	1.4
Often	9	6.5	3	4.3	6	8.7
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula¹³						
Never	122	87.8	67	95.7	55	79.7
Sometimes	8	5.8	2	2.9	6	8.7
Often	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	4.3

1 Sign = .123, Chi-square = 4.19; 2 Sign = .087, Chi-square = 6.56; 3 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 21.21; 4 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.95

5 Sign = .002, Chi-square = 15.07; 6 Sign = .050, Chi-square = 7.83; 7 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 37.10; 8 Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.38

9 Sign = .002, Chi-square = 14.55; 10 Sign = .057, Chi-square = 7.51; 11 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 41.47; 12 Sign = .002, Chi-square = 14.7813 Sign = .031, Chi-square = 8.84

- *Property grabbing* – The husband dies, and his parents and relatives come and take his belongings leaving the woman and her children with nothing.
- At funerals, women are expected to sleep at the house where the funeral is taking place. They sleep outside for days while men sleep at home. If a woman sleeps at home, she will have to pay a fine.

Recognition of Traditional Practices as Harmful to Females. Respondents were also asked if most believe in the district (communities) believe each of the traditional practices identified in Table 6.12 are harmful to women and girls. Table 6.13 shows the proportion of respondents who felt that most people in the district believe each of these traditional practices as harmful to women and girls. Respondents who reported the traditional practices were considered good practices or did not occur in their communities are not included in Table 6.13. The focus is only on the social norms that recognize traditional practices as harmful practices.

Most notable is that as many as 88.5% of respondents maintained most people believe wife inheritance is a harmful practice for females, and 81.9% of respondent reported most people believe polygamy is a harmful practice for females. General public adults were more likely to report that most people in their communities recognize polygamy (100.0%) and wife inheritance (98.6%) as a harmful practice more often than did district officials (63.2% and 78.3% respectively). The majority of respondents also reported that most people recognized the practice of offering bonus wives (64.0%), fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (56.1%), parents offering their daughter in marriage to the creditor as payment for their debt (55.4%), and Fisi (48.9%) are harmful practices for females.

Respondents were less likely to report that most people in the district consider each of the other traditional practices listed in Table 6.13 as harmful to women and girls. In particular, more than 1 out of 3 respondents recognized practices such as removing dust (39.9%), practices for girls who become pregnant before undergoing *chindakula* (39.6%), a woman being expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband’s brother (38.8%), and a man sleeping with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased (37.4%) as harmful practice for females. Also, more than 1 out of 3 respondents recognized wife swapping (36.7%), labia pulling/stretching (35.3%), and fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (34.5%) as harmful practices for females. District officials were more likely to recognize each of these traditional practices as harmful to females, except for Fisi. General public adults (60.0%) were significantly more likely to recognize Fisi as harmful to females as district officials (37.7%).

Table 6.13. Social norms related to harmful practices (Karonga)						
In your community, do most people believe the following traditions and practices are harmful practices for females?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy ¹	113	81.9	70	100.0	43	63.2
Wife inheritance ²	123	88.5	69	98.6	54	78.3
Bonus wife ³	89	64.0	44	62.9	45	65.2
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor ⁴	77	55.4	35	50.0	42	60.9
Wife swapping ⁵	51	36.7	22	31.4	29	42.0
Removing dust ⁶	55	39.9	22	31.9	33	47.8
Labia pulling/stretching ⁷	49	35.3	22	31.4	27	39.1
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter ⁸	78	56.1	33	47.1	45	65.2
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices ⁹	48	34.5	18	25.7	30	43.5
Fisi ¹⁰	68	48.9	42	60.0	26	37.7
When a woman’s husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband’s brother	54	38.8	22	31.4	32	46.4
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased ¹²	52	37.4	22	31.4	30	43.5
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing <i>chindakula</i> ¹³	55	39.6	20	28.6	35	50.7

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 31.43; ² Sign = .001, Chi-square = 14.62; ³ Sign = .012, Chi-square = 8.89; ⁴ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 13.37

⁵ Sign = .428, Chi-square = 1.70; ⁶ Sign = .005, Chi-square = 10.48; ⁷ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 42.48; ⁸ Sign = .047, Chi-square = 6.11

⁹ Sign = .006, Chi-square = 10.32; ¹⁰ Sign = .021, Chi-square = 7.74; ¹¹ Sign = .002, Chi-square = 13.00; ¹² Sign = .027, Chi-square = 7.26

¹³ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 13.08

Negative Effects of Traditional Practices. Table 6.14 shows that as many as 92.1% of respondents recognized that women and girls face harm from the different traditional practices identified in Tables 6.12 and 6.13.

Table 6.14. Recognition of harm done to women and girls from traditional practices (Karonga)						
	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls experience harm from the different traditional practices	128	92.1	69	98.6	59	85.5

Sign = .015, Chi-square = 8.35

Qualitative data revealed that respondents recognized that early marriages is often related to early age pregnancy that can result in reproductive health complications, such as fistula, and can lead to poverty and abuse from husbands. Respondents also recognized harmful practices place women and girls at risk of contracting sexual transmitted disease, including HIV. Transmission of sexually transmitted diseases was most often related polygamy, wife inheritance, bonus wife, and arranged marriages because HIV testing is not considered or carried out prior to these arrangements. As respondents explained, *“Wife inheritance increases the spread of sexually transmitted diseases since most of the times the man and the woman don’t go to the hospital to get tested before the inheritance” (Adult Female, Karonga)*. Respondents also maintained that *“wife inheritance is not good because most of the time the inherited person is abandoned and is psychologically affected” (Adult Female, Karonga)*

As it relates to polygamy, neglect of first wives and their children was also mentioned as a harm experienced by women, and it was recognized that this can lead to disputes among wives, and in some cases first and second wives harming each other. As one district official explained, *“Polygamy triggers violence and lack of support to the first family/children, especially if the man is failing to support them, there is also violence among the wives and the spread of HIV among everyone involved” (Police, Karonga)*. District officials explained that because of bride price and that fact that more bride price is paid for a polygamous marriage, *“women are stuck in the marriage and can only leave if they pay back the bride price” (District Social Welfare, Karonga)*. Similarly, another district official explained, *“Women get neglected because of the lobola/bride price practice. The man would go and get another wife somewhere else leaving first wife and kids behind. The woman can only leave if she pays back the lobola” (Police, Karonga)*. General public adults maintained that *“most times, the women in a polygamous relationship use traditional medicine to curse each other” (Adult Female, Karonga)*.

“Polygamy is also a tactic that men use to exploit the women as workers on their farm. The more wives, the more work done. Men in this area usually leave farming to women and the sister wives would compete for his attention by working hard because he would usually go spend his time where he is well taken care of.” (Community Victim Support Unit, Karonga)

Emerging Forms of VAWG

District officials were also asked about new forms of VAWG occurring in their district, particularly new forms of VAWG occurring among the younger population and/or new forms of VAWG emerging as a result to changes in modifications of traditional practices. District officials in Karonga mostly voiced their concerns about the availability and sharing of pornographic materials among youth through WhatsApp, which is reportedly bringing chaos and mistrust among couples. As one district official explained, *“Through WhatsApp young girls are sharing pornography, nudity, this is encouraging sexual behaviour among the youth and this is happening even among young children” (Community Victim Support Unit, Karonga)*.

The practice of watching pornographic films has reportedly led to rape cases and inappropriate sexual behaviours among youth. As respondents explained, *“Youths share pornography among themselves, they want to try it out, they think it’s normal. There is no age limit at the video shows which means children are in danger of watching inappropriate material” (District Social Welfare, Karonga)*. Both teachers and Health Surveillance Assistants reported WhatsApp has encouraged extra marital affairs among men, which has led to emotional abuse of women.

“The issue of dressing is also a challenge in this area because of technology because they copy whatever they see online and they end up getting raped.” (Traditional Leader, Karonga)

Some respondents blamed the availability of western media as a cause for the changes in culture in Karonga. For example, modesty in dress among women, especially young women, is said to have changed and this change was attributed to the availability of western/foreign media, such as music videos. District officials reported, “*The way of dressing has changed due to technology, phones, and TVs; this is encouraging sexual advances from men as a result of the way the girl is dressing*” (Teacher, Karonga). Some respondent even mentioned that youth are experimenting with drugs because of what they see in western/foreign media.

Social Norms Related to Child marriage and early marriage of Girls

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included questions related to child marriage and early marriage of girls. Table 6.15 shows that as many of 1 out of 4 or 28.8% of respondents reported they believe most or all of the girls in Karonga get married before 15 years of age. Moreover, 1 out of 2 or 51.8% of respondents reported about half or more of the girls in Karonga get married before 15 years of age. District officials (34.8%) were more likely than general public adults (22.9%) to report that most of the girls in Karonga get married before 15 years of age, and at the same time were more likely to report that only a few girls get married before 15 years of age in Karonga (46.4%), compared to general public adults (28.6%).

Table 6.15 also shows that as many as 1 out of 2 or 52.5% of respondents reported that most or all of the girls in Karonga get married before 18 years of age, and as many as 3 out of 4 or 74.8% of respondent reported that about half or more of the girls in Karonga get married before 18 years of age. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials.

Table 6.15. Social norms related to child marriage and early marriage of girls (Karonga)						
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 15 years of age? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	40	28.8	16	22.9	24	34.8
About half of them	32	23.0	23	32.9	9	13.0
A few of them	52	37.4	20	28.6	32	46.4
None of them	15	10.8	11	15.7	4	5.8
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 18 years of age? ²						
All of them	8	5.8	7	10.0	1	1.4
Most of them	65	46.7	31	44.3	34	49.3
About half of them	31	22.3	17	24.3	14	20.3
A few of them	27	19.4	14	20.0	13	18.8
None of them	8	5.8	1	1.4	7	10.1

¹ Sign = .003, Chi-square = 13.75; ² Sign = .051, Chi-square = 9.46

Respondents were asked what would be the reaction of most people in Karonga if parents arranged for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age. Table 6.16 shows that although nearly 2 out of 3 or 63.3% of respondents felt that parents in the district would disapprove of parents arranging for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, yet nearly 1 out of 3 or 32.4% of respondents reported that most people would think it was none of their business, and 3.6% would approve of the parents’ actions. District officials (37.7%) were more likely than general public adults (27.1%) to report most people would think it is none of their business if parents in the community arranged for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age. In comparison, general public adults (72.9%) were more likely than district officials (53.6%) to report most people would disapprove if parents in the community arrange for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age.

Table 6.16. Social norms supportive of child marriage and early marriage (Karonga)						
If parents in this community arrange for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of their actions	5	3.6	0	0.0	5	7.2
Disapprove of their actions	88	63.3	51	72.9	37	53.6
Think it was none of their business	45	32.4	19	27.1	26	37.7

Sign = .025, Chi-square = 9.31

Understanding the Relationship between Child marriage and early marriage and Violence. Table 6.17 shows that as many as 76.3% of respondents understand there is a relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence, particularly that girls who are married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family.

Table 6.17. Understanding the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence (Karonga)						
	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Girls married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family	106	76.3	52	74.3	54	78.3

Sign = .121, Chi-square = 4.23

Victim-Blaming of Female Survivors of Violence

Societal attitudes that cast the blame on girls and women for causing problems in the family and justifications for the use of VAWG in the family, leads to victim-blaming from family, friends, and authorities. In Malawi, victim-blaming serves as a barrier for women and girls wanting to access protection from VAWG. In terms of victim-blaming for wife abuse, respondents were asked how many people in the community believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, as well as how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to someone outside of their family about the abuse or violence in their marriage.

Table 6.18 shows that nearly 1 out of 3 or 31.2% of respondent reported most or all of the community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, and 45.7% of respondents maintained about half or more of community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault. Also, 23.0% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in the community believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage, and 46.7% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse of violence in the marriage. These findings are indicative of the such social norms in Karonga. District officials were more likely to believe that most or all of the people in the community believe a woman is partly to blame or at fault if she is beaten by her husband, and that she should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about the abuse or violence in their marriage.

Table 6.18. Social norms related to victim-blaming for wife abuse (Karonga)						
In your community, how many believe when a woman is beat by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	11	8.0	1	1.4	10	14.5
Most of them	32	23.2	5	7.2	27	39.1
About half of them	20	14.5	19	27.5	1	1.4
A few of them	70	50.7	43	62.3	27	39.1
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.4
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage? ²						
All of them	11	7.9	1	1.4	10	14.5
Most of them	21	15.1	8	11.4	13	18.8
About half of them	33	23.7	24	34.3	9	13.0
A few of them	51	36.7	25	35.7	26	37.7
None of them	20	14.4	12	17.1	8	11.6

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 44.35; ²Sign = .002, Chi-square = 19.19

Table 6.19 shows that only 10.8% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that when a woman is raped, she is partly to blame or at fault, and more than 1 out of 3 or 37.4%% of respondents reported about half of the people in the community believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault. District officials (18.8%) were six times more likely than general public adults (2.9%) to report most of the people in the district believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault.

Table 6.19. Social norms related to victim-blaming for sexual violence (Karonga)						
In your community, how many people believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	15	10.8	2	2.9	13	18.8
About half of them	37	26.6	24	34.4	13	18.8
A few of them	43	30.9	21	30.0	22	31.9
None of them	41	29.5	23	32.9	18	26.1
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped?						
All of them	12	8.6	0	0.0	12	17.4
Most of them	20	14.4	3	4.3	17	24.6
About half of them	17	12.2	16	22.9	1	1.4
A few of them	50	36.0	23	32.9	27	39.1
None of them	37	26.6	28	40.0	9	13.0

¹Sign = .005, Chi-square = 14.96; ²Sign = .000, Chi-square = 48.11

Table 6.19 also shows that 23.0% of respondents reported most or all of the people in Karonga believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, and 1 out of 3 or 35.2% of respondents reported about half or more of the people in Karonga believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped. District officials (42.0%) were nine times more likely than general public adults (4.3%) to report that most or all of the people in Karonga believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped. General public adults (40.0%) were significantly more likely to maintain that none of the people in Karonga believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped.

Victim-blaming attitudes of this kind marginalize women and girls who experience violence and make it hard for them to come forward and report the violence/abuse in their lives and families. If victims know that society or a frontline service provider will blame them for the violence/abuse, she will not feel safe or comfortable coming forward and talking about or reporting it. Victim-blaming attitudes also reinforce what the abuser has been saying all along, that it is the victim's fault that the violence/abuse happens. By engaging in victim-blaming attitudes, society allows the abuser to commit acts of violence/abuse, including sexual assault/rape, while avoiding accountability for their actions.

Public Responses to VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included several questions that measured individual responses to VAWG, particular what respondents would do if they witnessed a woman being beaten by her husband and if they saw or heard a woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man. Respondents were asked to report all responses they would take in such situations, so they could identify more than one response; therefore, column percentages will not total 100.0%.

Table 6.20 shows that 84.9% of respondent reported they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, and more than 1 out of 3 or 37.4% reported they would report the incident to the police. General public adults (90.0%) were more likely to report they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, compared to district officials (79.7%). At the same time, general public adults were more likely to report they would walk away and not intervene (8.6%) and not report the incident to anyone (15.7%), compared to district officials (0.0% and 0.0% respectively).

Table 6.20. Public responses to wife abuse (Karonga)						
What would you do if you witnessed a woman being beat by her husband?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	6	4.3	6	8.6	0	0.0
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	1	0.7	1	1.4	0	0.0
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	118	84.9	63	90.0	55	79.7
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	52	37.4	21	30.0	31	44.9
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	11	7.9	11	15.7	0	0.0

¹ Sign = .013, Chi-square = 6.18; ² Sign = .319, Chi-square = .99; ³ Sign = .090, Chi-square = 2.87; ⁴ Sign = .069, Chi-square = 3.31

⁵ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 11.78

Respondents were also asked what they would do if they witnessed a young woman being beaten by her boyfriend (dating violence). Table 6.21 shows that 3 out of 4 or 79.1% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help the young woman that was being beaten by their boyfriend, and 1 out of 3 or 33.8% maintained they would report the incident to the police. There were a few significant differences between district officials and general public adults, such general public adults (90.0%) were more likely than district officials (68.1%) to maintain they would intervene and try to help the woman, whereas district officials (49.3%) were two times more likely than general public adults (18.6%) to maintain they would report the incident to the police.

Table 6.21. Public responses to dating violence (Karonga)						
What would you do if you witnessed a young woman being beat by her boyfriend?	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	7	5.0	4	5.7	3	4.3
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	2	1.4	1	1.4	1	1.4
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	110	79.1	63	90.0	47	68.1
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	47	33.8	13	18.6	34	49.3
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	9	6.5	8	11.4	1	1.4

¹ Sign = .713, Chi-square = .14; ² Sign = .992, Chi-square = .000; ³ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 10.08; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 14.64

⁵ Sign = .017, Chi-square = 5.71

What would respondents do if they saw or heard of a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, Table 6.22 shows that 84.9% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help a woman who they saw or hear a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, and 1 out of 2 or 53.2% of respondents reported they would report the incident to the police. There were a couple of differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, general public adults (94.3%) were more likely to report they would intervene and try to help if they saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man, compared to district officials (75.4%).

Table 6.22. Public responses to sexual violence (Karonga)						
What would you do if you saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	4	2.9	4	5.7	0	0.0
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	118	84.9	66	94.3	52	75.4
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	74	53.2	38	54.3	36	52.2
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	5	3.6	3	4.3	2	2.9

¹Sign = .044, Chi-square = 4.06; ² Sign = .002, Chi-square = 9.70; ³ Sign = .803, Chi-square = .062; ⁴ Sign = .661, Chi-square = .19

Qualitative data revealed are usually willing to help but there is still a general tendency to point fingers at the victim. When asked, “If a young woman comes and tells you that she has had enough of being beaten by her husband and wants it to stop, what advice would you give her?” Respondents generally maintained they would focus on understanding the cause of the violence and whether the woman was at fault for the conflict and violence. As one district official explained, “If the woman is at fault, advise her on what to do next, or you can talk to both the man and wife” (Health Surveillance Assistant, Karonga). Another district official reported you need to “understand and make sure it is not her fault, check her attitude and advise her if it is her attitude that caused the beating” (District Planning Officer, Karonga). Similarly, general public adults maintained that “If the problem is hers, they would advise her to go back and apologize, but if the problem is the husband, they would advise her to go to the traditional leader or mother groups” (Adult Female, Karonga). They maintained they would also “ask her to change her behaviour because the husband cannot come home and start fighting” (Adult Female, Karonga). Other general public adults reported they would “advise her to tolerate the violence in order to keep her marriage” (Adult Female, Karonga).

Help-Seeking Behaviours of Female Survivors of Violence

Respondents were asked about the help-seeking behaviours of women and girls who experience violence. Table 6.23 shows that nearly 3 out of 4 of 73.4% of respondents reported they thought that women/girls in Karonga who experience violence would be ‘very likely’ to seek medical care and tell the doctor or nurse about the violence, and 80.6% reported they thought that women/girls in Karonga who experience violence would be very likely to report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs. General public adults (92.9%) were significantly more likely to maintain VAWG survivors would report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs than district officials (68.1%). District officials were more likely to report VAWG survivors were only somewhat likely (17.4%) or not likely (13.0%) to report the violence they experience to traditional leaders/chiefs, compared to general public adults (5.7% and 1.4% respectively).

Table 6.23. Help-seeking behaviours of female survivors of violence (Karonga)						
In your community, if a woman/girl experiences violence how likely would they be to . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Seek medical care and tell the doctor/nurse about the violence ¹						
Not likely	15	10.8	6	8.6	9	13.0
Somewhat likely	22	15.8	13	18.6	9	13.0
Very likely	102	73.4	51	72.9	51	73.9
Report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs ²						
Not likely	10	7.2	1	1.4	9	13.0
Somewhat likely	16	11.5	4	5.7	12	17.4
Very likely	112	80.6	65	92.9	47	68.1

¹Sign = .517, Chi-square = 1.32; ² Sign = .003, Chi-square = 14.29

Respondents were also asked what advice they would give to a family member who experienced wife abuse or was raped, and how confident they were the police would register and investigate the complaint. Table 6.24 shows that as many as 95.7% of respondents reported that if their sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured that they would be 'very likely' to encourage her to report the incident to the police. In addition, 83.3% of respondents reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their sister's complaint of wife abuse. Surprisingly, district officials were more likely to report they are only 'somewhat confident' (15.9%) or not confident (11.6%) that the police would register and investigate their sister's complaint of wife abuse, compared to general public adults (4.3% and 0.0% respectively); whereas nearly all general public adults (95.7%) were 'very confident' the police would register and investigate their sister's complaint, compared to district officials (71.0%).

Table 6.24. Advice to wife abuse victims and confidence in the police response to wife abuse (Karonga)						
If your sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured how likely would you be to encourage her to report the incident to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not likely	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.4
Somewhat likely	5	3.6	5	7.2	0	0.0
Very likely	132	95.7	64	92.8	68	98.6
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your sister's complaint? ²						
Not confident	8	5.8	0	0.0	8	11.6
Somewhat confident	14	10.1	3	4.3	11	15.9
Very confident	115	83.3	66	95.7	49	71.0

¹ Sign = .047, Chi-square = 6.12; ² Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.08

Table 6.25 shows that as many as 97.1% of respondents reported that if their daughter were the victim of rape that they would be 'very likely' to report the crime to the police, and 89.9% of respondents reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their daughter's complaint of rape. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials.

Table 6.25. Advice to rape victims and confident in the police response to wife abuse (Karonga)						
If your daughter were the victim of rape, how likely would you be to report the crime to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not likely	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Somewhat likely	4	2.9	1	1.4	3	4.3
Very likely	135	97.1	69	98.6	66	95.7
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your daughter's complaint? ²						
Not confident	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	4.4
Somewhat confident	9	6.5	0	0.0	9	13.2
Very confident	124	89.9	70	100.0	54	79.4

¹ Sign = .303, Chi-square = 1.06; ² Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.04

Perceived Seriousness of VAWG

Respondents were asked to rate how serious a problem is family/marital violence and sexual assault/rape of women. Table 6.26 shows that 41.7% of respondents identified family/marital violence as a 'serious problem' in Karonga, and 25.2% identified it as a 'moderate problem' and 24.5% identify it as a 'minor problem'. Far fewer respondents identified family/marital violence as 'not a problem' (8.6%). District officials (68.1%) were four times more likely than general public adults (15.7%) to identify family/marital violence as a 'serious problem' in Karonga; whereas general public adults (40.0%) were four times more likely than district officials (8.7%) to maintain family/marital violence is a 'minor problem' in Karonga.

Table 6.26. Perceived seriousness of family/marital violence (Karonga)						
In your community, how serious a problem is family/marital violence?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
Not a problem	12	8.6	12	17.1	0	0.0
Minor problem	34	24.5	28	40.0	6	8.7
Moderate problem	35	25.2	19	27.1	16	23.2
Serious problem	58	41.7	11	15.7	47	68.1

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 48.83

Table 6.27 shows that only 23.7% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in Karonga and 12.2% identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'moderate problem', 38.1% identified it as a 'minor problem', and 23.0% of respondents maintained sexual assault/rape of women and girls was 'not a problem' in Karonga. Surprisingly, as many as 1 out of 3 or 38.7% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem'. District officials (47.8%) most likely to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in Karonga, whereas general public adults (50.0%) were most likely to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem' in Karonga.

Table 6.27. Perceived seriousness of sexual assault/rape (Karonga)						
In your community, how serious a problem is sexual assault/rape of women and girls?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not a problem	32	23.0	27	38.6	5	7.2
Minor problem	53	38.1	35	50.0	18	26.1
Moderate problem	17	12.2	8	11.4	9	13.0
Serious problem	33	23.7	0	0.0	33	47.8

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 57.63

Sources of Information on VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure what sources of information adults in the general public and district officials rely upon to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 6.28 shows that as many as 72.7% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the mass media, 66.2% receive information from informal networks, 55.4% receive information from community leaders, and 23.7% receive information from family survivors of violence. In regard to mass media, as many as 3 out of 4 or 75.9% of respondents receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the radio. An interview with broadcasters from the local radio station revealed that they cover stories on gender issues and have a special radio talk programme on gender-based violence that is broadcast once a week live and then rebroadcast during the week. Sometimes government representatives and/or local NGOs are invited to participate in the programme. The local radio station also has a 'chat with women' programme that is broadcast three times a week and designed to target women in particular. Radio broadcasters reported the challenges they face with broadcasting these programmes is the lack of knowledge related to women's issues and gender-based violence, so they feel they would benefit significantly from gender-based violence training and gender issues.

Only 1 out of 3 respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the TV (32.8%) and newspapers (37.2%). Far fewer respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the internet (21.9%). District officials (90.8%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (59.0%) to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from mass media.

Table 6.28. Sources of information related to family/marital violence (Karonga)						
Sources of information on women and girls who experience family/marital violence	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mass media	101	72.7	53	75.7	48	69.6
TV ¹	36	25.9	8	11.4	28	40.6
Radio ²	91	65.5	53	75.7	38	55.1
Newspapers ³	40	28.8	7	10.0	33	47.8
Internet ⁴	12	8.6	0	0.0	12	17.4
Informal networks	92	66.2	56	80.0	36	52.2
Family ⁵	80	57.6	48	68.6	32	46.4
Friends ⁶	81	58.3	52	74.3	29	42.0
Community leaders	77	55.4	43	61.4	34	49.3
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	74	53.2	43	61.4	31	44.9
Religious leaders ⁸	20	14.4	3	4.3	17	24.6
Female survivors of violence ⁹	33	23.7	7	10.0	26	37.7
Other ¹⁰	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.4

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 15.39; ² Sign = .010, Chi-square = 6.55; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 24.26; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 13.32

⁵ Sign = .008, Chi-square = 7.01; ⁶ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 14.87; ⁷ Sign = .051, Chi-square = 3.80; ⁸ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 11.68

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 14.71; ¹⁰ Sign = .312, Chi-square = 1.02

In regard to informal networks, respondents were equally likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from family (62.8%) and friends (62.0%). There were also no significant differences between general public adults and district officials when it comes to informal networks being sources of information on family/marital violence.

In regard to community leaders, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from community leaders/chiefs (60.6%) versus religious leaders (35.8%). District officials (47.4%) were two times more likely to receive information from religious leaders than adults in the general public (21.3%). Finally, Table 4.23 shows that district officials (59.2%) were four times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experienced family/marital violence than adults in the general public (13.1%).

Table 4.29 shows information sources on women and girls who experience sexual violence. In particular, 73.4% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence from the mass media, 68.3% receive information from informal networks, 45.3% receive information from community leaders, and 19.4% receive information from family survivors of violence.

In regard to mass media, as many as 80.3% of respondents receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence. Fewer respondents receive information from newspapers (36.5%), TV (31.4%), and the internet (22.6%). District officials (93.4%) were significantly more likely to receive information from mass media than general public adults (68.9%). In fact, district officials were significantly more likely to receive information all means of mass media. In terms of mass media, general public adults were more likely to receive information about sexual assault/rape from the radio (2 out of 3 or 68.9%).

Table 6.29. Sources of information related to sexual assault/rape (Karonga)

Sources of information on women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mass media	102	73.4	55	78.6	47	68.1
TV ¹	25	18.0	7	10.0	18	26.1
Radio ²	102	73.4	55	78.6	47	68.1
Newspapers ³	36	25.9	7	10.0	29	42.0
Internet ⁴	8	5.8	0	0.0	8	11.6
Informal networks	95	68.3	50	71.4	45	65.2
Family ⁵	75	54.0	42	60.0	33	47.8
Friends ⁶	85	61.2	48	68.6	37	53.6
Community leaders	63	45.3	34	48.6	29	42.0
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	60	43.2	34	48.6	26	37.7
Religious leaders ⁸	11	7.9	0	0.0	11	15.9
Female survivors of violence ⁹	27	19.4	0	0.0	27	39.1
Other ¹⁰	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.4

¹ Sign = .014, Chi-square = 6.10; ² Sign = .163, Chi-square = 1.95; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.57; ⁴ Sign = .003, Chi-square = 8.61

⁵ Sign = .150, Chi-square = 2.07; ⁶ Sign = .071, Chi-square = 3.27; ⁷ Sign = .195, Chi-square = 1.68; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 12.12

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 34.00; ¹⁰ Sign = .312, Chi-square = 1.02

In regard to informal networks, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from friend (62.0%) versus their family (49.6%); this is the case for both district officials and adults in the general public. In regard to community leaders, respondents were nearly two times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from community leaders/chiefs (47.8%) than religious leaders (24.8%). Both general public adults and district officials were more likely to receive information about sexual violence from community leaders/chiefs than religious leaders, whereas district officials (30.3%) were more likely than general public adults (18.0%) to identify religious leaders as a source of information on sexual VAWG. Finally, Table 4.24 shows that district officials (44.7%) were nine times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence than adults in the general public (4.9%).

Publication of Victim and Perpetrator Identities in Mass Media

In recent years, protecting VAWG survivors' identities in media coverage has been a growing focus. This is because international research has found that when the names of VAWG survivors, particularly child victims, and other identifying information appears in the media it can exacerbate trauma, complicate recovery, discourage future disclosures and inhibit cooperation with authorities for the women and girls involved.¹³⁴ The *District Officials Survey* measured attitudes toward publishing in mass media the names and photos of VAWG survivors and/or their perpetrators.

District officials were asked if they thought the names and identities of women and girls who are victims of violence and perpetrators of such violence should be reported and published in the mass media. Table 6.30 shows that 44.9% of district officials maintained the names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media. In addition, 3 out of 4 or 79.7% of district officials held the belief that the names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media. This finding reveals a lack of understanding among district officials as to the need to protect the identities of women and girls who experience violence, and the negative consequences of publicizing the identities of VAWG survivors.

Table 6.30. Publication of victim and perpetrator identities in mass media (Karonga)

	District Officials N=69	
	n	%
Names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media	31	44.9
Names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media	55	79.7

Social Norms Related to Government Responsibility to Protect Women and Girls from Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms related to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members. Table 6.31 shows that the majority of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Karonga think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members, and to protect girls younger than 18 years of age, from marriage.

Table 6.31 shows that nearly 3 out of 4 or 73.4% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Karonga think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family. Moreover, 85.6% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district hold this view. General public adults (64.3%) were significantly more likely to report that most of the people in Karonga think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, compared to district officials (36.2%). District officials (21.7%) were more likely to report that only a few people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, compared to general public adults (1.4%).

Table 6.31. Social norms relate to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence (Karonga)						
In your community, how many people think the government has a responsibility to protect . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from violence in the home/family¹						
All of them	32	23.0	13	18.6	19	27.5
Most of them	70	50.4	45	64.3	25	36.2
About half of them	17	12.2	11	15.7	6	8.7
A few of them	16	11.5	1	1.4	15	21.7
None of them	4	2.9	0	0.0	4	5.8
Women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members²						
All of them	40	28.8	13	18.6	27	39.1
Most of them	64	46.0	43	61.4	21	30.4
About half of them	15	10.8	12	17.1	3	4.3
A few of them	17	12.2	2	2.9	15	21.7
None of them	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	4.3
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage³						
All of them	36	25.9	14	20.0	22	31.9
Most of them	58	41.7	42	60.0	16	23.2
About half of them	20	14.4	13	18.6	7	10.1
A few of them	21	15.1	1	1.4	20	29.0
None of them	4	2.9	0	0.0	4	5.8

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 24.55; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 30.80; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 36.42

In addition, 3 out of 4 or 74.8% of respondents reports most or all of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members, and 85.6% of respondents reported that about half of the people in the district holds this view. General public adults (80.0%) were more likely than district officials (69.5%) to report that most or all of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members. District officials (21.7%) were seven times more likely than general public adults (2.9%) to maintain only a few people think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members.

Finally, 2 out of 3 or 67.6% of respondents also reported that most or all of the people in Karonga think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years, of age from marriage, and 82.0% of respondents reported about half of them held this view. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. Most notable is that district officials (34.8%) were more likely than general public adults (1.4%) to report that none or a few of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage. In comparison, 80.0% of general public adults maintained most or all of the people in Karonga think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from compared, compared to 55.1% of district officials

Respondents were also asked about the importance of having laws that protect women and girls from violence. Table 6.32 shows that 73.4% of respondents maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence, 76.3% maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from sexual assault and rape, and 87.0% maintains girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage. District officials were significantly more likely to maintain it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence (91.3%), sexual assault/rape (92.8%), and the marriage of girls younger than 18 years (94.1%) compared to general public adults (55.7%, 60.0% and 80.0% respectively).

Table 6.32. Importance of laws that protect women and girls from violence (Karonga)						
How important is it to have laws in Malawi that protect . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=70		District Officials N=69	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from marital violence¹						
Not important	4	2.9	0	0.0	4	5.8
Important	33	23.7	31	44.3	2	2.9
Very important	102	73.4	39	55.7	63	91.3
Women and girls from sexual assault/rape²						
Not important	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.4
Important	32	23.0	28	40.0	4	5.8
Very important	106	76.3	42	60.0	64	92.8
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage³						
Not important	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Important	18	13.0	14	20.0	4	5.9
Very important	120	87.0	56	80.0	64	94.1

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 35.13; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 23.56; ³ Sign = .014, Chi-square = 6.06

Social Norms Supporting Punishment of Perpetrators of VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey and District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms supporting the punishment of perpetrators of VAWG, including family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 6.33 shows that only 1 out of 2 or 50.6% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 3 or 35.3% of respondents thought only a few or none of the women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence be punished by the justice system. District officials (53.6%) were three times more likely than general public adults (17.1%) to report that a few of the women in Karonga believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. In comparison, general public adults (42.9%) were more likely to believe that most of the women in Karonga believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system, compared to district officials (23.2%).

Table 6.33. Social norms supporting punishment of perpetrators of VAWG (Karonga)						
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system? ¹	Total Sample N=137		General Public Adults N=61		District Officials N=76	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	24	17.5	11	15.7	13	18.8
Most of them	46	33.1	30	42.9	16	23.2
About half of them	19	13.7	17	24.3	2	2.9
A few of them	49	35.3	12	17.1	37	53.6
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system?²						
All of them	25	18.0	11	15.7	14	20.3
Most of them	59	42.4	35	50.0	24	34.8
About half of them	15	10.8	14	20.0	1	1.4
A few of them	40	28.8	10	14.3	30	43.5
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 30.02; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 23.67

Similarly, 60.4% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 4 or 28.8% of respondent thought only a few women in Karonga believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. District officials (43.5%) were three times more likely than general public adults (14.3%) to believe that only a few of the women in Karonga believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. In comparison, general public adults (70.0%) were more likely than district officials (36.2%) to report most about half or most of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system.

District Officials' Responses to VAWG

The *District Officials Survey* included several questions to assess their experiences with responding to VAWG. Table 6.31 shows that 80.3% of the district officials surveyed reported they have to deal with women and girls who experience violence in their job/position. Among those district officials who reported having to deal with VAWG survivors in their work, 91.3% reported when they encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence they are responsible for responding to the incident, 85.7% maintained they are required to register or record VAWG incidents, and 81.0% reported their agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases. When asked how often they actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention, only 27.0 of respondents reported they frequently register or record such incidents, 22.2% sometimes register or record such incidents, and 17.5% rarely register or record such incidents. Most notable is that 1 out of 3 or 33.3% of district officials reported they never register or report incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention.

Table 6.34. District officials' responses to VAWG (Karonga)		
	District Officials N=69	
	n	%
In your job/position you have to deal with VAWG survivors	63	91.3
	N=63	
When you encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence you are responsible for responding to the incident	62	98.4
You are required to register or record the incident of VAWG	54	85.7
Your agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases	51	81.0
How often do you actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to your attention?		
Never	21	33.3
Rarely	11	17.5
Sometimes	14	22.2
Frequently	17	27.0

Focus group discussions with district officials revealed that battered wives in Karonga report cases of abuse to traditional leaders, chiefs and/or mother groups who can mediate the issue between the victim (woman/wife) and the perpetrator (man/husband). If the wife abuse is labelled as 'minor' by district officials, social welfare officers, police victims support unit officers, and community victim support unit volunteers are expected to mediate the violence and provide counselling and guidance to the victim. If, however, the domestic violence is deemed major, the woman may be advised to report to the incident to the police. Chiefs are also required to write a letter to the police once a victim has lodged a complaint. After which the police would then call the perpetrator (abusive husband) to mediate the issue. The police may also "refer them [battered women] to court for a protection order", when necessary.

Respondents were asked under what circumstances a man would be criticized or punished for hitting/beaten his wife, and district officials maintained it would be when all mediation efforts and solution offered have been tried and failed. Also, some district officials maintained a man would be criticized or punished if the abuse or violence is happening frequently and the woman is beaten in public or "blood is involved and her life is in danger." General public adults were more graphic in their responses. They maintained it would include "beating a woman to the point of removing her teeth", "hitting a woman to the point of fainting", "beating her to the point of losing memory", and "hitting a woman up to the extent that her face swelled

beyond recognition.” In addition, another general public adult explained that the marital violence is considered too much, “If a man injures his wife, for example maybe by hitting her with a panga knife or hitting a woman up to the extent of damaging her organs or eyes.”

Unlike wife abuse which is usually considered as a minor issue that can be resolved if a woman changes her behaviour or simply lives with the violence, or if a couple goes to see marriage counsellors or get help from Mothers Groups, rape is considered a very serious and should be reported to the police. For instance, one district official explained, “there is no negotiation where rape is concerned, refer her to the police first so that evidence doesn’t get contaminated. Then the police would refer her to the hospital” (Health Surveillance Assistant, Karonga).

Attitudes toward the Treatment of VAWG Survivors. District officials were also asked how important it is that women and girls who experience violence be treated with care and compassion by the police and courts, and be provided with legal assistance and protection and support. Most notable, Table 6.35 shows that 94.2% of district officials reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be treated with care and compassion by police and courts,

Table 6.35. District officials’ treatment of VAWG survivors (Karonga)		
How important is it that women and girls who experience violence be . . .	District Officials ¹ N=69	
	n	%
Treated with care and compassion by police and courts		
Not important	1	1.4
Somewhat important	3	4.3
Very important	65	94.2
Provided with legal assistance		
Not important	1	1.4
Somewhat important	3	4.3
Very important	65	94.2
Provided with protection and support		
Not important	2	2.9
Somewhat important	0	0.0
Very important	67	97.1

Protection from VAWG

Respondents were asked about the protection and service needs in Mangochi for women and girls who experience gender-based violence. In terms of protection and service needs, respondents emphasized the need for **development and enforcement of by-laws** that protect women and girls from VAWG, including harmful practices, and punishes perpetrators of VAWG (i.e., punishment of persons who violated the by-laws). Respondents maintained that traditional authorities and chiefs should make sure that by-laws are “binding and working” (Teachers, Karonga) and “being followed” (Male Champion, Karonga), and “arrest those that do even small acts of violence so that other people can learn from it” (Community Victim Support Unit, Karonga). The problem is that traditional authorities and chiefs do not always enforce by-laws or punish perpetrators of VAWG. District officials and general public adults maintained by-laws should also address early pregnancy and find those who impregnate young girls.

“Arrest those that do even small acts of violence so that other people can learn from it.” (Community Victim Support Unit, Karonga)

Respondents, particularly district officials, also maintained **civic education and awareness-raising campaigns** are needed to raise awareness of social norms and traditional practices that are harmful to women and girls, and how men and boys should treat women. As teachers explained, “They (the public) should be trained so they are able to identify VAWG” (Teacher, Karonga). In Karonga, some traditional practices and acts of VAWG occur because people are not aware of the harm or danger associated with them. Respondents maintained most women and girls are not aware of their rights and do not know when their rights are being violated, and men are not aware of the negative effects of VAWG. Some respondents thought churches “should take part in delivering civic education” (Male Champion, Karonga) and “disseminating messages against violence” (District Planning Officer, Karonga).

Respondents also identified a **need to empower women and girls** to protect them from violence, because after all, women who are economically empowered will be able to leave abusive relationships. Both district officials and general public adults maintained that women's empowerment can be achieved by providing women with loans for small businesses and agricultural production and sales, including seeds and fertilizers. As one respondent explained, *"Empower ladies through small business initiatives and train women about how to manage their funds"* (Police, Karonga). It is notable that it was mostly men from the general public who suggested the need for women's economic empowerment initiatives; whereas, women mainly focused on the development of by-laws and civic education. Respondents also maintained women's empowerment can be achieved by ensuring girls stay in school and are protected from early marriage and early pregnancies. One way of accomplishing this is to have by-laws that ensure all girls stay in school and girls who live in poverty and are provided with financial support to pay for their school fees. District officials also maintained the need to *"build more girls hostels in secondary schools and introduce bursaries for girls to prevent them from getting married too early"* (Police, Karonga).

"Women should be provided with money to start business because they can be able to support themselves if they are doing business in case they have been left off by their husbands."
(Adult Male, Karonga)

Respondents also mentioned the need for shelters that can accommodate victims of violence. Existing shelters are not being utilized because they lack basic necessities.

Availability of VAWG-Related Services

Respondents were asked if there were sufficient services and qualified professionals available in Mangochi to work with women and girls who are victims/survivors of violence. Qualitative data revealed respondents believed VAWG-related services and qualified professionals were available in Karonga to some extent, but that they were not sufficient. Respondents explained there is a health centre in the district, but the health centre is staffed with only two medical workers who have to attend to patients from a very large area; therefore, VAWG survivors often avoid going to the health centre because of the lengthy wait time to see a medical worker.

Police also reported they lack of resources, such as transportation needed to transport victims to the hospital and to visit them to follow-up on their cases. As a result, VAWG survivors are often unaware of the outcomes of their cases because of lack of transportation to follow-up. Police also reported a lack of space in their police station to keep VAWG survivors, which they maintained makes it difficult for them to ensure the safety and comfort of the victims. Some respondents maintain police corruption has also served as a barrier for VAWG survivors wanting to access protection and justice.

"The services are there but there is just lack of transparency. I.e. the police would be corrupt and be after money and not justice. Sometimes, women are encouraged to drop cases, because of corruption of the police."
(Health Surveillance Assistant, Karonga)

The lack of social welfare and child protection workers were also identified as a gap in services. As district officials explained, *"Child protection workers are there, but are very few and cover a big area, and they are not really professional"* (Teachers, Karonga). District officials also report the *"catchment area is too big to be covered by small for NGOs."* This same respondent went on to explain, *"Most NGOs and projects working on gender and VAWG issues only cover a few traditional authorities, most are usually pilot projects and there is usually a wider gap to be filled"* (District Planning Officers, Karonga).

Training Received by District Officials

Finally, district officials were asked about the training they received in the past one to two years related to women's rights, gender equality, and VAWG. Table 6.36 shows that 69.6% of district officials reported receiving training related to women rights and/or gender equality, 69.6% of district officials reported receiving training related to VAAWG/VAWG., 63.8% received training on VAC, and 53.6% received training on child marriage. In addition, 62.3% of district received training in case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG and 55.1% received training on how to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors.

Table 6.36. Training received by district officials (Karonga)

Training received in the past one to two year	District Officials N=69	
	n	%
Women's rights and/or gender equality	41	59.4
VAWG/GBV	48	69.6
Violence against children (VAC)	44	63.8
Child marriage	37	53.6
How to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors	38	55.1
Case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG	43	62.3

CHAPTER 7: SOCIAL NORMS IN MANGOCHI

This chapter reveals findings from district officials and general public adults sampled in Mangochi and includes a comparison between general public adults and district officials. This includes findings related social norms related to gender equality, VAWG, including harmful practices and child marriage and early marriages. This chapter also reveals social norms related to victim-blaming of VAWG survivors and public responses to VAWG.

Social Norms Related to Gender Equality

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions designed to measure social norms related to gender and gender equality, including gender preference at birth, girls' education, marriage and family, women's employment, women's health care, and women and land use. Findings presented in the sections that follow demonstrate a lack of social norms that support gender equality in Mangochi.

Social Norms Related to Gender Preference at Birth. Both district officials and general public adults were asked about social norms in the district related to sex preference at birth. In particular, respondents were asked how many women in their community think it will be better to give birth to a boy than a girl. Table 7.1 shows that more than 1 out of 3 or 39.6% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in Mangochi think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl, which is indicative of social norms. In addition, more than 1 out of 2 or 56.1% of respondents in Mangochi maintained about half or more of the women in the district think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl. General public adults (41.2%) were significantly more likely than district officials (28.4%) to report that most women in Mangochi think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl. General public adults were also more likely to report that about half (23.5%) of the women think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl, compared to only 12.5% of district officials.

Table 7.1. Social norms related to gender preference at birth (Mangochi)

In your community, how many women think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	9	6.5	0	0.0	9	10.2
Most of them	46	33.1	21	41.2	25	28.4
About half of them	23	16.5	12	23.5	11	12.5
A few of them	45	32.4	15	29.4	30	34.1
None of them	10	7.2	2	3.9	8	9.1

Sign = .040, Chi-square = 11.63

Social Norms Related to Girls' Education. Both district officials and general public adults were also asked about social norms in the district related to girl's education, particularly how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education and how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. Table 7.2 reveals that more than 1 out of 3 or 37.4% of respondents in Mangochi maintained most or all of the girls/women in their district/communities are free to make decisions about their education, which is indicative of social norms. General public adults (70.6%) were nearly four times more likely than district officials (18.2%) to maintain that most or all of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about their education. In comparison, district officials (61.4%) were six times more likely than general public adults (9.8%) to maintain only a few girls/women are free to make decisions about their education.

At the same time, respondents reported girls/women are free to make decisions about their education, 1 out of 2 or 53.2% of respondents in Mangochi maintained most or all of the parents in the district think it is better to educate boys than girls, which is indicative of social norms. In fact, nearly 3 out of 4 or 73.3% of respondents maintained about half or more parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. General public adults (51.0%) were more likely than general public adults (27.3%) to report that a few to about half of the parents in Mangochi think it is better to educate boys than girls.

“People in the community will tease you [girls] for going to school (momwe wakulilamu kupita ku school). As old as you are, how can you still be going to school?” (Out of School Girl, Mangochi)

During focus group discussions, these sentiments were echoed by out of school girls, age 15-21 years. Out of school girls explained that most parents Mangochi communities would rather educate their brothers “because girls are born to get married” and to be good wives to their husbands. They also felt that traditional practices make it very hard for girls to stay in school because when a girl reaches puberty and completes initiation ceremony, she is expected to start thinking about marriage, not school. The idea of marriage is implanted in the girls during initiation ceremonies that target girls as young as eight years of age. Girls spoke about how girls are even ridiculed by others in the community for continuing to attend school after they complete their initiation ceremonies. Girls recognized that the social norms that guide girls to start thinking about marriage at a young age has led to high illiteracy rates among women and girls in Mangochi. One girl explained, “There are no role models who have gone through school and are successful in this community, so most of us girls really fail to see the benefit of going to school at the end of the day.” (Out of School Girl, Mangochi)

Table 7.2. Social norms related to girl’s education (Mangochi)

In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	16	11.5	14	27.5	2	2.3
Most of them	36	25.9	22	43.1	14	15.9
About half of them	24	17.3	10	19.6	14	15.9
A few of them	59	42.4	5	9.8	54	61.4
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
In your community, how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls? ²						
All of them	5	3.6	0	0.0	5	5.7
Most of them	69	49.6	23	45.1	46	52.3
About half of them	28	20.1	15	29.4	13	14.8
A few of them	22	15.8	11	21.6	11	12.5
None of them	8	5.8	2	3.9	6	6.8

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 49.82; ² Sign = .025, Chi-square = 12.87

Social Norms Related to Marriage and Family. When it comes to social norms related to marriage and family, Table 7.3 shows that 46.0% of respondents in Mangochi maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about who to marry, which is indicative of social norms. It is interesting that general public adults (68.6%) were two times more likely than district officials (33.0%) to maintain that all of the girls/women in Mangochi are free to make decisions about who to marry. In comparison, district officials (38.6%) were nine times more likely than general public adults (38.6%) to report that only a few of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about who to marry.

When it comes to decision-making related to how many children to have and the upbringing of children, Table 7.3 shows that only 1 out of 4 or 28.1% of respondents in Mangochi maintained most all of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, general public adults (84.4%) were two times more likely than district officials (34.0%) to report that about half or most of the girls/women in Mangochi are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children; whereas district officials (47.7%) were three times more likely than general public adults (13.7%) to mention only a few of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children.

When it comes to making decisions about the household budget and major household purchases, Table 7.3 shows that only 28.2% of respondents in Mangochi maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases; this data is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, general public adults (26.0%) were significantly more likely than district officials (17.0%) to report that most of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. Also, general public adults (46.0%) were two times more likely than district officials (18.2%) to maintain that about of the girls/women in the district are able to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. In comparison, nearly 1 out of 2 or 51.1% of district officials maintained only a few girls/women in the district are able to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases.

Table 7.3. Social norms related to marriage and family (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Who to marry? ¹						
All of them	16	11.5	8	15.7	8	9.1
Most of them	48	34.5	27	52.9	21	23.9
About half of them	29	20.9	13	25.5	16	18.2
A few of them	36	25.9	2	3.9	34	38.6
None of them	4	2.9	1	2.0	3	3.4
How many children to have and the upbringing of children? ²						
All of them	5	3.6	1	2.0	4	4.5
Most of them	34	24.5	19	37.3	15	17.0
About half of them	39	28.1	24	47.1	15	17.0
A few of them	49	35.3	7	13.7	42	47.7
None of them	9	6.5	0	0.0	9	10.2
The household budget and major household purchases? ³						
All of them	6	4.3	1	2.0	5	5.7
Most of them	33	23.9	18	26.0	15	17.0
About half of them	39	28.3	23	46.0	16	18.2
A few of them	53	38.4	8	16.0	45	51.1
None of them	4	2.9	0	0.0	4	4.5

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 28.69; ²Sign = .000, Chi-square = 33.90; ³Sign = .000, Chi-square = 28.74

Table 7.4 also shows that only 1 out of 3 or 33.9% of respondents reported most or all of the parents in Mangochi think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, and 63.4% of respondents reported about half or more of the parents in Mangochi think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. It is notable that 1 out of 3 or 35.3% of respondents reported only a few or none of the parents in Mangochi think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials (46.6%) were nearly four times more likely than general public adults (11.8%) to report that only a few parents in Mangochi think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry.

Table 7.4. Social norms related to marriage of young women (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many parents think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	8	5.8	2	3.9	6	6.8
Most of them	39	28.1	20	39.2	19	21.6
About half of them	41	29.5	23	45.1	18	20.5
A few of them	27	33.8	6	11.8	41	46.6
None of them	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.3

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 24.59

Social Norms Related to Women's Employment. Table 7.5 shows that only 1 out of 4 or 22.3% of respondents maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home, whereas 43.9 of respondents maintained a few girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials (53.8%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (27.5%) to report that only a few girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home.

Table 7.5. Social norms related to women's employment (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	3.4
Most of them	28	20.1	14	27.5	14	15.9
About half of them	35	25.2	22	43.1	13	14.8
A few of them	61	43.9	14	27.5	47	53.4
None of them	8	5.8	1	2.0	7	8.0

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 23.48

Social Norms Related to Women's Health Care. In regard to women's health care, Table 7.6 shows that as many as 1 out of 2 or 58.7% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district are free to make decisions about their health and health care, which is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. General public adults (80.4%) were significantly more likely than district officials (45.9%) to maintain most or all of the women in the district are free to make decisions about their health and health care. In comparison, district officials (35.6%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (0.0%) to maintain only a few women are free to make decisions about their health and health care.

Table 7.6. Social norms related to women's health care (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about their health and health care?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	32	23.2	19	37.3	13	14.9
Most of them	49	35.5	22	43.1	27	31.0
About half of them	24	17.4	10	19.6	14	16.1
A few of them	31	22.5	0	0.0	31	35.6
None of them	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.3

Sign = .000; Chi-square = 27.80

Social Norms Related to Women and Land Use. Finally, Table 7.7 shows that only 1 out of 3 or 38.2% of respondents reported women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions; this is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. District officials (10.2%) were more likely than general public adults (0.0%) to report all of the women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions. In comparison, general public adults were more likely to report that about half to most of the women in their communities are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions.

Table 7.7. Social norms related to women and land use (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	9	6.5	0	0.0	9	10.2
Most of them	44	31.7	19	37.3	25	28.4
About half of them	35	25.2	18	35.3	17	19.3
A few of them	42	30.2	14	27.5	28	31.8
None of them	6	4.3	0	0.0	6	6.8

Sign = .012; Chi-square = 14.71

Social Norms and Attitudes Related to Wife Abuse

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a series of questions that measured social norms and attitudes related to wife abuse. Findings are presented in the sections that follow.

Social Norms Related to Wife Abuse. Table 7.8 reveals the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, as 20.9% of respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying them, and 44.6% of respondents reported that about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying them. In addition, 21.6% of respondents reported most or all of them men sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with them, and 44.6% of respondents report about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with them.

Table 4.8 also shows that only 18.7% of respondents maintained most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband, and 40.3% reported about half or more of the men sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband. In addition, only 15.1% of respondents reported most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse, and 1 out of 3 or 33.4% of respondent maintained about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse. Also, 15.1% of respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children, and 32.4% reported about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children. Finally, 19.4% of respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sex. These findings are indicative of social norms related to wife abuse or domestic violence against women in the context of marriage.

There were few significant differences between district officials and general public adults, except in the case of men hitting or beating their wives for going out without telling their husband. General public adults (31.3%) were nearly two times more likely than district officials (15.9%) to report that about half of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband. In comparison, district officials (58.0% were significantly more likely than general public adults (33.3%) to report only a few men sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband.

Table 7.8. Social norms related to wife abuse (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many men do you think sometimes hit or beat their wives for . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Disobeying their husband¹						
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	29	20.9	13	25.5	16	18.2
About half of them	33	23.7	13	25.5	20	22.7
A few of them	66	47.5	23	45.1	43	48.9
None of them	7	5.0	2	3.9	5	5.7
Arguing with their husband²						
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	30	21.6	12	23.5	18	20.5
About half of them	32	23.0	14	27.5	18	20.5
A few of them	66	47.5	23	45.1	43	48.9
None of them	7	5.0	2	3.9	5	5.7
Going out without telling their husband³						
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	26	18.7	9	17.6	17	19.3
About half of them	30	21.6	16	31.3	14	15.9
A few of them	68	48.9	17	33.3	51	58.0
None of them	10	7.2	9	17.6	1	1.1
Neglecting the children⁴						
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	21	15.1	7	13.7	14	15.9
About half of them	24	17.3	13	25.5	11	12.5
A few of them	65	46.8	22	43.1	43	48.9
None of them	24	17.3	8	15.7	16	18.2
Refusing sexual intercourse⁵						
All of them	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.3
Most of them	25	18.0	8	15.7	17	19.3
About half of them	33	23.7	17	33.3	16	18.2
A few of them	50	36.0	12	23.5	38	43.2
None of them	13	9.4	6	11.8	7	8.0

¹ Sign = .471, Chi-square = 3.54; ² Sign = .487, Chi-square = 3.44; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 22.76; ⁴ Sign = .380, Chi-square = 4.20

⁵ Sign = .084, Chi-square = 9.71

Table 7.9 shows that as many as 2 out of 3 or 69.8% of respondents reported most people in the community would disapprove of a man if he beats his wife for disobeying, while 7.2% reported that most people would approve of his actions, and 20.9% reported most people would think it is none of their business. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, although most district officials (74.5%) reported most people in the district would disapprove of a man beating his wife for disobeying, as many as 1 out of 4 or 25.5% district officials reported most people in the community would think it was none of their business if a man beat his wife for disobeying. In comparison, district officials (11.3%) were more likely than general public adults (0.0%) to report that most people in the community would approve of a man beating his wife for disobeying.

Table 7.9. Social norms supportive of wife abuse (Mangochi)						
If a man in your community beats his wife for disobeying, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of his actions	10	7.2	0	0.0	10	11.3
Disapprove of his actions	97	69.8	38	74.5	59	67.0
Think it was none of their business	29	20.9	13	25.5	16	18.2

Sign = .035, Chi-square = 8.62

Attitudes toward Wife Abuse. Table 7.10 reveals respondent's personal attitudes toward wife abuse. In particular, the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, 42.0% of respondents believe if a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man. Surprisingly, district officials (54.5%) were two times more likely to hold this attitude compared to adults in the general public (20.0%). Some respondents (21.2%) also held the belief that a husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her. Finally, 31.9% of respondents held the belief that a woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together. There were no statistically significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public related to the last two attitudinal measures.

Table 7.10. Attitudes toward wife abuse (Mangochi)						
	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
If a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man ¹	58	42.0	10	20.0	48	54.5
A husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her ²	29	21.2	12	24.0	17	19.5
A woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together ³	44	31.9	15	30.0	29	33.3

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.17; ²Sign = .204, Chi-square = 3.18; ³Sign = .370, Chi-square = 1.99

Social Norms Related to Sexual Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a question that measured social norms related to sexual VAWG. Table 7.11 shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 59.0% of respondents maintained most or all of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, and 86.3% reported about half or more of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations. Although the majority of general public adults (51.0%) and district officials (63.6%) held the belief that most or all of the young men sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, there were some significant differences between general public adults and district officials. General public adults (41.2%) were two times more likely than district officials (19.3%) to report about half of the young men sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations.

Table 7.11 also reveals that nearly 1 out of 2 or 48.2% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with whom she is married, and nearly 2 out of 3 or 61.9% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married. District officials (11.4%) were more likely than general public adults (0.0%) to report that all of the people in this district hold this view; whereas, 23.5% of general public adults reported about half of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married.

Table 7.11. Social norms related to sexual violence (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many young men do you think sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
All of them	7	5.0	1	2.0	6	6.8
Most of them	75	54.0	25	49.0	50	56.8
About half of them	38	27.3	21	41.2	17	19.3
A few of them	15	10.8	4	7.8	11	12.5
None of them	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.3
In your community, how many people believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or is married to? ²						
All of them	10	7.2	0	0.0	10	11.4
Most of them	57	41.0	21	41.2	36	40.9
About half of them	19	13.7	12	23.5	7	8.0
A few of them	35	25.2	10	19.6	25	28.4
None of them	16	11.5	8	15.7	8	9.1

¹Sign = .063, Chi-square = 10.49; ²Sign = .011, Chi-square = 14.90

Social Norms Related to Harmful Practices

This study also included a focus on traditional practices (*miyambo* in Chichewa) that are considered to be harmful practices to women and girls. The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions related to the occurrence of various traditional practices in Mangochi and whether respondents believe most people in the district consider them to be harmful to women and girls, and if respondents recognized the harm done to women and girls by these traditional practices. Qualitative data related to traditional practices was also collected through focus group discussions with district officials and one-on-one interviews with general public adults. Both qualitative and quantitative data related to harmful practices are presented in this section.

Frequency of Traditional Practices. Table 7.12 reveals that each of the different traditional practices listed occurs to varying degrees in Mangochi, and there were significant differences in the willingness of general public adults and district officials to report the occurrence of such traditional practices in the district. The most common traditional practices identified were polygamy and post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices. In particular, 84.9% of respondents reported that polygamy often occurs often in Mangochi, and 11.5% reported it occurs sometimes. Also, 73.4% of respondents reported that post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices often occur, while 18.0% reported this practice occurs sometimes in Mangochi. Nearly all general public adults (98.0%) reported post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices often occur, compared to 59.1% of district officials.

Removing dust is another traditional practice that occurs in Mangochi. In general, 1 out of 4, about 22.8% of respondents reported removing dust occurs often in Mangochi, and 1 out of 5, about 27.9% reported it occurs sometimes. District officials (33.7%) were more likely to report that removing dust sometimes occurs in Mangochi, compared to adults in the general public (18.0%).

Although it reportedly does not occur often in Mangochi, as many as 1 out of 2 or 51.4% of respondents reported sometimes fathers have sexual intercourse with their daughters. District officials (75.0%) were actually significantly more likely to report that fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters sometimes occurs in Mangochi, compared to general public adults (8.6%). District officials were more likely to report that fathers often (15.9%) and sometimes (62.5%) have sexual intercourse with their daughters, compared to adults in the general public (0.0% and 32.0% respectively).

Fisi is another traditional practice that 1 out of 4 or 29.9% of respondents reported sometimes occurs in Mangochi. Table 7.12 shows that district officials (38.4%) were nearly three times more likely than general public adults (13.7%) to report that Fisi sometimes occurs in Mangochi. Also, 1 out of 4 or 27.3% of respondents reported labia pulling/stretching sometimes occurs in Mangochi. District officials were significantly more likely to report that labia pulling stretching often (11.4%) or sometimes (38.6%), compares to 88.2% of general public adults who reported labia pulling/stretching never occurs in their communities.

Table 7.12. Frequency of traditional practices (Mangochi)

In your community, how often do each of the following traditional practices occur . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy¹						
Never	4	2.9	1	2.0	3	3.4
Sometimes	16	11.5	6	11.8	10	11.4
Often	118	84.9	44	86.3	74	84.1
Wife inheritance²						
Never	110	79.1	50	98.0	60	68.2
Sometimes	21	15.1	1	2.0	20	22.7
Often	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	3.4
Bonus wife³						
Never	115	83.9	51	100.0	64	74.4
Sometimes	10	7.3	0	0.0	10	11.6
Often	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor⁴						
Never	114	83.2	51	100.0	63	73.3
Sometimes	11	8.0	0	0.0	11	12.8
Often	2	1.5	0	0.0	2	2.3
Wife swapping⁵						
Never	99	71.7	50	98.0	49	46.3
Sometimes	21	15.2	0	0.0	21	24.1
Often	9	6.5	1	2.0	8	9.2
Removing dust⁶						
Never	62	45.6	30	60.0	32	37.2
Sometimes	38	27.9	9	18.0	29	33.7
Often	31	22.8	10	20.0	21	24.4
Labia pulling/stretching⁷						
Never	83	59.7	45	88.2	38	43.2
Sometimes	38	27.3	4	7.8	34	38.6
Often	10	7.2	0	0.0	10	11.4
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter⁸						
Never	49	35.5	33	6.0	16	18.2
Sometimes	71	51.4	16	32.0	55	62.5
Often	14	10.1	0	0.0	14	15.9
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices⁹						
Never	12	8.6	0	0.0	12	13.6
Sometimes	25	18.0	1	2.0	24	27.3
Often	102	73.4	50	98.0	52	59.1
Fisi¹⁰						
Never	78	56.9	38	74.5	40	46.5
Sometimes	40	29.2	7	13.7	33	38.4
Often	6	7.0	0	0.0	6	4.4
When a woman's husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brother¹¹						
Never	111	79.9	50	98.0	61	69.3
Sometimes	11	7.9	1	2.0	10	11.4
Often	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased¹²						
Never	104	74.8	48	94.1	56	63.6
Sometimes	21	15.1	3	5.9	18	20.5
Often	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula¹³						
Never	88	63.3	44	86.3	44	50.0
Sometimes	25	18.0	3	5.9	22	25.0
Often	10	7.2	2	3.9	8	9.1

¹Sign = .838, Chi-square = .84; 2 Sign = .001, Chi-square = 17.49; 3 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 15.54; 4 Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.39⁵Sign = .000, Chi-square = 27.97; 6 Sign = .064, Chi-square = 7.27; 7 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 28.44; 8 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 34.47⁹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.13; 10 Sign = .002, Chi-square = 15.07; 11 Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.80; 12 Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.66¹³Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.50

Recognition of Traditional Practices as Harmful to Females. Respondents were also asked if most believe in the district (communities) believe each of the traditional practices identified in Table 7.12 are harmful to women and girls. Table 7.13 shows the proportion of respondents who felt that most people in the district believe each of these traditional practices as harmful to women and girls. Respondents who reported the traditional practices were considered good practices or did not occur in their communities are not included in Table 7.13. The focus is only on the social norms that recognize traditional practices as harmful practices.

Most notable is that the majority of respondents reported most people in the district believe fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughter (64.7%) and polygamy (61.9%) are harmful practices for females. District officials (76.1%) were more likely to report most people in the district believe a father having sexual intercourse with his daughter as a harmful practice for females, compared to general public adults (45.1%); whereas general public adults (78.4%) were more likely than district officials (52.3%) to report that most people recognize polygamy as a harmful practice for females.

Table 7.13 also shows that half of the respondents reported most people in the district believe removing dust (55.1%), wife inheritance (52.5%), and Fisi (51.8%) are harmful practices for females. District officials (64.8%) were two times more likely than general public adults (31.4%) to report that most people in the district believe wife inheritance is a harmful practice for females. In addition, district officials (59.1%) were more likely to maintain most people believe Fisi is a harmful practice for females, compared to general public adults (38.8%).

Respondents were less likely to believe most people in the district consider each of the other traditional practices listed in Table 7.13 as harmful to women and girls. In particular, general public adults were significantly less likely than district officials to recognize that most people believe that the practice of bonus wife, wife swapping, and post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices are harmful to females. In addition, general public adults were less likely than district officials to recognize that most people believe that practices by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased, and when a woman’s husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband’s brother. In addition, general public adults were more likely to believe that the practice of girls becoming pregnant before undergoing *chindakula* is a harmful practice.

Table 7.13. Social norms related to harmful practices (Mangochi)						
In your community, do most people believe the following traditions and practices are harmful practices for females?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy ¹	86	61.9	40	78.4	46	52.3
Wife inheritance ²	73	52.5	16	31.4	57	64.8
Bonus wife ³	65	46.8	15	29.4	50	56.8
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor ⁴	66	47.5	15	29.4	51	58.0
Wife swapping ⁵	66	48.5	16	31.4	50	58.8
Removing dust ⁶	76	55.1	28	56.0	48	54.5
Labia pulling/stretching ⁷	51	37.0	15	30.0	36	40.9
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter ⁸	90	64.7	23	45.1	67	76.1
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices ⁹	59	42.4	16	31.4	43	48.9
Fisi ¹⁰	71	51.8	19	38.8	52	59.1
When a woman’s husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband’s brother ¹¹	64	46.4	16	31.4	48	55.2
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased ¹²	63	45.3	16	31.4	47	53.4
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing <i>chindakula</i> ¹³	58	42.3	14	30.6	43	48.9

¹ Sign = .021, Chi-square = 9.77; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.25; ³ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 14.05; ⁴ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 14.98

⁵ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 14.14; ⁶ Sign = .003, Chi-square = 14.16; ⁷ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.62; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 27.07

⁹ Sign = .098, Chi-square = 6.31; ¹⁰ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 17.97; ¹¹ Sign = .006, Chi-square = 12.47; ¹² Sign = .013, Chi-square = 10.74

¹³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.89

Negative Effects of Traditional Practices. Table 7.14 shows that as many as 87.4% of respondents recognized that women and girls face harm from the different traditional practices identified in Tables 7.12 and 7.13. District officials (92.0%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (79.2%) to believe women and girls experience harm from the different traditional practices.

Table 7.14. Recognition of harm done to women and girls from traditional practices (Mangochi)						
	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls experience harm from the different traditional practices	118	87.4	38	79.2	80	92.0

Sign = .045, Chi-square = 6.20

Focus group discussions with district officials and interviews with adults in the general public revealed harmful traditional practices (e.g., polygamy, Fisi, wife inheritance, wife swapping and removing dust/*kusasa fumbi*) place women and girls at risk of sexual transmitted infections, including HIV. This was the most common negative effect from traditional practices. The risk of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV, is particularly high with these harmful practices as they involve women and girls having sex with a man they do not know or hardly know out of respect for tradition. Prior testing of sexually transmitted diseases or use of protection (in particular condoms) does not occur when it comes to these harmful traditional practices, and women are not in a position to be able to request the use of a condom to protect against sexual transmitted infections.

Another negative effect identified by respondents was unwanted pregnancies and pregnancy at an early age. As one district official explained, *“removing dust (kusasa fumbi) is happening underground and this is causing unwanted pregnancies among girls and HIV” (Community Victim Support Unit, Mangochi)*. Similarly, another respondent explained, *“removing dust, this practice is harmful to girls because the girls who practice this are very young underage girls and mostly they end up with unwanted/early pregnancies, and sometimes sexually transmitted infections” (Adult Female, Mangochi)*.

Both district officials and general public adults also explained that polygamy leads to abandonment of the first wife and family in favour of the second wife and family. This was identified as a form of emotional or psychological abuse by both men and women in the general public, particularly of the first wife and her children. One respondent explained, *“Women are psychologically affected since they feel themselves as inferiors; for example, in the case of polygamy women feel that they are of no value to their husbands the moment their husband gets married to another women” (Adult Male, Mangochi)*. In some cases, *“a single man gets married to almost four wives, so in terms of support, women suffer a lot, they don’t get enough support from their husband” (Adult Male, Mangochi)*.

“Women lack support from their husbands since more than one woman depends on a single man to support them which becomes difficult for him to support all the women effectively in case of polygamy.” (Adult Male, Mangochi)

General public adults also explained that polygamy encourages witchcraft, as *“women resolve to witchdoctors to curse each other” (General public male, Mangochi)*. Similarly, another respondent explained, *“Most of the times the women in polygamy resolve to witchcraft which sometimes finds one woman cursed for life” (Adult Female, Mangochi)*.

Respondents also cited negative effects of other practices/traditions, such as initiation ceremonies and initiation ceremonial dances. As previously mentioned, initiation ceremonies often encourage child marriage and early marriage, because girls who reach puberty, but sometimes as young as 8 years of age, are taught about sex and told to go and practice what they have learned. This results in girls dropping out of school, marrying and becoming pregnant at a young age. Others maintained the problem is that *“at initiation ceremonies girls are told things which are not of their size which spoil them, since they practically want to try such things, and in the end, they resolve to prostitution” (Adult Male, Mangochi)*.

Respondents also reported that initiation ceremonial dances are said to encourage inappropriate sexual behaviours which may result into contracting of sexually transmitted infections. Respondents explained, *“Post initiating dances are not good because there is a lot of sex happening. Men sleep with women and girls who are not their wives, and most of the times they don’t use any protection, thus risking the spread of diseases” (Adult Female, Mangochi)*.

“The last day of the celebration is done at night and there are a lot of dance, and there is a dance in a sexual form called ‘mbwiza’. They dance sexually close and after that sexual dance they disappear [in the dark] and everyone is ready [to have sex] and that particular dance prepares everyone to go and try [sex]. The dance is done by the older people [a group of men and women] and not the children who complete the ceremony to do the dance. They do the dance and they can disappear [into the dark] and do the sexual act, and some do the dance and do not go [in the dark to have sex]. Even the people watching the dance can also disappear [into the dark to have sex].” (Health Surveillance Assistant, Mangochi)

Emerging Forms of VAWG

District officials were also asked about new forms of VAWG occurring in their district, particularly new forms of VAWG occurring among the younger population and/or new forms of VAWG emerging as a result to changes in modifications of traditional practices. District officials in Mangochi spoke about the violent nature of some of the video shows that children and youth are watching in the communities, particularly pornography films. After viewing these films, children and youth want to practice what they have seen in the pornography films. Children and youth are also watching pornography films and viewing pornographic images on their phones and sharing these images via WhatsApp.

District officials in Mangochi reported that some boys after watching pornography films are taking girls to practice the sexual acts they saw in the films on the girls. They explained that three to four boys may take one girl to practice on her. In Lilongwe these are often referred to group parties or ‘G parties’, but in the districts; they are given a different name sometimes. One male respondent explained what he termed ‘Alubayini’ (Islamic word for feast) that occurs when a “young lady is coaxed by one boy to go with him, but then she finds there are three or four boys waiting to have sex with her.” This same respondent went on to explain that often the girls is brought to a place, such as a house, that even if she screamed no one would hear her. The girl does not know that she is going to meet with three or four different boys or young men who plan to have sex with her and she does not consent, but “the one who coaxed the girl is someone the girl knows, it is not a stranger, she goes not knowing the other men are there waiting.... They threaten her that they will beat her up if she tells anyone” (Health Surveillance Assistant, Mangochi).

Respondents recognized pornography as a contributing factor to the increase in rape cases in Mangochi. As one traditional leader explained, “Young boys or even older men download porn videos on the internet and when they watch, they want to try it out on someone, therefore a lot of rape cases are encountered from that” (Traditional Leader, Mangochi). Similarly, social welfare officers in Mangochi maintained, “Pornographic films being shown, this is common. Sometimes they imitate what they see, they practice what they see, there are cases of rape, the morality is decreased” (Social Welfare Officer, Mangochi).

It is important to understand that it is not only men who are viewing pornographic images and videos, women and girls are also viewing such images and videos, whether on their own or under the influence of men or boys. As one respondent explained, “Women are now hooked with the practice of going to the video shows (to watch movies) and there they engage in extramarital relationships, leading to marriage breakups and extramarital sexual relationship” (Adult Female, Mangochi).

Social Norms Related to Child marriage and early marriage of Girls

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included questions related to child marriage and early marriage of girls. Table 7.15 shows that as many of 46.8% of respondents reported they believe most or all of the girls in Mangochi get married before 15 years of age. Moreover, nearly 3 out of 4 or 73.4% of respondents reported about half or more of the girls in Mangochi get married before 15 years of age. District officials (55.7%) were significantly more likely to report that most or all of the girls in the district get married before 15 years of age, compared to general public adults (31.4%). General public adults (39.2%) were more likely to report that about half of the girls in the district get married before 15 years of age.

Table 7.15 also shows that as many as 2 out of 3 or 66.9% of respondents reported that most or all of the girls in Mangochi get married before 18 years of age, and as many as 84.9% of respondent reported that about half or more of the girls in Mangochi get married before 18 years of age. General public adults (78.4%) were significantly more likely to report that most or all of the girls in Mangochi get married before 18 years of age, compared to 60.3% of district officials. District officials (18.2%) were four times more likely than general public adults (3.9%) to report that a few girls in Mangochi get married before 18 years of age.

Table 7.15. Social norms related to child marriage and early marriage of girls (Mangochi)

In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 15 years of age? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	3.4
Most of them	62	44.6	16	31.4	46	52.3
About half of them	37	26.6	20	39.2	17	19.3
A few of them	27	19.4	6	11.8	21	23.9
None of them	8	5.8	8	15.7	0	0.0
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 18 years of age? ²						
All of them	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.3
Most of them	91	65.5	40	78.4	51	58.0
About half of them	25	18.0	8	15.7	17	19.3
A few of them	18	12.9	2	3.9	16	18.2
None of them	1	0.7	1	2.0	0	0.0

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 26.09; ² Sign = .044, Chi-square = 11.42

Respondents were asked what would be the reaction of most people in the Mangochi if parents arranged for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age. Table 7.16 shows that 1 out of 2 or 54.7% of respondents felt that parents in the district would disapprove of parents arranging for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, as many as 1 out of 3 or 33.1% of respondents reports that most people would think it was none of their business and 10.8% would approve of the parents' actions. There was not significant difference between general public adults and district officials on this measure. General public adults (68.6%) were significantly more likely to report that parents in the district would disapprove of parents arranging for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, compared to district officials (46.6%). District officials (17.0%) were more likely to report that parents in the district would approve of parents arranging for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, compared to general public adults (0.0%)

Table 7.16. Social norms supportive of child marriage and early marriage (Mangochi)

If parents in this community arrange for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of their actions	15	10.8	0	0.0	15	17.0
Disapprove of their actions	76	54.7	35	68.6	41	46.6
Think it was none of their business	46	33.1	16	31.4	30	34.1

Sign = .005, Chi-square = 12.79

Understanding the Relationship between Child marriage and early marriage and Violence. Table 7.17 shows that as many as 3 out of 4 or 77.0% of respondents understand there is a relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence, particularly that girls who are married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family. District officials (83.0%) were more likely than general public adults (66.7%) to understand that girls married before 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family.

Table 7.17. Understanding the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence (Mangochi)

	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Girls married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family	107	77.0	34	66.7	73	83.0

Sign = .024, Chi-square = 7.43

Victim-Blaming of Female Survivors of Violence

Societal attitudes that cast the blame on girls and women for causing problems in the family and justifications for the use of VAWG in the family, leads to victim-blaming from family, friends, and authorities. In Malawi, victim-blaming serves as a barrier for women and girls wanting to access protection from VAWG. In terms of victim-blaming for wife abuse, respondents were asked how many people in the community believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at

fault, as well as how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to someone outside of their family about the abuse or violence in their marriage.

Table 7.18 shows that nearly 1 out of 4 or 29.0% of respondents reported most or all of the community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, and 43.5% of respondents maintained about half or more of community members believe when a woman is beat by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault. Also, 1 out of 3 or 34.3% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the community believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage, and 1 out of 2 or 55.5% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in the marriage. These findings are indicative that such social norms exist in the district. District officials were significantly more likely to report that most or all of the people in Mangochi believe that when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, and that a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage.

Table 7.18. Social norms related to victim-blaming for wife abuse (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many believe when a woman is beat by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	7	5.1	0	0.0	7	8.0
Most of them	33	23.9	5	10.0	28	31.8
About half of them	20	14.5	14	28.0	6	6.8
A few of them	66	47.8	28	56.0	38	43.2
None of them	7	5.1	2	4.0	5	5.7
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage? ²						
All of them	7	5.1	0	0.0	7	8.0
Most of them	40	29.2	4	8.2	36	40.9
About half of them	29	21.2	14	28.6	15	17.0
A few of them	46	33.6	22	44.9	24	27.3
None of them	14	10.2	9	18.4	5	5.7

¹Sign = .001, Chi-square = 22.04; ²Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.86

Table 7.19 shows that only 9.5% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault, and 28.5% of respondents reported about half of the people in the community believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault. Tables 7.18 and 7.19 shows that people are much more likely to believe that women are partly to blame or at fault for being hit or beaten by their husbands, than being raped. District officials (14.7%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (0.0%) to report that most or all of the people in the district believe that when a woman is raped, she is partly to blame or is at fault.

Table 7.19. Social norms related to victim-blaming for sexual violence (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many people believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
Most of them	12	8.6	0	0.0	12	13.6
About half of them	26	18.7	13	25.5	13	14.8
A few of them	60	43.2	13	25.5	47	53.4
None of them	35	25.2	24	47.1	11	12.5
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped?						
All of them	6	4.3	0	0.0	6	6.8
Most of them	37	26.8	6	12.0	31	35.2
About half of them	26	18.8	14	28.0	12	13.6
A few of them	42	30.4	15	30.0	27	30.7
None of them	26	18.8	15	30.0	11	12.5

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 31.26; ²Sign = .002, Chi-square = 19.07

Similar to the findings from Table 7.18, Table 7.19 found that 31.1% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in the district believe that a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, and 1 out of 2 or 49.9% of respondent reported that about half or more of the people in the district believe that a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped. District officials (42.0%) were much more likely to report that many people believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, compared to adults in the general public (12.0%).

As explained in previous chapters, victim-blaming attitudes of this kind marginalizes women and girls who experience violence and make it hard for them to come forward and report the violence/abuse in their lives and families. If victims know that society or a frontline service provider will blame them for the violence/abuse, she will not feel safe or comfortable coming forward and talking about or reporting it. Victim-blaming attitudes also reinforce what the abuser has been saying all along, that it is the victim's fault that the violence/abuse happens. By engaging in victim-blaming attitudes, society allows the abuser to commit acts of violence/abuse, including sexual assault/rape, while avoiding accountability for their actions.

Public Responses to VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included several questions that measured individual responses to VAWG, particular what respondents would do if they witnessed a woman being beaten by her husband and if they saw or heard a woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man. Respondents were asked to report all responses they would take in such situations, so they could identify more than one response; therefore, column percentages will not total 100.0%.

Table 7.20 shows that nearly 2 out of 3 or 64.7% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, and more than 1 out of 2 or 59.0% of respondents reported they would report the incident to the police. General public adults (82.4%) were significantly more likely to report they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, compared to district officials (54.5%). At the same time, general public adults (17.6%) were three times more likely than district officials (4.5%) to report they would not report the incident to anyone.

Table 7.20. Public responses to wife abuse (Mangochi)

What would you do if you witnessed a woman being beat by her husband?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	13	9.4	9	17.6	4	4.5
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	4	2.9	0	0.0	4	4.5
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	90	64.7	42	82.4	48	54.5
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	82	59.0	22	43.1	60	68.2
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	6	4.3	3	5.9	3	3.4

¹Sign = .030, Chi-square = 7.02; ²Sign = .122, Chi-square = 2.39; ³ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 10.94; ⁴ Sign = .004, Chi-square = 8.37

⁵Sign = .489, Chi-square = .48

Respondents were also asked what they would do if they witnessed a young woman being beaten by her boyfriend (dating violence). Table 7.21 shows that 2 out of 3 or 67.6% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help the young woman that was being beaten by their boyfriend, and 1 out of 2 or 55.4% maintained they would report the incident to the police. There were several significant differences between district officials and general public adults. General public adults (84.3%) were most likely to report that they would intervene and try to help a young woman being beaten by her boyfriend; yet, at the same time, general public adults (13.7%) were three times more likely than district officials (4.5%) to report they would walk away and not intervene. District officials were more likely to report they would report the incident to the police (68.2%) and/or intervene and try to help the woman being beaten by her boyfriend (58.0%)

Table 7.21. Public responses to dating violence (Mangochi)						
What would you do if you witnessed a young woman being beat by her boyfriend?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	11	7.9	7	13.7	4	4.5
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.3
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	94	67.6	43	84.3	51	58.0
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	77	55.4	17	33.3	60	68.2
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	7	5.0	6	11.8	1	1.1

¹ Sign = .053, Chi-square = 3.73; ² Sign = .278, Chi-square = 1.18; ³ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 10.25; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 15.87

⁵ Sign = .006, Chi-square = 7.63

What would respondents do if they saw or heard of a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by men, Table 7.22 shows that 2 out of 3 or 68.1% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help a woman who they saw or heard being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, and 60.9% of respondents reported they would report the incident to the police. There were a couple of differences between district officials and adults in the general public. In particular, general public adults (92.2%) were most likely to report that they would intervene and try to help a young woman they saw or heard being sexually assaulted or raped by men, compared to only 54.3% district officials. At the same time, 20.0% of general public adults reported they would walk away and not intervene. District officials (71.3%) were significantly more likely to report they would report the incident to the police, compared to general public adults (43.1%).

Table 7.22. Public responses to sexual violence (Mangochi)						
What would you do if you saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	4	2.9	1	20.0	3	3.4
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	94	68.1	47	92.2	47	54.0
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	84	60.9	22	43.1	62	71.3
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	2	1.4	2	3.9	0	0.0

¹ Sign = .615, Chi-square = .25; ² Sign = .442, Chi-square = .59; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 21.53; ⁴ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 10.68

⁵ Sign = .063, Chi-square = 3.46

Help-Seeking Behaviours of Female Survivors of Violence

Respondents were asked about the help-seeking behaviours of women and girls who experience violence. Table 7.23 shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 58.3% of respondents reported they thought that women/girls in Mangochi who experience violence would be 'very likely' to seek medical care and tell the doctor or nurse about the violence. In addition, 62.6% of respondents reported they thought women/girls in Mangochi who experience violence would be 'very likely' to report the incident to traditional leaders/chief. General public adults were significantly more likely to report that they would be 'very likely' to seek medical care and tell a doctor/nurse (82.4%) about the violence they experience and/or to report the incident to traditional authorities (86.3%), compared to district officials (44.3% and 48.9% respectively). District officials were significantly more likely to report that women/girls who experience violence would be 'not likely' or 'somewhat likely' to seek medical care and tell a doctor/nurse about the violence and/or report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs.

Table 7.23. Help-seeking behaviours of female survivors of violence (Mangochi)						
In your community, if a woman/girl experiences violence how likely would they be to . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Seek medical care and tell the doctor/nurse about the violence ¹						
Not likely	25	18.0	2	3.9	23	26.1
Somewhat likely	32	23.0	7	13.7	25	28.4
Very likely	81	58.3	42	82.4	39	44.3
Report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs ²						
Not likely	21	15.1	1	2.0	20	20.7
Somewhat likely	31	22.3	6	11.8	25	28.4
Very likely	87	62.6	44	86.3	43	48.9

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.48; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.45

Respondents were also asked what advice they would give to a family member who experienced wife abuse or was raped, and how confident they were the police would register and investigate the complaint. Table 7.24 shows that as many as 87.7% of respondents reported that if their sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured that they would be 'very likely' to encourage her to report the incident to the police. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials. In addition, 75.4% of respondents reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their sister's complaint of wife abuse. Surprisingly, general public adults (90.2%) were more likely than district officials (66.7%) to report they are 'very confident' District officials (23.0%) were two times more likely than general public adults (9.8%) to report they were only 'somewhat confident' that the police would register and investigate their sister's complaint, compared to district officials (72.4%).

Table 7.24. Advice to wife abuse victims and confidence in the police response to wife abuse (Mangochi)						
If your sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured how likely would you be to encourage her to report the incident to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not likely	5	3.6	0	0.0	5	5.7
Somewhat likely	12	8.7	5	9.8	7	8.0
Very likely	121	87.7	46	90.2	75	86.2
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your sister's complaint? ²						
Not confident	8	5.8	0	0.0	8	9.2
Somewhat confident	25	18.1	5	9.8	20	23.0
Very confident	104	75.4	46	90.2	58	66.7

¹ Sign = .212, Chi-square = 3.10; ² Sign = .013, Chi-square = 10.72

Table 7.25 shows that 99.3% of respondents reported that if their daughter were the victim of rape that they would be 'very likely' to report the crime to the police, and 83.3% of respondents reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their daughter's complaint of rape. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials when it comes to the likelihood of encouraging their daughter to report a rape, however, district officials (20.7) were ten times more likely than general public adults (2.0%) to report they were only somewhat confident that the police would register and investigate their daughter's complaint.

Table 7.25. Advice to rape victims and confident in the police response to wife abuse (Mangochi)						
If your daughter were the victim of rape, how likely would you be to report the crime to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not likely	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Somewhat likely	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
Very likely	136	99.3	50	100.0	86	98.9
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your daughter's complaint? ²						
Not confident	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	3.4
Somewhat confident	19	13.8	1	2.0	18	20.7
Very confident	115	83.3	50	98.0	65	74.7

¹ Sign = .447, Chi-square = .58; ² Sign = .005, Chi-square = 12.64

Perceived Seriousness of VAWG

Respondents were asked to rate how serious a problem is family/marital violence and sexual assault/rape of women. Table 7.26 shows that 47.5% of respondents identified family/marital violence as a 'serious problem' in Mangochi, 24.5% identified it as a 'moderate problem', and 20.9% identified family/marital violence as a 'minor problem'. Only 7.2% of respondents identified family/marital violence as 'not a problem'. District officials (65.9%) were four times more likely to identify family/marital violence as a 'serious problem' in Mangochi, compared to general public adults (15.7%); whereas general public adults (37.3%) were three times more likely than district officials (11.4%) to maintain family/marital violence is a 'minor problem' in Mangochi. Also, 17.6% of respondent reported that family/marital violence is 'not a problem' in Mangochi.

Table 7.26. Perceived seriousness of family/marital violence (Mangochi)						
In your community, how serious a problem is family/marital violence?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not a problem	10	7.2	9	17.6	1	1.1
Minor problem	29	20.9	19	37.3	10	11.4
Moderate problem	34	24.5	15	29.4	19	21.6
Serious problem	66	47.5	8	15.7	58	65.9

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 40.57

Table 7.27 shows that only 18.7% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in Mangochi, and 23.7% identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'moderate problem'. Surprisingly, 44.6% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem' and 12.9% reported sexual assault/rape of women and girls is 'not a problem' in Mangochi. District officials (28.4%) were fourteen times more likely than general public adults (2.0%) to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in Mangochi. In comparison, general public adults were significantly more likely to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem' (52.9%) or 'not a problem' (35.3%), compared to district officials (39.8% and 0.0% respectively).

Table 7.27. Perceived seriousness of sexual assault/rape (Mangochi)						
In your community, how serious a problem is sexual assault/rape of women and girls?	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
Not a problem	18	12.9	18	35.3	0	0.0
Minor problem	62	44.6	27	52.9	35	39.8
Moderate problem	33	23.7	5	9.8	28	31.8
Serious problem	26	18.7	1	2.0	25	28.4

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 50.98

Sources of Information on VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure what sources of information adults in the general public and district officials rely upon to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 7.28 shows that as many as 80.6% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the mass media, 72.7% receive information from informal networks, 54.0% receive information from community leaders, and 31.7% receive information from family survivors of violence.

Regarding mass media, as many as 3 out of 4 or 76.3% of respondents receive information from the radio about women and girls who experience family/marital violence. Only 1 out of 3 respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the TV (33.1%) and newspapers (38.8%). Far fewer respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the internet (12.9%). District officials (88.6%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (66.7%) to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from mass media.

Table 7.28. Sources of information related to family/marital violence (Mangochi)						
Sources of information on women and girls who experience family/marital violence	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mass media	112	80.6	34	66.7	78	88.6
TV ¹	46	33.1	9	17.6	37	42.0
Radio ²	106	76.3	30	58.8	76	86.4
Newspapers ³	54	38.8	13	25.5	41	46.6
Internet ⁴	18	12.9	1	2.0	17	19.3
Informal networks	101	72.7	36	70.6	65	73.9
Family ⁵	82	59.0	26	51.0	56	63.6
Friends ⁶	83	59.7	34	66.7	49	55.7
Community leaders	75	54.0	32	62.7	43	48.9
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	68	48.9	31	60.8	37	42.0
Religious leaders ⁸	46	33.1	17	33.3	29	33.0
Female survivors of violence ⁹	44	31.7	4	7.8	40	45.5
Other ¹⁰	13	9.4	4	7.8	9	10.2

¹Sign = .003, Chi-square = 8.68; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 13.53; ³ Sign = .014, Chi-square = 6.05; ⁴ Sign = .003, Chi-square = 8.63

⁵Sign = .144, Chi-square = 2.13; ⁶ Sign = .203, Chi-square = 1.62; ⁷ Sign = .033, Chi-square = 4.54; ⁸ Sign = .964, Chi-square = .00

⁹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 21.11; ¹⁰ Sign = .642, Chi-square = .22

In regard to informal networks, respondents were equally likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from family (59.0%) and friends (59.7%). There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials when it comes to informal networks being sources of information on family/marital violence.

In regard to community leaders, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from community leaders/chiefs (48.9%) versus religious leaders (33.1%). General public adults (60.8%) were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence, compared to district officials (42.0%). Finally, Table 7.28 shows that district officials (45.5%) were five times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experienced family/marital violence than adults in the general public (7.8%).

Table 7.29 shows information sources on women and girls who experience sexual violence. In particular, 79.1% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence from the mass media, 68.3% receive information from informal networks, 50.4% receive information from community leaders, and 23.7% receive information from family survivors of violence.

In regard to mass media, as many as 3 out of 4 or 77.0% of respondents receive information from the radio about women and girls who experience sexual violence. Fewer respondents receive information from newspapers (38.8%), TV (28.1%), and the internet (12.2%). District officials (84.1%) were significantly more likely to receive information from mass media than general public adults (70.6%). In fact, district officials were significantly more likely to receive information all means of mass media. Most notable is that district officials were two times more likely to receive information about sexual assault/rape from the TV and newspapers, and nine time more likely to receive information about sexual assault/rape from the internet, compared to adults in the general public. In terms of mass media, general public adults were most likely to receive information about sexual assault/rape from the radio (2 out of 3 or 66.7%).

Table 7.29. Sources of information related to sexual assault/rape (Mangochi)

Sources of information on women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mass media	110	79.1	36	70.6	74	84.1
TV ¹	39	28.1	9	17.6	30	34.1
Radio ²	107	77.0	34	66.7	73	83.0
Newspapers ³	54	38.8	11	21.6	43	48.9
Internet ⁴	17	12.2	1	2.0	16	18.2
Informal networks	95	68.3	36	70.6	59	67.0
Family ⁵	72	51.8	25	49.0	47	53.4
Friends ⁶	82	59.0	36	70.6	46	52.3
Community leaders	70	50.4	31	60.8	39	44.3
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	66	47.5	31	60.8	35	39.8
Religious leaders ⁸	35	25.2	13	25.5	22	25.0
Female survivors of violence ⁹	33	23.7	1	2.0	32	36.4
Other ¹⁰	7	5.0	3	5.9	4	4.5

¹ Sign = .038, Chi-square = 4.33; ² Sign = .028, Chi-square = 4.83; ³ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 10.13; ⁴ Sign = .005, Chi-square = 7.91

⁵ Sign = .62, Chi-square = .25; ⁶ Sign = .034, Chi-square = 4.48; ⁷ Sign = .017, Chi-square = 5.72; ⁸ Sign = .949, Chi-square = .004

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 21.11; ¹⁰ Sign = .728, Chi-square = .121

In regard to informal networks, respondents were nearly just as likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from friends (59.0%) and family (51.8%). It is notable that general public adults (70.6%) were significantly more likely to receive information on women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from friends, compare to district officials (52.3%).

In regard to community leaders, respondents were nearly two times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from community leaders/chiefs (47.5%) than religious leaders (25.2%). Both general public adults and district officials were more likely to receive information about sexual violence from community leaders/chiefs than religious leaders; however, general public adults were twice as likely to receive information from community leaders/chief (60.8%) versus religious leaders (25.5%). Surprisingly, general public adults (60.8%) were also significantly more likely to receive information about sexual VAWG from community leaders/chiefs than district officials (39.8%). Finally, Table 7.29 shows that

district officials (36.4%) were eighteen times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence than adults in the general public (2.0%).

Publication of Victim and Perpetrator Identities in Mass Media

In recent years, protecting VAWG survivors' identities in media coverage has been a growing focus. This is because international research has found that when the names of VAWG survivors, particularly child victims, and other identifying information appears in the media it can exacerbate trauma, complicate recovery, discourage future disclosures and inhibit cooperation with authorities for the women and girls involved.¹³⁵ The *District Officials Survey* measured attitudes toward publishing in mass media the names and photos of VAWG survivors¹³⁶ and/or their perpetrators.

District officials were asked if they thought the names and identities of women and girls who are victims of violence and perpetrators of such violence should be reported and published in the mass media. Table 7.30 shows that 45.5% of district officials maintained that the names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media. In addition, 3 out of 4 or 77.3% of district officials held the belief that names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media. This finding reveals a lack of understanding among district officials as to the need to protect the identities of women and girls who experience violence, and the negative consequences of publicizing the identities of VAWG survivors.

Table 7.30. Publication of victim and perpetrator identities in mass media (Mangochi)		
	District Officials N=88	
	n	%
Names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media	40	45.5
Names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media	68	77.3

Social Norms Related to Government Responsibility to Protect Women and Girls from Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms related to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members. Table 7.31 shows that the majority of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Mangochi think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members, and to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage.

Table 7.31 shows that 62.6% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Mangochi think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family. Moreover, 87.7% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district hold this view. General public adults (81.5%) were significantly more likely than district officials (51.2%) to report that about half or most of the people in Mangochi think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family. In comparison, district officials (29.5%) were three times more likely than general public adults (7.8%) to report that only a few people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family.

Table 7.31. Social norms relate to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence (Mangochi)

In your community, how many people think the government has a responsibility to protect . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from violence in the home/family¹						
All of them	24	17.3	8	15.7	16	18.2
Most of them	63	45.3	28	54.9	35	39.8
About half of them	21	15.1	11	21.6	10	11.4
A few of them	30	21.6	4	7.8	26	29.5
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members²						
All of them	27	19.4	7	13.7	20	22.7
Most of them	60	43.2	30	58.8	30	34.1
About half of them	21	15.1	11	21.6	10	11.4
A few of them	30	21.6	3	5.9	27	30.7
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage³						
All of them	19	13.7	7	13.7	12	13.6
Most of them	56	40.3	29	56.9	27	30.7
About half of them	21	15.1	12	23.5	9	10.2
A few of them	40	28.8	3	5.9	37	42.0
None of them	3	2.2	0	0.0	3	3.4

¹ Sign = .021, Chi-square = 11.60; ² Sign = .002, Chi-square = 17.94; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.69

Table 7.31 also shows that 62,6% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members, and 3 out of 4 or 77.7% of respondents reported that about half of the people in the district hold this view. General public adults (80.4%) were significantly more likely to report that about half or most of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members, compared to district officials (45.5%). Whereas district officials (30.7%) were five times more likely than general public adults (7.8%) to report that only a few people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members.

Finally, Table 7.31 shows that only 1 out of 2 or 54.0% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Mangochi think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage, and 69.1% of respondents reported about half of the respondents held this view. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. Most notable is that general public adults (80.4%) were two times more likely than district officials (40.9%) to report that about half or most of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage. Whereas, district officials (42.0%) were seven times more likely than general public adults (5.9%) to report only a few of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage.

Respondents were also asked about the importance of having laws that protect women and girls from violence. Table 7.32 shows that 74.8% of respondents maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence, 71.9% reported it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from sexual assault and rape, and 82.0% maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage. District officials were significantly more likely to maintain it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence (80.7%) and sexual assault/rape (75.0%), compared to general public adults (64.7% and 66.7% respectively); general public adults were more likely to report it is only 'important' to have such laws.

Table 7.32. Importance of laws that protect women and girls from violence (Mangochi)						
How important is it to have laws in Malawi that protect . . .	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from marital violence ¹						
Not important	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.3
Important	33	23.7	18	35.3	15	17.0
Very important	104	74.8	33	64.7	71	80.7
Women and girls from sexual assault/rape ²						
Not important	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.3
Important	36	25.9	17	33.3	19	21.6
Very important	100	71.9	34	66.7	66	75.0
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage ³						
Not important	2	1.4	0	0.0	2	2.3
Important	23	16.5	8	15.7	15	17.0
Very important	114	82.0	43	84.3	71	80.7

¹Sign = .034, Chi-square = 6.79; ²Sign = .287, Chi-square = 3.77; ³Sign = .536, Chi-square = 1.25

Social Norms Supporting Punishment of Perpetrators of VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms supporting the punishment of perpetrators of VAWG, including family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 7.33 shows that only 40.1% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. At the same time, more than 1 out of 3 or 40.9% of respondent thought only a few or none of the women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. District officials (50.6%) were two times more likely than general public adults (24.0%) to report only a few or none of the women in Mangochi believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system.

Similarly, Table 7.33 shows that only 1 out of 2 or 53.2% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 4 representing about 29.1% of respondents thought only a few or none of the women in Mangochi believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. District officials (33.3%) were nearly three times more likely than general public adults (12.0%) to report only a few of the women in Mangochi believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. In comparison, general public adults (68.0%) were significantly more likely than district officials (44.8%) to report most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system.

Table 7.33. Social norms supporting punishment of perpetrators of VAWG (Mangochi)						
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system? ¹	Total Sample N=139		General Public Adults N=51		District Officials N=88	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
All of them	17	12.4	8	16.0	9	10.3
Most of them	38	27.7	17	34.0	21	24.1
About half of them	26	19.0	13	26.0	13	14.9
A few of them	52	38.0	12	24.0	40	46.0
None of them	4	2.9	0	0.0	4	4.6
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system? ²						
All of them	15	10.9	9	18.0	6	6.9
Most of them	58	42.3	25	50.0	33	37.9
About half of them	24	17.5	10	20.0	14	16.1
A few of them	35	25.5	6	12.0	29	33.3
None of them	5	3.6	0	0.0	5	5.7

¹Sign = .035, Chi-square = 10.32; ²Sign = .009, Chi-square = 13.48

District Officials' Responses to VAWG

The *District Officials Survey* included several questions to assess district officials' experiences responding to VAWG. Table 7.34 shows that 77.3% of the district officials surveyed reported they have to deal with women and girls who experience violence in their job/position. Among those district officials have to deal with VAWG survivors in their work, 89.0% reported when they encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence they are responsible for responding to the incident, 91.2% maintained they are required to register or record VAWG incidents, and 94.1% reported their agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases. When asked how often they actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention, only 1 out of 2 or 50.0% reported they 'frequently' register or record incidents of VAWG, 27.9% sometimes register or record such incidents, 22.1% rarely register or record such incidents, and 7.4% never register or record such incidents.

Table 7.34. District officials' responses to VAWG (Mangochi)		
	District Officials N=88	
	n	%
In your job/position you have to deal with VAWG survivors	68	77.3
	N=68	
When you encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence you are responsible for responding to the incident	65	89.0
You are required to register or record the incident of VAWG	62	91.2
Your agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases	64	94.1
How often do you actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to your attention?		
Never	5	7.4
Rarely	15	22.1
Sometimes	19	27.9
Frequently	34	50.0

Focus group discussions with district officials revealed that VAWG survivors, particularly battered women, are first encouraged to consult a marriage counsel or to mediate the violence; however, the matter can escalate to traditional leaders and chiefs if marriage counselors fail to resolve the domestic violence situation to the woman's liking. Social welfare officers and victim support unit officers also reported counselling battered women and their abusive husbands to try to provide them support and guidance to reconcile. Reporting wife abuse to the police is seen as a last resort. In most cases, the incidents will be reported to the Police Victim Support Unit who also focus on mediation; punishment does not occur unless the woman is willing to bring her case to the report or there has been grave bodily harm done to the woman. For instance, if victims have been "burnt or beaten to the points of fainting" (*Mothers Group, Mangochi*) and "hacked to the point of crippling her" or having her "ears or teeth were removed" (*Social Welfare Officers, Mangochi*).

When asked what sort of advice they would give to a woman who has sought help for domestic violence, respondents showed leniency toward the perpetrator and often blamed the victim. As one respondent explained, "I would ask her to tolerate some violence from her husband" (*Adult Female, Mangochi*). Only if counselling fails and a woman endures serious injuries would she be advised by others in the community or district officials to report the incident to the police. As one respondent explained, "I can go and talk to her husband; if he does not change, advise the woman to report to the police" (*Adult Male, Mangochi*).

"Mostly from my side it is teachers' wives complaining and basically you call the husband and hear the husband's side of the story and counsel them and if the things repeat themselves then you also report. For the second time you are likely to refer to the VSU." (District planning Officer, Mangochi)

Some district officials saw domestic violence as an issue that can be resolved by community-based structures and local authorities, including traditional leaders, religious leaders, and community victim support units. Respondents thought domestic violence could be resolved through counselling battered women and their abusive male partners.

“We handle domestic violence cases in the case management clinics. When the first party comes to complain, you hear a lot of issues, and when they come for mediation, you see the complainant has changed. He or she tries to hide their own weaknesses. So, come to the mediation you know the truth, this one we can assist, and this one we cannot assist and refer to the right institution.” (District Social Welfare, Mangochi)

Below are two more quotes that reveal district officials focus on mediating cases of domestic violence.

“Sometimes the community locals want to sort these things [domestic violence]. So, we would refer a woman to the Victim Support Unit. We also conduct mediation when we learn it [domestic violence] is true; sometimes one can come that they lay a lot of claims, so they realize there is a lot of exaggeration, but if you mediate successfully, in the end it is sometimes pointed out that CSOs are also promoting marriage breakups. So CSOs have to be careful, so we have to look at who we refer them to, like marriage counselors and to the church, and try to explore all of those attitudes. If it [the domestic violence] is too much then, the police and the court handles that.” (District Social Welfare, Mangochi)

“The husband, we tell him it is not the solution it is not solving the problem and we try to assist both parties to get to the root of the cause, and we try to help them to come up with options. We facilitate to say what is the root cause and to come up with the solution. How to manage the process and we ask them to come back and update us on the progress. But, what carried weight is the putting forward and discussing the root causes of the problem and what they should do to deal with the issue.” (District Social Welfare, Mangochi)

Qualitative data from district officials revealed they were less likely to blame female rape victims and more willing to provide rape victims with guidance and support, than were to female domestic violence. Only a few district officials engaged in victim blaming when it came to female rape victims, yet those who did often attributed a young woman’s rape/sexual assault to the way she dressed. A few district officials held the view that “sometimes when a woman puts short dresses on it can encourage a man to rape her” (Health Surveillance Assistants, Mangochi). In addition, rape was often treated more serious than wife battering and respondent reported they were more include to advise a rape victim that “she should go to the hospital to get tested and confirm rape” (Community Victim Support Unit, Mangochi) and “to see if she’s infected with HIV” (Mothers Group, Mangochi).

District officials reported that once a woman goes to the hospital to verify her rape, she could then “take the matter to the police” (Community Victim Support Unit, Mangochi). District officials were also more including to encourage a girl/woman who was raped to go the police. As they explained, “We advise her to rush to the hospital immediately, then we can report the matter to the police” (Teachers, Mangochi). In addition, district social welfare officials reported, “We take her to the hospital or one stop centre, and we also act as counselors to the victim, but this is a police case and we refer her to the police” (Social Welfare, Mangochi).

Attitudes toward the Treatment of VAWG Survivors. District officials were also asked how important it is that women and girls who experience violence be treated with care and compassion by the police and courts, and be provided with legal assistance and protection and support. Most notable is that 88.6% of district officials reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be treated with care and compassion by police and courts, 94.3% reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be provided with legal assistance, and 93.2% of district officials reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be provided with protection and support.

Table 7.35. District officials’ treatment of VAWG survivors (Mangochi)		
How important is it that women and girls who experience violence be . . .	District Officials N=88	
	n	%
Treated with care and compassion by police and courts		
Not important	1	1.1
Somewhat important	6	6.8
Very important	78	88.6
Provided with legal assistance		
Not important	1	1.1
Somewhat important	3	3.4
Very important	83	94.3
Provided with protection and support		
Not important	0	0.0
Somewhat important	6	6.8
Very important	82	93.2

Protection from VAWG

Respondents were asked about the protection and service needs in Mangochi for women and girls who experience gender-based violence. In terms of protection and service needs, respondents emphasized the **need to enforce existing by-laws and establish new by-laws** that would protect women and girls from gender-based violence, as well as *“by-laws that prevent early marriages and other traditions”* (Community Victim Support Unit, Mangochi). Some respondents maintained there should be stiff punishment for persons who break or violate the by-laws, and to hold perpetrators accountable by punishing them. For example, general public adults maintained one way to end polygamy is *“by imposing strict rules, that if a married man wants to get married to the second wife he should be punished”* (Adult Male, Mangochi) and *“forcing men who impregnate young girls so that they should be supporting them, whether they like it or not”* (Adult Male, Mangochi).

District officials also reported what is needed are **civic education and public awareness-raising campaigns on VAWG and traditional practices and social norms that are harmful to women and girls**. They felt that civic education and public awareness-raising campaigns would help to ensure that women and girls are aware of their rights and are able to recognise when their rights have been abused, and that communities are able to recognise and bring an end to harmful traditional practices. District officials maintained traditional authorities need civic education on gender-based violence and justice for VAWG survivors, and *“NGOs should play a very huge part in this matter”* (Social Welfare, Mangochi). Mother Group members added, *“Traditional authorities should be involved by conducting regular awareness meetings”* and *“provide civic education to people by conducting meetings and communicate through dramas and plays”* (Mothers Group, Mangochi). Traditional Leaders also thought to *“enlighten the village through chiefs on the negatives of gender-based violence and rape”* (Traditional Leaders, Mangochi). One woman also maintained, *“Initiation elders should be told to stop telling the young girls to practice certain customs, or pay a fine if found guilty”* (Adult Female, Mangochi).

“Lacking the most is technical know-how among traditional leaders, they lack the training, they don’t know what gender equality is and the rights of women. The chiefs need to be aware of those acts.”
(Police, Mangochi)

At the same time, however, there were respondents who blame women and girls for their own victimization, and in their efforts to protect women and girls from gender-based violence maintained that women and girls need to be educated on how to dress properly so that they are not victimized.

Empowerment of women and girls was also mentioned as a means by which women and girls can be protected from gender-based violence. Respondents felt that empowerment of girls could be done by ensuring that girls stay in school, which would help to protect them from early pregnancy and early marriage. District officials proposed implementing by-laws that ensure all girls stay in school, and that financial support be provided to girls who are unable to continue their education due to poverty and the inability to pay the school fees. As one respondent explained, we need *“organizations to come and help those who are not able, so that young girls can finish school, because some girls fail because of poverty”* (Adult Female, Mangochi).

Respondent also thought economic empowerment is important to ensure that women are not economically dependent on their abusers and have the freedom to leave abusive relationships. Some respondents thought that women’s economic empowerment can be achieved by providing women with loans for small businesses. One respondent explained, *“Offering money to women so that they should start doing business is a way of supporting themselves”* (Adult Male, Mangochi).

Finally, some respondents cited the need for **stiffer penalties for VAWG**. The police also thought that providing women with access to the court and protection orders is important, particularly for women who are *“coming to the office with different complaints”*, in which case *“the court gives an order to protect the women and the children in the family, and maybe she is told to move for a period of time”* (Police, Mangochi).

Availability of VAWG-Related Services

Respondents were asked if there were sufficient services and qualified professionals available in Mangochi to work with women and girls who are victims/survivors of violence. Qualitative data revealed respondents believed VAWG-related services and qualified professionals were available in Mangochi to some extent, but that they were not sufficient. District officials reported there are some VAWG-related services available in Mangochi, but significant gaps remain in service provision and access to VAWG-related services for all women and girls.

“We have a lot of services, the CVSU, the one stop centre, child protection. We have other community volunteers and local structures like the mother groups, tribunals, and our organizations. We have volunteers at the community level and they will assess and report, and they will assure the issue will be taken to the police and reported.” (District Social Welfare, Mangochi)

Gaps in service provision also exist in providing police protection to VAWG survivors. On the one hand, the Police Victim Support Unit in the Malombe Police Station is very far from some communities which makes it difficult for VAWG survivors to access police protection. In addition, the police lack the resources needed to travel communities and villages throughout the district. As police explained, *“We need to visit those (VAWG survivors). They do come here (to the Malombe Police Station) and we need to visit them. She (VAWG survivor) can come and report a case here and we counsel them, but we need to go back to the village and see if they are treating each other well as a wife and husband” (Police, Mangochi).* Some respondents also felt that the police are unable to provide the type of psycho-social support that VAWG survivors need and that there is a *“lack of confidentiality among (police) personnel dealing with these issues” (Mothers Group, Mangochi).* Some respondents also spoke about police taking bribes which hampers VAWG survivors’ ability to access protection from the police.

“The police unit is fading and scaring women off. There’s a continuous cycle of intimidation. People do not even get the chance of facing sanctions.” (Mangochi)

Training Received by District Officials

Finally, district officials were asked about the training they received in the past one to two years related to women’s rights, gender equality, and VAWG. Table 7.36 shows that 68.2% of district officials reported receiving training related to VAC, 59.1% received training related to child marriage, and 53.4% receiving training related to women’s rights and/or gender equality, and VAWG/GBV. In addition, 59.1% of district officials were trained on how to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors, and 55.2% were trained in case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG.

Table 7.36. Training received by district officials (Mangochi)

Training received in the past one to two year	District Officials N=88	
	n	%
Women’s rights and/or gender equality	47	53.4
VAWG/GBV	47	53.4
Violence against children (VAC)	60	68.2
Child marriage	52	59.1
How to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors	52	59.1
Case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG	48	55.2

CHAPTER 8: SOCIAL NORMS IN MZIMBA

This chapter reveals findings from district officials and general public adults sampled in Mzimba and includes a comparison between general public adults and district officials. This includes findings related social norms related to gender equality, VAWG, including harmful practices and child marriage and early marriages. This chapter also reveals social norms related to victim-blaming of VAWG survivors and public responses to VAWG.

Social Norms Related to Gender Equality

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions designed to measure social norms related to gender and gender equality, including gender preference at birth, girls' education, marriage and family, women's employment, women's health care, and women and land use. Findings presented in the sections that follow demonstrate a lack of social norms that support gender equality in Mzimba.

Social Norms Related to Gender Preference at Birth. Both district officials and general public adults were asked about social norms in the district related to sex preference at birth. In particular, respondents were asked how many women in their community think it, 1 better to give birth to a boy than a girl. Table 8.1 shows that more than 1 out of 3 or 37.3% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in Mzimba think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl, which is indicative of social norms, and 1 out of 2 or 54.8% of respondents maintained about half or more of the women in the district think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl. General public adults (39.6%) were more likely to than district officials (3.8%) to report about half of the women in their communities think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl.

Table 8.1. Social norms related to gender preference at birth (Mzimba)

In your community, how many women think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
All of them	3	2.4	0	0.0	3	3.8
Most of them	44	34.9	15	31.3	29	37.2
About half of them	22	17.5	19	39.6	3	3.8
A few of them	38	30.2	13	27.1	25	32.1
None of them	13	10.3	1	2.1	12	15.4

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 32.91

Social Norms Related to Girls' Education. Both district officials and general public adults were also asked about social norms in the district related to girl's education, particularly how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education and how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. Table 8.2 reveals that 44.4% of respondents in Mzimba maintained most or all of the girls/women in their district/communities are free to make decisions about their education, which is indicative of social norms, and nearly 2 out of 3 or 65.0% maintained about half of the girls/women in Mzimba are free to make decisions about their education. A large proportion of respondents maintained only a few girls/women are free to make decisions about their education (34.1%) General public adults (41.7%) were five times more likely than district officials (7.7%) to maintain that all of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about their education; whereas, district officials (47.4%) were three times more likely than general public adults (12.5%) to mention only a few girls/women are free to make decisions about their education.

At the same time, more than 1 out of 3 or 39.7% of respondents in Mzimba maintained most or all of the parents in the district think it is better to educate boys than girls, which is indicative of social norms. In fact, 61.9% of respondents maintained about half or more parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. District officials (43.6%) were more likely than general public adults (29.2%) to maintain most of the parents in the district think it is better to educate boys than girls. There was no difference between district officials and general public adults when it came to perceptions of the social norms in the district related to sex preference in education.

Table 8.2. Social norms related to girl's education (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education? ¹	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	26	20.6	20	41.7	6	7.7
Most of them	30	23.8	12	25.0	18	23.1
About half of them	26	20.6	10	20.8	16	20.5
A few of them	43	34.1	6	12.5	37	47.4
None of them	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
In your community, how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls? ²						
All of them	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6
Most of them	48	38.1	14	29.2	34	43.6
About half of them	28	22.2	17	35.4	11	14.1
A few of them	37	29.4	16	33.3	21	26.9
None of the them	9	7.1	1	2.1	8	10.3

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 27.91; ² Sign = .020, Chi-square = 13.35

Social Norms Related to Marriage and Family. When it comes to social norms related to marriage and family, Table 8.3 shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 55.6% of respondents in Mzimba maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about who to marry, which is indicative of social norms. It is interesting that general public adults (77.1%) were significantly more likely than district officials (42.4%) to maintain most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about who to marry; whereas, district officials (38.4%) were six times more likely than general public adults (6.3%) to maintain that only a few girls/women in Mzimba are free to make decisions about who to marry.

Table 8.3. Social norms related to marriage and family (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about . . .	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Who to marry? ¹						
All of them	21	16.7	13	27.1	8	10.3
Most of them	49	38.9	24	50.0	25	32.1
About half of them	16	12.7	8	16.7	8	10.3
A few of them	33	26.2	3	6.3	30	38.5
None of them	5	4.0	0	0.0	5	6.4
How many children to have and the upbringing of children? ²						
All of them	7	5.6	2	4.2	5	6.4
Most of them	26	20.6	10	20.8	16	20.5
About half of them	35	27.8	24	50.0	11	14.1
A few of them	50	39.7	11	22.9	39	50.0
None of them	4	3.2	0	0.0	4	5.1
The household budget and major household purchases? ³						
All of them	5	4.0	1	2.1	4	5.1
Most of them	17	13.5	7	14.6	10	12.8
About half of them	32	25.4	21	43.8	11	14.1
A few of them	67	53.2	17	35.4	50	64.1
None of them	4	3.2	2	4.2	2	2.6

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 24.55; ²Sign = .000, Chi-square = 22.30; ³Sign = .006, Chi-square = 16.50

When it comes to decision-making related to how many children to have and the upbringing of children, Table 8.3 shows that only 1 out of 4 or 26.2% of respondents maintained most all of the girls/women in Mzimba are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children; this is indicative of social norms in the district. A larger proportion of respondents maintained only a few girls/women in Mzimba are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials (50.0%) were two times more likely than general public adults (22.9%) to report that only a few of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children; whereas general public adults (50.0%) were more likely to maintain about half of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children.

When it comes to making decisions about the household budget and major household purchases, Table 8.3 shows that only 17.5% of respondents in Mzimba maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases; this data is indicative of social norms. The majority of respondents (53.2%) maintained only a few girls/women are free to make decision about the household budget and major household purchases. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, the majority of district officials (64.1%) reported only a few girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases, compared to only 35.4% of general public adults. General public adults (43.8%) were more likely to report that about half of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases.

Table 8.4 also shows that only 43.1% of respondents reported most or all of the parents in Mzimba think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, whereas 2 out of 3 or 67.9% of respondents reported about half or more of the parents in Mzimba think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. It is notable that 31.2% of respondents reported only a few or none of the parents in Mzimba think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. There were significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public. In particular, district officials (37.2%) were more likely to report that only a few parents in Mzimba think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, compared to the 83.0% of general public adults maintained about half or most of the parents think that young women should have the rights to choose who they will marry.

Table 8.4. Social norms related to marriage of young women (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many parents think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	9	7.1	4	8.5	5	6.4
Most of them	45	36.0	22	46.8	23	29.5
About half of them	31	24.8	17	36.2	14	17.9
A few of them	33	26.4	4	8.5	29	37.2
None of them	6	4.8	0	0.0	6	7.7

Sign = .001, Chi-square = 19.90

Social Norms Related to Women's Employment. Table 8.5 shows that only 21.4% of respondents maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home. A large proportion of respondents (43.7%) maintained only a few girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, some district officials (46.5%) reported that only a few or none of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home; whereas general public adults (37.5%) were more likely to report that about half or the half of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home.

Table 8.5. Social norms related to women's employment (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	3	2.4	1	2.1	2	2.6
Most of them	24	19.0	9	18.8	15	19.2
About half of them	30	23.8	18	37.5	12	15.4
A few of them	55	43.7	19	39.6	36	46.2
None of them	9	7.1	1	2.1	8	10.3

Sign = .031, Chi-square = 12.29

Social Norms Related to Women's Health Care. In regard to women's health care, Table 8.6 shows that as many as 1 out of 2 or 55.5% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district are free to make decisions about their health and health care, which is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. General public adults (37.5%) were two times more likely than district officials (15.4%) to maintain all of the women are free to make decisions about their health and health care; whereas, district officials (30.8%) were two times more likely than general public adults (14.6%) to maintain only a few women are free to make decisions about their health and health care.

Table 8.6. Social norms related to women's health care (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about their health and health care?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	30	23.8	18	37.5	12	15.4
Most of them	40	31.7	13	27.1	27	34.6
About half of them	23	18.3	10	20.8	13	16.7
A few of them	31	24.6	7	14.6	24	30.8
None of them	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6

Sign = .023; Chi-square = 11.31

Social Norms Related to Women and Land Use. Finally, Table 8.7 shows that only 24.2% of respondents reported women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions; this is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. District officials (57.7%) were two times more likely than general public adults (23.4%) to report that only a few women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions; yet, 48.9% of general public adults did report that none or a few women are free to make decisions about land use and agriculture decisions. A significant proportion of general public adults (31.9%) also held the view that about half to most of the women in their communities are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions.

Table 8.7. Social norms related to women and land use (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	11	8.8	1	2.1	10	12.8
Most of them	19	15.2	8	17.0	11	14.1
About half of them	21	16.8	15	31.9	6	7.7
A few of them	56	44.8	11	23.4	45	57.7
None of them	17	13.6	12	25.5	5	6.4

Sign = .000; Chi-square = 30.40

Social Norms and Attitudes Related to Wife Abuse

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a series of questions that measured social norms and attitudes related to wife abuse. Findings are presented in the sections that follow.

Social Norms Related to Wife Abuse. Table 8.8 reveals the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, 1 out of 3 or 33.3% of respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying them, and 1 out of 2 or 55.5% of respondents reported that about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying them. In addition, as many as 1 out of 3 or 36.0% of respondents reported most or all of them men sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with them, and 1 out of 2 or 56.8% of respondents reported about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with them.

Table 4.8 also shows that nearly 1 out of 3 or 36.8% of respondents maintained most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband, and 1 out of 2 or 56.8% of respondents reported about half or more of the men sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband. In addition, 1 out of 3 or 35.2% of respondents maintained most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual

intercourse, and 1 out of 2 or 53.6% of respondent maintained about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse. Finally, 24.0% of respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children, and 42.4% of respondents report about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children. These findings are indicative of social norms related to wife abuse or domestic violence against women in the context of marriage.

There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults in their perceptions of how many men in the community sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husbands, going out without telling their husband, neglecting the children, and refusing sexual intercourse. In particular, district officials (41.4%) were two times more likely than general public adults (20.8%) to report that most or all men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobey them, than did district officials. At the same time, however, 46.2% of district officials maintained only a few of the men in Mzimba sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying their husband. Similarly, district officials (44.9%) were two times more likely than general public adults (23.4%) to report that most or all men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband. In comparison, general public adults (44.7%) were significantly more likely to report only a few men sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband.

Table 8.8. Social norms related to wife abuse (Mzimba)

In your community, how many men do you think sometimes hit or beat their wives for . . .	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Disobeying their husband¹						
All of them	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6
Most of them	40	31.7	10	20.8	30	38.5
About half of them	28	22.2	20	41.7	8	10.3
A few of them	51	40.5	15	31.3	36	46.2
None of them	4	3.2	3	6.3	1	1.3
Arguing with their husband²						
All of them	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6
Most of them	43	34.4	16	34.0	27	34.6
About half of them	26	20.8	12	25.5	14	17.9
A few of them	49	39.2	18	38.3	31	39.7
None of them	3	2.4	1	2.1	2	2.6
Going out without telling their husband³						
All of them	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
Most of them	45	36.0	11	23.4	34	43.6
About half of them	25	20.0	13	27.7	12	15.4
A few of them	42	33.6	21	44.7	21	26.9
None of them	7	5.6	2	4.3	5	6.4
Neglecting the children⁴						
All of them	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6
Most of them	28	22.4	3	6.4	25	32.1
About half of them	23	18.4	14	29.8	9	11.5
A few of them	31	39.7	24	51.1	55	44.0
None of them	14	11.22	6	12.8	8	10.3
Refusing sexual intercourse⁵						
All of them	3	2.4	0	0.0	3	3.8
Most of them	41	32.8	7	14.9	34	43.6
About half of them	23	18.4	16	34.0	7	9.0
A few of them	35	28.0	14	29.8	21	26.9
None of them	5	4.0	0	0.0	5	6.4

¹ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 21.89; ² Sign = .660, Chi-square = 3.26; ³ Sign = .033, Chi-square = 12.145; ⁴ Sign = .003, Chi-square = 17.97

⁵ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 24.76

Table 8.8 also shows that although the majority of general public adults (51.1%) and district officials (44.0%) maintained only a few men in Mzimba sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children, district officials (34.7%) were five times more likely than general public adults (6.4%) to report that most or all of the men in Mzimba sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children. District officials (47.4%) were also three times more likely than general public adults (14.9%) to report that most or all of the men in Mzimba sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse. In comparison, general public adults (34.0%) were more likely to report that about half of the men in their communities sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse.

Table 8.9 shows that 2 out of 3 or 68.3% of respondents reported most people in the community would disapprove if a man if he beats his wife for disobeying, while 11.1% reported that most people would approve of his actions and 19.0% reported most people would think it is none of their business. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. Although the majority of general public adults (72.9%) and district officials (65.4%) maintained most people in the community would disapprove if a man beats his wife for disobeying, general public adults (27.1%) were more likely than district officials (14.1%) to mention most people would think it was not their business. In comparison, district officials (17.9%) were more likely to believe people in the community would approve of his actions.

Table 8.9. Social norms supportive of wife abuse (Mzimba)						
If a man in your community beats his wife for disobeying, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of his actions	14	11.1	0	0.0	14	17.9
Disapprove of his actions	86	68.3	35	72.9	51	65.4
Think it was none of their business	24	19.0	13	27.1	11	14.1

Sign = .005, Chi-square = 12.72

Attitudes toward Wife Abuse. Table 8.10 reveals respondent's personal attitudes toward wife abuse. In particular, the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, 42.1% of respondents believe if a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man. Surprisingly, district officials (64.1%) were ten times more likely to hold this attitude, compared to adults in the general public (6.3%). Some respondents (18.4%) also held the belief that a husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her. Again, surprisingly, district officials (26.0%) were three times more likely to hold this attitude, compared to adults in the general public (18.4%). Finally, as many as 44.8% of respondents held the belief that a woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together. There were no statistically significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public related to the last two attitudinal measures.

Table 8.10. Attitudes toward wife abuse (Mzimba)						
	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
If a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man ¹	53	42.1	3	6.3	50	64.1
A husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her ²	23	18.4	3	6.3	20	26.0
A woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together ³	56	44.8	20	41.7	36	46.8

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 47.63; ² Sign = .004, Chi-square = 11.09; ³ Sign = 418, Chi-square = 1.74

Social Norms Related to Sexual Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a question that measured social norms related to sexual VAWG. Table 8.11 shows that more than 1 out of 3 or 36.5% of respondents maintained most or all of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, and 61.9% of respondents maintained about half or more of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations. District officials (41.0%) were more likely to hold views that most young men sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, whereas district officials (43.8%) were more likely to maintain about half of the young in their communities sometimes pressure of force young women to have sexual relations.

Table 8.11. Social norms related to sexual violence (Mzimba)

In your community, how many young men do you think sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations? ¹	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	46	36.5	14	29.2	32	41.0
About half of them	32	25.4	21	43.8	11	14.1
A few of them	35	27.8	9	18.8	26	33.3
None of them	7	5.6	1	2.1	6	7.7
In your community, how many people believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or is married to? ²						
All of them	10	7.9	1	2.1	9	11.5
Most of them	43	34.1	15	31.3	28	35.9
About half of them	16	12.7	13	27.1	3	3.8
A few of them	29	23.0	13	27.1	16	20.5
None of them	20	15.9	5	10.4	15	19.2

¹Sign = .003, Chi-square = 15.75; ²Sign = .001, Chi-square = 20.40

Table 8.11 also reveals that more than 42.0% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with whom she is married, and 1 out of 2 or 54.7% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married. District officials (11.5%) were significantly more likely to maintain all people in the district hold this view, compared to adults in the general public (2.1%).

Social Norms Related to Harmful Practices

This study also included a focus on traditional practices (*miyambo* in Chichewa) that are considered to be harmful practices to women and girls. The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions related to the occurrence of various traditional practices in Mzimba and whether respondents believe most people in the district consider them to be harmful to women and girls, and if respondents recognized the harm done to women and girls by these traditional practices. Qualitative data related to traditional practices was also collected through focus group discussions with district officials and one-on-one interviews with general public adults. Both qualitative and quantitative data related to harmful practices are presented in this section.

Frequency of Traditional Practices. Table 8.12 reveals each of the different traditional practices listed occurs to varying degrees in Mzimba, and there were significant differences in the willingness of general public adults and district officials to report the occurrence of such traditional practices in the district. One of the most common traditional practices identified was polygamy. In general, 69.8% of respondents reported that polygamy occurs often in Mzimba, and 26.2% reported it occurs sometimes. General public adults (83.3%) were more likely to report that polygamy often occurs in Mzimba, compared to district officials (61.5%).

Labia pulling/stretching is another traditional practice that occurs in Mzimba. In general, 46.0% of respondents reported labia pulling/stretching occurs often in Mzimba, and 11.3% reported it occurs sometimes. General public adults (80.9%) were most likely to report that labia pulling/stretching often occurs in Mzimba, compared to district officials (24.7%).

Although it reportedly does not occur often in Mzimba, 18.0% of respondents reported wife inheritance occurs often in Mzimba, and 52.4% of respondent reported wife inheritance often occurs. District officials (24.4%) were more likely to report that wife inheritance occurs often in Mzimba, compared to adults in the general public (8.3%). It is also notable that 36.3% of respondent reported fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters sometimes occurs in Mzimba, and 4.0% maintained this practice often occurs. District officials (55.8%) were more likely to report that this practice occurs sometimes in Mzimba, compared to adults in the general public (4.3%). In comparison, 85.1% of general public adults reported fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters never occurs in their communities.

It is also notable that 29.6% of respondents reported the practice of offering a bonus wife sometimes occurs in Mzimba, and 4.0% of respondents maintained this practice occurs often. District officials (41.6%) were more likely to report the practice of offering a bonus wife sometimes occurs in Mzimba, compared to adults in the general public (10.4%). In comparison, the majority of general public adults (70.8%) reported the practice of offering a bonus wife never occurs in their communities.

Other traditional practices, such as Fisi (19.0%) and wife swapping (15.2%) sometimes occur in Mzimba, but not so often (4.0% and 2.4% respectively). District officials were more likely to report that both Fisi (21.8%) and wife swapping (23.4%) sometimes occur in Mzimba, compared to adults in the general public (14.6% and 2.1% respectively). Some respondents also reported that traditional practices such as when a woman's husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brother (11.9%) and the practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula (11.9%) sometimes occurs in Mzimba, but not often (4.8% and 1.6% respectively).

Table 8.12. Frequency of traditional practices (Mzimba)

In your community, how often do each of the following traditional practices occur . . .	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy¹						
Never	5	4.0	0	0.0	5	6.4
Sometimes	33	26.2	8	16.7	25	32.1
Often	88	69.8	40	83.3	48	61.5
Wife inheritance²						
Never	33	26.2	18	37.5	15	19.2
Sometimes	66	52.4	24	50.0	42	53.8
Often	23	18.3	4	8.3	19	24.4
Bonus wife³						
Never	64	51.2	34	70.8	30	39.0
Sometimes	37	29.6	5	10.4	32	41.6
Often	5	4.0	0	0.0	5	6.5
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor⁴						
Never	76	60.3	43	89.6	33	42.3
Sometimes	13	10.3	0	0.0	13	16.7
Often	11	8.7	0	0.0	11	14.1
Wife swapping⁵						
Never	87	69.6	44	91.7	43	55.8
Sometimes	19	15.2	1	2.1	18	23.4
Often	3	2.4	1	2.1	2	2.6
Removing dust⁶						
Never	89	71.8	44	91.7	45	59.2
Sometimes	11	8.9	1	2.1	10	13.2
Often	3	2.5	0	0.0	3	3.9
Labia pulling/stretching⁷						
Never	32	25.8	8	17.0	24	31.2
Sometimes	14	11.3	1	2.1	13	16.9
Often	57	46.0	38	80.9	19	24.7
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter⁸						
Never	61	49.2	40	85.1	21	27.3
Sometimes	45	36.3	2	4.3	43	55.8
Often	5	4.0	1	2.1	4	5.2
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices⁹						
Never	85	67.5	46	95.8	39	50.0
Sometimes	20	5.9	0	0.0	20	25.6
Often	6	4.8	0	0.0	6	7.7
Fisi¹⁰						
Never	79	62.7	32	66.7	47	60.3
Sometimes	24	19.0	7	14.6	17	21.8
Often	5	4.0	2	4.2	3	3.8
When a woman's husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brother¹¹						
Never	87	69.0	46	95.8	41	52.6
Sometimes	15	11.9	0	0.0	15	19.2
Often	6	4.8	0	0.0	6	7.7
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased¹²						
Never	92	73.6	46	97.9	46	59.0
Sometimes	11	8.8	0	0.0	11	14.1
Often	4	3.2	0	0.0	4	5.1
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula¹³						
Never	86	68.3	43	89.6	43	55.1
Sometimes	15	11.9	3	6.3	12	15.4
Often	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6

¹Sign = .020, Chi-square = 7.78; 2 Sign = .040, Chi-square = 8.29; 3 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 19.32; 4 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 29.70

⁵Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.84; 6 Sign = .001, Chi-square = 15.56; 7 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 40.75; 8 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 66.89

⁹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 29.15; 10 Sign = .797, Chi-square = 1.10; 11 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 26.54; 12 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 22.95

¹³Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.91

Respondents in Mzimba identified other traditional practices that commonly occur, in addition to those listed in Table 8.12. These included:

- *Chitomela* – This is where the parents of boy/man will give money to a girl’s parents when she is very young, so as to ensure her as a wife to their boy/man when she reaches puberty. This traditional practice reinforces marriage of the girl child.
- *Initiation* – When a girl reaches puberty she is locked in her house for seven days, during which time elder women of the village (including family members such as aunts and grandmother) will come to provide her with tips as how to sexually satisfy men and how to look after herself during menstruation periods. During this seven day, the girl is not allowed to speak to men, change her cloths and even cook. The girl is either given the tips as an individual or as a group. If she has to go out of the house, and if she does she has to go naked. Her friends are allowed to visit her during this period. Some people have stopped doing this, but a lot are still practising this tradition. The girl cannot choose whether to perform this tradition or not, as it is conducted by her grandparents, sisters-in-law and/or Aunties.
- Pregnant women are not allowed to eat certain foods for example fish, eggs and doves. It is believed these foods have an effect on the unborn baby. Eggs for example, will result in the baby being born without any hair. At six months pregnant women are not allowed to have sex, and after they have given birth they should continue to not have sex for three months. The first month after birth they are not allowed to cook because they are considered unclean.
- During a woman’s first pregnancy, the woman is expected to a large gown for the entire pregnancy. She has to wash the gown at night when it gets dirty and wear it again in the morning.
- When a woman is about to give birth to her first child, elder women are expected to come see her. The pregnant woman will be naked so that the elder women can touch her and see how ripe the pregnancy is.
- After menopause a woman is no longer supposed to have sex because she can become pregnant with an alligator-like lizard, which will come out of her body.
- When a woman’s husband dies they give her a small mat to sit and sleep on at the funeral. The widow is expected to eat by herself during the duration of the funeral. When the widow has to go to the toilet, she is covered with a heavy blanket and has to chant “my husband, my husband” with her head bowed down. The widow is also not allowed to do any household for a month.

Recognition of Traditional Practices as Harmful to Females. Respondents were also asked if most believe in the district believe each of the traditional practices identified in Table 8.12 are harmful to women and girls. Table 8.13 shows the proportion of respondents who felt that most people in the district believe each of these traditional practices as harmful to women and girls. Respondents who reported the traditional practices were considered good practices or did not occur in their communities are not included in Table 8.13. The focus is only on the social norms that recognize traditional practices as harmful practices.

Most notable is that as many as 72.4% of respondents maintained most people believe polygamy is a harmful practice for females. General public adults (93.6%) were more likely to report that most people in their communities recognize polygamy as a harmful practice, compared to district officials (59.2%). The majority of respondents also reported most people recognize wife inheritance (65.3%) and fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (56.9%) as harmful practices for females. District officials (77.6%) were more than two times more likely to report that most people in the district believe fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters is a harmful practice, than did general public adults (23.4%). At least half of the respondents also maintained most people believe the practice of offering a bonus wife (50.4%) and Fisi (50.0%) as harmful practices for females, and district officials were more likely to hold this view compared to general public adults.

Respondents were less likely to believe most people in the district consider each of the other traditional practices listed in Table 8.13 as harmful to women and girls. Consistently, district officials were more likely than general public adults to recognize that most people believe the traditional practices are harmful to females. Notable is that only 23.8% of respondents reported that most people in Mzimba believe that labia pulling/stretching is a harmful practice for females.

Table 8.13. Social norms related to harmful practices (Mzimba)						
In your community, do most people believe the following traditions and practices are harmful practices for females?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy ¹	89	72.4	44	93.6	45	59.2
Wife inheritance ²	81	65.3	32	66.7	49	64.5
Bonus wife ³	61	50.4	15	33.3	46	60.5
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor ⁴	44	35.8	9	19.1	35	46.1
Wife swapping ⁵	44	36.1	9	19.1	35	46.7
Removing dust ⁶	47	38.8	9	19.6	38	50.7
Labia pulling/stretching ⁷	19	23.8	9	19.1	20	26.7
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter ⁸	70	56.9	11	23.4	59	77.6
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices ⁹	33	27.0	4	8.5	29	38.7
Fisi ¹⁰	61	50.0	18	39.1	43	56.6
When a woman's husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brother? ¹¹	49	39.5	9	19.1	40	51.9
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased? ¹²	50	40.7	9	19.1	41	53.9
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula? ¹³	39	31.7	9	20.0	30	38.5

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 17.26; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.29; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 22.78; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 24.40

⁵ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 13.71; ⁶ Sign = .003, Chi-square = 11.98; ⁷ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 23.08; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 38.82

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.69; ¹⁰ Sign = .042, Chi-square = 6.32; ¹¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.98; ¹² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 16.94

¹³ Sign = .031, Chi-square = 6.96

Negative Effects of Traditional Practices. Table 8.14 show that as many as 91.7% of respondents recognized that women and girls face harm from the different traditional practices identified in Tables 8.12 and 8.13.

Table 8.14. Recognition of harm done to women and girls from traditional practices (Mzimba)						
	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
Women and girls experience harm from the different traditional practices	110	91.7	38	90.5	72	92.3

Sign = .391, Chi-square = 1.88

Qualitative data revealed both district officials and general public adults most often identify sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, as a common negative effect of harmful practices, particularly wife inheritance, polygamy and Fisi. Other traditional practices that happened underground or in secret, such as bonus wife and *kusasa fumbi*/removing dust, were also identified as harmful because they put women and girls at-risk of contracting sexual transmitted infections, including HIV. As one respondent explained, “Most of our cultural practices promote the spread of sexually transmitted infections, like HIV” (Adult Female, Mzimba). Other respondents explained,

“Girls/women contract diseases, such as kusasa fumbi (removing dust), it might happen that the one who is removing the dust has the disease, which means that he will transmit it to the girl/woman he is sleeping with. The right of the girl and women are violated with such practices since they are forced to sleep with a person who they don’t want to sleep with.” (Adult Female, Mzimba)

“Wife inheritance is bad because most of the time the woman is taken, and without knowing each other’s status they start sleeping together, so if one is infected with HIV they pass the infection to the other. That inherited wife is just there as a worker (on the farm) and lives a miserable life.” (Adult Female, Mzimba)

Traditional practices typically involve women and girls having sex with a man they hardly know out of respect for tradition. Prior testing for sexual transmitted infections, including HIV, and use of protection is not practiced.

Early marriage and initiation ceremonies were also reported as harmful to girls because they contribute to high rates of school drop-out, illiteracy, and poverty, as well as HIV infections. As one respondent explained, *“Girls miss out on school because of the initiation ceremonies. They also teach these young women about sex and marriage when they are not that mature to handle that type of information”* (Educator, Mzimba). During initiation ceremonies girls must stay home for seven days, during which time they miss school. As one respondent explained, *“The children are disturbed by being locked up for seven days. The child is also beaten within the seven days if she doesn’t seem to be grasping what she is being taught. The girl sometimes eats food without salt. If she can’t dance, she is beaten”* (Mothers Group, Mzimba). After seven days, when the girl returns to school, she is often teased, harassed and/or bullied by her peers; as a result, some girls drop-out of school.

“When a young girl is locked inside the house for 7 days it means she misses classes for 7 days. And because she is told not to speak with men/ her father, she is traumatized because she cannot express herself to male teachers. And because after her second period her baby hairs around her head are cut off as a sign that she has gone through puberty a lot of people then know and when she goes to school boys make fun of her and she is bullied which makes her not want to go to school.” (Health Surveillance Assistant, Mzimba)

The practice of early marriages seemed to be financially motivated in some cases. Because of the bride price, parents with daughters would encourage their daughters to get married in order for them to collect the bride price. Practices, such as *chitomela* and bonus wives (i.e., where parents give their young daughter away to their son-in-law who is married to their elder daughter as a token of appreciation if he is doing a good job taking care of their older daughter), are also blamed for early marriage of girls. Initiation ceremonies also contribute to early marriages since girls are indirectly prepared for marriage by being taught about sex and how to please a man while they are still very young.

Emerging Forms of VAWG

District officials were also asked about new forms of VAWG occurring in their district, particularly new forms of VAWG occurring among the younger population and/or new forms of VAWG emerging as a result to changes in modifications of traditional practices. District officials in Mzimba spoke about the violent nature of some of the video shows that children and youth are watching in the communities, particularly pornography films. Respondent’s maintained exposure to pornography is changing the sexual behaviours of men in Mzimba, as they try to imitate the sexual acts they watch in the pornographic films.

Some district officials maintained, *“Pornographic videos through cell phones is encouraging men to be violent to women sexually”* (Traditional Leaders, Mzimba). Others maintained, *“Most of the men spend time on the internet looking for pornographic materials and they get aroused from these things and then they end up raping girls”* (Educator, Mzimba). Finally, the police also maintained that *“Extra marital affairs are rampant because of WhatsApp; both men and woman are cheating”* (Police Victim Support Unit, Mzimba).

In addition to pornography, respondents also mentioned the sharing of nude pictures of women via phones as a problem among youth and men. The practice is degrading to women and can cause psychological harm to the woman who is the victims of this form of cyber-bullying. As one district official explained, *“Some woman killed herself because they photo-shopped her into a nude picture when she was not even involved”* (Teacher, Mzimba).

Some respondents also said that young women are being deceived and tricked with false job advertisements and finding themselves victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. As one respondent explained,

“There’s also a high rise in fraud on job vacancies because of phones, and girls get in trouble because they are told there’s a job vacancy and they travel all the way to South Africa, only to find they are being asked to start prostitution, or sometimes they even get raped along the way by the transporters.” (Educator, Mzimba).

Girls also migrate to South Africa through arranged marriages. These marriages are often arranged over the phone. The man in South Africa sends his picture to the parents of a girl and then the marriage is arranged. As a result, *“girls are marrying men they do not know”* (Traditional Leader, Mzimba). Girls are sometimes marrying at an early age because they believe that marrying a man in South Africa means a better life for them and their families; however, men who migrate to South Africa for economic reasons often abandon their wives and children in Mzimba. Also, when men return from South Africa some of them are carrying sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, which they then pass on to their wives or other women in Mzimba.

“With the coming in of smartphones, a lot of young people engage in sex because of pornographic videos they watch on smartphones. When boys go to South Africa they are exposed to a fast life where sex is not an issue there, so once they come back they practice the things they have learned outside the country.” (Health Surveillance Assistants, Mzimba)

Social Norms Related to Child marriage and early marriage of Girls

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included questions related to child marriage and early marriage of girls. Table 8.15 shows that 30.2% of respondents reported they believe most or all of the girls in Mzimba get married before 15 years of age. Moreover, more than 1 out of 2 or 56.0% of respondents reported about half or more of the girls in Karonga get married before 15 years of age. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. District officials (42.3%) were four times more likely than general public adults (10.4%) to report most of the girls in Mzimba get married before 15 years of age. In comparison, general public adults (27.1%) were four times more likely than district officials (6.4%) to mention none of the girls in Mzimba get married before 15 years of age.

Table 8.15. Social norms related to child marriage and early marriage of girls (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 15 years of age? ¹	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	38	30.2	5	10.4	33	42.3
About half of them	32	25.8	15	31.3	17	21.8
A few of them	38	30.2	15	31.3	23	29.5
None of them	18	14.3	13	27.1	5	6.4
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 18 years of age? ²						
All of them	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
Most of them	64	50.8	24	50.0	40	51.3
About half of them	30	23.8	14	29.2	16	20.5
A few of them	31	24.6	10	20.8	21	26.9
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 19.99; ² Sign = .571, Chi-square = 2.01

Table 8.15 also shows that as many as 1 out of 2 or 51.6% of respondents reported that most or all of the girls in Karonga get married before 18 years of age, and as many as 3 out of 4 or 75.4% of respondent reported that about half or more of the girls in Karonga get married before 18 years of age. There were no significant differences between district officials and general public adults.

Respondents were asked what would be the reaction of most people in the Karonga if parents arranged for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age. Table 8.16 shows that 61.9% respondents felt that parents in the district would disapprove of parents arranging for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age. Yet, as many as 1 out of 4 or 27.0% of respondents reported most people would think it was none of their business and 10.3% maintained most people would approve of the parents' actions. There was not significant difference between general public adults and district officials on this measure.

Table 8.16. Social norms supportive of child marriage and early marriage (Mzimba)						
If parents in this community arrange for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of their actions	13	10.3	2	4.2	11	14.1
Disapprove of their actions	78	61.9	32	66.7	46	59.0
Think it was none of their business	34	27.0	13	27.1	21	26.9

Sign = .191, Chi-square = 4.75

Understanding the Relationship between Child marriage and early marriage and Violence. Table 8.17 shows that as many as 65.1% of respondents understand there is a relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence, particularly that girls who are married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family. District officials (73.1%) were more likely than general public adults (52.1%) to understand the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and wife abuse.

Table 8.17. Understanding the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence (Dedza)						
	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Girls married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family	82	65.1	25	52.1	57	73.1

Sign = .009, Chi-square = 9.49

Victim-Blaming of Female Survivors of Violence

Societal attitudes that cast the blame on girls and women for causing problems in the family and justifications for the use of VAWG in the family, leads to victim-blaming from family, friends, and authorities. In Malawi, victim-blaming serves as a barrier for women and girls wanting to access protection from VAWG. In terms of victim-blaming for wife abuse, respondents were asked how many people in the community believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, as well as how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to someone outside of their family about the abuse or violence in their marriage.

Table 8.18. Social norms related to victim-blaming for wife abuse (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many believe when a woman is beat by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	4	3.2	0	0.0	4	5.1
Most of them	38	30.2	3	6.3	35	44.9
About half of them	28	22.2	20	41.7	8	10.3
A few of them	51	40.5	23	47.9	28	35.9
None of them	3	2.4	1	2.1	2	2.6
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage? ²						
All of them	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6
Most of them	44	35.5	8	17.4	36	46.2
About half of them	26	21.0	14	30.4	12	15.4
A few of them	38	30.6	15	32.6	23	29.5
None of them	12	9.7	9	19.6	3	3.8

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 31.56; ² Sign = .001, Chi-square = 19.71

Table 8.18 shows that 1 out of 3 or 33.4% of respondent reported most or all of the community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, and 1 out of 2 or 55.6% of respondents maintained about half or more of community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault. Also, more than 1 out of 3 or 37.1% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in the community believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage, and 1 out of 2 or 58.1% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse of violence in the marriage. These findings are indicative that such social norms exist in the district. District officials were more likely to maintain most or all of the people in Mzimba hold these views than did adults in the general public.

Qualitative data revealed that women, especially those in Ngoni culture, are raised to be patient in marriage and endure some beatings in order to keep their marriage and family intact. As one district official explained,

“There is a culture of silence from women. Ngoni culture, she cannot reveal. If she reports [an incident of marital violence] then people can take-action, but even if beaten badly, she will not speak, she will lie and say she has fallen down. In the Ngoni culture the women have to obey.” (District Planning Officer, Mzimba).

Although district officials often blamed women for being beaten by their husbands, they were generally willing to assist and provide guidance and support. District officials who insinuated a woman may be the cause of a beating maintained they would

“Find out what the issue is because sometimes the issue may be the woman herself. We would advise her on what to do and talk to the perpetrator” (Traditional Leaders, Mzimba). Then, *“If she is at fault, the mothers’ group will organise to help her. If the husband is at fault, male champion and mothers’ group members will go talk to the husband. We would never advise her to leave the husband” (Mothers Group, Mzimba).*

Table 8.19 shows that only 19.8% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault, and 1 out of 3 or 36.5% of respondents reported about half of the people in the community believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault. Table 8.18 and 8.19 show that people are much more likely to believe that women are partly to blame or at fault for being hit or beat by their husbands, than being raped. District officials (32.1%) were significantly more likely to report that most or all of the people in the district believe that when a woman is raped that she is partly to blame or at fault, compared to general public adults (0.0%). General public adults (45.8%) were most likely to believe only a few people in the district believe that when a woman is raped that she is partly to blame or at fault.

Table 8.19. Social norms related to victim-blaming for sexual violence (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many people believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	25	19.8	0	0.0	25	32.1
About half of them	21	16.7	12	25.0	9	11.5
A few of them	43	34.1	22	45.8	21	26.9
None of them	29	23.0	12	25.0	17	21.8
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped?						
All of them	6	4.8	0	0.0	6	7.7
Most of them	38	30.2	3	6.3	35	44.9
About half of them	22	17.5	16	33.3	6	7.7
A few of them	33	26.2	11	22.9	22	28.2
None of them	24	19.0	18	37.5	6	7.7

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 22.44; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 45.60

Similar to the findings from Table 8.18, Table 8.19 shows that 1 out of 3 or 35.0% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, and 1 out of 2 or 52.5% of respondents maintained about half of the people in the district hold this view. District officials (52.6%) were eight times more likely to report that many people believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, compared to adults in the general public (6.3%).

Victim-blaming attitudes of this kind marginalize women and girls who experience violence and make it hard for them to come forward and report the violence/abuse in their lives and families. If victims know that society or a frontline service provider will blame them for the violence/abuse, she will not feel safe or comfortable coming forward and talking about or reporting it. Victim-blaming attitudes also reinforce what the abuser has been saying all along, that it is the victim’s fault that the violence/abuse happens. By engaging in victim-blaming attitudes, society allows the abuser to commit acts of violence/abuse, including sexual assault/rape, while avoiding accountability for their actions.

Public Responses to VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included several questions that measured individual responses to VAWG, particular what respondents would do if they witnessed a woman being beaten by her husband and if they saw or heard a woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man. Respondents were asked to report all responses they would take in such situations, so they could identify more than one response; therefore, column percentages will not total 100.0%.

Table 8.20 shows that 3 out of 4 or 78.6% of respondent reported they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, and 1 out of 2 or 57.1% of respondents maintained they would report the incident to the police. General public adults (93.8%) were significantly more likely to report that they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, compared to district officials (69.2%); whereas, district officials (71.8%) were two times more likely than general public adults (33.3%) to say they would report the incident to the police.

Table 8.20. Public responses to wife abuse (Mzimba)						
What would you do if you witnessed a woman being beat by her husband?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	6	4.8	3	6.3	3	3.8
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	99	78.6	45	93.8	54	69.2
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	72	57.1	16	33.3	56	71.8
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	4	3.2	4	8.3	0	0.0

¹Sign = .379, Chi-square = .538; ²Sign = .263, Chi-square = 1.25; ³Sign = .001, Chi-square = 10.61; ⁴Sign = .000, Chi-square = 17.95

⁵Sign = .010, Chi-square = 6.71

Respondents were also asked what they would do if they witnessed a young woman being beaten by her boyfriend (dating violence). Table 8.21 shows that 3 out of 4 or 77.8% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help the young woman that was being beaten by their boyfriend, and 1 out of 2 or 57.9% of respondents maintained they would report the incident to the police. Again, general public adults (93.8%) were significantly more likely to report that they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, compared to district officials (67.9%); whereas, district officials (76.9%) were two times more likely than general public adults (27.1%) to say they would report the incident to the police.

Table 8.21. Public responses to dating violence (Mzimba)						
What would you do if you witnessed a young woman being beat by her boyfriend?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	5	4.0	2	4.2	3	3.8
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	2	2.4	0	0.0	3	3.8
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	98	77.8	45	93.8	53	67.9
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	73	57.9	13	27.1	60	76.9
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	4	3.2	4	8.3	0	0.0

¹Sign = .929, Chi-square = .01; ²Sign = .17, Chi-square = 1.89; ³Sign = .001, Chi-square = 11.45; ⁴Sign = .000, Chi-square = 30.29

⁵Sign = .010, Chi-square = 6.71

What would respondents do if they saw or heard of a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, Table 8.22 shows that 72.0% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help a woman who they saw or hear a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, and 2 out of 3 or 66.4% of respondents reported they would report the incident to the police. There were a couple of differences between district officials and adults in the general public. In particular, general public adults (93.06%) were much more likely to report they would intervene and try to help the woman, compared to district officials (59.0%). Yet, district officials (80.8%) were much more likely to report the incident to the police than general public adults (42.6%).

Table 8.22. Public responses to sexual violence (Mzimba)						
What would you do if you saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	5	4.0	3	6.4	2	2.6
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	90	72.0	44	93.6	46	59.0
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	83	66.4	20	42.6	63	80.8
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	1	0.8	1	2.1	0	0.0

¹ Sign = .291, Chi-square = 1.11; ² Sign = .436, Chi-square = .61; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 19.20; ⁴ Sign = .018, Chi-square = 5.60

⁵ Sign = .196, Chi-square = 1.67

Help-Seeking Behaviours of Female Survivors of Violence

Respondents were asked about the help-seeking behaviours of women and girls who experience violence. Table 8.23 shows that 60.8% of respondents reported that women/girls in Dedza who experience violence would be 'very likely' to seek medical care and tell the doctor or nurse about the violence, and 61.9% maintained women/girls would be 'very likely' to report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs. General public adults were more likely than district officials likely to hold these views.

Table 8.23. Help-seeking behaviours of female survivors of violence (Mzimba)						
In your community, if a woman/girl experiences violence how likely would they be to . . .	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Seek medical care and tell the doctor/nurse about the violence ¹						
Not likely	19	15.2	3	6.3	16	20.8
Somewhat likely	28	22.4	10	20.8	18	23.4
Very likely	76	60.8	34	70.8	42	54.5
Report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs ²						
Not likely	19	15.1	2	4.2	17	21.8
Somewhat likely	28	2.2	5	10.4	23	29.5
Very likely	78	61.9	41	85.4	37	47.4

¹ Sign = .133, Chi-square = 5.60; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.53

Respondents were also asked what advice they would give to a family member who experienced wife abuse or was raped, and how confident they were the police would register and investigate the complaint. Table 8.24 shows that as many as 89.6% of respondents reported that if their sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured that they would be 'very likely' to encourage her to report the incident to the police. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials. In addition, 76.8% of respondents reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their sister's complaint of wife abuse. There were no significant differences between district officials and general public adults.

Table 8.24. Advice to wife abuse victims and confidence in the police response to wife abuse (Mzimba)						
If your sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured how likely would you be to encourage her to report the incident to the police? ¹	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not likely	4	3.2	1	2.1	3	3.8
Somewhat likely	8	6.4	1	2.1	7	9.0
Very likely	112	89.6	45	95.7	67	85.9
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your sister's complaint? ²						
Not confident	7	5.6	1	2.1	6	7.7
Somewhat confident	21	16.8	6	12.8	15	19.2
Very confident	96	76.8	40	85.1	56	71.8

¹ Sign = .342, Chi-square = 3.34; ² Sign = .304, Chi-square = 3.63

Table 8.25 shows that as many as 92.9% of respondents reported that if their daughter were the victim of rape that they would be 'very likely' to report the crime to the police, and 84.9% of respondents reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their daughter's complaint of rape. Although there was no difference between district officials and general public adults in the likelihood that they would report a rape to the police, there was a difference in confidence that the police would register and investigate the complaint. General public adults (95.8%) were more likely to be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their daughter's complaint, than district officials (78.2%). There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials.

Table 8.25. Advice to rape victims and confident in the police response to wife abuse (Mzimba)

If your daughter were the victim of rape, how likely would you be to report the crime to the police? ¹	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	N	%	n	%	n	%
Not likely	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6
Somewhat likely	6	4.8	3	6.3	3	3.8
Very likely	117	92.9	45	93.8	72	92.3
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your daughter's complaint? ²						
Not confident	4	3.2	0	0.0	4	5.1
Somewhat confident	15	11.9	2	4.2	13	16.7
Very confident	107	84.9	46	95.8	61	78.2

¹ Sign = .529, Chi-square = 2.21; ² Sign = .024, Chi-square = 7.45

Perceived Seriousness of VAWG

Respondents were asked to rate how serious a problem family/marital violence and sexual assault/rape of women is in Mzimba. Table 8.26 shows that 48.4% of respondents identified family/marital violence as a 'serious problem' in Dedza, 23.4% identified it as a 'moderate problem', and 22.6% identified it as a 'minor problem'. Far fewer respondents identified family/marital violence as 'not a problem' (4.8%). District officials (63.6%) were two times more likely to identify family/marital violence as a 'serious problem' in Mzimba, compared to general public adults (23.4%); whereas general public adults (46.8%) were six times more likely than district officials (7.8%) to identify family/marital violence is a 'minor problem' in Mzimba.

Table 8.26. Perceived seriousness of family/marital violence (Mzimba)

In your community, how serious a problem is family/marital violence?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not a problem	6	4.8	4	8.5	2	2.6
Minor problem	28	22.6	22	46.8	6	7.8
Moderate problem	29	23.4	10	21.3	19	24.7
Serious problem	60	48.4	11	23.4	49	63.6

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 32.03

Table 8.27 shows that only 21.6% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in Mzimba, and 21.6% of respondent identified it as a 'moderate problem'. Surprisingly, as many as 1 out of 3 or 37.6% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem' in Mzimba. District officials were nearly five times more likely to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' (31.2%) or 'moderate problem' (31.2%) in Mzimba, compared to district officials (6.3% and 6.3% respectively). In comparison, general public adults (45.8%) were much more likely than general public adults to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem' (41.7%) or 'not a problem' (45.8%) in Mzimba, compared to district officials (35.1% and 1.3% respectively).

Table 8.27. Perceived seriousness of sexual assault/rape (Mzimba)						
In your community, how serious a problem is sexual assault/rape of women and girls?	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not a problem	23	18.4	22	45.8	1	1.3
Minor problem	47	37.6	20	41.7	27	35.1
Moderate problem	27	21.6	3	6.3	24	31.2
Serious problem	27	21.6	3	6.3	24	31.2

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 49.39

Sources of Information on VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure what sources of information adults in the general public and district officials rely upon to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 8.28 shows that as many as 76.2% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the mass media, 69.8% receive information from informal networks, 52.4% receive information from community leaders, and 38.1% receive information from family survivors of violence.

In regard to mass media, the majority of respondents receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the radio (74.6%) and TV (70.6%). Far fewer respondents receive information about family/marital violence from newspapers (37.3%) and the internet (17.5%). It is notable that general public adults (91.7%) were more likely to receive information on women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the TV, than district officials (57.7%). In comparison, district officials (83.3%) were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the radio (83.3%), than general public adults (60.4%). District officials were also three times more likely to receive information from newspapers (51.3%) and twelve times more likely to receive information from the internet about women and girls who experience family/marital violence, compared to general public adults (14.6% and 2.1% respectively).

In regard to informal networks, respondents were equally likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from family (59.5%) and friends (60.3%). The only significant difference was that general public adults (70.8%) were more likely to receive information from friends about women and girls who experience family violence, compared to district officials (53.8%).

In regard to community leaders, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from community leaders/chiefs (49.2%) versus religious leaders (34.9%). It is surprising that general public adults (60.4%) were actually more likely than district officials (42.3%) to receive such information from community leaders/chiefs. Finally, only 38.1% of respondents receive information about family/material VAWG from female survivors of violence, and district officials (55.1%) were five times more likely to identify female survivors as a source of violence, compared to general public adults (10.4%).

Table 8.28. Sources of information related to family/marital violence (Mzimba)						
Sources of information on women and girls who experience family/marital violence	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mass media	96	76.2	29	60.4	67	85.9
TV ¹	89	70.6	44	91.7	45	57.7
Radio ²	94	74.6	29	60.4	65	83.3
Newspapers ³	47	37.3	7	14.6	40	51.3
Internet ⁴	22	17.5	1	2.1	21	26.9
Informal networks	88	69.8	35	72.9	53	67.9
Family ⁵	75	59.5	30	62.5	45	57.7
Friends ⁶	76	60.3	34	70.8	42	53.8
Community leaders	66	52.4	29	60.4	37	47.4
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	62	49.2	29	60.4	33	42.3
Religious leaders ⁸	44	34.9	13	27.1	31	39.7
Female survivors of violence ⁹	48	38.1	5	10.4	43	55.1
Other ¹⁰	9	7.1	0	0.0	9	11.5

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 16.54; ² Sign = .004, Chi-square = 8.24; ³Sign = .000, Chi-square = 17.11; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 12.72

⁵Sign = .593, Chi-square = .29; ⁶ Sign = .058, Chi-square = 3.58; ⁷ Sign = .048, Chi-square = 3.90; ⁸ Sign = .148, Chi-square = 2.10

⁹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.19; ¹⁰ Sign = .015, Chi-square = 5.96

Table 8.29 shows information sources on women and girls who experience sexual violence. In particular, 81.7% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence from the mass media, 62.7% receive information from informal networks, 42.9% receive information from community leaders, and 31.7% receive information from female survivors of violence.

Table 8.29. Sources of information related to sexual assault/rape (Mzimba)						
Sources of information on women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
Mass media	103	81.7	36	75.0	67	85.9
TV ¹	33	26.2	6	12.5	27	34.6
Radio ²	103	81.7	36	75.0	67	85.9
Newspapers ³	42	33.3	7	14.6	35	44.9
Internet ⁴	21	16.7	1	2.1	20	25.6
Informal networks	79	62.7	28	58.3	51	65.4
Family ⁵	63	50.0	20	41.7	43	55.1
Friends ⁶	72	57.1	28	58.3	44	56.4
Community leaders	54	42.9	22	45.8	32	41.0
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	52	41.3	22	45.8	30	38.5
Religious leaders ⁸	36	28.6	12	25.0	24	30.8
Female survivors of violence ⁹	40	31.7	3	6.3	37	47.4
Other ¹⁰	8	6.3	0	0.0	8	10.3

¹Sign = .006, Chi-square = 7.52; ² Sign = .124, Chi-square = 2.37; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 12.27; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 11.87
⁵Sign = .142, Chi-square = 2.15; ⁶ Sign = .832, Chi-square = .04; ⁷ Sign = .414, Chi-square = .67; ⁸ Sign = .486, Chi-square = .49
⁹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 23.26; ¹⁰ Sign = .022, Chi-square = 5.26

In regard to mass media, as many as 81.7% of respondents receive information from the radio about women and girls who experience sexual violence. Far fewer respondents receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from newspapers (33.3%), TV (26.2%), and/or the internet (16.7%). District officials were significantly more likely to receive information from each of these different types of mass media, than were adults in the general public.

In regard to informal networks, respondents were slightly more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from friends (57.1%) versus their family (50.0%); however, the differences were not significant. Moreover, there were no significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public. In regard to community leaders, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from community leaders/chiefs (41.3%) than religious leaders (28.6%). There were no significant differences between district officials and general public adults. Finally, Table 8.29 shows that district officials (47.4%) were seven times more likely than general public adults (6.3%) to receive information from female victims/survivors of violence about women and girls who experience sexual violence.

Publication of Victim and Perpetrator Identities in Mass Media

In recent years, protecting VAWG survivors' identities in media coverage has been a growing focus. This is because international research has found that when the names of VAWG survivors, particularly child victims, and other identifying information appears in the media it can exacerbate trauma, complicate recovery, discourage future disclosures and inhibit cooperation with authorities for the women and girls involved.⁸⁵ The *District Officials Survey* measured attitudes toward publishing in mass media the names and photos of VAWG survivors and/or their perpetrators.

District officials were asked if they thought the names and identities of women and girls who are victims of violence and perpetrators of such violence should be reported and published in the mass media. Table 8.30 shows that 39.5% of district officials maintained the names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media. In addition, 62.8% of district officials held the belief that names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media. This finding reveals a lack of understanding among district officials as to the need to protect the identities of women and girls who experience violence, and the negative consequences of publicizing the identities of VAWG survivors.

Table 8.30. Publication of victim and perpetrator identities in mass media (Mzimba)

	District Officials N=78	
	n	%
Names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media	30	39.5
Names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media	49	62.8

Social Norms Related to Government Responsibility to Protect Women and Girls from Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms related to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members. Table 8.31 shows that the majority of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Mzimba think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members, and to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage.

Table 8.31 shows that 2 out of 3 or 66.7% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Dedza think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family. Moreover, 80.2% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district hold this view. Also, 2 out of 3 or 65.8% of respondents maintained most or all of the people in Mzimba think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members, and 82.5% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district hold this view. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials.

Table 8.31 also shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 58.8% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Mzimba think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage, and 3 out of 4 or 79.4% of respondents reported about half of them held this view. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. Most notable is that general public adults (31.3%) were two times more likely than district officials (14.1%) to believe about half of the people in Mzimba think the government has a responsibility to protection girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage. In comparison, district officials (24.4%) were more likely to believe only a few people in the district hold this view.

Table 8.31. Social norms relate to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence (Mzimba)

In your community, how many people think the government has a responsibility to protect . . .	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from violence in the home/family¹						
All of them	22	17.5	9	18.8	13	16.7
Most of them	62	49.2	21	43.8	41	52.6
About half of them	17	13.5	10	20.8	7	9.0
A few of them	21	16.7	6	12.6	15	19.2
None of them	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
Women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members²						
All of them	24	19.0	9	18.8	15	19.2
Most of them	59	46.8	21	43.8	38	48.7
About half of them	21	16.7	11	22.9	10	12.8
A few of them	17	13.5	5	10.4	12	15.4
None of them	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage³						
All of them	22	17.5	9	18.8	13	16.7
Most of them	52	41.3	20	41.7	32	41.0
About half of them	26	20.6	15	31.3	11	14.1
A few of them	22	17.5	3	6.3	19	24.4
None of them	2	1.6	1	2.1	1	1.3

¹ Sign = .296, Chi-square = 6.10; ² Sign = .642, Chi-square = 3.38; ³ Sign = .047, Chi-square = 11.24

Respondents were also asked about the importance of having laws that protect women and girls from violence. Table 8.32 shows that 79.4% of respondents maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence, 83.0% maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from sexual assault and rape, and 76.2% maintained girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage. District officials were significantly more likely to maintain it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence (94.9%) sexual assault/rape (84.6%), and marriage of girls before 16 years of age (84.6%), compared to general public adults (54.2%, 54.2% and 62.5% respectively).

Table 8.32. Importance of laws that protect women and girls from violence (Mzimba)						
How important is it to have laws in Malawi that protect. . .	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from marital violence ¹						
Not important	1	0.8	0	0.0	1	1.3
Important	24	19.0	21	43.8	3	3.8
Very important	100	79.4	26	54.2	74	94.9
Women and girls from sexual assault/rape ²						
Not important	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6
Important	30	23.8	21	43.8	9	11.5
Very important	92	73.0	26	54.2	66	84.6
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage ³						
Not important	6	4.8	0	0.0	6	7.7
Important	21	16.7	17	35.4	4	5.1
Very important	96	76.2	30	62.5	66	84.6

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 33.28; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.07; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 21.98

Social Norms Supporting Punishment of Perpetrators of VAWG

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* was designed to measure social norms supporting the punishment of perpetrators of VAWG, including family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 8.33 shows that only 46.0% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 31.7% of respondent thought only a few or none of the women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. District officials (37.2%) were more likely than general public adults (22.9%) to report that only a few of the women in Mzimba believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system; whereas, general public adults (22.9%) were more likely to than district officials (6.4%) to report that all of the women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system.

Table 8.33. Social norms supporting punishment of perpetrators of VAWG (Mzimba)						
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system? ¹	Total Sample N= 126		General Public Adults N= 48		District Officials N= 78	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	16	12.7	11	22.9	5	6.4
Most of them	42	33.3	14	29.2	28	35.9
About half of them	20	15.9	11	22.9	9	11.5
A few of them	40	31.7	11	22.9	29	37.2
None of them	5	4.0	1	2.1	4	5.1
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system? ²						
All of them	23	18.4	11	23.4	12	15.4
Most of them	44	35.2	17	36.2	27	34.6
About half of them	23	18.4	13	27.7	10	12.8
A few of them	32	25.6	6	12.8	26	33.3
None of them	2	1.6	0	0.0	2	2.6

¹ Sign = .018, Chi-square = 13.65; ² Sign = .047, Chi-square = 11.21

Similarly, only 53.6% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 4 or 25.6% of respondent thought only a few or none of the women in Mzimba believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. District officials (33.3%) were significantly more likely to believe that only a few women in Mzimba believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. In comparison, general public adults (23.4%) were more likely than district officials (15.4%) to report all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system.

District Officials' Responses to VAWG

The *District Officials Survey* included several questions to assess their experiences with responding to VAWG. Table 8.34 shows that 78.2% of the district officials surveyed reported they have to deal with women and girls who experience violence in their job/position.

Table 8.34. District officials' responses to VAWG (Mzimba)		
	District Officials N=78	
	N	%
In your job/position you have to deal with VAWG survivors	61	78.2
	N=61	
When you encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence you are responsible for responding to the incident	56	91.8
You are required to register or record the incident of VAWG	56	91.8
Your agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases	55	90.2
How often do you actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to your attention?		
Never	16	26.2
Rarely	13	21.3
Sometimes	13	21.3
Frequently	24	39.3

Among those district officials who reported having to deal with VAWG survivors in their work, 91.8% reported when they encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence they are responsible for responding to the incident, 91.8% maintained they are required to register or record VAWG incidents, and 90.2% reported their agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases. When asked how often they actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention, only 39.3% reported they frequently register or record such incidents, 21.3% sometimes register or record such incidents, 21.3% rarely register or record such incidents, and 26.2% never register or record such incidents.

Qualitative data revealed many district officials attempt to mediate marital violence. They will *"invite the husband together with his wife and provide them with counselling. We help the couple to find a solution. But, there are certain cases when the woman is beaten severely where we refer to the police"* (Social Welfare Officers, Mzimba). In most cases, district officials encourage battered women to first consult the marriage counselors in their communities to mediate the matter. If marriage counselors fail to resolve the marital violence or minimize its occurrence, the woman can go to the traditional leader/chief. Reporting marital violence, including wife beating, to the police is considered to be a last resort. Also, divorce is only an option after all other options of mediation and resolution have been tried and failed.

When asked under what circumstances a man would be criticized or punished for hitting/beat his wife, most district officials indicated the husband would most likely be punished if the woman the woman suffered serious injuries and was bleeding as a result of the beating. Others maintained a man would be punished if he committed the act of violence against his wife in public. This confirms that marital violence is perceived as a private matter that should occur behind closed doors; not in public; however, *"if it goes out and if he is*

"When the man is shouting at her in front of people or hitting her outside of the house, or the man has maybe undressed the woman and is hitting her to humiliate her." (Health Surveillance Assistant, Mzimba)

beating her outside of the house” then it requires a response (District Planning Officer, Mzimba). Rarely are men punished for wife abuse, unless there has been serious bodily harm done to the woman (i.e., a woman has been cut or hacked, arms or hands chopped off) or the violence has resulted in death.

When asked how they would help a young woman that has been raped, district officials maintained they would involve the police and encourage the rape victim to go the hospital and get a medical examination, because after all “rape is a criminal offense” (District Planning Officer, Mzimba). Respondents maintained it is important to advise a young woman that has been raped to go to the hospital because, “if she [the rape victim] has been infected with HIV/AIDS, she can start taking PEP” (Educator, Mzimba) and “advise her against bathing before the sample has been obtained” (Community Victim Support Unit, Mzimba). The police victim support unit explained that “the law in Malawi says anyone under 18 is a child; if she is wearing something short and is raped it is not her fault. If above 18, just because she is wearing something short she is not allowed to be raped. She has the right to wear whatever she wants” (Police Victim Support Unit, Mzimba). Social welfare officers also reported they conducted counselling sessions for rape victims.

Attitudes toward the Treatment of VAWG Survivors. District officials were also asked how important it is that women and girls who experience violence be treated with care and compassion by the police and courts, and be provided with legal assistance and protection and support (see Table 8.35). Most notable is that 92.3% of district officials reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be treated with care and compassion by police and courts, 88.5% of district officials reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be provided with legal assistance, and 91.0% of district officials reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be provided with protection and support.

Table 8.35. District officials’ treatment of VAWG survivors (Mzimba)		
How important is it that women and girls who experience violence be . . .	District Officials N=78	
	n	%
Treated with care and compassion by police and courts		
Not important	4	5.1
Somewhat important	1	1.3
Very important	72	92.3
Provided with legal assistance		
Not important	2	2.6
Somewhat important	7	9.0
Very important	69	88.5
Provided with protection and support		
Not important	4	5.1
Somewhat important	3	3.8
Very important	71	91.0

Protection from VAWG

District officials were asked to outline how they felt women and girls can be protected in their communities. A question. ‘What types of protection and support should be provided to women and girls in this community/district to protect them from violence or negative traditional beliefs, practices or customs’ was asked. The most common response to this question was the development or reinforcement of by-laws that aim at addressing harmful behaviours that may encourage or exacerbate VAWG and provide punishment for perpetrators as well as awareness campaigns that aim to change negative cultural norms and promote awareness of gender and VAWG issues. Others mentioned the need to provide loans as a means of empowering women and in turn protecting them against violence.

Respondents emphasized the need to **reinforce existing by-laws and establish new by-laws** that aim at protecting women and girls from violence, dropping out of school, early marriages, and abuse by making sure that perpetrators of VAWG are held accountable and provided with a stiff punishment if caught breaking the by-laws. The respondents also mentioned the need to involve chiefs in the enforcement of by-laws.

District officials explained that there is need for **awareness-raising campaigns and trainings** designed to educate the public about VAWG, including social norms and harmful practices that negatively affect women and girls. This would ensure that women and girls are aware of their rights and are able to recognise when their rights have been violated. Traditional leaders explained that there can be efforts to “conduct civic education on what the law says about gender and gender-based violence, and convene community discussions where the community can learn about gender-based violence or gender” (Traditional Leader, Mzimba). Mothers group members also reported that it is important to mobilise women in the community to teach them about VAWG and how to prevent VAWG.

“There is a need for more awareness, people should be informed of their rights, and measures which can be taken if victimized. And people should be informed of the punishments if they victimize someone. People should be afraid, and they should be advised not to move around at night because that is when the risk is highest.” (Police Victim Support Unit, Mzimba)

Respondents also maintained there is a need to **empower women and girls** as a means of protecting them from violence. Empowerment can be done through ensuring that girls stay in school and are protected from early marriage and early pregnancies. One way of doing this is by implementing by-laws that ensure all girls stay in school and to provide financial support to girls who are not able to continue their education due to poverty. Also, women can be empowered economically to ensure that they are not dependent on their abusers, but have the freedom to leave abusive relationships. Empowerment can be done through the provision of loans for small businesses.

Availability of VAWG-Related Services

Respondents were asked if there were sufficient services and qualified professionals available in Mzimba to work with women and girls who are victims/survivors of violence. Qualitative data revealed respondents believed VAWG-related services and qualified professionals were available in Mzimba to some extent, but that they were not sufficient. Respondents explained the main issue is lack of resources, such as transportation to follow-up on cases of VAWG, and a lack of qualified personnel with the expertise to handle issues of VAWG. Respondents felt that capacity building of staff through trainings on various issues related to VAWG can help to mitigate problems of lack of expertise. As the district officials explained,

“More trainings are needed. We need more training on child protection, women empowerment, trainings on case management. Training on the law; what the laws say about protecting women and children. Training of the officers, even the village chief. Training in counselling because we have never been trained in counselling and we face a lot of victims who come to the Victim Support Unit; we need more training on how best to do that.” (Police Victim Support Unit, Mzimba)

Some structures such as community victim support units are available, but they are not fully equipped and they fail to meet minimum standards of care. Respondents also expressed concern over the lenient sentences that are given to perpetrators, and police corruption when handling cases.

“There are gaps in terms of capacity and gaps in terms of structures. For instance, we have Community Victim Support Units, but we find they don’t have all the necessary things that are there. To me, what I see is, for example social welfare, the police, the gap I see is resources. Sometimes the case happens in the community, but then followed up with the victims in terms of getting out of the community is hard. The Ministry of Gender is not much funded, especially in the district, there could be cases, but the capacity of the office is not enough.” (District Planning Officer, Mzimba)

Training Received by District Officials

Finally, district officials were asked about the training they received in the past one to two years related to women’s rights, gender equality, and VAWG. Table 8.36 shows that 55.1% of district officials received training on women’s rights and/or gender equality, 51.3% on VAWG/GBV, 52.6% on VAC, and 53.9% of child marriage. Also, 52.6% of district officials received training on how to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors, and 55.1% received training on case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG (55.1%).

Table 8.36. Training received by district officials (Mzimba)

Training received in the past one to two year	District Officials N=78	
	n	%
Women's rights and/or gender equality	43	55.1
VAWG/GBV	39	51.3
Violence against children (VAC)	40	52.6
Child marriage	41	53.9
How to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors	41	52.6
Case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG	43	55.1

CHAPTER 9: SOCIAL NORMS IN SALIMA

This chapter reveals findings from district officials and general public adults sampled in Salima and includes a comparison between general public adults and district officials. This includes findings related to social norms related to gender equality, violence against women and girls, including harmful practices and child marriage and early marriages. This chapter also reveals social norms related to victim-blaming of VAWG survivors and public responses to VAWG.

Social Norms Related to Gender Equality

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions designed to measure social norms related to gender and gender equality, including gender preference at birth, girls' education, marriage and family, women's employment, women's health care, and women and land use. Findings presented in the sections that follow demonstrate a lack of social norms that support gender equality in Salima.

Social Norms Related to Gender Preference at Birth. Both district officials and general public adults were asked about social norms in the district related to sex preference at birth. In particular, respondents were asked how many women in their community think it, I better to give birth to a boy than a girl. Table 9.1 shows that nearly 1 out of 4 or 27.1% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in Salima think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl, which is indicative of social norms. In addition, 44.3% of respondents in Salima maintained about half or more of the women in the district think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl. There was no significant difference between district officials and general public adults in their response to this question.

Table 9.1. Social norms related to gender preference at birth (Salima)

In your community, how many women think it is better to give birth to a boy than a girl?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	5	3.3	1	1.6	4	4.5
Most of them	36	23.8	16	25.8	20	22.5
About half of them	26	17.2	6	9.7	20	22.5
A few of them	59	39.1	30	48.4	29	32.6
None of them	18	11.9	7	11.3	11	12.4

Sign = .194, Chi-square = 7.38

Social Norms Related to Girls' Education. Both district officials and general public adults were also asked about social norms in the district related to girl's education, particularly how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education and how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. Table 9.2 reveals that 1 out of 4 or 24.4% of respondents in Salima maintained most or all of the girls/women in their district/communities are free to make decisions about their education, which is indicative of social norms. General public adults (40.3%) were nearly two times more likely than district officials (22.5%) to maintain that most of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about their education. In comparison, district officials (49.4%) were more likely than general public adults (25.8%) to maintain only a few girls/women are free to make decisions about their education.

At the same time, more than 1 out of 2 or 52.3% of respondents in Salima maintained most or all of the parents in the district think it is better to educate boys than girls, which is indicative of social norms. In fact, 2 out of 3 or 66.2% of respondents maintained about half or more parents think it is better to educate boys than girls. There was no difference between district officials and general public adults when it came to perceptions of the social norms in the district related to sex preference in education.

Table 9.2. Social norms related to girl's education (Salima)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about their education? ¹	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
All of them	7	4.6	2	3.2	5	5.6
Most of them	45	29.8	25	40.3	20	22.5
About half of them	37	24.5	19	30.6	18	20.2
A few of them	60	39.7	16	25.8	44	49.4
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
In your community, how many parents think it is better to educate boys than girls? ²						
All of them	3	2.0	0	0.0	3	3.4
Most of them	76	50.3	32	51.6	44	49.4
About half of them	21	13.9	7	11.3	14	15.7
A few of them	38	25.2	18	29.0	20	22.5
None of the them	11	7.3	5	8.1	6	6.7

¹Sign = .028, Chi-square = 12.51; ² Sign = .447, Chi-square = 4.75

Social Norms Related to Marriage and Family. When it comes to social norms related to marriage and family, Table 9.3 shows that more than 45.6% of respondents in Salima maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about who to marry, which is indicative of social norms. It is interesting that gender public adults (67.7%) were two times more likely to mean that most of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about who to marry; whereas, district officials (37.1%) were nearly three times more likely than general public adults (12.9%) to maintain only a few of the girls/women in their communities are free to make decisions about who to marry.

Table 9.3. Social norms related to marriage and family (Salima)						
In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about . . .	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	N	%	N	%
Who to marry? ¹						
All of them	12	7.9	3	4.8	9	10.1
Most of them	72	47.7	42	67.7	30	33.7
About half of them	22	14.6	9	14.5	13	14.6
A few of them	41	27.2	8	12.9	33	37.1
None of them	3	2.0	0	0.0	3	3.4
How many children to have and the upbringing of children? ²						
All of them	4	2.6	0	0.0	4	4.5
Most of them	33	21.9	14	22.6	19	21.3
About half of them	38	25.2	23	37.1	15	16.9
A few of them	61	40.4	17	27.4	44	49.4
None of them	12	7.9	7	11.3	5	5.6
The household budget and major household purchases? ³						
All of them	5	3.4	0	0.0	5	5.6
Most of them	21	14.1	11	18.3	10	11.2
About half of them	26	17.4	16	26.7	10	11.2
A few of them	79	53.0	25	41.7	54	60.7
None of them	16	10.7	8	13.3	8	9.0

¹Sign = .001, Chi-square = 20.81; ² Sign = .012, Chi-square = 14.70; ³ Sign = .016, Chi-square = 13.96

When it comes to decision-making related to how many children to have and the upbringing of children, Table 9.3 shows that only 1 out of 4 or 24.5% of respondents in Salima maintained most all of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials (49.4%) were more likely than general public adults (27.4%) to report that only a few of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children; whereas general public adults (37.1%) were more likely to maintain about half of the girls/women are free to make decisions about how many children to have and the upbringing of children. It is notable that 11.3% of general public adults maintained no girls/women are free to make decisions as to how many children to have and the upbringing of children.

When it comes to making decisions about the household budget and major household purchases, Table 9.3 shows that only 17.5% of respondents in Salima maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. The majority of respondents (53.0%) maintained only a few girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases. This data is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials (60.7%) were significant more likely than general public adults (41.7%) to report only a few of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about the household budget and major household purchases.

Table 9.4 also shows that more than 1 out of 3 or 45.1% of respondents reported most or all of the parents in Salima think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, whereas 1 out of 2 or 59.0% of respondents reported about half or more of the parents in Salima think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. It is notable that more than 1 out of 3 or 40.4% of respondents reported only a few or none of the parents in Salima think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry. There were significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public. In particular, district officials (44.9%) were significantly more likely to report that only a few parents in Salima think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry, compared to gender public adults (24.2%).

Table 9.4. Social norms related to marriage of young women (Salima)

In your community, how many parents think that young women should have the right to choose who they will marry?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	9	6.0	1	1.6	8	9.0
Most of them	59	39.1	29	46.8	30	33.7
About half of them	21	13.9	14	22.6	7	7.9
A few of them	55	36.4	15	24.2	40	44.9
None of them	6	4.0	3	4.8	3	3.4

Sign = .007, Chi-square = 15.84

Social Norms Related to Women's Employment. Table 9.5 shows that 24.2% of respondents maintained most or all of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home, whereas 1 out of 2 or 51.0% of respondents maintained a few or none of the girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials (55.2% of 1 out of 2) were more likely than general public adults (33.9%) to report that a few girls/women in the district are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home.

Table 9.5. Social norms related to women's employment (Salima)

In your community, how many girls/women are free to make decisions about if they will work outside of the home?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	7	4.7	0	0.0	7	8.0
Most of them	29	19.5	14	22.6	15	17.2
About half of them	36	24.2	24	38.7	12	13.8
A few of them	69	46.3	21	33.9	488	55.2
None of them	7	4.7	3	4.8	4	4.6

Sign = .002, Chi-square = 19.09

Social Norms Related to Women's Health Care. In regard to women's health care, Table 9.6 shows that as many as 1 out of 2 or 57.4% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district are free to make decisions about their health and health care, which is indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. General public adults (61.3%) were more likely than district officials (33.0%) to maintain most women are free to make decisions about their health and health care. In comparison, district officials (28.4%) were more likely than general public adults (11.3%) to maintain only a few women are free to make decisions about their health and health care.

Table 9.6. Social norms related to women's health care (Salima)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about their health and health care?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	19	12.7	6	9.6	13	14.8
Most of them	67	44.7	38	61.3	29	33.0
About half of them	27	18.0	9	14.5	18	20.4
A few of them	32	21.3	7	11.3	25	28.4
None of them	4	2.7	2	3.2	2	2.3

Sign = .017; Chi-square = 13.82

Social Norms Related to Women and Land Use. Finally, Table 9.7 shows that only 1 out of 4 or 28.6% of respondents reported women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions; whereas, 1 out of 2 or 57.3% of respondents reported few or none of the women in Salima are able to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions. These findings are indicative of social norms. There were significant differences between general public adults and district officials. District officials (53.4%) were more likely than general public adults (30.6%) to report only a few women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions. In comparison, general public adults were more likely to report that about half of the women in their communities are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions.

Table 9.7. Social norms related to women and land use (Salima)						
In your community, how many women are free to make decisions about land uses and agriculture decisions?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	8	5.3	0	0.0	8	9.1
Most of them	35	23.3	16	25.8	19	21.6
About half of them	21	14.0	16	25.8	5	5.7
A few of them	66	44.0	19	30.6	47	53.4
None of them	20	13.3	11	17.7	9	10.2

Sign = .000; Chi-square = 22.26

Social Norms and Attitudes Related to Wife Abuse

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a series of questions that measured social norms and attitudes related to wife abuse. Findings are presented in the sections that follow.

Social Norms Related to Wife Abuse. Table 9.8 reveals the social norms related to wife abuse. In particular, 26.6% of respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying, and 47.3% of respondents reported that about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying. Although the majority of district officials (48.9%) and general public adults (51.6%) maintained that only a few men Salima sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying, it is notable that district officials (31.8%) were more likely than general public adults (16.1%) to maintain most of the men in Salima sometimes hit or beat their wives for disobeying.

Table 9.8 also shows that 27.2% of respondents report that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with their them, and 48.4% of respondents maintain about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for arguing with them. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district official. Data also reveals only 17.9% of respondents maintained most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband, and 1 out of 3 or 35.1% of respondents reported about half or more of the men sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without telling their husband. Although the majority of district officials (58.4%) and general public adults (48.4%) reported only a few men in Salima sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out

without telling their husband, district officials (22.5%) were more likely than general public adults (8.1%) to report most of the men in the Salima sometimes hit or beat their wives for going out without their husband.

In addition, 20.5% of respondents reported that most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children, and 37.8% of respondents report about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children. District officials (63.6%) were more likely than general public adults (43.5%) to report that only a few men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children; whereas general public adults (27.4%) were six times more likely than district officials (4.5%) to report that none of the men in the district hit or beat their wives for neglecting the children.

Finally, only 20.5% of respondents maintained most or all of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse, and 32.4% of respondent maintained about half or more of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse. Although both district officials (51.7%) and general public adults (46.8%) maintained only a few of the men in Salima sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sex; whereas district officials (28.1%) were eight times more likely than general public adults (3.2%) to report that most of the men in the district sometimes hit or beat their wives for refusing sexual intercourse. The data in Table 9.8 are indicative of social norms related to wife abuse or domestic violence against women in the context of marriage.

Table 9.8. Social norms related to wife abuse (Salima)						
In your community, how many men do you think sometimes hit or beat their wives for . . .	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Disobeying their husband¹						
All of them	2	1.3	0	0.0	2	2.3
Most of them	38	25.3	10	16.1	28	31.8
About half of them	31	20.7	20	32.3	11	12.4
A few of them	75	50.0	32	51.6	43	48.9
None of them	2	1.3	0	0.0	2	2.3
Arguing with their husband²						
All of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
Most of them	40	26.5	14	22.6	26	29.2
About half of them	32	21.2	16	25.8	16	18.0
A few of them	74	49.0	31	50.0	43	48.3
None of them	3	2.0	1	1.6	2	2.2
Going out without telling their husband³						
All of them	2	1.3	0	0.0	2	2.2
Most of them	25	16.6	5	8.1	20	22.5
About half of them	26	17.2	18	29.0	8	9.0
A few of them	82	54.3	30	48.4	52	58.4
None of them	14	9.3	9	14.5	5	5.6
Neglecting the children⁴						
All of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
Most of them	14	9.3	4	6.5	10	11.4
About half of them	26	17.3	14	22.6	12	13.6
A few of them	83	55.3	27	43.5	56	63.6
None of them	21	14.0	17	27.4	4	4.5
Refusing sexual intercourse⁵						
All of them	4	2.6	0	0.0	4	4.5
Most of them	27	17.9	2	3.2	25	28.1
About half of them	18	11.9	13	21.0	5	5.6
A few of them	75	49.7	29	46.8	46	51.7
None of them	9	6.0	6	9.7	3	3.4

¹ Sign = .012, Chi-square = 14.69; ² Sign = .677, Chi-square = 3.15; ³ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 19.69; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 23.09

⁵ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 30.14

Table 9.9 shows that more than 2 out of 3 or 71.3% of respondents reported most people in the community would disapprove of a man if he beats his wife for disobeying, while 11.3% reported that most people would approve of his actions and 14.7% reported most people would think it is none of their business. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, general public adults (85.5%) were most likely to report that most people in the community would disapprove of a man's actions if he beats his wife for disobeying him, compared to district officials (61.4%). District officials (19.3%) were more likely than general public adults (0.0%) to report that most people in the community would approve of a man beating his wife for disobeying.

Table 9.9. Social norms supportive of wife abuse (Salima)

If a man in your community beats his wife for disobeying, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of his actions	17	11.3	0	0.0	17	19.3
Disapprove of his actions	107	71.3	53	85.5	54	61.4
Think it was none of their business	22	14.7	9	14.5	13	14.8

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 17.76

Attitudes toward Wife Abuse. Table 9.10 reveals respondent's personal attitudes toward wife abuse. In particular, 40.4% of respondents believe if a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man. Surprisingly, district officials (56.2%) were three times more likely to hold this attitude, compared to adults in the general public (17.7%). Some respondents (14.6%) also held the belief that a husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her. Finally, 1 out of 4 of 25.2% of respondents held the belief that a woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together. There were no statistically significant differences between district officials and adults in the general public related to the last two attitudinal measures.

Table 9.10. Attitudes toward wife abuse (Salima)

	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
If a man does not beat his wife when she disobeys him, other men in the community will think less of this man ¹	61	40.4	11	17.7	50	56.2
A husband who does not hit or beat his wife spoils her ²	22	14.6	7	11.3	15	16.9
A woman should tolerate some violence in her marriage in order to keep her family together ³	37	25.2	19	32.8	18	20.2

¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 22.42; ² Sign = .435, Chi-square = 1.67; ³ Sign = .177, Chi-square = 3.46

Social Norms Related to Sexual Violence

The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* also included a question that measured social norms related to sexual VAWG. Table 9.11 shows that more than 1 out of 2 or 53.6% of respondents maintained most or all of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, and 3 out of 4 or 76.1% of respondents maintained about half or more of the young men in the district sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations. Although the majority of general public adults (53.2%) and district officials (44.9%) held the belief that most young men sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations, district officials (24.7%) were two times more likely than general public adults (9.7%) to report only a few men sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations.

Table 9.11. Social norms related to sexual violence (Salima)						
In your community, how many young men do you think sometimes pressure or force young women to have sexual relations? ¹	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	8	5.3	4	6.5	4	4.5
Most of them	73	48.3	33	53.2	40	44.9
About half of them	34	22.5	18	29.0	16	18.0
A few of them	28	18.5	6	9.7	22	24.7
None of them	5	3.3	0	0.0	5	5.6
In your community, how many people believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or is married to? ²						
All of them	20	13.3	1	1.6	19	21.6
Most of them	62	41.3	25	40.3	37	42.0
About half of them	13	8.7	9	14.5	4	4.5
A few of them	39	26.0	16	25.8	23	26.1
None of them	15	10.0	10	16.1	5	5.7

¹Sign = .056, Chi-square = 10.78; ²Sign = .001, Chi-square = 20.48

Table 9.11 also reveals that more than 1 out of 2 or 54.6% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with whom she is married, and 63.5% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married. District officials (21.6%) were thirteen times more likely than district officials (1.6%) to maintain all of the people in the community believe that a woman cannot be raped by someone she has already had sex with or with whom she is married.

Social Norms Related to Harmful Practices

This study also included a focus on traditional practices (*miyambo* in Chichewa) that are considered to be harmful practices to women and girls. The *Adult Gender Public Survey* and *District Officials Survey* included a series of questions related to the occurrence of various traditional practices in Salima and whether respondents believe most people in the district consider them to be harmful to women and girls, and if respondents recognized the harm done to women and girls by these traditional practices. Qualitative data related to traditional practices was also collected through focus group discussions with district officials and one-on-one interviews with general public adults. Both qualitative and quantitative data related to harmful practices are presented in this section.

Frequency of Traditional Practices. Table 9.12 reveals that each of the different traditional practices listed occurs to varying degrees in Salima, and there were significant differences in the willingness of general public adults and district officials to report the occurrence of such traditional practices in the district. The two most common traditional practices identified were polygamists and labia pulling/stretching. In general, 68.2% of respondents reported that polygamy often occurs in Salima and 29.7% reported polygamy sometimes occurs. In addition, 59.5% of respondents reported that labia pulling/stretching often occurs often in Salima, and 21.6% reported labia pulling/stretching sometimes occurs. General public adults (73.7%) were significantly more likely to report that labia pulling/stretching often occurs in the communities, compared to district officials (37.3%). There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults in their perceptions as to the frequency of occurrence of polygamy and labia pulling/stretching in Salima. In particular, general public adults were significantly more likely to maintain that polygamy (83.6%) and labia pulling/stretching (78.3%) occur often in Salima, compared to district officials (57.5% and 46.6% respectively). In comparison, district officials were more likely to report that polygamy (40.2%) and labia pulling/stretching (26.1%) sometimes occurs in Salima, compared to general public adults (14.8% and 15.0% respectively). It is also notable that district officials (22.7%) were four times more likely than general public adults (5.0%) to report that labia pulling/stretching never occurs in Salima.

Table 9.12 also shows that 20.4% of respondents report that post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices often occur in communities in Salima. District officials (32.6%) were nine times more likely than general public adults (3.3%) to report that post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices often occur in communities in Salima, and five times more likely to report that post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices sometimes occur in Salima. In comparison, as many as 85.2% of general public adults maintained post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices never occur in communities in Salima.

Although it reportedly does not occur often in Salima, fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (48.0%) and Fisi (43.9%) were frequently reported as occurring sometimes in Salima. District officials (63.6%) were two times more likely than general public adults (25.0%) to report that fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters sometimes occurs in Salima. In comparison, adults in the general public (70.0%) were most likely to report that fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters never occurs in Salima (82.8%), compared to district officials (26.1%).

Finally, Table 9.12 shows that 11.4% of respondents reported that practices for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula often occurs in communities in Salima, and 32.9% of respondents reported that such practices sometimes occur in Salima. District officials (45.5%) were three times more likely than general public adults (14.8%) to report that practices for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula sometimes occur in Salima; whereas general public adults (70.2%) were two times more likely than district officials (35.2%) to report that such practices never occur in communities in Salima.

Table 9.12. Frequency of traditional practices (Salima)

In your community, how often do each of the following traditional practices occur . . .	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy¹						
Never	3	2.0	1	1.6	2	2.3
Sometimes	44	29.7	9	14.8	35	40.2
Often	101	68.2	51	83.6	50	57.5
Wife inheritance²						
Never	108	73.0	49	81.7	59	67.0
Sometimes	28	18.9	6	10.0	22	25.0
Often	1	0.7	1	1.7	0	0.0
Bonus wife³						
Never	121	81.8	53	86.9	68	78.2
Sometimes	9	6.1	2	3.3	7	8.0
Often	3	2.0	1	1.6	2	2.23
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor⁴						
Never	116	77.9	57	93.4	59	67.0
Sometimes	14	9.4	0	0.0	14	15.9
Often	3	2.0	1	1.6	2	2.3
Wife swapping⁵						
Never	118	78.7	58	95.1	60	67.4
Sometimes	18	12.0	0	0.0	18	20.2
Often	2	1.3	1	1.6	1	1.1
Removing dust⁶						
Never	115	78.2	55	93.2	60	68.2
Sometimes	22	15.0	2	3.4	20	22.7
Often	6	4.1	1	1.7	5	5.7
Labia pulling/stretching⁷						
Never	23	15.5	3	5.0	20	22.7
Sometimes	32	21.6	9	15.0	23	26.1
Often	88	59.5	47	78.3	41	46.6
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter⁸						
Never	65	43.9	42	70.0	23	26.1
Sometimes	71	48.0	15	25.0	56	63.6
Often	6	4.1	2	3.3	4	4.5
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices⁹						
Never	74	50.3	52	85.2	22	25.6
Sometimes	33	2.4	4	6.6	29	33.7
Often	30	20.4	2	3.3	28	32.6
Fisi¹⁰						
Never	66	44.6	33	54.1	33	37.9
Sometimes	65	43.9	25	41.0	40	46.0
Often	5	3.4	0	0.0	5	5.7
When a woman's husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband's brother¹¹						
Never	111	75.0	55	91.7	56	63.6
Sometimes	18	12.2	2	3.3	16	18.2
Often	3	2.0	1	1.7	2	2.3
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased¹²						
Never	119	80.4	57	95.0	62	70.5
Sometimes	13	8.8	0	0.0	13	14.8
Often	2	1.4	1	1.7	1	1.1
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula¹³						
Never	74	49.7	43	70.5	31	35.2
Sometimes	49	32.9	9	14.8	40	45.5
Often	17	11.4	7	11.5	10	11.4

¹Sign = .003, Chi-square = 11.49; ² Sign = .077, Chi-square = 6.83; ³ Sign = .545, Chi-square = 2.14; ⁴ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.26⁵Sign = .000, Chi-square = 18.80; ⁶ Sign = .004, Chi-square = 13.41; ⁷ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.18; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 28.28⁹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 52.50; ¹⁰ Sign = .068, Chi-square = 7.11; ¹¹ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 15.49; ¹² Sign = .001, Chi-square = 15.62¹³Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.65

Recognition of Traditional Practices as Harmful to Females. Respondents were also asked if most people in the district (communities) believe each of the traditional practices identified in Table 9.12 are harmful to women and girls. Table 9.13 shows the proportion of respondents who felt that most people in the district believe each of these traditional practices as harmful to women and girls. Respondents who reported the traditional practices were considered good practices or did not occur in their communities are not included in Table 9.13. The focus is only on the social norms that recognize traditional practices as harmful practices.

Most notable is that as many as 83.9% of respondents maintained most people believe polygamy is a harmful practice for females. General public adults (98.4%) were more likely to report that most people in their communities recognize polygamy as a harmful practice, compared to district officials (73.9%). The majority of respondents also reported that most people recognized Fisi (68.9%) and fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (63.3%) as harmful practices for females. District officials were significantly more likely to reported that most people in the district believe fathers having sexual intercourse with their daughters (80.5%) and Fisi (77.0%) are harmful practices, compared to general public adults (20.0% and 57.4% respectively).

The majority of respondents also reported most people believe wife inheritance (54.7%), practices by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased (52.0%), and practices by which a woman is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband’s brother when her husband dies (51.0%) are harmful practices for females. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. In particular, district officials were significantly more than general public adults to maintain most people in the community between these traditions and practices are harmful to females.

Respondents were less likely to believe most people in the district consider each of the other traditional practices listed in Table 9.13 as harmful to women and girls. In particular, only 1 out of 3 respondents reported that most people believe that labia pulling/stretching (31.9%) and post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices (35.4%) are harmful practice for females.

Table 9.13. Social norms related to harmful practices (Salima)						
In your community, do most people believe the following traditions and practices are harmful practices for females?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Polygamy ¹	125	83.9	60	98.4	65	73.9
Wife inheritance ²	81	54.7	17	27.9	64	73.6
Bonus wife ³	63	43.2	10	16.7	53	61.6
As payment for their debt parents offer their daughter in marriage to the creditor ⁴	64	43.5	10	16.5	54	62.8
Wife swapping ⁵	64	43.2	10	16.4	54	62.1
Removing dust ⁶	72	48.6	12	20.0	60	68.2
Labia pulling/stretching ⁷	45	31.9	15	25.9	30	36.1
Father has sexual intercourse with his daughter ⁸	93	63.3	23	38.3	70	80.5
Post-initiation ceremonial dances and practices ⁹	52	35.4	12	20.0	40	46.0
Fisi ¹⁰	102	68.9	35	57.4	67	77.0
When a woman’s husband dies she is expected to have sexual intercourse with her husband’s brother ¹¹	75	51.0	14	23.3	61	70.1
Practice by which a man sleeps with a woman whose husband or son just died to put to rest the spirit of the deceased ¹²	78	52.0	14	23.0	64	71.9
Practice for girls who become pregnant before undergoing chindakula ¹³	59	41.8	12	20.7	47	56.6

¹ Sign = .001, Chi-square = .16.03; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 42.99; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 42.87; ⁴ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 41.79

⁵ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 40.72; ⁶ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 48.75; ⁷ Sign = .106, Chi-square = 4.50; ⁸ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 50.32

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 60.12; ¹⁰ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 26.73; ¹¹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 40.94; ¹² Sign = .001, Chi-square = 47.27

¹³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 37.05

Negative Effects of Traditional Practices. Table 9.14 show that as many as 84.9% of respondents recognized that women and girls face harm from the different traditional practices identified in Tables 9.12 and 9.13.

Table 9.14. Recognition of harm done to women and girls from traditional practices (Salima)						
	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	N	%	N	%	n	%
Women and girls experience harm from the different traditional practices	124	84.9	48	81.4	76	87.4

Sign = .195, Chi-square = 3.27

Qualitative data revealed the risk of sexual transmitted infections, including HIV, was one of the most common negative effects of harmful practices, such polygamy and Fisi. As district official explained,

“Polygamy is very common among the Muslim communities in the area [Salima]. This brings about the spread of HIV and other diseases. Others are also having a lot of extra marital affairs in secret without wanting to come out in the open that they are practicing polygamy.” (Mothers Group, Salima)

“If they cannot have a child, they look at the man, so the man is the head of the household, any decision like the act of the having a child are made by the man. How to deal with this one, instead of going to the hospital because you are failing to produce, as a man you talk to someone, such as a man, they talk to the colleague, the wife just accepts. The wife does not have any say, it is the husband [who decided to bring a Fisi into the relationship].” (District Planning Officer, Salima)

Similarly, general public adults recognized, “Some cultural norms like polygamy are bad. Such norms fuel the transmission of sexually transmitted infections, particularly HIV among women and girls” (Adult Male, Salima). Another respondent explained, “When a man marries a second wife, sometimes the other wife decides to start seeing other men too and this can lead to the spread of HIV” (Adult Female, Salima).

Respondents also identified early marriage and early pregnancies as a negative effect of Initiation ceremonies for both boys and girls. During initiation ceremonies, girls are taught about sex and marriage and then encouraged to practice what they learnt after the initiation ceremony. The result is girls dropping out of school and marrying early, then becoming pregnant at an early age. Girls who become pregnant at an early age are at-risk of developing pregnancy complications and reproductive health problems, including fistula. In some cases, “parents encourage early marriage by telling the girl, ‘you have grown up, you need someone to buy you some soap and help you financially’” (Teacher, Salima). Some parents may even “make girls get married when they have been caught up having sex with their boyfriends; this act encourages early marriages and poverty among girls and women” (Adult, Salima)

Others commented on the psychological harm done to girls as a result of the traditional practice of ‘chief blanket’ (bulangete la amfumu). In this practice, when a chief is visiting a village, elders in the host village are expected to organize young girls to ‘entertain’ the visiting chief sexually. This practice does not happen openly, but it is said to occur. District officials maintained, “even bulangete la amfumu (the chief’s blanket) encourages the spread of HIV/AIDS and early teenage pregnancies” (Community Action Group, Salima).

Social Norms Related to Child Marriage and Early Marriage of Girls

The Adult Gender Public Survey and District Officials Survey included questions related to child marriage and early marriage of girls. Table 9.15 shows that as many of 1 out 3 or 39.1% of respondents reported they believe most of the girls in Salima get married before 15 years of age. Moreover, 1 out of 2 or 58.3% of respondents reported about half or more of the girls in Salima get married before 15 years of age.

Table 9.15 also shows that as many as 1 out of 2 or 55.6% of respondents reported that most or all of the girls in Salima get married before 18 years of age, and as many as 3 out of 4 or 75.5% of respondent reported that about half or more of the girls in Salima get married before 18 years of age. General public adults (72.6%) were significantly more likely to report that most of the girls in Salima get married before 18 years of age, compared to district officials (41.6%). District officials (33.7%) were nearly three times more likely than general public adults (11.3%) to report that only a few or none of the girls in Salima get married before 18 years of age.

Table 9.15. Social norms related to child marriage and early marriage of girls (Salima)						
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 15 years of age? ¹	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	59	39.1	24	38.7	35	39.3
About half of them	29	19.2	18	29.0	11	12.4
A few of them	55	36.4	20	32.3	35	39.3
None of them	7	4.6	0	0.0	7	7.9
In your community, how many girls do you think get married before 18 years of age? ²						
All of them	2	1.3	2	3.2	0	0.0
Most of them	82	54.3	45	72.6	37	41.6
About half of them	30	19.9	8	12.9	22	24.7
A few of them	31	20.5	7	11.3	24	27.0
None of them	6	4.0	0	0.0	6	6.7

1 Sign = .023, Chi-square = 11.37; 2 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 20.46

Respondents were asked what would be the reaction of most people in Salima if parents arranged for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age. Table 9.16 shows that more than 2 out of 3 or 70.3% respondents felt that parents in the district would disapprove of parents arranging for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, yet as many as 23.2% of respondents reported most people would think it was none of their business and 5.3% maintained parents would approve of the parents' actions. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials on this measure.

Table 9.16. Social norms supportive of child marriage and early marriage (Salima)						
If parents in this community arrange for their daughter to be married at 15 years of age, do you think most people would . . .	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Approve of their actions	8	5.3	1	1.6	7	7.9
Disapprove of their actions	106	70.2	47	75.8	59	66.3
Think it was none of their business	35	23.2	13	21.0	22	24.7

Sign = .327, Chi-square = 3.46

Understanding the Relationship between Child Marriage and Early Marriage and Violence. Table 9.17 shows that as many as 79.5% of respondents understand there is a relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence, particularly that girls who are married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family.

Table 9.17. Understanding the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and violence (Salima)						
	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Girls married before age 18 years are more likely to experience violence from their husband and his family	120	79.5	47	75.8	73	82.0

Sign = .231, Chi-square = 2.93

Victim-Blaming of Female Survivors of Violence

Societal attitudes that cast the blame on girls and women for causing problems in the family and justifications for the use of VAWG in the family, leads to victim-blaming from family, friends, and authorities. In Malawi, victim-blaming serves as a barrier

for women and girls wanting to access protection from VAWG. In terms of victim-blaming for wife abuse, respondents were asked how many people in the community believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, as well as how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to someone outside of their family about the abuse or violence in their marriage.

Table 9.18. Social norms related to victim-blaming for wife abuse (Salima)						
In your community, how many believe when a woman is beat by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	5	3.3	0	0.0	5	5.6
Most of them	46	30.5	14	22.6	32	36.0
About half of them	32	21.2	16	25.8	16	18.0
A few of them	59	39.1	28	45.2	31	34.8
None of them	8	5.3	4	6.5	4	4.5
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage? ²						
All of them	9	6.0	0	0.0	9	10.1
Most of them	49	32.5	14	22.6	35	39.3
About half of them	30	19.9	19	30.6	11	12.4
A few of them	55	36.4	27	43.5	28	31.5
None of them	8	5.3	2	3.2	6	6.7

1 Sign = .124, Chi-square = 8.65; 2 Sign = .001, Chi-square = 17.90

Table 9.18 shows that 1 out of 3 or 33.8% of respondent reported most or all of the community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault, and 1 out of 2 or 55.0% of respondents maintained about half or more of community members believe when a woman is beaten by her husband that she is partly to blame or at fault. Also, 1 out of 3 or 38.5% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in the community believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage, and 1 out of 2 or 58.4% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse of violence in the marriage. These findings are indicative that such social norms exist in the district. District officials (49.4%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (22.6%) report that most or all of the people in Salima believe a woman should be ashamed or embarrassed to talk to anyone outside of their family about abuse or violence in their marriage.

“Sometimes women are being beaten by their husbands because of their behaviour, so if such is the case, telling her to change her manners could help.” (Adult Male, Salima)

Table 9.19. Social norms related to victim-blaming for sexual violence (Salima)						
In your community, how many people believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault? ¹	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Most of them	20	13.3	3	4.8	17	19.3
About half of them	27	18.0	18	29.0	9	10.2
A few of them	79	52.7	32	51.6	47	53.4
None of them	23	15.3	9	14.5	14	15.9
In your community, how many people believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped?						
All of them	9	6.0	0	0.0	9	10.1
Most of them	44	29.1	10	16.1	34	38.2
About half of them	27	17.9	19	30.6	8	9.0
A few of them	57	37.7	31	50.0	26	29.2
None of them	13	8.6	2	3.2	11	12.4

1 Sign = .009, Chi-square = 13.64; 2 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 30.39

Table 9.19 shows that only 13.3% of respondents reported most or all of the people in the district believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault, and 31.3% of respondents reported about half of the people in the community believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault. Table 9.18 and 9.19 shows that people are much more likely to believe that women are partly to blame or at fault for being hit or beat by their husbands, than being raped. Although the majority of district officials (53.4%) and general public adults (51.6%) maintain only a few of the people in the district believe when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault, district officials (19.3%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (4.8%) to report that most people in the district believe that when a woman is raped she is partly to blame or at fault.

Similar to the findings from Table 9.18, Table 9.19 found that 35.1% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in the district believe that a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, and 1 out of 2 or 53.0% of respondent reported that about half or more of the people in the district believe that a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped. District officials (48.3%) were significantly much more likely to report that most or all of the people in Salima believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped, compared to adults in the general public (16.1%). General public adults (50.0% or 1 out of 2) were most likely to believe only a few people in their communities believe a woman should be ashamed and embarrassed to talk to anyone if she is raped.

Victim-blaming attitudes of this kind marginalize women and girls who experience violence and make it hard for them to come forward and report the violence/abuse in their lives and families. If victims know that society or a frontline service provider will blame them for the violence/abuse, she will not feel safe or comfortable coming forward and talking about or reporting it. Victim-blaming attitudes also reinforce what the abuser has been saying all along, that it is the victim's fault that the violence/abuse happens. By engaging in victim-blaming attitudes, society allows the abuser to commit acts of violence/abuse, including sexual assault/rape, while avoiding accountability for their actions.

Public Responses to VAWG

The Adult Gender Public Survey and District Officials Survey included several questions that measured individual responses to VAWG, particular what respondents would do if they witnessed a woman being beaten by her husband and if they saw or heard a woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man. Respondents were asked to report all responses they would take in such situations, so they could identify more than one response; therefore, column percentages will not total 100.0%.

Table 9.20 shows that more than 2 out of 3 or 70.9% of respondent reported they would interview and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, and 1 out of 2 or 53.6% of respondents reported they would report the incident to the police. General public adults (82.3%) were significantly more likely to report they would intervene and try to help a woman if they witnessed her being beaten by her husband, compared to district officials (62.9%); whereas, district officials (60.7%) were more likely than general public adults (43.5%) to mention they would report the incident to the police. Although a small proportion of respondents reported they would not report the incident to anyone (6.0%), general public adults (12.9%) were eleven times more likely than district officials (1.1%) to mention they would not report the incident of wife abuse to anyone.

Table 9.20. Public responses to wife abuse (Salima)						
What would you do if you witnessed a woman being beat by her husband?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	13	8.6	5	8.1	8	9.0
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	5	3.3	2	3.2	3	3.4
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	107	70.9	51	82.3	56	62.9
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	81	53.6	27	43.5	54	60.7
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	9	6.0	8	12.9	1	1.1

¹Sign = .842, Chi-square = .04; ²Sign = .961, Chi-square = .00; ³Sign = .010, Chi-square = 6.62; ⁴Sign = .038, Chi-square = 4.31

⁵Sign = .003, Chi-square = 9.05

Respondents were also asked what they would do if they witnessed a young woman being beaten by her boyfriend (dating violence). Table 9.21 shows that 3 out of 4 or 76.2% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help the young woman that was being beaten by their boyfriend, and 40.42% maintained they would report the incident to the police. There were very few significant differences between district officials and general public adults, except district officials (51.7%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (24.2%) to mention they would report the incident to the police.

Table 9.21. Public responses to dating violence (Salima)						
What would you do if you witnessed a young woman being beat by her boyfriend?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	10	6.6	7	11.3	3	3.4
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	4	2.6	2	3.2	2	2.2
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	115	76.2	51	82.3	64	71.9
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	61	40.4	15	24.2	46	51.7
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	7	4.6	5	8.1	2	2.2

¹Sign = .054, Chi-square = 3.71; ²Sign = .713, Chi-square = .136; ³Sign = .142, Chi-square = 2.16; ⁴Sign = .001, Chi-square = 11.47

⁵Sign = .094, Chi-square = 2.80

What would respondents do if they saw or heard of a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by men, Table 9.22 shows that 2 out of 3 or 68.9% of respondents reported they would intervene and try to help a woman who they saw or hear a young woman being sexually assaulted or raped by a man, and 69.5% reported they would report the incident to the police. There were a couple of differences between district officials and adults in the general public. In particular, general public adults (82.3%) were more likely to report they would intervene and try to help the woman being sexually assaulted/raped, compared to district officials (59.6%); whereas district officials (77.5%) were more likely than general public adults (58.1%) to report the incident to the police.

Table 9.22. Public responses to sexual violence (Salima)						
What would you do if you saw or heard a young woman being sexually assaulted/raped by a man?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
I would walk away and not intervene ¹	7	4.6	4	6.5	3	3.4
I would stand and watch, but not intervene ²	2	1.3	0	0.0	2	2.2
I would intervene and try to help the woman ³	104	68.9	51	82.3	53	59.6
I would report the incident to the police ⁴	105	69.5	36	58.1	69	77.5
I would not report the incident to anyone ⁵	6	4.0	5	8.1	1	1.1

¹Sign = .376, Chi-square = .79; ²Sign = .235, Chi-square = 1.41; ³Sign = .003, Chi-square = 8.79; ⁴Sign = .001, Chi-square = 6.54

⁵Sign = .032, Chi-square = 4.61

Help-Seeking Behaviours of Female Survivors of Violence

Respondents were asked about the help-seeking behaviours of women and girls who experience violence. Table 9.23 shows that the majority of respondents reported they thought that women/girls in Salima who experience violence would be 'very likely' to seek medical care and tell the doctor or nurse about the violence (70.5%) and to report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs (71.3%). General public adults were significantly more likely to hold these views than district officials; whereas district officials maintain women/girls who experience violence are only somewhat likely to seek medical care and tell the doctor/nurse about the violence and/or report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs.

Table 9.23. Help-seeking behaviours of female survivors of violence (Salima)						
In your community, if a woman/girl experiences violence how likely would they be to . . .	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
Seek medical care and tell the doctor/nurse about the violence ¹						
Not likely	12	8.1	3	4.9	9	10.2
Somewhat likely	32	21.5	12	19.7	20	22.7
Very likely	105	70.5	46	75.4	59	67.0
Report the incident to traditional leaders/chiefs ²						
Not likely	11	7.3	2	3.3	9	10.1
Somewhat likely	30	20.0	9	14.8	21	23.6
Very likely	107	71.3	48	78.7	59	66.3

¹Sign = .412, Chi-square = 1.78; ²Sign = .060, Chi-square = 7.42

Respondents were also asked what advice they would give to a family member who experienced wife abuse or was raped, and how confident they were the police would register and investigate the complaint. Table 9.24 shows that as many as 88.0% of respondents reported that if their sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured that they would be 'very likely' to encourage her to report the incident to the police. In addition, 79.6% of respondents reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their sister's complaint of wife abuse. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials.

Table 9.24. Advice to wife abuse victims and confidence in the police response to wife abuse (Salima)						
If your sister was beaten by her husband and physically injured how likely would you be to encourage her to report the incident to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	N	%	n	%
Not likely	3	2.0	1	1.6	2	2.2
Somewhat likely	15	10.0	9	14.8	6	6.7
Very likely	132	88.0	51	83.6	81	91.0
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your sister's complaint? ²						
Not confident	29	19.7	9	15.3	20	22.7
Somewhat confident	117	79.6	49	83.1	68	77.3
Very confident	1	0.7	1	1.7	0	0.0

¹Sign = .270, Chi-square = 2.62; ² Sign = .276, Chi-square = 2.64

Table 9.25 shows that as many as 98.0% of respondents reported that if their daughter were the victim of rape that they would be 'very likely' to report the crime to the police, and 82.0% reported they would be 'very confident' that the police would register and investigate their daughter's complaint of rape. There were no significant differences between general public adults and district officials.

Table 9.25. Advice to rape victims and confident in the police response to wife abuse (Salima)						
If your daughter were the victim of rape, how likely would you be to report the crime to the police? ¹	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not likely	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Somewhat likely	3	2.0	2	3.3	1	1.1
Very likely	147	98.0	59	96.7	88	98.9
How confident are you that the police would register and investigate your daughter's complaint? ²						
Not confident	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Somewhat confident	27	18.0	12	19.7	15	16.9
Very confident	123	82.0	49	80.3	74	83.1

¹Sign = .354, Chi-square = .86; ² Sign = .659, Chi-square = .195

Perceived Seriousness of VAWG

Respondents were asked to rate how serious a problem is family/marital violence and sexual assault/rape of women. Table 9.26 shows that 50.3% of respondents identified family/marital violence as a 'serious problem' in Salima, and 29.1% identified it as a 'moderate problem'. Far fewer respondents identified family/marital violence as a 'minor problem' (17.9%) or 'not a problem' (2.6%). District officials (59.6%) were significantly more likely to identify family/marital violence as a 'serious problem' in Salima, compared to general public adults (37.1%); whereas general public adults (25.8%) were two times more likely than district officials (12.4%) to maintain family/marital violence is a 'minor problem' in Salima.

Table 9.26. Perceived seriousness of family/marital violence (Salima)						
In your community, how serious a problem is family/marital violence?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not a problem	4	2.6	3	4.8	1	1.1
Minor problem	27	17.9	16	25.8	11	12.4
Moderate problem	44	29.1	20	32.3	24	27.0
Serious problem	76	50.3	23	37.1	53	59.6

Sign = .022, Chi-square = 9.61

Table 9.27 shows that only 29.3% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in Salima and 23.8% of respondent identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'moderate problem'. Surprisingly, as many as 1 out of 3 or 39.5% of respondents identified sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem' and 6.8% identified sexual/assault rape of women and girls as 'not a problem' in Salima. District officials (37.2%) were two times more likely than general public adults (18.0%) to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'serious problem' in Salima. In comparison, general public adults were significantly more likely to identify sexual assault/rape of women and girls as a 'minor problem' (47.5%) or 'not a problem' (16.4%), compared to district officials (33.7% and 0.0% respectively).

Table 9.27. Perceived seriousness of sexual assault/rape (Salima)						
In your community, how serious a problem is sexual assault/rape of women and girls?	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not a problem	10	6.8	10	16.4	0	0.0
Minor problem	58	39.5	29	47.5	29	33.7
Moderate problem	35	23.8	11	18.0	24	27.9
Serious problem	43	29.3	11	18.0	32	37.2

Sign = .000, Chi-square = 22.48

Sources of Information on VAWG

The Adult Gender Public Survey and District Officials Survey was designed to measure what sources of information adults in the general public and district officials rely upon to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 9.29 shows that as many as 77.5% of respondents reported they receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the mass media, 66.2% receive information from informal networks, 59.6% receive information from community leaders, and 38.4% receive information from female survivors of violence.

In regard to mass media, as many as 3 out of 4 or 76.2% of respondents receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from the radio. Only 1 out of 3 or 35.1% of respondents receive information about family/marital violence from newspapers, and 1 out of 4 or 26.5% of respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the TV. Far fewer respondents receive information about family/marital violence from the internet (15.9%). District officials (84.3%) were significantly more likely than general public adults (67.7%) to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from mass media, including radio, TV, newspapers, and the internet.

Table 9.28. Sources of information related to family/marital violence (Salima)						
Sources of information on women and girls who experience family/marital violence	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mass media	117	77.5	42	67.7	75	84.3
TV ¹	40	26.5	6	9.7	34	38.2
Radio ²	115	76.2	42	67.7	73	82.0
Newspapers ³	53	35.1	10	16.1	43	48.3
Internet ⁴	24	15.9	3	4.8	21	23.6
Informal networks	100	66.2	46	74.2	54	60.7
Family ⁵	70	46.4	29	46.8	41	46.1
Friends ⁶	91	60.3	46	74.2	46	50.6
Community leaders	90	59.6	40	64.5	50	56.2
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	84	55.6	40	64.5	44	49.4
Religious leaders ⁸	45	29.8	15	24.2	30	33.7
Female survivors of violence	58	38.4	9	14.5	49	55.1
Female victims/survivors of violence ⁹	58	38.4	9	14.5	49	55.1
Other ¹⁰	8	5.3	1	1.6	7	7.9

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 15.27; ² Sign = .043, Chi-square = 4.10; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 16.62; ⁴ Sign = .002, Chi-square = 9.62

⁵ Sign = .932, Chi-square = .01; ⁶ Sign = .004, Chi-square = 8.52; ⁷ Sign = .067, Chi-square = 3.37; ⁸ Sign = .209, Chi-square = 1.58

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.39; ¹⁰ Sign = .092, Chi-square = 2.85

In regard to informal networks, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from friends (60.3%), compared to family (46.4%). Although district officials and general public adults were equally likely to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from family, general public adults (74.2%) were significantly more likely than district officials (50.6%) to receive information about women and girls who experience family/marital violence from friends.

Table 9.29. Sources of information related to sexual assault/rape (Salima)

Sources of information on women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Mass media	119	78.8	42	67.7	77	86.5
TV ¹	33	21.9	4	6.5	29	32.6
Radio ²	116	76.8	42	67.7	74	83.1
Newspapers ³	55	36.4	11	17.7	44	49.4
Internet ⁴	26	17.2	3	4.8	23	25.8
Informal networks	91	60.3	40	64.5	51	57.3
Family ⁵	59	39.1	23	37.1	36	40.4
Friends ⁶	82	54.3	38	61.3	44	49.4
Community leaders	89	58.9	43	69.4	46	51.7
Community leaders/chiefs ⁷	87	57.6	43	69.4	44	49.4
Religious leaders ⁸	32	21.2	12	19.4	20	22.5
Female survivors of violence	53	35.1	6	9.7	47	52.8
Female victims/survivors of violence ⁹	53	35.1	6	9.7	47	52.8
Other ¹⁰	3	2.0	0	0.0	3	3.4

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 14.61; ² Sign = .027, Chi-square = 4.87; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 15.85; ⁴ Sign = .001, Chi-square = 11.31

⁵ Sign = .678, Chi-square = .17; ⁶ Sign = .150, Chi-square = 2.07; ⁷ Sign = .015, Chi-square = 5.94; ⁸ Sign = .645, Chi-square = .21

⁹ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 29.84; ¹⁰ Sign = .144, Chi-square = 2.13

In regard to informal networks, respondents were more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from friend (54.3%) versus their family (39.1%); this is the case for both district officials and adults in the general public. In regard to community leaders, respondents were nearly two times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from community leaders/chiefs (57.6%) than religious leaders (21.2%). It is notable that general public adults (69.4%) were more likely than district officials (49.4%) to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual assault/rape from community leaders/chiefs. Finally, Table 9.29 shows that district officials (52.8%) were five times more likely to receive information about women and girls who experience sexual violence than adults in the general public (9.7%).

Publication of Victim and Perpetrator Identities in Mass Media

In recent years, protecting VAWG survivors' identities in media coverage has been a growing focus. This is because international research has found that when the names of VAWG survivors, particularly child victims, and other identifying information appears in the media it can exacerbate trauma, complicate recovery, discourage future disclosures and inhibit cooperation with authorities for the women and girls involved.¹³⁷ The District Officials Survey measured attitudes toward publishing in mass media the names and photos of VAWG survivors and/or their perpetrators.

District officials were asked if they thought the names and identities of women and girls who are victims of violence and perpetrators of such violence should be reported and published in the mass media. Table 9.30 shows that nearly 1 out of 3 or 32.2% of district officials maintained the names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media. In comparison, as many as 3 out of 4 or 78.7% of district officials held the belief that names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media. This finding reveals a lack of understanding among district officials as to the need to protect the identities of women and girls who experience violence, and the negative consequences of publicizing the identities of VAWG survivors.

Table 9.30. Publication of victim and perpetrator identities in mass media (Salima)		
	District Officials N=89	
	n	%
Names and photos of women and girls who are victims of violence should be reported and published in the mass media	28	32.2
Names and photos of perpetrators of VAWG should be reported and published in the mass media	70	78.7

Social Norms Related to Government Responsibility to Protect Women and Girls from Violence

The Adult Gender Public Survey and District Officials Survey was designed to measure social norms related to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members. Table 9.31 shows that the majority of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Salima think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, and in the community by non-family members, and to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage.

Table 9.31 shows that 2 out of 3 or 66.0% of respondents reported that most or all of the people in Salima think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family. Moreover, 86.7% of respondents maintained about half or more of the people in the district held this view. District officials (21.6%) were four times more likely to report that all of the people in Salima think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the home and family, compared to general public adults (4.8%).

Table 9.31. Social norms relate to government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence (Salima)						
In your community, how many people think the government has a responsibility to protect . . .	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from violence in the home/family ¹						
All of them	26	17.3	3	4.8	23	26.1
Most of them	73	48.7	34	54.8	39	44.3
About half of them	31	20.7	19	30.6	12	13.6
A few of them	20	13.3	6	9.7	14	15.9
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members ²						
All of them	24	16.0	2	3.2	22	25.0
Most of them	74	49.3	35	56.5	39	44.3
About half of them	26	17.3	19	30.6	7	8.0
A few of them	26	17.3	6	9.7	20	22.7
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage ³						
All of them	18	12.0	2	3.2	16	18.2
Most of them	65	43.3	31	50.0	34	38.6
About half of them	27	18.0	20	32.3	7	8.0
A few of them	39	26.0	9	14.5	30	34.1
None of them	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1

¹Sign = .000, Chi-square = 26.24; ² Sign = .003, Chi-square = 16.32; ³ Sign = .000, Chi-square = 25.87

In addition, 2 out of 3 or 65.3% of respondents reports most or all of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members, and 82.6% of respondents reported that about half of the people in the district holds this view. District officials (25.0%) were significantly more likely to report all of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members. At the same time, district officials (22.7%) two times more likely to report that only a few people in Salima think the government has a responsibility to protect women and girls from violence in the community by non-family members.

Finally, Table 9.31 shows that 1 out of 2 or 55.3% of respondents also reported that most or all of the people in Salima think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage, and 73.3% of respondents reported about half of them held this view. There were significant differences between district officials and general public adults. Most notable is that district officials (1 out of 3 or 34.1%) were two times more likely than general public adults (14.5%) to report that a few of the people in the district think the government has a responsibility to protect girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage.

Respondents were also asked about the importance of having laws that protect women and girls from violence. Table 9.32 shows that 80.5% of respondents maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence, 82.7% maintained it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from sexual assault and rape, and 87.3% also maintains girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage. District officials were significantly more likely to maintain it is 'very important' to have laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from marital violence (89.8%) and sexual assault/rape (92.0%), compared to general public adults (67.2% and 69.4% respectively); general public adults were more likely to report it is only 'important' to have such laws.

Table 9.32. Importance of laws that protect women and girls from violence (Salima)						
How important is it to have laws in Malawi that protect . . .	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Women and girls from marital violence¹						
Not important	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
Important	28	18.8	20	32.8	8	9.1
Very important	120	80.5	41	67.2	70	89.8
Women and girls from sexual assault/rape²						
Not important	1	0.7	0	0.0	1	1.1
Important	25	16.7	19	30.6	6	6.8
Very important	124	82.7	43	69.4	81	92.0
Girls younger than 18 years of age from marriage³						
Not important	4	2.7	0	0.0	4	4.5
Important	15	10.0	12	19.4	3	3.4
Very important	131	87.3	50	80.6	81	92.0

¹Sign = .001, Chi-square = 13.74; ² Sign = .000, Chi-square = 15.36; ³ Sign = .002, Chi-square = 12.61

Social Norms Supporting Punishment of Perpetrators of VAWG

The Adult Gender Public Survey and District Officials Survey was designed to measure social norms supporting the punishment of perpetrators of VAWG, including family/marital violence and sexual violence. Table 9.33 shows that only 48.9% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 3 or 32.8% of respondent thought only a few or none of the women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system. District officials (42.1%) were more likely than general public adults (21.3%) to report that a few or none of the women in Salima believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system.

Similarly, only 57.3% of respondents maintained most or all of the women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. At the same time, 1 out of 5 or 22.8% of respondent thought only a few or none of the women in Salima believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. District officials (34.4%) were significantly more likely to believe that only a few or none of the women in Salima believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system. In comparison, general public adults (53.5%) were more likely than district officials (33.3%) to report most women in the district believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system.

Table 9.33. Social norms supporting punishment of perpetrators of VAWG (Salima)						
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit family/marital violence are punished by the justice system? ¹	Total Sample N=151		General Public Adults N=62		District Officials N=89	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
All of them	17	11.4	1	1.6	16	18.2
Most of them	56	37.6	25	41.0	31	35.2
About half of them	36	24.2	22	36.1	14	15.9
A few of them	40	26.8	13	21.3	27	30.7
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
In your community, how many women believe it is important that men who commit acts of sexual assault/rape are punished by the justice system? ²						
All of them	24	16.1	3	4.9	21	3.9
Most of them	63	42.3	34	55.7	29	33.0
About half of them	18	18.8	18	29.5	10	11.4
A few of them	34	22.8	6	9.8	28	31.8
None of them	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0

1 Sign = .001, Chi-square = 16.20; 2 Sign = .000, Chi-square = 26.39

District Officials' Responses to VAWG

The District Officials Survey included several questions to assess their experiences with responding to VAWG. Table 9.34 shows that 80.3% of the district officials surveyed reported they have to deal with women and girls who experience violence in their job/position. Among those district officials who reported having to deal with VAWG survivors in their work, 98.4% reported when they encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence they are responsible for responding to the incident, 90.2% maintained they are required to register or record VAWG incidents, and 85.0% reported their agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases. When asked how often they actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to their attention, only 38.3% reported they frequently register or record such incidents, 26.7% sometimes register or record such incidents, 18.3% rarely register or record such incidents, and 16.7% never register or record such incidents.

Table 9.34. District officials' responses to VAWG (Salima)		
	District Officials N=89	
	n	%
In your job/position you have to deal with VAWG survivors	73	82.0
N=71		
When you encounter a situation where a woman/girl has been the victim of violence you are responsible for responding to the incident	69	97.2
You are required to register or record the incident of VAWG	64	90.1
Your agency/organization has guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases	63	88.7
How often do you actually register or record incidents of VAWG that are brought to your attention?		
Never	11	15.3
Rarely	8	11.3
Sometimes	14	19.7
Frequently	39	54.9

Qualitative data revealed district officials, particularly social welfare officers, police victims support unit officers, and community victim support unit volunteers reported that battered wives are first encouraged to go to marriage counselling and if they are unable to resolve their marital problems, they can then take the matter to the police. Typically, social welfare officers and police victim support unit officers counsel couples and try to provide them with the support and guidance needed to reconcile their problems. Mother groups also play an important role in mediating domestic violence issues at the community level. As mothers group members explained,

“When matters of beating have been reported to us, we direct the issue to police forum to help the victim. She is also asked if she wants us to have a word with her husband or if she wants to end the marriage. What she decides we help her to meet the necessary people to deal with case.” (Mothers Group, Salima)

In most cases, there is no punishment for husbands who commits acts of violence against their wives. In some cases, abusive husbands maybe threatened by social welfare officers and/or police victim support unit officers that if the violence happens again in the coming months or if their wife comes back and complains they will be arrested and taken to the police. Respondents maintained it would have to be an extreme case where a wife has been seriously injured or was bleeding for a husband to be punished for hitting or beating his wife; otherwise, women should tolerate minor beatings.

“When a wife has been beaten she is not supposed to report that outside, she is supposed to keep that secretly in the home. They are suffering in silence.” (District Planning Officer, Salima)

“You need to educate the people on where to lodge the complaint when they face the violence. There needs to be a proper follow-up of the case so that sanctions can be initiated against the perpetrators. In this community, when girls or women are subjected to some form of violence, the issues are brought to the traditional authority and they decide on what should be done to address the issue. One case that happened here, a girl was raped by her brother in-law and reported the issued to the traditional authority, and they sat here to handle the case. They called the man and she identified him, and they went to the hospital to confirm and they saw the issue was huge and they brought him to the police station, and he was charged 14 years. It was just handled at the level.” (Community VictimSupport Unit, Salima).

Attitudes toward the Treatment of VAWG Survivors. District officials were also asked how important it is that women and girls who experience violence be treated with care and compassion by the police and courts and be provided with legal assistance and protection and support (see Table 9.35). Most notable is that 96.6% of district officials reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be treated with care and compassion by police and courts, 98.9% of district officials reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be provided with legal assistance, and 98.9% of district officials reported it is ‘very important’ that VAWG survivors be provided with protection and support.

Table 9.35. District officials’ treatment of VAWG survivors		
How important is it that women and girls who experience violence be . . .	District Officials N=89	
	n	%
Treated with care and compassion by police and courts		
Not important	0	0.0
Somewhat important	3	3.4
Very important	84	96.6
Provided with legal assistance		
Not important	0	0.0
Somewhat important	1	1.1
Very important	88	98.9
Provided with protection and support		
Not important	0	0.0
Somewhat important	1	1.1
Very important	87	98.9

Training Received by District Officials

Finally, district officials were asked about the training they received in the past one to two years related to women’s rights, gender equality, and VAWG. Table 9.36 shows that only 57.3% of district officials reported receiving training related to women’s rights and/or gender equality, 56.3% receive training on VAWG/GBV, 57.3% received training related to VAC, and 54.5% received training on child marriage. In addition, 60.0% received training on how to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors, and 55.1% received training on case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG.

Table 9.36. Training received by district officials

Training received in the past one to two year	District Officials N=89	
	n	%
Women's rights and/or gender equality	51	57.3
VAWG/GBV	49	56.3
Violence against children (VAC)	51	57.3
Child marriage	48	54.5
How to refer and coordinate protection and support services for VAWG survivors	51	60.0
Case management and follow-up in cases of VAWG	49	55.1

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS AND INDICATORS FOR SOCIAL NORMS INTERVENTIONS

Conclusions

VAWG is a pervasive violation of human rights and a global health problem. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development identifies the EVAWG as a crucial priority for achieving gender equality and sustainable development.¹³⁸ EVAWG is also a cross-cutting priority across the Sustainability Development Goals (SDGs) and is vital for achieving SDGs in areas including poverty eradication, health, education, sustainable cities, and just and peaceful societies.¹³⁹ The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development builds on existing international frameworks that address VAWGs, particularly CEDAW, the agreed conclusions of the Commission on the Status of Women at its fifty-seventh session, and the Africa Regional Spotlight Initiative on EVAWG (2018-2023).¹⁴⁰

Against this background, this ground-breaking study revealed perceptions of social norms around VAWG in Malawi. In particular, this study revealed how pervasive social norms support gender inequality and VAWG, including harmful practices. The study focused on five districts – Dedza, Karonga, Mangochi, Mzimba and Salima – in Malawi. Findings from this study can be used to inform policy dialogue and programme development, including where and how UN Women and its partners can implement behaviour change projects aimed at promoting favourable social norms and attitudes at community levels, and to formulate key messages for communication initiatives on women’s rights, gender equality and VAWG. Data and findings from this study also serve as an important baseline against which to measure project impact. This study was designed with an understanding that VAWG is a manifestation of patterns of gender inequality and discrimination that persist worldwide, depriving women and girls of their basic rights and opportunities.¹⁴¹ VAWG remains rooted in traditional and cultural patriarchal practices, and gender stereotypes and social norms that shapes families, communities and societies.

This study revealed gender inequality and VAWG, including harmful practices (e.g., child marriage and early marriage) are pervasive in Malawi. VAWG manifests in various forms of physical, sexual, psychological, and economic violence that occur in public and private spaces. VAWG undermines the mental and physical health and well-being of women and girls and has a negative impact on their long-term sense of safety, stability, and peace.¹⁴² VAWG also has serious implications for women and girls’ access to sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR), and the development and advancement of women and girls, and their contribution to the economy and national development of the country.¹⁴³

There is no single factor that causes VAWG, rather VAWG is caused by a combination of elements operating at different levels of the ‘social ecology’ that perpetuates and reinforces gender discriminatory and biased attitudes, norms, and practices that contribute to the pervasive imbalance of power that exists between men and women within societies.¹⁴⁴ As revealed in this study, these elements include a person’s attitudes or beliefs that condone VAWG (individual factors), a person’s social relationships along with harmful social and gender norms (social factors), lack of economic opportunities for women and girls and weak infrastructure to support gender equality and protect women and girls from violence (material factors), and weak and/or discriminatory legal and institutional frameworks and gender ideologies that underpin gendered differences in power and social status that affects realities at all the other levels (structural forces or macro-level factors).

VAWG is a major obstacle to women and girls’ enjoyment of all human rights and their full participation in society and the economy. VAWG also “generates huge economic costs for women and families, and communities and societies.”¹⁴⁵ According to the United Nations, “the cost of violence against women could amount to around 2% of the global gross domestic product (GDP). This is equivalent to US\$1.5 trillion, approximately the size of the economy of Canada.”¹⁴⁶ As such, VAWG is a significant barrier to sustainable development for countries.

As mentioned above, VAWG is a cross-cutting priority relevant to several SDGs. For example, VAWG is prevalent among all socioeconomic groups; however, there is evidence that poverty (SDG 1) can be both a contributing factor to and consequence of VAWG. Women who live in poverty and are socially excluded are at increased risk of experiencing violence and have fewer resources to escape or avoid violence.¹⁴⁷ Poverty can also force girls and women to migrate (SDG 10), placing them at increased risk of human trafficking and exploitation. Therefore, efforts to reduce poverty and hunger should include efforts to support safe migration to reduce women’s risks of being trafficked and exploited (SDG 5).¹⁴⁸ At the same time, VAWG limits the ability of women and girls to complete their education (SDG 4) and to participate in paid labour (SDG 8), causing women to lose income which can lead to their loss of housing.¹⁴⁹

VAWG also increases women's risks of physical health problems, and can lead to poor health and well-being (SDG 3). The risks to physical health for VAWG survivors include short-term injuries and long-term health problems (e.g. anxiety, depression, sleeping problems, chronic fatigue, self-harming or suicidal behaviours). There are also sexual and reproductive health risks, including unwanted and early pregnancy (either through rape or by reducing a women's ability to negotiate contraceptive use with their sexual partners), and increased risks of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV.¹⁵⁰In the most extreme cases, women who experience violence are at risk of disfigurement, disability and even death.

In Malawi, VAWG in both public and private spaces is an everyday occurrence for women and girls in both urban and rural areas.¹⁵¹ International research reveals women and girls experience and fear various types of violence in public spaces, particularly sexual violence and harassment, as it happens in and around public transportation, schools and universities, workplaces, market places, parks, public sanitation facilities (public toilets), and water and food distribution sites.¹⁵² This impacts negatively on women and girl's health and well-being, and the sense of safety and security.

Main Indicators for Social Norms Interventions

To support UN Women's programming initiatives and social norms interventions, the following indicators are offered based upon the data collected. The Adult Gender Public Survey and District Officials Survey that were developed and used in this baseline study can be used in full or in part as the monitoring and evaluation tools to measure social norms in future projects. Use of the same data collection tools will provide UN Women and its partners with the means to assess the impact of project activities over time against this baseline study.

Below is a list of 25 leading indicators and goals that UN Women and its partners can choose from as they aim to measure project impact against this baseline study.

1. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in project districts who perceive the existence of social norms that support gender equality in education, marriage and family, women's employment, and women's health care. (Goal: An increase over time in social norms that support gender equality)
2. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in project districts who perceive the existence of social norms related to wife abuse for various reasons, including disobeying their husband, arguing with their husband, going out without telling their husband, and refusing sexual intercourse. (Goal: A decrease over time in social norms that support wife abuse)
3. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in project districts who hold attitudes that do you no support wife abuse or women's tolerance for violence in their marriage. (Goal: A decrease over time in attitudes supportive of wife abuse and women's tolerance for violence in their marriage)
4. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who disapprove of wife abuse (Goal: An increase over time in disapproval of wife abuse)
5. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in project districts who perceive the existence of social norms related to sexual violence against women and girls. (Goal: A decrease over time in social norms that support sexual violence against women and girls)
6. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who disapprove of sexual violence against women and girls (Goal: An increase over time in disapproval of sexual violence against women and girls)
7. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who perceive the existence of social norms related to harmful practices. (Goal: A decrease over time in social norms that support harmful practices)
8. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who report a decrease in the frequency of harmful practices (Goal: A decrease over time in the frequency of harmful practices)
9. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who are able to identify traditional practices as harmful for females (Goal: An increase over time in the ability to identify traditional practices are harmful to women and girls)
10. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who are able to recognize the harm done to women and girls from traditional practices (Goal: An increase over time in the ability to recognize the harm done to women and girls from traditional practices)

11. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who perceive the existence of social norms related to child marriage and early marriage of girls (Goal: An increase over time in social norms that are against child marriage and early marriage of girls)
12. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who disapprove of marriage of girls before 15 years of age (Goal: An increase over time in disapproval of marriage of girls before 15 years of age)
13. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who disapprove of marriage of girls before 18 years of age (Goal: An increase over time in disapproval of marriage of girls before 18 years of age)
14. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who understand the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and wife abuse. (Goal: An increase over time in understand of the relationship between child marriage and early marriage and wife abuse)
15. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who perceive the existing of social norms that support the victim-blaming of VAWG survivors. (Goal: A decrease over time in social norms that support victim-blaming of VAWG survivors)
16. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who are willing to intervene and report incidents of VAWG to the police and other district authorities. (Goal: An increase over time in the willingness to intervene and report incidents of VAWG to the police and other district authorities)
17. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who perceive the existence of social norms supportive of VAWG survivors reporting incidents of VAWG to district officials and formal authorities. (Goal: An increase over time in social norms supportive of VAWG survivors reporting incidents of VAWG to district officials and formal authorities)
18. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who perceive VAWG as a serious problem. (Goal: An increase over time in perceptions of VAWG as a serious problem)
19. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in project districts who perceive the existence of social norms that support government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence. (Goal: An increase over time in social norms that support government responsibility to protect women and girls from violence)
20. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who perceive the importance of having laws in Malawi that protect women and girls from VAWG, including child marriage and early marriage. (Goal: An increase over time in perceptions of the important of laws in Malawi that protect women and girls of VAWG, including child marriage and early marriage)
21. Proportion of the general public and/or district officials in the project districts who the existence of social norms that support punishment of perpetrators of VAWG. (Goal: An increase over time in social norms that support punishment of perpetrators of VAWG)
22. Proportion of district officials in project districts who are responsible for responding to and register VAWG. (Goal: An increase over time in district officials' responsibility to respond to and register VAWG)
23. Proportion of agencies/organizations in project districts that have guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases (Goal: An increase over time in the number of agencies/organizations that have guidelines on how to provide support and referrals in VAWG cases)
24. Proportion of district officials in project districts who perceive the importance of providing VAWG survivors with essential services (Goal: An increase over time in perceptions of the importance of providing VAWG survivors with essential services)
25. Proportion of district officials in project districts who have been trained on a range of topics related to women's rights, gender equality and VAWG (Goal: An increase over time in district officials trained on topics related to women's rights, gender equality and VAWG)

ANNEXES

Annex A: Data Collection in the Field

Date	Activity
18 - 22 July 2018	Lilongwe – data collection planning and training of data collectors
23 - 25 July 2018	Data collection in Salima
26 - 28 July 2018	Data collection in Dezda
29 July - 1 August 2018	Data collection in Mangochi
2 - 4 August	Data collect in Mzimba
5 -8 August	Data Collection in Salima

Annex B: Example Measures, Indicators and Survey Questions for Measuring Social Norms

Measure	Example Indicators	Example Questions
Individual attitudes toward wife beating	Proportion of men/women who agree with the statement, "If a woman disobeys her husband she should be beaten."	To what extent do you agree with the statement: There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten by her husband: a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Neither agree or disagree d) Disagree e) Strongly agree
Individual behaviours	Perpetration of wife beating in the last 12 months (men) Experience of wife beating in the last 12 months (women)	In the last 12 months, how often have you hit, slapped, or beat your wife? In the last 12 months, how often has your partner or husband hit, slapped or beat you?
Beliefs about typical behaviour	Proportion of men/women who believe most other men in their community beat their wives if they disobey	How many of your male friends do you think sometimes hit their wives for disobeying them? (men) a) All of them b) Most of them c) About half of them d) A few of them e) None of them
Beliefs about appropriate behaviour	Proportion of men/women who believe that the practice of wife beating is acceptable within the community	If a man in this community beats his wife if she disobeyed him, do you think most of your male friends would . . . ? a) Approve of his action b) Disapprove of his action c) Think it was none of their business
Social sanctions/ rewards for non-compliance	The proportion of me/women who agree with the statements: If a husband does not beat his wife if she disobeys, other men in the community will think less of him. Real men control their wives.	To what extent do you agree with the statement: If a husband does not beat his wife if she disobeys, other men in the community will think less of him. a) Strongly agree b) Agree c) Neither agree or disagree d) Disagree e) Strongly agree

Answers A and B may be indicative of social norms

Answer A would be indicative of social norms, and C may be indicative of a social norm that wife beating is a private matter

Answers A and B may be indicative of social norms

Source: Alexander-Scott, M., E. Bell & J. Holden (2016). *DFID Guidance Notes: Shifting Social Norms to Tackle Violence against Women and Girls*. London: VAW Helpdesk, p. 16.

ENDNOTES

Alexander-Scott, M., E. Bell & J. Holden (2016). *DFID Guidance Notes: Shifting Social Norms to Tackle Violence against Women and Girls*. London: VAW Helpdesk, p. 11.

²Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 11; See Heise, L. & K. Manji (2015). Introduction to Social Norms. Briefing Note for DFID. DFID: London, UK.

³Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 13.

⁴ Denny, E.K. & E. Nwankwo (2015). *Attitudes, Practice, and Social Norms: Key Gender Equality Issues in Selected Nigerian States. Quantitative and Qualitative Findings from the Voices for Change Baseline Study 2015*. UK Department for International Development: London, UK.

⁵ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, pp. 9-11.

⁶1993 United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women.

⁷ Alexander-Scott, M., E. Bell & J. Holden (2016). *DFID Guidance Notes: Shifting Social Norms to Tackle Violence against Women and Girls*. London: VAW Helpdesk, p. 4.

⁸ The United Nations Development Assistance Framework – Malawi 2019-2023.

⁹ World Health Organization, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine & South African Medical Research Council (2013). *Global and Regional Estimates of Violence against Women: Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-Partner Sexual Violence*. WHO: Geneva, Switzerland.

¹⁰ United Nations Children’s Fund (2014). *Hidden in Plain Sight: A Statistical Analysis of Violence against Children*. UNICEF: New York, NY USA.

¹¹United Nations Development Assistance Framework – Malawi 2019-2023, p. 20.

¹²Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p.4

¹³Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p.4

¹⁴ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p.4; See Heise, L. (2011). *What Works to Prevent Partner Violence? An evidence overview*. DFIC: London, UK. <http://www.oecd.org/derec/49872444.pdf>

¹⁵ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p.4; See Heise, L. & K. Manji (2015). Introduction to Social Norms. Briefing Note for DFID. DFID: London, UK.

¹⁶ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p.4; See Heise, 2011.

¹⁷Gender ideologies are “a world view of what gender relations should be like.” See Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 7.

¹⁸Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 4

¹⁹ Malawi has ratified a number of global conventions and regional treaties related to gender issues, including: Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Beijing Platform for Action; Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women; United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325; 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; and the Southern Africa Development Community and Declaration on Gender and Development. See UN Women. Women’s Empowerment Programme, 2018-2021, p. 8.

²⁰UN Women. Women’s Empowerment Programme, 2018-2021, p. 11.

²¹UN Women Malawi’s WEP 2018-2021 is supported by the Royal Norwegian Embassy in Lilongwe, Malawi.

²² Partners include the Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability & Social Welfare and the Ministry of Local Governments and Rural Development, as well as the Malawi Police Service.

²³UN Women. Women’s Empowerment Programme, 2018-2021, p. 20.

²⁴Paluck, E.L., L. Bell, C. Poynton & S. Sieloff (2010). Social norms marking aimed at gender-based violence: A literature review and critical assessment. International Rescue Committee, p. 8.

²⁵ “Social norms are essentially proprieties of a social group, they describe the typical or desirable behaviour of a certain social group, rather than human kind”; See Paluck& Bell, 2010, p. 9.

²⁶Paluck et al., 2010, p. 8.

²⁷Paluck et al., 2010, p. 9.

²⁸Paluck et al., 2010, p. 8.

²⁹Paluck et al., 2010, pp. 8-9.

³⁰Paluck et al., 2010, p. 9.

³¹ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 8.

³² The three components are direct quotes from Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 8.

³³ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 8; See L. Ball Cooper & E.K. Fletcher (2013). Reducing Societal Discrimination against Adolescent Girls Using Social Norms to Promote Behaviour Change. DFID and Girl Hub.

- ³⁴Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 8; See Bicchieri C., Lindeans & T. Jiang (2014). A structural approach to a diagnosis of collective practices. *Frontiers in Psychology*, 5(1418): 1-13.
- ³⁵Mackie, G. F. Moneti, H. Shakya & E. Denny (2015). *What are Social Norms? How are They Measured?* UNICEF/University of California, San Diego, Center for Global Justice.
- ³⁶ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden 2016, p. 8.
- ³⁷Paluck et al., 2010, pp. 12-13.
- ³⁸ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 8; See Bicchieri, C. (2015). *The norms in the Wild: How to diagnose, measure and change social norms*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK.
- ³⁹ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 8; See Elster, J. (2007). *Explaining Social Behaviour*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK.
- ⁴⁰ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 8; See Bicchieri, 2015.
- ⁴¹Paluck et al., 2010, p. 11.
- ⁴²Paluck et al., 2010, p. 12.
- ⁴³Paluck et al., 2010, p. 12.
- ⁴⁴ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 11.
- ⁴⁵ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 8.
- ⁴⁶Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 11; see Heise & Manji, 2015.
- ⁴⁷Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 11.
- ⁴⁸Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 12.
- ⁴⁹UN Women. Women's Empowerment Programme (WEP), Dec 2017-Dec 2020, p. 5.
- ⁵⁰United Nations Development Assistance Framework – Malawi 2019-2023, p. 20.
- ⁵¹The GII is an index for measurement of gender disparity that was introduced in the 2010 Human Development Report by the United Nations Development Programme. The GII measures gender inequalities in three important aspects of human development, including: reproductive health (measured by maternal mortality ratio and adolescent birth rates); empowerment (measured by proportion of parliamentary seats occupied by females and proportion of adult females and males aged 25 years and older with at least some secondary education); and economic status (expressed as labour market participation and measured by labour force participation rate of female and male population aged 15 years and older). The value of GII ranges between 0 and 100. The higher the Index value, the more disparities between females and males and the more loss of human development. Retrieved 16 June 2018 from: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii>
- ⁵² The higher the Index value, the more disparities between females and males and the more loss of human development. Retrieved 16 June 2018 from: <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/gender-inequality-index-gii>
- ⁵³ United Nations Development Assistance Framework – Malawi 2019-2023, p. 20; See Human Development Report, 2016.
- ⁵⁴United Nations Development Assistance Framework – Malawi 2019-2023, p. 20.
- ⁵⁵ National Statistical Office (NSO) [Malawi] and ICF (2017). *Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*. NSO and ICF: Zomba, Malawi and Rockville, Maryland, USA, p. 279.
- ⁵⁶United Nations Development Assistance Framework – Malawi 2019-2023.
- ⁵⁷*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*.
- ⁵⁸ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC (2014). *Violence against Children and Young Women in Malawi: Findings from a National Survey, 2013*. Lilongwe, Malawi: Government of Malawi.
- ⁵⁹*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 57
- ⁶⁰*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 57
- ⁶¹*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 57
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- ⁶³*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 281.
- ⁶⁴*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 281.
- ⁶⁵*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 282.
- ⁶⁶ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 83.
- ⁶⁷ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 84
- ⁶⁸ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 83.
- ⁶⁹ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 84.
- ⁷⁰ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at

the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 83.

⁷¹ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 84.

⁷²The proportion of women who experienced sexual violence in the 12 months preceding the survey was not reported in the 2010 MDHS.

⁷³*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 283.

⁷⁴ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, p. 63.

⁷⁵ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 64.

⁷⁶ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 63.

⁷⁷ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 64.

⁷⁸ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 104.

⁷⁹*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 283.

⁸⁰*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 283.

⁸¹ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 111.

⁸²*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 283.

⁸³*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 283.

⁸⁴*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 283.

⁸⁵*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2010*, pp. 248-249.

⁸⁶*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2004*, pp. 271-272.

⁸⁷*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 285.

⁸⁸*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 285

⁸⁹*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 286.

⁹⁰ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, pp. 83-84.

⁹¹*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2010*, pp. 259-260.

⁹²*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2004*, pp. 279-280.

⁹³*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, pp. 288-289.

⁹⁴*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2010*, pp. 259-260.

⁹⁵*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2004*, pp. 279-280.

⁹⁶ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 83.

⁹⁷ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 64.

⁹⁸ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 84.

⁹⁹ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 63.

¹⁰⁰ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, pp. 63-64.

¹⁰¹UN Women. Women's Empowerment Programme, 2018-2021, p. 10.

¹⁰²United Nations Development Assistance Framework – Malawi 2019-2023.

¹⁰³*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*.

¹⁰⁴*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 258.

¹⁰⁵ Ministry of Gender, Children, Disability and Social Welfare of the Republic of Malawi, UNICEF, Centre for Social Research at the University of Malawi & CDC, 2014, p. 147.

¹⁰⁶*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 259.

¹⁰⁷*Malawi Demographic and Health Survey 2015-2016*, p. 259.

¹⁰⁸Retrieved on 10 June from: <http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/en/countries/africa/malawi>

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- ¹¹⁴Retrieved on 9 June 2018 from: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/04/17/malawi-new-marriage-law-can-change-lives>
- ¹¹⁵Parents and guardians arrange most child marriages in Malawi. Retrieved on 9 June 2018 from: <http://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/malawi-parliament-passes-comprehensive-marriage-divorce-and-family-relations-legislation/>
- ¹¹⁶Retrieved on 9 June 2018 from: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/04/17/malawi-new-marriage-law-can-change-lives>
- ¹¹⁷ This provision of the Constitution can only be amended via popular referendum, in which the proposal must receive the majority support of those who participate in the vote. Retrieved on 9 June 2018 from: <http://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/malawi-parliament-passes-comprehensive-marriage-divorce-and-family-relations-legislation/>
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- ¹¹⁹Retrieved on 9 June 2018 from: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/04/17/malawi-new-marriage-law-can-change-lives>
- ¹²⁰UN Women. Women's Empowerment Programme, 2018-2021, p. 7.
- ¹²¹UN Women. Women's Empowerment Programme, 2018-2021, p. 7.
- ¹²²Travel times from Lilongwe to each of the districts vary significantly: Dedza (1.5 hours travel time); Salima (1.5 hours travel time); Mangochi (3.5 hours travel time); Mzimba (4 hours travel time); Karona (8 hours travel time).
- ¹²³ Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 12.
- ¹²⁴Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 12.
- ¹²⁵Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, pp. 12-13.
- ¹²⁶Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 13.
- ¹²⁷Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 13.
- ¹²⁸Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 14; See Jakobsen, H. (2015). The Good Beating: Social norms supporting men's partner violence in Tanzania.
- ¹²⁹Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 17.
- ¹³⁰Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 15.
- ¹³¹Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 17.
- ¹³²Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p. 17.
- ¹³³ Jones, L.M., D. Finkelhor & J. Beckwith (2010). Protecting victims' identities in press coverage of child victimization. *Journalism*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 347-367.
- ¹³⁴ Jones, L.M., D. Finkelhor & J. Beckwith (2010). Protecting victims' identities in press coverage of child victimization. *Journalism*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 347-367.
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- ¹³⁷ Jones, L.M., D. Finkelhor & J. Beckwith (2010). Protecting victims' identities in press coverage of child victimization. *Journalism*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 347-367.
- ¹³⁸ UN General Assembly (2016). Intensification of efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls. Seventy-first session, Item 27 of the provisional agenda, Advancement of Women.
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- ¹⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁴¹ Available from <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/sdg5>
- ¹⁴² Alexander-Scott, M., E. Bell & J. Holden (2016). *DFID Guidance Notes: Shifting Social Norms to Tackle Violence against Women and Girls*. London: VAW Helpdesk, p. 4.
- ¹⁴³ The United Nations Development Assistance Framework – Malawi 2019-2023.
- ¹⁴⁴Alexander-Scott, Bell & Holden, 2016, p.4
- ¹⁴⁵ Remarks by UN Assistant Secretary-General and Deputy Executive Director of UN Women (21 September 2016). Available from <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2016/9/speech-by-lakshmi-puri-on-economic-costs-of-violence-against-women> (Retrieved on 4 April 2017).
- ¹⁴⁶ Ibid.
- ¹⁴⁷ Similarly, men who live in poverty and face difficult economic circumstances – such as unemployment, limited job autonomy,

and blocked advancement due to lack of education – are more likely to commit acts of VAWG because they cannot find jobs or earn an income, which can lead to anger, frustration and violence.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Addressing violence against women and achieving the Millennium Development Goals (2005). WHO: Geneva, Switzerland. Available from <http://www.who.int/gender/documents/MDGs&VAWGSept05.pdf> (Retrieved on 4 April 2017).

¹⁵⁰ Women with STDs have a higher risk of complications during pregnancy, including sepsis, spontaneous abortion and premature birth.

¹⁵¹ Available from <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/creating-safe-public-spaces> (Retrieved 7 April 2017).

¹⁵² Ibid.



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