

**SURVEY REPORT ON
GENDER SOCIALIZATION IN TWO
SELECTED COMMUNITIES:
PALISSADEWEG AND MUNDERBUITEN**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of tables

Preface

	Page nr.
1. Introduction	
1.1 Background	4
1.2 Objective of the Study	5
1.3 Methodology	5
1.3.1 Target population/areas	5
1.3.2 Data collection methods	6
1.3.3 Central themes	7
1.4 Community profiles	7
1.4.1 Palissadeweg	7
1.4.2 Munderbuiten	10
2. Family and relational structures	
2.1 Family Composition	15
2.2 Type of household	15
2.3 Relational status	16
2.4 Kin relation between steady partner and in-living children	18
2.5 Type of residence	18
3. Gender division in the household	
3.1. Division of domestic chores	19
3.2. Men attitudes towards working partner	21
3.3. Main source of income	21
3.4. Decision-making on household expenditures	22
3.5. Knowledge about size of partner's income	23
4. Parent- Child relationship	
4.1 Value of children	23
4.2 Central values in upbringing	23
4.3 Main person(s) in a child's life	24
4.4 Raising children: present and past	25
4.5 Type of punishments and rewards	25
4.6 Parents' relation with school	27
4.7 Fathers and infants	28
4.8 Recreational time spent with children	29

5 Sexuality

5.1	Use of contraceptives	30
5.2	Perceptions about sexuality of children	31
5.2.1	Talking about sex	31
5.2.2	Ideal age to start sex	32
5.2.3	Ideal child bearing age	33
5.2.4	Ideal relationship	34

6 Domestic violence

6.1.	Domestic conflict	34
6.2.	Sources of relational conflict and conflict resolution	35
6.3.	Prevalence of violence	36

7 Conclusions and recommendations

7.1.	Conclusions	37
7.2.	Recommendations	43

References	45
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APPENDICES

1. Map of Palissadeweg	46
2. Map of Munderbuiten	47

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Whether a child will fully develop its potentials and capacities as a human being depends for a great deal on the way it is raised from birth. Research has shown that especially experiences in the early childhood years are crucial for a child's emotional and social development.

Healthy child development is inseparably linked to the question of gender equality. Research indicates that if caretakers, from birth on, provide equal chances for girls and boys, this will contribute significantly, not only to gender equality but also to a healthy child development.

One of the main socialization agents is still the family or what is often called the 'home based care taker'. It is especially in the home that boys and girls learn values and norms, which will determine the way they experience and define masculinity and femininity. These notions on how a man and a woman should behave, called 'gender ideology', are mainly transferred to the child in its primary environment, which is the family.

Suriname is a multi ethnic society, with many different ethnic groups, which share a common Surinamese culture but at the same time also maintain specific norms and values. This dual culture is also reflected in gender-role learning. This means that apart from the dominant gender ideology, which is maintained at the national level, the different ethnic groups also have their own cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity. In this regard we can assume that ethnicity is a factor which influences gender socialization.

In this study we will look at the process of gender socialization in the family. In accordance with the 'Convention on the Rights of the Child', the study will address both male and female caregivers.

Article 18.1 of the convention on the rights of the child states:

' States parties shall use their best efforts to ensure recognition of the principle that both parents have common responsibilities for the upbringing and development of the child. Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians, have primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child. The best interests of the child will be their basic concern'.

Within the above-formulated context we will look at both male and female parents: their values and norms, their perceptions, the quality of their relation and the relation they have with their child(ren).

One of the main strategies to positively influence early child development, contained in the framework of the GOS/UNICEF Country Program of Cooperation, is to provide parents with necessary and appropriate skills, attitudes and knowledge to support and guide them in their efforts to enhance personal and social development of their children.

In this regard, a project 'better parenting' will be developed, aimed at developing and implementing a parenting education program in Suriname in order to support healthy child development

The NVB, one of the implementing agencies of the Government of Suriname/UNICEF Country Program, conducted a pilot study on gender socialization in two communities in order for this parenting education program to be adjusted to the gender specific social, economic and cultural conditions in Suriname. The Unicef financed the study.

1.2 Objective of the study

To provide information for the development of a parenting education program in Suriname, based on the gender specific social/cultural and economic characteristics of the target group(s).

Sub Objectives

1. To develop an understanding of the cultural and social context of gender socialization, with special attention for the aspect of sexual socialization
2. To develop an understanding of the relationship between parents and children
3. To develop an understanding of gender specific notions and behavior with regard to child rearing practices
4. To initiate discussion on gender roles and related (gender specific) child rearing practices as part of the process of awareness raising and behavioral change.
5. To identify community resources that can lead to
 - the development and/or strengthening of an active participation of the community in a parents education project
 - the facilitation of parent participation in children's education and
 - the building of healthy partner relationships of their adolescent children

1.3 Methodology

1.3. Target population/areas

The surveyed population is composed of parents with at least one child or parents who are regularly taking care of children under 18 years. This age limitation is in accordance with the Convention on the Rights of the Child, in which a child is defined as any person under the age of 18 years.

The target areas were the following two sites:

1. Palissadeweg : a Javanese semi rural community
2. Munderbuiten : an urban community, with a mixed population of Afro-Surinamese, Hindustanis (East-Indians) and Maroons

The choice of these areas was based on the wish to ensure ethnic diversity and inclusion of both urban and rural family settings. In addition we looked at the existence of an active community organization, in particular a women's organization, which could guarantee follow-up actions, i.e. the implementation of a parent education program, based on the principle of gender equality.

1.3.2 Data collection methods

The main method of data collection was a survey in both communities. Prior to the survey we interviewed some stakeholders in the communities such as teachers and other community leaders in order to obtain information about life in general in the community and in particular with respect to the selected issues.

The survey is based on face-to-face structured interviews with 120 persons, all parents of children under 18 years.

We interviewed an equal number of parents in each community, 60 parents in Palissadeweg and 60 in Munderbuiten.

The selection of the survey population was different in each of the communities.

In Palissadeweg the population is relatively small. The total number of houses is approximately 110. Given this condition we decided to visit all dwellings with children under 18 years and interview one parent per family, with (a) resident child (ren) under the age of 18 years. This 100% sample in Palissadeweg resulted in 60 interviews with both men and women, i.e. 43 mothers and 17 fathers.

In Munderbuiten, which is a much larger community, we followed a different approach. Given the budget and available time, we decided to work with a similar sample size as the one used in Palissadeweg, i.e. 60 persons.

The respondents in Munderbuiten were selected through random sampling. As a sample frame we used the school registers of the public primary school 'Munderbuiten'. This school was chosen because it appeared to be the most representative school in the neighborhood, in terms of ethnic and socioeconomic background of the pupils.

The addresses of the selected pupils were used to reach their parents, either their mother or their father. Interviewers were instructed to undertake all necessary efforts to interview a more or less equal number of men and women. Practice learned, however, that men were much more difficult to

reach in the homes than women. In the end the number of male and female respondents in Munderbuiten was nearly the same as in Palissadeweg. In Munderbuiten we interviewed 42 women and 18 men while in Palissadeweg the division was 43 women and 17 men. It is obvious that in both communities the number of surveyed men is less than women. In general men are often temporarily or permanently absent from the households. Even if there is a father in the house, he is relatively more difficult to reach than the mother. In Munderbuiten the interviewers even went several times to the addresses to try to reach men, often without success.

1.3.3 Central themes

Main themes of the questionnaire were:

1. family and relational structure
2. gender division in the household
3. parent-child relationship
4. sexual socialization
5. domestic violence

1.4 Community Profiles: Demographic and Socioeconomic background

1.4.1 Palissadeweg

Palissadeweg is a Javanese Surinamese community, located approximately 22 km. from Paramaribo, in the district of Wanica. The population is almost entirely of Javanese descent. Apart from the 85% who identified themselves as Javanese, there are 7% people from a mixed Javanese origin and a very small number of Creoles and Hindustanians (7%). With respect to religion, we found a mixed Christian/Muslim population. Half of respondents reported being a Christian. The second largest religion is the Islam (43%).

Table 1: Ethnicity of respondents in Palissadeweg

Javanese	85.0
Mixed	6.6
Creole	5.0
Hindustani	1.6
Others	0.8

The community has a relative small population with a total number of 110 dwellings. The average size of the households is about 4.7. If we multiply

this number with the total number of dwellings (110) we can estimate the total size of the population at 470 persons.

The houses are two to three-bedroom houses, made of wood and/or stone. Almost all houses have a large yard with mostly fruit trees, vegetables and flowers. The neighborhood has been established in the first half of the 1940's and has a rather stable population. Most of the families live there for more than 20 years, and one person even reported a period of 50 years. The community is easy accessible as it borders one of the main highways in Suriname. According to the people who live there, Palissadeweg is a nice community, where everybody knows everybody and where several generations of families lived their lives.

There is an active women's organization, founded in 1994. In the past several years many activities in different fields have been organized, such as economic empowerment activities, training courses, discussions, recreational and cultural activities.

Educational level

In general the educational level among parents is relatively high. 45% of the respondents finished their secondary school while nearly 27% visited high school/pre-university. One fifth of the population reported having visited only primary school.

When we differentiate the data according to gender, differences in the educational level appear to be insignificant. The proportion of women with only basic education is a little higher than that of men. On the secondary (senior) level there are slightly more women than men. However, the overall picture shows that educational differences between men and women are relatively small.

Table 2: Educational level of respondents in Palissadeweg by sex

	Women	Men	Total
Primary	21.0	17.6	20.0
Secondary (Junior level)	44.1	47.0	45.0
Secondary (Senior level)	27.9	23.5	26.6
Unknown	2.3	0.0	6.6

Most of the children under 14 years visit the 'St. Ferdinand school', a Catholic primary school, at the Copieweg, which is located just across Palissadeweg. In the school year 1999-2000, this school accommodated 141 boys and 120 girls, which gives a male-female division of 54%: 46%. According to the school principal, in the last 10 years there were no reports of pregnancies of school children. The number of drop-outs in the past 3-4 years has been 5, which means an average drop-out rate of 1 pupil per

year. A smaller number of children visits the government primary school in the 'Schotelweg', which location is about 5 km. from Palissadeweg.

Age structure of parents and children in Palissadeweg

The population of young parents is rather large. As was mentioned earlier, we visited each house in the community and in the vast majority of houses we found parents with children under the age of 18 years. The majority of this category of parents, 88%, falls in the age group 20- 44 years. Only 11% parents were older than 44.

Table 3: Respondents' children under 18 years, in Palissadeweg, by sex

Age-category	Men	Women	Total	%
0-4	10	13	23	22.7
5-9	19	8	27	26.7
10-14	19	13	32	33.1
15-17	12	7	19	18.8
Total	60	41	101	100.0

In table 3 we can see that the total number of children under 18, living at home at the time of the interview, was 101, composed of 60 sons and 41 daughters. The average number of children (under 18) per respondent is $101: 60 = 1.7$.

The male-female division 59%: 41%, which indicates that boy children are a majority. Furthermore the numbers show that children under 15 years comprise the largest age group: 81%. The remaining 19% is in the age category 15-17 years. The category of children under 10 years accounts for 49%. About 32% of the children are between 10 and 14 years.

Economic situation

Table 4: Economic activity of respondents in Palissadeweg by sex

	Women	Men
Housewife	41.8	0.0
Full-time job	46.5	82.3
Part-time job	4.6	5.8
*Hussling	2.3	5.8
Student	2.3	0.0
Other	2.3	5.8

*Hussling: informal and irregular income generating activity

A significant proportion of the women, 42%, is full-time housewife, which is in accordance with the traditional gender labor division. Gender inequality is further confirmed by the finding that the participation of men in the labor force is significantly higher than that of women. While men's involvement in full-time paid out-door economic activities is 82%, this is only 47% among women.

Nevertheless, the role of women in economic subsistence of the family is very clear, as a large proportion of women, 47%, is involved in full-time paid jobs outdoor. This finding once again confirms the fact that women play an important role in the financial care of families.

Table 5: Main economic sector of workers in Palissadeweg by sex

Type employer	Women	Men	Total
Government	33.3	35.2	34.1
Private Sector	50.0	52.9	51.2
Self-employed	16.6	11.7	14.6

The gender division according to economic sector shows little differences. Slightly more than half of the workers, 52%, has a job in the private sector. The proportion of people working for the government is 34% while 15% is self-employed. A significant number of workers, especially men, combines their main job with some other income generating activity in the informal sector, such as small trade or driving taxi.

To assess the financial position of the household, we measured possession of some household appliances. We found that 90% of the households had a radio, 85% a television and 78% a refrigerator. Stereo sets and video recorders clearly belong to the group of luxury items, as only one third of the households reported possession of these goods.

The majority of the parents, 62%, possessed a car, 35% owned a motorbike, and 47% had a bicycle. 13% did not have any kind of transport at all.

1.4.2 Munderbuiten

Munderbuiten is an urban neighborhood in Paramaribo, with a mixed population of Creoles, Hindustanis (East-Indians) and Maroons. It is situated in the surrounding of Paramaribo.

Table 6: Ethnicity of respondents in Munderbuiten

Creole	38.3
Hindustani	30.0
Maroon	13.3
Indigenous	3.3
Javanese	3.3

Chinese	1.7
Mixed	8.4
Other	1.7

The largest ethnic group in Munderbuiten is Creole, 38%, followed by the Hindustanians, which comprise 30% of the total population. The third largest group is the Maroon population, with a proportion of 13%. It was only during the internal war (1986-1992) that the majority of the Maroons came to live in Munderbuiten, as their numbers increased since that period. There were some people of mixed origin, almost all predominantly Creole. Furthermore we found a small number of Amerindians, Chinese and Javanese, but these last groups can be considered minorities.

The largest religion is Christianity. This religion accounts for 67% of the respondents. Of the remaining respondents, 22% is Hindu and about 7% reported being a Muslim.

The majority of the respondents, 63%, live in Munderbuiten for longer than 10 years. Overall, people feel that it is a nice neighborhood to live in. People who did not experience Munderbuiten as a good neighborhood complained about the bad streets, increasing number of drugs addicts and problems with neighbors.

There is an active local women's organization, founded in 1997. Activities include courses on home gardening, making of compost, conservation of vegetables; sewing; creative activities for children, information on the Surinamese legislation; information on health topics, information on drug abuse and fund-raising activities.

Educational level

Table 7: Educational level of respondents in Munderbuiten by sex

	Women	Men	Total
Primary	26.1	5.5	20.0
Secondary Junior level	64.3	27.7	53.3
Secondary Senior level	4.7	50.0	18.3
Higher	4.7	16.6	8.3

Similar to the situation in Palissadeweg, one out of 5 persons received only primary education. However, the average educational level in Munderbuiten is rather high. 53% visited secondary school for juniors and 18% was involved in secondary senior education. The group of people with higher education is significantly higher than in Palissadeweg.

Contrary to Palissadeweg, gender differences in Munderbuiten are much larger if we compare the educational levels. We found that in general the educational level of men is much higher than that of women. While only 6%

of men reported only basic education, among women this percentage is 5 times higher: 26%. This inequality is also reflected in the higher educational levels where men are over represented. We see that 67% of men reported senior secondary education and higher against only 5% of the women.

There are two primary schools in Munderbuiten. One is a government primary school, the 'O.S. Munderbuiten'. In the school year 1999-2000, the school had 341 pupils: 190 boys and 151 girls. The other primary school is Hindu oriented and lead by the Foundation 'Arya Dewaker'. In 1999 they registered a total number of 337 pupils: 169 boys and 168 girls. The population of the school is predominantly Hindustani but not exclusively, as we may also find a number of Creole and Maroon pupils. According to the heads of both schools, no pregnancies and no significant drop-outs have been registered in the past several years. The average drop-out is 0 to 1 pupil per year.

Age structure of parents and children

The majority of the parents in Munderbuiten, 88%, are in the age group 20-44. Young parents, i.e. in the age group 20 and 24 years are only a minority: 8%. The overall picture shows that parents in Munderbuiten are a little younger than those of Palissadeweg. There are fewer respondents in the age group 40-44 years.

Table 8: Number of respondents' children in Munderbuiten under 18 years

Age-category	Women	Men	Total	%
0-4	13	12	25	20.6
5-9	25	21	46	38.0
10-14	22	18	40	33.1
15-17	7	3	10	8.3
Total	67	54	121	100.0

The total number of children, under 18 and living at home, reported was 121. The average number of children under 18, per household is $121:60=2.01$. Most children, 92%, are younger than 15 years. The remaining 8% are in the age category 15-17 years. The boy-girl division is 45%: 55%. Young children, under the age of ten, comprise 60% of the total number of children at home. Children between 10 and 14 years account for 33%.

Economic situation

Table 9: Economic activity of respondents in Munderbuiten, by sex

	Women	Men	Total
Housewife	40.5	0.0	28.3
Full-time job	35.7	66.6	45.0
Unemployed	19.0	11.1	16.7
Part-time job	0.0	5.5	1.7
'Hussling'	2.4	11.1	5.0
Student	2.4	0.0	1.7
Other	0.0	5.5	1.7

Forty one percent of the women in Munderbuiten reported to be full-time housewife. In addition another 19% of the women defined themselves as unemployed, which means that they are looking for a job. If we add this percentage of unemployed women to the group of full-time housewives, the proportion of women at home, without any income source of their own, increases to 60%. It is not surprising that, more than in Palissadeweg, women in Munderbuiten are seeking paid employment. As we will see in a later paragraph, this finding is closely related to the fact that the number of households in Munderbuiten, without a male breadwinner, is relatively high. Participation of men in income earning activities is twice as high as that of women: 67% of the men against 36% of the women has a full-time paid job. Many respondents reported extra income-generating activities, such as: selling of chickens, vegetables, ice cycles, taxi driving, etc.

Table 10: Main economic sector of workers Munderbuiten by sex

	Women	Men	Total
Government	26.6	42.8	34.5
Private Sector	40.0	35.7	37.9
Self-employed	33.3	21.4	27.6

Data gathered on type of sector people work in, show that 38% works in the private sector, 35% works for the government and 28% is self-employed. Interestingly, more women than men are micro-entrepreneurs.

On the contrary more men than women are working for the government, respectively 43% and 27%.

32% of the respondents possessed a car. 23% own a bicycle and 5% possessed a motorbike. People without any type of transportation at all, accounts for 55%, which is the majority. 28 % possessed a VCR, 95% a radio, 20% a stereo, 90% a television and about 83% reported possession of a refrigerator.

Socioeconomic characteristics of respondents in both communities

In the following table an overview is given of the main data on the socioeconomic position of respondents in both communities.

Table 11: Socioeconomic position of respondents in Palissadeweg and Munderbuiten

	Palissadeweg		Munderbuiten	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Educational level:				
Primary	21.0	17.6	26.0	6.0
Secondary(Junior)	44.1	47.0	64.0	28.0
Secondary(Senior)	27.9	23.5	5.0	50.0
Higher	0.0	0.0	5.0	17.0
Economic activity:				
Full-time paid labor	46.5	82.3	35.7	66.6
Part-time paid labor	4.7	5.9	0.0	5.5
Full-time housewife	41.8	0.0	40.5	0.0
Unemployed	0.0	0.0	19.0	11.1
Economic sector:				
Government	33.3	35.3	26.6	42.8
Private sector	50.0	52.9	40.0	35.7
Self-employed	16.7	11.8	33.3	21.4

In general the educational level among parents is relatively high. In both communities more than 70% had at least junior secondary education.

The communities show similar results with respect to the proportion of people with only basic school education, which is about one fifth of the population.

In Palissadeweg there are only little educational differences between men and women. In Munderbuiten, however, it is clear that the educational level of men is much higher than that of women. Full-time employment among men in Munderbuiten is lower than in Palissadeweg.

In both communities participation of men in income earning activities is twice as high than that of women. The proportion of women who are full-time housewife is more or less the same in both Munderbuiten and Palissadeweg, respectively 41% and 42%.

Most paid workers of Palissadeweg are in the private sector. In Munderbuiten less people work in the private sector, while the percentage of persons that are self-employed is nearly twice as large as in Palissadeweg.

In general the living standard c.q. socioeconomic situation of the people in Munderbuiten seems to be lower than that of Palissadeweg. In the first community the unemployment among parents is higher and the educational level of women is lower while the possession of household appliances and private transport is less.

2. Household and relational structure in Palissadeweg and Munderbuiten

2.1 Household composition

In line with Senior (1994) we differentiated between a household and a family. With reference to the 'Women in the Caribbean Project' (WICP:1986), Senior stated: 'The major difference between a 'household' and a 'family' is that members of a household share a common residence and at least one daily meal and may or may not be related to one another. A family is regarded as a group of people who are related to one another but who do not necessarily live together.....(...). We should emphasize that, in many cases, a family and a household are one and the same' (96).

In our study we focused primarily on parents and their children, thus families. Many of these parents were part of larger households. One of the factors influencing socialization of children is the family structure. In this regard theories have been developed about the negative consequences of one-parent families, in particular the absence of a father, on the emotional and social development of the child. A major assumption is that in homes where children grow up without a father, risk is higher that these children will develop problematic behavior. Other studies have shown that one-parent families do not necessarily produce high-risk behavior in children. There are enough examples of children who were raised alone by their mother and who came out well. However, research also indicates that in times of economic crisis, like Suriname is going through at this moment, the one-parent family is relatively more vulnerable in the struggle for economic survival and problems as lack of parental control over children, child neglect, are more likely to occur. In the following paragraph, we will look at the composition of the household and families.

Table 12: Household size by site

	Palissadeweg (n=60)	Munderbuiten (n=60)
Total size of household members	280	336
Average number of persons per household	4.7	5.6

In Palissadeweg the size of most of the households varied from 3-5 (90%). The 60 respondents had a total family size of 280 persons, which brings the average number per family to 4.7. The majority of the couples, 62% had 1 or 2 children. In Munderbuiten more than 50 % of the families were composed of 4-5 members. 70% of the families had 5 persons or less. The

other households had six people or more. Households of 10 and more people comprised about 13% of the total number of surveyed addresses. If we total the size of all 60 families, we come to 336 family members and an average number of persons per family of 5.6. The number of children, living at home varied from 1 –11. The vast majority of the respondents, 72%, reported between one and three children. Six children and more were reported by 28% of the respondents. What seems obvious is that Munderbuiten has larger families and households than Palissadeweg.

2.2. Type of household

Table 13: Type of household by site

	Palissadeweg	Munderbuiten
Nuclear household	65.0	48.3
Extended household	33.3	45.0
One-parent household	1.7	6.7

Most of the households in Palissadeweg, 65%, are nuclear households. This means that the parents and their children live together under one roof, without other family members. About one third of the families are part of an extended household, often composed of three generations: the couple, their children and their parents (or parents in law).

In Munderbuiten nuclear households are also dominant but significantly smaller in number than in Palissadeweg: 48%. In 45% of the cases we found an extended household, composed of children living with other family members than only the mother and/or the father.

The number of households where a single parent lives alone with her or his children (one-parent household) is very small. In Palissadeweg we found 2% and in Munderbuiten only 7%. This does not mean that the number of single parents, especially single mothers is this small. We can conclude however, that in most cases single parents and their children do not live alone but are part of an extended household. In terms of analyzing child-rearing practices this is an important finding, because it shows that especially in the case of single parents, children are surrounded by other family members who are also playing an important role in their socialization.

2.3 Relational status

In Palissadeweg almost all parents, 95%, had a steady partner. The relationship period indicated that couples are quite stable: slightly more than half of the couples, 56%, were together for more than 10 years. In Munderbuiten 82% of the respondents reported a steady partner. Eighteen percent had no steady partner at the time of the interview. There are more women without a steady partner than men, respectively 21% and

11%. Of the people with a steady relation, 43% had a relationship longer than 10 years.

Table 14: Respondents with a steady partner

	Palissadeweg	Munderbuiten
Has a steady partner	95.3	81.7

Marital status

Table 15: Marital status by site

	Palissadeweg	Munderbuiten
Common Law	16.6	35.0
Marriage	73.3	35.0
Visitors relation	5.1	11.7
Single (no steady partner)	5.0	18.3

In Palissadeweg, in 90% of the cases, the couples were living together, either married or in a common law union. Marriage is the dominant relationship. Those in marriages account for 73% while 17% of the couples are in common law unions. Although in Munderbuiten most of the couples, 70%, live together, the proportion of married couples is significantly smaller than Palissadeweg, i.e. 35%.

Table 16: Marital status in Munderbuiten by ethnicity

	Creole	Hind.	Maroon	Others	Total
Common Law	35.7	16.6	62.5	50.0	35.0
Marriage	25.0	61.1	12.2	33.3	35.0
Visitors	21.4	0.0	0.0	16.7	11.7
Single	17.9	22.2	25.0	0.0	18.3

The number of marriages is the highest among the Hindustanians and the lowest among Maroons. Common law is the highest among the Maroons, 63%, followed by the Creoles 36%. The proportion of married people among Creoles and Maroons is respectively 25% and 12%.

It is likely that many of the Maroons, who reported common law are in fact married, but according to traditional Maroon customs.

About 39% of the Creoles, almost all women, do not live together with a partner. This proportion is 22% among Hindustanians and 25% among Maroons.

1.4 Kin relation between steady partner and in-living children

Table 17: Steady partner is biological parent of all children by sex

Steady partner is biological parent of:	Palissadeweg (n=57)			Munderbuiten (n= 49)		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
All children	80.4	93.7	84.2	51.5	81.2	61.2

In Palissadeweg, 84% of the category parents with a steady partner stated that the partner is the biological parent of all the children they have. In a minority of cases, 4%, the partner is the parent of part of the children. In 12% of the cases the actual steady partner is not the parent of any of the children. It is remarkable that this last category is almost solely comprised of women. This same pattern can be observed among the respondents in Munderbuiten. Here we can see that among those parents with a steady partner, in 61% of the cases, the actual steady partner is the parent of all the children of the respondent. In 18% of the cases the steady partner is the parent of part of the children of the respondent. In 20% of the cases the steady partner is not the father or mother of the children. Just as in Palissadeweg, these respondents are, except for one, all women.

The overall picture is that mostly women have relationships with men, who are not the father of their children. Men on the opposite, when they live with a women, she is usually the mother of all their children. The difference between men and women can perhaps be explained with the sexual pattern of multiple steady relationships of men. Women, who do not cohabit with their steady partner, probably have a partner who is already co-habiting with another woman. In practice this double relationship of men implies that in one house the man is resident, while in the other he could be non-resident.

2.5 Type of residence

Table 18: Type of residence with father of part or all children by site

Type of residence:	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Co - residence	79.1	82.3	80.0	50.0	83.4	60.0
Separate residence	2.3	5.8	3.3	7.1	0.0	5.0
No steady partner or steady partner is not the biological parent of the children	18.6	11.7	16.6	42.8	16.6	35.0

We found that in Palissadeweg, 80% of the parents live together with the biological mother or father of their children. Or in other words in 80% of the families, children live with both parents. In a minority of cases, 3%, one parent, lives separate from the children. The remaining respondents, 17%, either have a steady partner who is not the biological parent of their children or do not have a steady partner at all. These are the single parents. In Munderbuiten 60% of the parents live together with the mother or father of their children. In 5 % of the cases, the mother has a steady relationship with the father of her children but he lives separate. In 35% of the households the children live with one biological parent, mostly the mother. In these cases, the partner lives separate and is not the parent of the children of the respondent.

Table 19 :Residence type of respondents in Munderbuiten by ethnic group

	Creole	Hindustani	Maroon
Co-residence	53.5	72.3	50.0
Separate residence	10.7	0.0	0.0
No steady partner or steady partner is not the parent	35.7	27.7	50.0

If we look at residence type by ethnicity we see that 54% of the Creole respondents live with their partner and their common children. The remaining 46% is composed of: parents (almost all mothers) who live alone with their children (39%) and parents living together with a steady partner who is not the biological parent of the respondents children (7%). With respect to the Hindustanians we see that 72% of the respondents live with their partner and children under one roof. In 6% of the cases, the actual steady partner is not the parent of the children and in 22% of the cases, the respondent is a single mother, without a steady partner, living with other family members. This percentage is relatively high, considering the traditional marriage pattern in the Hindustani culture. Among the Maroons 50% of the respondents live with their partner and their common children and 50% live apart.

3. Gender division in the household

3.1. Division of domestic chores

We asked all respondents with a steady relation, regardless whether they lived together or apart, who is doing the bulk of the household work. In both Palissadeweg and Munderbuiten it is clear that women are not only in charge of the household but they are doing most of the tasks, even if they have a full-time job outside the home. In addition to this question we asked the women whether they receive help from their partner.

Table 20: Percentage of women receiving help from partner in domestic chores by site

	Palissadeweg (n=39)	Munderbuiten (n=29)
Woman receives help from partner	83.3	40.4

The findings show that the contribution of Munderbuiten men to domestic chores is significantly lower than those of Palissadeweg.

In both communities, if men are involved in domestic chores, the frequency of daily help is relatively low. In the majority of the cases help of the men partner varies between irregular and seldom. In Palissadeweg, however, the frequency of men that help daily is significantly higher than that of Munderbuiten, respectively 44% against 32%.

When we asked people to assign specific tasks to men and women, traditional notions on gender turned out to be dominant. Women are perceived as the ones responsible for looking after the children, taking care of their homework, cooking, keeping the house clean, washing the clothes, and other indoor domestic chores.

The arguments are as usual:

- the woman is better equipped for these tasks;
- she is always at home,
- 'it is just like that'
- the woman is the one with knowledge about running and organizing the household
- the man is not often at home
- the man is the breadwinner
- it was meant to be like that, etc.

Tasks that are assigned to men are usually connected to the outside world: maintaining the yard, maintaining and repairing the house, sweeping. A traditional household task like cooking is something that men also do, but not on a regular base. Reasons mentioned for assigning these types of tasks to men are, among other things: The man is stronger, he has more knowledge about these tasks, it's a man's work and the man performs them better.

The gender division between parents is directly reflected in the task division between children. In general parents tend to say that they do not make distinctions between their sons and daughters when assigning tasks. A common reply was: boys and girls should be doing the same things. In practice, however, boys are more involved in outdoor jobs, just as their fathers. They go the shop, clean up the yard, weed, etc. Many parents are of the opinion that, just as girls, boys should learn all the household tasks such as cooking and cleaning the house. However, the philosophy behind this appears to be different for boys and girls. Girls learn these tasks as their primary responsibility while boys learn these tasks, in case in the future their wife leaves, is sick, or absent for some reasons.

3.2. Men's attitude towards working partner

Table 21: Men's attitude towards outside work of partner

	Palissadeweg (n=17)	Munderbuiten (n=29)
Woman should not work outside	29.4	61.1

About 29% of the men in Palissadeweg expressed their disagreement with outdoor economic activities of their partner. In Munderbuiten, it is even the majority of men, 61% that stated that they do not like their partner to work outside. Most of the arguments were related to the traditional view that it is men who should fulfill the breadwinner role.

3.3. Main income source

Table 22: Main income source in the household by sex, by site

	Palissadeweg (n=59)			Munderbuiten (n= 57)		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Man	62.8	93.7	71.2	53.8	77.7	61.4
Woman	25.6	0.0	18.6	35.8	16.6	29.8
Both	11.6	6.3	10.2	10.2	5.7	8.7

In Palissadeweg, in 71% of the cases, the man is perceived as the main income source. A minority, 19%, reported the woman as the main income source. It is remarkable that the respondents who made this last statement were all women. The picture in Munderbuiten is less traditional, when it comes to gender roles with respect to financial care of the family. The perception of the man as the main breadwinner is less strong than in Palissadeweg : 61% of the respondents reported the man as the main source of income.

Interesting is the relative high proportion of women, in both communities, who claimed to be the main provider of the family, respectively 19% in Palissadeweg and 30% in Munderbuiten. On the contrary, none of the men in Palissadeweg and only 17% of the Munderbuiten men stated that the woman is the main income source.

The fact that in many households it is not the man who is the main financial provider indicates the impact of the economic crisis on men's capacity to care for a family.

3.4 Decision-making on household expenditures

Apart from looking at division of household responsibilities, we also measured gender equality with some questions that are dealing with decision-making with respect to the financial management of the household.

Table 23: Decision-making regarding daily household expenditures by site

	Palissadeweg (n=56)	Munderbuiten (n=29)
Man	1.7	13.3
Woman	60.7	42.2
Both	35.7	42.2
Others	1.9	1.7

In Palissadeweg more than half of the respondents stated that it is the woman who is in charge of spending the household money and also decides how it will be allocated. About one third of the respondents said that the spending of the household money is a matter of both partners. In Munderbuiten in 42% of the cases the woman is in charge of the household money: she decides on how it should be spent. In an equal number of cases both partners share responsibility in this field. In a relatively little number of cases, 13%, it is the man who makes decisions about household expenditures.

Table 24: Decision-making regarding large expenditures by site

	Palissadeweg (n=56)	Munderbuiten (n=45)
Man	7.1	31.1
Woman	7.1	17.7
Both	85.8	51.2

In Palissadeweg there is more consensus between men and women when it comes to shared decision-making with respect to large expenditures such as houses, land, households utilities, etc. 86% of the respondents stated that these expenditures are based on joint decisions.

In Munderbuiten people in favor of joint decision-making made up the majority but still their proportion was significantly lower than Palissadeweg. Slightly more than half of the respondents, 52%, consider large expenditures a business of both partners.

If we differentiate this variable by sex, findings show that more men than women are in favor of shared decision-making with respect to large expenditures, respectively 69% and 41%. While 34% of the women in Munderbuiten perceived the man as the one who is supposed to make the decisions, only 25% of the men shared this view. In other words, women perceived men as more powerful than men perceived themselves. This

finding in Munderbuiten could be related to the lower educational level and paid employment among women in this community.

3.5 Knowledge about income size of partner

We asked respondents, with a working partner, if they know how much their partner earns. In Munderbuiten 51% knew how much the partner earns, 31% was not informed, while 18% was not sure about the exact income. If we differentiate by sex, we see no significant differences in the responses of men and women. It seems, however, that men are a little more open about their income than women.

Findings with respect to this subject show that in Palissadeweg couples are relatively more open about their income than in Munderbuiten. Here the proportion of respondents who knew about how much their partner earns, was relatively high among both men and women, respectively: 82% and 78%.

4. Parent – child relationship

4.1. Value of children

How do respondents perceive children? What are the main motives they mention for having children? Although the answers vary, a common understanding is that children form a very essential aspect in a relationship. In Munderbuiten 88% believes that children are necessary in a relationship. In Palissadeweg this proportion is nearly the same, 90%. A relationship without children is not considered complete.

The most common arguments to justify this position are that children bring joy, comfort and happiness and add more value to the relation with the partner. It is noteworthy to remark that almost all persons emphasized the immaterial values of children rather than the more materialist motives which are often mentioned in the literature such as: assurance for old days, help with work, etc.

In both communities, the majority of the respondents mentioned adoption, as the best alternative if a couple cannot have children of their own.

4.2 Central values in socialization

The traditional child-parent relationship, characterized by a strict hierarchy is still very vivid among the respondents. In this view the parent expects unconditionally respect and obedience from the child.

We asked parents which values they stress in their children's upbringing. Which were the main lessons they wanted their children to learn.

It appears that many values are cross-gender and cross-cultural. A common wish that most of the parents expressed is that their children finish their school and have a proper education. In line with this ideal, they also emphasized the importance of a good job and a good position in society. The same characteristics are expressed with respect to the ideal son or daughter in law. Noteworthy is that many parents expressed the wish for a non-violent relation, in case of daughters. Apart from these ideals, overall parents stressed values, which reflect the traditional parent-child upbringing: listen to your parents, be obedient, respect your parents, show good manners, don't stay in the streets too late, don't steal, don't oppose your parents' opinion, believe in God, discipline, honesty, avoid bad friends. A small number of parents also stressed more modern values such as free expression of opinion, development of self-esteem, etc. In general parents are of the opinion that moral upbringing is not gender specific. Even when we asked them to list the values separate for boys and girls, almost all answered that these values are the same, regardless of the gender of the child.

4.3. Main person(s) in a child's life

Table 25: Parent perceived as main person in the life of the child by site

	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Mother	44.2	35.2	41.6	47.6	44.4	46.6
Father	4.6	5.8	5.0	0.0	5.6	1.7
Both	51.6	58.8	53.3	52.3	50.0	51.7

When asked who is the most important person in the upbringing/socialization of the child, more than half of the parents in Palissadeweg, 53 %, stated that both parents are significant. Another 42% mentioned only the mother as the most important person. Only 5% mentioned only the father. Arguments to justify the important role of the mother: the mother has more patience, she spends more time with the children, mothers never leave their children. Respondents who were assigning equal value to both parents stressed the need for common responsibility and a common upbringing with common values and norms. In Munderbuiten a little more than half of the respondents believe that both parents play an important role in the upbringing and socialization of the child. Another common view, shared by 47% of the interviewees is that the mother is the most important person in a child's life. The traditional strong mother and child bond is clearly reflected in the perception of both genders. 48% of the women and 44% of the men believe that it is the mother who is

the most important person. On the contrary, none of the women and only 6% of the men perceives the father as the main person in a child's life. We can conclude that the idea that the mother is the main parent in a child's life is still very strong. On the other hand it is positive to observe that in both communities, the majority of the parents do not make a distinction and believe that both parents are equally important.

4.4. Raising children: present and past

When we asked parents if raising children today is more difficult than before, when they were children, most of them answered with a strong 'yes'. It is striking that almost all parents complained that, contrary to the past, children of today are less obedient and have less respect for elders.

Some of the most common opinions are listed below:

- Children of today have their own opinion
- Children do not listen anymore
- Children of today are stubborn
- Children of today are rebellious
- Children of today are early independent

Many parents also argued that nowadays it is very difficult for a parent to control the behavior of their children because there are so many external influences, such as television, school (friends), drugs, etc. They feel that there is less social control from the family. Another factor that has a great impact on upbringing and mentioned by almost all parents is the difficult economic situation and the difficulty to provide adequate financial care for children.

4.5. Type of punishments and rewards

Table 26: Frequency of corporal punishment by sex, by site

	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Often	2.3	0.0	1.6	4.8	0.0	3.3
Regular	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	6.7
Sometimes	37.2	17.6	31.6	19.0	27.7	21.7
Seldom	37.2	11.7	29.9	35.7	38.8	36.7
Never	23.2	70.6	34.9	30.9	33.3	28.3

As we see in table 26 in both communities the frequency of reports on corporal punishment is low. The vast majority of the parents stated that they seldom or never use corporal punishment on their children. The frequencies

'often' and 'regular' corporal punishment in Munderbuiten is slightly higher than in Palissadeweg.

A similarity of both communities is that in general the frequency of corporal punishment of children is higher among women than among men. This result is not surprising because women spend more time with children and are the major actors in the day-to-day upbringing of children.

Apart from corporal punishment, parents apply a variety of other punishments, such as:

- not allowed to watch television
- not allowed to play with friends, or meet friends
- close them in a room
- send them to their room
- not allowed to go out
- make them stand in the corner of the room
- scream at them
- let them stand alone in the dark outside
- lock up their clothes so that they cannot go out
- give them extra work

The most common causes for punishing boy children are:

- they walk away: they stay late in the streets and do not tell where they go or where they are
- they do not listen to their parents
- they neglect their homework
- they lie
- they use drugs
- they hit their little siblings

Reasons for punishing girls show a lot of similarity with that of boys.

However, girls are less punished for going out on the street. And more punished for not listening to their parents. So, girls are expected more to follow the rules than boys.

Overall parents reward positive behavior. The most mentioned manner to show content is to give a compliment to the child. Some parents stated that they show content by physical intimacy: give kisses, or embrace the child. Some buy presents or favorite food, give money, or things that the children want badly.

4.6 Parent's relation with school

Table 27: Main person in contact with school by sex, by site

	Palissadeweg (n=44)			Munderbuiten (n= 54)		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Mother	70.5	20.0	59.0	84.6	33.3	70.4
Father	11.8	60.0	22.7	0.0	40.0	11.1
Both	17.6	20.0	18.1	5.2	26.7	11.1
Female relatives	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.2	0.0	7.4

In Palissadeweg, the majority, 73%, of the parents had children in school. With respect to the question which parent has the most contact with the school, we found that perceptions about the role of the other sex are very different from perceptions of one's own role. For example, 60% of the men stated that they keep the contact, while only 12% of the women stated that it is the father who has contact with the school. 71% of the women claimed that they alone have contact with the school. On the opposite, only 20% of the men said that the woman alone does this part of the upbringing. A possible explanation for this difference is the influence of existing norms. Because both parents are expected to be involved in the educational development of their children, both want to make a good impression and hold up the image of a good parent. So, especially men tend to give socially desirable answers.

In Munderbuiten 90% of the respondents had children in school. The remaining 10% had either very young children who were not in school yet or older children who were not in school anymore.

Table 28: Main person(s) involved in schoolwork of children, by sex, by site

	Palissadeweg (n=44)			Munderbuiten (n= 54)		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Mother	52.9	20.0	45.5	58.9	46.4	55.5
Father	17.6	40.0	22.7	5.1	20.0	9.3
Both	11.7	30.0	15.9	7.7	33.3	14.8
Brother/sister	5.8	0.0	4.5	2.5	0.0	1.9
Fem.relatives	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.3	0.0	11.1
Nobody	11.7	10.0	11.3	7.7	0.0	5.6

In table 27 we see that, overall, mothers are the ones who have contact with the school. The vast majority of the parents, 70%, stated that is the mother who is the main contact person with teachers in the school. The father is

reported only by 11% of the respondents. Interestingly, only men pointed the father out as the main figure in the relation with schoolteachers. On the contrary none of the mothers mentioned the father as the one who has contact with the school. Only 11% mentioned both parents.

In table 28 findings show that 46% of the respondents in the Palissadeweg said that it is the mother alone who provides help with homework of the children. Twenty-three percent of the respondents stated that it is the father alone, while 16% said that their children receive help from both parents when it comes to schoolwork.

In Munderbuiten, the findings are rather the same if we compare the role of the mother. In both communities it is mainly the mother (and often female relatives) who provides help with schoolwork. Differences appear when we focus on the role of the father. In Palissadeweg men are more involved in homework of their children. Proportion of men in the Palisade who provides help with schoolwork is twice as large as in Munderbuiten, respectively 23% and 9%.

4.7 Fathers and infants

Table 29: Presence of father during birth of his child, by sex

	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Yes	46.5	76.4	55.0	23.2	38.8	28.3

Fifty-five percent of the respondents in Palissadeweg said that the man was present during the birth of his child(ren). The percentage of men who said that they were present during labor is much higher than the percentage of women that said that their partner was present during labor, respectively 76% and 47%. In Munderbuiten male attendance during birth is significantly lower than in Palissadeweg. Only 28% of the respondents stated that the father was present during the birth of his child(ren).

Table 30: Involvement of father in post-natal care (visits to consultation bureau)

	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Mother	60.4	29.4	51.6	78.6	44.4	68.3
Father	2.3	5.8	3.3	0.0	11.1	3.3
Both	37.2	64.7	45.1	21.4	44.5	28.4

Involvement of men in post-natal childcare is relatively low. More than half of the respondents stated that it was (is) the woman who usually brings children to the consultation bureau, while 45% reported that both parents were present. Again differences occur in men's and women's responses.

While only 37% of the women confirmed shared visits to the child clinic, the proportion of men that stated the same was much higher, 65%.

If we look at involvement of men in the post-natal period in Munderbuiten, especially visits to the consultation bureau we see that only in 3% of the cases the man alone brought the child. In 68% of the cases it was the mother alone, while in 28% of the cases both men and women were present.

4.8. Recreational time spent with children

Table 31: Frequency of recreational time by site

	Palissadeweg	Munderbuiten
Often	11.6	3.3
Regularly	18.2	13.3
Sometimes	28.3	16.7
Seldom	23.3	48.3
Never	18.3	18.3

We asked respondents if they have regular recreational activities outside the home. In Munderbuiten, the majority, 67%, replied that they never or seldom have recreational activities.

It is clear that in Palissadeweg there is more free time while more recreational activities are undertaken. Most of the respondents, 58%, reported a frequency of recreational activities ranging from often to sometimes. In Munderbuiten this percentage was only 33%.

Table 32: Person(s) with whom most of recreational time is spent

	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Children	34.8	17.6	30.0	71.4	33.3	60.0
Partner	4.6	5.8	5.0	2.3	5.5	3.3
Partner and children	55.8	64.7	58.2	23.8	50.0	31.7
Friends	0.0	11.7	3.3	2.0	0.0	0.0
Family	2.3	0.0	1.6	2.0	6.0	1.7
Others	2.3	0.0	1.6	0.0	0.0	3.3

In Palissadeweg, the majority, 58%, of the parents who live together reported that they spend their free time with their partner and children. Mothers spend more time with children alone than fathers (35% and 18%), which is not surprising because many women are full-time housewife and thus more in the home where the children are. Only 5% mentioned the partner alone.

About 12% of the fathers spend most of their free time with friends. None of the women mentioned friends.

Most of the recreational activities outside the home are with family members (birthdays, family gatherings, etc.). Other activities that are mentioned are related to sports and religion (mainly women). 14% of the women mentioned activities of the women's organization as one of their main recreational activity. Where men are involved in sports, usually football is mentioned. Some women are also involved in sports, mainly aerobics and 'slagbal'.

In Munderbuiten, if there is any free time, this time is spent either with the children alone, or with the partner and the children. It is clear that partners hardly spend any free time alone with each other. The numbers do not show any significant difference between men and women. Because women are more at home, 71% spend their free time alone with the children. In the case of men, this is 33%. Most of the outside recreational activities of the parents are related to family, religion or sport.

5. Sexuality

5.1. Use of contraceptives

Table 33: Use of contraceptives by women by site

	Palissadeweg (n=43)	Munderbuiten (n=42)
Yes	53.4	45.2

In Palissadeweg 53% reported use of one or more contraceptives. The most reported contraceptive method is the pill. The pill accounts for 78% of methods, while 18% reported the use of condoms. Only two persons reported the IUD.

In Munderbuiten most of the women did not use contraceptives at the time of the interview. Users account for 45% of the women.

Table 34: Person responsible for birth control by site

Person(s) responsible for birth control:	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Woman	62.7	41.1	56.6	52.3	22.2	43.3
Man	9.3	5.8	8.3	9.5	11.1	10.0
Both	27.9	47.1	33.2	38.1	66.7	46.7
Don't know	0.0	6.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

In both communities most people perceive birth control as a responsibility of the woman. This is not only the dominant view among men but also among women. In Palissadeweg almost 63% of the women stated that the choice and use of birth control method is their business. In Munderbuiten we can observe more or less the same attitude. Women are less willing to see birth control as a shared issue than men. While 67% of the men stated that the responsibility with respect to birth control should be shared, less women (38%) think the same. A slight majority, 47%, stated that decision-making with respect to contraceptive is a joint decision of a couple. 43%, almost all women, claimed that the use and selection of the type of contraceptive is an exclusive responsibility of the women.

In Palissadeweg, the proportion of men who respond in favor of joint decision-making is significantly larger than that of women, respectively, 47% and 28%.

If we look at actual behavior, the findings show that 63% of the women in Palissadeweg said that they involve their partner in their decision with respect to birth control.

In Munderbuiten this percentage is significantly lower, as only 38% of the women involved their partner.

5.2 Perceptions on sexuality of children

5.2.1 Talking about sex

A common observation in many studies is that parents usually do not talk with their children about sex. Some of the underlying reasons are often shame, lack of knowledge or lack of communication skills. It is interesting to notice that, although parents find it difficult to talk about sex, the majority of them believes that the period 10-14 years is an appropriate period to start sex talk with children. This is actually also the period in which sexual education in the school starts.

Table 35: Appropriate age to talk about sex by site

	Palissadeweg (n=51)	Munderbuiten (n=60)
0-4 years	1.6	13.3
5-9 years	3.3	13.3
10-14 years	65.0	50.0
15-19 years	15.0	16.7
20-24 years	1.6	0.0
No specific age	0.0	6.6

The findings in the table show that in both Palissadeweg and Munderbuiten, the majority of the parents, respectively 65% and 50%, mentioned the age

category 10-14 as the best period to start talking about sex with children. Most of the people tend to relate sex talk to the beginning of sexual maturity, which, in girls, is strongly related to the menarche.

In Munderbuiten a significant proportion of parents even mentioned the early childhood period as a good starting point.

In general we can conclude that the majority of the parents is not reluctant to the idea of discussing sexual issues with their children.

The next table shows more detailed findings on the issue of sexual education.

Respondents were asked from which source their children derived most of their knowledge about sex. It shows very clearly that in both communities the mother and the schools are the most important sources. Interestingly, the father (alone) was not even mentioned as a source where children could obtain sexual knowledge.

Table 36: Most mentioned sexual education source by site

	Palissadeweg	Munderbuiten
Mother	32.3	25.0
School	37.8	25.0
School/Mother	8.1	6.7
School/Parents	10.8	5.0
Parents	8.1	3.3

5.2.2. Ideal age to start sex

In case of daughters

Table 37: Appropriate age for a daughter to have first sex by site

	Palissadeweg	Munderbuiten
10-14 years	0.0	0.0
15-19 years	8.3	55.0
20-24 years	36.6	36.7
25-29 years	6.6	1.6
Doesn't matter	8.3	6.7

The ideal age to initiate sexual activity tends to lay mainly in the age category 15-24. There is however a difference in perception when it comes to gender.

When we asked parents in Palissadeweg at what age their daughter should start with sex, the majority, 45% mentioned the age of 18. The second most mentioned age is 20 (28%). Approximately 7% of parents considered 21 a good age to start with sex. In Munderbuiten figures show a lot of similarity. We can conclude that in general most parents perceive 18 years, 20 years and 21 years as the most appropriate age to initiate sexual intercourse.

Most parents reject sexual activity of daughters during childhood and early adolescence i.e. between 10-18 years.

In case of sons

Table 38: Appropriate age for a son to have first sex by site

	Palissadeweg	Munderbuiten
10-14 years	8.3	0.0
15-19 years	51.6	60.0
20-24 years	28.3	35.0
25-29 years	10.0	0.0
Doesn't matter	1.6	5.0

The attitude towards first sex of sons is a little different compared with girls. In the opinion of parents, sons should start earlier with sex. The age category 15 -17 is mentioned more often than in the case of daughters. It is remarkable that in both communities the ages 18 and 20 are again mentioned with the highest frequency, respectively 43% and 28%. We can conclude that in people's perception the ages of 18 and 20 are commonly seen as marking years in the sexual development of both men and women.

5.2.3. Ideal child bearing age

While parents expect boys to start earlier with sex than daughters, their attitude is rather the opposite with respect to childbearing age of their daughters. In general parents tend to postpone fatherhood for their boys. In Palissadeweg there is a clear gender difference. The majority of parents expect their sons to start at the age of 25 or later, while for girls the most mentioned age is 20 years.

Munderbuiten shows similar findings. Here the vast majority of the respondents, 83%, believe that a woman should have her first child before her 25th birthday, of which 10% is of the opinion that this should happen when she is 18 years.

In general mothers tend to postpone fatherhood for their sons: 50% of the mothers shares the opinion that a man should start making children if he is 25 or older. This could be an explanation for the fact that many men tend to postpone responsibility of fatherhood. However, without considering prevention of pregnancies. While mothers want their sons to postpone fatherhood, fathers idealize young fatherhood. The majority of the fathers are of the opinion that 18 years is a good age for a man to start fatherhood.

5.2.4 Ideal relationship

Table 39: Perceived ideal relation for children by sex, by site

	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Common Law before marriage	51.1	47.0	49.9	38.1	38.8	38.3
Marriage	13.9	5.8	11.6	30.9	33.3	31.7
Marriage is not obligatory	11.6	5.8	10.0	28.5	16.6	25.0
Children decide	23.2	41.1	28.2	2.3	11.1	5.0

An interesting finding is that although marriage is the dominant type of relationship in Palissadeweg, only 12% of the parents are in favor of the traditional approach of marriage, in which children marry right away. Most of the parents either believe that youngsters should live together first and marry afterwards or that it is up to the children to decide how they want to structure their relationship. In this last category men are in the majority. We can assume that in Palissadeweg fathers are more likely to respect children's own choices when it comes to selecting a relationship.

When asked for opinions on the ideal type of relationship for their children, the majority of the parents in Munderbuiten favored marriage. However, about half argued that before marriage they would like their children to live together first. The main reason for adding this condition is that they believe that living together would create the opportunity for the couple to learn to know each other better. A further 25% claimed that marriage is not obligatory while 5% stated that it is up to their children to decide what type of relationship they prefer.

6. Domestic violence

6.1. Domestic conflict

When we measured prevalence of violence we only looked at physical violence, both in the own partner relationship as well as in the family of origin. As expected, conflict in the family is not unusual. In Palissadeweg most of the respondents, 93%, reported the occurrence of conflict. Only 7% of the respondents said that there is never trouble. On the question how often conflict occurs, most respondents, 65% replied with 'sometimes'.

Table 40: Frequency of conflict in the home by sex, by site

	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Often	4.6	0.0	3.3	4.7	0.0	3.3
Regular	2.3	5.8	3.3	2.3	0.0	1.7
Sometimes	67.4	52.9	65.0	45.2	33.3	41.7
Seldom	16.2	29.4	20.0	21.4	44.4	28.3
Never	9.3	5.8	8.2	26.1	22.2	25.0

The picture in Munderbuiten does not differ a lot from Palissadeweg if we compare the frequency of conflict in the family. Also here we registered a very small proportion of people that reported 'often' and 'regular' conflict. In both communities the reported frequency of conflict varied from 'sometimes' to 'never'. Overall men report less conflict than women. Nearly half of the women in Munderbuiten reported the lowest frequency of conflict. A possible explanation could be the relative high number of women without a (resident) partner: no partner, no conflict.

6.2. Sources of relational conflict and conflict resolution

We asked people in a steady relationship, what are the main causes for relational conflict.

The reasons for conflict are multiple. Overall we can distinct two large types of arguments. The first type of conflict is rooted in inequality in the partner relation: many women complained about jealousy of the partner or imposed restrictions on their behavior, especially if they have outdoor activities. Another source of conflict, from a woman's point of view, is the absence of the man in the home and little involvement in the upbringing of their children. Financial matters is also often a reason for conflict. Partners accuse each other of bad financial management of the household.

The second type of conflict refers to differences in views with respect to the upbringing of children. For example, parents fight over homework of the children, methods of punishment, discipline of children, etc.

Another question that was asked with respect to domestic violence was: 'How do you show your partner that you are angry' and 'How does your partner show you that he/she is angry with you'?

With these questions we wanted to find out how people deal with conflict. In general we registered two major types of reactions. The partner either becomes aggressive or passive. In the first situation there is shouting, physical violence, aggressive behavior. In the second situation there is silence, distance (they sleep separate) the partner leaves or does not visit, or communicates less (they do not look at each other or do not speak to each other). In only two of the replies we could find that partners talk the problem over. The findings show that there is no significant difference

between men and women when it comes to conflict resolution. Men and women both apply aggressive and passive resolution methods.

6.4. Prevalence of violence

Table 41: Ever used violence against a partner by sex, by site

	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Yes	2.3	11.7	5.0	9.5	22.2	13.3

It is clear that in both communities more men than women used violence against their partner. The findings show that reports about abuse are higher in Munderbuiten than in Palissadeweg, respectively 13% against 5%.

Table 42: Experience(d) abuse in their family of origin, by sex, by site

	Palissadeweg			Munderbuiten		
	Women	Men	Total	Women	Men	Total
Never	86.0	82.4	85.1	90.4	66.7	83.4
Seldom	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.4	11.1	5.0
Sometimes	4.6	0.0	3.3	2.4	11.1	5.0
Regular	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	3.3
Often	9.4	12.5	10.0	4.8	0.0	3.3
Unknown	0.0	6.3	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0

In both Munderbuiten en Palissadeweg people have experienced physical violence in their family of origin, respectively 17% and 13%. Most of the time it was violence between parents, where the father abused the mother.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

7.1. Conclusions

Household and relational structure

With respect to household and relational structures we have seen that the Surinamese scene is very diverse. Apart from the nuclear household, which is the dominant household type in both communities, we also found extended households and one-parent households.

In Palissadeweg most of the couples were married, while in Munderbuiten the type of relation varied according to the ethnic group. Among Hindustanians most respondents were married, while among Creoles and Maroons common law unions were most reported.

In both communities we found that most of the children in the target population (under 18 years) are younger than 15 years: 83% in Palissadeweg and 92% in Munderbuiten, of which respectively 60% and 49% belong to the age category: 0-9. Based on these figures we can assume that our target population is mainly composed of parents with children under 15, of which most are younger than 10 years. Considering the educational system these age categories correspond with kindergarten, primary school and the first phase of secondary junior school.

With respect to age division among parents, we found very similar findings. In both communities the vast majority of the parents, 88%, were in the age category 20-44 years.

In both the Palissadeweg and Munderbuiten, most of the parents (respectively 90% and 70%) were living together, either married or in a common law union. An important conclusion we can derive from this finding is that in most families children are raised by two parents, regardless if these are the biologically parents or not.

If we compare the two communities an overall conclusion is that in Palissadeweg the proportion of parents who lived together with their children, all under one roof, was significantly higher than in Munderbuiten.

The highest proportion (39%) of single mothers is found among Creoles in Munderbuiten. Among Hindustanians and Maroon we found percentages of respectively 22% and 25%.

Furthermore findings showed that in both communities the number of households where a single mother live alone with her children is small. Most of the single mothers were part of an extended household. This finding implies that, especially in single parent families, apart from the mother, other home based caretakers, such as grandparents and siblings, are

playing an active role in the socialization of the child and therefore should be considered important socialization agents.

Twelve percent of the parents in Palissadeweg and 20% in Munderbuiten, almost all women, had a steady partner, who was non-resident. Male respondents, on the opposite, usually lived with the biological mother of their children. This difference between men and women could be explained by the prevailing cultural pattern of multiple partnerships of men. In this context it is likely that a man has a relationship with a woman in one household, where he has a non-resident status, while in another household he is resident. In both households, however, he is somehow involved in the socialization process of children. This means that we should consider the possibility that a man could be simultaneously involved as socialization agent in two different settings: one in which he is the resident father and one in which he is not.

Gender labor division in the household

Financial care of the family

The existing gender inequality at the macro-economic level is clearly reflected at the household level. In both communities participation of men in full-time paid labor is twice as high as that of women while men are also reported as the main income source in most of the households.

Although the phenomena of 'the working mother' has a long history in Suriname, the data reveal that nearly half of the women in Palissadeweg and 60% in Munderbuiten are still full-time involved in household work. These findings do not negate, however, the fact that many women play an important role in the financial care of their family. In Munderbuiten and Palissadeweg respectively 36% and 47% of the mothers had a full-time paid outside job. In a significant proportion of households women's financial contribution was even reported as the main income source: 26% of the women in the Palissadeweg and 36% of those in Munderbuiten reported themselves as the main breadwinner.

Despite this important contribution of women to economic survival of the family, the notion of the male as 'the breadwinner' is still very strong, especially among men. Overall men tend to negate this breadwinner role of women. This attitude is reflected in the fact that none of the men in Palissadeweg and only 17% of the men in Munderbuiten reported the woman as the main income source. Furthermore we also found that many men do not like the idea of a woman working outside: 29% in Palissadeweg and 61% in Munderbuiten.

The myth of the male breadwinner is a main frame of reference parents use in the socialization of children and therefore a strong ideological instrument in the maintaining of gender inequality. It is therefore essential to provide parents, not only with alternative gender models but also with statistics to reveal the mechanisms, which keep the existing unequal gender system in power.

Care of household and children

If we compare Palissadeweg and Munderbuiten the data clearly indicate that patterns of gender labor division in the household are very similar. In both communities it is the woman who is primarily responsible for in-door domestic chores and day-to day financial management of the household. Men are (perceived as) the main income source of the family and therefore usually in charge of outdoor domestic chores.

This traditional gender specific task division is also reflected in the socialization of children. Tasks assigned to girls are connected to the tasks of the mother while boys are mainly involved in the 'male tasks', connected to the tasks of their fathers. Interestingly, most of the parents tend to emphasize the importance of learning all the in-door household tasks to boys. They believe that a boy should also know how to cook, wash clothes, etc. The main thought behind this, however, is that a man should always be able to take care of himself, even if no woman is available. The direct consequence of this approach is that as soon as boys live together with a partner, they stop to help in domestic chores and expect their partner to do the work, because they perceive domestic chores as a woman's responsibility.

Caring (and bearing of) for children is seen by both men and women as a primary responsibility of the woman. The mother is seen as the most important person in a child's life. This perception is also in line with reality. In practice it is mainly the mother who is in contact with the school and helps children with homework. She is the one who spends most of her time alone with children and brings them to the consultation bureau, the doctor, etc.

If we look at patterns of decision-making, we can observe that overall the proportion of respondents in favor of shared decision making is the highest in Palissadeweg. Men of Palissadeweg are relatively more involved in tasks that are traditionally assigned to women, such as indoor domestic chores and caring and upbringing of children. The proportion of men in Palissadeweg who has contact with school, helps with schoolwork, was present during birth and brought their child to the consultation bureau was significantly higher than that of men in Munderbuiten. This higher frequency

of joint decision-making and cross-gender task division in Palissadeweg could be related to a higher percentage of co-resident partner relations and cultural specific perceptions on gender roles, which were not explored in detailed in this study.

While many men believe that the role of the breadwinner is exclusively masculine, they expressed willingness to share responsibilities in fields, which are traditionally characterized as feminine. Findings indicate that men are aware that certain responsibilities, such as family planning, helping with children's homework, visit schools and spend free time with children, be present at birth of the child and involvement in postnatal care are responsibilities which should be shared by men and women.

From the viewpoint of most women, however, men's involvement in these activities is still marginal. One explanation could be that there is a gap between perception and action: men perceive themselves as committed fathers but do not act as such in practice. In the discussion on parenting it is important to consider these contradictions between perceptions and practice. Self-evaluation should not be based only on verbal commitment or intentions, but people should be stimulated to critically consider their actual behavior. In this regard it is important to have a closer look at the obstacles, internal and external, which keep men from transferring good intentions into action.

Although men are involved in child rearing, the real situation is that the mother is still the main actor in the socialization of children. This finding indicates that involvement of men in the process to change gender socialization is necessary but the main focus should be primarily on the mother, as the most influencing factor.

Parent-child relationship

Almost all parents are of the opinion that children are essential in a relationship. A relationship without children is not considered complete. Not being able to have children with a partner is not seen as a valid reason to make 'outside' children or to end the relationship. The most mentioned alternative way to have children is to adopt.

There is a strong believe that raising children today is much more difficult than before. Parents argue that children of today are less obedient and have less respect for elders. Furthermore they complain about the decrease of social control mechanisms and the increasing influence of external factors such as mass media, drugs, peer groups, etc. The current difficult economic situation in Suriname is considered a big obstacle in providing adequate financial care for children.

This study showed that parents, regardless of their gender or ethnic background, share the same ideals with respect to their children's future. All parents want their children to have a good education, a good job, a good position in society.

Corporal punishment of children seems to be a rare practice in the communities involved. It is difficult to determine the reliability of these responses. Considering the social taboo on this issue, it is not unlikely that respondents tend to respond in a socially desirable manner. Other studies have shown that a questionnaire is not the best instrument to measure taboo issues such as violence.

Most of the parents use other punishment methods such as limiting the children's freedom (close them in the room, no permission to play with friends or go on the streets), forbid them to do the things they like, etc.

Reasons for punishing girls show a lot of similarity with that of boys. However, girls are less punished for staying out late or going out on the streets.

In Palissadeweg parents conduct more recreational activities outside the home than in Munderbuiten. In both communities recreational activities are either spend with the children alone or with the partner and children. Partners hardly spend any free time with each other.

Sexual socialization of children

In general perceptions on sexuality of children are very similar. Most parents see the age period 10-14 years as the best period to include sexual issues in the communication with children. In case of girls, parents focus especially on preparing the girl for menarche.

Although parents are not reluctant to discuss sex with children, most of them assign this task to the mother and the school. It is striking that men seem to have no role in the sexual education of children, in particular in the age group under 15 years.

Notions on the ideal age to start with sexual intercourse are very much the same. Most parents do not expect their children to have sex before the age of 18. The most mentioned ages for initiating sexual intercourse were 18, 20 and 21, for both daughters and son. However, if we look more closely it appears that parents expect their sons to start earlier with sex than daughters.

The opposite is true when it comes to childbearing. Here we see a clear difference between mothers and fathers. Most mothers tend to postpone

fatherhood for their sons, ideally at the age of 25 or later. Daughters, however, are expected to start motherhood around the age of 20. In Munderbuiten 10% of the respondents even mentioned 18 years as the ideal age for a woman to have her first child. While mothers tend to postpone fatherhood for their sons, most fathers believe that 18 years is a good age for a man to start fatherhood. It seems obvious that gender inequality in socialization is specifically strong in the field of sexual socialization.

Marriage is the type of relation that is most idealized. However, the majority of the parents, in both communities, are of the opinion that children should not be marrying right away but live together first. It is striking that this opinion is especially strong in Palissadeweg.

Domestic violence

Conflict in the family is not unusual. Almost all households experienced some form of conflict on an irregular basis.

Most conflicts are rooted in dominance of one of the partners, mainly the man, over the other. Women often complain about imposed restrictions on them by their partner: they are not allowed to leave the house. Financial management of the household is also one of the main reasons for conflict.

With respect to the prevalence of violence we found that in Palissadeweg and in Munderbuiten, respectively 5% and 13% of the respondents reported that they ever abused their partner. In both communities more men than women used violence against their partner.

Although most parents agree with each other on the central values of socialization, the perceptions on how to realize these values are often different. These differences in views on how to raise children are an important source of conflict.

We also looked at how parents deal with relational conflict. The findings show that there is no significant difference between men and women when it comes to conflict resolution. Men and women both apply aggressive and passive resolution methods.

7.2 Recommendations

- Present the findings of the survey to the two communities involved through a meeting with parents and other stakeholders in the community (such as teachers, community leaders, health workers)
- Discuss the findings with the community and use the results of the discussions for the organization of two workshops on parent-education and gender socialization in the respective communities
- Evaluate the workshops and use the results for the further development of a parent education programme, using alternative gender socialization models and aimed at a general public.

A parent education program based on alternative gender socialization should consider the following aspects:

- The mother and the school can be identified as the main socialization agents. Many mothers are full-time housewives and therefore mainly in charge with the upbringing of children. The vast majority of the children spend most of their time either in the home or in the school
- A parent education program should be community based with strong linkages to the educational sector, especially the kindergarten and primary school.
Furthermore this program should develop linkages with local women organizations, religious groups and stimulate the initiation and strengthening of parents' groups.
- Strengthen the relationship between the main socialization agents, which are the home and the school. This implies that both parents and school workers should be actively involved in the planning and implementation of a parent education program
- A parent education program should focus on both parents. However, given the current conditions where the mother is still the central point in a child's life, it is realistic to focus primarily on the mother.
- Identify target groups of parents. Considering the age division within the group of children under 18, we recommend to identify the following target groups:
 - parents of children in kindergarten and parents of preschool children
 - parents of children in primary school

- To ensure better parenting it is essential for creating opportunities for fathers and mothers to meet and to discuss relevant issues with respect to male-female relations and socialization of children. Parents should have the possibility to share thoughts, experiences and freely and openly express their fears, doubts and expectations. This implies that methods used should be participatory in nature and action oriented
- The family and relational structure in Suriname is diverse: these structures should be discussed and critically evaluated against the existing economic, social and cultural backgrounds.
- The power relation between men and women is not absolute, but varies according to the issue. Women's role in financial care of the family should be stressed while the necessity of men's involvement in the care of children and in domestic chores should be stimulated.
- Present alternative role models: invite people who could function as a role model for alternative socialization models based on gender equality to present their views and experiences.

National Women's Movement