

HUMANITARIAN HORIZONS PRACTICE PAPER SERIES





INTRODUCTION

umanitarians provide assistance and protection to those affected by crises based on need. They have committed to "leave no one behind".

Despite this commitment, sexual and gender minorities are largely missing from humanitarian action, from most needs assessments, response plans and guidelines.² While some progress has been made, humanitarians are nowhere near as inclusive as sexual and gender minorities need them to be.

"Across the humanitarian sector there is more usually a wholesale failure to engage with local LGBTIQ communities."³

Inclusion of sexual and gender minorities in 2018's 10 largest Humanitarian

Response Plans



Bangladesh

Yemen

Syria

Sudan

South Sudan

Somalia

Nigeria

Ethiopia

DRC

Chad

This may just be a blind spot. It's possible that the humanitarian community does not see sexual and gender minorities or is not aware of their different needs.

"Too many officials and NGO leaders operate on the mistaken beliefs that LGBT people face no greater vulnerabilities than the general population, constitute a number insignificant to warrant attention, or are undeserving of the assistance due to other disaster victims and survivors."

It may be that humanitarians are already struggling to address the particular needs of a broad range of people and marginalised groups – people with a disability, women and girls, children, the elderly – and efficiently and effectively deliver food and water to millions of people every day. Humanitarians may have well-founded fears of unintentionally causing more harm to an already vulnerable population.

Whatever the reason, there are real implications for real people in times of crisis.

This paper challenges the premise that it is too hard to improve the inclusion of sexual and gender minorities in humanitarian action. It looks at why it is so important that we make progress quickly, identifies possible roadblocks, and suggests ways to move the inclusion of sexual and gender minorities into the 'possible basket'.



Fiji December 17 2016:Fijian woman boarding up her house during a Tropical Cyclone. Rafael Ben-Ari / Alamy Stock Photo

WHY IT IS SO IMPORTANT TO MOVE TO THE 'POSSIBLE BASKET', FASTER.

There is an urgent need for protection and inclusion in humanitarian assistance

Sexual and gender minorities often experience harassment, discrimination, exclusion and violence in everyday life. This gets worse in times of crisis:⁵ the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has found for example the lowest degrees of acceptance of sexual and gender minorities in camp settings.⁶ Reports range from being refused assistance from communities and humanitarian actors,⁷ being bounced between male and female queues for distributions and bathroom access, to rape and coercion into sex in exchange for food.⁸

"Sometimes, people who identify as LGBTQI+ are amongst the last to receive humanitarian assistance due to active discrimination. For instance, one NGO employee who worked in Aceh during the tsunami response described reports received through the community feedback mechanism that Local Government Units were actively skipping LGBTQI+ people during distributions."

A gay man displaced by Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines pointed out that aid usually targets mothers, fathers, young women and young men, but never sexual and gender minorities. He said that in a project distributing fish cages to men, "gay men were not chosen as beneficiaries even though guarding and feeding the fingerlings are tasks we are capable of. Nobody informed us about the project since the proponents wanted men."10

Unique needs are not being met

Humanitarians regularly address the particular needs unique to various groups. Sexual and gender minorities also have unique needs and challenges to access. For example, the discrimination, exclusion and violence outlined above prevents some people from accessing assistance; dignity kits may not include the sanitary items that trans men who menstruate need;¹¹ some transgender people may need medication urgently.¹²

People identify as sexual and gender minorities everywhere

Statistics on sexual and gender minorities are notoriously unreliable, with prevalence varying from 1.5% to 11%.¹³ Edge Effect, an organisation specialising in the inclusion of sexual and gender minorities in humanitarian and development aid, uses at least 5% representation as a conservative rule of thumb, in line with estimates by a United Kingdom-based charity and the UK Treasury.¹⁴

So much to offer

Humanitarian response can miss out on muchneeded additional capacity when sexual and gender minorities are excluded. Personal and professional skills including leadership, caring for dependent family members and friends, organising or supporting relief operations (including with technical skills such as in health or engineering) are always needed. Specialist skills may include access to informal networks and an ability to communicate the needs of the sexual and gender minority community.

At-risk groups

Lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, transgender and intersex (LGBTI) persons

Examples of violence to which these groups might be exposed

- Social exclusion
- Sexual assault
- Social exploitation and abuse
- Domestic violence (e.g. violence against LGBTI children by their caretakers)
- Denial of services
- Harassment/ sexual harassment
- Rape expressly used to punish lesbians for their sexual orientation

Factors that contribute to increased risk of violence

- Discrimination based on sexual orientation and/or gender identity
- High levels of impunity for crimes against them
- Restricted social status
- Transgender persons not legally or publicly recognised as their identified gender
- Same-sex relationships not legally or socially recognised, and denied services other families might be offered
- Exclusion from housing, livelihood opportunities, and access to health care and other services
- Exclusion of transgender persons from sexsegregated shelters, bathrooms and health facilities
- Social isolation/rejection from family or community, which can result in homelessness
- Engagement in unsafe livelihood activites

Directly sourced from the Global Protection Cluster and Inter-Agency Standing Committee's Guidelines for Integrating Gender-Based Violence Interventions in Humanitarian Action https://gbvguidelines.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/2015-IASC-Gender-based-Violence-Guidelines Io-res.pdf

WHY THE TOO-HARD BASKET?

Sexual and gender minorities experience the world and crises differently from others that humanitarians are more accustomed to working with. This section aims to improve familiarity with those differences and their impact on access to assistance.

Legal status

Seventy-five countries criminalise same-sex sexual activity.¹⁵ Identifying as a member of a sexual or gender minority in these countries can risk criminal consequences. Lack of protective laws, such as those that outlaw employment discrimination and hate crimes, can also impact the safe expression or association of sexual and gender minorities. Research has found that criminalisation is an indication that social acceptance of sexual and gender minorities is likely to be lower¹⁶ and that the risk of gender-based violence is higher.¹⁷

Self-identification

Sexual and gender minorities must have the choice as to whether to let their families, community or aid workers know that they identify as a sexual or gender minority. In Australia, for example, almost half of people who identify as sexual and gender minorities choose to hide their sexual orientation or gender identity in public.¹⁸ Reasons for not self-identifying include valid fears of violence or discrimination.¹⁹ It may not be viable or safe for sexual and gender minorities to self-identify to access humanitarian assistance.

Disaggregated data - do we, don't we?

Disaggregated data is intended to assist humanitarians more accurately plan for and meet the needs of particular groups within crisis affected populations. However, disaggregating data by sexual or gender identification is complicated; many sexual and gender minorities choose not to self-identify, and any improvements to humanitarian response may be offset by risks to people's safety. Any list identifying people as belonging to sexual or gender minorities risks causing harm if it falls into the hands of the wrong people. An alternative approach is to use the rule of thumb that at least 5% of the population is likely to identify as a sexual or gender minority and contextualise this information with qualitative data from local organisations representing these groups.

Beyond male or female

Many sexual and gender minorities do not identify as male or female or form traditional families. This can create problems when people are required to register as male or female or need to access gender-specific protection or assistance such as gender-segregated evacuation centres or food assistance targeted at traditionally defined families.²⁰

Other sexual and gender minorities who choose to identify as male or female (either because that is how they usually identify or because they want to fit the requirements of humanitarian assistance) face difficulties in accessing assistance when the community perceives their presentation as contradictory.

For example, when collecting relief goods from government institutions in the response to Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, those identifying as the gender minority Bakla were ridiculed because their presentation did not match the community's expectations of their gender on their identification.²¹ In the United States, a transgender evacuee was arrested and detained for showering in the female bathroom in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in 2015; other evacuees and authorities mistook her for a man.²²

Differences within sexual and gender minorities

As people grouped under the banner 'people with disabilities' have starkly different abilities, disabilities, needs and experiences of life and humanitarian assistance, so do sexual and gender minorities. Transgender men and women in Australia, for example, experience significantly higher rates of abuse than gay men and women.²³ Humanitarians have reported consultations with sexual and gender minorities where one subgroup dominates while others may not be heard.²⁴ Intersectionality of vulnerability with other factors will further impact the needs of individuals.²⁵

Informal networks

Informal networks - friends, family, neighbours, groups of people who identify as or support sexual and gender minorities - can become lifelines for people who are excluded from access to protection and assistance through more formal means.²⁶

This perhaps unique reliance on informal networks presents challenges to humanitarians. Informal networks are unlikely to have the capacity to absorb the demands of multiple large organisations wanting access in crisis response, particularly as these networks may

require privacy and protection so as not to expose its members to danger. Informal networks are also more vulnerable to disruption in times of crisis as people are displaced, regular patterns of movement are interrupted and normal means of communication are disrupted.²⁷ Edge Effect particularly highlighted the need for restraint and respect when considering accessing informal networks and is planning more research in this area to better inform humanitarian actors.²⁸

The role of religion

Religious institutions, with established trust and relationships in local communities, can be the first responders to crises and important providers of assistance and protection in many parts of the world.²⁹ While this assistance is often provided to all in need in line with principles of humanity and non-discrimination, anecdotal evidence suggests pre-crisis religious teachings from denominations that are not inclusive of sexual and gender minorities can reduce both perceived and actual access to humanitarian assistance. For example, someone might expect to experience discrimination or harassment and choose not to attempt to access assistance as a result.³⁰

"It is forbidden to be a lesbian in my church and the pastor preaches against it. After Tropical Cyclone Winston, the church pastor said that Winston was caused by our sin, and I felt bad. It is not us who they should blame ..."³¹

No agreed terminology that works in every context

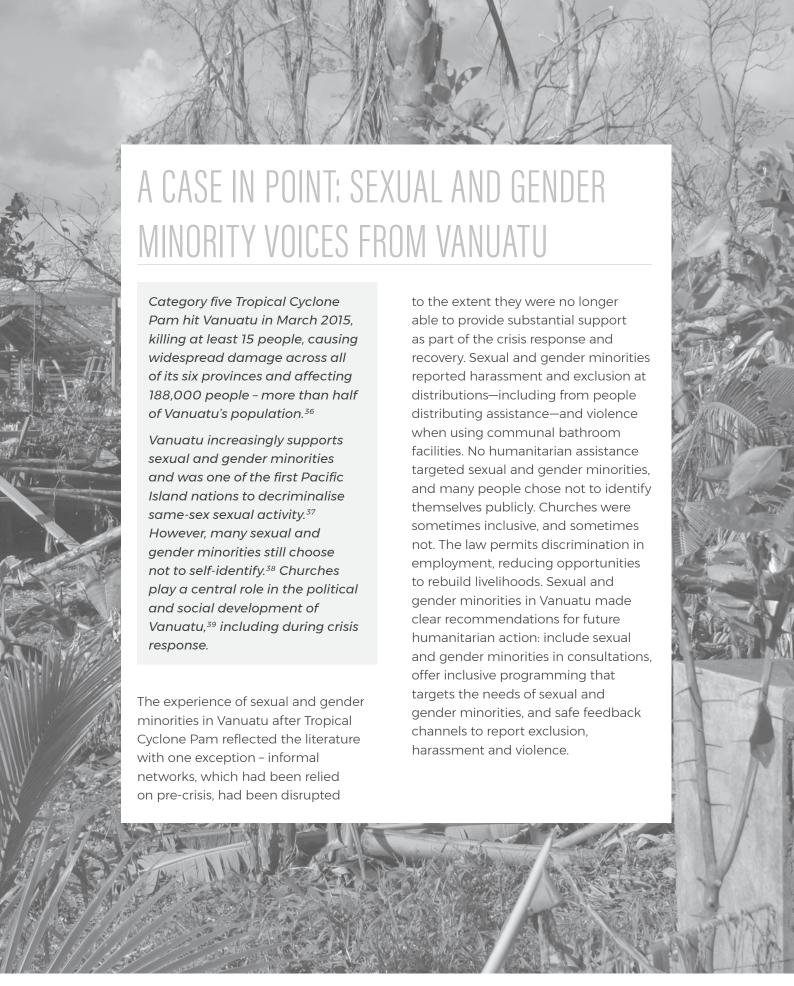
"We [a consortium of six organisations specialising in sexual and gender minorities] haven't managed to agree on a term. Transgender people tend to get a little drowned out in conversations."³²

This paper uses the term 'sexual and gender minorities' to refer to people who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex and other people whose sexual and gender identities are not encompassed by these terms. He is used with the intention of the broadest possible inclusion. Debates on terminology are needed to ensure all sexual and gender identities in each context are included, but it is important that these debates don't slow inclusive humanitarian action.

Gender identities in Asia and the Pacific³⁵

Southeast Asia and the Pacific are home to significant minorities who share gender identities other than male or female. Examples include the Fakaleiti of Tonga, the Mahu of Hawaii and Tahiti, the Whakawahine of Aotearoa in New Zealand, the Bakla of the Philippines, the Waria of Indonesia and the Fa'afafine of Samoa, and the aravanis of India. Many are assigned male at birth and perform different and specific cultural roles in their societies.

Sexual and gender minorities may hold important roles in society. For example, the Fa'afafine in Samoa are people assigned male at birth and live a feminine identity in society; they hold senior positions in government and their leadership in organising national events is widely recognised. This does not, however, protect them from social marginalisation.



Aftermath of cyclone Pam. Pam struck the islands of Vanuatu (South Pacific) on March 14 and 15, 2015. and destroyed almost 90 percent of the houses. Shot shortly after the disaster. ausnewsde / shutterstock

Quotes from sexual and gender minorities reflecting on their experiences during the response to Cyclone Pam:

NOONE FROM AN INFORMAL OR FORMAL **NETWORK ASSISTED ME** There is **nothing for us LGBT** PEOPLE ARE NOT IMPORTANT The public does not want to see the kind of people we are and they sometimes swear badly at me The community and NGOs are NOT INTERESTED IN ME I am scared because they say many bad things about me and this brings shame to me **DI** As a lesbian I have faced a lot of challenges and discrimination One person was JEERED AND LAUGHED AT BY OTHERS IN THE COMMUNITY at a distribution of food supplies THF DISTRIBUTORS didn't match their gender They had to RELY ON FAMILY MEMBERS TO COLLECT FOOD FOR THEM because they were worried about harassment and shame at food distributions **They** were shot at with sling shots BOYS IN THE COMMUNITY WERE SPYING ON THEM IN COMMUNAL BATHROOMS THAT LACKED PRIVACY I was told I should have died in the cyclone THE CHURCH AT THAT TIME **REGARDED ME AS A SERVANT OF GOD AND SAVED ME FROM THE CYCLONE BY** KEEPING ME SAFE INSIDE THE CHURCH The churches blame us for the cyclones The church did not help her evacuate her elderly dedication to the church over many years. We avoid certain mannerisms in public to make sure it is not obvious... **we act as normal people** Self-identification is a problem for me. My family knows I am like this and treat me normally, but it is the other people who treat me differently discrimination THE LAW DOES NOT LOOK AT OUR NEEDS, just every other people

0 • • • • • • • • 0 • • • •

CREATING A 'POSSIBLE BASKET' (AND USING IT)

The imperative to improve inclusion of sexual and gender minorities in humanitarian action is clear. The challenge is supporting humanitarians to do so in a realistic and pragmatic way that facilitates rapid uptake in spite of competing priorities.

Most of the required actions can be built into existing processes with new awareness and new knowledge. This paper maps key actions against the humanitarian program cycle, integrating the unique experiences of sexual and gender minorities that impacts the way they access humanitarian assistance. Its purpose is to make this knowledge accessible to humanitarians who normally use this framework to adapt and apply as part of normal operations. These actions can equally be applied to the Core Humanitarian Standard and other humanitarian frameworks. A reading list is provided to assist with further awareness and knowledge.



Protecting Persons with Diverse Sexual Orientations and Gender Identities: A Global Report on UNHCR's Efforts to Protect Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Asylum-Seekers and Refugees.

By United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

http://www.refworld.org/docid/566140454.html

IASC guidelines for integrating gender-based violence interventions in humanitarian action - Reducing risk, promoting resilience and aiding recovery

By Inter Agency Standing Committee and Global Protection Cluster

https://interagency standing committee.org/gender- and -humanitarian-action/documents-public/guidelines-integrating-gender-based-violence

Down by the River - Addressing the Rights, Needs and Strengths of Fijian Sexual and Gender Minorities in Disaster Risk Reduction and Humanitarian Response.

By Rainbow Pride Foundation Fiji Pride, Edge Effect and Oxfam.

https://www.edgeeffect.org/2017/12/25/down-by-the-river-fiji/

Integrating Gender into Humanitarian Action - Good Practices from Asia-Pacific 6.

By the Gender in Humanitarian Action Asia and Pacific Working Group.

https://reliefweb.int/report/world/integrating-gender-humanitarian-action-good-practices-asia-pacific-6

The impact of the earthquake, and relief and recovery programs on Haitian LGBT people.

By International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission/SEROvie

https://www.outrightinternational.org/content/impact-earthquake-and-relief-and-recovery-programs-haitian-lgbt-people

Humanitarian Program Cycle

Preparedness

Step up the preparedness game

- Make sure your organisation's policies and practices are inclusive of sexual and gender minorities as staff, suppliers, partner organisations and beneficiaries, and protect them from inadvertent harm.
- Train (or at least talk to) staff and partners about the importance of actively ensuring the inclusion of sexual and gender minorities in humanitarian assistance and protection.
- Build relationships and trust with local organisations representing sexual and gender minorities pre-crisis whenever possible.

Planning

Tweak standard categories

- Consult with local organisations representing sexual and gender minorities on ways to be inclusive with gender selection requirements, such as for registration and receiving assistance. This could include offering an 'other' gender category.
- Include sexual and gender minorities as part of vulnerability criteria.

Implementation and monitoring

Get practical

- Assume people are choosing not to identify and need specialised assistance and protection. Support local community-based organisations who can use their informal networks to access people choosing not to identify.
- Protect the personal data of people who do not wish to self-identify publicly as belonging to a sexual or gender minority.
- Ensure safe access to bathroom facilities, evacuation locations, distribution points and safe spaces. Ask local organisations how; this may require separate facilities.
- Monitor for exclusion and discrimination.
- Provide safe access to feedback and complaints mechanisms and ensure they are not being used to exclude sexual and gender minorities.
- Provide hygiene kits, contraceptives and antiretroviral drugs to anyone in need, regardless of gender, securely and privately.
- Respect informal networks which may rely on privacy and may not have capacity to assist with information or humanitarian action.
- In coordination mechanisms, ensure there are no gaps in services offered to sexual and gender minorities.

Needs assessment and analysis

Know all you can and make some assumptions

- Assume at least 5% of the affected population are sexual and gender minorities, and likely to be amongst the most vulnerable. Don't collect data on sexual and gender minorities directly from the community unless it is safe to do so.
- Talk to people who publicly identify as sexual and gender minorities and include them in needs assessments. A first safe point of contact is likely to be local organisations which support sexual and gender minorities.
- Determine the unique assistance and protection needs of sexual and gender minorities and plan to address them safely.
 - Frame your needs assessments and planning with the knowledge that sexual and gender minorities are likely to experience discrimination, harassment, exclusion and violence. These issues will be more severe where laws prohibit same-sex sexual relations.
 - Don't assume that one sub-group represents all sexual and gender minorities. Aim for broad consultation. Consider the impact of inter-sectionality on vulnerability and needs.
 - Assess how the local context affects sexual and gender minorities, including the teachings of religious institutions.

Resource mobilisation

Localise

\$

 Raise funds to support or partner with local organisations representing and assisting sexual and gender minorities.

Evaluation and learning

Learn

 Assess whether the response met the needs of sexual and gender minorities. Include sexual and gender minorities in consultations.

WHAT TO DO NOW?

A good place to start is raising staff and partner awareness about the importance of including sexual and gender minorities and how to do it. If possible, make use of dedicated expertise and training, perhaps integrated into existing support for including other marginalised groups. Experience in the humanitarian sector has demonstrated that attempting to mainstream

new concepts without dedicated support rarely works.

A good place to continue is to support and build constructive relationships with organisations specialising in the inclusion of sexual and gender minorities.

CONCLUSION

This framework and suggestions were developed to assist organisations to progress more quickly towards better inclusion of sexual and gender minorities. While it does require effort, it is not

too hard; we can move the inclusion of sexual and gender minorities from the 'too-hard basket' into the 'possible basket' and leave no one behind.

Humanitarian Advisory Group (HAG) was founded in 2012 to elevate the profile of humanitarian action in Asia and the Pacific. Set up as a social enterprise, HAG provides a unique space for thinking, research, technical advice and training that can positively contribute to excellence in humanitarian practice.

Spotlight on national partner organisation: VPride Foundation is a community-based group, founded in 2009 to help educate, advocate and mobilize sexual and gender minorities in Vanuatu. Giigii Baxter, Executive Director and co-founder of the VPride Foundation, is a leading advocate for the sexual and gender minority community in Vanuatu. Giigii focuses on public education to change attitudes towards sexual and gender minorities. Giigii also stars in 'Love Patrol', aimed at breaking down barriers in the Pacific on a range of issues including the sexual and gender minority community.

Humanitarian Horizons is a three-year research initiative. The program adds unique value to humanitarian action in Asian and Pacific contexts by generating evidence-based research and creating conversation for change. The program is supported by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

When the rubber hits the road: Rohingya Crisis Response

Women's voice in humanitarian Intention to impact: media. No surprises.

Measuring Localisation #PressforProgress Taking sexual and gender minorities out of the too-hard basket

ENDNOTES

- United Nations Secretary General, One humanity: shared responsibility. Report of the Secretary-General for the World Humanitarian Summit, 2016.
- Based on a review of response plans and an interview with Emily Dwyer of Edge Effect, an expert in sexual and gender minorities in humanitarian action, in: Abigail Seiff, Q&A: Emily Dwyer on the humanitarian sector's LGBTIQ blind spot, 2017.
- 3 Abigail Seiff, Q&A: Emily Dwyer on the humanitarian sector's LGBTIQ blind spot, 2017.
- 4 IGLHRC/SEROvie, The impact of the earthquake, and relief and recovery programs on Haitian LGBT people, 2011. https://www.outrightinternational.org/content/impact-earthquake-and-relief-and-recovery-programs-haitian-lgbt-people.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 IASC, IASC guidelines for integrating gender-based violence interventions in humanitarian action, 2015. https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/gender-and-humanitarian-action/documents-public/guidelines-integrating-gender-based-violence.
- Workshop in Vanuatu with sexual and gender minorities, Interview 5, and IGLHRC/SEROvie, The impact of the earthquake, and relief and recovery programs on Haitian LGBT people, 2011.
- 8 IGLHRC/SEROvie, The impact of the earthquake, and relief and recovery programs on Haitian LGBT people, 2011.
- 9 Interview 5.
- 10 OCHA, Philippines Humanitarian Bulletin Issue 91-30 September 2016.
- 11 Interview 3.
- 12 Interview 4.
- See for example (a) up to 11% of the Australian population in Australian Government Department of Health and Ageing, LGBTI Ageing and Aged Care Strategy, https://agedcare.health.gov.au/sites/g/files/net1426/f/documents/08_2014/national_ageing_and_aged_care_strategy_lgbti_print_version.pdf, accessed 20 May (b) an Integrated Household Survey by the UK Office of National Statistics estimation of 1.5% of respondents identified as gay, lesbian or bisexual, and the UK Treasury estimated 6% when analysing the financial implications of the Civil Partnerships Act, https://www.theguardian.com/politics/reality-check/2013/oct/03/gay-britain-what-do-statistics-say, accessed 20 May.
- Interview with Emily Dwyer, Edge Effect. In line with estimates by UK-based charity Stonewall, and UK Treasury estimates for the purpose of costing the Civil Partnerships Act, in https://www.theguardian.com/politics/reality-check/2013/oct/03/gay-britain-what-do-statistics-say, accessed 20 May.
- UNHCR, Protecting Persons with Diverse Sexual Orientations and Gender Identities: A Global Report on UNHCR's Efforts to Protect Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Asylum-Seekers and Refugees, 2015.
- Research found that only 46% of respondents in states that criminalise same-sex sexual relations agree that equal rights and protections should be inclusive of sexual orientation, with 36% disagreeing. In non-criminalising states that figure rises to 60%, with only 19% disagreeing. International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association, Minorities Report 2017: attitudes to sexual and gender minorities around the world, 2017.
- 17 IASC, IASC guidelines for integrating gender-based violence interventions in humanitarian action, 2015.

Australian Research Centre in Sex, Health and Society, La Trobe University, note 7, p. 46 in Face the Facts: Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex People, https://www.humanrights.gov.au/education/face-facts/face-facts-lesbian-gay-bisexual-trans-and-intersex-people accessed 20 May.

- 19 Ibid.
- Gaillard J, Sanz K, Balgos B, Dalisay S, Gorman-Murray A, Smith F and Toelupe V. Beyond men and women: a critical perspective on gender and disaster. Disasters, 2017, 41(3), 429-447.
- 21 McSherry A, Manalastas E, Gaillard J & Dalisay S, From deviant to bakla, strong to stronger: Mainstreaming sexual and gender minorities into disaster risk reduction in the Philippines. Forum for Development Studies, 2015, 42(1), 27-40.
- 22 Ibid. p. 19.
- Australian Human Rights Commission, Face the Facts: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex people, 2014.
- 24 Interview 1, Interview 2.
- 25 Kadetz P & Mock N, Problematizing vulnerability: Unpacking gender, intersectionality, and the normative disaster paradigm, 2017.
- Edge Effect, Rainbow Pride Foundation Fiji, OXFAM, Down by the River, 2018. https://www.edgeeffect.org/2017/12/25/down-by-the-river-fiji/.
- 27 IGLHRC/SEROvie, The impact of the earthquake, and relief and recovery programs on Haitian LGBT people, 2011.
- 28 Interview 3.
- 29 Agenda for Humanity, Charter for Faith-based Humanitarian Action, 2017.
- 30 Interview 3.
- 31 Edge Effect, Rainbow Pride Foundation Fiji, OXFAM, Down by the River, 2018.
- 32 Interview 2.
- This definition is drawn from Edge Effect: https://www.edgeeffect.org/on-language-and-acronyms/.
- For a glossary of gender-related terms and how to use them, see (a New Zealand-specific example): https://genderminorities.com/database/glossary-transgender/.
- Gaillard J, Sanz K, Balgos B, Dalisay S, Gorman-Murray A, Smith F and Toelupe V, Beyond men and women: a critical perspective on gender and disaster. Disasters, 2017, 41(3), 429-447.
- Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Humanitarian Assistance in the Pacific: An evaluation of the effectiveness of Australia's Response to Cyclone Pam, 2017.
- 37 International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, trans and Intersex Association, Maps Sexual Orientation Laws, 2017.
- 38 Interview 6.
- Clarke M, Christianity and the shaping of Vanuatu's social and political development. Journal for the Academic Study of Religion, 2015, 28(1), 24-41.