

**Violence Against Women
in Papua New Guinea:
The Representation of Women
in Anti-violence Campaigns**

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Abstract

This study examines the representation of violence against women and gender-based violence campaigns in Papua New Guinea (PNG). It explores the contexts surrounding engendered violence and strives to establish the efficacy of the United Nations violence against women campaign, *Sanap Wantaim* (Stand Together), in PNG. The insights of women and men on violence are investigated to determine the relationship between culture, development and violence. The role of the media is also examined in terms of the impact it could have in encouraging more in-depth reporting on the issue of violence and enabling victims to seek help. Data obtained from a range of participants via interviews identified a number of key factors responsible for perpetuating gender-based violence.

Findings from this study portray the prevalence of patriarchal values that block messages on violence. Patriarchy is embedded in most Papua New Guinean cultures (Lepani, 2008), thereby having an impact on women's agency. However, culture cannot be blamed alone when colonisation and independence have prompted a shift from traditional to urbanised communities. Gender roles are not so confined as they once were (Eves, 2006) hence both women and men are navigating this change. While this research has identified that awareness on violence against women is high, there are gaps in the approaches to tackling violence against women, in terms of the language used and the minimal involvement of men as allies for gender empowerment.

Most of the participants have experienced various forms of violence and so there are mixed reactions to tackling the issue. The findings indicate that there is desensitisation and fear of the consequences of reporting, such as offender retaliation and distrust in law enforcement agencies such as the police. Journalists interviewed in this study highlighted the positive role they can play in alleviating violence yet this would involve transforming Papua New Guinean journalism into a more *talanoa* style of reporting where the people's voices matter (Robie, 2014, 2019; Vaoleti, 2013/2014), particularly in a country when 80 percent of the population live in the rural areas. With most of the participants unsure of the media's role in tackling gender-based violence, the use of both *talanoa* journalism and Vaoleti's development of *talanoa* as a research method, would help facilitate more of an understanding of the rights discourse and shed light on positive changes in various communities.

The literature on violence reiterates the complex nature of power dynamics in PNG (Borrey, 2000; Lusby, 2014; McPherson, 2012; Morley, 1994). For example, some of

these concerns include: that some cultural practices reinforce violence against women, normalise idealised versions of masculinity, and police women's femininity. This study found significant support for the use of community-based interventions to encourage gender empowerment and dispel the existing narrative that culture has facilitated violence.

Attestation of Authorship

I, Pauline Mago-King, hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Signed:

Date: 26 April, 2019

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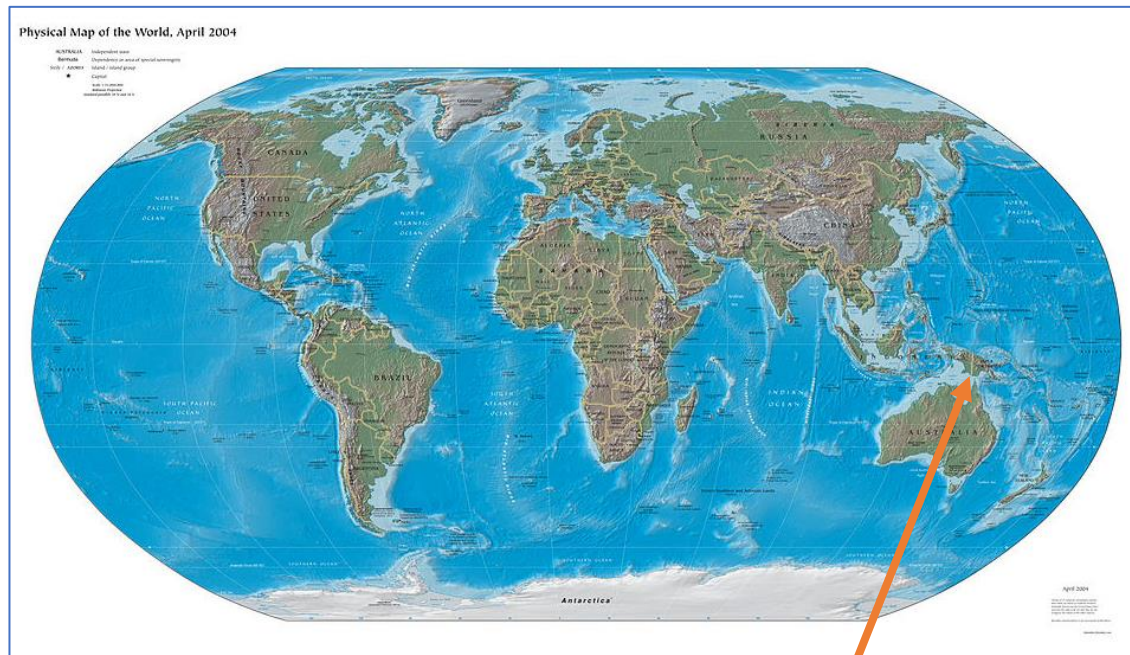
Keywords

Agency; awareness; culture; development; empowerment; equality; feminism; gender; human rights; journalism; *Melanesian Way*; post-colonial feminism; power; *Sanap Wantaim*; *talanoa*; violence

Acronyms

GBV	Gender-based Violence
FSVAC	Family and Sexual Violence Action Committee
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
PNG	Papua New Guinea
SARV	Sorcery Accusation-Related Violence
VAW	Violence Against Women
UN	United Nations

Research Location



Source: Central Intelligence Agency (2014b).



Source: Central Intelligence Agency (2014a).

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Background about Papua New Guinea

In 2013, Papua New Guinean news covered the killing of Kepari Leniata, a 20-year-old woman accused of witchcraft, in Mt Hagen, Western Highlands Province. News reports such as that in *The National*, one of Papua New Guinea's (PNG's) two daily papers, revealed the murder of Kepari:

A young mother of a baby girl was burnt alive in front of a crowd in Mt Hagen, Western Highlands, yesterday. Relatives of a boy she was accused of killing through sorcery, tortured her with a hot iron rod, stripped her naked, tied up her hands and legs and threw her into the fire. Police and hospital staff who arrived at the scene could not save her. They later took her body away in an ambulance. (Gumuno, 2013, para. 1)

When Kepari was killed, there was no attempt from any bystander, or even the police present, to rescue her from this sinister crime. Her death and the details surrounding it thus garnered traction in both the Papua New Guinean and international media. It also put the socio-political situation in PNG under the microscope.

Papua New Guinea is a developing Melanesian country located in the South Pacific. Before PNG came to be the nation that it is known as today, it was divided into two regions: Papua and New Guinea. In 1884, the former was proclaimed a British Protectorate and later administered by Australia; while the latter was under German possession. During World War Two, parts in the two regions, such as Kokoda and Rabaul, were occupied by the invading Japanese imperial forces. It was not until the end of the war that they were recaptured by the Allies (Ritchie, 2017) and consequently were combined as the Territory of Papua New Guinea under Australian colonial rule ("Papua New Guinea: 2018 Country Review", 2018).

PNG was colonised by Australia until it gained independence in 1975. According to the Central Intelligence Agency's *The World Factbook*, the government system in PNG is "parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarchy" (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019, para. 4) where the head of government is currently Prime Minister Peter O'Neill with the head of state being Queen Elizabeth II. The Parliament comprises 111 seats, 20 of which are provincial while the rest are local.

Over the years, governance has proven to be difficult especially when PNG now has a population of almost 8 million and “more than 800 different languages spoken among a population divided into more than 10 000 ethnic clans across 600 islands” (The World Bank, 2019, para. 1). The theme of political instability is amplified in PNG’s governance issues where shifting political alliances and allegations of corruption are common (Lyons & PNGi, 2018; “PNG Parliament Adjourned,” n.d.).

It is challenging for anti-corruption investigations to facilitate accountability as exemplified in an inquiry into Peter O’Neill’s alleged approval of a “\$30 million government payment of fraudulent legal bills to a PNG law firm” (Tlozek, 2016, para. 15; see also Cochrane, 2014). Whistle-blowers are at risk of “payback” and “retaliation” which is a reality for people like Neville Devete. Devete, a former solicitor-general, is currently seeking asylum in Australia after he had made a complaint about “alleged ‘improper payments’ made to PNG’s biggest law firm, Paraka Lawyers” in 2012 (Murray-Atfield, 2018, para. 2).

In the 2018 Corruption Perceptions Index, PNG was ranked 138 out of 180 countries (Transparency International PNG, 2019). Transparency International PNG is not mandated to take legal action on cases of corruption; however, it is vocal on the upholding of democratic principles:

There is massive disrespect for rule of law in Papua New Guinea. Public servants and citizens alike lack the integrity to adhere to proper processes and respectful ways of conduct. This was evident in the 2017 National Elections with discrepancies and electoral roll inaccuracy, bribery and intimidation by voters and candidates, double voting and block voting. There was a lack of enforcement of laws, by official agencies, during the elections, providing an opening for citizens to disregard measures to ensure a free and fair election. (Transparency International PNG, 2019, para. 4)

At different points in PNG’s history, public frustration with the government of the day has resulted in crisis. A noteworthy illustration is the 1988-1998 civil war in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, previously known as the North Solomon Province. The human rights abuses during the 10-year conflict were further exacerbated with the hiring of Sandline International mercenaries under the leadership of then Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan (Regan, 1998). Sir Julius Chan was forced to step down as Prime Minister when it was revealed that he had authorised Sandline’s mission in Bougainville:

On Monday March 17, 1997, PNGDF commander, Jerry Singirok went on NBC's Talk-Back program and demanded Sir J's resignation, that of Deputy PM, Chris Haiveta and Defence Minister, Mathias Ijape over the hiring of Sandline mercenaries to put down the rebellion on Bougainville.

On March 21, 60 mercenaries flew out of PNG on an Air Niugini flight bound for Hong Kong, their mission failed. Meanwhile pressure built up for Sir J to step down as PM. On March 25 soldiers marched on parliament to apply pressure. The next day Parliament was under seize [sic] as soldiers and members of the public surrounded parliament. ("VoNC – Our Track Record," 2018, para. 22-23)

Looking to the present, PNG's hosting of the 2018 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit served as another example of increasing public dissatisfaction. As local and international media reported on drug shortages in hospitals around the country (Chandler, 2018; Salmang, 2019; Tahana, 2018; Waide, 2018; Yama, 2018), the current government was preoccupied with making a good impression at the summit. This preoccupation was underscored with the purchase of 40 Maseratis which are "worth more than \$100,000" as reported by BBC ("PNG is missing almost 300 cars," 2019, para. 7).

The PNG Catholic Bishops conference is one of many organisations that have expressed their concern over the government's focus which has come at the expense of the people ("PNG Catholic bishops concerned," 2018). A few weeks after the summit had come to a close, this "expense" would be highlighted via 300 police and correctional officers storming the national Parliament Haus due to delayed allowances (Kari, 2018).

Successive governments have strived to deliver fiscal policies that would ultimately bring development to PNG. There have been attempts to strengthen the economy, particularly through the extractive industries with a focus on mining and liquified natural gas (LNG). Yet for all the promises of a growing revenue, a fiscal deficit is in fact the reality for the current government. Banks and Namarong (2018) reported on the staggering drop in government revenue by saying:

The revenue dry-up of the past four years also reveals that the state bears a disproportionate share of the risks associated with resource projects and investments. If we go back to the original intent of the post-Independence mineral policy, it was to translate mineral wealth into broad-based development across the whole country:

“...known mineral resources should be developed for the revenue they can provide to the government” (PNG Department of Finance 1977: 2). (Banks & Namarong, 2018, para. 12)

Major investments such as the \$19 billion Exxon LNG project have fuelled frustrations more than improving livelihoods, as reported by Barrett and Westbrook (2019):

“My family has been here a long time,” said Dikana Iveiri, one of several landowners interviewed by Reuters near the PNG LNG plant. “Our royalties are not going well; they are using our land but not paying us properly,” she said referring to both Exxon, which pays the royalties, and the government, which distributes them. (para. 5)

Although the World Bank reports that the Melanesian country will face better economic prospects (“Slower Growth, Better”, 2019), improvements in service delivery, health, education and employment are unsatisfactory. With a population of almost 8 million, 80 percent of Papua New Guineans live in rural areas with 75 percent being under the age of 35 (Laryea & Kondoh, 2018). While there is already a struggle to access services, this is further strained by a youth bulge which is highlighted by McLachlan (2018) who wrote:

The youth bulge threatens the delivery of services, such as education, by the government. A large cohort of young people places immense pressure on already-stretched institutions, creating resource scarcity and institutional “bottlenecks”.

The Asian Development Bank has found that only five percent of PNG’s working age population is formally employed. Youth unemployment is high in PNG, with young people in urban areas living “day-to-day”, often committing opportunistic crime to survive and leading lives without direction. And though the informal sector is burgeoning, life for these young people is tenuous and uncertain. (para. 5)

Additionally, the underdevelopment in PNG is marked in aid concentration or fragmentation (Pryke, 2019).

Across different areas in PNG’s underdevelopment, gender remains a key priority. In discussing the international agenda, Macintyre (as cited in Anderson, 2015) referred to gender as being a strained relationship of both “universalising discourse of women’s rights and notions of gender equality, and contextualised cultural relativism and difference” (p. 1359). This agenda is quite problematic in the context of PNG being

largely made up of patriarchal societies. However, there are cultures that follow a matriarchal system. To focus on women's empowerment as a means to challenge "unequal and unjust power relations" (Anderson, 2015, p. 1359) could be viewed, in the traditional lens, as taking power from men.

As a result, Papua New Guinean women find themselves in a vulnerable position across different spaces. Kepar Leniata's case of sorcery accusation-related violence (SARV) – a form of violence that often targets women – is reminiscent of the endemic nature of violence experienced in PNG. Aside from SARV, intimate partner violence and sexual violence are also common lived experiences for Papua New Guinean women (UN Women Training Centre, 2017). Although men and the third gender are not immune to violence, Kana (2003) argued that women persist as victims with males being the perpetrators. As a result, the term gender-based violence (GBV) is usually synonymous with violence against women (VAW) in PNG.

1.2 Contextualising gender relations in Papua New Guinea

According to the UN Women Training Centre (2017), GBV is defined as "an umbrella term for any harmful act that is perpetrated against a person's will and that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences between females and males" (para. 1). VAW, on the other hand, is defined as:

Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. (UN Women Training Centre, 2017, para. 1)

GBV is rampant in PNG where women and girls are often abused (Dinnen, 2017). For instance, Kana (2003) reported that domestic violence in the form of wife beating is commonplace and, "on average, two-thirds of wives have been hit by their husbands" (p. 96). Shifting our attention to public spaces, the notion of VAW is palpable. This is illustrated in a study on the safety of women and children in marketplaces (Underhill-Sem, Lacey & Szamier, 2014). Papua New Guinean women, and even girls, are exposed to violence and exploitation across varying spaces. Father John Ryan (as cited in Eves, 2006), a Catholic priest who has worked in PNG for almost 30 years, captured the vulnerability of women by saying:

The worst thing you can be in Papua New Guinea is black and female. Really. I suppose every woman expects that she is going to get abuse[d] at some time in her life. (p. 2)

Figure 1.1: Young women seeking information on human rights



Source: Photograph by Author, December, 2016.

Although VAW is a global public health issue, it is clearly an issue that has yet to permeate the local narratives in PNG. This can be attributed to the way GBV, especially VAW, is engrained in behaviour that is challenging to change (Dinnen, 2017). As a result, women are confined to intensifying inequalities and a vicious cycle of violence.

The deconstruction of VAW in PNG requires a closer look at its causes; these may be visible or vague. A common thread that is present in this phenomenon's discourse is the role of culture. PNG is endowed with numerous cultures and over 800 languages that are highly valued. Writings from Anou Borrey, Laura Zimmer-Tamakoshi and Lisette Josephides (as cited in Lepani, 2008) suggested that the exacerbating level of violence is a result of traditions that challenge gender roles. This is exemplified in situations where a wife is beaten due to "not carrying out household tasks to her husband's satisfaction" (Kana, 2003, p. 98). Traditions such as bride price are also interpreted by some men [and women] as an entitlement to controlling and 'disciplining' a woman, as highlighted by Kana (2003).

Despite culture being a dominant theme, it cannot be a direct linkage to VAW in PNG. Eves (2006) posited that traditions and gender roles in PNG, like anywhere else in the world, have changed with time thereby meaning that they are not “pure”. For that reason, the reiteration that male violence is embedded in PNG’s diverse cultures cannot be looked at as the sole cause; it cannot be used as an excuse by Papua New Guineans. This is underscored by Eves (2006) who stated:

Although we believe that, in general, tradition is to be respected, so much of the tradition surrounding gender relations has been eroded, that the claim that justifies violence against women can only be considered an empty claim — *toktok nating*. (p. 28)

The national response to VAW is of great concern. There are traditions that uphold the oppression of women even in spaces that are supposed to grant justice. There are those within the police force who regard the issue of VAW as a “family matter”. In a Human Rights Watch report (as cited in Betteridge, 2015), a human rights-based approach to VAW is largely ignored:

[P]olice still view family violence as a domestic issue even in very severe cases, push for reconciliation even when a woman is seeking charges against their partner, refuse to act without a medical report, charge prohibitive fees to act, or tell women in remote areas that they must bring the perpetrator to the police station. (Betteridge, 2015, para. 4)

Policies such as the Sorcery National Action Plan, *Lukautim Pikinini Act* and National Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender Based Violence are contributing much toward combatting violence. The establishment of a Family Sexual Violence Action Committee (FSVAC) has also been instrumental in lessening the physical, sexual and psychological violence. Within the private sector, support in the form of workplace policy programmes have been put in place to safeguard women (Betteridge, 2016). Nonetheless, all these initiatives are ineffective without the support of law enforcement.

Goddard (2005), however, argued that women who go before village courts are in fact successful in having their complaints heard and far from being subjugated by the inherent misogynist values at play in PNG communities. The research findings of Goddard (2005) portrayed a context in which the oppressive dynamics in Papua New Guinean communities are being questioned. Women are becoming cognisant of their rights and the pathways available to give them a sense of security.

Development work in PNG repeatedly takes note of women's empowerment as a prerequisite for progress. As such, this message is pushed to the forefront. The advocacy surrounding VAW is often communicated through the principles of human rights, which is something that is somewhat distant to the "tangible connections to people's lived experience, or to the circumstances of their deaths" (Lepani, 2016, pp. 159-160).

Herein lies a crucial drawback in the task to address VAW which is that the global human rights discourse on women's rights sits upon Western feminist concepts. Feminism from the vantage point of Westerners thus generalises VAW in PNG by grouping all women's experiences as the same and dismissing the contrasting environments within the country. Hence, PNG women's experiences are treated as a monolith.

This generality is further maintained by PNG's history as a colonised country which "implies a relation of structural domination, and a suppression – often violent – of the heterogeneity of the subject(s) in question" (Mohanty, 1984, p. 52). It is for this reason that post-colonial feminist scholars such as Chandra Mohanty emphasised the need for more discussion when dealing with "third world feminism" as women in the developing world are "cast within the knowledge tradition of the Western world" (Manning, 2016, p. 92).

In order to address VAW in the setting of a developing country such as PNG, Mohanty (1984) pointed out that there must be an evaluation of the dominating Western feminisms that are being promoted; and there must be a further formulation of feminist concerns and strategies. For instance, in addressing VAW in PNG, non-governmental organisations or the United Nations (UN) have prioritised education and economic empowerment – issues that are deemed to be of importance for *all* women. This is, in fact, a limitation as it is assumed that all women need is development in order to escape violence. In the process, there are further postulations that "third world women" lack privilege and so Western feminism studies on these women thrive on a culture of ethnocentricity.

It is evident that intersectionality is present when attempting to understand VAW in PNG. Papua New Guinean women, and even men, experience violence amid varying settings. As such, it is essential to interrogate existing literature from the vantage point of these situations.

1.3 The never-ending campaign to end violence against women

In 2016, the UN Women mission in PNG, along with Port Moresby Governor Powes Parkop, launched the *Sanap Wantaim* (Stand Together) campaign to help foster a "new

normal” of reduced violence. The ongoing campaign seeks to not only make Port Moresby a safer capital but also takes a proactive approach in involving men and boys as allies of women and girls (UN Women, n.d.).

Figure 1.3: Participants from SKILLZ PNG wrapping up a team-building exercise on gender risks



Source: Photograph by Author, October, 2018.

The *Sanap Wantaim* campaign is not the first of its kind. It is part of a concerted effort, spanning many years, to reduce violence in PNG. Despite the level of awareness and constant implementation of initiatives, VAW remains a huge issue. This can be seen in either everyday interactions or the media. For example, in 2017 Papua New Guinean journalist Roselyn Albaniel Evara died, allegedly due to domestic violence (Pokiton, 2018). Her death reiterates that awareness or access to education cannot guarantee safety from violence.

The extensive work devoted to minimising VAW continues to concentrate on bringing a rights-based framework to the forefront of the movement (Kelly-Hanku et al., 2016). Yet Kelly-Hanku et al. (2016) suggested that these efforts are challenged by ingrained cultural attitudes where both men and women normalise different forms of violence. For example, traditions such as bride price commodify women and, in the process, diminish their rights as humans. Therefore, some women stay in violent relationships for the reason that a bride

price has been paid to their family. As such, both men and women are also implicated in the exacerbation of violence.

1.4 Significance of this research

Growing up in PNG, it was difficult not to recognise that violence is a pervasive issue with women and girls being the most vulnerable group. I can recall many moments in my childhood when I witnessed women being beaten by their partners or husbands. There were even times when young girls would be physically assaulted by their family members for “bringing shame” in breaking a cultural protocol.

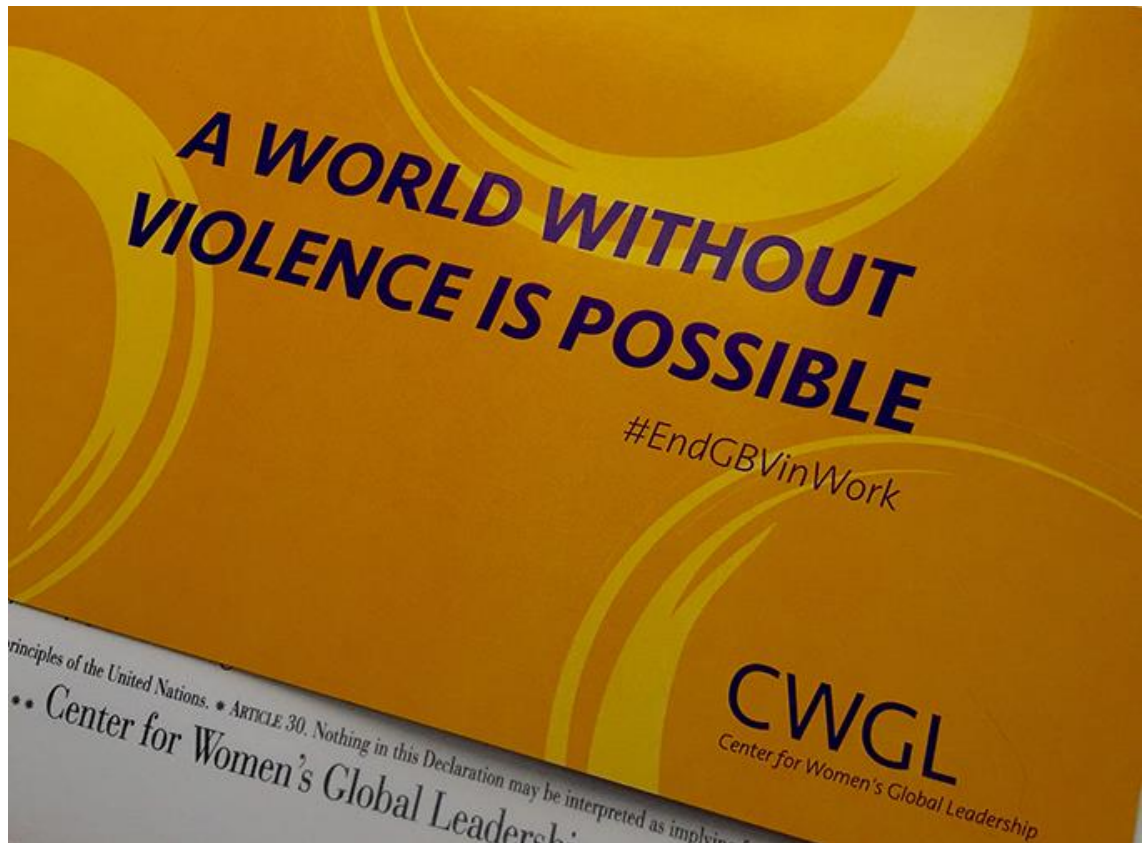
In public spaces, it became clear to me in my teenage years that I was not safe without male company. Moving around the city of Port Moresby was challenging as I would always anticipate being harassed and assaulted except for the times I was with a male relative or friend. My experience is shared with female friends and relatives in my circle.

In other parts of PNG, I know that there are more vulnerable women and their experiences are not usually covered by the media. For instance, SARV was something new to me. As such, when Kepari Leniata was killed I felt outrage that there was little advocacy on the intensifying level of violence in PNG. This led me to working at the International Organisation for Migration mission in Port Moresby which strives to mainstream gender issues in its mandate. It was there that I was motivated to research GBV and the role of advocacy campaigns.

Fast-forward to February 2019, when I attended a journalists’ workshop organised by the Centre for Women’s Global Leadership to map out a strategy for GBV reporting in the Asia-Pacific region. This workshop further emphasised the need for journalists and other communications practitioners to be actively involved in advocacy about violence. It prompted discussion on the dynamics at play in differing settings and the approaches that could be employed. The workshop fostered a necessary dialogue which will ultimately result in a guideline for reporters. However, this guideline will not be contextually appropriate for PNG.

This study is an attempt to investigate Papua New Guinean women and men’s attitudes to GBV, in order to understand their encounter with campaigns on this specific issue. While it was essential to unpack the experiences men have with violence, it was just as imperative to examine the way women view and deal with violence, as most advocacy programmes target their needs. This required careful manoeuvring as PNG is ethnically diverse and so the notion of violence will vary from one woman to another.

Figure 1.4: “A world without violence is possible”



Source: Photograph by Author, February, 2019.

This research seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. From a Papua New Guinean's perspective, what is the relationship between culture, development and violence?
2. What is the efficacy of the UN Women's violence against women campaign in PNG?
3. What are Papua New Guinean women and men's insights on violence against women and gender-based violence?

By conducting this research, I hope to delineate the different means by which VAW campaigns can communicate effectively with Papua New Guineans. As Kelly-Hanku et al. (2016) pointed out, “understanding men's experiences, knowledge and perceptions may reveal how to work with men to bring about gender equity” (p. 1208) particularly in interventions; and so can the comprehension of women's cognitive and emotional processing of violence. The findings of this research will be communicated through media and reports to aid agencies to assist in the collective effort to combat VAW.

1.5 Organisation of this thesis

The overall structure of this thesis comprises six chapters, including this introductory section. Chapter two highlights the existing literature on the topic by showing how violence has escalated and examining the advocacy surrounding it. It reviews the historical, social and cultural conditions present in the issue of violence. Moreover, it identifies the role of journalism in tackling the rhetoric that violence is ingrained in Papua New Guinean cultures and traditions.

The third chapter discusses the appropriateness of the design and methodology deployed in this study. Awareness of VAW and GBV draws upon tenets of feminism and human rights. In PNG, meaning-making in relation to these frameworks is difficult due to diverse language barriers. There are also instances where languages may not have words that are frequently used in advocacy. Accordingly, this chapter explains how *talanoa* journalism and the post-colonial feminist framework can tackle meaning-making in the data collection process.

Subsequently, the fourth chapter presents the results of the data gathered from 30 semi-structured interviews with Papua New Guinean men and women. This is where the predominant themes are highlighted. The fifth chapter draws together the results of the data gathered and discusses the perceptions and lived experiences of participants by making connections to Chapter two. Finally, the last section is a summary of this study and the conclusions formed. It identifies the limitations of this research and goes on to discuss areas for further research.

Chapter 2 – Literature review

As a young Melanesian country, PNG is still striving to transition from a traditional society to one that is more modernised or developed. Gaining independence in 1975 from Australia, it could be argued that PNG is still growing in its approaches to developmental challenges. This is particularly evident in PNG's response to the oppression of women via violence or VAW.

The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (as cited in Khosla et al., 2013) referred to VAW as the physical, sexual and psychological abuse that women experience at the family, community and state levels. Garap (2000), however, defined this crisis as acts such as wife beating, brothers beating sisters, rape, sexual harassment and discrimination against women and girls. The prevalence of VAW and the rate at which it is accelerating is a serious cause for concern.

VAW is an obstruction to sustainable development whereby PNG may experience significant costs in its social and economic opportunities (Eves, 2006). In a news article by Bouscaren (2018), the World Health Organisation stated that two out of three Papua New Guinean women experience abuse, particularly from an intimate partner. Apart from intimate partners being the perpetrators of violence, Papua New Guinean women are vulnerable in contrasting environments. For instance, women are prone to assault in workplaces (Leeuwen & Betteridge, 2015), tribal warfare (Walton, Rooney & Kessler, 2017) and SARV.

The intensity of VAW in PNG has prompted a continual rollout of various advocacy and awareness programmes centred on human rights and gender equality messages. While these messages are essential in moves toward alleviating this issue, there is a need to delve deeper into PNG as a nation of rich ethnic and linguistic diversity with more than 800 languages and varying dialects (Central Intelligence Agency, 2019). The blending of varied cultures and colonial ideals has been PNG's means of enabling prosperous nation-building. At the same time, however, this duality entails complexities, especially in responding to issues such as VAW.

As such, this literature review discusses the following contexts: the "naturalisation" of violence, social development, engendering of violence, and the influence of journalism. Although Papua New Guinean cultures are often portrayed as legitimising VAW, contributing factors such as religion and colonisation are also worthy of exploration.

Furthermore, the emergence of VAW as a synonym for GBV begs discussion with regard to the media's role in shaping awareness.

2.1 The naturalisation of violence

The severity of VAW in PNG has fostered a perception that it is directly linked to cultural practices where women are undervalued, thus automatically subject to violence. According to Anou Borrey, Laura Zimmer-Tamakoshi and Lisette Josephides (as cited in Lepani, 2008), the exacerbating level of violence is a result of traditions that challenge gender roles. This is where men exert their dominance by abusing women, thereby keeping hold of their power. The complex roots of PNG's relationship with violence, particularly via "hypermasculine" ideals, is evident in the framework of its societies.

Figure 2.1: "Value our women with respect not with fists"



Source: Photograph by Author, June, 2017.

Papua New Guinean societies are grounded on kinship that follow either a matrilineal or patrilineal path. Regardless of which path a village subscribes to, it is clear that patriarchy is an overarching theme. Thus, the belief that women who originate from a matrilineal

community are free from abuse and celebrated by their male counterparts is a fallacy, as posited by Sai (as cited in Hukula, 2012).

In fact, women from both lineage systems are at risk of the same violence. Anthropological studies on Papua New Guinean kinships, be they of a matrilineal or patrilineal descent, portray societies functioning with the relegation of women. The status of women has been reduced to sources of wealth, peace mediation, children and labour for day-to-day activities for their clan. In order to maintain this practice, it could be said that various Papua New Guinean cultures systematically exploited their women via certain traditions. Brown (as cited in Eves, 2010) referred to this degradation in the following:

[T]he general rule is that women serve to assist a man. ... Women are valued for their role of raising children and producing the kinds of wealth (such as pigs, garden produce and artefacts) that are exchanged during the ceremonies and presentations where men gain political power and prestige. Women have an important role in maintaining social relations between groups, since the exchanges on which men build their prestige depend on the kinship relationships gained through marriage. (p. 52)

For instance, Morley (1994) stated that the methodical abuse of women can be seen in practices like the bride price. As the term suggests, bride price is the act of a groom's clan presenting shell money (traditional money) and other material goods to his bride's clan. This transaction, which has now evolved with time, is a way to truly secure a bride's hand in marriage (Morley, 1994).

By adhering to the tradition of bride price, an agreement is made between two clans and hence begins a relationship of reciprocity. This is where women are obligated to perform accordingly in their duties as agents of labour and reproductive capacity (Morley, 1994). Thus, when a woman neglects her traditional duties, she may experience abuse from her husband. This theme was noted by Eves (2006, as cited in McPherson, 2012):

[W]oman who does not become pregnant in a reasonable time after marriage (or does not conceive often enough) faces spousal violence because female sterility is not natural, but rather a consequence of her actions: she must have engaged in adultery or she has utilised contraceptives. Women are deemed by men to be lustful and overly jealous and not in control of their sexuality; thus, men need to control it for them. When a wife invariably quarrels with her husband's other

wives or mistresses, she is likely to be beaten by her husband and her father for not being stoical and accepting of her co-wives, and for disobeying her husband's demands that she accept [sic] his decision on polygyny. (p. 56)

Looking closely at certain male rituals, which serve as a passageway to manhood, it is clear that therein lies a goal to preserve the oppression of women. McPherson (2012) posited that male initiation rites within Papuan societies promote male privilege and superiority over women. These initiations consistently use violent acts such as thrashing, cicatrisation and cane swallowing which are inflicted upon young boys to cleanse them of female essences (McPherson, 2012). Keesing (as cited in McPherson, 2012) delineated this cleansing process as “purging them of female essences, [so that] initiation rites ‘transform gentle boys into warriors capable of killing rage, stealthy murder, and bravery’” (p. 48).

At the forefront of the campaign to end violence, Papua New Guinean men are seldom given the opportunity to be allies. They are usually portrayed as perpetrators of violence, but it must be acknowledged that women are complicit too. The depth of PNG's cultural practices begets a trend where some women condone the violence inflicted upon their gender. While Papua New Guinean men are confronted with cultural and idealised normalisations of masculinity (Lusby, 2014), women are similarly faced with traditional expectations of their femininity. This reiterates the deep-rootedness of VAW as a cultural construction wherein some Papua New Guinean women – though not all – have classified violent acts such as wife bashing as acceptable (Banks, 2000).

For instance, Papua New Guinean societies have traditional expectations for women when they enter marriage, and this reiterates the relationship of reciprocity. If one's wife is “lazy” or “disrespectful” to her in-laws then she deserves to be beaten as exemplified in Banks' (2000) interview with women from Bena village. Borrey's (2000) interview with the Melpa women further highlighted this premise where violent sex is not seen as problematic. Hence, “the distinction between sexual violence and acceptable forms of sex could be blurred” (Borrey, 2000, p. 108).

In addition, violence is a contributing factor to the transmission of HIV in PNG thus marginalising women even more, due to the stigma that is attached to the virus (Lewis, Maruia & Walker, 2008). Lewis et al. (2008) noted that there is “a strong link between violence against women in relationships, particularly physical, emotional and sexual abuse, and women's HIV positive status” (p. 194), and that the absence of strong policies

to safeguard women from domestic violence further dictates the maltreatment of women, positioning them in a vicious cycle.

Conversely, the inclination to link the maltreatment of women to traditions can also be misplaced. Eves (2006) suggested that the frequency of VAW is more so an outcome of gender roles being challenged. Through periods such as colonisation and independence, the “notion of traditional gender roles” has varied to the point where, as suggested by Eves (2006), Papua New Guinean values are not entirely wholesome.

Furthermore, it is essential to highlight that various forms of VAW transcend the confines of marriage. This is where sexual violence remains a widespread theme in the debasement of women. According to PNG’s Constitution, sexual violence is defined as “non-consensual sexual assault, involving implied or actual threats and physical violence” (Borrey, 2000, p. 106). However, this definition is inadequate and quite distanced from cultural contexts. This national definition of sexual violence does not fully capture PNG’s linguistic diversity.

PNG’s wide-ranging ethnicities underscore a problematic situation in efforts to identify indigenous synonyms for violent acts such as rape. At present, studies in PNG indicate that there are few words to describe the distinctive forms of violence. Banks’ (2000) research on violence illustrates this issue via research on the Motuan people whose closest word to describe a violent sexual act loosely translates to ‘they spoiled her’. Theorists such as Strathern (as cited in Banks, 2000) proposed that the scarcity in native words is attributable to a rubric classification.

A further example of sexual violence being a foreign concept to Papua New Guinean ethnicities is the Melpa language having no specific word for sexual violence, thus indicating that women had no voice when it came to sex. In Borrey’s (2000) attempt to understand the Melpa women’s stance on sexual violence, she uncovered the stark reality that adultery is more problematic than rape. Langness (as cited in Banks, 2000) suggested that, prior to colonisation, lone women anticipated rape, particularly from other clans as it was deemed amusing – a sort of humiliation for the clan of the victim. While Borrey (2000) suggested that rape does not induce a social panic due to the insignificant impact it has on kinships, she reiterated that violence is embedded in the very fabric of PNG societies.

However, Borrey (2000) stated that the commodification of women, especially those who are not married, is a cause for concern for their male kinship when they are sexually

violated. An example she posed is one where relatives of rape victims seek monetary compensation. “The seeking of compensations by relatives suggest that more attention is given to the ‘value’ of sexuality in relation to the economics and politics of the community” (Borrey, 2000, p. 112). While this evaluation is a representation of most contemporary PNG societies, it is not completely true. From one rape case to another, male relatives react differently, whether it be to seek retribution or justice. Yet one cannot say wholeheartedly that their actions are based on obtaining monetary compensation.

Consequently, this perplexity introduces the notion that sexual violence may not be considered immoral due to “meaning”. The dearth of indigenous meanings on the injustice that sexual violence inflicts upon women denotes a society of continual violence. Meaning, therefore, deserves prominence when it comes to addressing various forms of VAW in behaviour-change campaigns. This is particularly pertinent for Papua New Guinean contexts that are rural as local communities will become more cognisant of the problematic nature of violent incidents (Borrey, 2000).

The concept of consent also deserves a closer look. Extensive literature on sexual violence in PNG has drawn attention to the hesitance in accepting women’s agency, particularly over their bodies. Women lack a well-defined voice when sex is involved hence when they experience violent acts such as rape, empathy is rarely an immediate response. Strathern (as cited in Banks, 2000) speculated that Melanesians are not concerned by the notion of consent. On the contrary, it is argued that Melanesians place more emphasis on the correctness of the social relationships between the victim and offender. As such, Papua New Guinean survivors of violence are subject to stigma. In some areas like Umbukul, however, females are depicted as inviting sexual violence (Banks, 2000). Needless to say, consent is only an issue in terms of identifying the perpetrator.

2.2 Social construction of violence

Notwithstanding the influence of culture, social development is a contributing factor in the escalation of VAW. In carving its path to development, PNG has destabilised traditional power dynamics. Zorn (2012) suggested that Papua New Guinean men, particularly those who are young, are confronted with the loss of power brought on by social change, and are thus resorting to VAW. Similarly, Josephides (as cited in Banks, 2000) stated that “many men’s identities depend on the subordination of women and that equality between males is dependent on their political superiority over women” (p. 95).

Figure 2.2: Are men allies in gender empowerment?



Source: Photograph by Author, March, 2017.

Perhaps an apt illustration of the shift in PNG's gender relations is women's agency over their lives. Agency, as per Mishra and Tripathi (2011), is an essential element of empowerment where one is able to and unrestricted in making self-serving decisions. The ability to make these choices signposts the resistance of a society's current status quo. By embracing development, PNG has also accepted that its women hold agency. Unfortunately, VAW is an epidemic, thus reiterating the disregard for women's agency (Chandler, 2014).

Additionally, agency is discounted particularly in sexual VAW. While PNG has progressed in "a degree of acknowledgement" (Borrey, 2000, p. 108) on the legal notion of sexual violence, there is still a culture of stigmatisation. Women – especially those who live in urbanised areas – are still condemned after suffering from violent acts. McLeod and Macintyre's reporting on crime in PNG (as cited in Lepani, 2008) highlighted a rampant rape culture. This is where people stated that women "should be

required to dress in ways that did not invite male attention; and on several occasions suggested that rape victims who had in any way transgressed had in fact invited the assault” (Lepani, 2008, p. 158).

Conversely, Papua New Guinean women have experienced a sense of empowerment via religion, particularly in Christianity. The early European missionaries saw their arrival as a means to share the Gospel, consequently ending the heathenism tied to violence within Papua New Guinean societies (Weir, 2000). As such, the Christian churches’ work in converting Papua New Guineans has resulted in over 95 percent of the population taking on the faith, albeit these people are still firm believers in their traditions (Gibbs, 2006).

Along with other faith-based organisations, the Christian religion has contributed positively to the advancement of Papua New Guinean women. Women have been made cognisant of their potential in society. Churches have helped to build women’s image as quasi-transactional whereby they are viewed as more than just sources of wealth (Dickson-Waiko, 2003).

Despite the Christian religion’s efforts, it has correspondingly solidified the patriarchal values already prevalent. This is distinctly represented in the Christian model of a monogamous nuclear family where the male is the head of the family (Morley, 1994). McPherson (2012) mentioned this systematic discrimination:

[I]n contrast to the traditional matrifocal household, when males lived separately in the ceremonial men’s house, married men now live in the “woman’s house”, with their wife/wives and children. The husbands, under the aegis of church teaching that he is the patriarchal head of household and indigenous concepts of masculine power and privilege, has assumed the role of overseer of the household and of women’s domestic labour. (p. 66)

In terms of the development of social policies on the issue of VAW, the Christian churches are quite lethargic. Papua New Guinean women are still subject to the patriarchal values advocated by the Christian churches (Chandler, 2014). Considering the influence of Christianity in PNG, it is a key instrument in advocating for behavioural change. Eves (as cited in Khosla et al., 2013) highlighted the premise that Christianity provides a foundation for the rhetoric that either supports or counters traditional gender roles, norms, and VAW. Khosla et al. (2013) expounded on this notion:

[T]he narrative for maintaining traditional gender roles may focus the problem “on the victim who, if her husband’s violence continues, obviously has not been

a good enough Christian wife” (Eves, 2012, p. 5) and therefore must fight to protect her marriage irrespective of the violence. Conversely, the counternarrative against VAW highlights the equality of all before God such that “each person has a responsibility to treat all others fairly, which means being just to others and respectful of their rights” (Eves, 2012, p. 4). (Khosla et al., 2013, p. 2091)

Furthermore, the PNG state’s consistent safeguarding of its national identity as a Christian country can be seen as a disservice to women. This is where the Christian religion is used as an excuse to suppress the rhetoric on sexual violence, thus correspondingly portraying that women’s rights are not a priority (Borrey, 2000).

Aside from religion, education is a contributing factor in the abuse of PNG women. Attempts to break down the cultural construction of VAW is quite taxing as this issue has existed for so long. Although various campaigns have used education as a powerful tool in transforming mindsets, it is equally damaging towards the advancement of women. Empowerment poses a threat to males who “realise the implications for their authority” (Macintyre, 2012, p. 246). Accordingly, education is not always a protective measure for Papua New Guinean women as outlined in the UN’s Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Taskforce book (2015).

This is not to decry the benefits that education holds for women; however, it should be noted that education does not negate VAW (Spark, 2011). In fact, education elucidates another perspective of disempowerment in that Papua New Guinean men may feel a loss of control. As Crewe and Harrison (as cited in Macintyre, 2012) mentioned, educational initiatives focused on empowering women infrequently consider the political implication: conflict comes hand-in-hand with resistance. Consequently, the process of empowerment via education is not necessarily a win-win situation for women facing greater violence at the hands of men.

Similar to how education can hinder progress in combatting VAW, so too can a weak justice system. GBV has received traction in not just the civil and private sectors but also with the Government of PNG (Betteridge, 2016). The PNG Government has passed policies such as the National Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender Based Violence outlining its commitment to treating the epidemic of violence (Rooney, 2017a).

In addition to this national response, the passing of the *Family Protection Act 2013* has been a step forward in criminalising GBV (Bouscaren, 2018). Despite this political will,

these policies have not necessarily brought about tangible change due to limited funding and dwindling implementation, monitoring and evaluation efforts (Rooney, 2017b).

Even with the establishment of crisis centres, Papua New Guinean women cannot access such resources due to “intransigent and negligent police” (Garap, 2000, p. 169). In Betteridge’s (2015) review of Human Rights Watch’s “Bashed Up” report, it made clear that the workplace culture of law enforcement officers is indifferent to violence.

The negligence of law enforcement officers in advocating for the PNG Constitution’s equality of status further marginalises women and trivialises violence (Eves, 2006). Further, PNG has a growing trend of non-reporting which is compounded with the fact that victims “do not seek redress in the judicial system” (Eves, 2006, p.13). While Papua New Guinean police officers are aware of human rights, some do not think these are compatible with Melanesian values, as explained by Macintyre (2008). Upon conducting research on VAW in the capital of PNG, Borrey (2000) found that:

The reluctance to call upon the introduced formal justice system and the lack of reinforcement by its representatives are indications of a serious hiatus between two cultures which engage each other but leave ... hardly any trace of a constructive exchange. The confusion which arises from such a situation can be in itself a basis for social panic. (pp. 116)

Beyond the negligence of law enforcement officers, coordination remains a strain in the response to violence. Betteridge and Wasey (2016) mentioned that efforts to curb violence on a local level, particularly through the District Services Improvement Programme (DSIP), has been difficult in terms of the allocation and mobilisation of resources. A key example of the lack of coordination is the number of non-governmental organisations that implement the same activities without referring to lessons learned over the years (Betteridge & Wasey, 2016). As a result, projects centred on violence lack sustainability and accessibility to a majority of Papua New Guinean women (Betteridge, 2016).

2.3 Engendering of violence

To “challenge some of the social and cultural norms that are currently central to power relations in PNG” (Macintyre, 2012, p. 250), development theorists such as Zimmer-Tamakoshi, Macintyre, Eves and McPherson have pointed out that VAW must be engendered. According to Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012), ‘engendered’ means to rise out of the tensions within the gendered matrix of PNG social relations. With GBV being

synonymous with women, Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) argued for a shift towards 'engendered violence' as it is more inclusive and thus makes room for complex explanations and findings on the issue.

With scant literature available on "men's thoughts and experiences on violence and masculinity" (Hukula, 2012, p.), there is a necessity to understand their attitudes to violence. This is especially important in the face of modernisation. For Papua New Guinean men, this understanding is valuable in the response to GBV and changing masculinities in Melanesia, as mentioned by Knauft (as cited in Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012).

Alternatively, Knaufman (as cited in Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012) hypothesised that "men's contradictory experiences of power" fall within the paradoxes of patriarchal power" (p. 82). Accordingly, Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) argued that these experiences are inclusive of young men's dismal lack of control over resources that are needed to fulfil "both local and global ideals of masculine social and individual power" (p. 82).

Distinct evidence of this battle for control is the bachelorising of the Gende men in the Madang Province of PNG. This is a form of masculine-marked development formed due to migration and economic inequality brought on by landowner compensations from mining companies Ramu Nico, Highlands Gold and Marengo Mining within Gende. As a result, polygyny became pervasive along with domestic and inter-generational violence stemming from fathers refusing to secure wives for their sons. The young men of Gende faced a great deal of struggle in achieving their manhood and consequently used violence to express their frustration. Moreover, the Gende men had altercations with older men in their community. In the young Gende males' eyes, the older men were preventing them from achieving their manhood which was derived from securing wives. Hence, Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) postulated that such violence by the Gende men is linked to the struggle between the haves and have-nots.

Alongside the description of the Gende men, there are also Hukula's (2012) interviews with incarcerated rapists in PNG, which demonstrated that their responses for committing rape or carnal knowledge (incest) fell under the themes of frustration, retribution and the need to show their masculinity via sex. Once more, this need to exert power and domination arises. The explanation for this behaviour, however, is unclear. According to Hukula (2012) though, Papua New Guinean men are still navigating their way through relationships with women and hence that in itself is quite new as it is detached from

‘traditional’ societies. It seems reasonable to use the premise of power to explain VAW but it is perplexing as to why women are chosen as the target for aggression.

2.4 Journalism in developing Papua New Guinea

PNG’s cultural and linguistic diversity of more than 800 distinct languages adds further complexity in tackling national issues. The task of sharing common ideas in a common language becomes all the more difficult especially when concepts of peace and unity are dismissed in the event of tribal relations and the “*wantok* system” (nepotism). Consequently, it is crucial to recognise the power that the media wields in a nation. Kais (2006) expounded on this power whereby “the media can play a role in forming or strengthening a national culture and identity in a culturally and ethnically diverse country such as PNG” (p. 174).

The Papua New Guinean media boasts a free press in terms of “the right to inform and be informed, the right to freedom of expression, the right to freedom of information and assembly, and the right to communication opportunities which are all guaranteed under the National Constitution” (Solomon, 1995, p. 119). In reality, press freedom is ambiguous. This freedom may be predisposed, considering that a great deal of government revenue funds the operation of various media outlets, as highlighted by Solomon (1995). Consequently, the Papua New Guinean media faces significant challenges in the reportage and investigation of stories affecting those in both rural and urban areas.

The prevailing media structure in PNG rests upon the idea of the “Fourth Estate”, a model that has been adopted from democracies in Britain and the United States (Robie, 1995). Normative ideas such as the function of journalists and ethical standards are markers that are associated with Papua New Guinean journalists. Theoretically, Papua New Guinean journalists are supposedly the “gatekeepers” – a term coined by Kurt Lewin in 1947 – in terms of controlling the trajectory and reach of news (Ruhl, 2008). This is not so much the case. Journalists are instead operating in traditionally organised and complex social systems, a sentiment that is outlined in a 1960s study by Manfred Ruhl (cited in Weaver & Loffelholz, 2008). The culture at an organisational level in a media institution will therefore dictate the kind of reporting that can be done:

For example, if most journalists in a particular news organisation rate the adversarial role highly, it seems likely that more of the news articles produced by that organization will be adversarial in nature, and we think that the same is true

for other roles such as neutral disseminator and interpreter. Because news media reporting is usually not the product of isolated individuals, we think that it is likely to be more fruitful to study the links between journalists' attitudes and news content at the organisational rather than the individual level. (Weaver & Loffelholz, 2008, p. 7)

Considering this notion, Papua New Guinean media outlets need to re-examine their collective response to violence as opposed to the norm of working in silo. In Robie's (2014) *Four Worlds news values matrix*, PNG falls in the Third World wherein journalists are key players in nation-building. Facilitating nation-building requires media practitioners to be on the same wavelength regarding the values of "good journalism" and the model that needs to be applied in the field. This is reiterated in research by Pirpir (2006) who argued that the function of journalists in PNG has been misunderstood by not only the public but also the media industry and journalists themselves. The long-lasting impact of this confusion has been media coverage that has not necessarily voiced the interests of the majority of Papua New Guineans in rural areas.

To some degree, PNG practices development journalism (Robie, 1995). Development journalism can be understood as reporting on the activities being peddled as a means toward improving socio-economic standards in a nation. This reporting engages the voices of those affected by these initiatives, be the effects positive or negative. Yet journalism in PNG is often fragmented, sketchy, events-based and unfortunately dictated by the status of a person (Pirpir, 2006). This can be traced back to the theory that the media's hands are tied in terms of overbearing political and economic power; thus, the interests of the people are rarely heard (Devi & Chand, 2008).

This gap presents Papua New Guinean media with the opportunity to reimagine development journalism by first understanding the overarching theme that is deliberative journalism. Deliberation is described as "the act of thinking about or discussing something and deciding carefully," according to Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2019). In the context of journalism, this can be taken as directing discussions on issues by first recognising the finer details. The role of deliberative journalism in a democracy such as PNG entails a deeper understanding of the issues by considering nuances, no matter how subtle they are. This is elaborated by Romano (as cited in Robie, 2014):

For example, in many countries, hunger and starvation do not become big media issues until there is a famine. ... It is usually harder to write compelling reports

about issues that are simmering. It requires more talent and effort to recognise the issues that may be leading to a potential calamity, to find the compelling features of the story, and to be inventive in developing new storytelling strategies to best tell these tales. (p. 326)

In the same vein, deliberative journalism enables a closer, consistent examination of gender issues such as VAW which plagues PNG. Papua New Guinean women and girls already face disempowerment via cultural and structural systems. As such, the media has a duty to use its platform “to set agendas, hold governments to account, and influence the way women, their rights and interests are represented” (Middleton, 2008, p. 43). Correspondingly, media institutions need to hold themselves to a higher account by reflecting on their coverage of women. Middleton (2008) highlighted gender-neutral language and gender bias as indicators that can form thorough and balanced stories, where all genders’ voices are included.

In the widespread conversation on violence, it seems that the Papua New Guinean media has a tendency to report on VAW when cases have reached an aggravated state; involve prominent people; and when victims “have appeared in court” (Kais, 2006, p. 183). The coverage seldom shifts from victimhood and falls short of mentioning primary prevention and referral pathways. Media coverage is regular but devoid of critical discussion on public perceptions and the role of policy makers.

The complacency in reporting on VAW on an ad hoc basis poses a challenge to shifting attitudes. Audiences may be less receptive to news on violence as it becomes an accepted reality. With more than 70 percent of women experiencing violence (Ilave, 2016), PNG’s media can no longer disseminate just negative stories as “they only cause ordinary people to lose hope in their ability to effect behaviour change” (McManus, 2006, p. 12). Like McManus and Solomon, Rooney (2017a) reiterated that consistent, efficient, accurate and wide coverage of stories on violence will depend largely on funding.

Whether funding is present or not, the fact remains that the media holds “influence on public agenda setting and communities’ understanding of issues and events” (Romano, 2010, p. 3). At present, the Papua New Guinean media assumes the role of watchdog with an emphasis on British and Australian models of journalism (Kais, 2006). Irrespective of this adversary standpoint, news coverage on GBV rarely interrogates the Government and other actors’ commitment, particularly in light of excessive funding (Rooney, 2017b).

Behavioural-messaging campaigns on VAW and GBV cannot permeate society without the media's aid in exploring root causes, contesting social acceptance and portraying empathy for victims (McManus, 2006). Turning to peace journalism – a form of deliberative journalism – Papua New Guinean journalists can delve deeper into the issue of violence by offering a “voice to all parties,” as stated by Richard Keeble, John Tulloch and Florian Zollmann (Robie, 2014, p. 305). Structural conditions that allow violence to thrive are exposed and the narrative of people rebuilding lives is given more attention. It gives a platform for people to voice their lived experiences in a climate where the bureaucratic voices are often heard and misrepresent the situation on the ground.

No longer can the media link the increasing level of VAW to just culture whilst attempting to espouse the human rights discourse (Milli, 2015). Milli (2015) argued that “culture is no longer fixed, it is essentially fluid and constantly in motion” (p. 4) thus it cannot be the sole reason for GBV. Accordingly, journalists need to do a deep dive into the issue, looking beyond the official rhetoric and discussing the potential solutions (Robie, 2014).

Renowned Papua New Guinean journalist Scott Waide (2018) reiterated the need to expose underlying conditions relating to violence. He mentioned that issues such as SARV thrive where basic services such as hospitals are sparse. Taking this into account, the media wields the power to convey the message that Papua New Guinean cultures reproach violence, thus advocating peace journalism. In 2010 Romano explicated the goal of peace journalism by saying:

[T]hey must trace the links and consequences of conflict to parties not immediately involved in the dispute, and assess the impact of violent actions and policies not just in terms of their immediate and visible outcomes but also for their long-term and indirect consequences. They question how people are affected by conflict in their everyday lives, what they want changed, and whether the positions stated by leaders are the only or best ways to achieve the changes that the public wants. (p. 27)

Although the Papua New Guinean media has faced various constraints in the coverage on violence, it should be highlighted that it is also vulnerable. Cases like the death of journalist Roselyn Albaniel Evara accentuate the pervasiveness of violence and the stigma faced even by educated women. Still, deaths caused by violence can be prevented

through a media that fits community stories into mainstream news without sensationalism, as posited by Chandler (2014).

2.5 Conclusion

To summarise, VAW in PNG is multifaceted. Not only is it entrenched in certain aspects of Melanesian cultures, but it is also driven by social and economic factors. While its prevalence may be of concern to outsiders, VAW is implicitly accepted within various contexts of PNG. The shifting dynamics of power have further complicated this issue and in the process rendered women as further targets of aggression. For VAW to be addressed effectively, Banks (2000) reiterated that analyses of sexual violence in PNG must be done by considering “the specificity of the culture and that an examination of the context within which such violence occurs is a fundamental part of such an analysis” (p. 85).

As such, Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) posited that the way forward in addressing violence would be to include young people in the models of community, and to recognise and help them to achieve their social needs in truly tackling the issue of power. Whether this community model and understanding of the engendering of violence will be effective in reducing violence against Papua New Guinean women is something that remains to be seen.

In the meantime, the Papua New Guinean media are vital agents of the countless behavioural campaigns on violence. The funding that is diverted to such movements necessitates critical examination, especially when the targeted communities are still experiencing intensifying levels of GBV and VAW. Journalists have to realise that they have the critical mass to shift the agendas of news coverage (Weaver & Loffelholz, 2008). Moreover, they are able to provide feedback to policy-makers so that future action can be more informed and suited to the people’s needs, as suggested by Robie (1995).

With an understanding of the various ways in which VAW has become a crisis in PNG, the following chapter focuses on the methodology and research design that best suits this research. These include the post-colonial feminist frameworks and fifth estate paradigm that underpin research on GBV and VAW within the developing world and Melanesian contexts. Furthermore, the following chapter clarifies the role of *talanoa* in collecting data and practising journalism in PNG. Ethical considerations are also discussed to point out the challenges in conducting this research. Finally, the chapter shares how the results will be communicated.

Chapter 3 – Methodology

This chapter discusses the appropriate research methodology and design employed to understand the perceptions surrounding both GBV and VAW – both distinct terms. Firstly, GBV is described as a general term for harmful acts against a person on the basis of gender disparities between females and males (UN Women Training Centre, 2017). As for VAW, it is described as:

Any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life. (UN Women Training Centre, 2017, para. 1).

Within this chapter, the basic tenets and theoretical frameworks that influence this research are clarified. Attention is also given to the chosen method of data analysis, the communication of data results and ethical considerations at hand.

3.1 Appropriateness of research design

The methodology that underpins this research is the qualitative approach. In order to better understand and assess the impact of various VAW campaigns in PNG, it is imperative to understand both women and men's perceptions of this issue. VAW in PNG is quite complex in that it is grounded on socio-cultural relations that further oppress women. As such, the qualitative method of conducting interviews would be best suited to uncover Papua New Guineans' cognisance of GBV.

From reviewing various studies on VAW in PNG, it is evident that there is a paradigm of women constantly portrayed as victims and powerless. Efforts ploughed into tackling violence centre on empowering women through the development process and pulling away from cultural practices that support violent acts against women. The manner in which empowerment has been communicated, however, has been problematic in that it insinuates power has to be stripped from the male gender. Macintyre (2008) echoed this paradox in the following:

In the aid context it carries overtones of donors conferring power and authority on recipients. In Papua New Guinea 'empowering women' often means wresting power from men so that women might represent their own interests. (p. 28)

While efforts to empower women are commendable, it must be noted that they need to engender violence, as mentioned by Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012). Additionally, PNG's

diverse ethnicities necessitate a closer look at the meanings, or lack thereof, attached to various forms of violence. As Lusby (2014) noted, campaigns aimed at preventing VAW need to also consider both the lived experiences of men and women and other socio-economic drivers.

The qualitative method of conducting interviews assisted in comprehending both women and men's encounters with violence; how they construct their world views and the meanings placed on those encounters. In turn, this research attempted to evaluate the efficacy of VAW campaigns such as the current campaign *Sanap Wantaim* (Stand Together). These interviews were then analysed thematically according to the reoccurring ideas brought forward by the interviewees.

3.2 Post-colonial feminist framework

Male VAW is embedded in PNG's diverse cultures as well as arising through the process of development. The advocacy surrounding VAW is often communicated through the principles of human rights, which may be "distant to the tangible connections to people's lived experience, or to the circumstances of their deaths" (Lepani, 2016, pp. 159-160). This can be viewed through the idea of women's agency over their bodies which is not endorsed in some Papua New Guinean cultures. In a *Post-Courier* newspaper article on the UN 2010-2013 study on VAW in Bougainville, Ume Wainetti of PNG's Family Sexual Violence Action Committee highlighted this rejection in sexual assault cases where "there is great need to strengthen laws and provide services for survivors of rape" (Setepano, 2013, para. 7).

PNG's rapport with male VAW is complex. It is problematic to talk about violence, let alone uphold women's rights, when local languages are devoid of words pertaining to various forms of violence. Without specific terminologies to articulate VAW, Papua New Guineans from different ethnicities rely on conversational story-telling to discuss real-life experiences. Lepani (2016) thus noted that this form of meaning-making poses epistemological and ethical challenges when it comes to clarifying VAW. Moreover, it is especially difficult to explain the issue without taking into consideration the range of values, beliefs, practices and linguistic contexts present in PNG.

Mohanty (1984) recognised this grave error by noting that "Western feminist writing on women in the third world must be considered in the context of the global hegemony of Western scholarship – i.e., the production, publication, distribution, and consumption of

information and ideas” (p. 55). Without considering the hegemony of Western feminism, there is already a rejection of the effects that it poses on a country.

For instance, the dominant depictions of Western feminism are that it is blended with imperialism and so third world women are portrayed as being “average third world woman” (Mohanty, 1984). Being “average”, third world women are reduced to their feminine gender (sexually restrained) and being “third world” (ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented) while Western women are represented as educated, having autonomy over their lives and bodies, and so on (Mohanty, 1984).

Figure 3.2: Supporters of the Kepari Leniata campaign to end SARV



Source: Photograph by Author, June, 2017.

Again, PNG’s diverse cultures do play a role in maintaining women’s status as victims, but they must not be generalised. Instead, other factors need to be considered such as meaning-making, place, familial system, beliefs, religion and the impact of the development process in specific communities. These facets perpetuate the oppression of Papua New Guinean women and reiterate the unequal power relations at play. By adhering to a post-colonial feminist framework, this research takes on a critical inquiry

into the prevalent injustice and attempts to confront it (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) according to the relevant rubrics.

As Mohanty (1984) emphasised:

Male violence must be theorised and interpreted within specific societies, in order to understand it better and to effectively organize to change it. Sisterhood cannot be assumed on the basis of gender: it must be forged in concrete historical and political practice and analysis. (p. 58)

For instance, the Trobriand culture in PNG represents a resilient collective identity that is attached to place and articulated via an array of beliefs and practices that delineate personhood and gender relations (Lepani, 2016). In this culture, sex is far from being a taboo topic and is quite valued as a social practice. Moreover, women have autonomy regarding their sexuality, fertility, labour and offspring (Lepani, 2016). As for GBV and male sexual aggression, Lepani (2016) stated that the Trobriand culture does not favour nor tolerate it. The make-up of such a community shows that VAW efforts cannot be generalised by grouping *all* women under sisterhood.

PNG's ethnic constructions hinder the formation of shared national identity, thus highlighting that VAW must be addressed according to the dynamics in specific communities. Lepani (2016) posited:

Accounting for sexual violence within the shifting domain of modernity requires closer examination of the relational dynamics that produce and disrupt subjectivities, both personal and collective, and how these are linked to, or disconnected from, established modes of social connection. (pp. 184-185)

The intersectionality present in PNG demands a horde of voices on the issue of violence. While the feminist approach is a central theme in women's empowerment, there are multiple realities with socio-political and cultural contexts in them (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). In 2013, Denzin and Lincoln (as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) outlined how qualitative research studies "things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (pp. 14-15). Taking this into consideration, this research attempts to delineate the way Papua New Guineans make sense of GBV and VAW.

Additionally, by using the post-colonial feminist structure advocated by Mohanty (1984), this research deconstructs the varying experiences Papua New Guinean women have with

violence in their respective communities. It will further identify the relationship between hegemonic Western feminism and the values of Papua New Guinean women.

3.3 Fifth estate paradigm

Within the Papua New Guinean context, the media faces a heightened obligation to shape the lives of people, as mentioned by Burns (as cited in Watson, 2011). However, PNG's adoption of Western news values sustains a culture of stories that do not resemble the indigenous people's needs (Watson, 2011). This oversight raises the importance of the fifth estate, otherwise known as "an indigenous traditional cultural pillar, which is a counterbalance to all other forms of power, including the news media" (Robie, 2013, p. 43).

Considering that culture has remained a key theme in the coverage of VAW, this research seeks to understand the influence of indigenous peoples in journalism and behaviour-messaging campaigns. The use of *talanoa* – "a tool for more effectively reporting the region with context and nuance" (Robie, 2013, p. 45) – can uncover the extent to which they have been exposed to messages on VAW. In a Papua New Guinean context, it transforms the reporting style into one that is cognisant of the worlds people live in and the conditions that influence their way of thinking on violence. Moreover, *talanoa* compels Papua New Guinean journalists to deliberate on violence through different lenses, instead of the typical cultural perspective.

Vaiioleti (2006) reasons that *talanoa* motivates Pacific people to engage in a dialogue that will undoubtedly result in knowledge sharing and the emergence of "more *mo'oni* (pure, real, authentic) information to be available for Pacific research than data derived from other research methods" (p. 21). In light of PNG's complexity, this indigenous approach fits the social dynamics involved in the discussion of topical issues such as VAW. Additionally, the dialogue prompts decolonisation wherein both the journalist or researcher and subject are placed at equal status. However, Vaiioleti (2013/2014) urged that:

It is important to appreciate that an outcome of *talanoa* based research must benefit Pacific peoples and their interests, with accountability back to the fonua and the ancestors, therefore the researcher still has a clear leadership role in carrying out *talanoa* research methodology. (p. 194)

The deployment of *talanoa* in the journalism context is essential in alleviating the issue of VAW in PNG. Considering PNG's complexities, *talanoa* acts as a guide for journalists

to concentrate more on the people's voices in contrast to the bureaucratic voices. This is especially relevant when the current climate for Papua New Guinean journalists is one where government censorship is an underlying tone (Marshall, 2018; Vaka'uta, 2018). This censorship has become detrimental to "good journalism" when politicians exploit cultural protocols. For instance, Melanesian cultures promote respect for prominent people otherwise known locally as the "*big man*" mentality.

Yet, cultures within PNG do not prohibit accountability especially when communities thrive upon acting collectively. There is a sense of responsibility to one another in the traditional setting. The "*big man*" mentality has, however, spilled over into the Papua New Guinean media style, resulting in more episodic news frames (Middleton, 2008) about the elite and less coverage on the public. This type of reporting is true for issues such as GBV and VAW too.

Accordingly, *talanoa* journalism serves as a contextually-appropriate model to make headway in the conversation on violence. It confronts the misuse of culture to serve the interests of the elite but also attempts to understand the values at the heart of different communities – as illustrated by Robie (2014). Moreover, *talanoa* echoes social responsibility (Robie, 2019), which is familiar to Papua New Guinean kinship systems. This is captured in Robie's (2019) description of *talanoa* journalism:

An 'unfettered' free media approach to conflict, a *talanoa* journalist would balance a defence of a free media with social responsibility. Instead of entertainment, 'infotainment' and sensationalism, a *talanoa* media would always emphasis public interest, civil society and community empowerment, running stories that encourage people to 'act' with possible solutions being identified. Also, in contrast to normative mainstream codes that are widely perceived to be ineffective, *talanoa* journalism recognises and deploys Indigenous, diversity and cultural values. (p. 14)

By incorporating *talanoa* into this research, I will be able to see the bigger picture when it comes to violence. This is where more emphasis is placed on people's lived experiences with regard to violence and the importance of holistic approaches to resolving the issue. Papua New Guinean communities are not a monolith, and so there must be an attempt to understand the differing dynamics and conditions at play.

Table 3.3 Talanoa journalism matrix

Mainstream Journalism Western	<i>Talanoa</i> Journalism Pacific
Elite source oriented	Grassroots source oriented
Hard news description	Hard news with context, cultural interpretations
Objective, detached, uninvolved stance	Reflexive stance
Solutions not an issue	Possible solutions for identified problems
Top-down mainstream vertical public opinion	Grassroots, citizen public opinion, horizontal views
Emphasises individualistic achievement	Emphasises community achievement
Unfettered free media focused on conflict	Free media, but balanced with social responsibility
Consumer, business orientation	Public interest, civil society, community empowerment focus
Entertainment or sensational angles	Focus on positive outcomes for wider community
Focus on crime, disaster and deviant behaviour	Focus on socio-economic development, community needs, wellbeing and progress
Normative mainstream ethical codes	Community ethics with recognition of indigenous, diversity, cultural values

Source: Robie (2014, p. 333).

3.4 Research design and method

To uncover women's perceptions of violence according to their contexts, this research will use the qualitative approach of interviews. The quantitative methodology is fundamental in PNG due to the difficulty in obtaining statistics on violence. However, this approach is not parallel with this research's aim of deconstructing the dichotomies between the assumptions on and realities of VAW. Furthermore, it will explain the way women and men view violence amid the Western feminist concepts and human rights discourse that are promoted in advocacy campaigns.

Through a period of six weeks, data was collected primarily through semi-structured interviews. A total of 30 participants were interviewed in two groups in the PNG capital of Port Moresby. The first group comprised of 22 women and men from the general public, to obtain data from different backgrounds. For the second group, data was

collected from interviews with six journalists from local media outlets on their role in covering violence and dispelling myths surrounding it.

The decision to use a semi-structured design for the interviews stems from the consideration that some participants may not be able to read or write, hence the interviewer will need to guide them. This is where questions were read out and translated to the lingua franca *Tok Pisin* so that the participants could have a better understanding.

Additionally, the sample population was interviewed in Port Moresby as it is the capital of PNG and hub of developmental policy-making, Port Moresby is deemed to be a suitable location to gather a range of perspectives that would account for the diverse ethnic constructions.

When interviewing participants, a sense of trust needed to be built so that questions asked could be answered comprehensively and without the influence of external factors. Since VAW is already a sensitive issue, this research took on the assistance of a male interviewer, Joshua Kiruhia. Joshua is a Bachelor of Communication Arts (Journalism) graduate from Divine Word University and works in the development field in PNG. His assistance as a co-interviewer has given participants the freedom to choose their interviewer according to their comfort. Joshua interviewed nine of the 12 men while I interviewed the remaining three.

The use of secondary interviewers may influence the way participants respond and so these interviews were accounted for via audio recordings. For all recordings, as well as interview notes, confidentiality of participants' identities has been maintained by de-identification at the point of transcription.

In terms of limitations, the *talanoa* approach may be challenging in the sense that VAW is a sensitive issue. Interviewees may feel vulnerable in that they may not want to disclose their experiences with violence or fear that they may be inviting abuse if they talk about the issue (O'Collins, 2000). Other limitations include the language barrier where interviewees may have differing definitions of violence, which are derived from local narratives and meaning-making processes (Lepani, 2016).

Nevertheless, the additional use of phenomenological interviewing in *talanoa* clarified uncertainties or misunderstandings so that the views of participants were not misconstrued. Bevan (2014) described phenomenological interviewing as asking questions that take into account the premises of the question in terms of experience contextualisation, phenomenon apprehension and clarification – all of which are taken

into account in *talanoa* research. Additionally, phenomenology in *talanoa* does not force a separation of worlds, rather it treats “moods, emotions, silence and deep reflective thoughts, eye and body movements” (Vaiotei, 2013/2014, p. 206) as a whole. Since PNG faces a complex challenge in meaning-making, the phenomenological tactic is valuable in understanding VAW according to a “person’s experience in the way he or she experiences it, and not from some theoretical standpoint” (Bevan, 2014, p. 136).

The phenomenological method of interrogation takes on two essential concepts: natural attitude and lifeworld. Husserl (as cited in Bevan, 2014) described the natural attitude as our individual relationship with the lifeworld – “consciousness of the world, including objects or experiences within it, and is always set against a horizon that provides context” (p. 136). Patton (as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016) added that Husserl’s “most basic philosophical assumption was that we can only know what we *experience* by attending to perceptions and meanings that awaken our conscious awareness” (p. 9).

As such, the design of this research is a means toward obtaining “descriptive and individual interpreted mini-narratives, which provide explanations for small-scale situations located within particular contexts with no pretensions of abstract theory” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016, p. 11).

3.5 Thematic analysis in data processing

The interview data was analysed thematically according to the recurring ideas that emerge from the data under post-colonial feminism and fifth estate frameworks. Braun and Clark (2006) defined thematic analysis as “a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (p. 79). This analysis employed an inductive process of coding which then evolved into rich descriptions about VAW.

The discussion which follows from the data analysis draws attention to the representation of VAW and contextualises violence by looking at historical, colonial, political, economic, social and cultural influences (Banks, 2000). Moreover, it examines the lived experiences of both women and men in relation to violence and advocacy campaigns. In doing so, this research uncovers the efficacy of VAW campaigns and women’s perceptions of anti-violence campaigns.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Due to the sensitivity surrounding violence, this research sought ethical clearance from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee. My application 18/227 was granted approval on August 6, 2018.

This research tried its best to safeguard its participants' wellbeing. Firstly, participants were given two to three days to familiarise themselves with the aim of the research so that they could give informed consent. They were also informed that their information would be treated with confidentiality and de-identified.

Secondly, participants were interviewed at Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) PNG's headquarters, which was deemed to be a safe space and, simultaneously, accessible. Considering that information shared could trigger trauma, participants were given information on a free counselling service in PNG. Additionally, participants were informed of their right to discontinue interviews if they felt uncomfortable.

The use of a research assistant also had its ethical considerations in terms of obtaining quality data and ensuring confidentiality. Considering this, my research assistant Joshua Kiruhia signed a confidentiality agreement and underwent briefing sessions on the design of the interviews. As the primary researcher, I have had encounters with violence as a Papua New Guinean woman. However, I refrained from sharing my experiences with participants in the hope that I do not influence their opinions. I acknowledge my own biases and have tried my best to be objective in carrying out this research.

Furthermore, the qualitative methodology does have its shortcomings in terms of the possibility of misconstruing participants' narratives. This is where probing questions may result in a participant opening up or feeling less inclined to disclose more information. As such, the interpretation of data collected may not be as comprehensive as one would hope.

3.7 Communicating the results

I hope to communicate the research results by submitting a report beyond the thesis. This report can be presented to agencies such as the UN Women mission in PNG, the Salvation Army and PNG's Family and Sexual Violence Action Committee.

3.8 Summary

VAW is a complex issue in PNG. Hence, the methodology employed in this research is a means toward gaining a deeper insight into the issue and deconstructing the assumptions

that allow it to thrive. The following chapter presents the findings of this research in terms of the researcher's experience in obtaining data. It further expounds on the lived experiences of participants and the prevailing themes.

Chapter 4 – Findings of this research

The two groups of participants disclosed wide-ranging standpoints during this research. Their insights are influenced by their knowledge, understanding and/or lived experience of GBV and VAW. Throughout 30 interviews, participants were interviewed privately to ensure that there is no external influence and that only their perspective was obtained. However, participants were given the opportunity to have support, in the form of a friend or relative, if they felt that this research was going to trigger traumatic experiences or result in discomfort. Despite this opportunity, none of the participants requested to be interviewed in this manner. Hence, it would seem that the results have been obtained with informed consent from the those in the two groups.

Additionally, the decision to interview both females and males has provided a greater depth of information than would have been available by concentrating solely on women. With GBV and VAW being a pervasive issue in PNG, it is necessary to obtain perspectives from varying backgrounds. As such, the participants are Papua New Guinean adults from different demographics such as age, ethnicity, education and occupational status. Their interviews illustrate several aspects and repercussions of violence in Papua New Guinean communities.

The 30 participants were quite forthcoming in their interviews which resulted in large amounts of information being gathered. Nevertheless, only the data pertaining to the key questions in this research, and any other relevant information to the issues of GBV and VAW, will be reported in this thesis. The aim is that the data gathered from this research should answer the following questions:

1. From a Papua New Guinean's perspective, what is the relationship between culture, development and violence?
2. What is the efficacy of the UN Women's violence against women campaign in PNG?
3. What are Papua New Guinean women and men's insights on violence against women and gender-based violence?

This research is sensitive hence the interviewees have been listed by codes to assist the reader in distinguishing speakers. The following codes have been used to protect the identities of participants:

- F – female participant, followed by interview number
- M – male participant, followed by interview number
- J – journalist, followed by interview number

Firstly, this chapter reviews the journey taken in the data collection process in terms of the *talanoa* and phenomenological approaches. *Talanoa* is the understanding and consideration of culture before one can engage in research (Vaioleti, 2013/2014); the phenomenological approach is an attentiveness to lived experiences as pointed out by Van Manen (as cited in Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Accordingly, I then delve into the results of my data analysis by highlighting the themes from the first group of the interviews and then the second group. As violence is a sensitive and complex topic in PNG, these themes are exemplified via participants' own words, which may have been translated from Tok Pisin to English. The use of participants' narratives gives a better understanding of the issue of violence, particularly in the context of a diverse country such as PNG. These quotations are listed, italicised and indented for readability.

4.1 Journey in collecting data

The study sample of 30 participants included two groups. The first group comprised 24 women and men who were recruited via an information sheet that was strategically placed at the YWCA PNG headquarters. This was done to ensure the participants volunteered without persuasion or referrals from an organisation that would know their identity.

In contrast, the second group of six journalists were recruited through personal connections with known colleagues. All participants' identities went through de-identification to ensure that any information disclosed would not be traced back to them. The interviewees, whose ages ranged from 21 to 50, are Papua New Guineans who have been exposed to violence, either directly or indirectly. They all come from varying cultures and backgrounds, and share concern for the issue of violence in PNG.

Table 4.1 Participants' demographics

<i>Age</i>	<i>Province of origin</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
21	Manus and Central	Youth volunteer
55	Central	Volunteer
23	Central	Development worker
28	East Sepik	Development worker
27	Sandaun	Teacher
30	Gulf	Youth volunteer
21	Western, Gulf and Autonomous Region of Bougainville	Student
25	Eastern Highlands	Student
22	Gulf and Autonomous Region of Bougainville	Student
29	Morobe and East New Britain	IT graduate trainee
25	Milne Bay	Accountant
27	New Ireland	Human resources
27	East New Britain and Autonomous Region of Bougainville	Metal fabricator
23	New Ireland	Carpenter
31	East New Britain	Self-employed
38	East New Britain	Unemployed
23	Western	Unemployed
35	Morobe	Project officer
42	Central and Western	Project officer
38	Western Highlands	Accountant
23	Northern	Unemployed
27	Central	Human rights defender
34	Eastern Highlands	Nursing specialist
26	Western	Peer educator
31	East New Britain	Journalist
27	Autonomous Region of Bougainville	Journalist
35	Western Highlands	Journalist
29	Manus and New Ireland	Journalist
27	East New Britain	Journalist
27	Gulf and East New Britain	Journalist

Group One interviews

Prior to conducting the interviews, I contacted YWCA PNG seeking its help in sharing my information sheet and providing a safe space. The organisation responded positively to my request thus the 24 interviews were conducted over a period of six weeks in Port Moresby, from September 3 to October 14, 2018. Considering the short amount of time and the sensitive nature of the issue of violence, a male research assistant was engaged to conduct the interviews with men. The research assistant, Joshua Kiruhia, and I went through a briefing session to maintain a similar interviewing style and consideration for participants' comfort. The first group of interviews was completed within five weeks.

One hour was allocated for the interview process: 20 minutes of preliminary conversation where *betelnut* (traditional nut) and food was shared, with the interview process being explained; 40 minutes for the actual interview, and referral to appropriate counselling services. This approach enabled the participants and researchers to build trust, which in turn created a safe space for a transparent dialogue on violence. The speed of the interviews was suitable in that it allowed enough time for participants to express themselves. Additionally, the participants were interviewed in a safe space which was located in a central location in Port Moresby and accessible by public transport.

Group Two interviews

The last week of data collection was allocated for the second group of journalists. Throughout the first few weeks of conducting interviews with the first group, I was also in contact with the six journalists to arrange a timing that would not conflict with their news rounds. As such, the timing allocated for these participants ranged from 30 to 40 minutes. This group went through the same interview process as the first group where time was taken to build trust, share food and *betelnut*, as well as the outlining of referral pathways. These interviews also took place at YWCA PNG as it provided a safe space and the journalists were able to access it. In contrast to the first group, I was the only interviewer.

4.2 Results of data analysis

Group One interviews

In revisiting my research questions, I searched for the key themes that were prevalent in each individual interview. Accordingly, I 'coded' the interviews using an inductive approach to look for themes pertaining to the interviewees' experiences, challenges and

perceptions of human rights and advocacy work. By going through a rigorous method of initial coding and categorising, I coded for words, phrases and paragraphs that encompass themes across the interviews. As a result, I became cognisant of six major themes that took into account the experiences, challenges and perceptions of human rights and awareness in relation to violence.

The theme of **human rights** was evident throughout most of the interviews. This was where participants expressed their point of contact with the concept of human rights, and spoke of *confusion; individual rights; and difficulty in contextualising human rights*. Most of the men and women stated that they did not come to develop an understanding of human rights until they became involved with an NGO. This is despite having heard the term while at school or in their community.

- *I first heard about human rights in high school and my years of teaching. But I did not really understand it until my volunteer work. At home, if I ask my mum and dad for lunch money – that is my right so I can go to school. But sometimes my mum and dad give less than what I expected. But now I realise that it's my right to bring lunch or lunch money to school. This was when I was small. (F1)*
- *I am aware of human rights. For me, the opportunity came in high school in 1987. Basically, most of the stuff was on gender and to use my voice to speak up for my rights. We were taught about human rights – not in full detail like today but an insight into the law and as young women, we had an opportunity to speak. Then in 2000 upon joining an NGO, I began participating in the awareness on human rights. (F3)*
- *I first heard about it [human rights] when I attended a child protection training at Equal Playing Field. So, they talked about the different articles about human rights. When you know your rights, people cannot stop you from accessing things like your freedom of speech. (F4)*
- *I understand that we have rights as humans but to be specific and argue on something, I wouldn't know where to get my references from. I know about it in general. I would say school through Personal Development Education – that's where I first learnt about it. But the emphasis was more on your rights as a girl – the right to your body and what you should do with it. But in terms of human rights, I would say no. (F6)*

- *I first heard of it at high school but got to learn more about it and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights when volunteering at the Human Rights Film Festival. (F7)*
- *I learnt about it when we had an activity with Sanap Wantaim in the 16 Days of Activism when we celebrated Human Rights Day. For example, humans have the right to food, school, own a house... if police hit us, we have the right to say whether we're right or wrong. And women have the right to report our partner if he hits us. (F9)*
- *I hear of human rights but I'm not sure about it. I just know that no one can hurt us. (M3)*
- *By working with several NGOs (Save the Children, FHI360, Childfund) in Papua New Guinea, I became aware of HR. My family didn't hear anything about human rights, but I advocate to them at home and in my community. (M8)*
- *I was trained by my employer on human rights and my father is a policeman, so I knew of it in my family. (M9)*

The theme of **gender-based violence** also appeared in a majority of the male and female interviews. This was where participants expressed their comprehension of violence, especially VAW, and the different ways it can manifest. Some of the participants even shared their own encounters with violence.

- *I saw gender-based violence happening in the home like when an older brother hit his small sister. We had a certain time that my dad expected us to be home. Sometimes we would come home when it was dark and my dad or big brother would belt us... I don't know if it's violence. In the back of my mind I knew I was wrong. (F1)*
- *Generally, gender-based violence is common in my community. All the issues mount into it. There are five types of violence - emotional, social, sexual, verbal and physical violence would be common for both genders. (F4)*
- *Violence against women is not just hitting someone or physical violence. For me, it is when you create a fear in a woman that she feels she does not have the right to talk or express herself. (F6)*
- *Gender is not just women, it's also men and the LGBTQI community. (F7)*
- *Gender-based violence is violence that happens to both men and women. An example is when a husband is hitting his wife, or a woman is abusing her partner. They do not respect each other's rights and are abusing each other. (F8)*

- *To do with gender-based violence, men and women both have rights. If someone is wrong, then it is right for them to get the consequences like getting hit. If that person is right, then that is clear. (M1)*
- *Violence is especially when you are doing something that is not in line with the law. For example, when you are arguing with your wife, you do not have to do something to her like fighting. (M2)*
- *I hear of violence against women. Not sure of what it means. (M3)*
- *Violence against women is a norm in my community. In my community, it is a notorious place in POM [Port Moresby] where most of the males are living with criminal backgrounds. If they fail in whatever they are doing, they always blame the wife. (M9)*
- *Violence against women is normal in my community – it is everyday life. Two types of violence that normally occurs in our community are verbal and physical. (M9)*
- *Violence against women is either woman against woman or man against woman. Sometimes, they fight or argue over when they are drunk because of misunderstandings. (M12)*

Another evident theme was centred on **reporting violence** to relevant authorities such as law enforcement. Essentially, a majority of the participants indicated that the police would not be their first thought when it came to dealing with cases of violence. In instances where the police would be sought after, participants expressed that this would occur only if it is a serious case of violence such as rape. The following quotes capture the response to law enforcement and a preference for community-led mechanisms for redress.

- *I would report violence to the police but first I have to talk with my family. My relatives and I get together and talk and then decide. If it is not that bad, we will sort it out as a family. But if it is bad, we will go to the police. If we do not reach a decision and the situation is serious then we will take it to the police. (F2)*
- *Probably try to sort out violence in the family. If it does not work out, then we take it to the next level. If it is physical violence, I would definitely report to the police because they are the trained personnel to deal with it. With physical violence, it would not be a straightforward thing to go to the police. You have to get the victim's consent if they want to report. If they agree then you can report to the police's Family Sexual Violence Action Committee. (F4)*

- *In terms of the police and their work, it is really not that effective. So many young women have gone to seek help, but it depends on who you know in the station – who is going to help you. There is always an excuse when it comes to gender-based violence cases. It is complicated. (F7)*
- *I feel like reporting to the police, but I'm scared. If that person got locked up and then released, will they hit me or remove me from my home? I'm also scared of the police – will they believe me or understand? (F9)*
- *If someone was experiencing violence, I would report it. But I would lean more towards getting them a counsellor. If you are hitting someone, I would feel that I have to report it to the police or seek counseling. (F11)*
- *Definitely, I would report violence to the police, but I would be very selective about it. Knowing that I could also be unsafe in that environment, I would report but through someone else or through people I know within the force... not to go report violence and end up being violated again. I would do the same thing for someone I know who is a victim. I would accompany them to report to the police, but I wouldn't leave them alone based on other's people's negative experiences with the police. Not knowing what happens to them when you walk away. (F12)*
- *When I experienced violence where some boys stabbed me, I wanted to take action. But the place where I lived – it was remote – it was not near a police station. Also, I knew that no one would listen to me. They would see me as a little boy. (M1)*
- *I want to report violence but then I would think 'it is their business'. If violence happens to my family, it depends on the issue... If we can solve it at home, then we will not report it. Issues like rape in the family or cutting someone – I will think of getting the police. (M3)*
- *I was beaten up by policemen during the Pacific Games in 1991. It happened when I went to buy rice around half 9 at night, and police had put a curfew at 10. On my way back, a vehicle was coming my way and I saw that it was the police so I ran. They blocked me, and a mob of them beat me without asking questions. It is a trauma to see policemen now. They thought I stole something and ran... I was just a child. I do not report anything to the police because I do not trust them. (M5)*
- *I would report someone to the police. For example, if my brother-in-law is bashing my sister, I will give him two warnings. The third time I will take action. (M7)*

- *Once my big sister had a fight with her husband. He bashed her up really badly, so I escorted her to a police station to place a report. (M9)*
- *I was drunk and walking back home when these three boys held me up. They hit me, stole my money and ran off – that is physical violence. After that incident, I went to the community leader who advised me to go the police station. From there I rang my big brother who is an officer and placed a report. The situation is now under control where they are trying to get the suspects. (M12)*

Aside from reporting violence, a reoccurring theme in all the interviews is **socio-cultural relations**. Most of the participants traced violence back to their communities and their way of life. Some found fault in culture while others disagreed by outlining different contributing factors to the violence in their environment.

- *When I was a small girl, our neighbours usually fought. When I asked my dad about what was happening, he would say that it is not my business as a child (ol bikpla manmeri fait, em no samting bilong yu liklik meri). When I got to high school, I realised that it is wrong for a husband to hit his wife, especially in front of the children. (F1)*
- *I see that violence is a normal thing like in my family. When a guy hits a woman, people say “it is her fault, let her be, she deserves it”. But when a guy cheats, people will say that he is a boss. They do not value the woman’s side. When a guy does something bad, it is normal. But when a woman does something bad, they are at fault. (F2)*
- *In our Melanesian culture, foreigners tend to think that it is all bad. We actually had a lot of respect and manners. If you look at today and the influences of foreign countries, we tend to think that our cultures are to be blamed. There really was not any violence in our cultures; there were only tribal fights. In recent years when modernisation has taken place, influences like the cost of living has driven violence. For example, you now have more sex workers. (F3)*
- *In my culture, violence is a taboo. Men are not supposed to hit their wives. They saw it as something wrong. As time went by, people start to change. The way we live now is different to the past. Today, young people are engaged in violence. (F4)*
- *When you look back at the customs in Western Province, ladies will say that men have power. If we turn to the law, then we will only make things difficult for*

ourselves. In my custom, if women turn to the law, men can turn to sorcery. So, women have this fear to report violence to the police. (F5)

- Our culture plays an important role in the community or in our lives. It keeps us busy to not think bad thoughts. (M2)*
- When it comes to violence against women, they will not address it. They just talk and then compensate or in Tok Pisin they say “samting bilong ol marit lain” (married people’s business). (M4)*
- My culture practices respect because the word exists. That respect existed in our ancestor’s time, but today’s generation do not practice it. (M5)*
- In Central Province (Abau District), there are strictly distinguished roles for being a man and woman. Sometimes I appreciate my culture and sometimes I don’t because of the expectations for women and men. An example I’ll give is men are supposed to carry buckets of water, but women always do it. If women are doing the harder work in the village, men have to do extra – that is the expectation. If you do not meet that expectation, you are not a man. (M7)*
- Coming from the Highlands, we men are much higher than the women in terms of status. In gender-based violence, men have an impact on it because of this status. (M8)*

During the interviews, men and women also expressed the view that **education and sensitisation** are key components when it comes to combatting GBV. They explained that not all Papua New Guineans have received an education, thus violence is still a huge issue. Participants also raised their concerns that the language of awareness campaigns was difficult to understand.

- We can try to do awareness, maybe some men who are educated will have understanding. Education is important. My uncles only finished grade 6 and that is why they act that way [violent]. When it comes to money, they are not going to look out for you. (F1)*
- We can change our society [in Manus Province]. If only people get to work together we can change. But a lot of people back in the village have that traditional mentality. Luckily, the university students go back and sit with the elders and tell them that what they are doing is wrong. Education and cooperation can create change. (F2)*
- The barrier is understanding in terms of how to communicate and break down messages on violence. We can go and talk to people, raise awareness, but try to*

simplify the messages. Right now, it is a challenge because not many people are educated. Let's say gender-based violence – there is no word for it in the Motuan language. Localise the English terms so the message is understood. In Hanuabada village, we conducted a training on gender-based violence. We trained youth in that community who are fluent in their language. These trainers then delivered the training in the local language of Motu so people understood. (F4)

- *For me, I would want these campaigns to be more specific. If you find yourself in this sort of situation, do this. The messages are not clear. They need to be more defined that violence comes out in different forms. Put it in Tok Pisin. Put more empathy in their messages. When I hear gender-based violence, I think of violence against women. It's centred on "do not hurt a woman" – that's why I think of violence against women. (F6)*
- *I think the biggest problem is the contextualisation of concepts from the UN. How do we find synergies and how do we deliver? (F7)*
- *If you have an education, you can understand the awareness. Those who do not have that education are not able to understand so they will tell us that they are tired of hearing the same talk on human rights. People will change if they see others changing. (F10)*
- *I understand some campaigns but when I think about it, they have not changed anything. It means that people are talking but not going down to the level of the people. (M2)*
- *For someone that is not gender sensitised, they will not really understand the messages in the campaigns. But that does not mean you stop, keep going and try make things simpler for them to understand. (M4)*
- *I understand that you cannot eliminate violence, but we can reduce it. Educate people and train more social workers on the best practices to deal with violence. (M5)*
- *I understand the messages in these campaigns but for some of my male counterparts, especially because of culture they are brought up in, we can do a better job in helping them to understand what it is like to be a woman. (M6)*
- *We need to speak in a language that is accessible to people because not everyone has the same language. (M7)*

Lastly, the theme of the **media's role** appeared in most of the interviews. Both males and females illustrated the point that there are challenges when it comes to the media

addressing GBV. Most of the female participants also had more to say about the media's role whereas the male participants talked about their reaction to violent perpetrators. This is highlighted in the following quotes.

- *When I see reports on violence such as sexual abuse, especially on Facebook, I feel sad. We should be educating people. I think the media does a good job of reporting but the news on social media is more reliable. The newspapers make a lot of errors. The media must talk out [speak out]. (F1)*
- *I do not really get into the media because some do not talk facts. They do not get all the views. I do not really trust the media reports. I saw a recent report on a guy who raped his brother's wife and got the padlock and put it on that lady... I do not like these reports. They did not have to put her identity out. How will she feel when people know about her experience? (F2)*
- *I think the media could report with a bit more sensitivity. The way you report could trigger more violence. Do research first before reporting. We have had issues where a report has stated suicide, but it is not correct. They have to get more than one side of the story. Journalists should attend a lot of gender-based violence workshops; participate in the workshops and gain an understanding. It should be a part of their job to be sensitised and fully aware of human rights. Being knowledgeable is important. (F3)*
- *Violence is not really being reported in detail. It is brief. If you constantly talk about violence, people will take a look at themselves. In terms of reporting, the newspapers do a good job of covering what has been left out on television and radio. The language is simple but then again, we are working with different people, we need to translate and localise the information. (F4)*
- *They do good reports on violence. One girl from my community was raped... it was reported to the police, but the rapist ran away. The family did not even hold him accountable when they saw him. But the media came and reported on how the family was harbouring him. (F5)*
- *The media tells you how violence was inflicted and then that is the picture now – when someone inflicts pain. They need to state how it happened, how it led to that... the details matter so people will not focus on just the physical aspect of violence. Because it is the media, they want attention or more people to buy their paper or subscribe to their station or page, so to get the scoop they just say what happened. All the media talk is centred on women and violence against women.*

And because of that, it is covering everything underneath. Media here already have a platform on violence, so they need to build on that. But they do not want to do more work. (F6)

- *In terms of the media in PNG, I'm not a really big fan because it is more hearsay. If you are trying to get the message across, it is best to do in-depth research and get the story right. It is very important for women in media to be engaged, get in the discussion, learn how to use your platform. I would like to see the media take more of a proactive stance and not so much reactive on these serious issues. Yumi nonap pairap natin (we cannot make noise only), we need to have substance. You have to be submerged in gender to really understand it. (F7)*
- *The media reports but there is no awareness. A lot of the information put out is the surface and not the full picture. (F8)*
- *It is good that they talk about gender-based violence in the media but people are not really interested in reading about it or listening. They buy newspapers for other reasons. That is why going to the community and talking face to face with people is better. (F10)*
- *The media has not really helped. A lot of people do not have television sets and radios to access information. Campaigns where you are actually talking to the people will be more helpful. (F12)*
- *I do not have access to the media, so I cannot say much about them. I guess they are reporting but they can do more. (M1)*
- *The media talks about violence but some reports... I see that they go directly to what happened to that person especially women. They do not put it in a way that people will understand the story. They do not talk about the whole issue. (M2)*
- *Once in a while, I'll hear something on violence in the media. In my village, people are not aware of violence because of no access to radio and newspaper. I do not really understand the media's role in this issue. (M3)*
- *When you open the papers now, more than half of the paper is talking about bad things. There is only a little bit about good. (M7)*
- *The first thing I notice [about media reports] is my emotional reaction. I am not happy with the perpetrator. All of my feelings are directed toward the perpetrator. (M8)*
- *I just wish that when these violent cases occur, I was there as a police officer to investigate. I get really upset because these cases are serious. The person who caused the violence should be dealt with. (M10)*

- *I feel sad for women when I see media reports on violence against women. They need a stronger law. (M12)*

Group Two interviews

The interviews with the six journalists, comprising three males and three females, also concentrated on the experiences, challenges and perceptions of human rights and advocacy work in the media space. I specifically looked for themes in the following two questions (Appendix E):

- 1) What power does the media wield in the reportage on violence?
- 2) In terms of consistency, accuracy and efficiency, how does the media incorporate these values when covering stories on violence?

Using an inductive approach, I ‘coded’ for themes throughout the interviews. I found eight themes relevant to the experiences, challenges and perceptions on human rights and advocacy work in the media space. These themes affect the journalists in their work at various media organisations. Four of these themes were the same as those illustrated in the first group of interviews. There were also four new themes that were discovered. These themes are noted in the order of their occurrence within the group two interviews in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Group Two interview themes

<i>Theme</i>	<i>New Themes</i>
Human rights	
Gender-based violence	
The role of the media	
Influence of the media	✓
Media challenges in terms of the portrayal of those affected by violence	✓
Education and sensitisation	
Social media and fake news	✓
State accountability	✓

New Themes: Within the interviews, the theme of the **influence of the media** was prevalent where journalists spoke of *the meaning of power* in the context of PNG; and *their audiences’ receptiveness* to reports on violence.

- *There is strong power in the media, but it depends on how well they capture a story (if we are talking about violence) and also how well a reader connects with a story. In my experience within the media area, the media does not wield much power as not many people come out. [People] see that the media helps but it also does not help. They may come forward but there is not a good support system to fall back on if they do so. (J1)*
- *I think the media definitely wields significant influence in bringing people's focus to issues. But in order for change to happen, there is a whole number of players that have to be involved such as the government and police. There was an incident of violence and the media reported about it. One outlet picked up on it and then everyone else started publishing the same story... it kind of demanded more attention from relevant authorities so when the police start seeing that this is happening right under their noses, then they tend to act on it. I don't really understand why because cases like this are happening all the time. (J2)*
- *The media does have power. But finding people to speak out on their experience with gender-based violence – that is a little bit difficult. They are afraid of something happening to them. Some of them think of the prominent people involved and also consequences. The media is willing to report on violence, but victims are scared to speak out. (J3)*
- *In creating awareness, the media has the power in terms of issues relating to gender-based violence. The media as a watchdog? Now that's a really big question. (J4)*
- *The media has power, but it is more to do with that violence being deeply rooted in our culture. The receptiveness of the public to violence – not much is being done. People know it's happening but not doing anything. (J5)*
- *The media holds very big power because it influences people. If the media captures these stories every now and then, people can read it. The thing about Papua New Guinea, we do not have newspapers going to the community or even electricity to watch news. So, people rely on radios for news. Maybe what we can look at is the tool to reach out to communities... some of this violence, it is done back in the rural places. If there is no report about it, you would not know that it is happening – only if you are from that place. (J6)*

By discussing the codes surrounding the influence of the media, it became clear that the theme of **media challenges** overlapped with it. Journalists raised concerns on *resources; newsroom culture; the desire to bring about change; and the influence of politics.*

- *What we lack right now is data on gender-based violence to support our reporters so they can report accurately. Then again, where does this data come from? You have to be specialised and sensitised in this field. We need more investigative journalists to ask the hard questions. Funding is another thing... our journalists are not looked after well. They need to be taken care of in terms of travelling, obtaining data and research. Right now, journalists are the worst paid professionals today in Papua New Guinea and those that are good reporters tend to move into the private sectors. There is also not so much guarantee for our journalists' security. Given that, journalists will be reluctant to cover stories of sensitivity (J1)*
- *Because of the nature of mainstream media and the current Papua New Guinean context, we are not that many people. So, it is really difficult to cover everything. Manpower is an issue. At the end of the day, these [media outlets] are business entities and they need to survive. That is something that also dictates to us what things we run and what gets priority on the pages. (J2)*
- *We need statistics and people monitoring the violence in the country. One way we can be helped is through hospital reports confirming what is happening. We do not have real numbers on gender-based violence. If we do have a database, we might have a certain plan in place for awareness. (J3)*
- *Over the years, I have become so passionate about reporting on human rights issues. So, sorcery accusation-related violence (SARV) is something that I hold close to my heart. I have had really good support from the management team at the company I worked for. They encouraged me to keep following up on a story even to the extent of flying me to those provinces, so I could get those stories. Every year I was able to do a follow-up on what was happening in those provinces in terms of SARV. (J4)*
- *I don't see gender-based violence as a priority for mainstream news. It is only on a case by case – when something happens, it is reported. But there have been good initiatives by the media. For example, the Post-Courier had a section advocating against gender-based violence. But with [change of editor], that has now been*

done away with. I think it is a [change of editor] issue – they need to see gender-based violence at the forefront. (J5)

- *Some journalists are not specialised in each issue so a lack of understanding on gender leads to misinterpretation of messages on violence. That's where non-governmental organisations can come in to conduct trainings and sessions for journalists. It also depends on the editor. If the editor has a different option, then a story on gender-based violence will be left out. Talk about politics and presentations – that is the story that will always run. (J6)*

The theme of **social media**, in relation to **fake news**, was dominant in four of the interviews. Journalists discussed the impact of social media, particularly Facebook, on their relationship with the public. Reporters spoke of how keyboard warriors overexaggerated stories on violence as well the difficulty in verifying information.

- *These days, people just pick up stories straight from social media – which may not be true – and you as a journalist might end up chasing a dead story. In terms of accuracy, social media kind of distorts and the speculations online kind of worsens the situation. It is good for tipoffs, but our journalists should not rely on it. (J1)*
- *Social media is a double-edged sword – it can help but also harm you. For mainstream media, credibility is our currency. We report facts, and these are trusted. We can use it as tool to further our reach because we are unable to be everywhere. But social media is hurting circulation as well. (J2)*
- *I have had a few wild goose chases when I first started reporting. On Facebook, there was a photo of six men lying face down and the caption read that they were shot by the Papua New Guinea Defense Force (PNGDF). I tried to get in contact with the people who posted the picture, the police and the PNGDF Commander – no one was aware of anything. To this day, we are unable to confirm these reports. (J2)*
- *Social media has its benefits for people to come out and post anonymously about the issue of gender-based violence. This is good because it tips us off that something is happening, and we need to interview this person and get to know more about their story. The bad side of it – some people are more dramatic on Facebook. That is why when you post something, it needs to [be] accurate. It is important that we do not just take things from social media; we need to ask questions. It balances our story. (J3)*

- *Most times, the keyboard warriors tend to sensationalise the issue of violence even though it is a big issue. This poses a challenge and so the mainstream tries to balance the story by verifying with authorities. (J5)*

Lastly, the theme of **state accountability** appeared. The following quotations depict the climate in which the six Papua New Guinean journalists operate.

- *The mainstream media compromises when it comes to the Government of the day. They cannot really question because of their political alliance. They may have questioned the Government but not on a large scale. For me, I lack confidence in the two dailies because of the political connections. One seems to run stories of certain politician... I do not really trust the media – I'm in limbo. (J1)*
- *Mudslinging is being done in the mainstream media and no commitment to validating that information or follow-up to holding politicians accountable to the promises they have made. Also, we have limitations in access to reports from government organisations. There is definitely political influence, but I would not say it is absolute. (J2)*
- *For accountability, we need more follow-ups on what is being said in parliament. Most times when statements are made by parliamentarians, it is being swept under the mat. There is no follow-up and it kills the story. If the Government does not do anything about violence, we cannot do anything. (J3)*
- *If you look at National, Post-Courier, EMTV and TVWAN – the Government has its hands in all these outlets. So, we are not really watchdogs. For example, EMTV is now owned by Telikom and the Government. (J4)*

In my reflection on the themes, I gained more insight into all 30 participants' perceptions on GBV, captured in Table 4.4. My interpretation of this issue will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Table 4.4 Groups One and Two Interview Themes

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Group One</i>	<i>Group Two</i>
Human rights	✓	✓
Gender-based violence	✓	✓
Reporting violence	✓	
Socio-cultural relations	✓	
Education and sensitisation	✓	✓
The role of the media	✓	✓
Influence of the media		✓
Media challenges in terms of the portrayal of those affected by violence		✓
Social media and fake news		✓
State accountability		✓

4.3 Summary

This chapter has presented the findings of the experiences and perceptions of thirty men and women in relation to the issue of GBV, human rights and the role of the media. Six of the participants are journalists with experience of reporting on GBV issues. Additionally, it has reported on socio-cultural relations and violence which is still affecting the participants. The above table (Table 4.3) lists all the themes outlined in this chapter.

The research question, “What is the relationship between culture, development and violence?” has produced an encouraging result. When participants in the first group were asked what influence they thought the role of culture would have on women and men, half of them acknowledged that traditions created conditions for violence to thrive; the remaining 12 saw culture as a protective mechanism ensuring that genders are on the same level, where there are clearly distinguished roles and expectations. Almost all of the participants added that there are other factors that allow GBV and VAW to exist.

None of the participants totally opposed the idea of reporting violence to relevant bodies such as the police. Most of the participants in the first group were unreservedly in favour of first resolving cases of violence within their families, particularly when it concerns a relative, before going to the police.

The second group comprising six journalists expressed the view that the media does wield power in reporting on the issue of violence. However, this influence is stifled when

challenges in the forms of newsroom culture, funding and people's lack of receptiveness to anti-violence messages are commonplace. Additionally, four of the participants emphasised that cultural values cannot be directly linked to the high levels of violence in Papua New Guinean communities.

Participants in both groups conveyed the complexity in anti-violence campaigns. Most agreed that the awareness training carried out needs to delve deeper into the root causes of violence, with a focus on localised languages. An interesting finding is that 17 of the 30 interviewees could not pinpoint the exact UN Women campaigns being carried out in PNG. There is an awareness of VAW and GBV but sensitisation is a struggle, particularly in communicating the goals of various campaigns. For example, four male participants from the first group explained that they saw some of the anti-violence campaigns as protection for women only. This is reiterated by six of the female participants who expressed that more campaigns need to create spaces for men to be allies and teach women about the responsibilities that come with their empowerment.

These results demonstrate, in this small sample of Papua New Guineans, the acuteness of violence. Most of the participants believed that sensitisation, especially through education, would prompt more people to report violence or step in when it occurs. The next chapter discusses and analyses these findings and offers my personal reflections along with discussing the connection of the findings to the literature reviewed in Chapter Two.

Chapter 5 – Analysis of this research’s findings

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, in order to evaluate VAW in PNG, I discuss participants’ views on the issue and their perspectives on the merits of the campaigns being implemented. The chapter is divided into the following four sections:

- Context of gender-based violence (analysis)
- Community-based intervention (results)
- Influence of the media (analysis)
- Perceptions of gender-based violence against women (findings)

Gendered violence, particularly VAW, is multifaceted in PNG as discovered in this research. The findings signal the need to understand people’s experiences with violence as polyethnic. While the presumptive norm is that violence is symptomatic of cultural protocols, it is essential to recognise other indicators as values and traditions have changed with time. Furthermore, the notion that Papua New Guinean men reinforce VAW as a tradition is misleading as some women are commit violence too.

PNG is far from a place of pure tradition. As elsewhere, traditional gender roles are constantly challenged and undermined in the context of modernity as new ideas and practices are adopted. Over the course of the colonial and the post-independence periods a great deal of change has occurred in gender roles, the marriage relationship, family structure and property holding. In terms of their beliefs and practices, the people of PNG are not the same people as they once were (nor are people almost anywhere in the world). (Eves, 2006, p. 28)

5.2 Context of gender-based violence

One of the results that surfaced in this research is the role of culture in terms of its treatment of women. It is often argued that Papua New Guinean women are at the bottom of the totem pole due to cultural practices that defy gender roles or power relations – a sentiment shared by researchers Anou Borrey, Laura Zimmer-Tamakoshi and Lisette Josephides (as cited in Lepani, 2008). Papua New Guinean women are usually depicted as an afterthought in various cultures. By analysing the interviews, it can be discerned that a woman’s position in her family, clan or community is to be a support system for men. Simultaneously, most males end up being conditioned with the belief that they are

superior and have the right to practice “hypermasculine ideas”. Unfortunately, this has resulted in women lacking recognition of their agency.

By agency we mean an individual’s (or group’s) ability to make effective choices and to transform those choices into desired outcomes. Agency can be understood as the process through which women and men use their endowments and take advantage of economic opportunities to achieve desired outcomes. (The World Bank, 2012, p. 150)

The concept of agency could be referred to as something foreign to or idealistic for Papua New Guinean women. Even for girls and women who are aware of their human rights, agency is difficult to apply when their environments stifle their voices. For women to fully utilise their agency, it would mean dismantling conditions that reinforce patriarchal values. Several excerpts from this research’s findings highlight the intricacy of women’s decision-making:

I was brought up in Manus [Province] and I see that guys are the head of everything. The only thing they do is hunt and fish. Women have to cook for them. The best of the food goes to them and the scraps to women. When there are disputes, women cannot share their thoughts. Guys are the head of everything back in Manus. Manus is patrilineal.

Interview F2

For the MOMASE [provinces of Morobe, Madang, Sandaun and East Sepik] region, I would say there is a different way of treating both males and females and that is generally due to the patrilineal system. The culture is very much dominant on how people perceive gender-based violence or anything related to gender. There is a difference in the approach when it comes to gender equality in terms of ownership of resources and decision-making. Women are used as a requirement to meet the quota or check the box. In reality, it is the men who are making the decisions, they sideline the women.

Interview F7

In Eastern Highlands, I have seen that women are less important in the society. Men can tell them to do anything. They are seen as objects. A man can tell a woman, your work is at home. And men and brothers can hit women. That is not right. To solve any argument, they hit them first. Women do not have power to

Speak up when this happens. They have this fear to speak their mind. They are scared to use their power.

Interview F8

I have seen violence when my dad bashed my mum when I was little. When I saw that, I was hurt. I knew he was not supposed to do that. I feel like it is too violent seeing my mum go through that. My uncle also bashed me up on one occasion. My dad passed away so that was my mum's big brother who did that. He thought I was at fault and did that. My mum did not agree with it but she could not do anything.

Interview F9

The association of culture to women's agency signals the power relations at play. It seems that Papua New Guinean men have a sense of dominance that is portrayed in day to day relations, be it in patrilineal or matrilineal societies. The effect of this authority is a prevailing fear to exercise not only agency but other human rights. Women are policed and compelled to adhere to traditional expectations of femininity while men are confronted with society's very own idealised versions of masculinity (Lusby, 2014). As such, the issue of gendered VAW is quite cryptic to the point that survivors cannot seek justice and channels for rehabilitation.

The whole misogynistic culture, it is maybe worse in some cultures than in others. For example, East New Britain Province is matrilineal so there is respect for one another. In others, women are seen as possession and these are mostly patrilineal societies. Not only that, it is further perpetuated when the community justifies the violence in cases where "she should not have worn that or said that".

Interview J2

It is hard to [report violence]. When you look back at the customs, ladies will say that men have power. If we turn to the law, then we will make things difficult for ourselves. In my custom, if women turn to the law, men can turn to sorcery. So, women have this fear to report violence to the police.

Interview F5

More or less, our culture has a lot to do with violence. It instils a lot of fear in women to speak up about violence. Because we have this mentality of masculinity

– men are the head of the family – so whatever we talk about or act upon, we need seek approval or permission from men.

Interview J3

In my culture, women are under men. They do all the house work while men hunt. Men make all the decisions and women listen. I think this should change because it is all about gender equality.

Interview M9

The inability to exercise agency spans from the confines of one's home to the wider community. When women cannot actively participate in their home, their input in societal dynamics runs the risk of being overlooked. This dismissal thus defeats the purpose of gender-specific development initiatives and further disadvantage women. In saying that, decision-making spaces that are dictated by males tend to result in less holistic responses. This should not be the case when Papua New Guinean women have proven to be pivotal players in peacemaking and reconciliation as in the case of the 10-year conflict in Bougainville (Douglas, 2003).

An added layer to the complexity in addressing VAW is kinship. The value placed on communal relations dictates how conflict is resolved. In instances where women have suffered violence of any form, the preferred solution is to correct relationships, particularly if the abuser is a relative. Hukula (2012) argued that matrilineal societies, such as East New Britain Province, are not exempt from violence. This argument has credence as there is a misconception that matrilineal societies are an equivalency of matriarchal values as outlined by Baker (2015). The vulnerability of women, in terms of their wellbeing going unnoticed, is illustrated in the following quotes.

I have experienced violence. I would say at the time, [around] six or seven years old, I did not know it was violence but until I got to high school, I learnt it was a violation of my body. From my experience, when I was younger, we had a sleepover. We were fast asleep and when we woke up, we realised that something was not normal. Because we did not know what it was, no one wanted to say what happened to them. When we talked to each other, we realised that “hey this happened to you as well”. So, we did not know that the person who did that to us was our own cousin brother. We had to describe what happened to our parents. Our parents said it was wrong that he tried to abuse us. We had a meeting. And

that was when I realised that no one can touch you. That was my first experience with sexual violation. We had to tell our cousin to leave us... but then this is our family, so we could not report it. Now we are older, they talk about him as if nothing happened. And the other thing was that we were pressured to talk about it. Not on our own terms.

Interview F6

[In my culture] we treat women fairly but when it comes to decisions, it falls on the men's side. Women can be heard but no action taken. When it comes to violence against women, they will not address it. They just talk and then compensate or in Tok Pisin they say "samting bilong ol marit lain" (married people's business). When it comes to other stuff, they address it.

Interview M4

Almost all of the 30 participants interviewed in this research have stated that they have experienced various forms of violence: emotional, social, sexual, verbal and physical. Their encounters are an indication of the devastating scale of violence across Papua New Guinean communities. While culture is often underlined in the debate on gendered violence, it is not the sole cause. Josephides' (as cited in Banks, 2000) suggestion that most men's identities thrive on overpowering women is not entirely accurate. Colonisation and self-governance have meant that PNG is experiencing growing pains, thus people are also conflicted. The frustration with social change can exacerbate the level of violence by men (Zorn, 2012).

I'm from Central, Kairuku District. Years back, men were a priority. They had everything. Nowadays, the trend has changed. Women are given more opportunities and pushed toward education and working. Men are now following their wives. I'm seeing parents investing more money on their daughters than their sons. Also, the cost of living at this stage is adding to the pressure for most women and men. A lot of men and women are finding it hard to get out of what they are going through. So naturally many of the issues coming up and leading to violence is due to the cost of living. They are [men and women] going through things that they are not supposed to.

Interview F3

In some places, women are on a higher level than men and vice versa. In some ways, women have power.

Interview M1

It is challenging for both men and women because marriage is based on different cultural settings. Religion is also a barrier. Social media and the economy also contribute to violence. Respecting both parties is important. In my culture, men are still in control and women are supporters. But in today's situation, women are in the front line and taking on jobs. In some of those cases, I see men becoming intimidated and so violence occurs.

Interview M5

In Central Province (Abau District), there are strictly distinguished roles for being a man and woman. Sometimes I appreciate my culture and sometimes I do not because of the expectations for women and men. An example I will give is men are supposed to carry buckets of water, but women always do it. If women are doing the harder work in the village, men have to do extra – that is the expectation. If you do not meet that expectation, you are not a man.

Interview M7

I cannot say if violence is strongly linked back to culture. For example, in the Sepik culture, there is the haus tambaran (traditional house for men) where men could sit together and talk. In this time, we do not have that for men. I think expectations in cultures have slowly changed as well. Also, I strongly believe that girls and boys – their lives have already been predefined for them at birth. I cannot blame just our culture – it is a lot of things.

Interview J4

Social development has been a catalyst for empowerment in PNG. However, it has also presented the notion that in order for women to “have power”, men must be oppressed. The intentions of human rights-based approaches to reducing VAW are well-meaning. They strive to educate Papua New Guinean women on their rights and responsibilities and go one step further to provide opportunities to realise their agency. Concurrently, these efforts can be disingenuous when men are being excluded from the same opportunities for empowerment.

In all, platforms being used for advocacy need not frame culture as an incubator for violence. The tendency to automatically posit that traditions beget violence leads to divisiveness. For a nation that is already diverse, it is essential to hone in on the positive aspects of culture and its role in tackling GBV. Some of the participants shared how they believed culture could alleviate the issue of violence; however, their suggestions are also problematic in the sense that human rights and agency are being ignored.

Our culture has had its own laws and systems and governance. Back in the day, people would have tribal fights because a man from another tribe trying to harass a girl... that would cause tribal fights. Women were considered very special in our culture and they were given the respect and place. Western people think that we need to think like them and what works in their country will work for us.

Interview J1

Most of the awareness does not go down to the basic reasons or roots. For example, a lot of university students do not have employment. We have to look at the trends. Look at technology, how well do we supervise our kids? Having access to pornographic material. So, the current awareness needs to delve deeper and look at the trends in our communities.

I think human rights needs to come down to what we are as a nation. There are certain things that are bad and there are others that are not bad. For example, bride price is bad depending on how you play it. Paying so much money does not have much value to what you are trading a woman for. In the cultural setting, it was to say thank you to the bride's family.

Interview F3

In our culture, the tradition is that as soon as the woman gets married to a man, she has to go stay with the husband and he must look after her. And a sister from that man's family must go and get married to a man in the bride's family. So that is how we will build a good relationship to look after one another. Exchange marriages is how we become strong. We do this to ensure that the women are protected.

Interview M10

5.3 Community-based intervention

As mentioned, the essence of Papua New Guinean communities is the value placed on interconnectedness. This kinship is worthy of celebration as it has enabled communities to thrive in a long-lasting manner. However, there is a semblance of power imbalance in this system, which can be linked back to dynamics that cater to patriarchy. Personal experiences with violence are therefore at risk of being intensified by communities. This is illustrated in men exerting control over gender relations by stripping women of their ability to make choices (Kabeer, 2005). The lack of freedom to make choices or the excessive influence of men blocks the message of gender equality posited by the UN Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs') Third Goal. As a result of this process, "“violence against women is a nonissue in PNG' because of the extent to which it is normalised and recognised as a private, family matter” (Hobbis, 2018, p. 61).

This condition has persisted in spite of the enactment of policies such as the National Strategy to Prevent and Respond to Gender Based Violence which outline PNG's commitment to treating the epidemic of violence (Rooney, 2017a). Even with civil and private sectors taking more of an active stance, GBV remains a deep-rooted issue. The passing of the *Family Protection Act 2013* has been a step forward in criminalising gendered violence (Bouscaren, 2018); however, it has not necessarily brought about tangible change due to limited funding, and dwindling implementation, monitoring and evaluation efforts (Rooney, 2017a; 2017b).

VAW cannot be wholly eliminated in any society as illustrated in this research. For PNG, however, law and order is worrisome especially when it concerns the protection of girls and women. Dinnen and McLeod (2009) argued that “interpersonal violence (within socially prescribed limits) and tribal warfare are viewed not just as conflict but also as conflict resolution” (p. 336) in various parts of PNG. As a consequence, some females who fall victim to violence are forced or convinced to rely on traditional mechanisms such as a “community” to reach a resolution. The sentiment that communities are a resource for assistance is something that varies from one person to the next. This is illustrated in the following excerpts with several participants from the research.

Just this morning, I was on my way here and four primary school-aged boys held me up. One said that he would put the iron to my head if I did not give my bilum (bag). This is the second time that has happened to me. A man walking by stopped the boys.

Interview F1

Before, maybe five years ago, in my community, violence would seem as something domestic. But with a lot of awareness, people are cautious, and the public has stepped in to say no; we cannot do that. In my experience, we have had to step in as neighbours as part of a community to say no, let us go to the police and resolve.

Interview F3

It (violence) is sort of a norm in my community. Verbal violence is something common in my home and community. Mostly, the verbal violence is very aggressive and turns into huge conflicts in the community. Just by saying an insulting thing to a woman, a woman goes home and reports to her family and then the family wants payback. This is at Gerehu.

Interview F4

In my follow-ups, especially with women in sorcery accusation-related violence, they are now strong, moved on and relocated. I think it is the churches who play an important role in helping them to build new lives. It all comes back to the community support and churches, particularly the Catholic church as it plays a very important part in helping the victims.

Interview J4

My other experience [with violence] was when a newly married couple was fighting where the man tried to kill the woman in the village. The public went and helped to stop the man. They did not bring him to the police [instead they] went through the village court. The backstory is that woman was having an affair, so the village court found her guilty.

Interview M1

Our culture plays an important role in the community or in our lives. It keeps us busy to not think bad thoughts. When a person is acting violent, it will be easy for you to talk to them because you guys know each other and come from the same background or culture.

Interview M2

Yes, I have experienced violence. Before I was sensitised, I was a rough kid in my community. I was a bully. Today, I use myself as an example in awareness to change people's perspectives.

Interview M7

Similar to how education can hinder progress in combatting VAW, so too can a weak justice system. Much of the literature and media coverage on violence relates to the dissatisfaction with and distrust of police. Police response is often a vital part of the context of the alarming non-reporting on violence but this is not necessarily dealt with. Ingrained cultural attitudes exist in the spaces of law enforcement and so the context of stigma against female, and male, survivors of violence is rampant. Macintyre's (2008) argument that human rights is not aligned with Melanesian values can be seen in people's responses to seeking help from the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary (RPNGC). In 2000, Dorney (as cited in Dinnen & McLeod, 2009) described PNG as a crippled government agency; this description seems relevant to present-day PNG where victim-blaming is commonplace even though contexts may vary.

Today, I would report a violent act upon me to the police – if I do not know the person. If I'm wrong and a person I know hits me, I do not think I would do anything. Because if I do report it, I will only cause more problems.

Interview F1

In my custom, if women turn to the law, men can turn to sorcery. So, women have this fear to report violence to the police.

Interview F5

If someone was experiencing violence, I would report it. But I would lean more towards getting them a counselor. If you are hitting someone, I would feel that I have to report it to the police or seek counseling.

Interview F6

I have not taken an actual case of gender-based violence to police as yet but we did our networks. I have heard of several people taking cases to the police. It is always the same story, we ran out of fuel, we cannot do it tonight. We have interesting cases where a guy came and beat up one of our female workers. In terms of the police and their work, it is really not that effective. So many young

women have gone to seek help, but it depends on who you know in the station – who is going to help you. There's always an excuse when it comes to gender-based violence cases. It is complicated.

Interview F7

Definitely, I would report violence to the police, but I would be very selective about it. Knowing that I could also be unsafe in that environment, I would report but through someone else or through people I know within the force... not to go report violence and end up being violated again. I would do the same thing for someone I know who is a victim. I would accompany them to report to the police, but I would not leave them alone based on other people's negative experiences with the police. Not knowing what happens to them when you walk away.

Interview F12

While these women expressed their hesitation to reach out to law enforcement, they also acknowledged the autonomy to choose their preferred pathway. This indicates an awareness of their rights but at the same time the limited options to deal with cases of violence. Several men shared the same sentiment where police are not instantly thought of as the ideal response to violence. Rehabilitation and counselling in various areas is highlighted before seeking help from police personnel.

I would report violence if someone was hurting a family member. Knowing who I can go to seek help and being well informed, I can definitely refer people. We have the ITok Kaunselim Helpim Lain that's toll-free. We also have Family Sexual Violence Action Committee. We have Family Support Centre and it is also doing a great job. In my job, we are working to bring them to schools. They provide counselling, emergency first aid, psychological first aid and medical for rape cases. You try your best to stop violence, but you also get hurt in the process. So, this is where the referrals come in handy.

Interview M4

No, I do not report to police because I do not trust them. [But] I would report someone if they are hurting a family member of mine. I would report to people I know such as a pastor, family member or the organisation I'm working in.

Interview M5

I would not necessarily report to the police unless it's serious. If someone's threatening my family, I would go to the police. I can go to the Family Sexual Violence Action Committee, and for counselling [there is] ITok Kaunselim Lain, and women and girls have safe houses.

Interview M6

I want to report to the police but then again, I'm scared so I report in secret.

Interview M11

PNG, particularly Port Moresby, has a high level of awareness of GBV. The rights-based approach is a concept that is slowly being realised as values that are in fact parallel to the *Melanesian Way*, a term made popular by Sir Bernard Narokobi in the 1970s during PNG's preparation for independence.

The concept was 'Melanesianistic' in that it advocated, not a Melanesian state, but Melanesian identity and solidarity. The concept recognised the existence of a number of states but assumed the citizens of these states have something in common – being Melanesian. When Narokobi first used the concept, he was referring to PNG in an attempt to create solidarity amongst its diverse communities. The concept was also a reaction to colonialism and an important tool for intellectual decolonisation, nation-building and the creation of regional solidarity. (Kabutaulaka, 1994, p. 71)

It seems that women are systematically exploited in different cultures. However, traditional protection mechanisms do exist and they must be incorporated into advocacy and development work. The participant in *Interview F7* breaks down her experience in demarcating the relationship between UN concepts and the *Melanesian Way*:

I think the biggest problem is the contextualisation of concepts from the United Nations. How do we find synergies and how do we deliver? So, wherever I go, I have to understand the cultural setting. And Christianity is also important in PNG, so we lean on that to deliver messages on human rights. My approach is looking at the cultural and biblical perspective of each concept being delivered.

Interview F7

5.4 Influence of the media

The discourse on GBV would not be complete without drawing attention to the role of journalism, more specifically the use of the ‘*talanoa* journalism’ model in PNG. While *talanoa* is a means for a more contextually and nuanced form of reporting (Robie, 2013), likewise it is an opportunity to have “frank face-to-face discussion with no hidden agenda” (Robie, 2019, p. 14). Currently, PNG claims a Western style of journalism with an emphasis on fostering development and nation-building. Reporters are trained to practice Western news values thereby producing stories that fall short of fulfilling the indigenous people’s needs (Watson, 2011). This is not conducive to changing the narrative on GBV against women.

Burns (as cited in Watson, 2011) pointed out that Papua New Guinean journalists face an increasing responsibility to facilitate development surrounding civic affairs. Equally, they are tasked with investigating VAW to uncover its impact as well as the reach of relevant campaigns on the issue. This has been difficult to carry out when Western journalism does not always consider the complexities in Papua New Guinean communities, thereby affecting the quality of news coverage and its reach. The *Melanesian Way*, along with cultural values, are held in high regard but they are somewhat invisible in Papua New Guinean journalism. A modicum of their value is momentarily seen in a negative light especially in reinforcing violence and curbing women’s empowerment.

The absence of *talanoa* journalism and the *Melanesian Way* make it all the more difficult to place issues under a critical lens. Consequently, Papua New Guinean media struggle to foster accountability and influence on the issue of violence. The journalists interviewed in this research reveal that there is a desire to report accurately yet there are existing conditions, such as lack of funding (Rooney, 2017a), that prevent them from doing so.

What we lack in PNG right now is data on gender-based violence to support our reporters so they report accurately, but then again question where does this data come from? It is on them [journalists] to stick to a round that they are given. You have to be specialised and sensitised in that field, for example gender-based violence. We need more investigative journalists asking the hard questions. Funding is another thing... our journalists are not looked after well. They need to be taken care of in terms of travelling, obtaining data and research. Right now, journalists are the worst paid professionals today in PNG. The good ones tend to go into the private sectors. There is not so much guarantee for our journalists’ security. Given that, journalists will be reluctant to cover stories of sensitivity.

Non-governmental organisations could be the right support for our journalists – they could help our journalists do a better job.

Interview J1

In the PNG context, I think a lot of the reporting is driven by sensationalism. At the end of the day, these (media outlets) are business entities and they need to survive. That is something that also dictates to us what things we run and what gets priority on the pages. As to accuracy and efficiency, as far as reporting is concerned – I think they (media) do a pretty good job, as best they can. We try to cover all angles. I found myself on several occasions advising victims of violence on what steps they could take. I found my role as a media person sort of blended with that counselling and advisory role. As far as violence especially sorcery accusation-related violence goes, if it involves the police, they are hesitant to say anything about it. There are definitely blockages in accessibility to these types of cases so it is difficult for us to build a complete picture of what is going on.

Interview J2

There is a lot more work to be done on gender-based violence. Accountability is an issue. There are a lot of campaigns being sponsored and people need to be held accountable on the money that is being spent. Another thing is the audience receiving the message. For example, if you are talking to people in the village, speak in their language so they understand what you are saying. Not everyone in PNG is literate.

Interview J3

Over the years, I have become so passionate about reporting on human rights issues, so sorcery accusation-related violence is something that I hold close to my heart. I have had really good support from the management team at the company I worked for. They encouraged me to keep following up on a story even to the extent of flying me to those provinces, so I could get those stories. So, every year I did a follow-up on what was happening in those provinces in terms of sorcery accusation-related violence.

Consistency sort of depends on the management you have in that particular organisation you are working at. If they believe that what you are doing is groundbreaking and they want to know more then they will encourage you to do

it. I strongly feel that journalists would not be able to do what they do consistently if they did not have the management team that supported the work that they do.

Interview J4

I do not see gender-based violence as a priority for mainstream news. It is only case by case – when something happens, it is reported. For example, Post-Courier had a section advocating against gender-based violence. That was a good initiative. But with the editorial change, that has been done away with. I think it is an editorial issue – they need to see gender-based violence at the forefront.

It is also a lack of following up. The Government has criminalised the abuse of women, but I believe the media just reports on the law being passed and not the implementation and referral pathways. We just look at the overall things being done at the national level but not right down to the local level.

Interview J5

We are not consistent. When something happens and there is public outcry on social media, the media picks it up and runs a story. After that, it dies out and goes back to normal coverage on politics, sports and so on. Also, if a lady is beaten by a prominent person or comes from a prominent family, the media tries to amplify the story.

Interview J6

Considering the challenges disclosed by these journalists, it is apparent that there is a need for the fifth estate, otherwise known as “an indigenous traditional cultural pillar, which is a counterbalance to all other forms of power, including the news media” (Robie, 2013, p. 43). The current power imbalance in the media space is mirrored at the societal level where local people are sceptical of journalists’ role in shaping development. The subsequent quotes capture several of the participants’ perceptions of the media in relation to gender-based violence against women.

I do not really get into the media because some do not talk facts. They do not get all the views. I do not really trust the media reports. I saw a recent report on a guy [who had] raped a brother’s wife and got the padlock and put it on that lady... I do not like these reports. They do not have to put her identity out. How will she feel when they know about her experience?

Interview F2

I think the media could report with a bit more sensitivity. The way you report could trigger more violence. Do research first before reporting. We have had issues where a report has stated suicide, but it is not correct. They have to get more than one side of the story. Journalists should attend a lot of gender-based violence workshops; participate in the workshops and gain an understanding. It should be a part of their job to be sensitised and fully aware of human rights. Being knowledgeable is important.

Interview F3

I hear and watch media reports. Violence is not really being reported in detail. It is brief. If you constantly talk about violence, people will take a look at themselves. In terms of reporting, the newspapers do a good job of covering what has been left out on TV and radio. On the radio and TV – not so much. The language is simple but then again, we are working with different people. We need to translate and localise the information.

Interview F4

The media tells you how violence was inflicted and then that is the picture now – when someone inflicts pain. They need to state how it happened, how it led to that... the details matter so people will not focus on just the physical aspect of violence. Because it is the media, they want attention or more people to buy their paper or subscribe to their station or page, so to get the scoop they just say what happened. All the media talk is centred on women and violence against women. And because of that, it is covering everything underneath. Media here already have a platform on violence, so they need to build on that. They do not want to do more work.

Interview F6

Oftentimes I see reports on gender-based violence cases in the media, I feel like these people need to be educated. For example, I saw a report on a mother accused of sorcery and being cut up, so the media needs to put some sort of message that this is wrong. This should be done in the newspaper, radio and TV

so that those who use those mediums can see it. The media reports but they do not do awareness. A lot of the information put out is the surface, not the full picture.

Interview F8

The media talks about violence but some reports... I see that they do not go directly to what happened to that person especially women. They do not put it in a way that people will understand the story. They do not talk about the whole issue.

Interview M2

Once in a while, I will hear something on violence in the media. In my village, people are not aware of violence because of no access to radio and newspaper.

Interview M3

It has also surfaced that social media, particularly Facebook, has grown to be a trusted source for people. This can be attributed to the proliferation of mobiles and popularity of Facebook, thus a reliance on online news, which is troubling as the “news” published may not be accurate. On the other hand, it seems that Facebook has created more coverage on cases of violence and given the grassroots opportunities to assume the watchdog role, despite the Papua New Guinean media focusing on “elite and establishment sources” (Robie, 2014, p. 333). This localised journalism can be threatening to the traditional media setting in PNG.

When I see reports on violence such as sexual abuse, especially on Facebook, I feel sad. We should be educating people. I think the media does a good job of reporting but the news on social media is more reliable. The newspapers make a lot of errors. The media must talk out.

Interview F1

I have noted in social media the graphic things being posted. Although some things are graphic, they need to be shared so we can know what is happening, for example the women being accused of sorcery.

Interview F3

Social media is a double-edged sword – it can help but also harm you. For mainstream media, credibility is our currency. We report facts, and these are

trusted. We can use it as a tool to further our reach because we are unable to be everywhere. Social media is hurting circulation as well. It definitely poses significant challenges to mainstream media.

I have had a few wild goose chases when I first started reporting. There were six guys lying face down and the caption read that they were shot by the Papua New Guinea Defense Force (PNGDF). I tried to get in contact with the people who posted the picture and the police, the PNGDF Commander – no one was aware of anything. To this day, we are unable to confirm these reports.

Interview J2

Social media – it has its benefits of people coming out and posting anonymously about the issue of gender-based violence. That is good because it tips us off that something is happening, and we need to interview this person and get to know more about their story. The bad side of it, some people are more dramatic on Facebook. That is why when you post something, it needs to be accurate. So, it is important that we do not just take things from social media, we need to ask questions and ask if there is a report or they have been to the hospital. It balances our story.

Interview J3

With the introduction of phones and social media, most times the keyboard warriors tend to sensationalise the issue instead of trying to help the situation. This poses a challenge.

Interview J5

The media has potential to change the narrative on GBV, which can in turn foster development in communities. Unfortunately, it is challenging to wield this power in a setting that endorses Western media values. The reliance on these tenets is a misrepresentation of the issues affecting people at the local level. However, it must be acknowledged that this distortion is a result of circumstances such as funding and newsroom culture at the organisational level. While *talanoa* journalism and *Melanesian Way* are practical tools that could assist in realising the Papua New Guinean media's full potential, the existing conditions of journalism must also be dealt with.

5.5 Perceptions of gender-based violence against women campaigns

McManus' (2006) assertion that behavioural-messaging campaigns on VAW or GBV cannot permeate society without media influence is possibly true. Although more than 70 percent of women experience violence (Ilave, 2016), the exposure to campaigns is questionable. Awareness is created through various movements and yet there is a resistance from their target audiences. 11 of the participants are cognisant of ongoing campaigns such as *Sanap Wantaim* (Stand Together) while the rest are unaware. There seems to be a shared concern that awareness programmes are out of their depth in dealing with communities.

The barrier is understanding in terms of how to communicate and break down messages on violence. We can go and talk to people, raise awareness, but try to simplify the messages. Right now, it is a challenge because not many people are educated. Let us say gender-based violence, there is no word for it in Motu [language]. Localise the English terms so the message is understood. For example, in Hanuabada, we conducted a training. We trained youth in that community who are fluent in their language. These trainers then delivered the training in the local language of Motu so people understood.

Interview F4

Looking back at my community, awareness needs to happen in individual homes where the whole family must learn about human rights. If you do awareness in public, some do not hear it – they are not aware of it. If you talk to a family, it will be more clear. So, if someone does something that is not right, the family will be able to see that.

Interview F5

For me, I would want these campaigns to be more specific. If you find yourself in this sort of situation, do this. The messages are not clear. They need to be more defined that violence comes out in different forms. Put it in Tok Pisin. Put more empathy in their messages. When I hear gender-based violence, I think of VAW. It's centred on "do not hurt a woman" – that is why I think of VAW.

Interview F6

A lot of funding for campaigns has been centralised to Southern Region. I think themes are fine, but it is the delivery. For Sanap Wantaim, it is amazing, but my

concern is that awareness cannot make that much impact. How many people understand and make the change?

Interview F7

If you have an education, you can understand the awareness. Those who do not have that education are not able to understand so they will tell us that they are tired of hearing the same talk on human rights. People will change if they see others changing.

Interview F9

I used to wonder, what is gender in gender-based violence? Gender is men and women not just men. And that is what other people are confused about too. And these people that gave awareness would not explain what gender is. They just talk about men hitting women.

Interview F10

I have come across a few campaigns – I just think it is VAW and gender-based violence and that is to do with human rights. To do with VAW, some talk about both genders but mostly about protecting women. Sometimes I think that they are rallying with women and yet violence is growing. It is true that women have rights but when we put these laws, women get an opportunity to act out.

Interview M1

I understand some campaigns but when I think about it, they have not changed anything. It means that people are talking but not going down to the level of the people.

Interview M2

The law is not fair. I'm confused... women only have rights, but men do not? These campaigns do not explain much about men's rights.

Interview M3

Educate people and train more social workers on the best practices to deal with violence. No matter how you spell violence, it still hurts. The law is there but how can we report violence to someone who is violent? Women and children are the

ones being addressed. We need to address men too to address those who are violent.

Interview M5

I think the Sanap Wantaim campaign should be taken to the settlement areas especially within National Capital District – the real violence is happening out there and especially in rural PNG.

Interview M6

The efforts to empower women are commendable yet there appears to be a misunderstanding of the specific mandate that each campaign is tasked with. Terminologies that capture VAW and GBV are lacking in Papua New Guinean languages, thus meaning-making is a challenge (Lepani, 2016).

Perhaps the issue with existing movements on VAW lies in the idea that “Western feminist writing on women in the third world must be considered in the context of the global hegemony of Western scholarship – i.e., the production, publication, distribution, and consumption of information and ideas” (Mohanty, 1984, p. 55). When messages on behavioural change do not take into account the hegemony of Western feminism, it leads to a rejection of the effects imposed on a country such as PNG. Moreover, Papua New Guinean women are then automatically portrayed as an “average third world woman” which is not really the case.

When campaigns generalise lived experiences, in the context of GBV, they aid in fostering a power imbalance. This creates dissonance and prevents grassroots development from taking place. Factors such as meaning-making, place, familial system, beliefs, religion and the impact of the development process in specific communities need to be considered so that campaigns are tailored to the needs of different communities. Equally, the discourse of feminism may need to be decolonised to critically assess the response to violence (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

5.6 Conclusion

The use of community-based intervention and localised campaigns was supported by positive feedback from the majority of participants. A common belief is that reporting

and prosecuting of GBV is just the tip of the iceberg. Most of the participants agreed that the present conditions in PNG are having little impact on attempts to mitigate incidence of violence.

The current challenge is to encourage reporting from both the public and media. One way in which this can be achieved is investing in resources that could better cater for victims' emotional needs and rehabilitation. Moreover, the provision of opportunities for both parties to contextualise violence at the local level could enhance meaning-making. This is relevant as the judicial system may not always be able to adequately address these concerns.

Chapter 6 – Conclusions

6.1 Overview of the research

This research set out to answer the following questions:

1. From a Papua New Guinean's perspective, what is the relationship between culture, development and violence?
2. What is the efficacy of the UN Women's violence against women campaign in PNG?
3. What are Papua New Guinean women and men's insights on violence against women and gender-based violence?

Through the post-colonial feminist structure, it is clear that agencies need to refrain from oversimplifying women's status and cultural practices by using the ethos of Western feminism as the answer to problem. Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar (as cited in Mohanty, 1984) contended that these feminist theories need to be continually challenged especially when third world women are portrayed as politically immature because of cultural practices. Additionally, knowledge on Papua New Guinean women should be deconstructed to the point where silence is also heard (Caprioli, 2007).

One cannot simply say that male VAW is due to patriarchal kinship systems that is shared across the whole of PNG. To say that Papua New Guinean women are oppressed purely because males want to preserve their dominant status would be a rejection of the underlying values that are assigned to women. For example, Mohanty (1984) suggested that while women do gain value through a familial system, it is their practices within this system that give them their status as well.

As such, PNG's efforts to curb VAW must be cognisant of the hegemonic Western feminist concepts that are being promoted to women. Human rights are important, but they must be communicated in such a way that Papua New Guinean women are not boxed into generalisations that constantly paint them as powerless, victims and inferior. Similarly, Papua New Guinean men should not be continually branded as perpetrators of violence as some women involved too in this issue.

To tackle VAW in PNG, Lepani (2016) suggested that the global human rights discourse be articulated through local knowledge. According to Lepani (2016), this calls for a "closer consideration of how universal precepts and instruments of rights might be translated and activated in PNG in ways relevant to local communities as well as national

development” (p. 186). Most importantly, change must be engendered by concentrating on the common relations of care, respect and responsibility within Papua New Guinean communities (Lepani, 2016) – the heart of the *Melanesian Way*.

Culture is not necessarily the sole cause of violence when development has brought with it other undercurrents. Both women and men are finding their purpose in new environments where socio-economic relations are changing, and possibly causing a strain. Although GBV and VAW appear to be common experiences for people, many participants are not certain of the role of behavioural-messaging campaigns such as those advocated by UN agencies. There is a shared consensus that change needs to take place but with contextually-appropriate responses. Hence, the inclination to portray culture in a negative light may not capture the desired outcome of unlearning violence.

6.2 Changing the narrative

Throughout this research, it has become evident that GBV and VAW is a lived experience for most, if not all, Papua New Guineans. The conditions that have allowed violence to intensify in communities vary considerably. Thus, this emphasises the need for the Papua New Guinean media to closely analyse the impact of behavioural campaigns such as *Sanap Wantaim* (Stand Together) on the target communities. While journalists have covered violence, the larger frame of reference has been devoid of critical discussion.

Consequently, the media setting has had far greater repercussions whereby GBV has become a non-issue for many communities. Sensationalism and the reliance on official sources have silenced the experiences of people at the grassroots, and made assumptions about their needs. This has in turn sustained institutions that reinforce abusive relations and violence. To tread on the surface of GBV, nuances are ignored and, as a result, campaigns are accepted without interrogation.

This research does not discount the validity of the “Fourth Estate” role. However, it acknowledges that the current media setting needs to focus on alternative models if any headway is to be made on GBV. Paradigms such as deliberative journalism could transform Papua New Guinean media into active agents of change where the community good is pursued, while also allowing a plurality of views on a given issue (Robie, 2014). The application of deliberative styles such as *talanoa* and peace journalism can also create better coverage on violence where the attention is not so much on one-off events, rather the issue and proposed solutions. These styles, particularly *talanoa* journalism, pull away

from using culture “as a smokescreen for the abuse of power and violations of human rights”, as argued by Robie (2014, p. 340).

Yet, changing the narrative on violence requires Papua New Guinean media outlets to confront their existing organisational structures. From one outlet to another, it is evident that these are businesses with their own vested interests. News has been commodified despite a majority of the population lacking access at present. Moreover, the influence of bureaucratic voices is overbearing and so transparency and accountability is difficult to achieve. Papua New Guinean journalists cannot take the lead in shaping perceptions on crucial issues such as violence without first reflecting on the organisation they belong to. Unless they do so, their role will not have any value to the public, and meaningful reporting will continue to be scant.

6.3 Limitations, implications and further research

This research attempted to highlight the importance of journalism in fostering development and shaping attitudes in relation to the issue of violence. Although it offered an insight into alternative paradigms, there was little discussion on the education and training that upcoming journalists are being exposed to. With PNG being socio-economically unstable, young journalists have the potential to transform the current newsroom culture. Thus, the emphasis on journalism education is a possible area for further research.

An additional limitation of this research lies in the sample size regarding Group Two, where only six journalists were interviewed. This small sample may not be an accurate representation of the Papua New Guinean media industry due to varying factors such as professional experience and the media outlets that these participants belong to. This occurred as a result of this research’s data collection time frame of six weeks, but more journalists could have been engaged to gain a broader understanding of the PNG media environment. This shortcoming, however, can be built upon in further research on the empowerment of Papua New Guinean journalists, as well as the development of the current media landscape.

GBV and VAW have grown into a non-issue in PNG. Much of the focus has been on women but campaigns such as *Sanap Wantaim* (Stand Together) are reaching out to men as allies for positive behavioural change. Yet, throughout this research only four participants spoke to the involvement of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

(LGBTQ) community. The dialogue with the rest of the participants highlighted the vulnerability of only women. As such, this underscores how gender is still very much a term that does not go beyond woman and man, and sexuality is generally understood only in heterosexual terms. This is a gap that can be tackled in current anti-violence campaigns such as *Sanap Wantaim* (Stand Together).

Moreover, this research could have focused on the differences in both women and men's responses. It mostly concentrated on the prevailing themes so as to discern if the reception toward GBV is one of consensus. Perhaps further research can expound on the limitation.

This thesis also acknowledges that a comprehensive analysis of *Sanap Wantaim* (Stand Together) cannot be given as it is still an ongoing campaign. Establishing its efficacy demands a broader sample and perhaps a reframing of the indicative questions that were used in interviews. This consequently makes it difficult to pinpoint the actual reach and effect. Nevertheless, this research has identified that campaigns such as *Sanap Wantaim* (Stand Together) need to match awareness-raising with opportunities for implementation, thereby enhancing people's wellbeing at the individual and collective levels. Without spaces to fully exercise the human rights-based values being communicated, people are unable to actively foster social change.

Finally, this thesis has highlighted the importance of meaning-making when discussing violence in an indigenous setting. Using the *talanoa* framework has prompted me to acknowledge that this research may be limited due to my own biases and experience with GBV and VAW. The use of a research assistant similarly signals a shortcoming where data from interviews may have not been accurately captured. It is my hope, however, that these areas will be dealt with in future research.

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Appendices

Appendix A: AUTECH Ethics Approval

8 August 2018

David Robie

Faculty of Design and Creative Technologies

Dear David

Ethics Application: 18/227 **Violence against women in Papua New Guinea: The representation of women in anti-violence campaigns.**

I wish to advise you that the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTECH) has **approved** your ethics application at its meeting of 6 August 2018.

This approval is for three years, expiring 6 August 2021.

Non-Standard Conditions of Approval

1. Include on the Consent Form for journalist, a bullet point where they have an option to be named.

Non-standard conditions must be completed before commencing your study. Non-standard conditions do not need to be submitted to or reviewed by AUTECH before commencing your study.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using form EA2, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>.
2. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using form EA3, which is available online through <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>.
3. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTECH prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form: <http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics>.
4. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTECH Secretariat as a matter of priority.
5. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTECH Secretariat as a matter of priority.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. If you require management approval for access for your research from another institution or organisation then you are responsible for obtaining it. If the research is undertaken outside New Zealand, you need to meet all locality legal and ethical obligations and requirements. You are reminded that it is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard.

For any enquiries please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'K O'Connor', written in a cursive style.

Kate O'Connor

Executive Manager

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: paulinemagoking@gmail.com

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet – Group One

Date Information Sheet Produced:

18 July 2018

Project Title

“Violence against women in Papua New Guinea: The representation of women in anti-violence campaigns”

English Invitation

Hello _____,

My name is Pauline Mago-King and I come from the province of East New Britain in Papua New Guinea. I’m currently a postgraduate student in the School of Communication Studies at the Auckland University of Technology. You are invited to participate in a research project that I am conducting as part of the requirements of my Master of Communication Studies Degree. This research project has ethics approval from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee.

This research is funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The aim of this research project is to examine the attitudes of Papua New Guinean men and women towards anti-violence campaigns. More so, it seeks to understand how Papua New Guineans interpret messages of human rights and feminist values through various media channels.

Should you agree to participate in this research project, you will go through a face to face interview with either myself or my research assistant. To ensure that you are comfortable, you can also choose the interviewer.

This interview will be audio recorded for analysis purposes so that your thoughts are accurately represented. I understand that this research is sensitive hence your anonymity is protected and audio recordings will not be made available to the public or any third party individual without your permission. To further ensure that your identity is protected, the data safety management protocol will be implemented and signed to ensure your security.

The interview will take place at a private room at YWCA PNG premises to ensure your personal safety and privacy. If this venue is not safe for you then please let me know and we will arrange for another place to conduct the interview. The interview is expected to take an hour however the timing can be extended for your preference.

The information collected during this research project will be treated confidentially hence you can speak freely and openly about your views regarding the research topic. All data collected will be stored securely on AUT premises for six years after the project has been completed and will then be confidentially destroyed. The information you contribute will be presented in a written report, thesis and a newspaper article, but your identity will not be revealed at any stage.

Please note that your participation in this research project is voluntary. As the participant, you can and may withdraw at any time at no costs. You can also be accompanied by a support person if you feel that it will make you more comfortable. Should you wish to participate in this project, kindly let me know at your earliest convenience. A consent form will be sent to your email which you can then sign to confirm your interest in this project.

Thank you,

Pauline Mago-King

Tok Pisin invitation

Halo _____,

Nem bilong mi em Pauline Mago-King na mi blo East New Britain provins lo Papua New Guinea. Nau yet mi wanpela sumatin insait lo Skul bilong Communication Studies lo Auckland University of Technology. Mi laik askim yu lo halivim mi wantaim research wok bilong mi. Dispela wok i bai halivim mi lo pinisim skul bilong mi long Master of Communication Studies Degree. Dispela research wok i gat askim bilong Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee. Na tu, dispela research wok i gat halivim long Niu Zilan Ministri long Foren Afers na Treid.

Sapos yu givim orait long sindaun na toktok wantaim mi, yu bai halivim mi lo painim aut ol tingting na pasin ol Papua Niu Guinea man na meri igat long ol toktok lo stopim vailense. Na tu, yu bai halivim mi lo luksave long ol wei ol Papua Niu Guinea man na meri save lukluk long ol toktok bilong human raits.

Taim yu givim orait long dispela interview, yumi tupela wantaim wan wok bilong mi bai sindaun na toktok long wanpla opis bilong YWCA PNG. Sapos yu pilim olsem dispela ol hap i no seif, yu ken tokim mi na bai yumi stori long wanpela narapela hap. Na tu, yu i ken tokaut long husait yu laikim long stori wantaim yu.

Toktok bilong yumi i ken go inap wanpla hour na mipela bai rekordim dispela interview. Tasol mipla nonap autim nem bilong yu long ol narapela lain. Ol samting yu tokim mipela bai gat protection na nogat birua bai painim yu. Sapos yu laik, mipela i ken toktok moa long ol wei bilong protectim yu olsem dispela samting ol kolim Data Safety Management Protocol.

Ol recording na pepa bilong yu bai stap gut long skul bilong mi, Auckland University of Technology, go inap sixpela yia. Bihain taim, skul bilong mi bai toromoi ol information mi kisim long yu na mi bai raitim wanpela skul stori ol i kolim thesis. Na tu, bai mi raitim wanpla stori insait long wanpela niuspeipa long sherim ol painim aut bilong mi.

Sapos yu pilim sem long sampla askim bilong mipela, yu i ken stopim interview. Yu ken askim wanpela poroman lo stap wantaim yu long taim bilong interview sapos yu no pilim gut. Na tu, wanem askim yu gat plis noken sem long tokim mipla.

Tenk yu,

Pauline Mago-King

What is the purpose of this research?

The fundamental purpose of this research is to seek insights into the perceptions of violence regarding the messages advocated by anti-violence public campaigns such as the one that is currently run by the United Nations (UN) Women mission in PNG in order to improve their relevance and effectiveness. It is seeking to answer three main questions: 1. What is the relationship between culture, communication, development and gender violence in Papua New Guinea? 2. How effective are non-government organisation campaigns in addressing gender violence in Papua New

Guinea? 3. How could non-government organisation advocacy campaigns be improved for the benefit of the community?

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

All participants have been invited via a notice at YWCA PNG on the basis that they are Papua New Guineans who have had some level of exposure to violence or gender-based violence. These participants are all adults with varying educational, social, economic and cultural backgrounds so as to gain a deeper insight into the perceptions surrounding violence.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

What will happen in this research?

The primary researcher and the participant will engage in *a dor tir* (dialogue) also known as a talanoa/formal interview. The primary researcher will start the *a dor tir* by asking the participant a series of prepared questions. The participant will be asked if they would like to partake in leading the discussion. To ensure that the participant is comfortable to engage in *a dor tir*, the interview will take place in an enclosed conference where no one else will be present except for the primary researcher and participant. This will ensure the safety, privacy and confidentiality of the participant.

What are the discomforts and risks?

Being that the research topic is of a sensitive nature, the participant may feel uncomfortable or embarrassed to answer certain questions. If this situation arises then the participant can decline to answer a question without any consequence.

How will these discomforts and risks be alleviated?

The PNG 1-Tok Kaunselin Helpim Lain is a toll-free telephone counselling service. Since counselling services are not accessible by Papua New Guineans, this service will be of great help to those who experience any discomfort from this research. To access 1-Tok Kaunselin Helpim Lain, you will need to:

- Call 7150 8000 and speak to counsellors who will then refer you to any other services, if needed

The information you provide to 1-Tok Kaunselin Helpim Lain will be kept confidential.

You can find out more information about 1-Tok Kaunselin Helpim Lain on <https://www.childfund.org.nz/news-and-stories/png-counselling-hotline>

What are the benefits?

Being that this a thesis project, the personal benefit of this research involves the primary researcher's attainment of a Master degree qualification. The primary benefit of this research, however, is the ability to identify any communication gaps in anti-violence campaigns and the role that the media can play in advocacy. By identifying these gaps, this research will hopefully enhance the work of organisations like the UN Women mission in PNG in areas such as gender equality and the protection from violence.

In terms of benefits to participants, this research will hopefully facilitate a process of learning on the issue of violence within the context of Papua New Guinea. This is where the participant can voice his or her concerns and seek clarification on doubts.

How will my privacy be protected?

The privacy of participants will be protected whereby data will be de-identified at the point of transcription. In doing so, the information produced in the research cannot be traced back to participants. The primary researcher will also discuss the Data Storage Management Protocol with the participant to ensure that the collected data is stored securely and confidentially.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

While there are no costs for the participant, it is noted that your time is valued. Hence, the primary researcher would appreciate an hour of your time to engage in a talanoa or interview.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Three days.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

The final Masters Thesis will be made available via AUT's online research repository. Hence, a link will be forwarded to participants who have contacted the researcher via email. A newspaper article will also be produced. This article will highlight the findings of the research.

What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, *Professor David Robie*, *David.robie@aut.ac.nz*, +64 9 921 9999 ext 7834.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of ATEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz*, 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Primary researcher: Pauline Mago-King

Email: *wng9101@aut.ac.nz*

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Primary supervisor: Professor David Robie

Email: *David.robie@aut.ac.nz*

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *6 August 2018*, ATEC Reference number 18/227.

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet – Group Two

Date Information Sheet Produced:

18 July 2018

Project Title

“Violence against women in Papua New Guinea: The representation of women in anti-violence campaigns”

English Invitation

Hello _____,

My name is Pauline Mago-King and I come from the province of East New Britain in Papua New Guinea. I’m currently a postgraduate student in the School of Communication Studies at the Auckland University of Technology. You are invited to participate in a research project that I am conducting as part of the requirements of my Master of Communication Studies Degree. This research project has ethics approval from the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee.

This research is funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The aim of this research project is to examine the attitudes of Papua New Guinean men and women towards anti-violence campaigns. More so, it seeks to understand how Papua New Guineans interpret messages of human rights and feminist values through various media channels.

Should you agree to participate in this research project, you will go through a face to face interview with either myself or my research assistant. To ensure that you are comfortable, you can also choose the interviewer.

This interview will be audio recorded for analysis purposes so that your thoughts are accurately represented. I understand that this research is sensitive hence your anonymity is protected and audio recordings will not be made available to the public or any third party individual without your permission. To further ensure that your identity is protected, the data safety management protocol will be implemented and signed to ensure your security.

The interview will take place at a private room at YWCA PNG premises to ensure your personal safety and privacy. If this venue is not safe for you then please let me know and we will arrange for another place to conduct the interview. The interview is expected to take an hour however the timing can be extended for your preference.

The information collected during this research project will be treated confidentially hence you can speak freely and openly about your views regarding the research topic. All data collected will be stored securely on AUT premises for six years after the project has been completed and will then be confidentially destroyed. The information you contribute will be presented in a written report, thesis, and a newspaper article, but your identity will not be revealed at any stage.

Please note that your participation in this research project is voluntary. As the participant, you can and may withdraw at any time at no costs. Should you wish to participate in this project, kindly let me know at your earliest convenience. A consent form will be sent to your email which you can then sign to confirm your interest in this project.

Thank you,

Pauline Mago-King

Tok Pisin invitation

Halo _____,

Nem bilong mi em Pauline Mago-King na mi blo East New Britain provins lo Papua New Guinea. Nau yet mi wanpela sumatin insait lo Skul bilong Communication Studies lo Auckland University of Technology. Mi laik askim yu lo halivim mi wantaim research wok bilong mi. Dispela wok i bai halivim mi lo pinisim skul bilong mi long Master of Communication Studies Degree. Dispela research wok i gat askim bilong Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee.

Sapos yu givim orait long sindaun na toktok wantaim mi, yu bai halivim mi lo painim aut ol tingting na pasin ol Papua Niu Guinea man na meri igat long ol toktok lo stopim vailense. Na tu, yu bai halivim mi lo luksave long ol wei ol Papua Niu Guinea man na meri save lukluk long ol toktok bilong human raits.

Taim yu givim orait long dispela interview, yumi tupela wantaim wan wok bilong mi bai sindaun na toktok long ol wanpla opis bilong YWCA PNG. Sapos yu pilim olsem

dispela hap i no seif, yu ken tokim mi na bai yumi stori long wanpela narapela hap. Na tu, yu i ken tokaut long husait yu laikim long stori wantaim yu.

Toktok bilong yumi i ken go inap wanpla hour na mipela bai rekordim dispela interview. Tasol mipla nonap autim nem bilong yu long ol narapela lain. Ol samting yu tokim mipela bai gat protection na nogat birua bai painim yu. Sapos yu laik, mipela i ken toktok moa long ol wei bilong protectim yu olsem dispela samting ol kolim Data Safety Management Protocol.

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Sapos yu pilim sem long sampla askim bilong mipela, yu i ken stopim interview. Na tu, wanem askim yu gat plis noken sem long tokim mipla.

Tenk yu,

Pauline Mago-King

What is the purpose of this research?

The fundamental purpose of this research is to seek insights into the perceptions of violence regarding the messages advocated by anti-violence public campaigns such as the one that is currently run by the United Nations (UN) Women mission in PNG in order to improve their relevance and effectiveness. It is seeking to answer three main questions: 1. What is the relationship between culture, communication, development and gender violence in Papua New Guinea? 2. How effective are non-government organisation campaigns in addressing gender violence in Papua New Guinea? 3. How could non-government organisation advocacy campaigns be improved for the benefit of the community?

How was I identified and why am I being invited to participate in this research?

All participants have been invited on the basis that they are Papua New Guinean journalists who have a background in reporting on violence or gender-based violence. These participants are all adults with varying educational, social, economic and cultural backgrounds so as to gain a deeper insight into the perceptions surrounding violence.

How do I agree to participate in this research?

Your participation in this research is voluntary (it is your choice) and whether or not you choose to participate will neither advantage nor disadvantage you. You are able to withdraw from the study at any time. If you choose to withdraw from the study, then you will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to you removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of your data may not be possible.

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The information you provide to 1-Tok Kaunselin Helpim Lain will be kept confidential.

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In terms of benefits to participants, this research will hopefully facilitate a process of learning on the issue of violence within the context of Papua New Guinea and the role of the media. This is where the participant can voice his or her concerns and seek clarification on doubts that may have surfaced during the interview.

How will my privacy be protected?

The privacy of participants will be protected whereby data will be de-identified at the point of transcription. In doing so, the information produced in the research cannot be traced back to participants. The primary researcher will also discuss the Data Storage Management Protocol with the participant to ensure that the collected data is stored securely and confidentially.

What are the costs of participating in this research?

While there are no costs for the participant, it is noted that your time is valued. Hence, the primary researcher would appreciate an hour of your time to engage in a talanoa or interview.

What opportunity do I have to consider this invitation?

Three days.

Will I receive feedback on the results of this research?

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What do I do if I have concerns about this research?

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Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of ATEC, Kate O'Connor, *ethics@aut.ac.nz* , 921 9999 ext 6038.

Whom do I contact for further information about this research?

Please keep this Information Sheet and a copy of the Consent Form for your future reference. You are also able to contact the research team as follows:

Researcher Contact Details:

Primary researcher: Pauline Mago-King

Email: *wng9101@aut.ac.nz*

Project Supervisor Contact Details:

Primary supervisor: Professor David Robie

Email: *David.robie@aut.ac.nz*

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on *6 August 2018*, ATEC Reference number 18/227.

Appendix D: Participant Indicative Questions – Group One

Name:

Age:

Educational background:

Province of origin:

Employment status:

Questions:

1. Are you aware of human rights? Yes/No

If yes, where did you learn or hear about it?

a) Family

b) School

c) Employer

d) Church

e) Media

f) Other(s) _____

2. Do you know that violence against women is a violation of human rights? Yes/No

3. Have you ever experienced violence? Yes/No

If yes, can you please explain?

4. When you experience violence, as an observer or victim, do you report it to the police?

Yes/No

If yes, can you please explain?

5. Would you report someone if they were hurting a family member of yours? Yes/No

If yes, can you please explain?

6. Does violence, particularly violence against women, seem like a norm in your community? Yes/No

If yes, can you please explain?

7. Our cultures play a huge role in our lives. How does your culture view and treat men and women?

8. Is it difficult for both men and women to deal with violence in Papua New Guinea?

9. What have you learnt from the awareness on gender-based violence or violence against women?

10. Regarding anti-violence campaigns, which ones have you heard of?

11. What are some of the themes or topics that you do not understand in these campaigns?

12. When you see or hear media reports on violence, what do you think?

Appendix E: Participant Indicative Questions – Group Two

Name:

Age:

Province of origin:

Employment status:

Contact (email):

1. What power does the media wield in the reportage on violence?
2. In terms of consistency, accuracy and efficiency, how does the media incorporate these values when covering stories on violence?
3. Do you think the level of violence in Papua New Guinea is perpetuated by our diverse cultures?
4. How does the media navigate through cultural practices that normalize violence against both genders?
5. Does mobile connectivity and social media pose challenges for the media when covering cases of violence?
6. How do journalists ensure that issues such as gender-based violence gain traction in mainstream news?

7. How has the media tackled the issue of accountability with regard to the Government's actions on violence?
8. There have been numerous cases of young, educated Papua New Guinean women being subject to violence behind closed doors. Is the media reactive to gender-based violence?
9. In your opinion, how are messages on violence being a human rights violation interpreted by the media industry?
10. Are there communication gaps that you have identified in the anti-violence campaigns being disseminated in PNG? Name and describe them.

Appendix F: Participant Consent Forms

Project title: *“Violence against women in Papua New Guinea: the representation of women in anti-violence campaigns”*

Project Supervisor: *Professor David Robie*

Researcher: *Pauline Mago-King*

- ☐ I have read and understood the information provided about this research project in the Information Sheet dated ____ ____ ____.
- ☐ I have had an opportunity to ask questions and to have them answered.
- ☐ I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw from the study at any time without being disadvantaged in any way.
- ☐ I understand that if I withdraw from the study then I will be offered the choice between having any data that is identifiable as belonging to me removed or allowing it to continue to be used. However, once the findings have been produced, removal of my data may not be possible.
- ☐ I permit the researcher to use the audio recordings that are part of this project and/or any information from them, either complete or in part, alone or in conjunction with any wording solely and exclusively for analysing interview content.
- ☐ I understand that the audio may only be heard by the researcher and the project supervisor and that no other persons will be permitted access to the recording.
- ☐ I understand that any copyright material created by the audio recording sessions is deemed to be owned by the researcher and that I do not own copyright of any of the audio.
- ☐ I agree to take part in this research.

Participant's signature :

.....
.....

Participant's name:

.....
.....

Participant's Contact Details (if appropriate):

.....
.....
.....

Date:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 6 August 2018 AUTEK Reference number 18/227.

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Peipa bilong givim tok orait

Neim bilong wok:

*“Vailense agenstim meri insait long Papua
Niu Guinea: lukluk bilong yumi long ol meri
na ol campaign agenstim vailense”*

Neim bilong supavisa bilong mi:

Professor David Robie

Neim bilong meri i go pas long dispela wok:

Pauline Mago-King

- ☐ Mi bin ridim na undastandim ol toktok insait long dispela peipa ol i kolim Information Sheet long _____.
_____.
- ☐ Meri i go pas long dispela wok i bin harim ol askim bilong mi. Na tu, em i bin answerim ol askim bilong mi.
- ☐ Mi luksave olsem nogat man o meri i forsim mi long sindaun na toktok. Mi ken tok nogat sapos mi les long wokim dispela wok.

- Mi luksave olsem sapos mi lusim dispela wok, mi i ken askim yupela long noken raitim nem na ol toktok mi bin stori long em. Tasaol sapos mi tok orait long usim ol stori bilong mi insait long dispela wok, em i bai hat long rausim ken.
- Mi tok orait long yu long usim ol recording we mi bin stori long ol tingting bilong mi. Mi luksave olsem dispela ol recording em bai go long skul wok tasol.
- Mi luksave olsem nogat narapela man or meri bai harim ol rekording bilong mi. Ol lain tasol i go pass long dispela wok i gat tok orait long harim ol stori bilong mi.
- Mi luksave olsem ol lain i go pass long dispela skul wok i ownim ol rekording bilong mi.
- Mi tok orait long halivim yu wantaim dispela wok we yumi tupela bai stori.

Mak bilong mi:

.....

Neim bilong mi:

.....

Fone namba na email bilong mi:

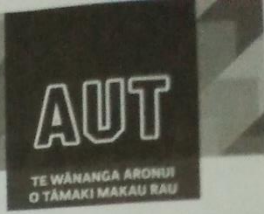
.....

Deit:

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 6 August 2018 AUTEK Reference number 18/227.

Note: The Participant should retain a copy of this form.

Appendix G: Confidentiality Form



Confidentiality Agreement

Project title: "Violence against women in Papua New Guinea: the representation of women in anti-violence campaigns"

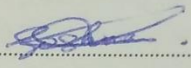
Project Supervisor: Professor David Robie

Researcher: Pauline Mago-King

☒ I understand that all the material I will be asked to record is confidential.

☒ I understand that the contents of the Consent Forms and interview notes can only be discussed with the researcher.

☒ I will not keep any copies of the information nor allow third parties access to them.

Intermediary's signature: 

Intermediary's name: Joshua Kiruhia

Intermediary's Contact Details (if appropriate):

kiruhiaj@gmail.com

joshua.kiruhia@yocapng.org.pg

Date: 10/09/2018

Project Supervisor's Contact Details (if appropriate):

Professor David Robie.....+64 2111 22079

David.robie@aut.ac.nz

Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 6 August 2018, AUTEK Reference number 18/227.

Note: The Intermediary should retain a copy of this form