



## Gender and Economic Choice in Papua New Guinea

*Results from a Rapid Qualitative Assessment in Sixteen Districts*



**The World Bank, Papua New Guinea**

Marjorie Andrew, November 2013

## Foreword

In 2011, the World Bank commenced an ambitious global program of research on gender equality and development, which had been selected as the topic for the 2012 World Development Report, the World Bank's flagship analytical product. As part of that program, qualitative research was done in 20 countries across the globe, including Papua New Guinea, investigating issues of evolving gender roles in making economic choices and decisions. Six PNG communities were included in the original WDR 2012 research, and the comprehensive findings of that global study can be found in the 2012 World Bank publication *On Norms and Agency: Conversations about Gender Equality with Women and Men in 20 Countries*, co-authored by Ana Maria Munoz Boudet, Patti Petesch, and Carolyn Turk, with Angelica Thumala.

Soon after the PNG data was incorporated into the global database and analysed, the World Bank team agreed with the Government of Papua New Guinea and the Australian Aid agency that an expansion of the scope of this qualitative research would provide valuable data at a critical time for policy and program design, and would complement the quantitative data coming available from the 2010 PNG Household Income and Expenditure Survey. Resources from Australian Aid made it possible to expand the scope here in PNG to an additional 10 communities, and that work was analysed and described in a country synthesis report completed by the PNG Institute for National Affairs (INA) in 2012. The synthesis report provided important inputs for the PNG Country Gender Assessment, a highly participatory product of Government, civil society, and development partners, and the CGA in turn has become the core reference document for gender programming and policy discussion.

In mid-2013, the INA approached the World Bank team with a suggestion that the rich database be revisited for more in-depth analysis, and work commenced in August 2013.

We would like to acknowledge the important contributions that made this more in-depth work possible, including: the women and men, girls and boys in the sixteen communities who shared their time and their views with the research team; the Australian Aid program and its gender team, led in 2011-12 by Gillian Brown, who provided the additional funding required to expand the scope of our research; the lead researcher, Almah Tararia, who coordinated the complex series of field missions and compiled the summary report; and Paul Barker from the Institute of National Affairs for providing an institutional home and a guiding hand. Finally, we are deeply grateful for the passion and dedication that Marjorie Andrew, formerly of INA, brought to the prospect of mining the Gender Choice data more deeply – without her commitment and willingness to take on this work, this new report would not be possible.

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report analyses findings of research done in Papua New Guinea (PNG) as part of the follow-up actions to the World Development Report 2012 on Gender Equality and Development. To further inform the Papua New Guinea Country Gender Assessment, and assist stakeholders in understanding the gender dimensions of PNG's development challenges, the World Bank team sought funding support from Australian Aid to explore the intersection between gender equality, social cohesion, and development. The World Bank expanded the scope of the World Development Report (WDR) research beyond the original 6 communities to an additional 10 communities. The Institute of National Affairs was contracted to plan and administer the survey.

The first phase of the survey was conducted in six provinces from January 19 to February 4, 2011. The results of this first phase surveys were used to inform the 2012 WDR on Gender and Development, and formed part of the database for the companion 2012 publication *On Norms and Agency: Conversations about Gender Equality with Women and Men in 20 Countries*. The second phase of the survey in PNG was undertaken in ten provinces, between November, 2011 and January 2012.

Covering fifteen rural and one urban communities in sixteen districts and using a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, the survey examined: 1) women's and men's subjective views of and experiences in making key economic decisions, such as how to make a living, education, and response to economic opportunities; and 2) whether and how the gender norms surrounding these choices are shifting as educational opportunities expand. The methodology included use of three tools: Community Questionnaire, Focus Group Discussions, and Mini-Case Studies. This report discusses the findings of the first two data collection tools.

The sixteen communities where the survey was carried out were located in the following districts: National Capital District; Rigo; Wewak; Vaimo Green; Sumkar; Huon Gulf; Hagen; Goroka; Sinasina Yonggomugl; North Bougainville; Manus; Kavieng; Alotau; Talasea; Sohe; Huon Gulf; and, Middle Fly. All communities were accessible by road. As Table 3 in the main text shows, this sampling captures a wide range of PNG's incredible diversity, which is critical to understand the complexity of gender issues.

### Main findings

Gender norms and roles are evolving but only in limited areas. In the public arena, women are taking on leadership roles in church groups, local committees such as the ward development committee, law and order committee, as well as women's groups. Women however lack involvement in key political and strategic decision-making processes. Domestically, gender norms and cultural practices continue to determine the distinct roles men and women take on. However, women are now expected to generate income to support the family, much more than men it seems. For some women this has meant that they work harder and longer in their gardens, while for others especially the younger women, they are doing less gardening and spending more time generating income in other ways.

In the context of limited services, rising cost of living/services, growing social tensions and community safety concerns, economic cooperation between men and women is now more important in order to generate the wealth to maintain the family and position of power and freedom of both men and women. This also means that a good relationship is maintained between the husband and wife. Gender equality promises some space for couples to negotiate how they work together, promote better understanding and respect for each partner in the marriage.

The rural communities are experiencing many changes. With reliance on cash income, this has caused people to change the way they organise productive activities and the way they relate to others. One major change is that the youth hold different values, and are not well managed by their parents: evident in the decisions they make about leaving school early, not wanting to work in the gardens, pervasive teen pregnancy, 'casual marriages', and consumption of alcohol and drugs. The youth need help to transition to the life of education, adulthood and work, particularly male youth.

### **Power and freedom**

The women and men composing the top levels of the Ladder of Power and Freedom (LOPF) created by each community had similar characteristics: 1) They were wealthy, owning land and resources; 2) They were decision-makers; 3) They distributed their wealth and assisted others. Of all these characteristics, land ownership including resources, gardens and property — the accumulation of wealth and the ability to share and assist others—was the ultimate indicator of their placement on this rung of the ladder. Women and men at the bottom level of the LOPF were described as lacking everything that those on the top step had: wealth, decision-making capacity, education, skills and jobs.

Overall, more survey communities have men who have moved up the ladder to the top step compared to women. A higher number of communities have a downward movement for women, than men. But where there was movement of women up the ladder, there was greater share of women able to make it to the top step, than men did, ten years ago and currently.

Women's power and freedom seems to be measured differently from that of men. More women are now seen to have money, they are in positions of leadership and can speak in public, and have the means to be mobile so that they can travel to places, become educated, and do what they want provided they have the husband's support. Women, however, lack involvement in key political and strategic decision-making processes, which men hold and control. Decisions on income and property are generally made by men in the communities, although at times they are made jointly by the husband and wife. Women are generally perceived to be better managers of money, as they tend to save more, and spend the money on the family as a whole. However, while women take on responsibility of earning money in various ways, they usually do not have decision making power over how the money accrued is spent.

Men are assessed for the same things as women but the focus is more on land and resources, the type of leadership positions, and their distribution of wealth. The distribution of wealth in customary terms should be understood as a creation of 'social wealth': that is, the man's standing is enhanced through creating social obligations. Within this process of social wealth creation, the woman is the principal provider, because in day to day terms, agricultural work is largely women's work along with care of domestic animals, and marketing. It is usually her husband who decides how the wealth or material products are to be consumed or distributed. When the LOPF is viewed in this sense, the power between men and women is different and unequal, where men have greater power and freedom than women.

### **Marriage and children**

People's descriptions of what constituted a good wife in the past are largely similar to those of the present. The good wife in the past was pictured as the caretaker of the children, the home, as well as caring for relatives and others in the community. However, it is evident that for women to fulfil this role, she is now expected to find ways of making an income, to take care of the family. One of the main

findings of the survey is that immense pressure is now being placed on both women and men to provide income and food, and to manage money wisely. When these needs are not met, it leads to domestic violence, and to the community becoming less 'safe' through stealing from others. The frequency of domestic violence is becoming more regular in some communities and occurring more occasionally in others.

A significant number of survey responses show that people welcome gender equality as a good thing. To adults, it means reaching an understanding, sharing ideas together, solve problems and reach an agreement. The change is significant, as space is being given to women in the marriage relationship to negotiate a better partnership in terms of fulfilling responsibilities.

Significant change has occurred with marriages no longer conducted in the same way as in the past. Many now choose their own partners and live together without the parents' approval. When people live together this is recognized as marriage. Most participants said that girls got pregnant at too early an age between 15 and 19 years old, and youth preferred to delay the time when they start having a family to the mid-twenties, and to have smaller number of children of 2-3, as it was expensive to pay for school fees<sup>1</sup>, and the cost of living was too high.

## Education

Access to and attendance of school age children to elementary and primary school was better in the urban community where almost all children went to school, than the rural villages where 'most' children went to school. The glaring difference was secondary school attendance in rural villages, where in most communities, less than half or none of their children attended. Without completing secondary school education, youth are unable to seek paid work, and their options for generating income are severely limited, without acquiring further training to gain skills and knowledge.

When there are constraints to pay school fees, preference is given to the eldest child and the male child over girls and younger siblings. Next to school fees, the main reasons for girls to leave school were due to family problems and parents needing help at home, or girls getting pregnant. However, for those girls who remained in school, the data showed that female participants had stayed longer in school, and performed better than boys in terms of completing Grades 11 and 12. This indicates that girls have the cultural aptitude and attitude to apply themselves to school, better than boys at present.

It was found that most of the youth made the decision to leave school early, few parents made that decision for them. Responses showed that children do not fully appreciate or understand the benefits of education until later, when they regret the missed opportunity, and find it impossible to return to school.

Apart from school fees, the key reason for male youth to drop out of school was that they lost interest or did not see the benefit of school. This raises serious questions about the approach used for educating male youth in Papua New Guinea, in order for boys to develop positive attitudes to school and to apply themselves to complete their education. Unless measures are taken to encourage and nurture male youth in their transition to education, adulthood, and work, this may lead to more females being educated and getting paid jobs than men in the long term. But the cost to male youth and the society could be devastating. Indicators show that domestic violence and community safety are worsening, and will do so unless the issue of male youth dislocation is addressed.

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<sup>1</sup> Beginning with the 2012 school year, the Government of Papua New Guinea abolished school fees for primary and elementary school, and in the following year expanded the fee-free education policy to include secondary.

## Economic opportunities

In general, there were few employment opportunities and everyone - youth and adults, men and women - find it difficult to get paid work. Benefits such as jobs and services from resource extraction or agricultural/forestry projects are not widespread across all districts. But there has been small progress: ten years ago, the majority of these communities had women who rarely worked for pay. Now, most of the communities surveyed reported that some women currently work for pay.

Prospects for informal or casual work appeared to be greater for rural communities: including fishing, poultry or farming projects, working on cash crop farms, as well as public works projects relating to clearing areas for building or maintaining feeder roads, electricity, and water infrastructure.

Customary owned land is the secure source of sustaining the livelihood of the majority of rural people in the survey communities, and the main source of 'happiness'. It is the basis upon which women and men work to produce the material products necessary for distribution to build social wealth in the society. Hence, new strategies to manage and develop customary land and use the natural resources need to have the full consent and participation of all involved, and ways of assisting women to own land should also be considered.

## Core Findings

The information gathered from this ground-breaking qualitative research undertaken in a diverse subset of sixteen communities across Papua New Guinea provides a new level of insight into the complexity of gender dynamics in the country.

Gender norms and roles are evolving, but changes are visible only in limited areas. Economic cooperation between men and women is increasingly required in order to generate the wealth to maintain the family and its position in the community and clan. While women take on responsibility of earning money in various ways, they usually do not have full decision making power over how the money accrued is spent.

One of the main findings of the survey is that immense pressure is now being placed on both women and men to provide income and food, and to manage money wisely. When these needs are not met, it leads to domestic violence, and to the community becoming less 'safe' through stealing from others. Young people – and young men in particular - reported that they did not fully appreciate or understand the benefits of education until later, when they regret the missed opportunity, and find it impossible to return to school. The cost to male youth and the society are high; indicators show that domestic violence and community safety are worsening, and are likely to continue to do so unless the issue of male youth dislocation is addressed.

Rural communities are experiencing many changes; youth hold different values, and need help to transition to the life of education, adulthood and work. In general, there were few employment opportunities and everyone - youth and adults, men and women - find it difficult to get paid work. Customary owned land is the secure source of sustaining the livelihood of the majority of rural people in the survey communities, and the main source of 'happiness'. It is the basis upon which women and men work to produce the material products necessary for distribution to build social wealth in the society.



## INTRODUCTION

As part of the follow-up actions to the PNG Country Research undertaken as part of the World Development Report 2012 on Gender Equality and Development, the World Bank team, with funding support from Australian Aid, explored the intersection between gender equality, social cohesion, and development. Although extensive quantitative analysis on some gender dimensions of development is possible from census and household surveys, their insights are limited because most do not examine intra-household and community-level dynamics; and they often cover a limited set of economic, demographic, and human development factors.

The World Bank expanded the scope of the World Development Report research beyond the original 6 communities to an additional 10 communities. Funding was provided by the World Bank with a significant contribution from Australian Aid. The Institute of National Affairs was contracted to plan and administer the surveys. An instructor was brought in from Washington who trained the first group of facilitators in January 2011 prior to field surveys, and additional facilitators were trained by the PNG country team leader in September 2011. Survey sites in National Capital District and Rigo District were used to test the survey methods. The first phase of the survey was conducted in six provinces from January 19 to February 4, 2011. The results of this first phase surveys were used to inform the 2012 WDR on Gender and Development. The second phase of the survey in PNG was undertaken in ten provinces, between 14 November 2011 and 30 January 2012, and that work was analysed and described in a country synthesis report completed by the PNG Institute for National Affairs (INA) in 2012.

In mid-2013, the World Bank agreed with a former senior researcher from the INA team that the rich database should be revisited for more in-depth analysis, with a focus on:

- Exploring the key topics developed during the qualitative research for national-level trends and patterns in the data;
- Identifying the differences across regions and communities, if any, on those key topics; and,
- Suggesting conclusions from the data on the dynamics of why and how gender norms in PNG are (or are not) shifting in ways that either enhance or constrain women's opportunities and gender equality.

## METHODOLOGY AND STUDY CONTEXT

The World Bank had developed a Methodology Guide (dated August 2010) for using the tools exercised by Rapid Qualitative Assessments, in order to inform the 2012 World Development Report on Gender Equality and Development. The methodology used three types of tools: Community Questionnaire, Focus Group Discussions, and Mini-Case Studies. This report only discusses the findings of the first two data collection tools.

The purpose of the Community Questionnaire was to gain an understanding of the local context, and community level factors that may contribute to gender differences and changes in gender norms and practices surrounding economic decision-making and access to opportunities. One or two key informants were selected and interviewed in each survey site. The Community Questionnaire had a

total of 147 closed-ended questions, and 22 open-ended questions. A total of 24 Community Questionnaires were administered.

The survey was not designed to be a representative sample of the districts. While the data from each of these sites cannot be representative of the entire country, the rationale used to guide the sample selection was based on a sample of women/men, youth/adults, and urban/rural areas.

Several other criteria to capture the diversity of socio-economic situations in Papua New Guinea were applied. The first was regional representation, so there are four provinces from each region except the Highlands Region which covered only three provinces, plus the National Capital District (NCD), which stands on its own. Secondly, the urban and rural divide, which was sampled proportionately to PNG's population, which is overwhelmingly rural, and thus only the NCD community is classified as urban in this sample. The remaining fifteen communities are rural villages or settlements. The third criterion was communities in a range of economic situations *within* urban and rural settings. The survey sample was able to meet the following from the given list of criteria:

(i) Urban:

- a better-off neighbourhood near a high school or university: NCD.

(ii) Rural:

- a village near an active market: North Bougainville District, Hagen District, Sinasina Yonggomugl District and Goroka District;
- a prosperous village close to non-active market: Manus District and Rigo District,
- a less prosperous area with primarily subsistence or local production: Huon Gulf District;
- an area producing commodities for export: oil palm in Alotau District, Kavieng District, Talasea District, and Sohe District, tuna fisheries in Sumkar District and Wewak District, logging project in Vanimo Green District, coffee in Goroka District, and mining in Middle Fly District.

The Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were organised into two activities: FGDs with youth, and FGDs with adults. The FGDs were held separately for males and females. Each village or neighbourhood was to have one FGD of 8 to 12 female youth, ages 18 to 24, and one FGD of 8 to 12 male youth, ages 18 to 24. Similarly, one adult FGD of 8 to 12 female adults, ages 25 to 60, and one FGD of 8 to 12 male adults, ages 25 to 60.

For youth, the FGDs aimed to explore the following topics with young women and men:

- Happiness
- Daily time use
- Decisions surrounding transitions from school to work and family formation
- Independence, cooperation, and obligations in economic decision-making processes
- Divorce, family dispute resolution mechanisms
- Local economic opportunities
- Savings practices
- Community participation
- Knowledge of gender-related rights
- Role models
- Hopes for the future

For FGDs with adults, there were different topics identified, to explore with adult women and men:

- Happiness
- Differences in the exercise of power and freedom, with a focus on economic decisions
- Local economic opportunities
- Independence, cooperation, and obligations in economic decision-making processes
- Divorce, family dispute resolution mechanisms
- Sources of economic support
- Household gender relations
- General patterns of domestic and community violence
- Hopes for the future

The FGD instrument had a total of 26 closed-ended questions, and 19 different topics with multiple probing open-ended questions. Local researchers convened 63 focus groups in 16 communities. There are many questions throughout the instruments that ask people to reflect back 10 years ago, and for some questions it requires further recall to when the adults were young, in order to describe how things have changed over time.

For each survey site, a team was deployed of two facilitators and two note-takers (female and male for each) and a team leader, and field coordinator during the second phase. Local contact persons were hired to prepare the communities, identify survey participants, organise the meeting places, liaise with community leaders and the team members, and introduce teams upon arrival.

Note-takers wrote up the responses on butcher paper and notebooks. All teams had briefing sessions with the team leader at the end of each field survey to provide individual observations of each activity and method, and clarify issues from own local knowledge. These were typed and community reports written up upon return to the INA office in Port Moresby. The responses to the quantitative questions were recorded in a standardized Excel spread sheets for both the community questionnaire, and the focus group discussions. Responses to open-ended questions were typed onto the questionnaires.

The open-ended responses were grouped into the given topics, and entered onto an excel spread sheet. A separate identification number was assigned to each focus group by gender, and location. Categories were developed for most of the questions, and codes were assigned according to the types of responses recorded. The frequency of responses was noted. By counting, sorting, filtering, and search for meaning in the verbal responses, the data was analysed. This work was performed manually without the use of any research software.

## Limitations and Issues

There were a number of limitations and issues that arose which are mentioned here in order to give the reader an appreciation of the difficulties with carrying out surveys in PNG. The period of December to January competes with other social and work activities held in most rural communities and, in this instance, affected the participation of focus groups.

The study did not have a wide set of students to choose from as enumerators owing to timing issues. This affected the quality of field sessions and note-taking. University students on holidays were used as note-takers in the first part, and a mixture of students and non-students for the latter part of the survey. Note-takers were not given the same training as the facilitators, owing to budget and time constraints.

Timing was also an issue with the earliest six sites and caused problems having to coordinate participants' involvement for two-three day field visits back-to-back, followed by deadlines to produce

field reports. Travel schedules were problematic for the team leader, causing sessions to go well into nights in some areas as the two-three day period per site was insufficient for the required activities under the methodology. The facilitators and their team members in the field also experienced transport and accommodation difficulties.

The Methodology Guideline had set 2.5 hours to conduct a focus group session. However, in the field, it was reported that each focus group session took almost a full day. Where teams started late, owing to lack of participants, the discussion extended into the evening. While the teams generally followed the methodology guide, one facilitator had this to say:

*“The methodology is not quite suitable to the local context. Some illustrations and terms needed to be localised, and in this case, we had to spend more time in trying to explain and we could also see the struggle in the participants trying to answer us. Things to note are cultural contexts and local situations of community approach and consultation. Concepts should be in context in order to get information required.”*

The focus group sessions included closed and open-ended questions and use of visuals to assist the discussions. The closed questions required secret voting followed with explanations and reasons on the vote given. Despite, the secret voting, disagreements arose, especially where one vocal participant disagreed with another’s response or reason, the facilitator had to get all to agree that no one answer would be labelled as “correct”.

The discussions on the ladder of power and freedom took more time and in some communities participants were unwilling to accept that there were any differences in status, despite facilitators’ explanations. The youth focus group sessions proved easier and faster to conduct than those held with adults. In some sites, facilitators had difficulties in getting youth participants to speak out, which resulted in prolonging the discussions.

These factors affected the quality of participant responses and the recording of these. There were no FGDs held for two survey sites: Goroka male youth and Kavieng adult males. Answers to some questions were more detailed than others, and some questions were not answered at all, or possibly not asked.

## Scope of This Report

The Community Questionnaire had questions about how much an unskilled man and woman earned 10 years ago, and how much currently. Average daily income data collected was patchy and unreliable, so this was not used. The time-use perceptions of the opposite sex data was not used in this report.

This report does not provide a description of responses to all the questions, but selected key questions that provided the context of the processes taking place in which youth and adults were making decisions. The mini-case study material was not used, but could be explored further.

This report will describe the methodology, and study context for the single urban survey site in the NCD, and separately describe the social and economic conditions and characteristics of participants in the fifteen rural survey communities. The main sections of the report examine: the ladder of power and freedom; marriage and children; education; and economic opportunities; and finally will provide a summary and conclusion.

The survey data remain the property of the World Bank and the Institute of National Affairs.

## The Study Context

This study focused on a total of sixteen communities – fifteen rural and one urban – in sixteen provinces.<sup>2</sup> The selected provinces and the districts within which the communities studied are listed in Table 1 below. See also Annex Table 1: ‘Number of Adult and Youth Participants by Sex and District’.

**Table 1. Number of Focus Group Participants by Province and District**

Province	District	Number of participants
East Sepik	Wewak District	42
Sandaun	Vanimo Green District	37
Madang	Sumkar District	34
Morobe	Huon District	35
Western Highlands	Hagen District	44
Eastern Highlands	Goroka District	35
Simbu	Sinasina Yonggomugl District	46
Autonomous Region of Bougainville	North Bougainville District	36
Manus	Manus District	31
New Ireland	Kavieng District	36
West New Britain	Talasea District	33
Central	Rigo District	37
Oro	Sohe District	39
Milne Bay	Alotau District	36
Western	Middle Fly District	33
National Capital District	National Capital District	35
<b>Total</b>		<b>589</b>

A total of 589 females and males participated in the focus group discussions (FGDs), comprising 306 adults over 25 years of age and 279 youth aged 17-25 years (see Annex Tables 3 and 4). An additional 28 informants were interviewed for the Community Questionnaire of which 11 were female.

Fifty-one per cent (301 people) were female. Overall, the proportion of participants from rural village and settlement areas was 94 per cent, with 6 per cent of participants from an urban community.

The socio-demographic characteristics of the adult participants are shown in Annex Table 3. The adults were fairly evenly distributed between three age groups: 28% in the 34-42 year range, 25% in the 25-33 years, and 23.5% aged 43-51 years. Most (83%) of the adults were married, with forty per cent having 4-6 children. The largest category, more than a third of adults (35.6%), completed grades 4-6 of schooling.

The profile of the participants in the rural youth category is presented in Annex Table 4. The majority were between ages 18-21 and were single. Many more female youth (48%) had reached grades 10-12 than the male youth participants (35.5%), which is a significant difference. One quarter of the female youth had between one and three children, the remainder were single with no children.

<sup>2</sup> Rural is defined as areas outside of urban centres, characterised by significant agricultural activity and often with greater reliance on subsistence agriculture rather than cash-based transactions. Urban areas are areas of extended settlements forming towns and cities, characterised by extended areas of concentrated human dwellings and infrastructure development. Urban areas have a minimum population of 500 and a minimum density of 195 persons per square kilometre.



## The Urban Community

The community surveyed in the National Capital District is located near the university and a public service training institute, an urban suburb established in the early 1980s. At present, the community is said to have about 5000 residents, the majority of whom are people from the four different regions of the country.

A total of 35 people participated in the NCD focus group discussions (8 adult males, 9 adult females, 11 young males and 7 young females). The adult males ranged from age 24 to 67 (mean age of 37.3). Three of these men were married and had children (mean of 3 children); the others were single and without children. All but one of the men (an area manager) were unemployed. The adult females ranged from age 27 to 53 (mean age of 47). All but two were married with children (mean of 3.3 children). Four of the women were housewives, two were church pastors, two were skilled workers (teacher and nurse), and one was a cleaner.

The young males ranged from age 18 to 25 (mean age of 21.9). All were unmarried and without children. Six of the 11 young men were self-employed (selling), one was a security officer, one was a teacher and one worked for HDF. The young women ranged from age 18 to 23 (mean age of 20.1); all were unmarried and without children. Two of the 7 female youth are unemployed but looking for work, 3 have jobs in the formal sector.

The NCD community is located six kilometres away from the city centre and is three kilometres from the area where most government offices are. Residents would have to travel to supermarkets located one or two kilometres away. The community surveyed has a weak local market, but compared to ten years ago, it was seen to be more active with more variety of goods being sold. It is a daily market and the prices are competitive with the larger markets within the city. Comparing the situation ten years ago, the informant reported that the community had become more prosperous, but could not give any percentage decrease in the number of poor people.

The gaining of work for both men and women was achievable if help is available from friends and relatives. The majority of women were said to be currently working for pay, whereas in the past only some women worked for pay. Younger women were more likely to work for pay and older women mostly engaged in self-employment, selling vegetables, betel nuts, ice blocks and other small items.

The opportunity for men to find work in the private sector was found mainly with building and road construction companies. In the past, jobs for men were mainly at supermarkets. Private sector work for women now included commercial banks, a change from the past where many women worked in supermarkets and as shop assistants. Public sector work for men was found in the disciplined forces such as with police, defence and correctional services, as well as with the City Council.

The main public sector jobs for women currently were secretarial and clerical jobs, as well as in the health sector. The opportunity for men and women in employment was perceived to be owing to the expansion of government departments and activities, including the city council.

The NCD community reported access to electricity and piped water, public sewage system and regular transport services. There is one private primary school and a vocational job training program operating in the area. Most children go to primary and secondary school. The government-run schools are two or three kilometres away. The nearest public health centre is three kilometres away, with people facing difficulties when trying to access public health services in times of emergencies.

The community has access to the national newspapers; the national television stations, receive national and local radio broadcasts, and everyone in the neighbourhood have cell phones. There is no community notice board, public telephones, or Internet cafés, though cell phone users do have personal access to internet provided by internet service providers if they can afford it.

Everybody was said to get along very well and there were no conflicts at present. If there were problems such as with services, people would cooperate to try to solve the problem. Over the past year when quarterly meetings were organised, about 10% of the residents attended these meetings, of which around 4% were said to be women. Compared to ten years ago, meetings were held each month with twice the rate of attendance, and only 1% of women used to attend. This indicates that women's participation in community affairs to try to resolve issues had increased over time (albeit from a low level), while that of men had decreased.

Community networking and organisation around income generation and finance was stronger than organising for social reasons. There were currently five informal groups dealing with economic activities, and an additional three groups dealing with finance including credit, plus four ethnic networks and three religious groups. The two community groups seen as being most important for women in the community was the NCD Women's Organisation, and the Catholic Women's Organisation. Only the Catholic Women's Organisation interacted with groups outside the community on a regular basis and received funds from both government and private sources.

Only men have been elected by the community to represent them in Parliament. However, where there had previously been no women members ten years ago on the local council, 5% of members were now women.

In this urban residential area, the participants generally felt safe, except for the adult women, who rated it as being slightly less than safe.

## **The Rural Communities**

### **Economic and Demographic Information**

The rural communities surveyed covered small to large sized villages and settlements. Table 2 below shows that the smallest village surveyed was in Goroka District with 150 people, with the largest villages ranging from 3,000-5000 people, located in Sinasina, Mt. Hagen, Rigo and Huon Gulf Districts. The average rural village size was 1,470 residents.

Table 2 also shows the rural and district population surrounding each survey community. The survey communities were not remote, but located in rural areas that were easily accessed by road to urban areas, ranging from one to 75 kilometres. There was a daily bus service available for all villages which was considered quite reliable. Only one community, Sohe, did not have a road that was passable all year round.

**Table 2: Estimated\* population for rural survey communities and district**\*Key informant asked *how many people live here?*

Province	District	Population of survey sites*	District population 2000 <sup>3</sup>
Simbu	Sinasina Yonggomugl	5000	38,015
Central	Rigo	4000	39,476
Morobe	Huon Gulf	3400	59,523
Western Highlands	Hagen	3000	86,951
Autonomous Region of Bougainville	North Bougainville	1500	73,091
Milne Bay	Alotau	1000	74,644
West New Britain	Talasea	700	128,792
Western	Middle Fly	700	55,853
Oro	Sohe	600	65,090
East Sepik	Wewak	600	63,965
New Ireland	Kavieng	500	53,421
Sandaun	Vanimo-Green	400	50,751
Madang	Sumkar	300	67,052
Manus	Manus	300	43,387
Eastern Highlands	Goroka	150	71,870
Total		22,150	971,881

Background information about the main economic activities and services available in each survey site is provided in Table 3. The diversity described in Table 3 means that the views of adults and youth, men and women, in this report have been collected from a wide range of situations that define the diversity that Papua New Guineans currently experience.

**Table 3: Location and main economic activity for each site.\***

\*The names of the villages are withheld. Survey sites are referred to by the name of the district in which the village is located.

Province	Summary Information
East Sepik	<b>Wewak settlement</b> is peri-urban located within the vicinity of the Wewak provincial town. There are clans in the community who are landowners of customary land on which <b>SS Tuna cannery facilities</b> are built as well as the land upon which Wewak township is built. The SS Tuna company is meant to provide employment to landowners from Wewak community and other spin off businesses.
Sandaun	<b>Vanimo Green village</b> is located outside 30km outside of Vanimo town and clans in the community have been part of various <b>large scale logging projects</b> for over 40 years. Its location next to the PNG-West Papua border enables access to the <i>bata</i> markets across the border. The community has no access to basic services- electricity, water supply, health and educational facilities. Its main support is through the church.
Madang	<b>Sumkar village</b> is located within the vicinity of the <b>RD Tuna fish factory</b> operations and is 25km outside of Madang town. The fisheries project has been in operation for almost over 14 years and the community is meant benefit from the operations of the fisheries factory in terms of employment and spin-off business. The community receives little benefit and there are no basic services reaching the people at all.

<sup>3</sup> The National Research Institute, *Papua New Guinea District and Provincial Profiles*, March 2010

Province	Summary Information
<b>Morobe</b>	<b>Huon Gulf village</b> is about 24km out of Lae city. The villagers live primarily on <b>subsistence farming</b> and selling at the road-side market along the Lae-Nadzab Highway. This highway is also the major national road linking Lae, Madang and the Highlands provinces.
<b>Western Highlands</b>	<b>Hagen village</b> is located 5km out of Mt Hagen town. The people live mainly on intensive <b>agriculture produce farming</b> , mainly sweet potato. It is one of the suppliers of Mt Hagen town market.
<b>Eastern Highlands</b>	<b>Goroka village</b> is peri-urban located within the Goroka township and families own <b>coffee plantations</b> as well having come through a history of owning shares in businesses in Goroka (mainly coffee). Families have access to services such as water supply and electricity and more families now live on home rental income.
<b>Simbu</b>	<b>Sinasina village</b> is rural, located along the main Highlands Highway linking all highlands centres to Lae and Madang. One of the main benefits is the road compensation payments which some families have been able to collect. The main activities involve integrated agricultural, families have their own <b>coffee and vegetable plots</b> and coffee is one main income-generating activity. Kundiawa town is 7km away. An initiative of some headmasters of high schools in Kundiawa has parents selling bags of cabbage and vegetables to schools to pay off school fees for their children.
<b>Autonomous Region of Bougainville</b>	<b>North Bougainville village</b> is located 5km out of North Bougainville town. Families rely heavily on <b>cash crops- copra and cocoa</b> apart from gardening and fishing and have managed to work with PNG Power Ltd to bring electricity supply into the community. North Bougainville village is traditionally a matrilineal society and is one community where females do hold leadership positions of chieftaincy.
<b>Manus</b>	<b>Manus village</b> is a large Manus well-to-do community known for its educated and qualified elites, with majority of families relying on <b>remittances as form of income, and fishing projects</b> . The village is situated along the Lorengau-Momote highway and is linked by the main road link, enabling some basic services into the community. It is about 30 minutes' drive from the main provincial town, Lorengau.
<b>New Ireland</b>	<b>Kavieng village</b> is within the vicinity of Mangai Secondary (now Agricultural training) School and is located along the Buluminski highway connecting southern New Ireland to the provincial headquarters. It is 2km outside Kavieng, the provincial town. There are no basic services in the community however, people travel to both Kavieng and Catholic church hospital in Lemakot for treatment. PNGSDP assisted and installed the village water supply with taps placed in certain sections of the community. Families benefit through <b>oil palm agricultural activities</b> (block holder benefits and employment) and other families own and maintain cocoa and copra plantations. The province is seen to benefit from tourism, diving and surfing attractions and activities.
<b>West New Britain</b>	<b>Talasea community</b> is peri-urban. This community is situated within the township of Kimbe and is 5km away from the main town area (government offices and CBD, benefits from services being near Kimbe town such as electricity and water. Families benefit through individual <b>family oil palm blocks</b> , while others have leased out land for <b>oil palm agricultural activity</b> by NBPOL and employment with the company. NBPOL has specific arrangements for women under the Mama Lusfruit package meant to enable women and children only a means of earning income. Other families own and maintain cocoa and copra plots apart from gardening and fishing.

Province	Summary Information
<b>Oro</b>	<b>Sohe Settlement</b> community has families who own blocks of land which have been converted their lands into <b>oil palm blocks</b> ; some families had moved here due to employment with Ambogo Somil and Higaturu Oilpalm Mill (and NBPOL) and plantation. These operations have been in the area for over 30 years. Part of its population had homes and property destroyed by cyclone Guba (2007) and the community has not recovered despite restoration funds and assistance through the Northern Province Restoration Authority.
<b>Milne Bay</b>	<b>Alotau community</b> is about 20km from Alotau town. Some of the clans in Alotau community are involved in <b>village oil palm schemes</b> and the Milne Bay Oil palm development project provides employment and other income generating opportunities to the community, apart from copra, gardening and fishing. The community is traditionally a matrilineal society.
<b>Central</b>	<b>Rigo village</b> is a Motuan village located 75km outside Port Moresby city with large number of its population working in formal jobs in Port Moresby. Families rely on <b>subsistence fishing and gardening</b> apart from <b>remittance income</b> from employed family members. It is considered a well-off village due to a large number of its educated and qualified elite who send remittances to families.
<b>Western Province</b>	<b>Middle Fly village</b> is peri-urban located close to Kiunga town, its people are the original owners of the land upon which the township is built. The people rely on the <b>employment benefits and spin off businesses out of the Ok Tedi mining operation</b> and now gas exploration-related work. Since the Community Mine Continuation Agreements (2001 and 2007) families now receive annual compensation payment under the CMCA compensation payouts stemming from the river pollution by OK Tedi Mine operations. Women and youth benefits include specific 10% CMCA allocation. Access to basic services- electricity, water and health- it being within the project impact area of the mine.
<b>National Capital District</b> <b>URBAN</b>	<b>NCD community</b> is the only urban study site within the vicinity of both the University of Papua New Guinea and Institute of Public Administration. The community is well established with services with the majority of the families owning homes, with high income, and government and private sector employment.

### Major events that greatly affected economic opportunities

Eight communities suffered from natural disasters which had brought devastation to their livelihoods, affecting everyone. Cyclone Guba in Oro Province in 2007, destroyed vital infrastructure, homes and gardens, and many still live away from their homes. Major flooding in Morobe in 2001, king tides in 2008 in Kavieng, and in West New Britain and Simbu climate change caused problems. In the Western Highlands province, the key informant described the multiple disasters that were experienced:

*“In 2003, the potato disease wiped out potato farms in the area. Sugar canes were another cash crop that was affected by some disease. Sweet potato, the staple cash crop and food was affected by another disease.... There was hail storm that badly destroyed farms and all our gardens... Everyone was affected by these events. None of us got any assistance from the government. We had to sweat on our guts to get back on our feet” (Woman, Community leader, Hagen).*



Huon Gulf area was also affected by a betel nut tree disease. Pollution of river and water sources were cited as major factors near mineral extraction project areas affecting the livelihood of the people Middle-Fly District, as was oil palm production in Alotau District.

In other locations, they frequently mentioned the rising cost of store goods and services as a major factor affecting economic opportunities over the last ten years. People are struggling to survive and to pay school fees:

*“Yes, mipla feelim. Ol man meri kisim taim. Extended famli bikpla stret wankain olsem lon taun. Moni go lon school fees.”* (Yes, we are all struggling. Extended families are large in size like in town. Money is spent on school fees) (Adult male, Sumkar).

Sellers said they cannot afford to transport produce to market. The decline in commodity prices for copra and vanilla affected income in Wewak.

Ten years ago in 2002, the Bougainville Peace Agreement was signed and normalcy slowly returned to the island Province. The North Bougainville District respondents said that at that time, the low commodity prices, and the increase in price of store goods, had affected the lives and reduced economic opportunities for about half the residents.

*“Except for copra prices that affected people in this community, the global crisis had not really affected people in this village. People are self-sustaining and do not rely heavily on food/fuel to survive. However, business increased prices in store goods and that affected people here.”* (Female adult, Women’s leader, North Bougainville)

*“The high school project brought employment and income to families here. The Hatakui Development Plan is working as seen through provision of electricity into the community and people’s lives have changed greatly with this.”* (Male, Chief, North Bougainville)

Across the country, new major projects implementation such as logging, mining, palm oil, fishing, building of a high school, and water supply and electricity projects created benefits for people those living in the area. Some have found jobs and improved access to services; and landowners received royalties. However, several villages said that they had not experienced any benefits from the resource projects, citing the forestry project in Sandaun Province, and with the RD Tuna Cannery in Madang.

Village communities are highly vulnerable to natural disasters, as well as the rising cost of goods and services. Many people’s livelihoods have been greatly affected by crippling events over the past ten years in the survey communities. Despite these circumstances, seven communities were rated as being more prosperous now than ten years ago. No change was reported for four communities, and four were said to be less prosperous now than ten years ago.

Most informants did not perceive their communities as being poor, no matter how they defined that word. Only four communities were reported to have 75%-100% as poor in their community, the remainder of villages saw the share of poor people in the village being below 30%.

### **Availability of work**

Ten years ago, the majority of these communities rarely had women who worked for pay; now, most of the communities surveyed reported that ‘some’ women currently work for pay. Many of these jobs were unskilled, menial work on farms, factories and in offices. For most communities women found it

difficult to find a private sector job, and for only four communities it was possible to gain private sector employment with help from friends.

The informants rated it as being difficult for men to find work in seven of the fifteen communities. Three communities are located near major resource projects, but the men still experience difficulties getting jobs in the private sector. Those communities located near a large urban centre had some opportunity to work with businesses, including security companies and as tradesmen.

It appears that it is slightly easier for women to find work with the government currently, both compared to ten years ago and compared to the private sector. Ten years ago, eight communities reported that it was difficult for women to find work with government, but now only five found it difficult. Whereas for men, it appears it was easier for men to find work in the private sector than with government. Ten years ago, 9 communities reported it was difficult to find work with the government, but now this has reduced to only 7 communities. Ten years ago, 10 communities reported it was difficult for men to find private sector work in the local area, but now only 5 communities found it difficult to find private sector work.

In all sites, girls spend more time on secondary activities than males, and in all rural sites, they spend significantly more time on household and related chores than males. Often, girls start their daily chores with household tasks as early as 5am, and work until late evening, beginning from a very young age. When not doing household chores, they are helping their mother with the gardening, selling produce at the markets or minding their younger siblings.

Male youth spent time cleaning family cash crop gardens in the smallholder oil palm and cocoa blocks, going to the store, they volunteered to carry out community cleaning cutting grass, build houses, and make gardens for families and community members. Some were paid in kind for this work, usually with food. Boys generally work to help parents around the home cutting firewood, go fishing, or serving in the family canteen that sold basic items. Importantly, males generally have much more free time available than the female youth. Young men said they spent their free time (late morning and after 3 pm onwards) diving and fishing, playing sports, and attending church activities. They also said they 'raun' (going around to places including town), talk to their girlfriend, dance, play cards, and if there is money to buy smoke and drink beer, 'malolo' (resting), eating, listen to music.

## Access to Services

Almost all rural villages surveyed, had access to information through multiple sources including national newspapers, television, radio and, in a few locations, community notice boards. Most of them have had access to these since ten years ago. However, it was uncertain how many owned a radio, TV or bought newspapers. Nine of the fifteen rural villages reported that most people in their communities had cell phones, which they did not have ten years ago. No village in the sample was reported to be without cell phones. It is not known what source of energy is used to charge cell phones, seeing that the majority did not have electricity (apart from finding an energy source in town).

The majority, 13 out of 15 communities, had an elementary school in their community. Six of the 13 villages did not have the elementary school, ten years ago. In most communities, children are willing to travel a fair way (up to 10 kilometres) to attend primary school, if their parents can afford to pay for school fees and transport. More than half the number of the rural survey sites had less than half or few/no children attending secondary school.

The profile of the participants in the rural youth category is presented in Annex Table 4. Much more female youth (48%) had reached grades 10-12 than the male youth participants (35.5%), which is a significant difference. Girls are staying longer in school, and performing better than boys in terms of completing Grades 11 and 12. More boys went to tertiary education than girls.

Nine of the fifteen communities had a health service in the community where they lived. Compared to what they had ten years ago, there has been slow progress; while five sites received a new health service, three locations had lost a health service that they previously had access to.

Six out of fifteen villages currently were benefiting from an agricultural extension programme and only five communities had access to a vocational training centre.

The majority of villages do not have access to piped water and sanitation facilities. Eight of the fifteen villages had no access to piped water in the villages and three villages had very few households with access to piped water. Mainly women and young girls fetch water from nearby sources, usually 5-15 minutes' walk from the village, collected at least twice a day. However, there are communities that must travel long distances to collect water. In Talasea, they walk 1-2 kilometres, taking about 30 minutes each way, and for the village in Alotau District the clean water source was five kilometres away. Females adults were particularly unhappy about poor access to safe drinking water:

*"I am not very happy because our drinking water is far away from our village. We had to climb hills to get water and our husbands also don't help us carry our bags, our gardens are far away."*  
(Female adult, Hagen District).

Another problem was cited in the palm oil areas, with women who complained about lack of safe drinking water; as there was no piped water they used the creeks and rivers which were polluted, and they saw this caused sickness and skin problems.

The supply of electricity is enjoyed only by a few villages. Eleven of the fifteen rural villages had little or no access to electricity. Few in Talasea, Hagen, Wewak and Sinasina villages had access, and communities in Alotau, Huon Gulf, Sohe, Kavieng, Vanimo Green and Sumkar had no electricity at all.

Markets that were easily accessible, in a central location, and with good prices, attracted both buyers and sellers. They saw that when control measures were enforced, such as stopping road-side markets in Sumkar, and having good control over the safety of the market, such as in Goroka, these helped the designated markets to become more active.

## Social Information

Eleven of the fifteen villages rated it as 'very likely' that people would cooperate to try to solve a water supply problem in their village. Two villages said it was 'most likely' that the people would collaborate to solve the problem. However, the level of participation by the residents varied greatly from 20% to 100% attendance by residents. In the past year, all communities reported that they had organised meetings of residents to discuss community issues. The responses show that ten years ago the level of participation by women was the same if not higher percentages than currently – participation had been reduced by 10 to 30% among the rural villages. In the urban community the level of participation by women in these residential meetings, had slightly increased from 1% to 4%.

The most commonly mentioned type of group was ethnic-based, which numbered a total of 72 across the fifteen rural sites. The high number mainly reflects the inter-marriage among different ethnic

groups, and some settlers from outside. The other villages said there were only one or two ethnic groups. People at the village level are focused on social activities and seek social support, first from their ethnic groups. It appeared that those communities which had a high number of ethnic groups also had a large number of sport/youth groups.

Second highest number of groups, were religious groups, where the number in each community varied a lot. Almost all communities currently have one church group or a number of denominations established in their rural villages. The only survey site that did not have a church ten years ago was in the Wewak settlement. The bulk of villages had two or three religious groups operating in their villages. A handful of communities had 6-7 different religious groups in their community. Sinasina reported 11 church groups among a population of 5000. Middle Fly village had the largest number of 12 religious groups in their community, with a much smaller population of around 700 people.

Ten of the fifteen communities did not have any form of social assistance programs available for poor people in the community. In a handful of communities, church groups mainly run by women, provide assistance to help the elderly, disabled, widows, the sick and the poor in their village and sometimes in neighbouring villages.

Sport and youth groups ranked third highest. There is very little mobilisation around economic and financial resources or activities. This may be due to low education levels, and no extension services available. People do not see that they would benefit from organising themselves into political type groups; this was the least common group type, inferring that political parties do not have village based membership.

The groups cited as the most “important” and active in the community were frequently women’s groups, usually church-based women’s fellowship groups or Mother’s Unions. Three villages listed community development type organisations; one identified an incorporated land group (ILG) as being most important. Most of the identified organisations interacted on a regular basis outside the community and did not receive funding from government, although some did from private sources.

When asked the question, “do people get along in the community”, eight reported having “some tensions” and one as having “a lot of tension”. Six communities said that they “get along very well”. The two main sources of tension within the survey communities were firstly, alcohol and drug related problems, and secondly, tensions and fights attributed to land disputes.

Eight villages identified alcohol, homebrew, marijuana consumption by youths, who “drink and fight” amongst themselves. However, it was reported that drunken youths are also a threat to women and girls in the community, with problems especially caused by outsiders who came to settle in their village.

Six of the fifteen communities mentioned land disputes between families, inter-clans and others in the community. Leadership provided by the village chiefs, elders, as well as women leaders, was pointed out as a key to managing tensions and preventing violence at the community level or conflict with other communities in the area.

The other type of land issues related to land shortages and or landlessness by the residents, particularly in settlement areas within oil palm estates and those residing in areas bordering urban centres. When there is no land to grow produce for consumption or for sale, combined with unemployment, and hence no food, this was seen to lead to domestic violence within the home, to make gardens on other people’s land, or to pressure authorities for land or compensation.

Many cultural and social changes were mentioned. In the past, people in the community worked together cooperatively to build houses, make gardens, and help each other solve problems. Now people worked more on their own, and worked harder producing larger subsistence gardens, growing crops and fishing to sell produce at the market. Even coming together for community work days was not as frequent as before.

Previously, people followed cultural practices, traditions, methods now no longer applied were: traditional dancing and dress, spacing of children, respect for parents, supportive relations between brothers and sisters. The youth said they used to follow their parents to the garden, but now they don't obey their parents and do their own thing. In the past, young men spent time with their fathers performing the roles that men do<sup>4</sup>, including warfare, and initiation of boys. This is not the case now; male adults frequently mentioned as a major change was the consumption of alcohol, illicit drugs, smoking, 'partying' and gambling, especially by young men, but women also did these things now. While girls continue to work alongside their mothers, boys no longer spend most of their time with their fathers but with their peers.

### Political representation

Almost all communities had an elected village leader who was usually a local counsellor. None of the villages surveyed had someone who was or had been a member of parliament. Three of the communities that now had a representative, did not have an elected leader ten years ago. It was reported that many villages have women representatives at the Ward level, and on the Village Planning Committee. There are some women on the Local Level Government Council, although these tend to be nominee positions set aside for women. Outside of local government, village women held positions on the law and order committee in the Sohe village, in the Village Court, and on school boards in the Alotau village. The informants mentioned that few women were being appointed to senior provincial government positions and NGO positions, except in East Sepik and the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, however, none of the women from their communities were on these bodies.

Some youth complained that they were not actively involved in decision-making in the community:

*"The community to re-organise itself; this is the change I'd like to see. All youths- both male and female, to be involved more in decision making, having a say in community issues and decisions over development taking place in the community; their views considered and elders give us responsibilities in decision making. Elders are not doing this at the moment."* (North Bougainville male youth)

### Community safety

The majority, 57% of adult female respondents said that they felt very safe ten years ago; now, only 22% of the same group felt very safe (See Charts 1, 2, 3 and 4, and Annex Table 5B). The bulk of women (48%) now feel safe and report there are only minor crimes once in a while in their community. Eight

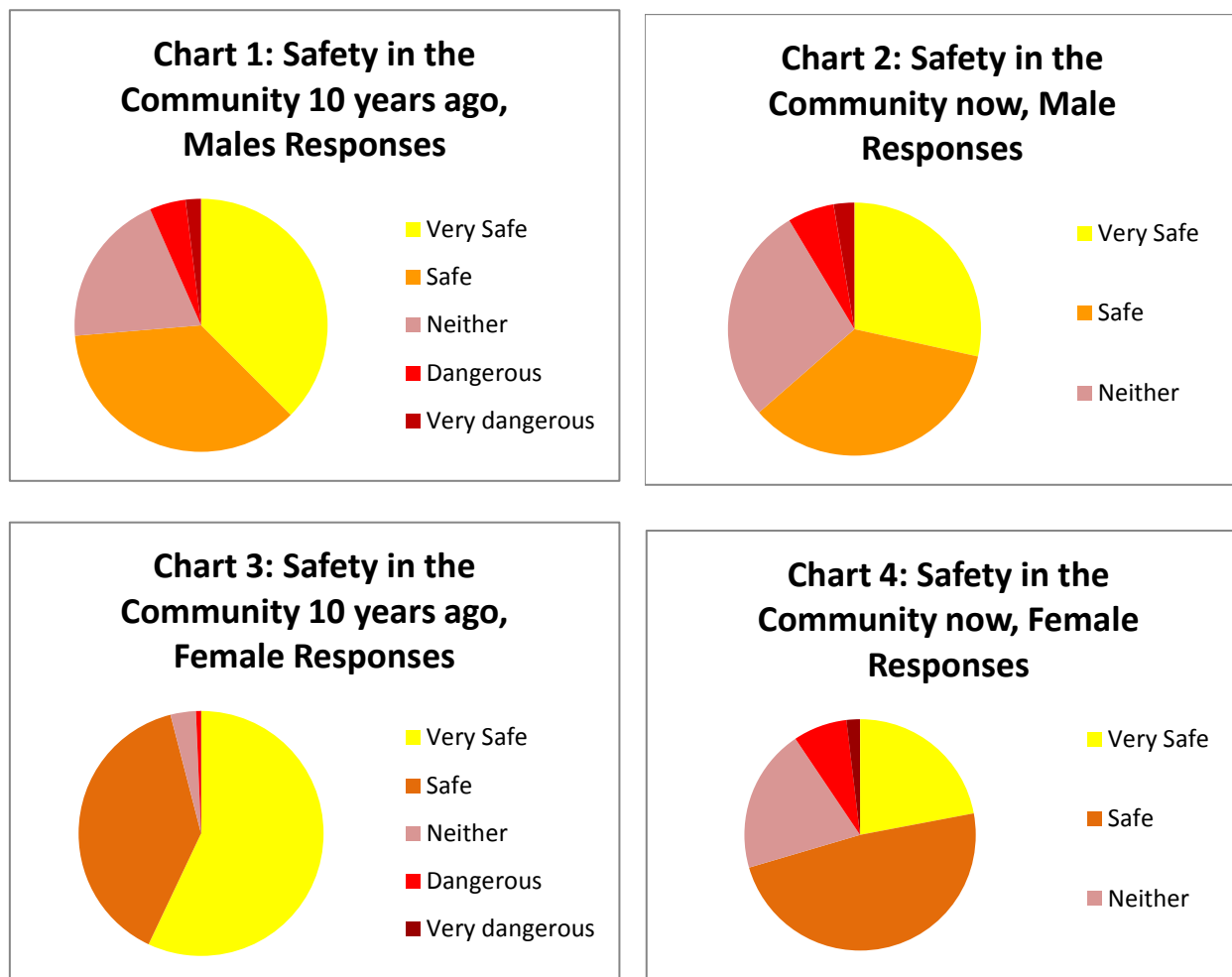
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<sup>4</sup> "A man clears the land for cultivation, plants some crops (especially those with ritual significance), hunts and fishes (producing the most scarce and highly valued foods), builds houses and fences, and defends his family and village or makes war (in some parts of the country). Men are responsible for the religious and political spheres, including the ceremonial and political economy associated with kin-group property, bride prices, competitive inter-group gift-giving, funerary contributions and compensation payments for the resolution of disputes. In the past (less commonly today), boys were ritually initiated into the world of men, a kind of rebirth." (Papua New Guinea 2011-2012 Country Gender Assessment, p. 7)



per cent of women rated their community as being now 'very dangerous' with frequent thefts and assaults at all times of the day, compared to 1% ten years ago. A lower proportion of men, 5%, said that their communities were dangerous years ten ago with a slight increase to 6% saying this is true today.

Across both men and women, 2% rated their communities as being 'very dangerous' now, whereas less than 1% say the same was true ten years ago.



**\*Note on Charts 1-4:** On a scale of one to five, with one being a very safe community and five a very dangerous one with frequent thefts and assaults, how would you rate the safety of this community?

1. Very safe - This community is very safe with no crime and people can leave their doors open
2. Safe - This community is safe with only minor crimes once in a while
3. Neither - This community is neither dangerous nor safe with some thefts and assaults on a regular basis
4. Dangerous - This community is dangerous with many thefts and assaults
5. Very dangerous - This community is very dangerous with frequent thefts and assaults at all times of day

Both men and women feel the last ten years have brought a change such that their community is no longer "very safe", defined as a situation where there is no crime and they could leave their doors open. For women there was a 35% reduction, which is a substantial change; for men, there was a 10% reduction in rating their community as being very safe as compared to ten years ago.

Men and women held similar views for their communities as now being dangerous, 8% for women and 6% for men, especially in the Sohe and Goroka District communities. However, there was a significant increase in the proportion of females rating it now as being more dangerous compared to ten years ago.

The two communities that were ‘not very happy’ were in Sohe District and Wewak District, which are both settlement communities (see Annex Table 11). They reported the causes of their unhappiness being problems with disaffected unemployed youth, social problems related to consumption of alcohol and drugs, presence of sex workers, struggle to survive with the high cost of living, landlessness and having to work harder. In the Middle Fly District, despite being pretty happy due to receiving regular payment from the mining body, they mentioned that many youth were dying and feared that this was due to sorcery.

## POWER AND FREEDOM

This section tackles questions about autonomy, that is the capacity to manipulate one’s personal environment, and views on movement on the steps of the ladder of power and freedom (LOPF).

### Steps on the ladder of power and freedom (LOPF) <sup>5</sup>

Analysis was done on selected survey sites and presented in this section draws upon the LOPF information from the communities in all the survey sites (see Annex Table 9).

#### Top Step – Land owners, wealthy, decision makers, distributors

The women and men composing the top levels of the LOPF created by each community had similar characteristics: 1) they were wealthy, owning land and resources; 2) they were decision-makers; 3) they distributed their wealth and assisted others. Of all these characteristics, land ownership including resources, gardens and property — the accumulation of wealth and the ability to share and assist others — was the ultimate indicator of their placement on this rung of the ladder.

The value given to land and property ownership, and the ability to share and help others, are qualities that give a man or a woman status, respect and power in Papua New Guinea. An uneducated person, or someone who has lost their job, can still maintain their position as being powerful and having status on the top step as long as they have land and cash crop plantations/gardens (adult males, North Bougainville). In many of the communities it was emphasised that a man is expected to share his wealth with everyone.

*“He has great freedom, as he is respected by the community and he shares his wealth with the community during feasts, ceremonies and gatherings”* (Male adults, Wewak).

For a person at the top to maintain his or her status, he or she must share.

*“While chiefs may not fall or rise, they are expected to share their wealth”* (Female adults, North Bougainville).

<sup>5</sup> The Ladder of Power and Freedom (LOPF) is a tool used to explore with adult men and women the differences in power and freedom, and factors that shape this, including household composition and cooperation, education, occupation, and control over and accumulation of assets. The top step is for the women/men who live in the community who have the most power and who enjoy the most freedom; the bottom step is for women/men in their community who have the least power and the least freedom. The exercise maps out the qualities of women/men in this community who are on the bottom step of the Ladder of Power and Freedom, exploring what their life is like at each step and how a woman/man can move up the Ladder and acquire more power and freedom in their life.

This was the same view held also in the urban community,

*“Chiefs must help those below them; give to the community time and resources to help. The educated elite must give donations, help the youths get work in community projects and a chief’s wife must help, serve and lead.”* (NCD female adult)

The North Bougainville men agree that a greedy person, one who keeps money/possessions to himself, will fall to a lower rung on the ladder, losing respect and status.

Wealth gives men and women power to strengthen relationships within their communities and with others, hence building their reputation and status. Wealth is also valued because it gives people the mobility to move around and do what they want. Wealth entails those things which are productive assets and can be exchanged or given as donations or gifts, such as cash, land, cash crops, pigs and other livestock, garden produce, building materials, traditional valuables, transportation and labour.

As for men, male adults in Huon Gulf said men at the top level were leaders and decision makers who had authority looking after the community as chiefs or ‘big-men’, involved in community government, recognising female chiefs as well in matrilineal societies. In the Wewak community, men place at the top of the ladder clan leaders, educated professionals, businessmen and politicians. *Kandres* are also at the top of the ladder. *Kandres* and clan leaders are men with land, power and rights to make decisions over land and property. Huon Gulf adult males spoke of power and freedom as ‘*people who have all the things, land, resources, money or have solid backgrounds*’, and of ‘*leaders and leading people and looking after the community*’. Similarly, at the top for those in the urban community, are highly qualified professions or ‘top-shots’, executives, public servants and women and men holding positions, such as presidents or chairpersons of organizations.

Women are necessary to help men rise to the top of the ladder, performing as supportive wives. The wife not only gardens to provide for the family members, but grows and harvests extra produce for distribution for specific community occasions and obligations, as well as to sell to generate some income.

To the adult males, education is not a key factor.

*“A man has to be a hard worker, have a supportive and hardworking wife and wealth to stay at the top. Public status is important- he is Christian, has leadership qualities and avoids excessiveness in vices such as alcohol, womanising and having extra-marital affairs.”* (Adult male, Alotau).

A woman can have power when she has money and pigs, and with this she can have freedom to speak publically, both which were not done before by women.

*“Man and husband gives liberty to wife to speak; Money and pigs; can stand her grounds and speak for all.”* (Goroka female adults)

*“Women in this position have authority and freedom to move and spend, have great strength, power to speak and lead; yes [it was good for women to have power], women with this speak and men listen!”* (NCD female adults)

For a woman to be at the top step, many women said that it is those who have university education, and also businesswomen. She is seen as a hard worker and has the support of her husband. Women leaders, businesswomen, teachers, accountants, and subsistence farmers are some of the women found

at the top of the ladder. These are women who are honest, hardworking and are community oriented. They may be highly educated, including having tertiary level education as well as having traditional education and wisdom. Women said that the top of the ladder is reserved for a powerful but kind and generous woman.

*“Ol mama go pas lon lotu; ol meri gat university education, ol bisnis meri; money making women.”* (These women go to church; they have university education; they are business women; money making women) (Sohe female adult)

Women often made reference to the material possessions that a woman has can determine her place on the ladder. If one had a permanent house, store, car, PMV, and more money, then they were women with power and freedom. If one lived in a semi-permanent house, or thatched roof, then they were at lower steps of the ladder.

In order to maintain status at the top of the ladder:

*“Chiefs must help those below them. The chief’s wife must maintain her position in the community- helping and serving and leading. If she does not do her part, she will die from poisoning (sorcery); The chief will not lose his position regardless of whether he makes wise and fair/good decisions or performs.”* (North Bougainville female adult)

Wealth, which women have generated themselves or inherited, gives women the ability and freedom to do things on their own with *“no-one controlling their life”* (female adults, Huon Gulf). The respect that women have earned in the community gives them power through influence, and possibly enables them to be placed in decision making roles in the family, the community and other arenas.

*“Working women; people both in and out of Manus; even 18-25 years old youths who contribute productively, Married couples, and single women who contribute to the development of the community.”* (Manus female adult)

As in most sites, women in the NCD community place educated women and professionals at the top of the ladder. Men in NCD community place property owners, leaders, councillors and professional men at the top of their ladder.

Freedom comes with power, however in Sinasina village the adult males view those at the top level of the ladder having less freedom. In explanation, they say, men at the top will worry about their wealth and material goods and have less friends and freedoms as they will worry about sharing their wealth or having it stolen. Women also pointed out that their freedom to move about freely or engage in certain kinds of businesses was restricted because of the threat of being robbed, or raped.

### Bottom Step – No wealth, no decision-making power, unskilled

Adults from all study communities described women and men at the bottom level of the LOPF as lacking everything that those on the top step had: wealth, decision-making capacity, education, skills and jobs.

*“At the bottom of the ladder, one finds, widows, landless people, people who do not know how to fish and parents of disabled people.”* And, *“At the bottom of the ladder, one is either uneducated or has little education, dropping out of Grade 6.”* (Adults, North Bougainville)

*“At the bottom of the ladder, are the handicapped, the unemployed and uneducated, single mothers, widows, deserted wives and generally poor women.”* (Adults, Wewak)

*“At the bottom of the women's ladder of power and freedom, are poor, unemployed, uneducated, single mothers, divorced and deserted wives. At the bottom of the men's ladder of power and freedom, are street vendors, unemployed relatives living off relatives, illiterates, and thieves.”* (NCD adults)

*“The man at the bottom of the ladder is lazy and the least productive member of the family. He deals with drugs, alcohol, maybe a thief and womanizer, and is generally, a trouble maker in the community.”* (Adults, Alotau)

Male and female adults from most of the communities said that the women at the bottom of the ladder are widows, single mothers, divorced and deserted wives. The lowest levels consist of lazy men, fatherless children, drunks and unemployed, wives of drunks, landless and poor people and promiscuous women.

This means that when women are completely dependent on their husbands for income, and when men die or depart from the home, or even when he moves to the bottom of the LOPF through unemployment, women's freedom and power changes from the top step to lower steps, unless she has another means of support, i.e. her own employment or business activities.

*“The woman at the bottom of the ladder has no power and freedom. She may be a deserted wife, a divorcee or abused woman and her husband makes all decisions regarding her income. She has limited education and has traditional knowledge and skills. She has land and can do gardening. She is unlikely to participate in community activities. She barely makes enough to survive and may or may not have a bank account.”* (Adults, Alotau)

The man at the bottom of the ladder may have little or no education, and is unskilled. Male adults emphasised that if one was lazy and do not have the skills for gardening, fishing or hunting and other abilities, they would find it hard to survive in the village and would not be able to generate income. Some pointed out that education was important but not essential:

*“...a person can have high educational qualifications but if he cannot work hard to make a living in the community, that is, if he is lazy, such a person can be found at the bottom of the ladder.”* (Adults, North Bougainville).

Having skills and working hard are seen as necessary to be productive in the community. Being unemployed, means that one does not have income, and if they do not own land, and no wealth being generated, reduces their decision-making power in the marriage or community. They lacked choices, the freedom to do what they want, and were dependent on others.

The women agreed that in order for those at the bottom to move up, they can ask for assistance from their families, as well as those at the top of the ladders, such as top-shots, the educated elites, leaders and chiefs, as well as when they receive training in new skills, and motivational empowerment workshops

## Movement along the LOPF

To capture the discussions of social mobility over the last ten years, the perceptions of participants was assessed and captured in Annex Table 9. The data reveals that overall there was more movement upwards for men in 12 village communities, while in 2 they largely stayed the same, and 5 (including Hagen) saw a larger proportion of men at the bottom step.

Men:



- There was movement upwards towards the top step, with a reduction in the proportion of men at the bottom step for 6 villages: Sinasina, Goroka, Hagen, Talasea, Vanimo Green, North Bougainville, Huon Gulf.
- Things had remained the same for Sohe and Kavieng communities in the share of men at each step, there was no movement.
- Movement down the ladder was perceived to have occurred in 5 communities since ten years ago for Wewak, Alotau, NCD, Rigo, and to some extent, Hagen.

Women:

- There was movement upwards towards the top step, with a reduction in proportion of women at the bottom step for 8 village sites: Sinasina, Sohe, Middle Fly, Sumkar, Vanimo Green, Rigo, Hagen, North Bougainville.
- There was a movement downwards, and/or increase in proportion of women at the bottom step, since ten years ago in 7 sites: Goroka, Talasea, Sumkar, Manus, NCD, Huon Gulf, and Alotau.
- Women in Kavieng and Wewak communities saw little or no movement up or down the ladder.

The proportion of men on the top step did not go higher than 25% over the ten year period. Whereas for women, there were very high proportions of women on the top step for Manus with 80% at the top step, and North Bougainville with 70% of women at the top step, followed by Goroka with 50% of women at the top step, reflecting that women would be experiencing a lot of power and freedom currently in these communities. Other communities ranged from 2% to 30% share among women at the top step.

This suggests that for men, there are a limited number of leadership positions available and perhaps power and wealth is controlled by a few, rather than shared with more men. Women's power seems to be measured differently from that of men. The emphasis for women is on their leadership roles, employment and income, not so much for the land and resources and redistribution of wealth, characteristics by which men are assessed by each other.

Overall, more survey communities have men to have moved up the ladder to the top step compared to women. A higher number of communities have a downward movement for women, than men. But where there was movement of women up the ladder, there was greater share of women able to make it to the top step, than men did, ten years ago and currently.

Cultural factors of each society can affect the extent to which a woman can move up the ladder or not.

*"Women have no power to make decision; we have customs that make us have no say at all."*  
(Vanimo Green female adult)

The factors that caused women's and men's movement up the LOPF were almost the same. Overall, power, wealth, community contribution and education are common features of social mobility for all males across all survey sites. Community contribution (actively giving, participating and leading and working), leadership responsibilities and some wealth enables women more upward social mobility. Some factors cause both men and women to move up and down; social standing that comes with wealth, leadership and contribution and giving to community, education, jobs and elections apply to both men and women.

Wealth and power feature frequently in the discussions amongst males; and loss of wealth (through mismanagement, death and bankruptcy) will bring a man down to lower levels to be an ordinary man. Loss of jobs, according to the males makes a man become an ordinary man but it also depends whether he gave generously when he had that job and wealth that came with the job. He can be a person with more power (social standing) despite losing his job in town once he returns to his village. [Sinagina, Madang and Talasea communities].

Despite the variety of qualities that a powerful woman has on this ladder, the women focused particularly upon the role of money and a good job in determining a woman's level of power. This became particularly apparent during the discussion surrounding percentages on the ladder today and ten years ago. The women agree unanimously that today, life is more difficult than it was ten years ago:

*"Ten years ago, the cost of education was reasonable, prices of goods were lower, a shop assistant would pay for her education out of her earnings."* (NCD female adults).

Women place greater emphasis on community contribution and cooperation by both women, husbands and children; in Rigo village, a woman can lose her standing or position because of lack of respect due to the activities of her children (who may be drunks or social miscreants). Education is important but not necessary amongst the women however those educated had to also have good community cooperation. Those women in violent relationships and not vocal can attend empowerment trainings or awareness programs, get counselling and be able to move up the ladder of power and freedom. Church features prominently amongst the women: women changing their '*pasin*' (ways) and living a godly life, can change prostitutes, and lazy '*maus-pas*' women. Changing to become a hard worker in the community will enable a lazy or illiterate person to get up to the next level.

Across all groups, failure in marriage can cause one to their status; likewise, polygamous marriages, marriage problems and divorce can cause the loss of position of power and freedom. A woman can lose her position at the death of her husband or in divorce. Widows and prostitutes are able to climb up to next level once they marry.

Widows and disabled persons across all groups are able to move up or down depending on marriage (for widows) and education and contribution to community (for the disabled). Youths can be found at the bottom of the ladder and only education and jobs or positions of leadership can make them move up the ladder. Sex workers and lazy uneducated people remain at the bottom of the ladder in the women's discussions, unless they change their attitudes - if the sex worker marries and no longer plies her trade and if the lazy person starts to make gardens, gains some skills and starts to earn a living and contribute to community activities.

After much discussion, the women agree that most people in NCD community today would be among the middle steps, and ten years ago more of them would have been among the middle steps and fewer on the bottom step. They further add that ten years ago, there was only one middle step, and that today, there was more differentiation among the middle steps, likely because of the huge increase in the number of people in NCD community over the last decade. The men were less focused on the role of money on their ladder, but certainly considered the type of job that a man had to be a determinant of his relative freedom and power. They, like the women, considered life to be harder today; they attributed much of this to the relative lack of jobs available to them. At the same time, however, there was a 15% increase in the percentage of people in the top step, from ten years ago; the men in the

group did not consider themselves to be among those who had risen up. They explained that in the past ten years, many new people had begun to move in; among them were the ‘top shots’ with good jobs.

### **Importance of networks**

Men consider their friends, acquaintances and neighbours more important in their lives than women do (See Annex Table 10A). The system of mutual obligation and reciprocal exchange remains a key feature in Papua New Guinea societies today and reciprocal relations and connections maintained in village life are central, and are both more cultivated by and more associated with men. Across the rural sites, everyone is related to each other and people’s neighbours are often kin or extended family. Individuals and families, when in need seek help from their families and friends, in instances of need (illness) and to assist in settling other obligations (marriage and death/funeral feasts). This support network of family/kin and friends is crucial for the highly priced practice of paying bride price, as well in times of other needs. This was reflected by people’s responses, with both women and men saying that friends, acquaintances and neighbours are very important. The most commonly used explanations are that these are a source of support or assistance during times of need, for example during deaths or feasts, highlighting that any such help would be reciprocated in time

The adult females in all of the rural communities related the importance of their friends and neighbours to the help and support one can get from another during times of need. Those in the urban community related the importance of friends and neighbours to the occasional large church gatherings. The time women and men have for friends depend on whether one has enough free time. Men and women do not have equal free time in any communities, and this may be a factor towards women’s ability to accumulate and maintain friendships. Women and men, generally, do not keep platonic relationships without risking sexual suspicion and jealousy. This can impede on a woman’s ability to participate in economic development. Even in rural settings, women’s networks are contained in women-only groups within family links.

The rating by male and female adults of networks was placed between ‘somewhat important’ and ‘not very important’ for the urban residential area, as well as for the Wewak and Sohe settlements (See Annex Table 10B). In Wewak village, where everyone is competing for scarce resources from the land and there is a heavy reliance on income made from these scarce resources, maintaining safety networks through sharing and receiving can be difficult. In Wewak, female youths say cooperation is very poor and personal relations are limited to individual families. Everybody struggles with no-one willing to help one another and people are seen as greedy. Those in advantageous positions do not help those in need. Furthermore, people’s reliance on money makes it impossible to share regularly. People in the community rarely pooled resources to support children’s education unlike other villages where extended family and some families in the community would help with school fees.

## **MARRIAGE AND CHILDREN**

### **What makes an ideal spouse?**

Participants generally described the traditional and assigned roles of women—a good wife was someone who was a good mother, looking after the husband children—as attributes of a good or ideal wife, both now and in the past. The next two qualities had equal count: that the wife respected her husband and was supportive of his roles, and that she understood and communicated well with him.

The other quality of almost equal importance was for a woman to share food with the neighbours, having a friendly manner and looking after in-laws.

*"Shares with community, is loving and caring woman. She is hard working, in the house, garden and community. She takes care of her family affairs, disciplines her children [women agreeing to this]." (Wewak adult female)*

*"Looks after the house, feeds the family, shows good relations with others, and works hard; She contributes to her family income. She balances her work with her family." (Talasea male adult)*

Following this, there was a widely held view that women or a wife was good when she contributes to family income through marketing or employment, and is one who is able to manage her time well given all the tasks she had to perform. About two-thirds of those who said that a good wife is one who contributes to family income, were men. This group of men were from the NCD, Rigo, Sohe, Alotau, North Bougainville, Mt Hagen, Vanimo Green and Sumkar communities.

*"She contributes to income, does most of the selling, husband works the land, she sells and holds the purse. She is expected to do all these tasks and maintain family." (Huon Gulf female adult)*

*"A good wife is a major contributor to family income." (Sumkar male adult)*

*"She contributes to the family income by bringing income to the family; she is regarded as good wife." (Vanimo Green male adult)*

If the woman is not a good wife, there will be aggressive reactions from the husband: verbal arguments, mostly the woman is beaten (according to 30% of responses given); the man may leave the home, divorce and find another wife. The family of the women may counsel her to improve, and sometimes she may be shunned by the members of the village.

*"Pasin ino gutpla bai man ipaitim so that meri mas senisim ol pasin na bikhet blo em." (If her ways are no good the man will fight her so that she must change her ways and not be a big head) (Sumkar female adult)*

The majority held view is that a good husband is one who provides for the family, respects the wife and family and takes care of the needs in the community. In the village, he is a good gardener, hunter, fisherman, who works on and protects the land.

*"Wokim garden, lukautim olgeta lain blo em tam emi wokim dispela, family bai laikim em." ([He] makes gardens; takes care of all his extended family; the family will like him for this) (Huon male adult)*

*"Meri respectim yu na family respectim papa; showim respect lon meri na famli, takes care of his wife and family and looks after family needs and extends this to the community; receives his fortnightly pay and gives it to his wife to take care of family needs; he has a vehicle and has plenty of money." (Talasea male adult)*

*"Man blo protectim giraun." (Men protect the land) (Goroka male adult)*

Men also expressed more often than women that a good husband was one who loves and respects his wife, including helping her with duties, and not beating her. Men also strongly said that they provided for their family but also saw to the needs of the community and performed the role as leader, decision-maker and protector. From the female adult point of view, she wants the husband to provide for the family, be hard working, secondly to love and respect her, and thirdly, to take care of their relatives and respect his in-laws. If the man is not a good husband, she can also react:

*"Man, wankaim samting ino gut lon meri, meri ken lusim man na go."* (When the husband does something that is no good to the woman, she can leave the man) (Sumkar male adult)

## Timing of marriage

One third of the responses given said that young people start having children between the ages 15 to 17 years old. With just over one third of responses said that most youth started families between 18 to 20 years of age, and a quarter said they started families between 21 to 25 years of age. Most youth thought that starting families should not start until mid-twenties. Youth stated that girls finish school and want to get pregnant, but they did not think that this was a good thing:

*"No, 25 years and upwards is OK. Em pikinini yia, em mas skul pastaim* (she is a child and she must concentrate in school)" (Youth, Alotau).

*"Mature pasin blo wok na gutpla famli ino stap. Skul na pisnim bifo marit."* (They must be mature to look after a family. They must finish their school/studies before marrying) (Youth, Vanimo Green).

## Marriage practice: Outcomes and possibility of changing

The higher number of responses (40%) said that marriages were no longer conducted in the same way as it was in the past; many now choose their own partners and live together without the parents' approval. When people live together this is recognized as marriage.

*"Customary marriages: Nogat Stret: Today, people just bring food and share with families but no longer pay bride price or the traditional exchange. Parents no longer choose their sons' brides."* (Wewak female youth).

A trend is developing where the young couple 'elope' and stay together without the permission of both families.

*"Stealim meri na kisim ol go lon ples blo man na bihai kam wanbel wantaim famli blo meri na meri save kamap."* (Young men steal the girl and take her to his village. Later he comes to reconcile with the girl's family, and then the girl's status is restored) (Sumkar female youth).

On the other hand, youth in the Highlands in Sinasina expressed that:

*"Live together- not good; young live together, nogat meaning lon side blo lotu; PNG emi Kristen country, tupla stap nogat meaning. Meri na relative expect things from the man. Taim nogut blo ol, ol lain blon meri bai inonap help; pressure from meri to man to pay and too, man igat heve lon family; family blo meri will not help bikos he has not paid bride price."* (For those who live together unmarried there is no meaning. This is a Christian country. The woman expects things from the man. If there is a problem the relatives will not help because the man has not paid bride price).

30% of responses said that they still practiced customary bride price and exchanges, wearing of marriage 'bilas' (clothes, decoration) and feasting. Some still require young women to prove that they are hard working women before marriage.

In Sinasina, they said that the customary requirements was to kill pigs, and pay bride price around K10,000. But a youth said that *"Kastom; planti samting blo papa na mama save waste."* (This is wasteful for the parents). (Sinasina male youth)

Young people expressed that they did not want customary marriage practices to continue, it was expensive, and it gave the 'right' to the man to do whatever he wanted with the woman. The majority of responses were in favour of getting married in the church, or by law. *"Paying bride price means, a husband can do whatever to the wife, if he wants to beat the wife, he can."* (NCD female youth).

However, some youth see it as important to be married properly and have many children: *"Men and women decide to have how many children, because distribution of the land is also important."* (all Youth, Alotau).

The youth in Rigo had a different view to the others when asked if they thought marriage practices should change: *"Yes, see it change in the future with rules, policies and laws; young girls getting married or pregnant; changes can be made through the village court and not the churches since churches are based on culture and won't be in a better position to make the law."*

### Family size and family planning

Highest number of respondents revealed that their mothers had between 6 to 10 children. Most (57%) of the youth desired to have 1 or 2 children only, and 31% preferred to have 3 or 4 children. Equal numbers said they preferred boys, girls or either sex. Youth preferred to have smaller number of children as it was expensive to pay for school fees, and the cost of living was too high, but most wanted to have at least two so that they could look after each other the parents die.

When asked what share of women in the community do they think use family planning services, 30% of responses were that many women use family planning services. The respondents in this category estimated that between 10% to 30% of women in their communities were using family planning; 20% said that most women do not use family planning in their community.

In addition, only 17% said that women decided on her own to use family planning and how many children she had. Some women are more assertive when deciding on number of children and could lead to a fight: *"Sapos meri itok nogat- pait kirap."* (If the woman says no, there will be a fight) (Talasea female youth).

However, 30% of respondents stated that men decided on how many children a women has and her use of family planning.

*"Husband is bossy so em tokim meri lon bihainim laik blo em so no control. Also no family planning school."* (The husband is bossy so he says the woman has to do what he wants, so the woman has no control. But there is no place to learn about family planning) (Vanimo Green male youth).

Some of the reasons given as to why women were not using family planning service was because of the side effects of the contraceptives used such as irregular periods (Kavieng female youth), and poor access to family planning service in a place like Vanimo-Green.

Reasons why they thought men controlled the use of family planning was because they are 'the boss', men paid bride price and had the right to decide (Rigo male youth). Respondents also feared that if their women used contraceptives they would sleep around with other men.



*"Man save tinting nogut lon meri bikos nogut meri kisim family planning na go mekim pasin pamuk."* (Men are suspicious that if his woman uses family planning she will have sex with others) (Sumkar female youth).

But a female youth from Talasea expressed her view saying *"Man ino save respectim meri. Lonlong man bai ino nap gat family planning."* (Men don't know how to respect women. Idiot men don't use family planning).

Men in the survey communities dominate women's decisions regarding use of family planning and number of children to have. There is need therefore to understand men's behaviour and beliefs towards fertility and family planning, as this is crucial for the design of family planning policies and programmes to involve men.

## Gender equality and domestic violence

Adult men and women both said that equality between men and women, especially within the marriage, is a good thing. Gender equality, to many adults, means reaching an understanding, sharing ideas together, solving problems and reaching an agreement. They acknowledge that this was not the case in the past when the ways of custom were strong and women did not have rights to speak, but that has changed and women have power. This view is illustrated by two different women who both reported the same opinions:

*"Bifo taim blo kastom, kastom tu em strong so meri save nogat rait lon toktaok but nau merit u em gat pawa"* (Before, when custom was strong women did not have the right to speak; but now women have the power to do so) (Vanimu-Green female adult).

*"Before, there was no equality between them. All men think that they boss, so meri doesn't have a lot of say. But now meri is starting to think and talk for their rights too."* (Goroka female adult)

The next most frequent group of mainly female responses was that gender equality means men and women are both capable of performing same roles and tasks. However it also means that men and women cooperate but do different things in family, which they both agree to:

*"It means men and women accepting changes- women can wear certain clothes, women can take part in sports; men do some household chores."* (North Bougainville female adult)

*"Insait lon marit- man na meri mas skelim pasin blo tupla ; man na meri mas skelim sindaun blo tupla"* (men and women must assess ways, roles and responsibilities within the marriage) (Sumkar female adult).

A significant number of men and women said that men were the boss, based on custom and how they interpret the Bible:

*"Meri mas still stap ananit lon man; em kastom blo mi na tu em stap em stap lon Bible olsem man mas lead."* (Women must submit to their husband; this is our custom as well as in the Bible. Men must lead) (Goroka male adult)

Overall, the responses from youth and adults reveal that 40% were aware of that domestic violence and wife bashing was against the law, and 5% mentioned hearing about the law against marital rape. 15 % said they were aware of children's rights and not to abuse children. The female adults in Manus even named the specific Acts and international conventions. Some 10% said they were aware of gender equality. One female youth respondent explained that she was aware that there were women's rights

but did not know what the specific laws were. (Goroka District). Only a few women mentioned awareness about human rights, those from North Bougainville and Middle Fly.

Men were aware of these laws as well. Some men understood that women now had rights and freedoms, and could participate in leadership and Parliament. Only the men mentioned the Family Law, especially awareness about having to provide maintenance if there is a divorce or separation. Young males in the NCD mentioned the most about awareness on gender based violence, followed by males from Talasea in West New Britain and from Sumkar in Madang.

Thirteen percent of respondents said they thought that domestic violence had decreased in recent years. Female adults from Manus, Sinasina, Mt Hagen and Vanimo-Green communities, as well as female youth from Huon, North Bougainville and Kavieng districts said that they think that domestic violence had decreased. Males from Vanimo-Green and Sinasina communities commented that they had observed a decline in wife beating and that men were scared to beat up their wives:

*"Bifo man paitim meri ino easy . Now ino tumas" (Before men hit women a lot. Now not so much) (Vanimo-Green male youth). "Yes, like violence against women, and child abuse, now, there is change. They give awareness to the community and on public notice boards." (Female adult, Middle Fly).*

*"Yes, after attending awareness programs on gender and violence, men gradually have stopped beating their wives in the villages, there are only arguments and verbal abuses nowadays. They go far away from the village, maybe in the gardens etc. and beat their wives if they are very angry with them but not in the villages. They feel ashamed to beat them in the village as a result of the awareness programs they have undergone. They know it is wrong to beat their wives and can be imprisoned for it." (Sinasina female adult)*

A female youth from Talasea stated that the campaign against wife beating had brought about a big change in her community and even some men were involved in advocating: *"Niupela lo lon 'Noken paitim meri' ikamapim bikpela senis inside lon kominiti. Ol sampela papa ol ihelpim lon advocate."* (The new law against domestic violence has brought about a lot of change in the community. Some fathers are helping to advocate)

Twenty-three percent said they were not aware of these laws or did not understand them. As one adult male explained, there is no understanding, plenty women still experience pain and [Women are] beaten *"Understanding ino kamap, Planti meri kisim pen. Paitim nating."* (Sumkar adult male).

A female youth pointed out that they were aware of the laws, but did not know how to take action. *"Sampela meri all save but oli ino save take action."* (Talasea)

Twenty-two percent of responses from youth said they had not seen any changes in their community as a result of these new laws. Female adults from Manus, Rigo and Goroka districts said there were no changes:

*"No changes even when these laws are in place to protect us" (Goroka female adult).*

Six percent of responses revealed the view that because of these laws women try to control their husbands. The male adults from Wewak, Sumkar and Goroka expressed dissatisfaction about the changes they see from the laws on gender equality with women talking strong to their husbands, being disrespectful, and being violent towards their husband.

*"We do understand that there are laws relating to rights of women but most of us do not take these seriously. As men, we are heads of the family. In the past, women and men did not know*

*these laws, and women respected husbands. Now, because of these laws, women try to control their husbands- which is not good.” (Wewak male adult)*

*“Sapos igat gutpla understanding then bai gat equality; Man bai sampla taim disagree lon wanem samting meri laik mekim; Sapos meri laik overtake the pait na koros bai kirap.” (If they have a good understanding then gender equality can be achieved. Men sometimes disagree with what women try to do. Supposing women want to dominate, then there will be a fight) (Vanimo Green female adult)*

Overall, there seems to be some awareness about the gender equality policies and related laws, and this is starting to change people’s views towards respecting women. There appears to be recognition that gender equality is a good thing; space is being created for a better understanding about what it means and reaching agreement about how it applies to a couple’s marriage.

In general, it can be seen from the survey responses that the three main triggers of domestic violence are: 1) poor economic conditions or financial difficulties – mismanagement of money, and no food in the home (either because there is no money to buy food, or man has spent money on other things); 2) marital conflict due to jealousy or adultery; and 3) the woman not being seen as a good wife, including not cooking food, or refusing sex. These three main reasons can all result in many different forms of violence, especially arguments and fighting with hands.

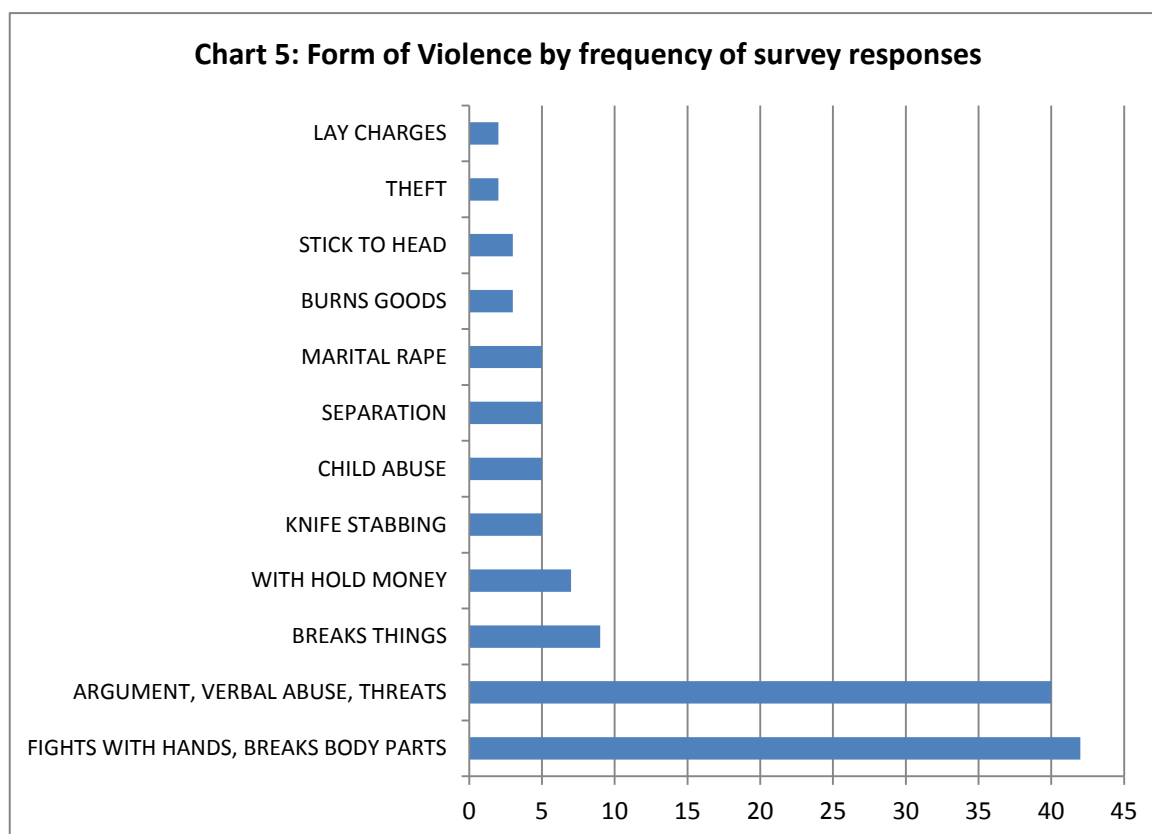


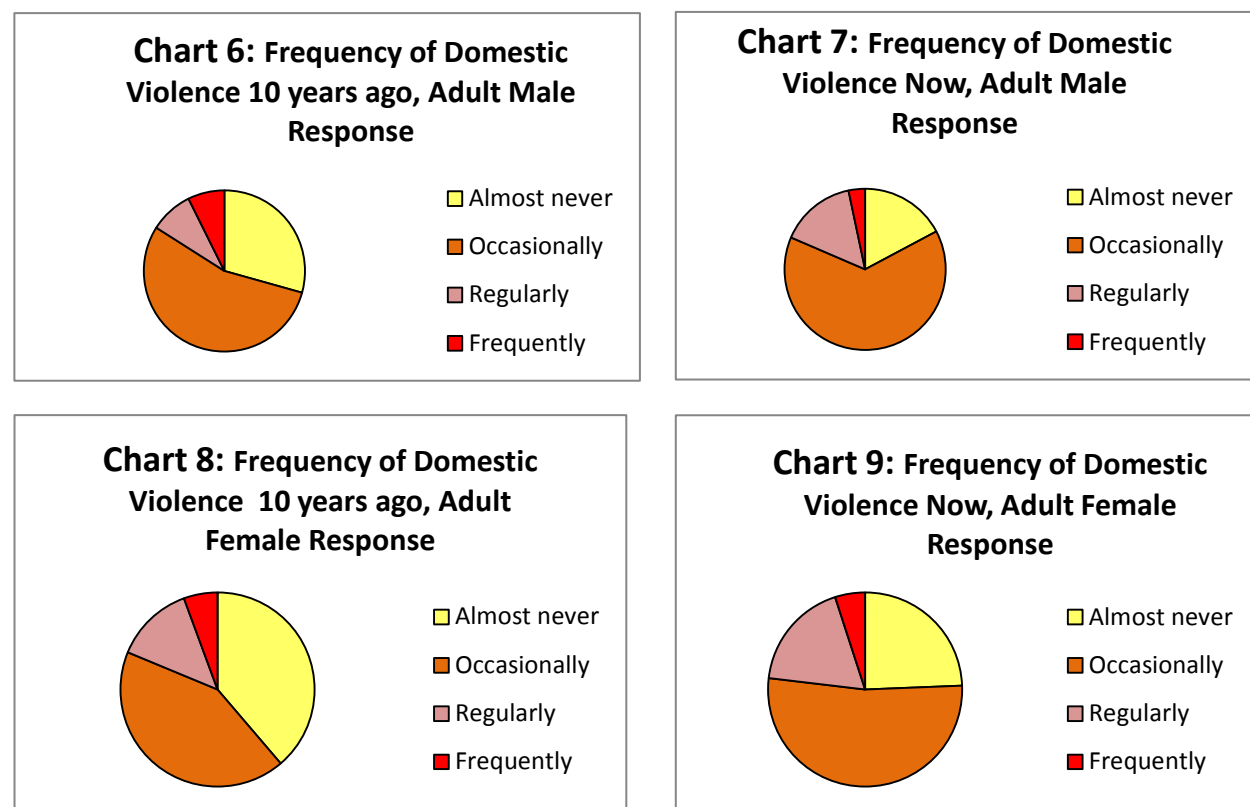
Chart 5 illustrates that the most common form of violence in the survey communities was people engaging in physical fights with hands, causing serious injury or broken limbs. The causes mentioned for receiving this form of violence ranged from misuse of money, no food available, refusing sex, adultery, and drunkenness. The second highest response related to verbal abuse, arguments, and threats often brought on by money problems and land pressure, adultery, not being a good wife or husband.

The third most common form mentioned was breaking of things in the home usually in response to no food in the house, misuse of money, jealousy or laziness by the woman. The fourth most mentioned

form of treatment was withholding money which mainly was a response to unfaithfulness or man wanting a new wife, dishonesty, no food in the house. Stabbing with knives usually was linked to jealousy, or suspicion of a spouse or son. Stick to the head as well as burning clothes or a house, were due to adultery, and no money or food in the house.

The reasons given for child sexual abuse were: disobedience or not doing work such as looking after the pigs, jealousy. Drugs were mentioned as a cause, but it was not clear from the comments if it was the perpetrator taking drugs and causing harm, or abusing the child for taking drugs.

Almost forty per cent of females said that domestic violence almost never occurred ten years ago, but now domestic violence occurs more regularly and more occasionally. About 29% of men said that domestic violence 'almost never' occurred ten years ago. Both men and women said domestic violence was now occurring much more frequently. Although women said domestic violence was happening more frequently ten years ago than men did, they said this had slightly decreased. (See Charts 6, 7, 8, 9 and Annex Table 8).



## Divorce

In most cases, there were no services available to help couples resolve their marriage problems, and respondents said that police and court don't get involved (or not available), the extended family does not help, and NGOs and services are only located in town centers. Male adults prefer to seek assistance from a local court and welfare officers, while female adults tended to seek help from their extended family and community elders. Men said they would go to a church pastor, but few women would; 28% of respondents said that it would be very difficult to get a divorce mainly because the community would not allow it.

*"Divorce- very hard to divorce bikos insait lon society, igat law blon church na kastom na gavman na ol church lida na olgeta lida mas wokim sampla samting lon marit."* (It is very hard to divorce in the society; there are church laws, customary laws, and government laws. All leaders must be involved in things related to marriage) (Talasea male adult).

*"Divorce- not heard of in this community, conflicts always get resolved."* (Manus female adult).

The reasons they gave for low divorce rates were that the extended family and the elders get involved, as well as the church and possibly village court, in working to resolve the problems between a married couple.

Hardships expressed were lack of food for the children, poor performance in school, children rebelling and drinking alcohol. Few mentioned that when bride price has been paid for the woman it is almost impossible to break the marriage, or that this gives the right to the man to take the children. Twenty percent of responses highlighted the hardships surrounding divorce, noting concern over how the children would be affected, and saying that in most cases the burden was on the mother to care for them. A significant percentage of participants indicated that it would be possible to divorce, but that the wife would face many hardships.

*"If the woman has a good reputation then the family and community will stand with her and support her."* (Goroka female adult).

It also appears 'easier' if the couple are from different areas than from the same community. Sometimes the couple would separate for a while and then come back together again.

## EDUCATION

### Who is currently sent to school? Why?

In the urban area, most children of school age went to primary and secondary school. Five of the eight adult male participants had never been to school; the other 3 had finished University. Only one of the adult women had finished 12<sup>th</sup> Grade, 5 finished 10<sup>th</sup> Grade, and the other three had dropped out from 10<sup>th</sup> Grade. This indicates that more men than women would be able to get a tertiary level qualification, but that adult women generally were better educated to Grade 10 and 12 in urban areas than adult males.

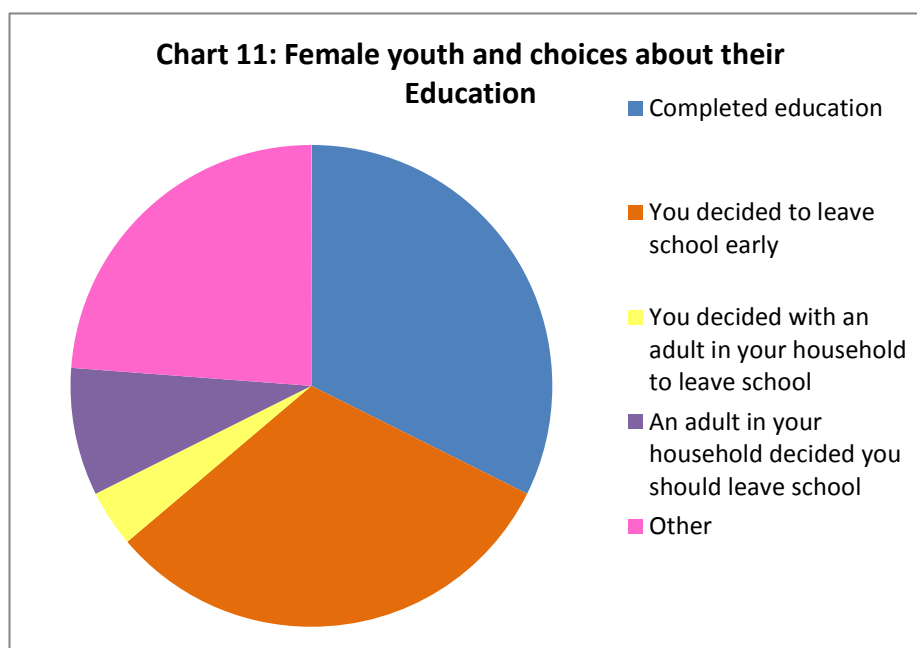
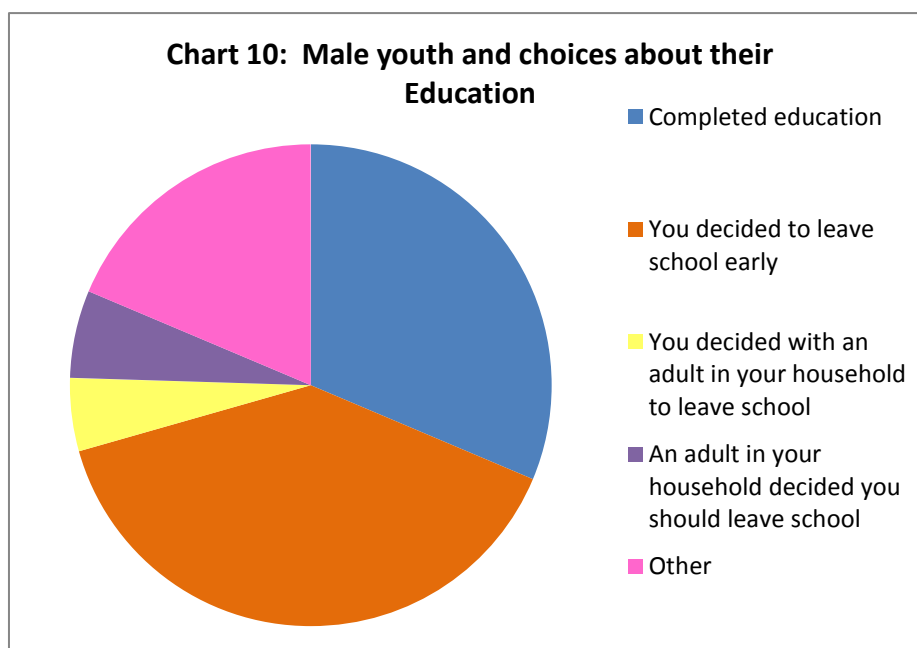
Among the urban youth, four of the 11 males had completed 12<sup>th</sup> grade, 1 dropped out of 12<sup>th</sup> grade, 2 finished 10<sup>th</sup>, two dropped tenth, and two were still students (one each in 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> years). The seven female youth in the NCD community, one of them left 12<sup>th</sup> grade, 3 finished 10<sup>th</sup> grade (one of whom completed a vocational IT course), and one is a university student. Two are still in school (10<sup>th</sup>). The youth had shown that they were able to complete a higher level of education than the adults, and that males were doing slightly better than female youth in school, but female prospects for continuing to tertiary level had improved.

More than 60% of the rural survey respondents had left school early. Over one third (35.6%) of the adults had completed grades 4-6 of schooling, being the largest category. The proportion of adult women that had no formal education was 8 percent which was much less than that for male adults at 14.3 per cent of adult male participants. 29% of adult females had reached grades 10-12, which was

slightly higher than the adult male group at 22%. Though small in number, female adults had stayed longer in school than male adults.

The youth are better educated than the adult group. The profile of the participants in the rural youth is presented in Annex Table 4. As with the adult participants, a greater proportion of male youth (9.4%) had not gone to school compared to the female youth (3.5%). Much more female youth (48%) had reached grades 10-12 than the male youth participants (35.5%), also indicating the trend of females staying longer in school than males.

The information presented in Charts 10 and 11 shows that it is largely the student who makes the decision to leave school, and not so much the parent or adults in the household.





The majority of respondents had decided largely on their own to leave school early. The key reason for the respondents leaving was inability to pay school fees and related expenses (see Annex Table 6A).

*“Dropped out of Grade 7 for financial problems. No support and feel pain. Not money for fees, clothes, books.”* (Sohe male youth)

*“Mi give up bikos school istap long wei na busfare lon go kam em hard tumas so mi give up.”* (I gave up because school is far away and no bus fare to go to and from school; it was too hard so I gave up) (Vanimo Green female youth)

The second main reason was due to family problems, parents had separated or died, resulting in the student being too upset, losing interest in continuing school, or the child having to look after the elderly, sick parent and siblings.

*“Papa kisim niupla meri na tupla buruk marit na mi lusim ”* (Father got a new wife, my parents broke up, so I left) (Goroka female youth)

*“Mi lusim school bikos nogat wanpla man lukautim mi. Papa em sik na mama lusim papa go maritime narapla man. Nogat moni lon baim school fee na mi lusim school . But mi gat save (Own decision). ”* (I left school because there was no one to look after me. My father was sick, mother left and married another man; there was no school fees, so I left school, but I have knowledge) (Middle Fly male youth)

There were similar frequencies of reasons given by both male and female youth for leaving school. Pregnancy was given as the third most mentioned reason for not completing school by female youth. For male youth, the second most frequent reason given was mainly due to poor academic performance and an attitude of ‘mi-less’, meaning he is tired, has given up and does not see any benefit to continuing school.

The third main reason is deciding to stay at home to help parents. Other significant reasons given were early marriage, or for boys, being expelled for misbehaviour and consumption of alcohol, illicit drugs, or homebrew. Similar levels of responses given indicating they lost interest in school.

Students felt pressure or were urged to stay back home to help parents with either care, working in the garden, looking after land, cash crops or other business activities.

*“Father has lots of land to look after and others may try to get your land; It is happening here in the settlement. Leave school to look after land/properties or family assets.”* (Sohe male youth)

## Desire for education

Education is highly valued by youth and adults who believed it to be necessary to getting employment in the future to support their families especially to pay for school fees for other siblings, but also to look after the parents in their old age, to improve their quality of life, as well as to bring development in their communities. As one male youth said, *“Skul em laif lain blo community”*, meaning education is the lifeline of the community (Hagen District).

In response to the question on how families decide which boys or girls to send to school, the most frequent response was that parents assess the behaviour and learning ability of each child, including their academic performance.

*"Sometimes girls are performing better so parent trust them that in return they would bring anything best and look after them carefully so parent sponsored most girls to schools better than males." (NCD male youth)*

The majority of youth responses stressed that their parents supported both girls and boys to go to school, and that the decision was mainly about financial capacity to pay school fees. When there is insufficient funds to pay for all children, are forced to make judgements on which child to support: *"Everyone goes to school, but when it comes to school fees, then priority goes to the first born while the smaller ones wait; For girls, some parents are concerned about both male and female but most of them are concerned for their boys/sons, as daughters will marry and go away"* (Wewak male youth)

Some students choose to leave school to save on fees or to make money so that they can help a younger sibling to go to school.

Youth who have not been given the opportunity to complete their education, desire to go back to school. Even those who left school because of their own negative attitude regret later regret having left, or not completed their education.

*"Everybody must go to school. But school fees is a problem and we all stay back. Even at this age, well over our teens, some of us would still like to go back and complete our education but there are no opportunities for us and we find it very hard to return to school/skills training."* (Wewak female youth)

It is noted that the majority of students made the decision themselves to leave school before completing as far as they could go. The second group of responses 'mi les' reveals that the children do not fully understand the benefits of education. When asked what they would like to have them stay in school, they said they needed encouragement, better learning resources, besides financial support.

*"Not realized the importance of education until I left; I was wasting a lot of time in school."* (North Bougainville male youth).

## ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES

### What are the best and worst jobs?

The most frequent response given for what jobs are good in their community were to engage in selling garden produce and betel nut at the market. The second highest type of work mentioned was to grow and sell cash crops, especially cocoa and coffee, and then palm oil. Fishing, raising and selling crops, hunting, making *bilums*, musician, sewing and cooking simple food and handicrafts, were mentioned as well.

The reasons given as to why these were good jobs were: 1) it is easy to do, and we are close to the bush and land is available; 2) there is no need for certificates, we can use our own abilities; 3) we don't need to fear about breaking the law; 4) we can survive on the money they make from these kind of activities, we don't need to pay for expensive things like in the city.

The other lesser mentioned jobs in the community seen as being good were semi-skilled and skilled occupations, which required a form of licence, certificate, or diploma, and these included: store keeper, PMV operator, teacher, electrician, brick layer. While these were jobs they aspired to, they thought they were good because they could provide a service to the community as well as benefit themselves.

Youth strongly felt that the worst kinds of work in the community are those that involve the sale of home brew and drugs as well as jobs that involved making dirty deals, fraud, corruption, armed robbery, stealing goods, as well as 'sinful' such as sorcery and witchcraft, prostitution, and kidnapping. Many disliked jobs that were high risk and dangerous to life and health.

When participants were asked what skills are important these days, most of the youth emphasised that it was important to have good skills for making a living or getting a job. The most mentioned set of skills desired were to acquire technical trades such as qualification as mechanics, electricians, and plumbing. Carpentry was especially given as a necessary skill. The second set of skills mentioned were semi-skilled occupations including farming and fishing, agricultural extension workers (*didiman*). The third largest grouping was professionals such as teacher, nurse, doctor, and engineers. The fourth set of skills seen as necessary was marketing, trade-store operator, and knowing how to run a business. Other skills seen as essential but with lower frequency were: sewing, making handicrafts, public motor vehicle (PMV) driver, security guard, computer skills and office worker, cooking, life skills and vocational training.

Female youth responses were largely in three categories: skills for running a business including PMVs (even though they realised it was risky for their safety); teaching of some sort; and sewing. Young women also recognised the importance of technical trade skills, though not necessarily for them to take up, but for the community to have. Other skills least mentioned were agriculture, vocational training, office skills and life skills.

Male youth saw the category of agriculture, cash cropping, livestock, fishing, and marketing as having the highest frequency, representing 49% of their responses. The second set of skills that male youth saw as being necessary were technical trades (mechanic, carpentry, plumber, welder) representing 22%. The third largest skill sets for male youth were education and teaching.

Both male and female youth lean towards making money but in different ways: males see having agriculture and farming skills as essential, while females see having business management skills as essential for making a living in their community.

For some rural communities, economic opportunities are changing or narrowing for a range of reasons – land shortages, crop diseases, deforestation, theft of produce and goods, and the attitude of youth attitudes of the youth not interested in gardening to make a living. The need for income drives people to sell what they once shared with family or village members.

*"Gardening has stopped due to pigs destroying gardens, stealing, land disputes and laziness now." (Manus female adult)*

*"Hunting in the nearby forests; now this no longer takes place; Logging and gardening have affected the habitats for wild animals." (Huon male adult)*

*"When I was a small, people called us together to share; when there was a big catch [fish], we all went to their house to share this; Today, people sell unlike in our childhood days. Sharing and caring has gone." (Alotau female adult)*

*"Young boys and girls no longer listen to their parents; for example, in the past, parents would tell us to follow them to work in the garden. Now, we refuse or do our own things." (Wewak female youth)*

## Women's access to paid work

The village and settlements where the majority of women currently work for pay were Goroka, Rigo and Sinasina district communities, which is notable when compared to ten years ago, as it is reported that

there were no communities like that. In the Goroka district community, it was reported that for private sector work, men who had a business would employ women who are relatives:

*“Wankain olsem blo ol meri; ol man kisim own woklain blo ol. Ol man rentim stoa ol karim own lain blo ol kam.”* (The way they treat women is that a man employs his own relatives to work for him) (Male, Church leader, Goroka).

For women, it was through the help of friends and relatives that they could find employment, but it was noted that more women worked for pay now than ten years ago. An informant said:

*“When there is work available, women are then able to find work in Kundiawa town; security is an issue for them. Private firms tend to employ mostly young women, not married women.”*

In the Wewak settlement community, education was essential for women to get paid work,

*“Mostly, it is the married young women that look for work to bring income to their families. Today, some companies in Wewak Town will not accept women with no Gr 10 certificates, (they did before). Most people here have not gone to Gr 10 in their level of education”* (Adult male, Wewak).

However, they also explained that uneducated women could get work at RD Tuna Cannery. In Sohe, the informant said that many girls drop out of Grade 10:

*“...but it is also whom you know system. Ambogo and Higaturu provide casual labor and employ women to do circle weeding, add fertilizers, do clerical jobs or work as tea girls. In the Somil, some girls in the Tally section.”* (Male, Church counsellor)

Those communities where women rarely work for pay were found in Kavieng, Mt. Hagen, Middle Fly and Manus district communities. In the Kavieng community, they could find paid work with help from friends:

*“...but those who were educated and hard working women can find work, and ‘save pes’ and wantok system also means that people miss out.”* (Female community leader, Kavieng).

However, for most communities women found it difficult to find a private sector job, and for only four communities it was possible to get private sector employment with help from friends.

It appears that it is a slightly easier for women to find work with the government currently, compared to ten years ago, and also compared to finding work in the private sector. Ten years ago, eight communities reported that it was difficult for women to find work with government, but now only five found it difficult. For finding private sector employment, 11 communities found it difficult in the past, but currently in half of the survey sites women found it difficult to get private sector work in the local area.

Male youth expressed that they feel that they were being discriminated against when employers prefer to recruit females than males for jobs. The young men also said that they did not want to do work that females usually do as it made them feel ashamed. Females felt that things worked against them when men were better educated and looked down on them, that there were many jobs to do in the house and this prevented them from moving around to look for work. Other factors that women have to confront are negative attitudes by others in community (being jealous if the woman has a job), and lazy “don't care” male partners or husbands who expect their wife to earn the income while they stay at home.

*"Men think they 'asples' and don't need to work; they are bosses. So it's left to mamas to find work and bring home income and food for family." (Wewak District female youth)*

## Types of jobs available to men and women

Ten years ago, the majority of these communities had women who rarely worked for pay. Now, most of the communities surveyed reported that only some women currently work for pay. Compared to ten years ago, it has become easier for women to get private sector work, as observed for Alotau, Buka, Vanimo-Green and Talasea district communities. In Alotau district, women were able to find work with business houses in Alotau town, hotels and guest houses, and with the oil palm estates, as well as shops. This has been an ongoing dynamic over the past ten years.

In the Huon community, the villagers who owned poultry projects hire women to look after the chickens. They are also hired to work in gardens for pay. This reveals that there is informal employment by local business people, and these may or may not be adhering to national labour laws and regulations.

For men in rural villages and settlements, it was easier to find work in the private sector than with government. Nine communities reported it was difficult to find work with the government ten years ago, but only seven communities found this true today. Ten communities reported it was difficult for men to find private sector work in the local area ten years ago, but only five communities found that is also true today.

Each place was different. For the community in Sinasina, when men did work with government, they were mainly teachers and welfare officers. In Kavieng, men were employed at the high school as cooks, clerks, and bakers. There were also opportunities with the New Ireland Provincial Tourism office. For the women in the Kavieng community, some were opportunities with the Department of Primary Industry.

In the Manus village, men saw public sector opportunities in the marine and fisheries area. Public sector work for men, both now and ten years ago, was found in the Department of Labour, provincial government, marine, fisheries, and community development. For women, work was teaching and administration with the provincial government. If there were jobs available, they could get work if they had help available from friends or relatives. Some men and women work for businesses in town.

In the mineral resource extraction area in Middle Fly, most men work as health workers, policemen, officers with Department of Works, and in business development. Lack of adequate education skills and knowledge keeps men from obtaining these jobs. There are more men working in the public sector because of their increased skills and knowledge, compared to women:

*"Women do not get employment in public sector; that is why women are forming women's groups and also trying to take part in politics." (Adult male, community leaders)*

For the Vanimo-Green community, the key informant said that while now one man works with the Treasury section, ten years ago no one worked for the government. Only one woman had done some work for the Electoral Commission; very few people had the education and qualification to work for government. The Wewak settlement community informant explained that it was difficult for men to find work with the government:

*"Wantok system, corrupt government system and the ineffective policies and make it harder for men in Wewak community to work in government offices in Wewak. Whether one is educated or not. [name of community] men have reached Grs-10 and 12 but most of them do not find jobs in*

*the government here in Wewak Town...The same applies to women” (Adult Male, Wewak District).*

The involvement of men and women in public works projects varied from place to place. In Vanimo-Green the youths were engaged to cut the grass along the highway.

*“Other opportunities may exist but these are never given to us.” (Female adult, women’s representative).*

The situation was entirely different for Sinasina: if there were public works projects, especially feeder roads, men and women were equally engaged, and a women’s association has bid for and won a contract to build a feeder road. In the Middle Fly community, they reported that all the public works projects are done by private companies, and so both the village men and women do not engage in any public works. In the Wewak community, some young men were hired in road construction by the Department of Works, and by PNG Power to pull power lines.

### **Economic cooperation between women and men**

Economic cooperation was understood as husband and wife agreeing to a division of responsibilities. This usually would be different depending on where they resided and their place on the LOPF. In North Bougainville, it was described that:

*“He fishes, hunts; she sells.” If they were at the top step: “she works in some office; he runs the family business; or manages the cocoa business.” (North Bougainville male adult)*

*“Ol meri tasol save marketim garden food, store goods; Ol man save salim kokonas, cocoa.” (Sumkar female adult)*

But the nature of ‘working together’ is also changing:

*“In the past, husbands stayed close to their wives and worked together but now, no. Due to the husband’s working and they go out with friends and drinking or doing other things and spends less time with wife/spouses.” (Rigo female adult)*

Decision making by couples concerning money<sup>6</sup> was conveyed by youth and adult participants in terms of starting a small business, cooperation between men and women over investment, spending the money, control over assets, and when disagreements arise.

The most frequent response by youth and adults was that both women and men must agree to the business idea and how the money is to be spent, otherwise there will be trouble, especially if the woman goes ahead with agreement from the husband.

*“There will be disagreement and very bad consequences if Judith goes ahead without James” (North Bougainville female youth)*

*“He will definitely be part of it, if she does not let him, he will bash her up.” (Hagen female adult)*

<sup>6</sup> A scenario was used in the focus group discussions: Woman and Man, a married couple in the respondents’ community, have worked hard to save K100 and Woman is thinking of investing her savings in a business. Man does not support Woman’s business plan. A number of questions are asked about how the respondents would act if they were Woman or Man, in terms of the business, spending the money, disagreements etc.



The female youth in Sinasina stressed that the husband was the boss over his wife and she had to get his agreement to start a small business. Youth respondents from Alotau and North Bougainville Districts said women had to get their husband's permission, noting that both are matrilineal societies, suggesting that women may be in charge of decisions regarding land, but not when it comes to money and/or business matters.

The highest level of responses by adults (50%) to this question indicated that if the wife wanted to go ahead without his support it would be difficult for her. The main reasons given were that the man is the head of the family and he has to agree to the business; she needs his support. Several said that if the woman goes ahead:

*"The man is a threat to the wife; he might belt her or spoil the business."* (Middle Fly adult male).

*"You can't build without men's strength and support; she's a person with no support and encouragement. No male support and female sibling encouragement, she will be discouraged by other criticisms and feel demeaning."* (Manus female adult).

Men also see their role as protectors of their wife's business and therefore they must agree to their business plans (Mt. Hagen male adult).

Several youth held the view that women can go ahead with her business, explaining that men will have to keep quiet if women raised the money herself. Money raised by the woman was from her hard work and she should not ask for her husband's permission to start a small business, said that it was from her own hard work and she could do as she liked. Generally, the husband did not have to seek the wife's permission to start a business from the money he made, especially in the Highlands provincial sites.

Twenty-three percent of adults said that it was easy for the man to go ahead without the woman agreeing. The women said it was very easy as it was normal for them. Men said they have the skills and the power to make business, and they also own the land:

*"Bikos Men papagraun na em man, so em gat olsem access lon wokim anything."* (Goroka male adult) (Because he is a landowner, and a man, he has access to do anything).

However, several admitted that the man relied on the woman's help and cooperation for the business to be successful:

*"It will be easy for the husband but the wife will cause problems for him."* (North Bougainville female adult).

Twenty-one percent of adult responses were positive about women going ahead. Adult women in Kavieng, Manus, Sumkar and Rigo said that they could go ahead with their business without the support of their husband because they had earned this from their own efforts:

*"Mi yet painim moni lon startim bisnis"* (I will find the money to start the business myself) (Sumkar female adult).

Many women said it was necessary because they were doing this to support the family, and were afraid that if the man was earning the income he would spend it on alcohol and on other women, or they would take the money she earned and spend it on himself.

*"Meri kisim coins lon market na wokim market, haitim; em bai less lon man blo em kisim or kaikai moni."* (The woman hides the money she makes at the market; she doesn't want the husband to get the money or use it) (Sinassina female youth)

In response to the question "Is the money the wife earns hers alone to decide how to use?", 40 % of the responses by adults said that women should have control over the money she earns. Two-thirds of those who made comments in favour of women keeping control over the money or assets were men:

*"Women has the skills so she can run it; it's her money so it's easy"* (Soh male adult)

Other men admitted that they are likely to misuse it (NCD and Mt. Hagen males) and prefer for their wife to manage the money. Only women from Rigo and Kavieng responded saying it was their husband would not interfere in her business as she did not do so to his. 22% of responses revealed that men would decide what happens to the money the wife makes, and 31% said that both will have to agree on how the money and possessions are used. These responses indicate that in most cases women did not have complete say over how they managed their income and business decisions, but that a significant share of adult men interviewed would allow women to control financial matters, because they respected what women had worked hard to produce, and saw women as being better able to do this.

Male youth in Wewak, Sinassina and Huon Gulf expressed that men control what women earned. Some female youth in Talasea and Wewak said that if a man has a good attitude then he will let the woman buy her own things, especially those men who have gone to church and *"changed their lives"*. Male youth of Manus appeared the most supportive of women controlling their property.

Almost half (49%) of responses revealed that both the wife and husband decide what happens to the possessions and assets, even if it was the woman alone who generated the income.

One quarter (25%) of responses supported the view that men decide what happens to all property, and another quarter felt that women should have full control over the resources and property from their business. Female youth of Middle Fly, Alotau and Huon Gulf were vocal on this aspect, were as male youth who were in support of females spending their own money and choosing what it was spent on:

*"If she is a good wife she will buy things to share with the husband and children"* (Sinassina male youth).

Women are generally perceived to be better managers of money, as they tend to save more, and spend the money on the family as a whole. However, while women take on responsibility of earning money in various ways, they tend not to have full decision making power over how the money accrued is spent. Decisions on income and property are generally made by men in the six communities of Talasea, Manus, Kavieng, Sinassina, Huon Gulf, North Bougainville and Wewak, although at times they are made jointly by the husband and wife. This is true even in matrilineal communities, such as Alotau, Kavieng and North Bougainville, where although women are custodians of land, decisions are not made solely by women landowners. In Alotau both men and women make decisions about family income, but often a husband, makes decisions which his wife and children need to respect and support. According to some, in this community, women control the finances, but men have a say in any decisions over the wife's income, spending, purchases or savings, as seen in the "Woman and Man" scenario discussions. In both Alotau and North Bougainville, while land ownership and resources are inherited from mother to daughter, and women have the right to own and hold property, male family members still make decisions over these.

When asked about what important things they would spend their money on, the responses indicated distinctly relative priorities and intergenerational differences.

Overall, spending by youth in order of most to least mentioned categories: 1) clothing, jewellery and cosmetics; 2) school fees; 3) household utensils; 4) food for family ; 5) items for expanding business; 6) motor vehicles, dinghy or generator; 7) improve house building; 8) tools for gardening, carpentry, mechanics; 9) beer; 10) bride price and social obligations; and (11) radio and television sets.

Female youth most frequently mentioned spending on: 1) clothes, pharmacy, shoes, jewellery; 2) items for business combined with motor vehicles; 3) food for the family; 4) household utensils, bedding and furniture, and 5) school fees. Food, household items and school fees are given almost equal importance.

What important purchases does the husband spend his money on? Highest priorities for male youth were items for business/production: equipment such as fishing nets, pigs, chickens, fencing, motor vehicle, dinghy, generator; or tools - bush knives, axes, garden tools, fishing gear, mechanic tools, carpentry tools. Second highest priority was buying clothes and shoes, and third was school fees.

Adults listed the category of clothes, shoes, watches and pharmacy items as their top spending priority (three quarters were responses made by women). The second highest category was food for the family, followed by social obligations including bride price, funerals, money to relatives, and church donations, school fees, (household utensils and furniture. As for money for business, women mentioned purchase of sewing machines several times. If joint purchases were for house improvements, freezers, television sets were to be treated as money-making items, then combined these would make this third 'priority' in spending, ahead of meeting social obligations, and push school fees would become number five.

Overall, the findings are:

- Both female youth and adults gave top priority to spending money on clothes, shoes, jewellery, watches and pharmacy items. Food for the family was given second place.
- The priority for male youth was to purchase tools for gardening, carpentry, and mechanical work.
- Youth and adults desired to spend money to reinvest in the business, including purchase of motor vehicles.
- Youth counted higher for spending on school fees (second to third place), while for adults other goods and expenses were given priority over school fees which was fourth place.
- Adults placed a higher priority on paying for social obligations at third place, whereas for youth this was tenth on the list.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The information gathered from this ground-breaking qualitative research undertaken in a diverse subset of sixteen communities across Papua New Guinea provides a new level of insight into the complexity of gender dynamics in the country. Gender norms and roles are evolving, but changes are visible only in limited areas. Women are taking on leadership roles at local levels in community groups, but they still lack involvement in key political and strategic decision-making processes. Domestically, gender norms and cultural practices continue to largely determine the distinct roles men and women take on, but women are now expected to generate income to support the family in addition to carrying their domestic responsibilities. Economic cooperation between men and women is increasingly required in order to generate the wealth to maintain the family and its position in the community and clan.

Women's power and freedom seems to be measured differently from that of men. More women are now seen to have money, they are in positions of leadership and can speak in public, and have the means to be mobile so that they can travel to places, become educated, and do what they want provided they have the husband's support. Women are generally perceived to be better managers of money, as they tend to save more, and spend the money on the family as a whole. While women take on responsibility of earning money in various ways, the survey revealed that in many cases women did not have complete say over how they managed their income and business decisions. A significant share of adult men interviewed would allow women to control financial matters, however, because they respected what women had worked hard to produce, and saw women as being better able to do this.

It was seen that men in the survey communities dominate women's decisions regarding use of family planning and number of children women should have. There is need therefore to understand men's behaviour and beliefs towards fertility and family planning, as this is crucial for the design of family planning policies and programmes must involve men.

One of the main findings of the survey is that immense pressure is now being placed on both women and men to provide income and food, and to manage money wisely. When these needs are not met, it leads to domestic violence, and to the community becoming less 'safe' through stealing from others.

Rural communities are experiencing many changes; youth hold different values, and need help to transition to the life of education, adulthood and work. In general, there were few employment opportunities and everyone - youth and adults, men and women - find it difficult to get paid work. Benefits such as jobs and services from resource extraction or agricultural/forestry projects are not widespread across all districts. Customary owned land is the secure source of sustaining the livelihood of the majority of rural people in the survey communities, and the main source of 'happiness'. It is the basis upon which women and men work to produce the material products necessary for distribution to build social wealth in the society.

When faced with constraints in paying school fees, preference is given to the eldest child and the male child over girls and younger siblings. Young people – and young men in particular - reported that they did not fully appreciate or understand the benefits of education until later, when they regret the missed opportunity, and find it impossible to return to school. This raises serious questions about the approach used for educating male youth and the continuing failure to help boys develop positive attitudes to school and to apply themselves to complete their education. The cost to male youth and the society are high; indicators show that domestic violence and community safety are worsening, and are likely to continue to do so unless the issue of male youth dislocation is addressed.



## ANNEXES

**Annex Table 1: Number of Adult and Youth FDG Participants by Sex and District**

Community	Adult females	Adult Males	Youth Females	Youth Males	Total
Wewak District	12	12	9	9	42
Huon District	9	9	9	8	35
Alotau District	8	11	8	9	36
North Bougainville District	10	8	8	10	36
Hagen District	11	12	9	12	44
National Capital District	9	8	7	11	35
Rigo District	10	8	11	8	37
Manus District	9	8	6*	8	31
Vanimo Green District	10	9	10	8	37
Sumkar District	8	10	8	8	34
Kavieng District	12	8	8	8	36
Talasea District	8	8	8	9	33
Goroka District	12	12	11	0**	35
Middle Fly District (1+2)	8	8	9	8	33
Sohe District	12	10	9	8	39
Sinasina Yonggomugl District	12	11	11	12	46
Total	160	152	141	136	589

Note: \*Youth Females for Manus District affected due to timetable. \*\*Goroka District Youth males' data not available.



**Annex Table 2: Socio-demographic Profile of Adult FDG Rural Participants**

Attributes	Female	Male	Total
Age:			
25-33	33	36	69
34-42	38	42	80
43-51	38	27	65
52-60	20	23	43
61 and above	5	8	13
Marital status:			
Single	7	17	24
Married	114	115	229
Divorced	7	0	7
Widow	10	1	11
Other	4	4	8
Educational level:			
0	14	15	29
1-2	3	1	4
3-6	64	49	113
7-10	57	53	110
11-12	1	7	8
Tertiary	5	8	13
Other	1	3	4
No. of children:			
0	7	13	20
1-3	50	45	95
4-6	65	47	112
7-9	19	21	40
10-12	4	4	8

*Note: Excludes information from Manus District Communities*

**Annex Table 3: Socio-demographic Profile of Rural Youth Participants**

Attributes	Female	Male	Total
Age:			
17-20	73	60	133
21-24	52	57	109
Marital status:			
Single	97	110	207
Married	29	6	35
Divorced	2	0	2
Educational level:			
0	4	13	17
1-2	0	1	1
3-6	18	16	34
7-10	81	62	143
11-12	21	15	36
Tertiary	1	8	9
Other	0	2	2
No. of children:			
0	91	112	203
1-3	32	5	37
4-6			

*Note: Excludes data from Manus District Community*

**Annex Table 4A: Reasons for Females Not Completing School**

Reason	Frequency
Unable to pay school fees	37
Family problems, parents separated or died	15
Pregnancy, early marriage	12
Misbehaviour, alcohol and drugs, expelled, suspended, homebrew	10
Negative attitude towards school - gave up, 'mi-less'.	8
Boy child given preference over girl to go to school	7
Stayed back to help parents in garden or cash crops	7
Younger sibling stayed back for older sibling to continue school	6
Peer pressure from boys, youth to leave school	5
Sickness	3
Other	3
School is located too far away	2
No boarding facilities for those who have to go to primary or high school. Stay with other families who are not supportive.	2
No food at school, get hungry, prefer to stay at home	1
Teacher absenteeism	0

**Annex Table 4B: Reasons for Male Youth Not Completing School**

Reason	Frequency
Unable to pay school fees	35
Negative attitude towards school - gave up, 'mi-less'. Poor academic performance	16
Family problems, parents separated or died	14
Stayed back to help parents in garden or cash crops	11
Other	9
Male child preferred	5
Misbehaviour, alcohol and drugs, expelled, suspended, homebrew	5
Pregnancy, early marriage	5
Sickness	5
Peer pressure from boys, youth to leave school	5
Younger sibling stayed back for older sibling to continue school	2
School is located too far away	1
No boarding facilities for those who have to go to primary or high school. Stay with other families who are not supportive.	1
No food at school, get hungry, prefer to stay at home	1
Teacher absenteeism	1

**Annex Table 5A: Safety Now and Ten Years Ago Adult Female and Male Ratings by District**

		Very Safe	Safe	Neither	Dangerous	V. dangerous	AVG
Wewak District adult males	Now	6	5	1	0	0	1.5
	TYA	9	3	0	0	0	1.2
Wewak District adult females	Now	0	1	10	1	0	3
	TYA	1	11	0	0	0	1.9
Huon District AM	Now	3	5	0	0	0	1.6
	TYA	4	3	1	0	0	1.2
Huon District AF	Now	1	4	4	0	0	1.2
	TYA	9	0	0	0	0	1
Alotau District AM	Now	3	5	3	0	0	2
	TYA	4	7	0	0	0	1.6
Alotau District AF	Now	1	7	0	0	0	1.8
	TYA	4	4	0	0	0	1.5
North Bougainville District AM	Now	0	1	6	1	0	3
	TYA	4	2	2	0	0	1.8
North Bougainville District AF	Now	1	7	2	0	0	2.1
	TYA	2	7	1	0	0	1.9
Hagen District AM	Now	7	1	3	1	0	1.8
	TYA	3	2	5	2	0	2.5
Hagen District AF	Now	11	0	0	0	0	1
	TYA	10	1	0	0	0	1.1
NCD community AM	Now	4	4	0	0	0	1.5
	TYA	6	2	0	0	0	1.3
National Capital District AF	Now	2	4	1	1	0	2.1
	TYA	6	1	1	0	0	1.4
Gaba2 AM	Now	0	4	4	0	0	2.5
	TYA	0	3	2	2	1	3.1
Gaba2 AF	Now	4	5	0	1	0	1.8
	TYA	9	1	0	0	0	1.1

		Very Safe	Safe	Neither	Dangerous	V. dangerous	AVG
Manus District AM	Now	6	2	0	0	0	1.3
	TYA	7	1	0	0	0	1.1
Manus District AF	Now	0	9	0	0	0	2.0
	TYA	2	7	0	0	0	1.8
Vanimo Green District AM	Now	2	4	2	0	1	2.3
	TYA	3	5	1	0	0	1.8
Vanimo Green District AF	Now	6	4	0	0	0	1.4
	TYA	0	0	0	0	0	
Sumkar District AM	Now	1	5	4	0	0	2.3
	TYA	3	2	5	0	0	2.2
Sumkar District AF	Now	0	6	2	0	0	2.3
	TYA	8	0	0	0	0	1.0
Kavieng District AM	Now	0	5	2	1	0	2.5
	TYA	1	4	2	1	0	2.4
Kavieng District AF	Now	1	10	0	1	0	2.1
	TYA	6	4	1	1	0	1.8
Talasea District AM	Now	8	0	0	0	0	1.0
	TYA	8	0	0	0	0	1.0
Talasea District AF	Now	0	5	2	1	0	2.5
	TYA	2	4	2	0	0	2.0
Goroka District AM	Now	0	1	5	5	1	3.5
	TYA	2	8	2	0	0	2.0
Goroka District AF	Now	0	6	6	0	0	2.5
	TYA	12	0	0	0	0	1.0
Middle Fly District AM	Now	0	4	4	0	0	2.5
	TYA	0	7	0	1	0	2.3
Middle Fly District AF	Now	1	4	2	0	1	2.5
	TYA	7	1	0	0	0	1.1
SOHE DISTRICT AM	Now	1	2	6	1	0	2.7
	TYA	1	1	7	0	1	2.9
SOHE DISTRICT AF	Now	0	0	3	7	2	3.9
	TYA	0	12	0	0	0	2.0

		Very Safe	Safe	Neither	Dangerous	V. dangerous	AVG
Sinasina Yonggomugl District AM	Now	2	5	2	0	2	2.5
	TYA	2	5	3	1	1	2.5
Sinasina Yonggomugl District AF	Now	7	5	0	0	0	1.4
	TYA	7	5	0	0	0	1.4
Total males	Now	43	53	42	9	4	2.2
	10 years ago	57	55	30	7	3	2.0
Total females	Now	35	77	32	12	3	2.2
	10 years ago	85	58	5	1	0	1.5

Note: Average scores are based on Very Safe =1; Safe = 2, Neither =3, Dangerous= 4, Very Dangerous = 5

**Annex Table 5B: Percentage of Safety Rating Now and Ten Years Ago by Adult Male and Females**

		Very Safe	Safe	Neither	Dangerous	Very dangerous	total
Adult females	10 years ago	85	58	5	1	0	149
		57%	39%	3%	1%	0%	
Adult females	Now	35	77	32	12	3	159
		22%	48%	20%	8%	2%	
		Very Safe	Safe	Neither	Dangerous	Very dangerous	Total
Adult males	10 years ago	57	55	30	7	3	152
		38%	36%	20%	5%	1%	
Adult males	Now	43	53	42	9	4	151
		29%	35%	28%	6%	2%	

**Annex Table 6A: Young People and Choices about Education by District**

	Completed education	You decided to leave school early	You decided with an adult in your household to leave school	An adult in your household decided you should leave school	Other	AVG
Wewak District YM	2	2	1	0	1	1.5
Wewak District YF	1	2	1	0	1	1.4
Huon District YM	2	3	0	0	0	1.6
Huon District YF	3	2	0	2	0	2.1
Alotau District YM	2	2	0	3	2	3.1
Alotau District YF	4	0	0	0	0	0.5
North Bougainville District YM	2	2	0	0	0	0.6
North Bougainville District YF	2	0	0	1	2	2
Hagen District YM	1	6	1	2	2	2.8
Hagen District YF	2	3	0	0	4	3.1
NCD YM	2	5	2	0	0	2
NCD YF	0	2	1	2	1	3.3
Gaba2 YM	1	1	1	0	1	2.8
Gaba2 YF	5	3	0	0	0	1.4
Manus District YM	6	0	0	0	2	2.0
Manus District YF	2	1	0	1	2	3.0
Vanimo Green District YM	1	5	0	0	2	2.6



	Completed education	You decided to leave school early	You decided with an adult in your household to leave school	An adult in your household decided you should leave school	Other	AVG
Vanimo Green District YF	2	3	0	0	5	3.3
Sumkar District YM	5	2	0	0	0	1.3
Sumkar District YF	0	3	1	0	1	2.8
Kavieng District YM	1	2	0	0	5	3.8
Kavieng District YF	3	2	-	1	-	1.8
Talasea District YM	1	2	0	0	1	2.5
Talasea District YF	0	5	0	0	0	2.0
Goroka District YM	0	0	0	0	0	
Goroka District YF	2	3	1	1	4	3.2
Middle Fly District YM	1	1	0	0	2	3.3
Middle Fly District YF	2	0	0	0	1	2.3
SOHE DISTRICT YM	4	4	0	0	0	1.5
SOHE DISTRICT YF	5	1	0	0	0	1.2
MataWomai YM	1	3	0	1	1	2.7
MataWomai YF	1	3	0	1	4	3.4
Total YM	32	40	5	6	19	2.4
Total YF	34	33	4	9	25	2.6

Note: Average scores are based on the following scoring – Completed education =1; You decided to leave school early= 2; You decided with an adult in your household to leave school =3; An adult in your household decided you should leave school= 4; Other = 5

**Annex Table 6B: Young people and choices about education**

	Completed education	You decided to leave school early	You decided with an adult in your household to leave school	An adult in your household decided you should leave school	Other	Total
Female Youth	34	33	4	9	25	105
Male Youth	32	40	5	6	19	102

**Annex Table 7: Young People and Employment Choices by District**

	Your own decision	A joint decision	A decision that was made mostly by an adult in your household	The only type of work you could find?	Other	AVG
Wewak District YM	3	2	0	0	1	1.4
Wewak District YF	3	1	0	1	0	1
Huon District YM	5	0	0	0	0	1
Huon District YF	1	4	0	1	0	2.1
Alotau District YM	4	3	0	2	0	2
Alotau District YF	4	0	0	0	0	0.5
North Bougainville District YM	1	2	0	1	0	0.9
North Bougainville District YF	0	2	1	0	2	2.1
Hagen District YM	6	2	1	2	1	2.1
Hagen District YF	1	0	1	1	6	4.2
National Capital District YM	4	2	1	1	2	1.5
National Capital District YF	4	1	0	0	0	1.2
Gaba2 YM	1	0	0	1	1	3.3
Gaba2 YF	0	5	1	0	0	2.2
Manus District YM	3	1	1	0	3	2.9
Manus District YF	0	0	0	0	0	-
Vanimo Green District YM	7	0	0	1	0	1.4
Vanimo Green District YF	5	4	0	0	1	1.8
Sumkar District YM	2	3	0	2	0	2.3
Sumkar District YF	0	4	0	0	1	2.6
Kavieng District YM	0	0	0	0	8	5.0
Kavieng District YF	3	3	0	0	0	1.5
Talasea District YM	4	0	0	0	0	1.0
Talasea District YF	5	0	0	0	0	1.0

	Your own decision	A joint decision	A decision that was made mostly by an adult in your household	The only type of work you could find?	Other	AVG
Goroka District YM	0	0	0	0	0	
Goroka District YF	6	4	0	0	0	1.4
Middle Fly District YM	3	0	0	1	0	1.8
Middle Fly District YF	1	1	0	0	1	2.7
SOHE DISTRICT YM	2	0	0	2	4	3.8
SOHE DISTRICT YF	5	2	2	0	0	1.7
Sinasina Yonggomugl District YM	6	0	0	0	0	1.0
Sinasina Yonggomugl District YF	6	1	1	1	0	1.7
Total y/ males	51	15	3	13	20	2.4
Total y/ females	44	32	6	4	11	2.0

Note: Average scores are based on the following scoring – Your own decision=1; A joint decision = 2, A decision that was made mostly by an adult in your household =3; The only type of work you could find = 4; Other = 5

**Annex Table 8A: Adult Men and Women Rating the Presence of Violence Against Women in the Household by District**

		Almost never happens here	Occasionally happens here	Regularly happens here	Frequently happens here	AVG	Increase over time	Decrease over time	Women report > men report
Wewak District adult males	Now	0	6	6	0	2.5	*		
	Ten Years Ago	6	6	0	0	1.5			
Wewak District adult females	Now	0	3	6	3	3	*		*
	TYA	5	7	0	0	1.5			
Huon District adult males	Now	0	7	1	0	2.1		*	
	TYA	0	7	0	1	2.2			
Huon District adult females	Now	1	8	0	0	1.8	*		
	TYA	9	0	0	0	1			
Alotau District adult males	Now	1	10	0	0	1.9	*		
	TYA	6	4	0	1	1.6			
Alotau District adult females	Now	0	6	1	1	2.3		*	*
	TYA	0	3	5	0	2.6			
North Bougainville District adult males	Now	0	5	3	0	2.3			
	TYA	0	5	3	0	2.3			
North Bougainville District adult females	Now	3	6	1	0	1.8		*	
	TYA	1	6	2	1	2.5			
Hagen District adult males	Now	0	10	1	1	2.2		*	
	TYA	0	7	1	4	2.7			
Hagen District adult females	Now	1	9	0	1	2			
	TYA	0	11	0	0	2			
NCD community adult males	Now	1	6	0	1	2.1	*		
	TYA	2	4	1	0	1.9			
NCD adult females	Now	3	5	0	1	1.9	*		
	TYA	8	1	0	0	1.1			
Rigo District adult males	Now	1	4	3	0	2.3	*		
	TYA	2	5	0	1	2.0			

		Almost never happens here	Occasionally happens here	Regularly happens here	Frequently happens here	AVG	Increase over time	Decrease over time	Women report > men report
Rigo District adult females	Now	10	0	0	0	1.0			
	TYA	10	0	0	0	1.0			
Manus District adult males	Now	5	3	0	0	1.4	*		
	TYA	6	2	0	0	1.3			
Manus District adult females	Now	0	9	0	0	2.0			*
	TYA	0	9	0	0	2.0			
Vanimo District adult males	Now	0	9	0	0	2.0		*	
	TYA	0	8	1	0	2.1			
Vanimo District adult females	Now	10	0	0	0	1.0			
	TYA	10	0	0	0	1.0			
Sumkar District adult males	Now	3	7	0	0	1.7		*	
	TYA	3	6	1	0	1.8			
Sumkar District adult females	Now	4	4	0	0	1.5	*		
	TYA	8	0	0	0	1.0			
Kavieng District adult males	Now	0	6	1	1	2.4		*	
	TYA	0	5	2	1	2.5			
Kavieng District adult females	Now	1	9	2	0	2.1		*	
	TYA	0	5	3	4	2.9			
Talasea District adult males	Now	8	0	0	0	1.0			
	TYA	8	0	0	0	1.0			
Talasea District adult females	Now	1	7	0	0	1.9		*	*
	TYA	0	7	1	0	2.1			
Goroka District adult males	Now	0	8	3	1	2.4	*		
	TYA	1	10	1	0	2.0			
Goroka District adult females	Now	0	1	11	0	2.9	*		*
	TYA	9	3	0	0	1.3			
Middle Fly District adult males	Now	0	7	1	0	2.1	*		
	TYA	6	2	0	0	1.3			
Middle Fly District adult females	Now	1	7	0	0	1.9		*	



		Almost never happens here	Occasionally happens here	Regularly happens here	Frequently happens here	AVG	Increase over time	Decrease over time	Women report > men report
	<b>TYA</b>	1	4	2	1	2.4			
<b>DCC adult males</b>	<b>Now</b>	5	2	2	1	1.9		*	
	<b>TYA</b>	3	4	1	2	2.2			
<b>DCC adult females</b>	<b>Now</b>	1	5	5	1	2.5	*		*
	<b>TYA</b>	1	7	4	0	2.3			
<b>Sinasina Yonggomugl District adult males</b>	<b>Now</b>	2	7	2	0	2.0		*	
	<b>TYA</b>	1	7	2	1	2.3			
<b>Sinasina Yonggomugl District adult females</b>	<b>Now</b>	3	5	3	1	2.2		*	*
	<b>TYA</b>	0	5	4	3	2.8			
<b>Total males</b>	<b>Now</b>	26	97	23	5	2.0			
	<b>10 years ago</b>	44	82	13	11	1.9			
<b>Total females</b>	<b>Now</b>	39	84	29	8	2.0			
	<b>10 years ago</b>	62	68	21	9	1.9			

In all, there are similar scores for men and women at the severe end of the violence scale, though women more often use the term “frequently” to describe then incidence (more often than men and more often than ten years ago). Many of the scores, both for now and 10 years ago are over 2 on a 4-point scale from 1 (= almost never) to 4 (=frequently).

**Annex Table 8B: Frequency of Domestic Violence Now and Ten Years Ago, as Perceived by Male and Female Adults**

	<b>Almost never</b>	<b>Occasionally</b>	<b>Regularly</b>	<b>Frequently</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Females 10 years ago	62	68	21	9	160
	39%	43%	13%	6%	
Females now	39	84	29	8	160
	24%	53%	18%	5%	
Males 10 years ago	44	82	13	11	150
	29%	55%	9%	7%	
Males now	26	97	23	5	151
	17%	64%	15%	3%	

**Annex Table 9: Mobility (Ladder of Power and Freedom) for Adults by District, Ten years Ago and Now**

ADULT MALE (AM)						ADULT FEMALE (AF)					
<b>Wewak District</b>						<b>Wewak District</b>					
TYA %	Step	Today %	Change in % points	% Change		TYA %	STEP	Today %	Change in % points	% change	
10.00%	4	5.00%	5	-50.00%		10.00%	3	10.00%	0	0	
20.00%	3	10.00%	10	-50.00%		70.00%	2	70.00%	0	0	
50.00%	2	25.00%	25	-50.00%		20.00%	1	20.00%	0	0	
20.00%	1	60.00%	40	200.00%							
<b>Alotau District AM</b>						<b>Alotau District AF</b>					
T YA %	STEP	Today %	Change in % points	% change		TYA %	STEP	Today %	Change in % points	% change	
20.00%	3	20.00%	0	0		30.00%	3	20.00%	-10	-33.00%	
65.00%	2	60.00%	-5	-8.00%		40.00%	2	30.00%	-10	-25.00%	
15.00%	1	20.00%	5	33.00%		30.00%	1	50.00%	20	67.00%	
<b>Huon District AM</b>						<b>Huon District AM</b>					
T YA %	STEP	Today %	Change in % points	% change		TYA %	STEP	Today %	Change in %	% change	
15.00%	3	10.00%	-5	-33.00%		15.00%	3	10.00%	-5	-33.00%	
50.00%	2	60.00%	10	20.00%		35.00%	2	40.00%	5	14.00%	
35.00%	1	30.00%	-5	-14.00%		50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0	
<b>North Bougainville District AM</b>						<b>North Bougainville District AF</b>					
T YA %	STEP	Today %	Change in % points	% change		T Y A %	STEP	Today %	Change in %	% change	
10.00%	4	10.00%	0	0.00%		45	3	70.00%	15	56.00%	
15.00%	3	20.00%	5	33.00%		35	2	20.00%	-15	-43.00%	
45.00%	2	50.00%	5	11.00%		20	1	10.00%	-10	-50.00%	
30.00%	1	20.00%	-10	-33.00%							
<b>Hagen District AM</b>						<b>Hagen District AF</b>					
TYA %	STEP	Today %	Change in %	% Change		TYA %	STEP	Today %	Change in %	% change	
5.00%	4	10.00%	5	100.00%		10	3	30	20	200.00%	
2.00%	3	5.00%	3	150.00%		40	2	50	10	25.00%	
85.00%	2	75.00%	-10	-12.00%		50	1	20	-30	-60.00%	
8.00%	1	10.00%	2	25.00%							
<b>National Capital District AM</b>						<b>National Capital District AF</b>					
TYA %	STEP	Today %	Change in %	%change		TYA %	STEP	Today %	Change in %	% change	
5.00%	3	20.00%	15	300.00%		25.00%	4	20.00%	-5	-20.00%	
85.00%	2	50.00%	-35	-41.00%		70.00%	3	50.00%	-20	-29.00%	
10.00%	1	30.00%	20	200.00%		0.00%	2	10.00%	10		
						5.00%	1	20.00%	15	300.00%	
<b>Rigo AM</b>						<b>Rigo AF</b>					
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change		TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	
20.00%	3	10.00%	-10	-50.00%		5.00%	4	10.00%	10	100%	
30.00%	2	40.00%	10	33.33%		60.00%	3	50.00%	-10	-16.67%	
50.00%	1	50.00%	0	0.00%		20.00%	2	30.00%	10	50.00%	
						15.00%	1	10.00%	-5	-33.33%	

ADULT MALE (AM)					ADULT FEMALE (AF)				
Manus District AM					Manus District AF				
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change
15.00%	3	10.00%	-5	-33.33%	85.00%	3	80.00%	-5	-8.55%
75.00%	2	85.00%	10	13.33%	15.00%	2	15.00%	0	
5.00%	1	5.00%	0		3.00%	1	5.00%	2	66.67%
Vanimo Green District AM					Vanimo Green District AF				
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change
10.00%	4	15.00%	5	50.00%	0%	2	2%	2	
25.00%	3	25.00%	0		100%	1	98%	-2	-98.00%
5.00%	2	10.00%	5	100.00%					
60.00%	1	50.00%	-10	-16.67%					
Sumkar District AM					Sumkar District AF				
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change
12.00%	3	7%	-5	-41.67%	0.00%	4	30.00%	30	
85.00%	2	90.00%	5	5.88%	80.00%	3	10.00%	-70	-87.50%
3.00%	1	3.00%	0		10.00%	2	20.00%	10	100.00%
					10.00%	1	40.00%	30	300.00%
Kavieng District AM					Kavieng District AF				
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change
25.00%	2	25.00%	0		5.00%	4	5.00%	0	
75.00%	1	75.00%	0		5.00%	3	15.00%	10	200.00%
					30.00%	2	30.00%	0	
					60.00%	1	50.00%	-10	-16.67%
Talasea District AM					Talasea District AF				
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change
10.00%	2	20.00%	10	100.00%	0.05%	5	0.05%	0	
90.00%	1	80.00%	-10	-11.11%	0.05%	4	0.05%	0	
					0.02%	3	0.03%	0.01	50.00%
					96.00%	2	94.00%	-2	-2.08%
					1.00%	1	2.00%	1	100.00%
Goroka District AM					Goroka AF				
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change
5.00%	3	4.00%	1	25.00%	50.00%	4	50.00%	0	
50.00%	2	60.00%	10	20.00%	50.00%	3	20.00%	-30	-60.00%
45.00%	1	36.00%	-9	-20.00%	0.00%	2	20.00%	20	
					0.00%	1	10.00%	10	
Middle Fly District AM					Middle Fly District AF				
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change
5.00%	3	-%			0.00%	4	5.00%	5	
75.00%	2	-%			10.00%	3	10.00%	0	
20.00%	1	-%			15.00%	2	35.00%	20	133.33%
					75.00%	1	50.00%	-25	33.33%
Sohe District AM					Sohe District AF				
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change
25.00%	3	25.00%	0		10.00%	3	20.00%	10	100.00%
50.00%	2	50.00%	0		80.00%	2	70.00%	-10	-12.50%
25.00%	1	25.00%	0		10.00%	1	10.00%	0	

ADULT MALE (AM)					ADULT FEMALE (AF)				
Sinasina District AM					Sinasina District AF				
TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change	TYA %	STEP	Today	Change	% change
20.00%	3	25.00%	5	25.00%	5.00%	2	10.00%	5	100.00%
10.00%	2	20.00%	10	100.00%	95.00%	1	90.00%	-5	-5.26%
70.00%	1	55.00%	-15	-21.43%					
	Women moving up		Men moving up		Women or Men Moving down				

**Annex Table 10 A: Importance of Networks (Neighbours, friends, acquaintances) - Adult Ratings by Sex for Selected Districts**

	Very Important	Somewhat Important	Not very Important
Koikin adult males	9	2	1
Koikin adult females	2	5	5
Munum adult males	4	4	0
Munum adult females	0	8	0
Maiwara adult males	9	2	0
Maiwara adult females	8	0	0
Hangan adult males	8	0	0
Hangan adult females	5	4	1
Pit adult males	9	1	2
Pit adult females	10	1	0
Ensisi adult males	2	2	4
Ensisi adult females	2	5	2
Total males	41	11	7
Total females	27	23	8



**Annex Table 10B: Importance of Networks (Neighbours, friends, acquaintances) - Adult Ratings by Sex and Districts - Average Scores**

District	FGD Adult Males	FGD Adult Females
Rigo	1.75	1.4
Sumkar	1.3	2.63
Vanimo-Green	1.11	1.8
Talasea	1	1.75
Manus	3.75	1
Kavieng	1.38	1.5
Goroka	1.9	2.1
Sinasina Yonggomugl	2.09	1.83
Middle Fly	1.75	1.5
Sohe	2	2.25
NCD	2.25	2
Buka District	1	1.6
Mt. Hagen District	1.4	1.09
Wewak District	1.3	2.2
Huon District	1.5	2
Alotau District	1.1	1

Note: Average scores are based on Very Important =1; Somewhat Important = 2, Not very Important =3.

**Annex Table 11: Self-declared levels for Happiness, Adult Males and Females by District**

	Very happy	Pretty Happy	Not very happy	Not happy at all	Average	Men > women
Koikin adult males	4	2	3	3	2.4	
Koikin adult females	2	2	7	3	2.7	
Munum adult males	7	0	1	0	1.2	*
Munum adult females	8	1	0	0	1.1	
Maiwara adult males	8	2	0	1	1.4	*
Maiwara adult females	7	1	0	0	1.1	
Hangan adult males	3	5	0	0	1.6	
Hangan adult females	4	2	4	0	2	
Pit adult males	6	5	1	0	1.5	
Pit adult females	0	0	10	1	3	
Ensisi adult males	6	2	0	0	1.3	
Ensisi adult females	6	3	0	0	1.3	
Total adult males	34	16	5	4		
Total adult females	27	9	21	4		

Note: Average scores are based on Very Happy =1; Pretty Happy = 2, Not very happy =3, Not happy at all = 4

✶ illustrates locations where male happiness rates are higher than women

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