

SURVEY REPORT

VOICE FOR CHANGE COMMUNITY SURVEY

'VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS
IN JIWAKA PROVINCE, PAPUA NEW GUINEA'

VOICE FOR CHANGE (2013)

Voice for Change Community Survey 'Voice for Change Community Survey 'Violence Against Women and Girls in Jiwaka Province, Papua New Guinea'. Survey Report (2013). VfC ©

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Data collected, analysis and findings, opinions expressed in this report are sole responsibility of Voice for Change and do not necessarily reflect the views of agencies and organisations that supported the Community Survey with funding and / or in kind.



JIWAKA
POLICE



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To all our sincere thanks



Lilly Be'Soer
Director
Voice for Change

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1. SURVEY SUMMARY

THE VOICE FOR CHANGE COMMUNITY SURVEY OF VIOLENCE TO WOMEN AND GIRLS

Voice for Change conducted a Community Survey during August - September 2013 on violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG). The Community Survey was conducted at twelve sites in the Province: Minj, Korkor, Kudjip, Kindeng, Urupkaip, Bunumwoo, Sipil, Nondugul, Karpa, Tabibuga, Karap and Kawil.

1,015 people from twelve communities in Jiwaka Province participated in the community consultations on violence against women and girls. All Survey participants were grouped into four groups per each community: mature women; mature men; young women and young men. The methods of the Community Survey involved holding community consultations; holding small group discussions; gathering case studies; and conducting interviews and informal discussions. Thirty images of various forms of violence against women and girls were used as a basis for discussions with the communities.

OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

All the community groups consulted across Jiwaka Province agreed that violence to women and girls was happening in the communities. Women experience and observe multiple forms of violence to women and girls.

All the community groups consulted across Jiwaka Province agreed that all these forms of violence to women and girls broke the law of the PNG government, with the possible exception of wife beating.

Most community groups consulted across Jiwaka agreed that it was possible for the community to take action to reduce or prevent these forms of violence to women and girls.

THE MOST COMMON FORMS OF VIOLENCE TO WOMEN AND GIRLS

Wife beating was identified as the most common form of violence to women and girls in the Province.

The three most common forms of violence against women and girls identified were wife beating, rape, and sorcery-related violence.

THE MOST SERIOUS FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

The most serious form of violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province was identified by survey participants as the daily burden of work that women have to do, also named as a form of slavery.

The forms of violence considered the most serious forms of violence to women and girls in Jiwaka Province were slavery / overwork, polygamy, drunks destroying women's market stalls, husbands taking wife's money, wife beating, police inaction and drunks disturbing public spaces.

GENDERED DIFFERENCES IN THE CHOICE OF THE MOST SERIOUS FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

Men and women choose different forms of violence as the most serious forms of violence to women and girls.

Women chose women over-burdened with work, polygamy, husbands taking wife's money for themselves, wife beating, drunks destroying their market stalls and stealing from them, and accusations of sorcery as the most serious forms of violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province. Thus, women chose as serious those forms of violence in their immediate lives: being overworked, abandoned, neglected, financially exploited, falsely accused, beaten and habitually ill-treated.

Men chose drunken men destroying women's market stalls, wife beating, drunken men disturbing women in public spaces, gang rape / rape, police inaction and bride price as the most serious forms of violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province. These are mainly public forms of violence, violence that men see other men doing to women, violence that men commit outside the home.

WOMEN'S ACCESS TO THE LAW AND JUSTICE SECTOR

Women and girls who live lives of violence and indignity need to be able to access the law and justice sector to seek protection and redress. Women and girls have the right to be treated fairly and with dignity when dealing with the sector, and to be protected and supported by the sector.

The survey shows that many of the thirty forms of violence against women and girls are either not being heard in any court system or not in the appropriate courts. Overwhelmingly they are dealt with by the women's or girls' extended families or by the communities. Compensation is the usual procedure.

Importantly, in these situations of violence against women, the welfare of the women and girls is usually not the focus of the mediation or compensation processes. Instead, the welfare of the women involved may be considered secondary to the welfare of the family or community as a whole.

The Community Survey shows that, in those relatively few cases when women take their grievances to the law, there are serious biases against women and girls in the deliberations and processes of the Village Courts system and in the law enforcement agencies, particularly the police.

Police inaction in the face of women's suffering was ranked by the participants as the sixth most serious form of violence to women and girls.

Bias against women in the village courts system was ranked by the participants as the thirteenth most serious form of violence against women and girls.

The perceptions of the participants in the Community Survey were that bribery is widespread in Jiwaka and widely used to disadvantage and discriminate against women. It distorts outcomes of the Village Courts system to favour men over women. The use of bribes reflects and reinforces traditional beliefs about male superiority and female submission to the male, and these traditional beliefs pervade the workings of the courts.

The participants felt that this creates a sense of helplessness in women, a feeling that they are excluded from the spaces of conflict resolution and decision making and that they are not valued in the community. They feel that within these systems, such practices deny them justice.

The lack of an effective and visible police presence has led to more and more cases that should fall under the jurisdiction of the formal courts of law being heard by traditional leaders and through informal mechanisms. This resort to the payment of compensation is undermining the law and justice sector.

The Survey shows that the widespread use of compensation is resulting in a culture of impunity. Those who commit criminal offenses are not being punished by the formal courts of law and are living freely in their communities. The more widespread the payments of compensation becomes, the more the justice system is eroded.

WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVES ON VIOLENCE TO WOMEN AND GIRLS

The Survey showed that fear pervades the lives of women and girls. Women and girls in Jiwaka live in the constant fear of violence. They feel constrained and restricted in their movements and in what they can do.

The incapacitating workload that women bear, their husbands' appropriation of their money and goods, and their abandonment by their husband, their families, and communities has become a way of life for them.

The community survey shows that, for too many women in Jiwaka, the laws do not work. The institutions of justice do not work. They have lost faith in their leaders and are not finding justice or support in their communities. They named it as experiencing forms of personal, spiritual and social death as well as physical death.

Violence reduces and impoverishes women. It strips them off their dignity, their resources and their livelihoods. Through men's selfishness and violence, women and their children are rendered penniless and destitute. Children are deprived of education and also of a future. This is especially true for first wives in polygamy cases.

The money taken from women, whether it is appropriated by their husbands or stolen by young men, goes to non-social ends, including: adultery; the purchase of drugs, steam and beer; and the purchase of women and girls for entertainment.

As well as taking money from women, men make money out of the appalling violence that happens to women. It is men that receive the compensation payments through village court system when, for example, women are raped, murdered, mutilated, accused of sorcery, beaten or grievously harmed. Men also receive bride price payments, which places women into a very vulnerable and disadvantaged position.

Women dream of change. Women know that men can change. They have written a number of case studies about men changing their behaviour. They want change in men, in social relationships, in patterns of social organisation, and in community norms, values and practices. In particular, women want to be valued: valued in their own right, valued for who they are, and valued for what they do.

Women understand through lived experience that violence against women and girls happens in communities where there are unjust ideas about gender and sexuality, where it is accepted that men have power over women, where women are not valued.

MEN'S PERSPECTIVES ON VIOLENCE TO WOMEN AND GIRLS

The methodology of the Community Survey made it difficult and in some cases confronting for the men who participated, both in the large consultations and in the focus group discussions, because they were asked to look at images of men's violence towards women and girls.

These were challenging spaces for men to be in, as for they are often used to receiving and demanding respect, and wielding power over others. Despite the discomfort they felt during the Community Consultations, men stayed on for the focus group discussions and many offered to write case studies. The fact that they stayed and participated till the end of the survey data collection is, in a way, a testament to their concern for their communities and for the future of the new Province of Jiwaka.

The methodology of the Community Survey also helped the men to have insights into their own behaviour and its consequences. Much of the behaviour shown in the images is still considered to be socially acceptable. These ways of behaving form part of community norms, values and practices. The men's fathers and their fathers' fathers had behaved in this way.

Many of the men who participated in the Community Survey were concerned about the extent of violence to women and girls; and the damaging impact that it had on their lives. They expressed a strong desire for the establishment of law and order which would help them to change and to live in greater peace and harmony.

Many men commented that they found the methodology of the Community Survey as a transformative process which enabled them to reflect on their lives and their practices and values. It also helped them understand the consequences of their actions for others and the impact on others of what they had done.

In many of the case studies, men expressed concern or remorse for what had been done, including their taking part in a sorcery killing, being in polygamous relationships, growing marijuana or brewing steam, getting high or drunk and stealing, causing vandalism, and destroying women's livelihoods, and taking part in gang rapes.

Those men who have changed or who are struggling to change or who want to change need safe spaces in which to discuss and develop these new forms of living as a man, and to learn from and support each other.

WAYS FORWARD

A number of important insights, principles and operational strategies for responding to violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province emerged from the findings of the Community Survey.

1 Women and girls in Jiwaka Province are suffering.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 1.1 Improving access, affordability and quality of support services for women and girls who are survivors of violence, including establishing and resourcing safe houses, free access to healthcare and legal support services.
- 1.2 Increasing access to the law and to justice for women and girls who are survivors of violence.
- 1.3 Strengthening women's ability to advocate for the services that they need and to work collectively for an end to violence.

2 Men in Jiwaka, including young men, can change and some have changed.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 2.1 Give priority to working with men, including young men, who want to change their violent attitudes and behaviours.

3 There are people and institutions in Jiwaka Province that care about what happens to women and girls.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 3.1 Work with individuals, groups, networks and civil society organisations who care about what happens to women and girls.
- 3.2 Work with institutions, or sections of institutions, which care about what happens to women and girls to include education in schools and other educational institutions on building respectful relationships and on prevention of violence against women and girls.
- 3.3 Ensure that those who wish to work towards reducing violence to women and girls are engaged in the struggle to 'walk the talk'.

4 Social change and gender justice start in the family.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 4.1 Give priority to working towards re-creating and strengthening the family.
- 4.2 Encourage and advocate men's participation in caring relationships and helping out in the home.
- 4.3 Strengthen men's empathy for women's lives, men's ability to put themselves into women's shoes.

5 Changing gendered power relations in the community protects women and girls from violence.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 5.1 Strengthen the capacity of communities to reflect on and change the way they live their lives.
- 5.2 Strengthen the capacity of youth to reflect on and change the way they live their lives.
- 5.3 Strengthen traditions of community pledges to change.

6 Using the power of one's position to reduce violence to women and girls in Jiwaka Province.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 6.1 Encourage those in positions of power to use their networks and influence to reduce violence to women and girls. Support and resource women's organisations and networks that work on prevention of violence against women; provide support to women survivors; and focus on changing attitudes in relation to violence against women and girls.
- 6.2 Encourage those in positions of power to use their networks and influence to increase women's presence at and participation in their institutions and networks.

7 Those who commit violence towards women and girls must be held to account for their actions.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 7.1 Strengthen the law and justice sector in the Province.
- 7.2 Continue strengthening the Village Court System.
- 7.3 Conduct civic education on accessing the law and justice sector.

8 Inclusion of the abandoned and marginalised back into society should be a priority.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 8.1 Ensure that children out of school have access to education and health services.
- 8.2 Support the re-integration of youth in Jiwakan society.
- 8.3 Create contexts in which women can contribute to the development of the Province. Prioritise approaches that increase participation of women in community decision-making and village courts, as well as in development activities at provincial level.

WHAT CAN THE JIWAKA PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT DO TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN?

Jiwaka province has increasing evidence of rape, gang rape and other forms of sexual assault, an epidemic of sexually transmitted infections, including HIV, and a resurgence and spread of 'customs' that discriminate against women and violate their most fundamental rights. Excessive cash-based bride price payments have commodified women and girls and made them captive in violent relationships.

Hundreds of children and youth are neglected by polygamous fathers, turning to drugs, alcohol and violent and destructive anti-social behaviour and causing social disharmony in families and communities.

The women of Jiwaka are victims of violence every day in homes and public spaces. There is a rising incidence of blatant inhumane stigmatisation, internal displacement (banishment) barbaric extrajudicial torture, maiming and murder (involving public beating, slashing, chopping, breaking and severing of limbs, branding and raping with red hot irons and knives, drowning and burning alive and mutilation) of vulnerable women (elderly, widowed, abandoned wives) accused of practising sorcery.

This report highlights the pleas and desperate calls for the Jiwaka Government to take immediate actions and plan to eliminate all forms of Violence against Women in its provincial development plan and budget. A special long-term strategic intervention is crucial to address the issue and to make all women safe, and especially to protect women in line with PNG's Global Human Rights commitments.

The Jiwaka Provincial Government must make political leaders, the police and courts, and all institutions in Jiwaka more aware of the issue of violence against women. These actors must be held accountable to state obligations to Human Rights Law and treaties. (CEDAW, CRC, CESC, CCPR)

To rectify this issue the provincial government has to establish the rule of law in the province and outlaw the practise of cruel, inhuman anti-women and criminal customs that are having a terrible impact on women and children. It must ensure accountability and discipline in the police and justice systems.

The women of Jiwaka Province are calling on the government to commit to a new model of development – a model of development justice where women are central to decision-making around any development matters. Where wealth and power are redistributed more equally, where economies focus on local communities and serve the people, where violence against women is recognized as a major development issue and appropriate measures are put in place to address the issue.

The Jiwaka Provincial Government should develop, endorse and resource the Jiwaka Provincial Gender Based Violence / Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy or Policy and supporting Action Plan, that would include establishing relevant and adequate support services and referral pathways for victims / survivors of violence (including engagement of courts, Police, health services, psychological / counselling services, safe houses, etc.). This could be done through introducing a Jiwaka Provincial working group, which would be made up of representatives from the Government, Police, NGOs, health services and other relevant stakeholders.

With the creation of a new province, and new provincial and local level governments, there is a one off opportunity to build a new movement of citizens and leaders working together to ensure respect and protections for women is upheld.

2. COMMUNITY SURVEY 'THE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS IN JIWAKA PROVINCE, PNG'

2.1. INTRODUCTION: VOICE FOR CHANGE

Voice for Change (VFC) is a non-government human rights and sustainable livelihoods organisation based in the recently created Province of Jiwaka, Papua New Guinea.

Voice for Change started in 1996 as a community group meeting regularly to discuss issues arising in the community, especially issues of concern to women, and to consider how these issues might be addressed. It became a registered organisation in 2004.

The organisation works in the Province to create alliances with local communities, faith based organisations, women's groups, local level and provincial governments, tribal leaders and law enforcing agencies to promote food security and to end violence against women and girls.

Voice for Change has two thematic priorities: Advocacy to end all forms of violence against women and girls and the women's economic empowerment program. There are two programs under the first thematic area: Ending violence against women and the Rapid Response Team responding to violence against women. Under the women's economic empowerment thematic area, there are also two programs: the Savings and Loans scheme and the Fruit and Vegetables program.

Voice for Change is a small organisation with six full-time program staff, all women. Because it advocates and works on violence against women and girls, women suffering violence from their husbands, women or families, victims of sorcery violence, and victims of other forms of violence and distress turn to it for assistance, counselling and support. Its office space functions as a trauma counselling centre for these victims of violence.

In 2011, Voice for Change was approached by the President of Minj Local Level Government (LLG) who was concerned about the need to establish a new set of by-laws to govern the people of the new Province. Voice for Change agreed to work with him to address this need as they saw this as an opportunity to incorporate issues affecting women and girls, and in particular violence against women.

By then it had become clear to Voice for Change, through its work and in their own personal and social lives, that the women and girls in Jiwaka were desperate for change. They lived in such fear of violence, humiliation and intimidation, and were so over burdened by work, that they had lost hope for the future.

Voice for Change requested the UN Trust Fund to End Violence Against Women to support it in its work in Jiwaka to increase respect and protection for women and girls within their communities.

Project to Increase Respect and Protection for Women and Girls Within Their Communities

The purpose of this Project is to give the people of Jiwaka opportunities, guidance and support to collectively and substantively discuss issues of gender based discrimination and violence and gender equity and human rights in relation to customary norms, beliefs and practices in ways that have never been discussed before.

The intention is that through this process, individuals and institutions will be gender sensitised, provided with new information and education on human rights / women's rights, and there will be the potential to capture these standards in new bylaws.

By driving, deciding and owning this process, people will be motivated towards attitudinal and behavioural changes in ways that will progressively eliminate discrimination and violence against women and girls, starting in families and communities and carried over to public institutions and spaces. In addition, women and girls will be supported to better understand their situation and encouraged to build solidarity and collective action in demanding law enforcement and justice.

The results will be government, institutional and community consensus, accountability and action towards the inclusion of new norms and standards for the promotion and protection of women's human rights.

To initiate this work, Voice for Change carried out a baseline Community Survey to identify communities' opinions on the most prevalent forms of violence against women and girls perpetrated within communities in Jiwaka Province. During 2013 the Community Survey was designed and tested; data collection took place during August - September 2013 with the support of the UN Trust to End Violence Against Women. The International Women's Development Agency (IWDA) supported Voice for Change to record, analyse and write up of the Community Survey findings, as well as with preparation of this survey report during 2014-2015.

2.2. THE AIMS OF THE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS COMMUNITY SURVEY

The *aims* of the base-line Community Survey on Violence Against Women and Girls in Jiwaka Province were to:

- Gather the perspectives of women and girls in Jiwaka regarding community respect for women and girls and how protected and safe they feel within their community.
- Gather the perspectives of women and girls who approach the Village Courts system and the police with concerns and complaints about the violence they are experiencing.
- Gather the perspectives of men and boys in Jiwaka about their lives and behaviour and about violence against women and girls.
- Contribute to the creation of opportunities for the people of Jiwaka to collectively and substantively discuss issues relating to violence against women and girls and their human rights.

The Community Survey was designed with an aim of contributing to the processes of discussion, reflection and social change required to increase respect and protection of women and girls. A methodology was designed to ensure that findings of the Survey were relevant and valid to the objectives of the Project and also form a baseline for the project impact assessment in the future. In developing the Survey a number of key factors were considered, such as: the methodology would need to be based on processes which created the possibility of social change; and it would need to create safe spaces for discussion of difficult issues relating to violence to women and girls. There would need to be reflective listening spaces, spaces where people would be able to talk about painful personal experiences, to express remorse, to challenge harmful practices, norms and ways of behaving, and within which personal and collective change might be possible.

Hence it was decided that the Community Survey would be based on methodologies that would bring people together to collectively discuss and reflect on the issues. In particular, this would involve:

- Holding Community Consultations;
- Holding smaller focus group discussions;
- Gathering case studies or stories of people's experiences of violence against women and girls; and
- Holding follow-up interviews and informal discussions with the participants in the Community Survey and others.

It was also decided to use images showing various forms of violence to ask questions and start discussions, rather than verbal descriptions of violence, to better ensure that the participants had a shared understanding of the forms of violence against women and girls being discussed and to better ground the discussions in the actual experiences of women and girls.

It was envisaged that the Community Survey would contribute to a larger assessment of situation with violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province, which includes a local and provincial government component, a government service providers' component and a component involving non-governmental organisations (NGOs), faith based organisations (FBOs) and community based organisations (CBOs).

2.3. SURVEY PREPARATIONS AND PLANNING

In advance of the Community Survey, Voice for Change organised meetings to introduce the project to the Provincial authorities and Local Level Government (LLG) officials. A formal letter was sent seeking their permission for and endorsement of the Survey.

The Community Survey was planned collaboratively with the Minj District Police and it was agreed that the police would accompany the Community Survey teams during the Survey.

Voice for Change had already identified people in different institutions who were actively engaged in defending the rights of women prior involvement in this project; and brought them together for gender and human rights training, including violence against women. The institutions involved included the churches, NGOs and CBOs, education, health, social services, traditional leaders and youth leaders, ward councillors, and the village courts system.

The training provided the participants with an opportunity to collectively analyse and reflect on customs and roles and status of women in traditional and contemporary Jiwaka society and to become more knowledgeable about the PNG Constitution, human rights and violence against women. In the course of the training, participants formed themselves into the Jiwaka Human Rights Defenders' Network.

Voice for Change recruited the Community Survey team from its own staff and from the Jiwaka Human Rights Defenders' Network. Nine men and five women from the Human Rights Defenders' Network were trained in the Survey methodology along with four of the program staff of Voice for Change (all female) and a consultant.

The Community Survey team were the facilitators, recorders and interviewers for the study. Team members were trained on human rights and violence against women and on the Survey methodology. A Code of Conduct was developed for the Survey and all members of the Survey team were asked to accept and sign it.

Voice for Change staff and members of the research preparation team with Minj District Police, August 2013.



2.4. COMMUNITY SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The communities selected to take part in the Community Survey were informed about the Survey through their village court magistrates, tribal leaders, church leaders and the network of community based organizations within Jiwaka Province and informed of the dates of the Survey team's visit.

When the Community Survey team arrived in the village, those who turned up were gathered together and briefed on the purpose of the Community Survey. They were then broken up into four groups: mature men, mature women, young men, and young women. They were asked to decide themselves which group to go to. If they sought guidance, the 'Papas' (mature men with children) and 'Mamas' (mature women with children) were told to go to the mature groups. The young people's groups were for unmarried or married young people, without children or with one or two children.

A community consultation was then facilitated with each of the four groups and the discussion recorded.

The Community Survey team for each site was composed of eight people: a discussion facilitator and a discussion recorder for each of the four groups in the community (two in each group).

The Minj District Police accompanied the Survey team during the initial preparation stage in order to inform communities about the activities and preparation for the survey. The Police also accompanied the Survey team to Anglimb, North and South Whagi locations, but not to Jimi district due to budget limitations.

In the community consultation, six images of violence against women and girls were used. Voice for Change selected the six images to be used, in consultation with other women. It took into account the realities of their own lives, the seriousness of the act, whether the form of violence was being adequately dealt with in the Village Courts system or in the formal legal system, and whether communities were adequately dealing with them.

The six images chosen were:

1. Wife beating (1)¹;
2. Murder of a wife (26);
3. Rape of a disabled girl (29);
4. Gang rape / rape (4);
5. Bodily mutilation / severe physical violence - limb cut off (30);
6. A woman, accused of sorcery by the community, about to be burned (10).

A process and set of questions were developed for the community consultation. First, the six images were shown to the community one by one and the community was asked what was happening in the picture. This was done to ensure that everyone was seeing the same thing in the image.

The community then was asked to rank the six images from the most common form of violence in their community to the least common².

Then for each of the six images, five questions were asked:

- Is this happening in your community?
- Is this kind of action acceptable in your community?
- Is this act of violence against women a 'custom' that existed in the time of your parents and grandparents?
- Does this behaviour break the law of the PNG government?
- Can your community take action to reduce or prevent these problems?

At the end of the community consultation, in each group, seven to ten volunteers were invited to stay on for a Focus Group Discussion. In these smaller groups, thirty images of violence against women and girls were used. Thirty images included the six already used in the Community Consultations. A process and a separate set of questions were developed for the focus group discussion.

Initially the thirty images were laid out for the group to see and they were asked to reach consensus on what they were seeing in each image and how the violence depicted is named in the community.

The focus group participants were then asked to discuss and decide which of the forms of violence depicted they thought were the most serious forms of violence to women and girls. They were first asked to choose the seven most serious and then to reduce them down to the three most serious forms of violence to women and girls.

¹ The numbers in brackets refer to the numbering of the image in the portfolio of thirty images used in the focus group discussions.

² It was decided to collect data on what communities considered were the most common or prevalent forms of violence in the Community Consultations and on what were considered to be the most serious forms of violence to women and girls in the focus group discussions.

Then for each of the three images the group had chosen, the following questions were asked:

- Who is in the wrong?
- Who is the victim and how is she/they affected?
- What are the causes of this problem?
- Is this behaviour the custom of your people?
- How do most people in your community respond to such incidents?
- Who is doing something to stop this problem?

After the Focus Group Discussion, two participants were invited to write up case studies of violence against women and girls either drawn from their own experience or from situations in their families or in their communities. Both men and women were invited to write case studies. Participants were reassured that their confidentiality and privacy would be protected and were told that the stories would be anonymous.

The Community Survey team spent the whole day in one village. Other methods used in the community included informal discussions, interviews and observation.

After the Survey, interviews were held with a number of data collectors from the Community Survey teams to gain further feedback and clarification on the process used and on the findings.

2.5. DATA RECORDING, ENTRY AND ANALYSIS.

The Community Survey data collection was carried out during September 2013. The Community Consultations and focus group discussions were conducted in Tok Pisin or the local language. One member of the Survey team in each group was assigned the task of recording the discussions and decisions reached. These were recorded in either *Tok Pisin* or English. The case studies were either written by the person herself or himself or dictated to the recorder to write. They are in either *Tok Pisin* or English.

A number of the facilitators and recorders wrote up their impressions and observations on the Community Survey process and findings and their recommendations and/or the recommendations arising from the discussion.

The Community Survey forms in *Tok Pisin* and, to the extent possible, the case studies were translated into English by the staff of Voice for Change and then entered. The data was proof checked for consistency. They were then coded manually by theme and analyzed by a consultant and, wherever possible, by the Voice for Change staff.

In writing the report, wherever possible, verbatim quotes from the case studies or from the records of the consultations and focus group discussions were used. This allowed the diversity of the participants' voices to be heard; as in Freire's words, to "speak their world" without it being replaced by the words of the analyst (Freire, 1968). It empowers and gives voice to the people.

Field work in Karap village, Jimi District of Jiwaka Province, September 2013.



2.6. THE SURVEYED COMMUNITIES

In choosing the sites, a number of factors were taken into account: accessibility and security for the Survey team, geographic spread, village size, remoteness from or closeness to centres of economic and social activity, and homogeneity or diversity of the population. Twelve Survey sites were chosen by Voice for Change working with the enumerators from the Jiwaka Human Rights Defenders Network. The intention was to carry out the Community Survey in two communities in each of the six Local Level Governments (LLGs) in the Province at the time of the Survey. However there were problems of inaccessibility in the Kambia areas.

The sites chosen are presented in Table 1.

Brief description of Surveyed communities

Jimi District Tabibuga LLG

- 1). **Tabibuga** is a very remote community and this is where the Jimi District head office is. The place looks deserted and lifeless. There is hardly any presence of police personnel. The public servants are all living in Banz according to the locals there. The road to Banz is very poor and only accessible by four wheel drive vehicles. The transport cost is K30 one way per passenger. It took about 4 hours to get to Tabibuga from Banz.

Jimi District Kol LLG

- 2). **Karap** is also very remote and it is about three hours' drive to Tabibuga District Station. The road is poor and the cost of transport is high. The Karap Community has some basic services such as the health centre, schools and some churches.
- 3). **Kawil** is a small community and is isolated and rural, located close to the border of Jimi and Banz Districts. It takes more than one and a half hour to drive from Banz to Kawil. It has a school, some churches and a health centre which takes an hour to walk to.



Road conditions in Jimi District, Jiwaka Province, September 2013

North Whagi District Nondugul LLG

- 4). **Nondugul** is a big rural community and has some basic government services such as the police station, health centres and schools, churches and some community based organizations. It has a road that runs right through the village but is difficult to access during the wet season.

- 5). **Karpa/Arange** is a small rural community and located at the boarder of Chimbu and Jiwaka Province. The advantage is that the community is situated right next to the main Highlands Highway and the travel is easy to Minj or Kundiawa to access services.

North Whagi District Banz LLG

- 6). **Sipil** is a big community and it is not as rural as other communities in a sense of access to services: residents can easily access the Banz town and other services located there. It is about it is a 5 minute drive or 30 minute walk to Banz town from Sipil and the road network is good.
- 7). **Bunumwoo** is rural and takes about 30 minutes to drive to the west of Banz town. There is a secondary school located in Bunumwoo and a few big coffee plantations as well. It has a good road network and people can travel easily to Banz or Mt Hagen to access services needed.

Table 1: Community Survey sites

District/Electorates	Jimi		North Waghi		Anglimb South Waghi	
Local Level Government	Tabibuga	Kol	Nondugul	Banz	South Waghi (including Kambia)	Anglimb
Community Survey sites	1	2	2	2	3	2
Villages	1. Tabibuga	2. Karap 3. Kawil	4. Nondugul 5. Karpa/ Arange	6. Sipil 7. Bunumwoo	8. Minj 9. Korkor 10. Kudjip	11. Kindeng 12. Urupkaip

Anglimb South Waghi District South Whagi LLG

- 8). **Minj** is the District Administration Station (District Centre). Minj is a commercial centre with the District Head Office, a health centre, schools, a police station, and shops. The Community Survey participants were mainly residents of the Minj District Area, families of public servants, and people from nearby villages.
- 9). **Korkor** is a rural community about 45 minutes' drive from the Minj District Station. The road condition is very poor and only a few vehicles (mainly 4WD) are able access the road. People usually travel by foot to access all services, such as the health centre, shops, markets and basic goods. It takes nearly an hour to walk from Korkor to the District Station. The community claimed that it was the first time or a very long time they are seeing a police vehicle and policemen in uniform to visit the community.
- 10). **Kudjip** community is rural but close to the main Highlands Highway and about 20 minutes' drive to the Banz District and 30 minutes to Minj District. They have access to the Highlands Highway, health services and schools. The Survey was held about 10 minutes' drive from the main Highlands Highway.

Anglimb South Waghi District South Whagi LLG

- 11). **Kindeng** community is rural but has good access to road. It is a 45 minutes' drive to Mt. Hagen town and another 45 minute drive to Banz District office. The Survey covered the local people near the main highway. The main road that joins the Highland Highway and connects the villages from the upper Tuman area is very good. Most public buses travel in to collect passengers to take them to town and back.
- 12). **Urupkaip** is rural and a 45 minute drive from Mt. Hagen, the road network is very good and people travel regularly to town to access all services.

Community Survey Research Team, September 2013.



2.7. THE FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY

The phrase 'violence against women and girls' is understood in different ways³. The United Nations in its 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women defines it as 'any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life'. The Declaration also notes that this violence could be perpetrated by assailants of either gender from individual, communal to state levels.

The method chosen for studying the forms of violence experienced by women and girls in Jiwaka was to develop a portfolio of images of different types of violence experienced by women and girls in Jiwaka in public and in private. The initial selection of the types of violence against women and girls to be included in the Community Survey was made by the women staff members of Voice for Change, drawing on both their personal lived and work experiences. These were refined in consultations with an independent consultant Elizabeth Cox, the Jiwaka Human Rights Defenders Network members and other women.

Once the forms of violence to be included were selected, instructions were developed and an artist, Albert Ipu, was commissioned to draw the images. The images were then field tested and further developed in consultation with the Jiwaka Human Rights Defenders' Network.



Field work in Kindeng village, Anglimb District of Jiwaka Province, September 2013.

The final list of images showing various forms of violence against women and girls included in the Community Survey was:

1. Wife beating
2. Husband taking wife's money for himself / selfish husband
3. Women overburdened with work - slavery
4. Gang rape / rape
5. Harassment and unwanted touching of women by drunken men in public places
6. Polygamy and neglect
7. Women denied family planning as men want many children
8. Rape in conflict
9. Use of guns to rape or force marriage
10. Woman, accused of sorcery by the community, is about to be burned
11. Bride-price payment and control / ownership over a wife
12. Drunken men prevent women from walking around in public places
13. Accusation of adultery against a woman / beating a pregnant woman
14. Girl stopped from going to school, preference was given to her brother
15. Police Inaction: Police don't attend to women when they come to the police station
16. Bias against women in village courts: women not respected in village courts
17. Widow and children sent away from the village
18. Drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money
19. Men at the market don't respect women traders
20. A girl given to a much older man as a child-bride
21. Sale of young girl for money or goods
22. Brother abusing and threatening his sister and Aunt
23. Women kept away from friends and family - control and isolation
24. Pregnant girl is rejected by family
25. Harassment / theft of bilum (handbag) in public transport
26. Murder of a wife
27. Incest / child sexual abuse
28. Forcing sex unacceptable to a woman after watching pornography
29. Rape of a disabled girl
30. Severe violence and bodily mutilation with knives or weapons

³ Men and boys also experience gender-based violence; however this research was focused on violence against women and girls.

Images of Forms of Violence of Violence Against Women and Girls



Image 1. Wife beating (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 2. Husband taking wife's money for himself /selfish husband (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 3. Women overburdened with work - slavery (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 4. Gang rape / rape (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 5. Harassment and unwanted touching of women by drunken men in public places (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 6. Polygamy and neglect (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 7. Women denied family planning as men want many children (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 8. Rape in conflict (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 9. Use of guns to rape or force marriage (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 10. A woman, accused of sorcery by the community, is about to be burned (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 11. Bride-price payment and control/ ownership over a wife (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 12. Drunken men prevent women from walking around in public places (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 13. Accusation of adultery against a woman/ beating a pregnant woman (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 14. Girl stopped from going to school, preference given to her brother (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 15. Police inaction: Police don't attend to women when they come to the Police station (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 16. Bias against women in village courts: women not respected in village courts (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 17. A widow and children sent away from the village (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 18. Drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 19. Men at the market don't respect women traders (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 20. A girl given to a much older man as a child-bride (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 21. Sale of a young girl for money or goods (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 22. Brother abusing and threatening his sister and Aunt (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 23. Women kept away from friends and family - control and isolation (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 24. Pregnant girl is rejected by family (Artist: Albert Ipu)

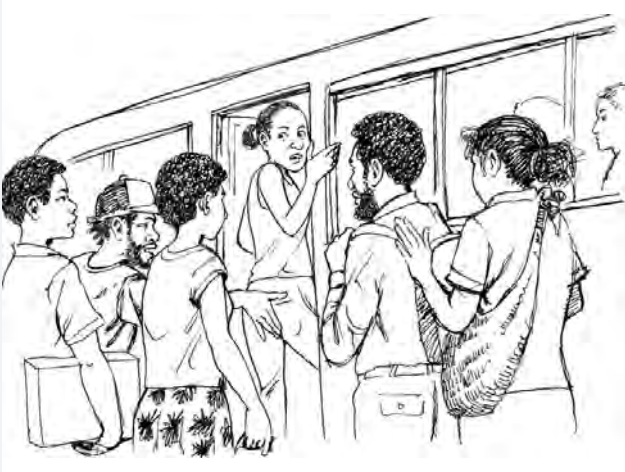


Image 25. Harassment/ theft of bilum (handbag) in public transport (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 26. Murder of a wife (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 27. Incest/ child sexual abuse (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 28. Forcing sex unacceptable to a woman after watching pornography (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 29. Rape of a disabled girl (Artist: Albert Ipu)



Image 30. Severe violence and bodily mutilation with knives or weapons (Artist: Albert Ipu)

Public and private violence against women and girls

The violence against women and girls occurs on both public and private spaces and it was depicted in the images used for the Community Survey. Violence against women and girls can occur in private spaces, such as domestic, family and/or intimate partner violence, incest, violence against children, neglect, etc. Violence against women and girls that occurs in public spaces can vary from violence in market areas and community spaces, at police stations, on buses, outside, in schools, etc.

Table 2 shows the breakdown of images by different forms of violence that occur in private spaces and in public spaces, some of which can occur in both public and private spaces.

Table 2: Forms of violence against women and girls: violence that occurs in private or public life

Violence occurring in private spaces	Violence occurring in public spaces
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wife beating (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gang rape/rape (4)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Husband taking wife's money for himself/selfish husband (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harassment and unwanted touching of women by drunken youth in public places (5)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women overburdened with work/slavery (3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rape in conflict (8)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Polygamy and neglect (6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of guns to rape or force marriage (9)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women denied family planning as men want many children (7) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Woman accused of sorcery by the community is about to be burned (10)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bride-price payment and control/ ownership over a wife (11) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bride-price payment and control/ ownership over a wife (11)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accusation of adultery against a woman/ beating a pregnant woman (13) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drunken men prevent women from walking around in public places (12)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A girl given to a much older man as a child-bride (20) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girl stopped from going to school, preference is given to her brother (14)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brother abusing and threatening his sister and Aunt (21) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police inaction: Police don't attend to women when they come to the police station (15)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women kept away from friends and family - control and isolation (23) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bias against women in village courts: women not respected in village courts (16)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pregnant girl rejected by family (24) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Widow and children sent away from the village (17)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Murder of wife (26) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money (18)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incest/child sexual abuse (27) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Men at the market don't respect women traders (19)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forcing sex unacceptable to woman after watching pornography (28) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A girl given to a much older man as a child-bride (20)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rape of a disabled girl (29) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sale of young girl for money or goods (21)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Severe violence and bodily mutilation with knives or weapons (30) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Brother abusing and threatening his sister and Aunt (22)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pregnant girl rejected by family (24)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Harassment/theft of bilum on public transport (25)

Types of violence against women and girls

The types of violence identified in the UN Declaration on Elimination of Violence Against Women (1993) as: "...physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty."

The forms of violence depicted in the images used in the Community Survey were inclusive and drawn based on the lived experiences of the Jiwakan women involved in their development of images and Survey. They included physical, sexual, emotional/psychological, verbal, and moral violence, deprivation and neglect, economic violence, as well as abuse committed by the state and/or legal system. Deprivation violence refers to the removal of control from women over their movement, over their access to goods and services, and decision-making, and their social isolation, including being denied friendship and support. Moral violence refers to the violence of false accusations, of the commodification of women, that is, reducing women to objects that can be bought and sold, attacks against their character, and the stripping away of their dignity.

The images, included in the Community Survey, depict these different types of violence against women and girls that occur in Jiwaka are:

Physical violence:

- Wife beating (image 1)
- Women overburdened with work/slavery (image 3)
- Accusation of adultery against a woman/ beating a pregnant woman (image 13)
- Brother abusing and threatening sister and Aunt (image 22)
- Murder of wife (image 26)
- Severe violence and bodily mutilation with knives or weapons (image 30)

Sexual violence:

- Gang rape/rape (image 4)
- Rape in conflict (image 8)
- Use of guns to rape or force marriage (image 9)
- Incest/child sexual abuse (image 27)
- Forcing sex unacceptable to woman after watching pornography (image 28)
- Rape of a disabled girl (image 29)

Emotional/psychological/verbal violence:

- Harassment/touching of women by drunken youth in public places (image 5)
- Pregnant girl rejected by family (image 24)
- Harassment/theft of bilum on public transport (image 25)

Deprivation and neglect:

- Women denied family planning as men want many children (image 7)
- Drunken men prevent women from walking around in public places (image 12)
- Girl stopped from going to school, preference was given to her brother (image 14)
- Widow and children sent away from the village (image 17)
- Women kept away from friends and family - control and isolation (image 23)

Moral violence:

- Polygamy and neglect (image 6)
- Woman accused of sorcery by the community is about to be burned (image 10)
- A girl given to a much older man as a child-bride (image 20)
- Sale of young girl for money or goods (21)

State and legal violence:

- Police don't attend to women when they come to the police station: police inaction (14)
- Bias against women in village courts: women not respected in village courts (15)

Economic or financial violence:

- Husband taking wife's money for himself/selfish husband (image 2)
- Bride-price payment and control/ ownership over a wife (image 11)
- Drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money (image 12)

All these forms of violence are interrelated, occur concurrently and affect women from birth, throughout life, and to the old age and death.



Court clerks participate in the survey to identify common types of violence that come to their attention, September 2013

Intimidation and exploitative violence

The images can also be seen as portraying different types of intimidation and exploitation experienced by women and girls⁴. Table 3 shows the forms of violence that intimidate and the forms of violence that exploit.

The forms of violence that intimidate are those that control and manipulate women and girls and instil fear. The forms of violence that exploit women and girls are those in which men use their power to exploit and take advantage of women.

The forms of violence that intimidate are ways that men, communities, young men, and women's own kin exert power and control over women and girls. They are used to force women to conform to local gender and sexual norms, such as the gender division of labour, widow marriage to the husband's brother, or hierarchies of respect for men.

They include local gendered practices such as the use of rape or forced marriage during conflicts or in conflict resolution; bias, humiliation and neglect in village court practices; gendered ways of doing things, including sexual advances by older men; the support for polygamy by the husband's family; local gendered traditions, such as dress codes; and pressure on women to perform their customary obligations.

Table 3: Forms of violence against women and girls: intimidation and exploitative

Violence that intimidates	Violence that exploits
• Wife beating	• Husband taking wife's money for himself / selfish husband
• Gang rape / rape	• Women overburdened with work / slavery
• Harassment / touching of women by drunken youth in public places	• Polygamy: neglect
• Rape in conflict	• Woman denied family planning: man wants many children
• Use of guns to rape or force marriage	• Woman accused of sorcery by the community about to be burned
• Bride-price payment	• Girl stopped from going to school
• Drunken men prevent women from walking around in public places	• Drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money
• Accusation of adultery against a woman	• Men at the market don't respect women traders
• Police don't attend to women when they come to the police station: police inaction	• Sale of young girl for money
• Bias against women in village courts: women not respected in village courts	• Incest / child sexual abuse
• Widow and children sent away from the village	• Forcing sex unacceptable to woman after watching pornography
• Brother abusing and threatening sister and Aunt	• Rape of minor / disabled girl
• Women kept away from friends and family	
• Pregnant girl rejected by family	
• Harassment / theft of <i>bilum</i> on public transport	
• Murder of wife	
• Bodily mutilation / limb cut off / severed	

⁴ Men and boys also experience gender-based violence; however this research was focused on violence against women and girls.

Violence in a form of intimidation causes anger, shame, resentment, sadness and powerlessness. The women and girls who experience the violence of intimidation can start to believe the insults or the excuses: for example, believing that women who are cheeky or disrespectful to their husbands deserve to be beaten. They may lose their self-esteem.

The fear instilled by intimidation violence forces women into submission, restricts their freedom of movement, speech and other freedoms, instils feelings of being unsafe when walking through public spaces, and causes women to live in fear of the next attack. These are forms of controlling and coercing women.

Exploitative violence is a form of violence in which men use their power to exploit and take advantage of women.

In these forms of violence, men, young men, other wives, women's families, or the community seize women's earnings and goods and appropriate for their own ends women's labour, sexuality, money, resources, and property. They expropriate women's bodies, forcing them to continue bearing children to satisfy their sense of their own masculinity or so that there are more children for tribal fights. They buy girls for sex, pay bride price for wives or perpetrate incest. They destroy women's market stalls and steal their goods or steal women's *bilums*, with mobile phones and purses in them, on buses.

Some of the forms of violence portrayed have strong elements of both intimidation and exploitative violence. Accusations of sorcery intimidate women but also often occur when people covet or envy their possessions and property. Similarly, harassment and the theft of *bilums* on public transport whilst intimidation is also exploitative. Refusing women access to family planning services intimidates and controls but it is also a form of exploitation of their bodies for the man's ends or purposes.

Intimidation and exploitation, like all forms of violence against women, arise out of unequal power relations between women and men. They thrive where there are rigid gender roles, norms and hierarchies, where women are not valued and are ascribed a low status in society.

3. THE COMMUNITY CONSULTATIONS ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS: DATA COLLECTION

3.1. THE COMMUNITY CONSULTATIONS PARTICIPANTS

1,015 people from twelve communities of Jiwaka Province attended the Community Consultations. The numbers fluctuated over the course of the meetings with people coming and going. The Consultations lasted on average a half of a day and were followed by the focus group discussions which also took about a half of a day. Time was taken during lunch to move around and talk with the participants.

Table 4 shows the participants at each site and by groups. Numbers attending per survey site varied from 25 to 183 participants. There were roughly even numbers of men and women (52.5% and 47.5% respectively) and of more mature and younger participants (48% and 52%, respectively).

Case studies were also collected as part of the Community Survey to provide reach qualitative information. In total 71 case studies were collected (39 case studies from female participants and 32 case studies from male participants). The anonymous quotes from the case studies are used throughout the report to illustrate examples of violence against women and girls widespread in the communities, to show attitudes, perceptions and practices. The detailed case studies are not included into this report due to confidentiality reasons.



Field work in Banz, Jiwaka Province, September 2013

Over a thousand people from twelve communities in Jiwaka Province participated in the Community Consultations on violence against women and girls.

Table 4: Participants at each Community Survey location

Location	Mature men	Mature women	Young men	Young women	Total
Minj	22	24	26	26	98
Korkor	7	15	18	22	62
Kudjip	8	14	10	19	51
Kindeng	15	18	18	13	64
Urupkaip	9	8	5	3	25
Bunumwoo	15	20	14	-	49
Sipil	21	19	15	12	67
Nondugul	31	26	31	31	119
Karpa	30	27	28	20	105
Tabibuga	28	40	85	30	183
Karap	28	31	30	20	109
Kawil	20	12	21	30	83
Total	234	254	301	226	1015

3.2. COMMUNITY RESPONSES TO THE SURVEY

The response of the communities to the invitation to attend the consultations varied.

The recorders for the Community Consultations in Karap described the participation as follows:

During this interview, our participants listened carefully and participated well. Most of them were elderly people so they opened up and expressed whatever problem that was happening right there in their community. They said this was the first time to see people like us (VFC) to really go into the remote places and can do changes instead of the government to do. It is by default their job.

(mature men group facilitator)

A good number of youths turned up. They participated cooperatively. The Survey was kind of new to them but they responded very well. Violence was discovered as a normal phenomenon in the areas. It was treated as a custom. Some suggestions and recommendations were raised.

(young men group facilitator)

The attendance was good. They responded willingly to the questions. They came out well and expressed clearly what situation they were in.

(young women group facilitator)

In Kudjip, the Community Survey team commented:

The young men enthusiastically expressed themselves of what they do and see which helped us complete our task. They were more open to express from their own experiences. Their commitment and patience was of great help to us that we got all the factual information. Killing and torturing relating to sorcery related was very hard to see and understand because some people believe and suspect only.

(young men group facilitator)

The young women actively contributed from within their heart. Shared their observations and experiences including problems they are facing and encountering in their daily life. Very good responses from young women group.

(young women group facilitator)

During our interview, it seemed that all the participants especially the matured man were very happy and expressed their feelings and thoughts. They responded very well and asked us if we can use this information to make this things happen.

(mature men group facilitator)

The recorder for the Tabibuga mature women's group noted that by the end of the Community Consultations there were over fifty women present - there are forty in the table above which reflect the numbers at the start of the session. Ten women volunteered to participate in the focus group discussion but all women stayed to observe. It was noted that participation was excellent and that the women were straight forward.

In Urupkaip, the Community Survey team were disappointed by the attendance:

The attendance for the Urup community was very poor. At the beginning of the interview, there were not enough young men so that the young men and the mature men were all grouped together for the interview. ... Towards the end of the interview some more came in and joined the group.

The attendance for women was also poor. There were a total of eight women and all were grouped together for the interview. It was hard to interview them separately to get the information in their own different cases but the answers provided by them sounded familiar.

The Community Survey team commented:

Urupkaip has a very good road network and the public buses run daily from Urupkaip to Mt. Hagen town and back. We were advised that the people often go to town and may not be available for the Survey, even if notice was given in advance to them.

At Kawil also, the Community Survey team considered that attendance of the mature women and the young men was poor. It was commented that everyone goes to the gardens.

Leaders and a few people at the markets appreciated us and give their time to sit down and listen to us

(Recorder, young men)

There were a good number of [young women] participants participating in the Survey. Most of them were women and a few young girls.

Facilitators noted that in Minj there were a good number of public servants attending. In Kindeng, many of the mature men that participated were village court officials.

3.3. THE IMAGES OF FORMS OF VIOLENCE EXPERIENCED BY WOMEN AND GIRLS

The images were disturbing to the women participants and some of the men as well. Facilitators spoke of tears flowing while the communities looked at the images. As the mature women in Tabibuga said, all the images were real issues and were troubling. The mature women of Karap voiced the reflection

The images that were presented triggered an emotional alarm in them. Almost all the images displayed; they all had some kind of experience and stories to share.

The images also enabled women to see things that happened to them, routinely, in their daily lives, as forms of violence. They enabled them to name them as violence. Through the images of violence in the Community Survey, the women began to see their lives differently.

Women shared that they had experienced all the different forms of violence and had seen other women suffering from variety of violence. This often made it difficult for women to reach agreement on the most common or the most serious forms of violence against women. So many were significant for them. They had personally suffered from so many. They often found it difficult to choose between them. The facilitators helped draw them back into the group discussion. The women spoke from their own experience. Their voices also can be found in the case studies, so many of which are outpourings of the heart, stories of pain and suffering, of merciless cruelty, stories of despair.

Women experience and observe multiple forms of violence to women and girls.

Men too were moved by the images. The images compelled them to see as forms of violence behaviour considered by them as normal, as what men did, as what constitutes masculinity for men. Their stories were often stories of remorse and shame, of changed behaviour and values, of things done and now regretted.

4. OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS

In the Community Consultations, six images were shown - of wife beating, murder of wife, rape of a disabled young girl, gang rape/rape, bodily mutilation/limb cut off/severed, and woman accused of sorcery by the community about to be burned.

After discussing the images one by one to ensure that everyone was seeing the same thing, a number of questions were asked of each image. Firstly, whether each form of violence were happening in the community.

All the community groups consulted across Jiwaka Province agreed that the six forms of violence to women and girls were happening in the communities.

When asked if these kinds of actions were accepted in the community, most answered No, but some answered 'Yes'.

Personally we do not accept. We desperately want to see change.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

Conscience tells them it is wrong but they do it.

(Bunumwoo, mature men)

We ignore the fact that it is unacceptable.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

This type of violence is inhuman and barbaric but it is happening.

(Kudjip, mature men)

We see it happening. It's not right but it is starting to get normalised.

(Kudjip, young women)

Though it is not right it is happening a lot. We want to put an end to it.

(Kindeng, mature men)

It is unacceptable but it happens anyway.

(Kindeng, young men)

These responses show that the question could be interpreted in two ways: is it done in the community and accepted in this sense, or is it acceptable, or not acceptable, to the community.

Similarly when asked if these acts of violence against women were a 'custom' that existed in the time of their parents and grandparents, most groups (83 per cent) answered 'No'.

No. Violence against women is not a custom that existed in the time of our parents and grandparents. It is an introduced culture or maybe individuals themselves developed these different forms of domestic violence.

(Nondugul, mature women group)

Some, however, answered that these forms of violence against women and girls were customary.

This may have been a consequence of the wording of the question in that it could be interpreted as a question about the distant past (*tumbuna*) or a question about the behaviour of their parents and grandparents, that is, about the immediate past. One group thought that rape did not occur in the past; two groups thought that it did occur in the past but that it was getting worse; two groups thought that sorcery did occur in the past.

When asked if this behaviour breaks the law of the PNG government, all groups answered affirmatively, although some groups identified wife beating as not breaking the law.

All the community groups consulted across Jiwaka Province agreed that these six forms of violence to women and girls broke the law of the PNG government, with the possible exception of wife beating.

When asked if it was possible for the community to take action to reduce or prevent these problems, most groups (91 per cent) answered in the affirmative. Three groups of women and one of young men thought that the community could not take action on these issues. Two groups of mature men singled out wife beating as an issue on which the community could not take action.

Most community groups consulted across Jiwaka agreed that it was possible for the community to take action to reduce or prevent these forms of violence to women and girls.

However many groups acknowledged that in order for communities to take action against violence against women and girls, they needed support from the law enforcing agencies.

Yes. We believe we can eradicate all forms of violence if we have the support from the law enforcing authorities.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

If the police can be tough to carry out their duties, we would cooperate. We want to do what's right but we have our limitations.

(Bunumwoo, mature men)

4.1. THE MOST COMMON FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

4.1.1. Choosing the most common forms of violence to women and girls

Each group - mature men, mature women, young men and young women - in each community were asked to discuss among themselves and to rank the six images in front of them from the most common form of violence against women and girls to the least common form of violence.

First choice

Overwhelmingly the groups named wife beating as their first choice amongst these six images for the most common form of violence to women (88%).

Rape/gang rape was chosen as first choice for the most common form of violence against women and girls by two groups (5%); sorcery by two groups (5%) and severing of limbs by one group (2%).

Wife beating was identified as the most common form of violence to women and girls in Jiwaka Province.

First three choices

When the first three choices of each group are taken into account, the most common forms of violence to women and girls amongst these six forms were:

1. Wife beating (32%)
2. Gang rape/rape (24%)
3. Sorcery (14%)
4. Wife murder (11%)
5. Severing limb (11%)
6. Rape of a minor/disabled girl (7%)

Thus all of the six images were chosen amongst the first three choices of some of the groups. This shows that the images depicted forms of violence experienced in the communities.

The three most common forms of violence against women and girls identified by the communities were wife beating, rape, and sorcery.

One third of the groups in the Community Survey chose wife beating in their first three most common forms of violence; one quarter of the groups chose gang rape/rape in their first three most common forms of violence; 14 per cent chose sorcery as one of their first three most common forms of violence.

4.1.2. Factors contributing to the prevalence of these forms of violence in Jiwaka⁵

The groups were shown images of five possible factors contributing to these forms of violence to women and girls: marijuana, alcohol/beer, and home brew, known locally as steam, unemployment and landlessness. They were asked to rank them as contributing factors to the violence.

A culture of intoxication

There was widespread concern about the role that intoxicants, that is, marijuana, home brew and beer, were playing in fuelling violence against women and girls across the Province. Marijuana was identified as a significant contributing factor at every site of the Community Consultations. Sixty per cent of the groups placed it first and it was included amongst the top three contributing factors by every group in the Community Survey.

Marijuana, steam and beer were identified as principal factors contributing to violence to women across the Province.

Marijuana was included amongst the first three contributing factors by every group in the Community Survey.

Many of the case studies were stories of excessive consumption of marijuana and some were of marijuana production. One Case Study (No. 1) seemed to describe a situation of marijuana-induced psychosis.

The top three contributing factors contributing to the prevalence of violence against women and girls in Jiwaka identified by the groups broken down by gender and age are in Table 5.

Different age groups gave slightly different emphases to their rankings: mature men weighing the intoxicants, particularly marijuana, higher than unemployment and landlessness, women giving a higher ranking to home brew, and young women ranking unemployment higher than other groups as a contributing factor.

There were also regional differences in the identification of the factors promoting violence to women and girls:

- All groups in Kawil, Karap and Urupkaip ranked marijuana first; and all but one in Tabibuga
- All groups in Karpa ranked home brew first
- The groups in Kudjip identified only intoxicants in the top three contributing factors
- Groups in Kindeng and Karpa identified only intoxicants in the top three, except for one group
- There were concerns about unemployment as well as intoxicants in Urupkaip, Nondugul and Sipil
- In Karap, all groups included landlessness as a concern, and in Kawil all but one included landlessness.

Table 5: Factors contributing to violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province

Factors	All groups %	Mature men %	Mature women %	Young men %	Young women %
Marijuana	34	36	33	34	33
Home brew	26	22	28	24	29
Beer	17	24	15	17	13
Unemployment	13	9	12	13	17
Landlessness	10	9	12	12	8

⁵ Further research is needed into correlation between violence against women and girls and contributing factors in Jiwaka Province, PNG. In this part of the report, a summary of opinions collected during the Community Survey is presented; the methodology didn't allow detailed investigation of possible correlations between contributing factors and violence committed against women and girls.

Other contributing factors

Groups were asked to identify other factors contributing to violence to women and girls. Gambling was identified by at least two groups in each community in the Survey and so too was stealing.

In all communities, stealing and gambling were identified as further factors contributing to violence to women and girls.

Politically related acts of violence against women were mentioned by a number of groups. One Case Study was about an accusation of sorcery made after the death of a politician. Political corruption, bribery and other situations of political retaliation were also cited as contributing factors.

Other factors that were frequently mentioned included:

- The lack of law and order
- Pornography, particularly downloaded to mobile phones
- Polygamy
- Laziness
- No programs for youths
- Parents lack of control over or guidance to youth

“Drugs and steam are a major problem. Including gambling and polygamy. It is a common trend for lazy guys in Kudjip.” (Survey team, Kudjip, mature women)

Young women also mentioned broken marriages, desertion, gossiping, and ‘bedroom politics’.

4.2. THE MOST SERIOUS FORMS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

4.2.1. Identifying the most serious forms of violence against women and girls

Each community consultation group was asked for seven to ten volunteers to form a focus group, a smaller group which could work with the thirty images of forms of violence against women and girls.

Each focus group went through a process of choosing the three most serious forms of violence against women and girls depicted in the images.

First choice

The image representing the burden of work that women are expected to do, was placed first out of the thirty images by almost all of the groups as the most serious form of violence against women and girls. The participants referred to this form of violence of women being overburdened with work as ‘slavery’. Fourteen of the 43 groups placed it at the top of their list (33%), including four of the men’s groups.

The most serious form of violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province was identified as the daily burden of work that women have to do, a form of slavery.

Men as well as women recognise that women’s burden of work is excessive and inhumane. It is also unsustainable.

Wife beating and police inaction were ranked the second equal as the most serious forms of violence amongst those the thirty images, each placed first by five of the groups (12%). Again these were chosen by both men’s groups and women’s groups.

Wife beating was named as the most common and one of the most serious forms of violence to women and girls in Jiwaka Province.

First three choices

Each group was asked to choose the first three most serious form of violence against women and girls from among the thirty images.

Table 6 shows the frequency of choice made by the groups in the communities for each form of violence and ranks the choice of each image. It then provides an analysis by gender, showing, for each form of violence, the male/female ratio of its choice, and ranks the choice of serious images by the men’s groups and by the women’s groups.

Table 6: Seriousness of forms of violence against women and girls: first three choices of the groups

Seriousness of forms of violence against women and girls	Frequency of choice	Ranking	Male/female ratio	Ranking by men	Ranking by women
1. Wife beating	10	5	5/5	7	4
2. Husband taking wife's money for himself/selfish husband	12	4	3/9	9	3
3. Women overburdened with work -slavery	23	1	7/16	2	1
4. Gang rape/rape	7	8	7/0	2	-
5. Harassment/ unwanted touching of women by drunken men in public places	-	-	-	-	-
6. Polygamy and neglect	14	2	1/13	12	2
7. A woman denied family planning as a man wants many children	4	10	2/2	10	7
8. Rape in conflict	-	-	-	-	-
9. Use of guns to rape or force marriage	-	-	-	-	-
10. A woman accused of sorcery by the community is about to be burned	4	10	1/3	12	6
11. Bride-price payment and control/ ownership over a wife	7	8	6/1	5	11
12. Drunken men prevent women from walking around in public spaces	8	6	7/1	2	11
13. Girl stopped from going to school, preference was given to her brother	-	-	-	-	-
14. Police don't attend to women when they come to the police station: police inaction	8	6	6/2	5	7
15. Bias against women in village courts: women not respected in village courts	3	13	1/2	12	7
16. Widow and children sent away from the village	-	-	-	-	-
17. Drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money	13	3	8/5	1	4
18. Physical violence against a pregnant girl	-	-	-	-	-
19. A girl - child- bride	-	-	-	-	-
20. Sale of young girl for money	3	13	1/2	12	7
21. Brother abusing and threatening sister and Aunt	1	17	1/0	12	-
22. Women kept away from friends and family - control and isolation	-	-	-	-	-
23. Pregnant girl rejected by family	-	-	-	-	-
24. Harassment/touching/theft of bilum on public transport	-	-	-	-	-
25. Murder of wife	5	10	4/1	8	11
26. Incest/ child sexual abuse	-	-	-	-	-
27. Forcing sex unacceptable to woman after watching pornography	3	13	2/1	10	11
28. Rape of a disabled girl	-	-	-	-	-
29. Severe violence and bodily mutilation with knives or weapons	2	16	1/1	12	11

When all three of the most serious forms of violence chosen by the groups are included (see Table 3), the following is the ranking of what the participants considered to be the most serious forms of violence against women and girls:

1. Women overburdened with work/slavery (chosen in the top three by 18% of groups)
2. Polygamy/neglect (11%)
3. Drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money (10%)
4. Husband taking wife's money for himself/selfish husband (9%)
5. Wife beating (8%)
6. Police inaction (6%)
6. Drunken men disturbing women in public spaces (6%)

These seven were considered to be the most serious amongst the thirty forms of violence to women and girls discussed by the focus groups in each Survey site.

The forms of violence considered the most serious forms of violence to women and girls in Jiwaka Province were women burdened with work, polygamy, drunken men destroying women's market stalls, husbands taking wife's money for themselves, wife beating, police inaction and drunken men disturbing women in public spaces.

In the first three choices of the groups, women overburdened with work remains the most serious form of violence chosen but the list becomes more diverse. Of the thirty images showing forms of violence portrayed, seventeen of them were named by at least one group amongst their three most serious forms of violence to women and girls. Thirteen images of violence were not placed in the top three most serious forms of violence by any group.

4.2.2. Local concerns about violence to women and girls

In each of the twelve communities in the Survey, half or more of the groups – mature men, mature women, young men and young women - chose an image in common as one of the three most serious forms of violence. This was taken to indicate a local concern about particular forms of violence to women and girls.

Local concerns included:

Kawil: women's overwork, polygamy, police inaction and the sale of young girls

Kudjip: wife beating, women's overwork and accusations of sorcery

Kindeng: women's overwork, wife beating and polygamy

Sipil: woman denied family planning, drunken men destroying women's market stalls and drunken men disturbing women in public spaces

Nondugul: police inaction, drunken men destroying women's market stalls and polygamy

Tabibuka: women's overwork; husband taking wife's money and bias in the village courts

Karpa: wife beating, drunken men destroying women's market stalls and wife murder

Korkor: husband taking woman's money and rape

Bunumwoo: drunken men disturbing women in public spaces and destroying women's market stalls

Karap: women's overwork and polygamy

Minj: bride price

Urupkaip: women's overwork.

The forms of violence were geographically clustered:

Polygamy was chosen by two groups in Kawil and Karap and one in Tabibuka, making it a concern in the Jimi.

It is also a concern in North Waghi where two groups in Nondugul and one each in Karpa and Sipil chose it.

In South Waghi, polygamy was chosen by two groups in Kindeng and one group in Korkor.

Women burdened with work was chosen by the majority of groups in each site in the Jimi district.

Women burdened with work was also chosen by the majority of groups in the two sites in Anglimb LLG.

Drunken men destroying women's market stalls was chosen in all sites in the North Waghi, along with drunken men disturbing women in public spaces in Sipil and Bunumwoo.

An accusation of sorcery was a concern for both mature men and women in Kudjip and was also named by mature men in Karap and Tabibuka.

The sale of young girls was a concern for the two women's groups and the mature men in Kawil and was named by the young women's group in Karpa.

Bride price was a concern for all groups in Minj.

Rape was named as a serious problem by both the young men and the mature men in Korkor. In the course of the community consultation in Korkor, it became clear that young men present had been recently involved in a gang rape of two school girls.

4.2.3. Gendered differences in the choice of forms of serious violence to women and girls

There is a significant difference in the choice of the first three most serious forms of violence to women and girls by the men's groups and by the women's groups (see Table 7).

Men and women chose different forms of violence as the most serious forms of violence to women and girls

Men chose mainly forms of violence that take place in public spaces as serious, forms of violence that they could see other men performing. The only form of violence occurring in their private lives as well as in public spaces chosen by men was wife beating.

Men chose drunken men destroying women's market stalls, wife beating, drunken men disturbing women in public spaces, gang rape / rape, police inaction and bride price as the most serious forms of violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province.

These are mainly public forms of violence, violence that men see other men doing to women, violence that men enact outside the home.

Women chose as serious, forms of violence in their immediate lives, acts of violence that occur in their homes: being overworked, abandoned, neglected, financially exploited, falsely accused, beaten and habitually ill-treated. The one form of violence occurring in public spaces chosen by the women was drunks destroying their market stalls and stealing from them.

Women chose women over-burdened with work, polygamy, husbands taking wife's money for themselves, wife beating, drunks destroying their market stalls and stealing from them, and accusations of sorcery as the most serious forms of violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province.

There was little difference in the choices of the three most serious forms of violence to women and girls between the mature women and the young women. Their choices and the ranking of choices were virtually identical.

The most serious forms of violence chosen by the men's groups are all forms of violence that intimidate and control women and girls.

The most serious forms of violence chosen by the women's groups include both forms that intimidate women and girls and forms that exploit women and girls.

Only one men's group chose polygamy as one of the three most serious forms of violence; while thirteen women's groups included polygamy in their top three most serious forms.

Seven men's groups chose gang rape amongst their top three forms of violence to women and girls; no women's group placed it in their top three. This illustrates how difficult the choice of the top three most serious forms of violence was for women. They experience so many of them, to their detriment, in their daily lives.

Table 7: Most commonly chosen serious forms of violence to women and girls by gender

All groups	Women's groups	Men's groups
Women overburdened with work / slavery	Women overburdened with work / slavery	Drunken men destroying women's market stalls
Polygamy / neglect	Polygamy / neglect	Wife beating
Drunken men destroying women's market stalls	Husband taking wife's money for himself / selfish husband	Drunken men women in disturbing public spaces
Husband taking wife's money for himself / selfish husband	Wife beating	Gang rape / rape
Wife beating	Drunken men destroying women's market stalls	Police inaction
Police inaction	Accusations of sorcery	Bride price
Drunks disturbing women in public spaces		

4.2.4. The Images of violence not chosen by any group

Some of the images were not chosen by any group to be rated as the top three most serious forms of violence against women and girls can be identified. Those are:

- Harassment/touching of women by drunken youth in public places
- Rape in conflict
- Use of guns to rape or force marriage
- Girl stopped from going to school, preference given to her brother
- Widow and children sent away from the village
- Violence against a pregnant woman
- Girl - child-bride
- Women kept away from friends and family
- Pregnant girl rejected by family
- Harassment/touching/theft of bilum in public transport
- Incest/child sexual abuse
- Rape of a disabled girl

Cultures of silence, of the unspeakable

The most troubling group of unchosen images are those relating to the sexual abuse, physical abuse, emotional and psychological abuse, exploitation, intimidation and neglect of young girls.

Incest or child sexual abuse and rape of a minor or disabled young girl are forms of sexual abuse that cause great harm, physical, emotional and psychological harm, which remains with the child through puberty into adulthood and old age (Doctors Without Borders, 2009: 9). Yet they were not acknowledged or discussed. Yet they were not identified by a single group as amongst the three most serious forms of violence to women and girls.

The number of cases of incest, child sexual abuse and teenage pregnancy in PNG are high and young girls, particularly those living with relatives or step-parents, are reportedly at high risk of sexual violence, which is perpetrated by male relatives (GOPNG 2012). In the PNG Government's report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, it was stated that 'young women all over the country are at high risk of rape, gang rape and other forms of violent sexual assault.' (United Nations 2003: para. 172).

Globally, almost 50 per cent of all sexual assaults are against girls 15 years old or younger (United Nations 2003: para 172). Yet neither of the two images of sexual abuse of a girl was named amongst the top three serious forms of violence. When communities were asked to rank the six images of violence in terms of how common they were in the community, the image of rape of a minor/disabled girl was only infrequently named as common.

The only image of a girl included amongst those chosen as serious was the sale of a young girl for money (21). This was chosen by two of the four groups in Kawil, the young men's group and the young women's group, and the young women's group in Korkor. This is a form of moral abuse of young girls in which they are reduced to commodities and sold for financial gain by their families. It is linked to sexual abuse and exploitation.

Understanding the consequences of actions

The images show acts of violence, not their causes or the contributing factors or their consequences.

The consequences of an act of violence were not discussed or drawn to the attention of the participants. Amongst those acts of violence not chosen by any group were some which may not have been seen as the most serious compared to the brutality of other acts of violence.

One such image is that of widows with their children being expelled from the village. This act in itself may not be seen as a serious form of violence but when its consequences are also taken into consideration it becomes more serious. These are the women who, especially if their families refuse to take them in and support them, have a terrible struggle to feed, care for and educate their children. They describe themselves as 'problem mothers', mothers with problems, and often end up working as sex workers in the towns and cities for want of any other way of supporting themselves and their children.

The images of the girl out of school and of the pregnant girl rejected by her family are similar. To understand the violence perpetrated in such acts requires considering the consequences of the acts.

Similarly, a polygamous marriage may not in itself be violent but the Community Survey revealed that in fact it is an everyday cause of violence. Only one men's group named polygamy as a serious form of violence but the women's groups named it as the second most serious form of violence (see Table 4 below). Women had experienced how husbands had become more abusive after deciding to start a relationship with another woman. This decision in itself was, for many women, a form of betrayal. The abuse might initially involve neglect and demands for money but could soon involve physical and emotional violence, and could lead to bodily mutilation, accusations of sorcery and murder.

One Case Study (15) written by a man in a polygamous relationship spoke of how vulnerable he felt to infection by HIV by being in a polygamous relationship and how he regretted that he had placed himself in this danger through polygamy. He now warned his sons and other men against polygamy for this reason.

Other case studies confirm that reflection on the consequences of their actions may lead people to decide against acting in these ways.

4.3. KEY ISSUES FROM THE FOCUS GROUPS AND CASE STUDIES

The records of the Focus Group Discussions at the twelve sites of the Community Survey and the case studies recorded (total of 71 case studies: 39 female and 32 male) after the focus group discussions enable the identification of key areas of concern to communities, their ways of understanding them and of how communities deal with and respond to the issues.

4.3.1. Wife beating

The Community Consultations identified wife beating as the most common of the six forms of violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province.

Of the 30 forms of violence against women and girls discussed in the Focus Group Discussions, wife beating ranked as the fifth most serious (as compared with common) form of violence against women and girls (Table 6).

It was chosen by five of the men's group's and five of the women's groups (Table 6) and was ranked as the fourth most serious by women and the seventh most serious by men (Table 7).

The consultations also indicated that the extent of wife beating in Jiwaka is a recent occurrence:

In the past, wife beating was rarely observed but now it is observed frequently and is common. Man is stronger and muscular and can beat wife /women.

(Minj, mature men)

The consultations show that wife beating occurs throughout the province of Jiwaka. It can inflict serious harm on women, often leading to their hospitalisation. Here is one man's story (Case Study no. 14):

I belted my wife for very little things like food and laundry. Even not understanding their needs I belted so badly which they had to admit at the hospital that I have to pay another cost.

I still remain the boss and accuse them of little things and beat them to death. I always want them to follow my ways and if they don't do what I like I beat them up.

Sometimes I favour the younger one and beat my first wife. Just to please the other wife, I really do damage to the other which is unfair and injustice in the family.

I have done so much physical damages to my wives and compensated so much which I regret now. ...

Now as I grow old wife beating is unlawful and disrespectful that I regret and tell my boys not to do the same thing.

For most women it is an everyday occurrence, with often disastrous consequences. Here is a woman's story (Case Study no. 56):

C. complains of her husband beating her nearly every day since they married 13 years ago. She was crying when she was going through this interview.

My husband is a marijuana man. When there is no marijuana to smoke, he ... used to send me out into the nearby villages to look for marijuana. When I come back with no marijuana, then he used to fight me and tie me up with bush ropes or lock me out of the house until he finds some. We were married in 2000 and until now we don't have any money in our passbook. All our money used to go to marijuana, homebrew and beer. Even he never buys clothes or store food for our two sons. I am living a terrible life.

In May this year, he got drunk and locked me inside out house where I almost killed myself by drinking a 1 litre Roundup but I was rushed to Kudjip hospital where I was given treatment. When I came back home, he fought me again with a big stick and pushed the big stick into my private parts where I was seriously injured. I was admitted to Kudjip hospital where I was for six weeks in hospital.

My husband was arrested by Sergeant ... of Minj Police and was charged for assault causing grievous bodily harm and is in Mt. Hagan cell waiting for the National Court. Thank you for the police action and Voice for Change.

Men's insights into their beating of their wives

As acknowledged in the Case Study above, men may beat their wives for any reason, for whatever occurs, at any time, day or night:

Domestic violence - it's like everyday activities.

(Karpa, young men)

This type of problem arises because males use their power to force women to do things they don't like and expect them to do all the things.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Men link this abuse of women to their abuse of their power:

Most of the time man thought that he had all the power in his status, regarding woman as a second class or lower in the family.

(Karpa, young men)

Wife beating standardly occurs when men want their women to give them money:

Wife beating often results from husband wanting money from wife especially during coffee season. Wife beating also results when the husband wants to have sex with the wife and she refuses. The husband does not understand that unlike him, the wife is exhausted from a busy day at work carrying whatever task even what he should have done.

(Karap, young men)

Men understand the impact that such beatings have on their wives and children:

Sometimes, constant wife beating results in the wife running away. She is above all the number one victim being physically and emotionally abused. She may face criticism and discrimination when she goes back to her home village. They may label her as a prostitute. The kids will suffer next if their mom is not around. The husband may follow her there after he finds it hard to cope with the household and kids.

(Kindeng, mature men)

Women's insights into wife beating

Women agree with the men's analysis of wife beating as an abuse of men's power:

Males think that they are the head of the family. They act like they are the boss and that they feel powerful when in control.

(Kudjip, mature women)

Women know that beatings often occur when men are demanding money from them:

He will ask me for money when he has not money and beats me up very badly to get money. One day he came over to me and asked for money but I said I had not money he got up and beat me very badly. Nearly he killed me. All the people saw it and they ran away but the lord helped me I was taken to hospital. After the hospital I went straight to the police station and reported this matter to the police at Minj Police station.

(Case Study no.54)

The wife that men most often beat up is their first wife.

Now he is married to other women and living with this woman in another village and the kids and myself we are living alone at home. He comes home asking me for money and if I try to talk back he gets up and beats me so I'm afraid to talk hard to him.

(Case Study no. 53)

The women are often beaten up in front of their children:

The woman and children suffer. Children's education is affected as well. The woman sometimes commits suicide.

(Karpa, young women)

Women are physically abused and are hurt emotionally. Kids are also affected psychologically and this affects their schooling, etc.

(Kindeng, mature women)

Women understand that there are few people in the community that they can turn to for help when suffering beatings:

Communities do feel for the victims but can only ignore as most believe that it is none of their business.

(Kindeng, mature women)

Our community does not do anything. Our leaders too. They too consume drugs as well as homebrew and so they too contribute to all these violence. They are not perfect examples and so they do not stand up for the right things. Some say that it is none of our business.

(Kudjip, mature women)

Police and village leaders help occasionally but it is the pastors that try their best to council the women.

(Kindeng, mature women)

Men's response to wife beating in the community

A tendency to blame their behaviour on others emerged:

Wife beating is a frequent issue because the ladies do not watch their mouth. Sometimes, community leaders neglect to solve it as they refer to it as a family problem.

(Karap, young men)

When the victim is found out to be at some fault that is not acceptable, the community do go for the husband to kill her. There is no police in the district to deal such cases according to the law.

(Karap, young men)

The Community Survey also shows men's difficulties in engaging in morally challenging situations and taking responsibility for their actions:

[When this happens] We often stand and spectate. Sometimes we would go in between them to stop them.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Most of the time community seems to pretend that it is a family violence. The victim's family seeks help and brings the victim to get her to the hospital for medication.

(Karpa, young men)

There is some acknowledgement by the men's groups that there is a role for the Village Courts system and the police.

Such problems are solved at home by community leaders and pastors. Taking it to village court is the next and final step.

(Karap, young men)

When the victim is greatly injured, community leaders do step in to solve it through the village court and compensation payment is decided.

(Karap, young men)

Fathers sometimes do give talk to their sons. There is some kind of law and order and court procedures to follow.

(Kudjip, mature men)

4.3.2. Women seriously overburdened with work

Of the 30 forms of violence against women and girls discussed in the Focus Group Discussions, women's severe burden of work was identified as the most serious form of violence against women and girls in Jiwaka Province (Table 6).

It was chosen by sixteen of the women's groups and seven of the men's groups (Table 6) and ranked as the first most serious form of violence by women and second by men (Table 7).

Overwork as a form of slavery

Many participants in the consultations referred to women's workload as slavery.

The stories told in these two case studies (Case studies no 5 and 48) illustrate the dimensions of the problem:

A. lives with her two children in town. Since marriage, life was never the same. ... her husband doesn't do any single thing. She works and works and says that old age is catching up too fast because of all the hard work. She does all the males chores as well. All her husband does is sleep all day and gambles in the night (cards). She says she's fed up to feed him but since she goes to church regularly, she forgives and gives. She has reached a point in her life where she wants to leave but there is no place for her at her homeland and also, she feels sorry for her two kids. She just wished there could be some kind of penalty for laziness in the community. She feels powerless and says that there should be a gambling ban in all the villages because this is one of the main root causes. Community leaders can't pitch in to help because they all see this as its right for a lady to work. It's so inhuman at times.

K. is a young woman in mid-30s with four children aged 2-15 years. Since where she lives is so rugged and mountainous with food gardens located at least a day's walk from home, she does every single thing herself. Sometimes, she has to carry two to three loads of bilum food, with firewood and her baby on top of her shoulders and walk far distances, climbing mountains and crossing rivers to get home to put food on the table. While she struggles to do that, her husband who works closely with Jimi MP on the other end, spends whatever cash he earns on alcohol and other women. She's been working all her life and says she's aging too quickly compared to other woman her age. She has no choice. She wants to go home but she feels sorry for her kids. She can't take them home because they will have no proper land or coffee garden. ... She is torn but suffers daily. She says being a Christian has helped her have peace and she believes she's suffering for a good cause.

Both these women are first wives and it is clear from the case studies that it is first wives who are particularly burdened with work, with responsibility for the upbringing and education of the children, and with anxiety and fear for the present and apprehension for the future.

'Father and mother work'

Women's work includes not only the traditional tasks that women perform in the house, garden and village, but also they have had to take on the tasks, roles and responsibilities traditionally assigned to men. A. talked of 'doing all the male chores as well'. Other women spoke of doing 'both father and mother work'.

The young women of Kindeng reflected:

Community have come to accept the fact that women will do everything; that includes chores from males to females as well as garden work.

(Kindeng, young women)

One of the grounds for an accusation of sorcery against a woman is often that she does the work of men (Haley 2013). The Community Survey shows that many women in the Province are doing men's work as well as their own. The overburdening of women with work is widespread and leaves many women open to these accusations.

The older women in Kindeng felt that:

Communities need more awareness on this issue and need law and order to address this issue. It is really serious.

(Kindeng, mature women)

Understanding how this happens: women's insights into men's behaviour

The pleas of the young women of Kindeng to understand why this was happening were heartfelt:

Many women who are facing this problem have died at an early age because of the hard work and worrying. They desperately want the husbands to change their habits and ways. They also want to know what is really causing all the men to have this type of attitude that is faced by every woman.

(Kindeng, young women)

It was generally agreed across the Province that in the past couples shared responsibilities and worked together for the family. They understood their roles and responsibilities. However it was also agreed that this had drastically changed and for the worse.

The young women of Kindeng named men as the problem:

Men are to be blamed for the slavery issue. It is total ignorance.

(Kindeng, young women)

Men are sometimes busy trying to look for a new wife and they tend to forget that they have duty and obligations to fill at home. Faults also lie between his parents for not grooming him properly to become a husband or father/his roles and responsibilities. Women are sometimes to be blamed because they do not watch how they talk and that leads the husband to his new wife.

(Kindeng, young women)

Other women's groups also named men as the problem, commenting on their laziness and their pursuit of pleasure and gratification:

Husband relax doing nothing and wife do all the work, bearing the kids, doing all the house chores, working in the garden ,taking the kids to school etc.. And this becomes the everyday work she does.

(Urupkaip, women)

Men often concentrate on things that will bring pleasure to themselves and not on the things that will benefit the whole family. For example; he may be busy trying to look for a new wife, or get drunk etc. and leaving all the house chores to his wife to do the job.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

Communities do not do anything. In a way they encourage these drunkards.

(Kindeng, Mature women)

Some men are plain lazy. They use bride price as an excuse. They would say we paid you for this job.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

In Case Study no 24, M. says that she sees that 'the men are taking themselves special and taking women as nobody'. In Case Study 21, A. relates how she decided not to clean the coffee garden. Her husband replied that 'he wants to keep fit, healthy and live long ... work will deny him of that'.

The young women of Kindeng

Men are sometimes busy trying to look for a new wife and they tend to forget that they have duty and obligations to fill at home. Faults also lie between his parents for not grooming him properly to become a husband or father/his roles and responsibilities. Women are sometimes to be blamed because they do not watch how they talk and that leads the husband to his new wife.

(Kindeng, young women)

Understanding how this happens: men's insights into their own behaviour

The men who participated in the Community Survey had many insightful things to say about their own behaviour:

It is the attitude that defines a male or so he thinks. They do this because they think that they can feel important when they are in total control. Their expectations are way up high, thinking that because they put a bride price, a woman is bought so that she can do everything at home.

(Kindeng, young men)

[Women are burdened with work] because men are proud. Men seem to be lazy.

(Kawil, mature men)

This problem occurs when the husband takes advantage of his title as a man. He is known as the man head of the family thus expects the wife and children to do all daily house chores.

(Karap, mature men)

In our district, most man here take advantage of their title as the head of the family thus do act as superiors and expect woman to carry out all family chores both indoors and outdoors. Our community even accepts it as a normal practise.

(Karap, mature men)

Laziness causes this problem. Men don't help woman in working. Some believe in customs that men don't work. Only women work.

(Urupkaip, men)

No outcry against this practice in the community

There was agreement that the enforced slavery of women was now accepted by communities.

The community can do nothing as they accept it as normal practise.

(Karap, young women)

But it is more complex than it being accepted as normal for women to work so hard. Women who work hard bring recognition and renown to the men of the family. This was acknowledged by the young men of Kindeng:

We the people in the community normally praise a woman who does all the work in the community. Most of the family members do not do anything because when a woman who does a lot of work in the community brings in fame to the family name and so they tend to ignore that fact.

(Kindeng, young men)

There are few if any informal processes in the village whereby such disturbing violations of women's rights can be addressed:

Communities try their best to stop, but most of the time the community said this is family problem.

(Urupkaip, women)

Normally, nothing is done. But if a woman places a complaint, the leaders and community members sometimes try to talk to the man.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

Instead women seek solace from other women or from their pastors:

Women often share their burdens among themselves and often go to church pastors or senior members of the community to get counselling.

(Kindeng, young men)

Sometimes women go other to women to talk out their problem, or church pastors or sometimes local police.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

The pastors only help in this situation through counselling.

(Karap, young women)

Men are aware of the need to change

The men of Urupkaip, young and old, were clear that men have a responsibility to change:

Man has to help the woman, the family must work together. Woman doesn't have to over load the work. Work must be shared among the family. Man has to take his responsibilities to do the work.

(Urupkaip, men)

Let the mature men of Sipil have the last word and in so doing highlight the importance of men talking together about their lives and concerns and of men speaking out for change and against injustice:

Males normally expect a woman to do the job. They often assume it is the woman's job and that she is capable of doing everything. Of course she is capable; however, her body also needs to rest. Some males are just plain lazy. Some say that you were bought up for these reasons; that is to work when the women want to talk.

Some men are often influenced by other men to go look for new wife. When they do that, their interest is no longer in the house; they are often somewhere else thus never helping their wife and kids.

We men confess that we do not do help our mothers/wives in all the chores. We do help but we are not faithful. We do not spend time with the kids and they are with their mothers for the first 17 years of their lives. Later, when they became adults, some turn out to problem citizen of the community.

It is being normalized in the community. People also feel that it is none of their business to comment or intervene. Some husbands or males get defensive and abusive if one wants to correct them.

We fathers wish we had known what was going to come and play our part. We see that leaving all the chores and kids to be with their mum and not helping them at all will definitely lead to problems. We were once like this but now are facing difficulties with our sons. We cannot seem to get through to them.

Some husbands/partners are very good. One leader confessed that he normally did the laundry and cooking when he sees that his wife is tired or late from food gardens etc.

(Sipil, mature men)

4.3.3. Drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money

The drunken violence, destruction and stealing in the market places in Jiwaka was identified as the third most serious form of violence against women (Table 6). It was chosen by eight of the men's groups, both mature and young men, and five of the women's groups (Table 6).

It was ranked first amongst the thirty forms of violence as the most serious form of violence by the men's groups. It was ranked fourth by the women's groups (Table 6).

Community concern about drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money

Groups were quite clear about their reasons for selecting this as such a serious form of violence against women

We choose the market image to be the second [most serious form of violence against women] because we live close to the Banz town where often see steam bodies, drug addicts, and drunkards, once under the influence of those illicit drugs, come and destroy the markets. Our women folks too go the market as well as women from faraway places. Market taxes are high and we are powerless to stop them because there is no police force visibility to back us up.

(Sipil, mature men)

Selected as one of the most serious because mothers are not feeling secure at market places. Most times they are disturbed by those under the control of liquor.

(Nondugul, mature women)

This violence is seen happening at the market places. When men/youth are under the influence of alcohol they turn to destroy the markets and even beat people in the market.

(Nondugul, young men)

We selected Image 18 as the most serious problem because most of the problems caused by the drunks especially affected our mothers and sisters. The destruction of the market affects the income and the livelihood of our society.

(Karpa, young men)

This violence is seen happening at the market places. When men/youth are under the influence of alcohol they turn to destroy the markets and even beat people in the market place.

(Karpa, young men)

The young men of Kindeng saw themselves in the image:

This image (18) portrayed us as young men. We normally did those actions once we were drunk. We would destroy the markets. It always happened.

(Kindeng, young men)

The young women of Kudjip also saw themselves in the image:

We experience this every day when drunkards come around the market area. We are always on our toes ready to run and often we waste a lot of food in what would have become good money if we have sold all out products without any disturbances.

(Kudjip, young women)

Reasons for the increase in drunken men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money

It was widely felt that this form of violence against was getting much worse.

In the past, there was respect. It was how the parents worked together in bringing us up to be real gentlemen. Today it is different. Young men nowadays do not have this sense of respect. Again it lies in the parents.

(Sipil, mature men)

This is happening just recently (late 90's up). Our sons are doing it.

(Bunumwoo, mature men)

A number of reasons were given for this, including a lack of a police presence in the markets, a lack of parental disciplining, especially in unstable homes and in polygamous marriages, the loss of a sense of respect, especially in young men, the failure of the police to be role models, and youth unemployment.

Parents are not disciplining their sons and setting them on the right path/track to life. This has resulted in kids being influenced by illicit drugs causing all sorts of burden and trouble in the community. Police Force too is to be blamed for the lack of work.

(Sipil, mature men)

Unstable parents, polygamous families may lead to consumption of drugs and homebrew. Police too get involved in consuming those types of drugs and that is why people do not take them seriously.

(Sipil, mature women)

Political and other social problems motivate them to cause such problems.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

Unemployment leads to youth taking drugs, alcohol, and home brew. This causes these problems in the community.

(Sipil, mature women)

Impact on women

This violence is having a devastating impact on women's ability to earn a livelihood and to support their families.

When the drunkards destroy their market, they forget that all ladies at the market are there for one purpose: to put something on the table. But after all their hard work is destroyed at the market, they have to go back and redo everything in order to come again to the market to make up for the loss.

(Kudjip, young women)

Since nowadays it hard to earn money easily, we often feel a deep pain when drunkards come around drunk to destroy the market.

(Kudjip, young women)

Market mothers: it affects their flow of income which affects families' financial budget and plans. Money wasted on market taxes.

(Sipil, mature women)

The communities' responses

Communities are finding it difficult to deal with the drunken violence, destruction and stealing in the market places:

They do not act against these kinds of behaviour. Some get scared to approach the drunkards. Some even laugh and praise the drunkards.

(Kindeng, young men)

The people in the community do nothing because they are afraid that the drunkards might attack them.

(Nondugul, mature women)

Community leaders, magistrate, councillors and peace officers do try to do something by talking to them (youths especially), counselling them but there is no program or activity in place to sustain them and so they go back to their old ways.

(Bunumwoo, mature men)

Community leaders, community based organisations and others are trying to make awareness but it is still happening.

(Sipil, mature men)

The community leaders advise the trouble makers not to repeat the same mistake. Sometimes the situation is handed over to the police force for solution.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

4.3.4. Husband taking his wife's money for himself: selfish husband

This image was ranked fourth amongst the first three choices of the most serious forms of violence to women and girls (Table 6). It came after women overburdened with work, polygamy and drunken men destroying women's market stalls and before wife beating.

Three men's groups chose it; nine women's groups chose it (Table 6). The women's groups ranked it as the third most serious form of violence (Table 7).

Men take women's money away from them, often violently

Many women's groups talked of husbands taking the money that the women had earned through their hard work.

Normally it is the women folk that struggle to do everything and earn money while men just come and threaten them or bash them up and get the money. They themselves do not do anything.

(Kudjip, young women)

Man also let us do all the chores, earn money the hard way and then they come take all the money from us. This is one of the things that hurt us.

(Kindeng, young women)

We as ladies are the backbones of the house. We do every single thing and look for avenues to raise money, yet it is the males that take control over the hard working earned cash and almost all the time sharing it unevenly or leaving us out completely.

(Kudjip, young women)

This occurred also when the coffee harvest was sold.

Most of their husbands would bring their coffee bags to sell and when they get the money, they do not share equally with the mother and the children.

(Korkor, young women)

This place is a big coffee growing place and most of the time the woman do the hard work to get the coffee from the garden to the market. When the money is being paid the man grab hold of the money and spend where ever he wishes, e.g.: buy alcohol, steam or spent on prostitutes, leaving the family with little or no money.

(Sipil, young men)

Men feel that they have a right to control the household money

Men often assert that their dominant role in the household gives them the right to control the household resources.

Men saying that I am the head of the family so I have a right to control the money.
(Korkor, mature women)

Husband are neglecting the family and taking control of all family resources.
(Karap, young women)

The community supports such practises by the considering man as superior.
(Karap, young women)

The community most of the time ignore this problem thinking that it's a family matter. The father is the head of the family so he can do whatever he wants with the family's income.
(Sipil, young men)

Men's use of the money

The participants agreed that men used the money to satisfy their needs and desires, for things that they covet.

Men are often selfish and take all the money spending it in their own way and this is a big problem.
(Kudjip, young women)

Satisfaction of the fathers desire e.g. by gambling, drinking alcohol.
(Tabibuga, young men)

Most of the income is spend on alcohol, home brew, marijuana, cigarettes, beetle nuts and sometimes on compensation to satisfy the male's wants. The community and the leaders in general think that such problem is a family matter and do not seriously consider the problem.
(Sipil, young men)

Husband finishes all the money on gambling. When the mother and children asked for money he beats up the mother and destroys the households.
(Urupkaip, mature women)

Man takes drugs, home brew, alcohol, chewing and smoking. When the money finished at spending on this stuff, husband come and asked for more money. When the wife refuses to give the money, he starts beating her.
(Urupkaip, mature women)

Males tend to control all the resources and use them with other women.
(Karap, young women)

This way of behaving was not customary

Many felt that this was not a customary way for men to behave.

This behaviour was not a custom of our people. Before there was no money or less and in that time money was

not surplus and not exchanged regularly. But now money is becoming a common form of exchange for goods and services. Man's living with money nowadays. There are different ways of using money. That is why men do not want to share their money with their families.
(Korkor, young women)

There used to be cooperation between the couple. Nowadays, money also makes people to become lazy.
(Tabibuga, young women)

The community response to this form of selfishness in husbands

Some communities felt that their leaders were trying to do something about this problem.

Some very strong leaders sometimes stand up for us.
(Kudjip, young women)

Community leaders sometimes come together to solve the problem
(Urupkaip, mature women)

Pastors if the women whom are affected go see them. Leaders too try to help solve when the women bring their problem to their attention.
(Kindeng, young women)

More often, communities felt that their leaders failed to act because they thought that it was a family matter.

Communities do not respond to this as they see it as family problem.
(Karpa, young women)

Our leaders do not respond to such problems and rather say it is a family problem. When brought to their attention, they take it to Form Two (2) court or village court for further decision.
(Tabibuga, young men)

Because of the commonality of this issue, members of the community are accepting the fact and normalizing this idea. They are starting to believe that it is normal in the community.
(Kindeng, young women)

Nothing has been done to solve this particular problem in the community but when the situation gets out of hand the community leaders and family heads solve the problem inside the house.
(Sipil, young men)

Women's options

Women have few options. They may complain to the man's family or turn to the leaders for help. They feel that they have little redress in the law.

When men cause this violence to happen in the family, women sometimes think about leaving their husbands but bride price is already paid and they suffer slowly and stay.
(Korkor, young women)

4.3.5. Rape and gang rape

Experiencing the reality

During the Community Consultations in Korkor, the Survey team became aware that the young men from this community, many of them present during the consultation, had recently raped two teenage girls. It was described to the Community Survey team:

We witness rape is happening in this community and also ... compensation is encouraged. Two weeks ago our boys raped two young girls and the community has had to do the compensation. ... Their family members did not vote for our candidate so the boys raped them out of anger and frustration.

These girls' families did not vote for their tribe's man who stood for the recent Council election contesting for a presidential seat. The suspects are roaming free in the community and the community paid compensation for the crime committed.

The recent rape involved two girls who got raped. Their family members did not vote our candidate so the boys raped them out of anger and frustration.

(Korkor, young men)

The team was told that the case had not been reported to police and nor had any services been provided for the two young school girls.

The team called on the family but the father said that he did not want anything done about it for fear of further retaliation.

The Community Survey findings

Seven of the focus groups identified rape as a serious form of violence against women (Table 6). These groups were all men's groups, both mature men and young men. Rape and gang rape were ranked as the second most serious form of violence against women by men (Table 6).

Rape and gang rape were not included amongst the three most serious forms of violence to women and girls by any of the women's groups. This does not mean that women do not consider rape to be a serious form of violence, but only that, for women, among the thirty forms of violence, there were others considered by them to be even more serious than rape and gang rape.

A serious and widespread problem

Rape and gang rape are perceived as a serious and widespread problem for the new Province.

Every day it happens in our community.

(Sipil, mature women)

Every day it is happening in our community.

(Karpa, all groups)

Now this behaviour is becoming a great concern for the community as it is becoming a major problem in the community.

(Korkor, mature men)

Youths rape girls from an enemy tribe or from another clan or women not from the community.

(Minj, young men)

We choose this as the third most serious crime because it frequently happens in our community. Most of our youths are involved in rape/gang rape. Woman and girls do not have the freedom to walk freely by themselves here. Some are raped in front of their husband.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

Sometimes women walk on the road and men harass and rape women on the road.

(Nondudgul, young women)

In one Case Study (Case Study no. 47), a mother spoke of the rape of her daughter by a school teacher, when she was in Year Ten; and its traumatic consequences for her daughter as well as for her.

In another Case Study (Case Study no. 16), a woman spoke of having been betrayed by her cousin sisters who had told the five rapists that the girl would be staying with them that night.

In at least one group there was an acknowledgment that rape of a disabled girl and minors was occurring.

This [rape] is common with disabled women and young girls without proper parents and living with relatives.

(Minj, young girls)

In one Case Study (Case Study No. 64), a man described his inability to control his sexual abuse of young girls. He said that whenever he was accused of the sexual abuse of a young girl, compensation was claimed and his three wives paid it.

Gang rape and rape are not customary

Rape and gang rape is not believed to have been a customary practice in the Jiwaka area.

In our tradition, we were thought not to go out with a sister or women by ourselves. More importantly, men were not allowed to touch a woman's body without her permission. So this wasn't happening in our traditional times.

(Kindeng, mature men)

[Rape did not] happen in the past; just happening.

(Tabibuka, mature men)

Yes this behaviour is the behaviour of our people but not often in the [past]. Now this behaviour is becoming a greatest concern for the community as it becoming a major problem in the community.

(Korkor, mature men)

The culture of rape

The factors causing rape and gang rape were perceived by the communities to be related to a culture of intoxication and to easy access to pornography.

Rape is a common problem and serious because of high level of sale and consumption of steam and drugs in and around Banz town.

(Sipil, young men)

Pornography is the main cause. Mobile phones are making it easier for people to gain access to such thus committing this type of crime.

(Kindeng, mature men)

The causes of these problems are beer & drug.

(Minj, mature men)

The cause of these problems lies with the excessive watching of phonography movies with phones. Drinking beer, drugs and home brew are also other causes of this problem.

(Korkor, mature men)

Men watch blue movies and end up raping women, harassing them and tearing women's clothes and women do not feel free to move around.

(Nondudgul, young men)

Rape and gang rape was also seen as an expression of men's power.

Yes, we see most men beat up their wives, rape women from the enemy tribe, to show you are powerful.

(Korkor, young men)

Often, males usually give a lot of money to the girl and try to have sex with her. However, when she refuses, his anger often leads to raping her.

(Kindeng, mature men)

The claim that the anger a man feels when a woman refuses to have sex with him leads him to rape indicates how strong a sense of entitlement is involved: if men want sex they are entitled to have it and so feel justifiably angry when rejected. This is a sense of entitlement found in modernity as much as custom.

Rape and the practice of compensation

Most cases of rape are handled by compensation payments

We start up a fight if our women or girls get raped or demand for very big compensation. ... Leaders are telling us not to do such things but most times young men do not listen as they do not respect the leaders.

(Korkor, young men)

The community always seems to protect the perpetrator. The relatives of the victim always demand compensation. ... No one is doing anything.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Immediate family step in to address the problem by paying compensation and the community contribute.

(Sipil, young men)

Because compensation is paid, rapists consider themselves and are considered by the community to be free men.

When men in their family or clan rape women, the compensation payment is significantly contributed by the women of the family. Most contributions to the payment are made by women. This makes women complicit in 'paying off' the rape of other women.

The aftermath of rape

Rape is a terrifying, violent and humiliating experience that no woman wants or asks for (Rape Crisis 2014). There was some sense in the communities of the pain, shame and suffering that rape causes women and girls and of how it affected their sense of themselves and severely restricted their freedom of movement.

The victim is affected in many ways. The victim is affected physically, mentally etc.

(Minj, mature men)

She's always scared all the time, and is not happy.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Women have no freedom. It is not safe to move around freely.

(Tabibuga, young women)

No one is doing anything. The only advice to young woman given by their parents is not to go to places unfamiliar places.

(Kindeng, mature men)

The female is usually the one who is affected both physically and psychologically and in the long run also. She will be traumatized.

(Kindeng, mature men)

Until this day the stigma of being raped is still with her, and she know for sure that the pain she experienced that night will still linger in her heart until her death.

(Case Study no. 16)

Blaming women for being raped

The belief that women had only themselves to blame for being raped was frequently expressed, especially by young men.

Sometimes the female instigates this rape problem through their dressing.

(Sipil, young men)

Ladies are to be blamed because they are modernised in the sense that they dress way too fancy to attract man.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

At times the women make the men do it like ...when women go to places they do not have to go so they get raped e.g. the enemy territory.

(Korkor, young men)

In one Case Study (No. 27) a man who talked about how, when he was younger, he saved a girl from rape. He went on to say that in these situations, "...most men are attracted to women because of the ladies appearance and the way the ladies dress." He wanted NGOs and the government to put some standards to the way the ladies dress: "They have to dress properly and not the kind that will attract the attentions of the males."

Women and girls of all ages, backgrounds, cultures, level of education, ability, occupations and livelihoods, are raped. The way they dress has little relevance to whether they will be raped or not. A woman can be raped whatever she is wearing, whether she is attractive or not, and wherever she is. Rape is an act of violence rather than sex.

Rapists use a variety of strategies to attempt to discredit the women they rape and so to justify their crime. However, rape, including marital rape and incest, is a crime.

Blaming women for causing their own rape is a way of justifying men's raping behaviour. Women also believe that women bring rape upon themselves. Beliefs such as these must be strongly challenged, in the churches, in the village courts, in service provision, in the schools, by NGOs, by leaders, in the media, and elsewhere, if Jiwaka is to be able to reduce levels of violence against women and girls.

It is crucially important for women and girls that attitudes and practices relating to rape and other forms of sexual abuse not condone or excuse this violence but strongly advocate a culture of zero tolerance of all forms of sexual abuse.

4.3.6. The sale of young girls for money

The sale of young women for money (Image 21) was raised as a matter of concern during the Community Survey. It was ranked as the thirteenth most serious form of violence against women and girls.

Image 21 depicting a young girl being sold by her parents for money was chosen as one of the three most serious forms of violence against women by three groups: young women in Korkor, and young men and women in Kawil.

The image depicts the sale of a young girl for money. It does not distinguish between sale for under-age or early marriage, sale for sexual or other purposes, including exploitative labour, and sales relating to the trafficking of women. It does not depict the sale of babies for money (Gibbs and Mondu 2010).

One of the case studies describes what seems to be an organised prostitution practice (Case Study no. 49) involving young girls.

Young girls forced into marriage by parents' desire for money

The young women of Korkor expressed their concern that young girls are being forced into marriage by the men in their families:

Now men want more money so they are selling their daughters to men who have money and resources.

(Korkor, young women)

The mature women of Nondugul agree with them:

Most fathers and brothers are now forcing young girls to marry those men with lots of money just because they want to enjoy the wealth of the person but they don't care if the person already got a wife or either that he is young nor old.

(Nondugul, mature women)

The young men and women of Kawil are also concerned:

A lot of young girls are sold by parents for money. Girls end up with a dissatisfactory marriage and even share a man with other women. ... Both parents sell them but mainly the mother. ... The problem is caused by greedy parents who want a free handout, especially money.

(Kawil, young women)

Money nowadays is becoming hard for everyone to earn. Often some parents sell their daughters to men with money to satisfy their desire for money. ... The daughter is sold without bride price.

(Kawil, young men)

The theme of making money out of their girl children also came up in discussions on bride price in the young men's group in Kidjip.

When parents sell their children for money, there is little or no response from the community:

This is the parents' problem.

(Kawil, young women)

If the parents are doing this, the community will never open their mouths. They also believe that it is none of their business to judge someone or to intervene.

(Kawil, young men)

The churches are felt to be concerned about this practice but ineffectively:

No one is doing anything to stop this problem. The church and its laws are against these types of practices but the pastors and church goers have their limitations.

(Kawil, young men)

Trafficking in and prostitution of young women

One of the case studies, written by a man, describes what seems to be an organised prostitution practice (Case Study no. 49):

S. has five daughters in total. ... His second daughter was in school when she was lured by some of her young clan aunts and uncles and ended up with a guy from Hela ... She got pregnant but it was too late, the guy was already gone. Seeing this happen, he stopped all his other daughters from going around with anybody in the village. However there was a club in the village that accommodated people from the entire highlands region. Those same clan people went to another Hela lad, drank from his money and lured Samuel's third daughter and she too became pregnant. Samuel's wife got upset and left for Moresby where her elder daughter was working and staying.

Samuel went to the police to so that he could take the clan people who were in the middle and benefited from those Hela men to court. However, it is costing him dearly as every time he goes to the station, there's always an excuse from the police that there is no fuel or that they are busy.

Also at home, those middle people are denying everything and blaming his daughters.

He is fed up and is about to take action with his sons and brothers but as a leader of the community, he is trying to follow the right procedures. Since his wife is in Moresby, he is looking after everything at home doing all the chores.

He now has two daughters who are still in high school. He cooks for them and visits them regularly. They growing into beautiful young girls and he fears the same thing might happen to them. He is much stricter to them and fears he might be stopping some of their rights but he believes he is doing it for their own good.

In this case, it is the extended family, rather than the parents, who are making money out of the prostitution of these young women.

4.3.7. Bride price payments

Bride price payments were considered to be the eighth most serious form of violence against women and girls (Table 6). Of the eight groups which chose bride-price payments, seven were groups of men and one a group of women. For men, bride price payments were the fifth most serious form of violence against women (Table 6).

Insights from the group of mature men at the Sipil consultations

The mature men at the Sipil consultations were very clear about why they chose Bride price as one of their top three most serious forms of violence against women and girls.

Bride price nowadays in where we live is getting higher and higher. Women that are educated are being bought at a very high price. The higher the price, the higher the problem. Bride price also acts like a wrapper around the couple and women mostly making it hard for the couple to develop themselves because they are thinking of all the help that came and will have to repay it. That's the way the society is. You help others to help yourself. It also puts a mindset in the community thinking that once a bride price is paid, they own the woman. It is complicated.

(Sipil, mature men)

They were invited to elaborate on the choice in a serious of questions.

Who is wrong?

Both sides of the couple. The groom's relatives give a higher bride price for big name in the community and vice versa for the bride's relatives. The bride's relatives too have this habit of put a price in demand to the groom's relatives. If they do not give up, to expectations, the payment is rejected. And so when the groom is under pressure of putting a higher price, the life of the bride too is bound to be a bumpy one later on.

(Sipil, mature men)

Who is the victim?

Both the couple. They will be busy repaying all that was contributed that will never live in a comfortable house nor have peace for once in their life. They'll be obliged to go and help every time there is a need in the community. Some husbands leave all these to the wife to take care or deal with it saying that it was you're people that came and got the bride price and so now it is up to you to repay.

What are the causes of this problem?

Pride. In the highlands, almost all of a male's decision will be centred around his pride. Most parents and brothers put a high demand in bride price so that they can be recognized in the community for their daughter's/ sister's pay.

Is this behaviour the custom of your people?

Yes. But in the past, goods and pigs were exchange among the newlyweds as a sign of new friendship created by the bond of the young couple. There were just food exchanges. Not today. Women are seen as money making objects.

How do people in the community respond?

They encourage it.

Who is doing something about it?

No one. The price is still getting bigger and bigger.

The persons recording the consultations with the mature men in Sipil observed:

Males do not agree to do away with bride price but they do agree that if there is some sort of fix payment, a lot less than what is being offered nowadays, these can be okay. After all, they want their daughters to be in a trouble free life thus making them satisfied.

(Recorder, Sipil, mature men)

Men's attitude to bride price

A number of the men's groups reflected on men's motivations in giving and receiving bride price. They identified that it gives men status in the community; it is a way of controlling women, of making money out of their girl children, and of increasing their wealth.

A man will always try to put a bride price and a bigger one in order to be recognized or known or in order words known as 'big name'. Once that, he starts to act as if she is his property. He soon starts bossing her around.

(Kudjip, young men)

They all treat girl children as their money making objects.

(Kudjip, young men)

Man feels superior because of his title and the bride price that he has already paid.

(Karap, mature men)

The husband takes advantage of the bride price payment saying she was paid to do that.

(Karap, young men)

It was acknowledged that the payment of bride price was customary but with strong reservations about the purpose, the form and the extent of the payments.

Yes, our forefathers did pay bride price but they used birds' feathers as well as kina shell. They gave it as sense of token of this new formed relationship with the bride's people. They also gave reasonable amount. But not today. Women are paid for an accessory or an item that completely belongs to the husband. The bride price demand has gone up.

(Kudjip, young men)

Yes. But in the past, foods and pigs were exchange between the bride and grooms relatives. It was seen as a token of a new friendship. Today, we women are seen as objects that can be bought.

(Minj, mature women)

Women are now seen as money making objects.

(Sipil, mature men)

The causes of these changes in customary practice were often related to men's pride. This was true of the men in both families, the woman's and the man's.

Mostly it is because of the pride that one will have in the community that causes bride price to go up thus later causing mishaps within the young couple's life.

(Minj, mature women)

Pride. In the highlands, almost all of a male's decision will be centred around his pride. Most parents and brothers put a high demand in bride price so that they can be recognized in the community for their daughter's/sister's pay.

(Sipil, mature men)

Bride price is a thing in which communities take pride. The males, if they give a higher pay and the surrounding community hears about them. The females, if their daughter is paid at a higher price and the whole community hears.

(Kudjip, young men)

The yokes of bride price: bride price as a form of ownership and control of women

The most significant change from customary practice, and the most harmful to women, was identified as the understanding of bride price in terms of the ownership and control of women.

In our tradition or customs we believe that when we buy bride price we have every right to do anything we want to.

(Karpa, mature men)

The wife is the victim throughout all her marriage life she will live a miserable life, because she knows for certain that, through bride price, she was already under the control of her husband. Everything she does must be according to husband's will and not her own.

(Korkor, mature men)

Bride price was selected as the third most serious form of violence against women because the bride price gives complete ownership to the husband. He can do anything to the wife either bashing, cutting or to the extreme of killing her.

(Korkor, mature men)

However, the mature men in Korkor were quick to state that they personally did not agree with this community perception of the function of bride price:

The husband is wrong because bride price does not mean that he owns her.

(Korkor, mature men)

The yokes of bride price: repaying the bride price payment

In the community discussions of bride price, it became clear that whilst the husband and his family and community pays the bride price for the woman, asked for and received by the woman's family, not the woman, the husband's family and community expects the couple to repay them. The burden of this repayment, especially given the increasingly high bride price payments, falls heavily on the woman.

Half the time they do not anything worthy inside the house because the couple (mostly women) are busy trying to repay the debt owed to the community.

(Minj, mature women)

They will be busy repaying all that was contributed that they will never live in a comfortable house nor have peace for once in their life. They'll be obliged to go and help every time there is a need in the community. Some husbands leave all these to the wife to take care or deal with it saying that it was your people that came and got the bride price and so now it is up to you to repay.

(Sipil, mature men)

I was paid bride price too and now I am repaying all this credit because he is not helping me. With this work load at home and struggles to look after the kids and home. And also repaying pigs, chickens, food, and even money for the bride price. If I ignore who will do it people will talk back at me so I have to do it myself.

(Case Study no.53)

The yokes of bride price: no escape from violence

Woman after woman in the case studies spoke of how they wished to be able to leave their violent husbands and return to their own families. However, this would involve their families in tribal fighting and require their families to repay the bride price. Often their families would not support them or take them back for this reason. Often the women decided to not to return to her family for this reason.

When men cause this violence to happen in the family, women sometimes think about leaving their husbands but bride price is already paid and they suffer slowly and stay.

(Korkor, young women)

My husband was a very violent man. He will use knife, stick or stones to hit me in front of the children and his family members. ... I went to my village but my family members also got scared of him and did not want him to cause trouble with my tribe and asked me not to go to them. If I got there whenever I got beaten, my family will send me back to my husband's family the next day.

(Case Study no. 71)

Even where the husband did not pay the agreed bride price, the woman's family may not support her.

I asked my family to come over and discuss this matter with my husband but they did not come over. I think that they are not coming because my husband did not pay my bride price to my family so that's why they are ignoring my request.

(Case Study no. 2)

Addressing bride price

There is little community discussion of or support for the problems that women face because of bride price.

Bride price is not an issue in the village to talk about. No one opens their mouth.

(Kudjip, young men)

Community does not do anything as this crime is taken as domestic violence. When the incident gets out of hand then we take it to village court.

(Karap, mature men)

Bride price problem is not something for the community.

(Minj, mature men)

Some groups asked the government to put a limit on bride price.

4.3.8. Polygamy

Polygamy is a matter of concern

Polygamy is a subject of much concern to the people of Jiwaka, especially to its women. It was identified as the second most serious form of violence to women and girls (Table 6).

Fourteen of the focus groups (11 per cent) chose polygamy as one of the three most serious forms of violence to women and girls, of these. Thirteen of these were groups of women, both mature women and younger women. One was a group of young men (Kudjip). No group of mature men chose polygamy as one of the three most serious forms of violence to women and girls.

More case studies were written about polygamy than any other subject. Most of these were written by women, but some men also wrote of their concerns about polygamy.

Almost all of the case studies of polygamy written by a woman were written by the first wife. In a few, it was not clear which wife was writing. In very few cases it was not the first wife writing a case study.

Polygamy nowadays is different from the past

For men and women in Jiwaka, polygamy is 'too common', 'an everyday occurrence'.

Polygamy was selected as the most important because almost all of us here are a victim. Since we live in the most rugged parts of Jiwaka, our husbands leave us and go to Banz town to look for a better easier life. They get married to women from there and settle down there forgetting all about us and the village.

(Kawil, mature women)

Polygamy as it is now practised is different from the past:

Polygamous marriages in the past were practiced by great leaders who had resources. Mostly because of the first wife couldn't handle the workload and children. She would agree to a new wife to come and help. Not today. Every man wants to have more than one wife and there is no purpose to marrying.

(Kindeng, mature women)

[In the past] they had good reasons to marry another wife. For them, they got new wives to help look after pigs and the kids if the first wife had a lot of kids. They had their own way to manage the wives and they all lived in harmony. The man normally knew how to treat the women fairly. But not now.

(Kindeng, young women)

The skill of managing polygamous marriages

In talking about polygamy in the past, many groups commented on how people then knew how to manage polygamy and live in productive harmony. It was widely believed that many men these days cannot manage polygamous relationships:

Yes but our forefathers were good managers. They managed their wives properly. Not now. There is a lot of pain, anger, tears, etc.

(Kindeng, mature women)

No. In the past, a family was in peace.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

Yes, but they had their own ways to manage being a husband and not an issue came out of it. Not today, women and men marry for the sake of money, and other purposes/reasons and husband do not have the same gift that their forefathers had in managing wives and thus creating a whole lot of problem.

(Kudjip, young men)

Yes it is our custom of our people but when comparing with now the polygamy fathers of today are more corrupt than before. They cannot manage the family with fairness. They spend more time and resources with other wife while the first wife suffers the most.

(Nondugul, mature women)

The husband is mostly at fault because of his desire to marry more women and he can't manage his family properly and thus creating disharmony with his wives and children.

(Kudjip, young men)

A number of the case studies on polygamy written by men talked about the difficulties involved in managing a polygamous relationship and how men nowadays did not have this skill.

Case Study no 14 is a story of shame and regret. In it, a man wrote of how, because he did not know how to manage his family, he regularly beat his wives so badly they ended up in hospital:

I still remain the boss and accuse them of little things and beat them to death. I always want them to follow my ways and if they don't do what I like I beat them. Sometimes I favour the younger one and beat my first wife. Just to please the other wife. I really do damage to the other which is unfair and injustice in the family.

He now recognises that wife beating is unlawful and disrespectful and regrets his behaviour. He too tells his sons not to do the same thing.

Case Study no. 15 is a story of personal change.

A man writes of how, in polygamous families, family management is so poor that both husband and wives turn in different directions and destroy their families and lives. The children, he says, become victims of the parents' ignorant actions. He acknowledges that he has had many problems in managing his wives and has seen many others die of HIV because of their unfaithfulness to each other and poor family management. This, he says, has been his turning point in managing his family:

Now I, as a polygamous man, try my very best to manage my three wives. I fairly share my properties and time to all my wives and children. I always tell my children not to practice polygamous marriage.

Some women felt that polygamy was inevitable but that it could be acceptable in certain circumstances.

Man will never cease to get another wife. If he shares his time and money plus workload easily, women will be okay with that.

(Kindeng, young women)

Men's motivation for living polygamous

Men's motivations in entering into a polygamous marriage were thought to sometimes relate to his pride and status in the village and sometimes to be driven by a desire to have more children, especially for tribal fighting. Mostly however it was felt that he wanted to be like other men.

He wants to be like everybody else who marries a lot of wives.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

Normally, when a man has a lot of resources in the community and doesn't not have any kids preferably male, then he will start look for a new wife. Also, a man tries to marry again because he just feels so.

(Kindeng, young women)

Polygamy and family neglect is another factor. Most men want to have this big name in the village and try to marry more wives. They divert their focus/attention and money to impress the new woman. They leave us the first wife and kids to fend for ourselves.

(Kindeng, young women)

A man's pride. He wants to be like the other men in the village who marry more wives.

(Kindeng, mature women)

Too much tribal fights. The man wants more children to secure the land, improve in population, especially boys supporting in tribal fights.

(Sipil, mature women)

Sometimes it was in response to pressure from his family or the community or with their support.

Community influence/brother influence causes polygamy.

(Tabibuga, mature women)

The family members of the man, they don't like the first wife so they influence the man to marry a new woman.

(Karpa, young women)

Sometimes communities think that it's normal for a man to marry and do anything he wants to do. They are very supportive.

(Karpa, young women)

Whenever the husband brings a woman into the village, the community always makes the woman feel welcome.

(Case Study no.9)

My husband came home in his first break with a woman he wanted as a second wife and asked me to share my properties with her. I tried to put up a fight with this woman but the man and his family supported and defended her.

(Case Study no. 58)

Women acknowledged that a wife's attitude and behaviour could contribute to the husband seeking another wife.

Women who do not have respect for their husbands.

(Kindeng, young women)

A wife's' attitude may also push him away.

(Kindeng, mature women)

When she denies him sex.

(Tabibuga, mature women)

The attitude of woman makes the husband to marry new wife.

(Karpa, young women)

Polygamy and the neglect and destitution of the first wife

One of the serious concerns that women have about polygamy in Jiwaka is that when men take further wives, they usually neglect their first wife and children. They provide no support for the family and frequently demand the first wife's money, or gardens, or trade goods to finance their polygamy. The first wife and her children are often reduced to living in shameful poverty.

In cases of Polygamy, the woman is often the one who is hurt along with the children because of neglect.

(Kudjip, young men)

Often the father forgets his roles and responsibilities completely. He is too busy with his new wife to take notice of his family. Women often face all sorts of troubles and hardships to keep the family together. Kids are often deprived of their basic rights.

(Kindeng, mature women)

Man with two or three wives does not look after the wives and children. Burning down houses and other destructions occurs due to polygamy.

(Karpa, young women)

He works and when he gets his fortnight he never comes and visits me or his kids. He goes out with women until he spends all his money and saves nothing. When he wants to get something from me he never asks politely but just comes and fights to get things.

(Case Study no. 3)

Case Study no. 46 tells the story of a woman married to a teacher. He started seeing another woman in the fifth year of their marriage. She had a four year old son then. Once he took the second wife, she and her son were dead to him. Her husband would do all the chores for the second wife, and buy all her necessities with his fortnight pay. They lived in a very comfortable house. Her house on the other hand was suffering. All her coffee gardens were taken from her and given to the second wife. She would do all the work herself with no means and ways to earn an income, even a bathing soap was too much to buy. Her house deteriorated badly leaving avenues for the pigs to go in and the rain to drop in during the rainy nights.

Case Study no. 57 is another story of uncaring neglect and exploitation. The first wife paid her husband's school fees to attend Minj Technical College.

After graduation he came home and stole my six bags of coffee worth around K1,200 and ran away to Lae with his second wife. They were enjoying Lae while I was suffering with my three children. When all the coffee money ran out, he came back home and was asking me to give him more money. I told him that I don't have any money. After hearing that he burnt my semi-permanent house worth about K10,000 with my belongings and his wife came and destroyed all my food and cash crop gardens.

Polygamy and the gendered division of labour

When women are abandoned by their husbands, they themselves must do all the tasks traditionally done by men in order to tend their gardens or to ensure that they have shelter.

Life is a burden to her and her children since her husband doesn't even help when he is around. He gambles. She has shouldered all the chores, both male and female, and she's already tired and fed up.

(Case Study no. 45)

Often, even if the man does not abandon them, many men are no longer helping with the house and gardens, becoming 'lazy' as so many people described. In these cases also, the women must take over their chores.

My husband decided to take home brew/steam. It was hard to stop him. He got into the habit and he did not help me much. I used to work for both father and mother work.

(Case Study no. 54)

It is possible that such breaches of the strict gender division of labour, especially by women abandoned by their husbands or with lazy husbands, could contribute to the increasing number of accusations of sorcery in Jiwaka. This is happening in Southern Highlands (Haley 2013).

Polygamy and its effects on the children: illiteracy and social alienation

The children of the first marriage in particular are seriously harmed when the father abandons his first family. Often the father provides no support for the children's school fees. Where the mother cannot provide school fees for her children by herself, they are forced to leave school and are unable to be educated.

The mother and the children are affected. Children left out of education because of financial shortage.

(Nondugul, mature women)

All the fortnight money is used up by the second wife. Because of the financial shortage, all the children are left out of school and are now back in the village.

(Case Study no. 12)

Furthermore, in the absence of her husband, many women find it hard to discipline the children. They are worried that this will lead to undesirable behaviour in their children. They also worry that this disruptive behaviour in turn could lead to more violence in their community.

The first wife and children [are the victims]. The kids' education is affected if their father is not playing his role. They too are not properly disciplined which may later encourage drug and alcohol abuse leading to a string of problems in the community. Wife may not be mentally stable leading to fights and sometimes murder (commonly the 2nd wives die.)

(Kindeng, young women)

The mother and the children. Mother lives with worry, unhappy life and sometimes finds sick children are not well disciplined; turn to get drug, drink home brew and no proper education.

(Karpa, young women)

Father not giving time and help in children's up-bringing is bringing violence in the community.

(Nondugul, mature women)

Another worrying issue that emerged from the case studies is a pattern amongst other wives and women partners to leave their children behind, usually with the first wife, when they leave the marriage/relationship.

My husband decided to leave me behind and went and married new women. There were about a total of 35 women he brought home one by one. Some had children, some were without children. They all left again leaving their children behind with me. Now I got a big problem to look after these kids for my husband. One big problem is the school fees for the kids who are at school now. All the mothers of these kids are not around ... Now I am old and I cannot cater for all the kids.

(Case Study no. 3)

In Case Study no. 25, the writer, a deserted first wife, is looking after her own children and her step children. Her husband has married many wives which all have left him. The husband is a kind of person who wants to go around drinking beer and wanting to have multi partners. She writes:

The other problem I face is with the older children from the other woman who has already left my husband. I supported the children in their education but none of them [finished their] education. They are all out in the village and start to take drugs and steam. They always go against me and my children.

(Case Study no. 25)

Polygamy often causes tensions among women

Where a polygamous relationship is not well managed, tensions are created amongst the wives. Situations in which some women are favoured and some abandoned and abused often lead to violence to women by women, in this case, other wives.

Polygamy is one of the major causes that instigates fighting between husband and wives as well as the wives themselves.

(Kudjip, young men)

On certain occasions she thought of killing the second wife but decided against fearing for the life of her son in the event that she was to be taken away to be put in jail.

(Case Study no. 46)

I tried to put up a fight with this woman but the man and his family supported and defended her.

(Case Study no. 58)

In Case Study no. 18, a man tells the story of the jealous murder of his third wife by his two other wives. This murder has caused him to reassess his polygamous life. He is deeply unhappy with his life. He wants the government to introduce a by-law that makes polygamy illegal.

Where do abandoned women turn for support?

There are few options for the first wives, or other wives, that are being neglected, beaten, exploited, and rendered destitute and who find little or no support from the husband's family or community.

Most women in these circumstances remain in the husband's village. Often, despite poor treatment by the husband's family, the abandoned wife will remain there because of the children.

The community kind of encouraged the husband to marry more wives because they think the performance of the first wife is poor and not to their expectations. In this way the community kind of force her to go back to her village. But she did not and she still lives in her husband's place until now because of the kids.

(Case Study no. 9)

Community do nothing to support the first wife and her children's welfare. ... At some point community leaders try to settle the problem but never succeed and the problem is ongoing now in the community.

(Nondugul, mature women)

One woman asked her family to come and discuss the problems with her husband.

But they did not come over. I think that they are not coming because my husband did not pay my bride price to my family so that is why they are ignoring my request.

(Case Study no. 2)

When the women decide to return to their own villages, they often find that they are rejected by their families who are fearful of trouble or fighting from the husband's people, or that the land and coffee gardens have been taken up by their brothers and their wives and that there are none for them.

She is now at home, with no land or coffee gardens to sustain her since it was taken up by all her brothers. She is labelled as a prostitute back home.

(Case Study no. 46)

Being labelled as a prostitute seems to be a common fate of wives that return to their family's village, whatever the cause.

Sometimes, constant wife beating results in the wife running away. She is above all the number one victim being physically and emotionally abused. She may face criticism and discrimination when she goes back to her home village. They may label her as a prostitute.

(Kindeng, mature men)

Some women have sought a divorce from their husbands

(Case Study no. 46).

Many deserted women seek solace in their faith and in its practice.

I am a Christian mother and I pray for my problems. I have peace in my heart. I believe in God.

(Case Study no. 2)

Women's thoughts on polygamy

Women reject polygamy. They relate this to their desire to be valued by the community and to be free from the unbearable forms of forced labour and indignity that polygamy brings with it.

Most females desire to be free from hard labour. They want freedom.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

Men are taking themselves special and taking women as nobody.

(Case Study no. 24)

Most women in the community think that they are categorised as the second class in the community. They don't have opportunities to access anything. The outcome is that young girls get involved in polygamy. ... The women want the young girls to be properly educated to become potential women leaders in the future.

(Karpa, young women)

Men's thoughts on polygamy

Only the young men surveyed in Kudjip chose Polygamy as a form of violence against women and girls.

The other men's groups, both mature men and young men, did not choose polygamy as one of the three most serious forms of violence to women and girls.

4.3.9. Polygamy and wage employment

The case studies indicate a linkage between polygamy and wage employment. Polygamy and wage employment was not explicitly included amongst the thirty images of violence against women and girls used in the Survey but emerged in the Case Studies.

Let us begin with two stories that throw light on the relationship.

The first Case Study is of an eleven year partnership between husband and wife which ends for the wife when the husband takes wage employment and brings home a second wife.

I am married eleven years. My husband and I sweated to plant peanut gardens. We sold peanut bags and we went buying coffee parchment. Gradually we moved up the ladder and built a trade store and sold store goods. We had a good shelter, good food and clothes for our two children and ourselves. My husband got an offer to take up a carpentry course. We had enough money and so he was sponsored.

After completing his carpentry course, my husband was offered a job in Tari with PNG LNG. It was a joy for me and my children. On his first break, he came home with a woman he wanted as a second wife.

(Case Study no. 58)

In the second case study, a woman married fifteen years and her two sons were moving to her husband's workplace in Ramu.

On the day that we packed to travel, my husband insisted that we took with us a young woman so that she can keep me company. In Ramu, I found out that my husband was secretly having an affair with this young woman and intended to have her as his second wife.

On the day that I found out, I had an argument with him and he beat me up very badly and my right hand is permanently disabled.

The company came to hear of his actions and sacked him from his job because it is against the company policy against polygamy.

(Case Study no. 70)

Both of these women and their children continued to be ill-treated by their husbands. Both husbands blamed the first wife for their problems. Both demanded that the first wife support them and their second wives.

Both women are living in despair.

In many of the stories of polygamy, the husbands are in wage employment: policemen, teachers, security men, workers in the resources sector and others.

Not only wage-employed men are in polygamous relationships. Village men, town men, 'Bigmen', 'Bighead men', traders and other self-employed men are also in polygamous marriages. However, the case studies indicate that entry into the wage economy seems to be, for some men, an entry into the world of polygamy.

Three case studies illustrate this transition dramatically (case studies no. 53, 54 and 55). The Nazarene Church at Kudjip received a grant from the DFAT (AusAID) Incentive Fund to build a hydro-electricity project. Through this project, they were able to create much needed wage employment opportunities in the area.

The three case studies are written by the wives of men who took up employment with the Hydro Project. Before taking up this work, one of the men worked closely with his wife.

From the beginning of our marriage we were OK because we were both at home and we really helped each other with every work load. He was very helpful and I was happy with my marriage.

(Case Study no. 52)

In a second case, the marriage started out that way.

When we were newly married we got on well but as time passed by and the kids were growing up my husband decided to take home brew/steam.

Then the three husbands were recruited to work on the Hydro Project. All three men kept their fortnightly pay for their own use. They did not take it home. They started neglecting their wives and children.

Since the project from Kudjip Nazarene Hospital started, my husband was one of them that was picked to work on the project. I was happy because he was working but now I see it's a problem and this is a big problem. He is not sharing his fortnight money with me and he is not helping me with our work. My husband is not helping me with all our work at home because he thinks he is work for fortnight and he doesn't care what to bring home or help me when I need help.

(Case Study no. 52)

My husband is working with the Hydro Project and he is on fortnight. When he started working with the Hydro Project from Kudjip Nazarene Hospital he never shared his fortnight money with me and my kids. I had to work extra hard to grow vegetables and sell them at the market and get some income for the family. Now he is taking drugs and drinks steam and he gets credits from people and never brings money home to buy food or clothes for the children. Even kids are at elementary school but he is not paying the kids' school fees.

(Case Study no. 53)

Last year he was asked to work with Hydro Project at the Kudjip Nazarene Hospital. He is on payroll now but he is spending money on steam. He will ask me for money when he has no money and beats me up very badly to get money. One day he nearly killed me. All the people saw it and they ran away but the lord helped me and I was taken to Kudjip Hospital.

(Case Study no. 54)

The transition to wage earners enabled these men to move into forms of living their masculinity that are only available to those who have money: drinking, gambling, paying for sex, etc.

In at least two of the cases, getting a fortnight pay for working for the Hydro Project has resulted in polygamous behaviour.

I heard from rumours that he is going around with women and that's a problem now I have a young son. If my husband gets infected with HIV I will be affected too and I am asking for a blood check before we can live together again.

(Case Study no. 52)

Now he is married to another woman and living with this woman in another village and the kids and myself are living alone at home. He comes home asking me for money and if I try to talk back he gets up and beats me so I am afraid to talk hard to him.

(Case Study no. 53)

These women are not getting support from their husband's families.

I wish I could take him to justice but his people will get on me if I put him behind bars. I am scared to do this.

(Case Study no. 53)

One night my husband did not come home so I went straight to that woman's house. She was not in the house and my husband was not there too. I came back home. The next morning the women's people plus my husband's family members said that I was very wrong to go into the house. So they asked me to compensate this woman K200 which I did pay the money. The family members are supporting him so I don't have any chance to help myself. I am living with this problem in me.

(Case Study No. 52)

The woman in Case Study no 52 who was beaten up so badly that she was taken to Kudjip hospital found the strength to deal with her situation. She reported the matter to the police who charged her husband and he was found guilty.

In these five case studies, access to wage employment has led to the breakdown of the marriage, to severe physical violence to the first wife, to the exploitation and neglect of the first wife, to harm to the children, to the use of alcohol, drugs and steam, to polygamy, to the alienation of the first wife from the husband's family and more.

Neither the DFAT (AusAID) Incentive Fund, which has invested significant creative effort to minimise harmful social consequences of its investments, nor the Nazarene Church, which is committed to improving the developmental well-being of the people, would want the outcomes to be described. The creation of job opportunities is normally taken to be a developmental benefit. Yet case studies no. 53, 54 and 55 seriously challenge those concerned with the development of Jiwaka.

For these men, entering into the sphere of wage employment seems to have the effect of crossing a threshold into a space free from social and moral constraints. It is a space where concepts of accountability, responsibility and culpability, drawn from the values and laws of the Church and from custom, are not honoured or only weakly honoured.

When men enter this space and act in these ways, if their wives object to their behaviour, the case studies show that the men are usually supported by their families.

The behaviour of the men and of their families in these case studies mirrors in important ways the shifts that occur whenever a society transitions from a family based society to a society based on capital and its values. This transition results in a conflict of values which can impact quite adversely on families. It is a transition from which a quite different kind of society emerges.

4.3.10. Women denied family planning

Four of the focus groups identified women being denied family planning services as one of the three most serious forms of violence against women and girls (Table 6). It was chosen by one group of mature men (Urupkaip), one group of young men (Kindeng) and both mature women and young women in Sipil.

It was ranked by the men as the tenth most serious form of violence against women and girls and seventh by the women (Table 6).

Seen as a serious problem

Let us listen to the young men of Kindeng.

They were clear about why they chose family planning as one of the three most serious forms of violence against women and girls:

[Family planning] is a serious problem in our community. We all face this type of problem in the community. We all do not go for planning.

Who is wrong?

Both partners are at fault. Some do not even bother to know about what family planning is all about.

Who is the victim and how is she/they affected?

First and foremost, it's the mothers. A lot of hard work may involve in looking after the kids as well as trying to fend for the family. Health wise she is maybe affected because her body needs proper rest and recovery before she has another child or if she is doing a lot of physical work. Kids may face malnutrition if the father doesn't help with putting the food on the table. Community may also be affected because of the shortage of the land resulting in tribal fight later on because of land etc.

What are the causes of this problem?

Communication breakdown. Sometimes males prevent their partners from going to the family planning clinic because they think of the community and family security and so want the wife to give birth to more children. Women are also scared of their husbands or are sometimes just too ignorant to go to the clinic.

Is this behaviour the custom of your people?

In the past they were very few people and so women were under the constant strain on giving birth to a lot of children to fulfil their husband's wish. More sons meant more security as well as more manpower during tribal fights. However, they were also thought to give birth at certain time intervals which was just about the right time for the next child giving the women enough to rest and recover.

How do people in your community respond to such incidents?

Community members normally gossip about those type of couple. Sometimes extended family members ask to adopt the children however, nobody goes and tells them to go to family planning as some feel that discussing this topic is sensitive and it is none of their business.

Who is doing something to stop the problem?

Sometimes the couple's parents do talk to them or some concern citizens of the community who have a heart for them and refer them to the family planning centre.

Consequences for women

The young women of Sipil were concerned that there was no proper family planning education conducted in the community by the Health Department. They said that they wanted fewer children now:

The Government must have a child policy like other countries are doing now. More children lead to other problems like land shortage and no proper education because there is not enough money to put all children in school.

(Sipil, young women)

The mature women of Sipil reflected on the consequences for the woman of the husband's denial of access to family planning services:

Family Planning. Man don't want woman to do family planning. They want the wife to bear plenty children. This makes the woman weak and they don't have enough strength to work. Weak and normally get sick.

(Sipil, mature women)

They do not think that there is sufficient community support for or discussion of family planning.

Community only solve the conflicts but does not supporting them to do family planning. It's the males and females themselves need to talk.

(Sipil, mature women)

The mature men of Urupkaip identified as causes of the problem of women giving birth to so many children;

Man with no proper discipline. Father drinks beer and cannot control his sexual desire.

(Urupkaip, mature men)

They too were concerned about the consequences of denying women access to family planning services:

No proper family planning and the result is food shortage, no proper education for children, and the mother sometimes sick and don't have enough strength.

(Urupkaip, mature men)

They young men of Kindeng summarised their concern:

Jiwaka as whole is starting to experience population boom and this can be a threat in the future if today's couples' do not go for family planning. Can affect our future students as well as job shortages.

4.3.11. Women accused of sorcery

Accusations of sorcery as a serious form of violence against women

There is a belief in the communities that accusations of sorcery, the torture and deaths of those accused of sorcery, and fear of an accusation of sorcery are becoming much more widespread.

Four of the focus groups identified sorcery as one of the three most serious forms of violence against women (Table 6). Of these, three were groups of women and one a group of men.

Women ranked this as the sixth most serious form of violence against women; only one group of men included it in the three most serious forms of violence. Men ranked it twelfth (Table 6).

Women in particular are concerned

Accusations of sorcery are of pressing concern, to women in particular, in Jiwaka.

This sorcery issue is becoming big and already entwined in the minds of everyone in our community. It is scary.
(Kudjip, mature women)

A significant number of case studies were written about accusations of sorcery (1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 13, 22, 23, 29, 35, 40, 59, and 69). The only topic with a greater number of case studies was polygamy.

Three of the case studies were written by men (23, 29, and 40) and all of the writers talk about having participated in community responses to accusations of sorcery.

The stories written by women talk about being accused of sorcery and its impact on the women's lives and on their families. It should be noted here that only women who had been accused of sorcery but not killed wrote case studies. The stories of the women who were accused and murdered went to their graves with them.

Summary of the Community Survey findings on accusations of sorcery

The Community Survey identifies two different types of women who are accused of sorcery: polygamous wives, often the first wife, which the man wishes to get rid of, and, secondly, women with assets: gardens, piggeries, trade stores, fish ponds, etc. In the latter case, an accusation of sorcery could be understood as a particular response to perceived local social and economic inequalities.

The Community Survey data indicates that, when there is an accusation of sorcery, there are three possible outcomes: brutal torture and death; social death, when the accused woman is sent out of the village or is forced to leave it or flee for her life and the lives of her children; or, an on-going fear of being accused again, resulting in a tense stand-off with those in the community who accused them.

The Survey findings indicate that which outcome occurs for an individual woman differs according to the social context of the accusation. If the woman is in a polygamous marriage and the husband is trying to get rid of her, the second and third outcomes to an accusation of sorcery are more likely.

Where the woman has powerful men in her family who are likely to come to her defence, the second or third outcome is more likely. The social status of their men and the fear of what they might do to protect the woman. In the case studies where the woman's husband, or his family, or her brothers, spoke out in defence of the woman, the accusation usually did not lead to her torture and death.

The Community Survey data indicates that is the women who do not have powerful men to come to defend and protect them that are more likely to be tortured and murdered: widows, single mothers, deserted and abandoned women, poor women, women living on the social margins.

The Community Survey data shows that those most likely to make an accusation of sorcery against a woman are her family members, someone in a close relationship with her.

The mature women of Nondugul summed this up:

The community is involved in accusing the women of sorcery but as mothers we think government must put stricter rules to safeguard us because at most times single mothers /parents are victims because they are defenceless. We heard people are talking about 'sanguma' but we have not seen any evidence physically.
(Nondugul, mature women)

The women who are accused of sorcery

The women accused were often 'defenceless', as the Nondugul women say, in the sense that they were not protected by strong and powerful men, men with status in the village, or men who could fight to protect them. The Nondugul women are also repudiating claims that the violent treatment of women is justified by the belief that the women accused possess sanguma. Implicit in what they are saying is the critique that women are treated like this because they are women.

Often the women accused have significant resources: land, gardens, fishponds, trade store, garden foods, piggeries, poultry, money, and trading goods such as coffee and betel nuts.

The young boys drank beer and came in the night and put fire on our houses down into ashes and they destroy our properties (food gardens, trade store, piggery, poultry) and anything around our area.

(Case Study no.4)

We commit this crime because the victim has killed an innocent person. Sometimes, we take it this reason as an opportunity to take all of the victim's property that we have coveted.

(Karap, mature men)

This latter quote is an interesting insight into the social dynamics of sorcery-related incidents. Often a woman accused of 'sanguma', of being a witch, is thought to have a greedy hunger that drives her to eat the insides of others to satisfy her hunger. In this quote, it is as if the accusing crowd has a 'greedy hunger' for the wealth of the women accused. They covet her property.

Sometimes, rumours were spread and accusations of sorcery made about co-wives in polygamous relations.

This incident happens because a man tried to get married to more than one wife and the victim seem to be the first wife so when that victim share food or other thing they believed that the deceased family suspected the first wife to have sorcery (sanguma).

(Tabibuka, mature men)

Some of the women who wrote case studies about being accused of sorcery described themselves as coming from outside the province, two from Chimbu or one from Southern Highlands. In other case studies about being accused of sorcery, the women did not say whether they had married out or came from other provinces.

Not all those who spoke of being accused of sorcery were women.

In the case studies, those accused of sorcery were most frequently women, usually individual women. However, there was a story of a couple being accused, the husband being a health care worker. There were two stories of men being accused: a husband and a brother were killed by his brothers in a polygamous family.

Some of the allegations were related to political events. After the death of a 'big man', the community seeks out someone to accuse.

The stories did not always make clear who the accusers were. But often the accusations were made by people close to the accused: the husband, the husband's brother, the husband's family, co-wives in polygamous marriages. In these cases, there is an intimacy to the accusations: they occur between people close to each other.

In other stories the accusation was made by neighbours or other community members.

The accusations of sorcery were often seen by the women accused as attempts to force them out of the village. Where there was a violent response, their houses, other properties and belongings were burned to the ground, their gardens, goods, and resources destroyed or stolen.

Not all accusations led to violent responses or to death to those accused. This was particularly true when the accusations arose from within a polygamous marriage.

When a woman accused of sorcery was murdered, it was usually a cruel and inhumane death.

Community responses to an accusation

The Survey participants' perspectives on how their communities in fact handled it included:

Every time a death arises in this community, we often overlook other causes of death and try to blame the death on Sanguma, thus killing innocent people.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Community does nothing. They are too engulfed in the sorcery belief that they also encourage the killing of the accused. They say that if an innocent person can die, there is no need to save the accused. We can also do away with them.

(Kudjip, mature men)

In our community, Tabibuga, this problem is getting worse. Even we hurt innocent person and get bail without proper proof for medical reports.

(Tabibuga, mature men)

Characteristics of violent responses to accusations of sorcery

Where there was a violent response, it sometimes seemed to be a spontaneous reprisal, sometimes a more intentional act of violence as retribution.

In cases of spontaneous reprisal it is as if, when someone makes an accusation of sorcery, the community responds without reflecting on the accusation. A surge of anger or righteousness or blood lust sweeps the community and they are moved to respond.

If it is a case of sorcery, it is a scary sight. There is a mob attack making it impossible for the community to intervene.

(Kindeng, young women)

The family of the deceased want the person accused of sanguma to die, so the whole community agrees to kill him/her.

(Karap, young women)

All the community is involved.

(Kawil, mature women)

All the community and leaders go on one side and kill or torture woman if she kills a man through sorcery (sanguma).

(Kawil, young men)

Leaders and community leaders sometimes go one sided.

(Karap, young men)

People often identified 'drug bodies' or young men as being associated with these violent spontaneous responses to an accusation of sorcery. It is also often said that young men direct or control the more deliberative processes of retributive violence.

As a recorder, I realised that in this community, Tabibuga, most of the people seem to believe the customs and the beliefs of their forefathers. Most of the problems caused by the youth based on alleging sorcery.

(Tabibuga, Recorder, mature men)

The young boys drank beer and came in the night and put fire to our houses down into ashes and they destroy our properties (food gardens, trade store, piggery, poultry) and anything around our area.

(Case Study no.4)

Clearly young men are involved both in the accusing and in the extreme forms of response. But the blaming of 'drug bodies' or young men as the cause of the sorcery problem may be a refusal by the others involved, both as participants and as spectators, to accept their own complicity in the crime.

Extreme anger, violence and hostility towards people considered to have wronged a person seems to be regarded as admirable and virtuous, especially in men. Often the groups discussed these violent and brutal responses in terms that indicated that the community believed they were right in behaving like this.

All community and leaders go on one side and kill or torture woman if she kills a man through sorcery.

(sanguma)

So far until now the community does not take action or any preventative measures because this problem of sorcery is a kind of custom which they believe they are right in doing.

(Karpa, young men)

It was in our tradition and is passed down.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Community lack of support to the women accused of sorcery

The community does not act to stop the theft, destruction and brutality associated with accusations of women of sorcery. Nor does it act to help the women victims of accusations of sorcery.

All community agrees to accusing the woman of sorcery. They don't do anything to help the woman.

(Urupkaip, mature men)

The community don't do anything to support the victim.

(Urupkaip, mature women)

Community does nothing. They too are engulfed in the sorcery belief that they also encourage the killing of the accused. They say that if an innocent person can die, there is no need to save the accused. We can also do away with them.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Most times, the accused die. But if the leaders can help it, they sometimes intervene.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Fear of being accused of sorcery

There is a widespread fear of being accused of sorcery. One informant described how they felt they must go to a haus kraai and contribute money or else they might be accused of sorcery.

Accusations of sorcery seem to have been intensifying.

This happens because people are so eager to blame the cause of death in Sanguma. The deceased relatives often put guard to watch any particular beings on their everyday actions blaming them for sorcery.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Impact on women and their children of an accusation of sorcery

An accusation of sorcery has an adverse impact not only on the women accused but also on her family.

A woman is the victim. Her family also get hurt when this happens. She's always scared all the time, and is not happy.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Once she is accused or even killed, she may die a victim and also her husband or family will be hurt and traumatised.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Before I was living happily but after the death of this old man, the whole community accused me of sorcery and this makes me feel worried about my life living in fear.

(Case Study no.6)

Every time there is a death in the community, she doesn't come out nor do her daily chores. She's always scared because the ones she trusts may kill her. She wishes people would stop acting on things that know nothing about. She says all her moves are being watched. Even if she did a normal hand gestures or facial expression, anybody can use this "normal gestures" to use against her. It's scary.

(Case Study no. 35)

I am really scared of my family's safety and do not know what to do. Such accusations are demoralizing my family and we must stop it once and for all.

(Case Study no. 69)

Many of the case studies express concern about the impact of accusations of sorcery on the women and on her children.

Growing demand for evidence to support accusations of sorcery

It is clear from the Community Survey and case studies that accusations of sorcery can be made for reasons associated with the desire to appropriate someone's land or belongings, or with the desire to be rid of a wife in a polygamous marriage, or a wife perceived as headstrong or difficult.

The acknowledgement of this has caused unease among some community members about the nature of the sorcery killings. The Community Survey shows a growing demand for evidence of malpractice by the person accused of sorcery before action is taken, that is, a demand for evidence of the truth of the sorcery accusations before acting on the accusation.

Accusing a woman / man for sorcery must stop in the community because there's no evidence of sorcery. Whoever kill the woman / man about sorcery take them to the police.

(Korkor, mature men)

We do not see how the sorcery is done with our naked eyes and we do not have the right to call anyone: you are a sorcerer.

(Minj, mature women)

Sorcery or witchcraft (sanguma) has no evidence.

(Kudjip, young women)

If every deceased person is taken to be medically examined and the cause of death known, then this can greatly help.

(Kudjip, mature men)

If this victim is suspected to have sorcery, we have to trace in properly and take him or her to further investigation. This is just a belief because we don't even see sanguma with our naked eyes. ... Most of the innocent people have already been killed without evidence.

(Karap, mature men)

The demand for evidence is coming from both women and men.

Growing moral unease about the treatment of those accused of sorcery

There is clearly an intense unease about sorcery accusations and sorcery murders in Jiwaka. This is sometimes expressed in the language of the Bible. There is talk of 'coveting' the accused woman's wealth. The statements often contain moral judgements about right and wrong.

All community leaders and the community itself are accusing the women and kill them or burn the women. We are all wrong in the eyes of God and the government.

(Karpa, mature men)

The action of killing was a guilt full thing which demoralized the whole community.

(Case Study no. 40)

It is also expressed in the language of human rights and of the law and in judgements about innocence, and thus guilt.

Most of the innocent people have already been killed without evidence.

(Karap, mature men)

We know that killing is against the law and all deaths happen in God's will, so we must stop this belief and blaming of sorcery.

(Kudjip, mature men)

We do not see how the sorcery is done with our naked eyes and we do not have the right to call anyone: you are a sorcerer.

(Minj, mature women)

The three case studies written by men who had taken part in sorcery-related violent responses seemed to be written with a sense of remorse.

The Community Survey identified a growing refusal in Jiwaka to consider sorcery-related torture and murder as an acceptable way of dispensing justice.

The Community Survey indicates that sorcery is an area in which communities want evidence-informed judgments and timely action taken by appropriate authorities. They would prefer that sorcery be under the jurisdiction of the formal legal system.

4.3.12. The HIV epidemic

HIV infection rates in Jiwaka and surrounding provinces are high.

In PNG, HIV is predominantly spread by unprotected penetrative sex between men and women. Recent surveillance data seem to indicate that the national infection rate has stabilised at about 0.83 per cent of the population.

The seven Highlands provinces are where the virus is the most prevalent, with Eastern Highlands, Chimbu, Western Highlands, Jiwaka, Enga, Southern Highlands and Hela recording the highest rates of infection, together with Morobe Province and the National Capital District.

About 1.4 per cent of the "sexually active" population (aged 15-49) in the Western Highlands is HIV-positive.

There is an intimate connection between forms of sexual violence, to women, girls and babies, and HIV infection (Jolly 2012). Women and girls who are the victims or survivors of persistent violence are more likely to be HIV infected than other women.

When the sex is forced or violent, and when it takes place with women in their mid-twenties or younger, whose genital area is immature, transmission of the virus from an HIV infected man to the woman is much more likely to occur.

Women who are HIV-infected are also more likely to experience violence.

Despite the close connection between violence to women and girls and the HIV epidemic, talk of the HIV epidemic was missing from the community discussions of violence to women and girls and from the case studies.

There was only one reference to HIV in the records of the community and focus groups discussions in the twelve Survey sites. This occurred in a discussion of gang rape by young men in Sipil.

These young men were correct in being concerned about the transmission of HIV during gang rape. Not only can the woman be infected with HIV if one of the rapists is infected, but the men involved can also cross infect each other with HIV.

In Case Study No. 55, from Kudjip, a woman expressed her justified fear that her husband, who she had heard was going around with other women, might infect her with HIV. If this happened, she worries, who would look after her three year old son?

I am asking for a blood check before we can live together again. But his people are saying you don't have the right to say these things. They don't know what they are saying.

(Case Study no. 52)

Many women in Jiwaka share this fear of HIV infection if their husbands or partners have other sexual partners. Many of the women victims of violence who seek help and support from Voices for Change talk about this concern.

There is a lack of knowledge about what they can do in such a situation. The woman in the Case Study says:

Now I'm asking the police to give us an order form or something asking us to get our blood checked. That's my big concern for our marriage now.

(Case Study no. 52)

Asking the police for mandatory testing in a situation like this is not the appropriate thing to do, although it is totally understandable given the woman's lack of success in persuading their husband to protect himself, her and their children.

For HIV testing to protect women, it needs to be voluntary and preferably undertaken as a couple. Involving the police or using the law to force HIV testing drives the epidemic underground.

There is a pressing need for women to understand what they alone can and cannot do to protect themselves and their children from HIV infection and to help couples understand why it is so important for them to come as couples for HIV counselling and testing.

One man in the Survey had come to clearly see the links between polygamy and HIV infection. In Case Study No. 15, from Wurrup (Anglimb), a polygamously married man talks of his intense fear of becoming HIV infected through this marriage.

This occurs, he says, when a man, polygamously married, cannot manage the marriage and the husband and the wives turn to unfaithfulness. The children become 'victims of their ignorant actions'. He has seen others die from unfaithfulness, he says, and that has been a turning point for him.

Because of his fear of HIV infection, as a polygamous man, he is doing his very best to manage his three wives: 'I fairly share my properties and time to all my wives and children'.

He has become active in arguing against polygamy, with his children and with others.

The spread of the HIV epidemic may also be contributing to the increase in accusations of sorcery or witchcraft. HIV infection results in the kinds of illness and death that give rise to such accusations: young adults fall sick and die, children too are struck down.

There is evidence from other parts of the Highlands that the extent of illness and death caused by the HIV epidemic has given rise to heightened anxieties about sorcery and witchcraft and has contributed to recent increases in sorcery and witchcraft accusations (Haley 2013, Gibbs 2012).

The silence surrounding the HIV epidemic in the Community Survey is of serious concern given the relatively high rates of HIV infection in Jiwaka and the high rates of violence to women and girls in the Province.

4.3.13. Women accused of adultery

One study of the violence that may be associated with an accusation of adultery

Case Study no. 55 tells a shocking story of the ways in which a husband punishes and tortures a woman if he

suspects her of adultery. The story teller is an educated woman and had been employed in a skilled job in the transport sector.

Her marriage was an arranged marriage where she was bought with big pigs and huge sums of money.

Her husband had physically and sexually assaulted her every night from day one of their marriage, even during pregnancy. Her husband would get suspicious every night and demand that she confess to him her previous boyfriends and suspected that she was fooling around or committing adultery behind his back with her workmates.

At times he would tie up her hands and feet and abuse her private body parts. ... At some points he used a knife to insert into her vagina and threatened to cut her up. At another point he tried to put kerosene into her vagina and attempted to strike a match to burn her.

She screamed and their kids woke up and pleaded with their father to stop hurting their mother. Their bedroom door was locked to their kids.

She finally fled from her husband leaving her four children, including an eight month old baby behind.

"I was almost murdered," she said. "I will not go back to him."

Her parents blame her for bringing a lot of problems to their life and don't like her presence in the family home.

Her baby that was left behind died. People including her own family accuse her of causing her baby's death.

A culture of silence; a practice of cruelty

Adultery was not chosen by any group as one of the three most serious forms of violence against women and their children. Yet the few references to it place the extent and severity of the violence involved when men become suspicious of adultery with that involved in accusations of sorcery.

The violence associated with accusations of adultery may occur in the private space of the home (Case Study no. 55) or may become a community issue.

Most references to adultery in the Community Consultations occurred in the discussion of the image of the woman accused of sorcery. Almost all groups, when describing this image, read it as referring to both public accusations of adultery and accusations of sorcery.

This is done to women who practice sorcery and who also commit adultery. The women must have done any of the two mentioned.

(Korkor, young men)

A woman accused of sorcery is about to be put to death. The family members of the deceased are trying to make her confess that she did practice sorcery on her. They will burn her with hot irons and sticks to make her confess. Or the community will torture her for adultery.

(Korkor, mature women)

Accusing sorcery because there is no one to support the woman; accusing of an adultery and community gather to kill the women or bury her alive.

(Karpa, mature women)

Sorcery or sanguma, or adultery. That is why all the community is involved.

The whole community accusing the woman for sorcery or adultery.

(Urupkaip, mature men)

The community is accusing a women of practising witchcraft (sanguma) or the women must have cheated (gone out with another man and she is been beaten).

(Nondugul, mature women)

Community beating up a lady because she is either practising sorcery or adultery.

(Karap, young women)

All villagers getting together and physically abusing women. It is either a sorcery case or an adultery case where all community take part.

(Kindeng, young women)

This image shows all the villagers bashing up a woman maybe because she must have committed adultery or is accused of practising sorcery.

(Kindeng, mature men)

One group implicated the husband's family in violent responses to accusations of adultery.

This image is showing the community trying to burn a woman alive. It must have been related to sorcery or sanguma issues. Or brothers in the community beating up a woman who is accused of committing adultery.

(Kudjip, mature women)

If it is an adultery case, compensation is usually set by the groom's relatives.

(Kindeng, young women)

When shown this image and asked if this behaviour was the custom of their people, one group directly linked an accusation of adultery to wife murder.

Yes. Reason: If a woman seems to have sex with another person, it causes them to get involved to such incident (wife murder).

(Tabibuga, mature men)

The wisdom of the elders

One woman told of the advice that she had received from her mother's brother in preparation for her marriage:

If you have committed adultery and are found out, leave your husband immediately. You will never be forgiven. No compensation, no beatings, no apology will ever change this. You will continue to be punished.

Many communities consider adultery to be a greater crime than murder (Asian Development Bank 2006: 31).

4.4. COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES ON THE VILLAGE COURTS SYSTEM AND THE POLICE

The Community Survey shows that there are serious biases against women and girls in the deliberations and processes of the Village Courts system and in the law enforcement agencies, particularly the police.

4.4.1. Bias against women in the village courts system

Three groups in the Community Survey choose the image of bias against women in the village court (16) as one of the three most serious forms of violence against women and girls. It was ranked as the thirteenth most serious form of violence against women and girls (Table 6).

Bias against women in the village courts system was ranked by the participants as the thirteenth most serious form of violence against women and girls.

One group of young women said that the bias in the Village Courts system makes women feel demeaned and as if they have no value in the eyes of the community:

False court suppresses or does not help women because the leaders get bribery for their smoke and betel nut. ... When women see that court is not helpful to them when they go to court, they will feel helpless to go to court again when they face problem again. ... The community does not have trust on their leaders today. ... In the old days people used to tell the truth. ... Community does not do anything to help us. Once in a while / sometimes the leaders come in to help settle. The Church Pastors help. ... The women, if they see that they are not getting any assistance, they can bring it up to another level court. ... This form of court (biased) degrades women and makes women feel that they have no value in the community.

(Korkor)

One group of mature women talked about how bribery and culture affect the decision making in the Village Courts system and how women can be profoundly disheartened and depressed by this:

Bribery often influences the decision. Cultural issues too affect the decision making. ... Women are often the victim. Bringing their problems to the justice [system] is the last resort and yet they are denied justice. They may be severely depressed, etc. ... Leaders often side with the male. ... Customary leaders believe in fair justice. But it is not like that anymore. ... Currently nothing is done.

(Tabibuga)

The tendency of leaders and village court officials to side with the men, identified by the mature women of Tabibuga, is named also by the young men of Tabibuga who argue that the bribery by men in the courts was reinforced by beliefs in the superiority of males:

Magistrates are involved in bribery, especially from males, because of the nature of males, their superiority. ... Community wouldn't be aware of this as it is practised in secret. Even in compensations, magistrates take their share. Fighting often results when the losing party realises that bribery was involved. ... Nothing has been done [to stop this problem] ... Magistrates are not paid by the government so they practice bribery.

(Tabibuga)

These testimonies support the claim that it is difficult for women to get a fair hearing in the village courts system.

4.4.2. Bribery and the lack of justice for women

Contrary to what the young men of Tabibuga stated, all village court officials are paid an allowance by the government. However the village court officials have long argued that the allowances are too low and that that is why they accept or demand bribes.

Many other groups commented that the practice of bribery was endemic amongst the police as well as in the village courts:

Culture believes women must be under her husband and women with problems go to police station and even police are rejecting her and get bribery from man.

(Kawil, young men)

Police accept bribery from men and do not assist women.

(Kawil, young men)

Police go by bribery. If no money, police do not help solve the problem.

(Nondugul, young women)

Police do not perform their duties even when they are paid. They expect bribery and so are not so keen on assisting the women unless she pays extra money.

(Kawil, young men)

Women are forced to pay bribes, either to counteract the men's bribery or else to get their cases heard or the police to assist them. If they cannot afford the bribes, and the Community Survey findings highlight women's poverty and lack of financial autonomy, they are unable to access these formal and informal systems for obtaining justice.

Women reported that to get their cases heard, they had been asked to pay for costs including the Magistrates' lunch and transport, the witnesses' lunch and transport, for the issuance of the summons, for court fees, and for the delivery of the summons. The Village Court Officials attending one of the Community Consultations admitted taking bribes much of the time and to making wrong decisions in favour of culprits and against the women complainants⁶. In one Case Study (Case Study No. 42), a village court magistrate talks about the problem of bribery.

⁶ Report of the Community Consultation facilitator from 18/9/2013.

The perceptions of the participants in the Community Survey are that bribery is widespread in Jiwaka and widely used to disadvantage and discriminate against women. It distorts outcomes of the Village Courts system to favour men over women. The use of bribes reflects and reinforces traditional beliefs about male superiority and female submission to the male and these traditional beliefs pervade the workings of the courts.

The participants felt that this creates a sense of helplessness in women, a feeling that they are excluded from the spaces of conflict resolution and decision making and that they are not valued in the community. They feel that within these systems, such practices deny them justice.

Many Community Survey respondents agreed that court officials should be paid more:

The leaders are often bribed in decision making during the court and mediation processes. Government need to pay them properly so that they do their job. Government needs to look closely at law and order and start tightening them.

(Kindeng, mature women)

4.4.3. Women's access to justice and the Police

When asked to pick the three most serious forms of violence, eight groups (six groups of men; two of mature women) included the image of police inaction in the face of women's suffering (15) as one of the three most serious forms of violence against women and girls.

It was ranked the sixth most serious form of violence to women and girls (Table 6).

Police inaction was chosen by the participants as the sixth most serious form of violence to women and girls.

Let the mature men from Bunumwoo talk:

We choose this image of Police ignoring a woman (15) [as the most serious form of violence]. Police ignorance to the queries of both male and female sends out a message to the wrongdoers that they can cause trouble and nothing can be done about that.

Police are not attending to the complaints of the women. The police are wrong for being ignorant. They often do that because of the fact that it is a woman who is laying the complaint. They are also often being bribed. These actions restrict them from doing the right thing

Women are often the victim here because of the attitude of the police. They do not take their problems seriously. She may be psychologically affected as she will have no one to turn to for help every time she's in danger. She will be scared for a very long time.

Sometimes, money is the problem. Although police are being paid, they respond quickly to those who offer money (bribery) when they come. This kills their interest to serve ordinary citizens.

Since the police are far away from our village, and the fact that they are not effective and responsive, we normally bring all our problems and queries to the leaders.

When the victims come back to the village, compensation is exchanged between the two parties to solve the matter. Because of the lack of police force, compensation is slowly eroding the proper justice system and so criminal cases are being handled in the village.

We want the police station here in our place as we have the companies, secondary school, Health Centres, Bible College and, with this, we want a small police station to be located here to serve us.

This feeling of being deserted by the police, as the face of the law and justice system, was shared by the people of Nondugul. All of the groups, all except young women, chose police inaction in the face of women's suffering as the most serious form of violence to women and girls.

The Community Survey shows clearly that the people of Nondugul live in the shadow of violence. All the groups were in relative agreement about the most serious forms of violence. As well as police inaction, the other forms of serious violence chosen were: Men destroying women's market stalls and stealing their money (all groups), polygamy (both women's groups), brothers abusing their sisters and aunts (mature men), murder (young men) and the enslavement of women by men (young women). This indicates the pervasive presence of a culture of extreme violence.

These are their words:

The image (15: Police inaction) was selected as the most serious because police accept bribe & failed to attend their police duty. Police no longer help. Mothers are worrying because police are no longer helping them with different forms of violence they are facing in the community now.

Law and order is weak in the Nondugul District. This (15) is seen happening here and in most cases.

The cause of the problem is that police accept bribes to execute order and attend to cases.

No body [is doing anything] because police are accepting bribes and if they report to the police that individual police are accepting bribes then they are afraid that they will be put in jail or beaten up by police.

Police are involved too much in bribery and fail to execute their entrusted duties. The Colonial administration had a good management in place, but today it's corrupt.

There is no proper police station in Nondugul. No police working at the police station. At times leaders come up to solve the problems.

The big problem that they are facing is that, because there are no police men working at the police station, problems are solved at the village by the peace committee and peace builders at the community.

They try their best to solve. They use their own resource to settle problems. People do try to do their part but Government don't keep their side of the bargain.

Parents, brothers, peace and good order committees, village magistrates, community councillors do try to help but they face the hardest battle.

Form two court is common. Mediators leave the defendant and perpetrator free. They do wanbel court and pay compensation. Criminal cases are taken at local level.

In the Nondugul district, in the absence of a police presence, people turn to their traditional leaders and to the peace committee to settle grievances and disputes. They do the best they can in the circumstances but their main mechanism for the resolution of problems is the use of compensation.

The lack of a police presence or the need for a more effective and expanded police presence were common comments in the Community Survey. Jiwaka was only created as a Province a year ago and the Provincial Administration was not firmly established at the time of the Survey. The problems of a lack of police presence, of bribery and corruption, of indifference or worse to the suffering of women, predate the creation of the mechanisms of law and order in Jiwaka but they have been worsened by the disruptions caused by its establishment.

The lack of an effective police force and the bias against women in the Village Courts system means that most of the issues of concern to women are adjudicated in the community or in the family (see Table 8).

4.4.4. Compensation is slowly eroding the proper justice system

These are the words of the older men in Bunumwoo but the sentiment was widespread and often lamented. The mature women in Karpa described the image of a wife being murdered as follows:

Woman chopped to death because she has no children or relatives. So the man gives the compensation and he still lives in the village. Compensation is like a business to men. They can kill a woman and murder her.

There is a vicious circle at play. The lack of an effective and ever present police force has led to more and more criminal cases, cases that should fall under the jurisdiction of the more formal courts of law, being heard by the traditional leaders and in informal mechanisms.

The only solution the community has to solve this problem (rape) is compensation. No legal action is taken due to lack of police personnel.

(Minj, mature women)

The problem is solved through heavy compensation in fear of tribal fighting. The community knows that there is a lack of police manpower so they turn to the demand for compensation rather than sending the offender to jail.

(Nondugul, young men)

Because the law enforcement is so weak, the community resort to compensation.

(Korkor, young men)

There is a widespread belief in the communities that once compensation has been decided, the matter is finished. The responsibility of perpetrators of the violence or the wrongdoer is to ensure that the compensation is paid. They are free to remain in the community. If they have been charged and are being held in custody, their families and communities demand that the offenders be released so that they can gather the resources to pay the compensation.

The more widespread the payments of compensation becomes, the more the justice system is eroded.

4.4.5. Community unease about a culture of impunity

The Survey shows that the widespread use of compensation is resulting in a culture of impunity. Those who commit criminal offenses are not being punished by the formal courts of law and are living freely in their communities.

The law and order presence is not felt these days. Peace talks and compensation are rapidly replacing the laws and thus leaving the perpetrators roaming freely.

(Karap)

We community members must not defend the person who committed this crime to hang around freely.

(Karap)

The murder must be brought to the police rather than leaving him a free man in the community because he will go do the same thing over and over. Others too might fall into his shoes.

(Tabibuga)

Community leaders tried several times to bring the culprit to the police but they did nothing and the rapist is still living in the community. Now we do not have any trust in the police.

(Tabibuga)

When this occurs (rape) the community leaders step in and suggest compensation, not taking the accused to law. ... No accused arrested or taken to jail.

(Sipil)

The community must stop helping paying compensation because through compensation payment the rapist is not facing the law and still lives in the community.

(Nondugul)

The community seems to protect the perpetrator. The relative of the victim always demand compensation.

(Kudjip)

They do not do anything but negotiate for compensation when it's something serious.

(Kudjip)

The law is weak. Police are weak. Leaders are weak. The government is not caring for people. IF someone takes the life of another person, the law must take his life too. He does not have the right to live.

(Minj)

In the absence of an effective formal law enforcement system, people take their disputes and complaints to their traditional leaders, to the wanbel courts or to the peace officers or other village court officials. These leaders usually take their responsibilities to their communities very seriously. They are knowledgeable about the jurisdictions of the various courts and about the limits of their own authority and responsibility. However, they have a responsibility for peace and harmony in their communities and in the absence of the law they take charge.

Many traditional leaders are committed to bettering the lives of women and girls and respecting their human rights. They act in ways that support and protect women. They reject the culture of impunity. In one recent case in Jiwaka, a woman had been pack-raped. The traditional leader said that rape was a crime and the perpetrators had to stand trial. The villagers demanded that compensation be set and refused to give up the young men to stand trial. The traditional leader then put thirteen of the community leaders in goal for three days for obstructing the carriage of justice.

Rather than have their leaders face court, the community brought the four rapists to the police to be charged and asked that their leaders be released.

4.5. THE LAW AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

Women and girls who live lives of violence and indignity need to be able to access the law and justice sector to seek protection and redress. Women and girls have the right to be treated fairly and with dignity when dealing with the sector, and to be protected and supported by the sector.

4.5.1. PNG's International obligations relating to violence against women and girls

The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)

The Government of PNG ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1995. By ratifying CEDAW, PNG agreed to condemn discrimination against women in all its forms and to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women.

PNG also undertook to adopt suitable legislative and other measures prohibiting all discrimination against women. This included measures to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices that constitute discrimination against women.

The implementation of CEDAW has been slow with the combined first three Reports of the Government of PNG on its implementation only being submitted to the UN CEDAW Committee in 2010, nearly 15 years after ratification.

In its response (CEDAW 2010), the CEDAW Committee:

... expressed its deep concern about the high levels of violence against women in PNG, including sexual violence at the domestic and community levels.

The Committee was particularly concerned that such violence would appear to be socially legitimized and accompanied by a culture of silence and impunity. The Committee was further concerned about the lack of a comprehensive legal framework addressing all forms of violence against women. The Committee is also concerned about the barriers hindering women's access to justice, including in terms of geographical distance to and from courts, lack of legal aid, lack of information about their rights and lack of resources to access the services of lawyers.

It also recommended that the Government of PNG consider raising the age for women's marriage to 18, in line with international standards.

Furthermore, the Committee noted with concern that victim protection services and enforcement measures are insufficient. It is also concerned about the lack of shelters or safe houses, counselling and other services. In addition, the Committee expresses its deep concern about reports of sexual abuse of women upon arrest and in police custody, perpetrated by both police officers and male detainees, and at times in the form of collective rape, and that such abuses are rarely documented and investigated and perpetrators not prosecuted and punished.

4.5.2. PNG Laws relating to violence against women and girls

There are several pieces of legislation relevant to ensuring legal redress for violence against women and girls, including the *Family Protection Bill* of 18 September 2013, the *Amended Criminal Code and Evidence Act 2002* and the *Lukautim Pikinini Act 2009*.

Family Protection Bill 18 September 2013

While the Community Survey teams were in the field, on 18 September 2013, the PNG Government passed the Family Protection Bill 2013 with a landslide 65-0 vote. This law, along with the repeal of the Sorcery Act, has yet to be certified and gazetted for use.

The Family Protection Bill was developed by agencies of the Law and Justice Sector in 2011, with the support of the Family and Sexual Violence Action Committee (FSVAC) and the Coalition for Change (Government of PNG - Development Partners Gender Forum. 2012). The Family Protection Act criminalises domestic violence and gives legislative backing for interim protection orders; allows neighbours, relatives and children to report domestic violence; and gives police the power to remove perpetrators from their homes to protect the victim. This act makes a difference previously not made in the statute between violence that occurs in the context of a family relationship and violence which occurs in the context of wider community life (Amnesty International 2013).

Penalties for breach of the Act include fines of up to K5,000 and two years in prison.

The unanimous support for the bill may indicate a political will to reduce the high rates of violence against women and girls in the country.

There is still however as CEDAW pointed out, a lack of a comprehensive legal framework.

Amended Criminal Code and Evidence Act 2002

The Criminal Code (Sexual Offences and Crimes against Children) Act of 2002, introduced in 2003, covers rape (including marital rape), sexual assault and child sexual exploitation. Amendments to the rules of evidence and procedure abolished the requirement that there must be evidence to corroborate the survivor's testimony in rape and other sexual assault cases. (Amnesty International, 2009)

The offences are graded according to the seriousness of the harm and incorporate the ways in which women are sexually violated. Tougher sentences were introduced, the marital immunity that had previously protected husbands from a charge of rape was removed, and the requirement for corroboration was removed.

Hence, offences such as wife murder, grievous bodily harm, rape, offering or obtaining a child for prostitution, or incest, are crimes which fall within the jurisdiction of the formal legal system.

Lukautim Pikinini Act 2009

The Lukautim Pikinini Act is a child protection law that has included the components of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, including a range of provisions to protect girls from discrimination.

Marriage Act of 1963

The *Marriage Act* of 1963 (enforced in 1965) created a dual marriage system, with statutory marriage and customary marriage. Under the *Marriage Act*, the marriageable age is fixed at 16 for women and 18 for men, and girls under 21 years old may only marry with the consent of their parents, a judge or a magistrate. But under customary law, girls as young as 13 to 14 years old can get married. At the same time, according to the *Criminal Code* the age of consent for a girl is 16 years of age and, in law, sexual intercourse with a girl below this age is defined as statutory rape (Government of PNG - Development Partners Gender Forum. 2012).

Bigamy and polygamy

Bigamy is a crime under The *Marriage Act* of 1963. The Criminal Code recognises polygamous marriage where custom recognises a subsequent marriage as valid (Government of PNG - Development Partners Gender Forum. 2012).

Early marriage and the Marriage Act of 1963

The *Marriage Act* of 1963, enforced in 1965, recognises both statutory marriage and customary marriage. For statutory marriage, the minimum age of marriage is 16 years for girls and 18 years for boys. But under customary law, girls as young as 13 to 14 years old can get married (Government of PNG - Development Partners Gender Forum 2012: 85).

At the same time, according to the *Criminal Code* the age of consent for a girl is 16 years of age and in law, sexual intercourse with a girl below this age is defined as statutory rape.

The CEDAW Committee expressed its concern about the practice of early marriages as well as forced and arranged marriages. ... The CEDAW Committee called on the government to raise the minimum age for marriage to 18 years of age for both males and females, in line with international standards (CEDAW 2010: sections 49 & 50).

The PNG Country Gender Assessment 2011-2012 expresses its concern about early marriages:

In 1980 around 13 percent of girls aged 15 to 19 were married, divorced or widowed. In 1996 this had increased to almost 21 percent. It appears therefore that contrary to CEDAW commitments, there is an increasing social acceptance of early marriage in PNG. This trend could be because many parents prefer that their daughters marry young than to have boyfriends and risk becoming victims of sexual violence, or parents may be motivated by the economic gains (Government of PNG - Development Partners Gender Forum 2012: 85).

Exploitation of prostitution and trafficking

The PNG Criminal Code (Sexual Offences and Crimes against Children) Act of 2002, introduced in 2003, covers rape (including marital rape), sexual assault and child sexual exploitation. Hence, offences such as offering or obtaining a child for prostitution, or incest, are crimes which fall within the jurisdiction of the formal legal system (Amnesty International, 2009).

The CEDAW Committee noted with concern, in 2010, that there are no specific laws in PNG addressing the trafficking in women. It also expressed its concern ... about the increase in the number of young women between 16 and 24 years of age engaged in prostitution and about ... cross-country trafficking, which involves commercial sex as well as exploitative labour.

The CEDAW Committee called on the government to prepare and adopt a legislative framework on trafficking in human beings, including the prevention of trafficking, the timely prosecution and punishment of traffickers, the provision of protection from traffickers/agents and quality support and programmes for victims (CEDAW 2010: sections 31 & 32).

4.5.3. Accusations of sorcery

Sorcery was specifically mandated as falling within the jurisdiction of the Village Courts system in the Village Court Act of 1973. The importance of the continuing involvement of the Village Courts system in handling sorcery-related disputes was emphasised by the recent review of sorcery-related violence and the legal issues around it carried out by the PNG Constitutional and Law Reform Commission. The 2013 review recommended the repeal of the 1971 Sorcery Act but with the provision for the village courts to continue to deal with sorcery disputes (Constitutional and Law Reform Commission, 2013).

The CEDAW Committee on 2010 stressed that the harmful practice of sorcery-related violence is a grave violation of girls' and women's human rights and of the State party's obligations under the CEDAW Convention. It urged the PNG Government to strengthen its efforts, targeted at both women and men, with the support of civil society and the involvement of community and village chiefs and religious leaders, to eliminate this practice (CEDAW 2010: 27-28).

4.5.4. Accusations of adultery

Under the PNG Adultery and Enticement Act of 1988, claims for compensation arising from adultery may be instituted only according to the provisions of the Act, and jurisdiction to hear such claims is conferred on local and district courts.

The Act is intended to provide one law for everybody, without regard to customary difference, sex or nationality.

The Act stipulates that an action for adultery may be brought against the other spouse, or the person with whom the other spouse has had sexual intercourse, or both. Before a court hears such an action, it is required to try to bring about a settlement through mediation. If mediation is not successful, the action shall continue, using civil standards of proof. Defences that a defendant may use include consent, forgiveness, and reasonable mistake. A court may award a maximum of K1000 in damages for adultery and K500 for enticement. If a defendant fails to pay damages, he or she may be sentenced to up to 6 months' imprisonment (Jessep 1992).

The Act specifies that cases of adultery be heard in the local and district courts rather than in the village courts.

4.5.5. The jurisdiction of the Courts

National and District Courts

The National Court is responsible for protection of fundamental rights to life, freedom from inhuman treatment, liberty of the person or property, and has exclusive jurisdiction over human rights. It also has exclusive jurisdiction over divorce and the *Matrimonial Causes Act*, and the statutory adoption of children under the *Infants Act*. Its civil jurisdiction is for the trial of major matters including compensation claims, involving an amount exceeding K10,000 (Government of PNG - Development Partners Gender Forum 2012).

The District Courts provide a mechanism for the administration of justice and the resolution of disputes. In each province, District Court Magistrates deal with most matters, including applications for maintenance and custody of children, and assaults associated with cases of sexual and domestic violence (Government of PNG - Development Partners Gender Forum 2012).

The Village Courts

The *Village Courts Act 1989* and the *Village Courts Act 1973* give the Village Court very wide powers over customary matters including the payment of compensation or damages in relation to bride price, divorce in relation to customary marriages, custody of children whose parents were married under customary law or who are illegitimate, and death.

4.5.6. Law Enforcement

The Community Survey shows that, in Jiwaka, there is good awareness of the laws to protect women and girls from violence.

All the community groups consulted across Jiwaka Province agreed that the forms of violence to women and girls identified in the Community Survey broke the law of the PNG government, with the possible exception of wife beating.

Most community groups consulted across Jiwaka agreed that it was possible for the community to take action to reduce or prevent these forms of violence to women and girls.

However many groups acknowledged that in order for communities to take action against violence against women and girls, they needed support from the law enforcing agencies.

In general, in PNG, the police and prosecution authorities continue to have difficulties in applying and enforcing the law. The justice and law enforcement systems are weak, and there is insufficient policing and inadequate application of the law (Government of PNG - Development Partners Gender Forum 2012). The Community Survey shows that this is also the case in Jiwaka.

However, in recent years, significant attention has been paid by the Village Courts and Land Mediation Secretariat to strengthening women's access to and just treatment within the village courts system.

4.6. THE VILLAGE COURTS SYSTEM

4.6.1. The function of the village courts system

The Village Courts system is provided for in the constitution and forms an important part of the restorative justice system in PNG. They provide access to law and justice services for a great many of the population and are the most accessible component of the legal system for most women.

The primary function of the Village court is to ensure peace and harmony in its community by "mediating in, and endeavouring to obtain just and amicable settlement of disputes" (Magistrates' Manual 18.2.1). This is significant, in that it permits Village Court Magistrates to take account of a larger group of people than just those involved in the dispute.

There are about 1,600 Village Courts in PNG. The Medium Term Development Plan 2011 to 2015 has established targets to double this number by 2020. It is estimated that Village Courts deal with about 650,000 cases a year involving around 600,000 people, and deal with about 80 per cent of crime in PNG (Village Courts and Land Mediation Secretariat 2010a & b).

The Village Court has authority over all residents normally resident within its area, with inter-village disputes dealt with by joint sittings. The respect of the community is essential for the effective operation of a Village Court.

District Courts maintain a supervisory role for the decisions of Village Courts, the enforcement of Imprisonment Orders, and reviews and appeals, bearing in mind that the Village Courts apply customary law, within the Constitution, rather than technical law (Village Courts and Land Mediation Secretariat 2011).

The Village Courts, like the District Courts, have only those powers that are expressly granted by statute (law). The source of these powers is the Village Courts Act 1989 and the Village Courts Regulations 1973. Village Courts are bound by the Constitution, and so by the rules of natural justice, and must therefore not support any aspects of custom that are unconstitutional.

The Village Courts exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction. They are formal courts using informal processes. Lawyers are not allowed to represent parties in the Village courts. The rules of evidence and procedure in Village Courts are flexible.

Village Courts endeavour to resolve disputes first by way of mediation. Village Courts use local mediation practices through local Village Court officials to resolve disputes, deal with minor offences and to maintain peace and harmony.

If mediation fails, or if a complainant refuses mediation, a dispute can be dealt with in a Full Court sitting, that is, a Village Court hearing comprising at least three Village Magistrates. The Full Court has the power to impose fines, order compensation, and/or make any other order of the Court to settle or restore peace and harmony. This can include making a community work order, ordering a public apology, ordering someone to restore or repair damaged property/goods. Imprisonment Orders are

used only to reinforce the authority of the Village Courts; they are not used as punishment for an offence/dispute.

A final decision in a Village Court means that the same dispute cannot be raised in another court, except in the case of a criminal offence where an earlier decision in a Village Court cannot prevent it being taken up in a higher court.

Village Courts are established under the Village Court Act 1989 by the National Minister for Justice following a community consultation process and a feasibility study demonstrating the need and the community support for a Village Court area to be established. All proclaimed Village Court areas are published in the National Gazette. Magistrates are also appointed by the Minister and details of their appointment also published in the National Gazette.

There are 42 gazetted Village Courts in Jiwaka and 450 appointed officials⁷. There are also non-gazetted Village Courts in the Province⁸.

4.6.2. The powers of the Village Courts⁹

The *Village Courts Act 1989* and the *Village Courts Act 1973* give the Village Court very wide powers over customary matters which are in accordance with the Constitution and natural justice. The following are prescribed offences under Section 22 (d) of the Village Courts Act 1989:

- taking or keeping, without the consent of the owner, the property of another to a value not exceeding K100.00;
- striking another person without reasonable cause;
- using insulting words or conduct;
- using threatening words or conduct;
- using offensive words or conduct;
- intentional damage to trees, plants or crops belonging to another person;
- intentional damage to trees, plants or crops belonging to the defendant and another person;
- intentional damage to any other property belonging to another person;
- making a false statement concerning another person that offends or upsets him;
- spreading false reports that are liable to cause alarm, fear or discontent in the village community;
- conduct that disturbs the peace, quiet and good order of the village, or of a resident of the village;
- drunkenness in the Village Court area;
- carrying weapons so as to cause alarm to others in the Village Court area;
- failure to perform customary duties or to meet customary obligations after having been informed of them by a Village Magistrate;

- failure to comply with the direction of a Village Magistrate with regard to hygiene or cleanliness within a Village Court area;
- sorcery, including-
 - (i) practising or pretending to practise sorcery; or
 - (ii) threatening any person with sorcery practised by another; or
 - (iii) procuring or attempting to procure a person to practise or pretend to practise, or to assist in, sorcery; or
 - (iv) the possession of implements or charms used in practising sorcery; or
 - (v) paying or offering to pay a person to perform acts of sorcery.

The Village Court also handles disputes regarding customary land use. It is also empowered to settle any dispute relating to customary inheritance entitlements to the estate of a person who dies without making a will.

Stealing, marriage problems, debt and property damage are the most frequent cases heard by the Village Courts in most provinces. Assault and fighting, bride price, insulting or threatening words are the next most common cases (Village Courts and Land Mediation Secretariat 2011).

The Village Court Act empowers a Village Court to order a fine up to K200 at a Full Court or Joint Court sitting. The Act limits the scope of an order for compensation, damages or the repayment of a debt, to an amount not exceeding, in cash or in value, the sum of K1,000. They have unlimited jurisdiction on other forms of compensation relating to bride price, custody of children or death in such amount as the Village Court considers just.

The Village Courts Act requires that, as far as practicable, a Village Court shall keep records of its proceedings. Within the Village Court, the Village Court Clerks are responsible for taking the records of the proceedings of the Village Courts, including the writing of orders, summons and court decisions.

4.6.3. Village Court personnel

Village Court personnel must always reside in the areas in which particular courts are located. They are selected by the community and appointed because of their recognised roles as prominent members of their communities and their knowledge of local customs and traditions.

All Village Courts must have a Chairperson, a Deputy Chairperson, 3-4 Village Magistrates, 3-4 Peace Officers, and a Court Clerk. Uniforms are provided in Jiwaka and worn proudly. Village Court personnel are subject to prosecution for offences relating to their office including bribery, corruption and fraudulent use or misuse of their powers.

⁷ Personal communication, Secretariat for the Village Courts and Land Mediation, 26 February 2014.

⁸ Personal communication, Supervising Magistrate for Anglimb South Waghi District, Banz, 25 November 2013.

⁹ The Village Court (Amendment) Bill 2013 which was passed in Parliament on 14 February 2014, will, inter alia, strengthen the role of village courts in protecting the rights of women and children and addressing violence.

Village Court Magistrates are not judicial officers as defined by the Constitution. It is unusual for Village Court Magistrates to have a great deal of formal legal training. Many do not have training in other some important areas such as violence and gender although there have been efforts made to train all village court officials in these issues. Funding to provide regular training is negligible and this is a significant gap in Village Court support.

Magistrates are however knowledgeable and respected for their customary knowledge and leadership and many speak several languages.

The case studies and interviews revealed some of the ongoing challenges Village Courts face in dealing with violence in an appropriate manner. One village magistrate presiding over a divorce case in 2009, in which there had been extreme violence against the woman, ordered the woman and man to spend two weeks thinking of 'the good memories that you have created together before coming to this court'. The woman was extremely distressed by this order: 'After two weeks I could not think of anything better but the violent man I was married to and the beatings I got from him.'

A Village Court is breaking the law and acting outside the Constitution if it tries to force women to return to a violent marriage or to force a woman to do anything against her will such as forcing her to remain in any marriage.

Village Court officials are paid a negligible allowance¹⁰. The Community Survey shows that bribes are regularly demanded or accepted by Village Court officials, including the Clerks and Peace Officers. The bribes demanded are often more than women can afford. Even when the women pay the bribe, the village court official may accept a larger bribe from the husband or others accused by the woman. However, this is not in accordance with the Act or with national policy.

4.6.4. Informal dispute resolution mechanisms

There are a great many informal or unofficial dispute resolution mechanisms operating within villages, sometimes informally involving village court officials. The Community Survey indicates that families are often involved in dispute resolution. People often turn to traditional clan leaders to resolve their conflicts and disputes. Help is also sought from pastors.

Community Survey participants referred also to Form 2 courts and wanbel (peace) committees as dispute resolution mechanisms in the villages in Jiwaka. Form 2 courts are composed of the village peace mediators and clan leaders. Peace Committees are composed of elders of families in the village. They are considered to be the mouth piece of the community. Both are self-appointed.

These mechanisms take place outside the village court house, in the village or with the extended family. Usually, many more people are included in the discussion, both as participants and audience, than the few who meet inside the Village Court. These unofficial mechanisms reduce the number of matters which might otherwise come before a Village Court.

4.6.5. The gendered nature of the Village Court system

From the establishment of Village Courts in 1975 until 2000, the vast majority of the Village court personnel were men. The first female magistrate was appointed in Manus in the mid-1980s and in the late 1990s the National Capital District began appointing women as Magistrates. This began to change nationally in 2000 when women magistrates were encouraged through a national policy decision. By 2004, around ten women had been appointed as Village Magistrates. By the end of 2013, there were over 1,000 women working as magistrates and 300 as clerks and peace officers. There are about 7,000 male magistrates.

With more women in the Village Court system, it is hoped that more women will have their cases dealt with better by the Village Courts as the number of female magistrates increase. Women already use Village Court substantially. Around 42% of complaints to Village Courts are made by women (Village Courts Secretariat 2014). This has only increased a little since the 1990s according to historical hard copy records kept by the Village Courts Secretariat.

Women village court officials are paid the same allowances as men and women magistrates hear the same sort of cases as male village magistrates. Women magistrates sit as part of a Full Court sitting with their male colleagues.

In Jiwaka Province, one woman was appointed as a Village Magistrate in Banz, in North Waghi District, in 2011. There is a woman Court Clerk in Jimi District, with another recently appointed in Sigri, in North Waghi.

¹⁰ In August 2013, the NEC approved a 1,000 per cent increase in Village Court allowances. This is in the process of being implemented.

4.6.6. The Village Courts system and women and girls

Most women and girls in Jiwaka who experience lives of violence live beyond the realm of the law.

Much violence occurs in the home and it is widely believed that what occurs in the home stays in the home. It is not the concern or business of those outside the home. When the violence moves out of this domestic or intimate space, for example, when communities start gossiping about what is happening, or the woman complains to someone, it becomes possible for the accusation of violence to come into the sphere of the law. Violence to women and girls that occurs in public spaces is subject to the law.

However, there is still a distance to go from matters relating to women being in the public sphere to their being brought before the law. Women's access to the legal system is restrained by custom, by cost, both licit and illicit, by lack of knowledge of the law and its procedures, and by a lack in women of a sense of agency and self-confidence. Most issues of concern to women are adjudicated in the families or the communities.

The few women who do bring their grievances or accusations into the legal system, to a Village Court, a police station or a District Court, need a just, fair and respectful handling of their cases.

The Community Survey showed this is difficult to achieve. The few women who enter these spaces come up against men's lack of respect for women and their issues, especially amongst the Police, hostile and alien environments and procedures, and men's use of hidden forms of power: bribery, influence, obligations and pressure.

The Village Magistrates Manual states (Section 18.8.5):

Although the equal rights of women are covered in the Constitution, a Supervising Magistrate should take special care to determine whether women are treated differently from men. If so, the question of whether there has been a breach of the Constitution arises. A Supervising Magistrate should be sensitive to the sometimes-conflicting need to maintain local custom, and the need to ensure that everyone who comes into contact with the Village Courts is treated in accordance with their constitutional rights. Where custom and the Constitution conflict, the Constitution takes priority. For instance, although it may be consistent with local custom to order that a woman returns to her husband against her will, such an order is unconstitutional.

The Village Courts system is the most accessible part of the legal system for women. Approximately 42 per cent of people taking cases to the Village Courts (complainants) are women, with similar rates for women amongst defendants (Village Courts and Land Mediation Secretariat 2011).

More males are complainants and defendants for stealing, debt, and property damage. More women are complainants and defendants for marriage problems and assault/fighting (Village Court and Land Mediation Secretariat 2011). This data reflects the differing realities of the lives of women and men and the different ways that masculinity and femininity are socially constructed.

The Village Magistrates Manual states that Village Magistrates should take special care to determine whether women are treated differently from men. It points out that such decisions, whilst they may be consistent with custom, are improperly made by the courts for they transgress the Constitution and natural justice. It states that where custom and the Constitution conflict, the Constitution takes priority. For instance, although it may be consistent with local custom to order that a woman returns to her husband against her will, such an order is unconstitutional (Section 18.8.5).

The Village Magistrates Manual also points out that many Village Court hearings involving the custody of children are held in open court, often before the entire village. It advises that 'A Supervising Magistrate should be mindful of the adverse effects that a fully public hearing can have on the wellbeing of a child (Section 18.8.6).' This is particularly true in cases of child sexual abuse. The current Village Court Act amendments are addressing this and requiring a new set of practices from Village Courts.

The public nature of the hearings can also be detrimental to women. Women who bring disputes to the Village Courts system have taken this decision just because the customary or familial ways of solving disputes have not been effective. Just by asserting their rights to a fair hearing and justice in a village court, they are de facto making the claim that custom has not afforded them these rights. To have their cases heard in public, before the whole community, means that their disputes have been placed back into a customary setting.

Furthermore, the fact that the primary mandate of the village court is to ensure peace and harmony in its community means that the Magistrates may act against the interest of the woman for the sake of peace and harmony in the larger community. The training for village court officials is trying to address this and new practices are being encouraged which respect that women have a right to make decisions which men and communities must respect.

4.7. NEGOTIATING WOMEN AND GIRLS LIVES

For each of the forms of violence chosen as one of the three most serious, the focus groups were asked how do most people in the community respond to this particular form of violence and who is doing something to stop this problem.

The replies to these questions provide important information on people's perspectives on how these issues are in fact being addressed, or otherwise, in the law and justice sector and in particular in the village courts system.

This section of the Report takes the key issues relating to violence to women and girls, arising from the focus group discussions and the case studies discussed above, and considers their legal standing, the community perspectives on their legal status and how in fact they are dealt with in the community.

4.7.1. Wife beating and the law and justice sector

Women believe that there is an important role for the law to play

Women's experience shows that the law can have an important role to play in protecting them from their husband's violence.

The writer of Case Study no. 54 tells a powerful story:

I had money that time. I had cash on hand so I went straight to Minj Police Station and laid my complaint. Paid for everything to the police and they went and arrested my husband and put him behind bars. I was bit scared but prayed for the lord's guidance. We went in for court case and he was very guilty and in court he swore to the court he won't do such things like this again.

The mature women in Urukpaik talk about the law as a deterrent:

Compensation could not contribute to stop the man from beating his wife. It's the man's mentality that it will always beat the wife. But if the community make a law and take the man to the police then there wouldn't be any problem because the man will be scared of facing the police and will stop beating the wife.

(Urukpaik, mature women)

Wife beating and the PNG law

There were differences of opinion that emerged during the Community Survey about whether wife beating broke the law of the PNG government.

Whilst wife beating may not have been named as such, *The Village Courts Act 1989* and the *Village Courts Act 1973* give the Village Courts very wide powers over customary matters. Prescribed offences under Section 22 (d) of the Village Courts Act 1989 include striking another person without reasonable cause; using insulting words or conduct; using threatening words or conduct; and using offensive words or conduct.

These provisions would enable a case of wife beating to come before the village courts system. More serious charges, for example, of causing grievous bodily harm, would be heard in a formal court of law.

Wife beating, however, is widely thought to be a matter to be kept within the family, a matter that if brought into public spaces could bring shame on the family.

In the cases of women documented in the Community Survey who did use the law in their defence against wife beating, the outcomes were often protective of women and helpful in changing men's behaviour.

There was confusion amongst participants in the Survey as to whether wife beating was against the law. When the Family Protection Bill of September 2013 comes into effect, there will be a need for an extensive awareness campaign to make sure that its provisions are known and accepted.

4.7.2. Women seriously overburdened with work and the law and justice sector

Not a matter for the courts

Women's overwork is considered to be a family problem and not one in which the community should be involved. Cases are rarely brought before the village courts or to the police.

When the women do complain, community leaders might try to talk to the man.

However, some women in the Community Survey did feel that there was a place for the law in addressing this injustice to women and girls:

Communities need more awareness on this issue and need law and order to address this issue. It is really serious.

(Kindeng, mature women)

4.7.3. Drunken men destroying women's market stalls and the law and justice sector

Many of these behaviours fall under the jurisdiction of the Village Courts system and within the power of the police to deal with.

In some places where they uphold and respect the law, they can settle the issue easily. However, in places where there is no such, they accept the fact that drunkards may do whatever they please.

(Kindeng, young men)

Communities do not feel that they are well supported by the police in their efforts to deal with these forms of violence.

Sometimes they report to the police, however because of the behaviour of the police (they bring themselves too low), men do not fear them or the law. People just let them do whatever they want.

(Sipil, mature men)

When such incident happens, the community comes in and chase the drunkards away. Sometimes police are called to get rid of the drunkards but police keep on making excuses that they are running out of fuel and money and etc.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

At times informal dispute resolution mechanisms are used and compensation is paid.

Form two court is common. Mediators leave the defendant free. They do wanbel court compensation. Criminal case is taken at local level.

(Nondugul, mature men)

The culprit is set free. Community contributes compensation.

(Nondugul, young women)

Compensation to the owner of the damage goods if it is serious.

(Sipil, mature women)

Communities solve the problem and compensate.

(Nondugul, young men)

4.7.4. Husband's taking his wife's money and the law and justice sector

Little access to the law

This form of violence is usually dealt with by the husband's family if the wife complains. It may be brought to the courts if it is repeated, although this is not common. Compensation is the usual outcome.

The district court tries to solve but the law and order is weak at the moment.

(Karap, young women)

Sometimes people take them to the court and sometimes people think that this is their domestic problem.

(Korkor, mature women)

We normally tell the leaders these problems but they do not respond as always. The law is weak and so is the leader. The court system too does not function leaving the leaders to urge us to accept compensation.

(Kudjip, young women)

Women would like to be able to take this problem to the law.

For women this is a serious problem and one which they would like to be able to bring to the attention of the law.

Most women do want to take their problems to the court. However, they are not sure of some of the procedures involved.

(Kindeng, young women)

Accessing legal advice and knowledge is a problem.

(Urupkaip, mature women)

4.7.5. Wife murder and the law and justice sector

Wife murder falls within the jurisdiction of the formal legal system and this is known by the communities.

Five of the focus groups identified wife murder as a serious form of violence against women. Their perspectives on how their communities in fact handled it included:

There is no police station for the husband to be imprisoned after the village court finds him guilty.

(Karpa, young men)

First the community does the compensation, after when the problem is still there they take it to the police station.

(Nondugul, young men)

The community is doing nothing. There is no one there to solve the problem in our community.

(Tabibuga, mature men)

Major cases like rape and murder refer to the police.

(Karpa, mature men)

Community sometimes put the man behind bars. If they see that the man is wrong, community come together to pay compensation.

(Karpa, mature women)

The discussion indicates that communities are aware that wife murder is a crime. However, usually, wife murder is handled by the Village Courts system or by traditional clan leaders. The lack of a police presence and police inaction contribute to this. Compensation is paid and the perpetrator walks free.

4.7.6. Rape and the law and justice sector

Rape, including marital rape is a crime under the Criminal Code (Sexual Offences and Crimes against Children) Act of 2002, introduced in 2003 and falls within the jurisdiction of the formal legal system. It is known by the communities that rape is a crime but they nevertheless usually turn to informal means of resolution.

A number of communities talked of having reported rape to the police so that legal action can be taken but with limited success.

Relatives of the victim come back forcefully and attack the perpetrator and his relatives. This makes them regret, after losing their property, and some even learn from that lesson. They never go back to those sorts of crimes. But if the community can make their own by laws, all of this would not have to be a problem. ... Police forces as well as leaders from other tribes try to come in and intervene. They do sometimes successfully restore peace and good order to the community.

(Kindeng, mature men)

Yes if this incident happens, we have to report to the police as soon as possible. As community, we will not going to be depending too much on the police. We as community members must not defend the person who committed this crime to hang around freely.

(Karap, mature men)

When the crime is not known to the community, i.e. when the victim keeps her mouth shut, then nothing is done to the rapist. If the community is aware of the crime, then it is reported to the police and legal actions are taken. Sometimes leaders solve it through compensation payment. ... Immediate family members [of the rapist/rapists] are the ones getting hard on the rapist not to repeat what he has done.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

It was felt that there is a lack of support for women who want to take rapists to court.

The government must stop family members from getting compensation from the rapist. There is no support for women to take rapist to court.

(Minj, young women)

The communities' perspectives on how their communities in fact handled it mainly included by tribal fighting and by compensation.

Rape is common and rapists walk away with it because the law is weak and relatives of the women who got raped want compensation.

(Minj, young men)

When a case like this appears [rape], the victim's relatives often retaliate quickly in a fight. Compensation later creeps in making people forget about the law. Unless people are educated about the law, we don't believe the community can solve this issue.

(Kindeng, young women)

When the two parties do not agree on the compensation, tribal fighting results. ... When this happens the community leaders step in to solve the problem by suggesting compensation, not taking the accused to law. Peace officers step in when the situation gets tense. Village peace officers from both sides negotiate for compensation. No accused is arrested or taken to jail.

(Sipil, young men)

Despite the national laws, most cases of rape are dealt with at the extended family or community level, rather than being taken to the Village Courts system or to the formal court system. This is true of rape within the extended family and rape involving different tribes. When taken to the police, justice is rarely achieved.

Because of the extensive practice of compensation payments, rapists are not facing the law and are living as free men in the community.

Village leaders are often fearful of taking action against the young men involved. They are afraid of them. Young men threaten and ignore them and so render them powerless, weak and ineffectual. This undermines their sense of themselves as men and as leaders.

Other forms of sexual assault were included in the study: incest, rape of a disabled girl, forced sex after viewing pornography, rape in conflict, the use of guns to rape or force marriage, sale of young girls, and sexual harassment/touching. These also are dealt with, if at all, at the extended family or community level, rather than being taken to the Village Courts system or to the formal court system.

4.7.7. The sale of young girls for money and the law and justice sector

The discussion of the sale of young girls for money during the Survey indicated that it was rare for such matters to be taken to the courts. The community would gossip and wait for the extended family to deal with the matter, if at all. If such an incident were made public, it might be taken to the Courts.

This form of violence is linked to early and forced marriage, prostitution and the trafficking in women, girls and babies.

4.7.8. Bride price payments and the law and justice sector

Problems related to bride price are often considered by communities to be a family or domestic matter and so are not thought to fall within the jurisdiction of the Village Courts system or the law.

The community do nothing because they see the incident as something between husband/ wife and not them.

(Korkor, mature men)

When the woman is at fault, the community lets the husband correct the wife. If she is beaten without a due reason, the community steps in to solve it.

(Karap, young men)

There is only limited acknowledgement that the demand for the woman's family to repay the bride price in the event of the failing marriage or the woman being unable to stand the violence and exploitation within her marriage fails to take into account the woman's contribution to the husband and his family and community.

When the husband and wife face a problem, the woman will normally be told to repay her bride price if they want to get a divorce. The fact that she bore his children and did everything in her husband's name will be forgotten. The community go with this decision.

(Minj, mature women)

It was felt that a statutory limit on the amount of bride price could lessen the violence within the marriage.

Community want the provincial government to put a fixed amount of bride price, so the man will stop beating wife because of the bride price. Woman must report to the police as soon as possible so the culprit will be arrested.

(Korkor, mature men)

4.7.9. Polygamy and the law and justice sector

The Community Survey found that few if any communities spoke out against polygamy or its harmful practices. Polygamy-related violence is considered to be a matter within the family and to be dealt with by them unless it is extreme.

Community will not do or say anything if a man marries but will pitch in if there's a fight-outbreak or a quarrel. ... Church leaders are against this type of practice but right now nothing can be done.

(Kindeng, mature women)

No one will ever speak because all men want to marry two or three wives now.

(Kindeng, young women)

Some people in the community do go along with it. Others such as the church personnel do not usually agree with polygamy or the second wife as they normally refer to. Other members of the community usually say that we all wanted the first wife and put a bride price already and not have resources to put the second one.

(Kudjip, young men)

People and community leaders around the community don't consider most because they think such problems are domestic violence. ... The law keepers are there to solve the problem but they don't take serious with their roles as law keepers. Most of the law keepers accept bribery and they don't help woman much.

(Karpa, young women)

However the young women in Karap said:

There is great desire to take adultery (polygamy) cases to court. Police has never stepped to take further actions from the village court as there is no police station here.

In one Case Study a woman tells of how, desperate and angry about the way her husband and his second wife were treating her, she attacked him with a bush knife and he beat her using weapons as well.

Community and families came together and charged me a pig and K500 and I paid. There was no charge to the man and even the damages I got were not even seen by the peace mediators/leaders.

Polygamy and the village court system

Many of the women in the case studies spoke of their efforts to use the Village Courts system to protect them and to address their grievances against their husbands.

Some spoke of their ignorance about the court and its ways of working.

I have never taken my husband to court because I have no idea about the court. I need advice about how to take him to court.

(Case Study no. 24)

I want to take my husband to court because of what he has done to the family.

(Case Study no. 30)

Some spoke of constraints on accessing the justice system.

Jimi is too remote and there are no police personnel where I could go for help.

(Case Study no. 45)

I wish I could take him to justice but his people will get me if I put him behind bars. I am scared to do this.

(Case Study no. 53)

I want to go to court to divorce him but my brothers are against it because his tribe might fight my tribe and my family does not want to be in the middle of this.

(Case Study no. 70)

Some went to the Village Courts system or the police but felt that they were not sufficiently supportive.

They went to the village court and they separated. He gave her K2,000 in compensation. Out of that money only K100 was given to her. She says that she wasn't happy and satisfied. She only wished that law and order was tougher and that her husband paid the price of her suffering.

(Case Study no. 46)

I reported (my husband's treatment of me) to the Nondugul and Minj police but no action was taken.

(Case Study no. 57)

One woman, after her husband had quite brutally beaten her up, went to the police and found help.

After the hospital I went straight to the police station and reported this matter to the police at Minj Police station. I praise the Lord for Voice for Change [who had helped me to set up a small business and manage it]. I had money so I went straight to Minj Police Station and laid my complaint. I paid for everything to the police and they went and arrested my husband and put him behind bars.

I was a bit scared and prayed for the lord's guidance. We went in for the court case and he was very guilty. In court he swore to the court he won't do such things like this again. That was the lesson learned by my husband and he even gave his life to the Lord.

Now I am encouraging women to take your husband to court if he is violent and he will learn from his mistake.

(Case Study no. 54)

She successfully negotiated the justice system with the help of the staff of Voice for Change and of the police at the Minj Police Station. The woman's husband now talks to other men about his experience: 'My wife put me in custody. This was hard. I learnt a lesson. I will never beat my wife again. Now I support her and her work'.

4.7.10. Accusations of sorcery, adultery and the law and justice sector

Accusations of sorcery: constraints on accessing the village court system

The case studies throw light on the various ways those accused of sorcery have interacted with the Village Courts system and illustrate the extensive social and gendered constraints to women's access.

In Case Study no. 2, the women's husband took a second wife not long after they got married. He began accusing her of sorcery at home and, when there was a problem or something wrong in the village or community, he would get up and blame her for everything, calling her a witch most of the time.

She considered going to the village court and getting a summons against him but decided against it because 'I had no children with him'.

In Case Study no. 7, the woman accused of sorcery wrote: 'I thought of taking those people who suspected me for sorcery to court but we are all close together in a same village and it makes it difficult to take them to court.'

In Case Study no. 22, a young woman had mouth cancer and accused a woman of giving a betel nut to her to chew. The young woman died and the family accused this woman of poisoning the young woman. The father of the young woman told her she had to move out of the community.

The woman accused wrote: 'I wanted to take the case to the village court but my husband said no because fight might erupt from such a case, that doesn't have evidence to prove so I didn't present it to court.'

These stories make clear that women's failure to achieve justice has its roots within her, from her own internalisation of traditional social and cultural patterns of conduct of women and men, as well as from the acceptance of these norms within her family and within the community in which she lives. These same patterns of gendered expectations, beliefs, norms and practices shape and determine the deliberations of the village court personnel and are embedded in the procedures of the village court system.

A further Case Study shows how deeply embedded these gendered beliefs and practices are and how they affect the way the Village Courts system works.

In Case Study no. 69, a child from the house next door fell sick and his family accused the writer of the Case Study and her husband of practicing sorcery on him. Her husband works in the local health centre. From then on, whenever anything went wrong or someone fell sick, they blamed the writer's family.

Early in 2013, the writer of the Case Study took this to the village court. The court ordered the family next door not to make such accusations but they are continuing to do so.

Accusations of sorcery: A culture of silence and impunity

Most accusations of sorcery and subsequent acts of sorcery-related violence against women and girls are committed with impunity. The Special Rapporteur on Torture noted in his report of his Mission to PNG that sorcery-related violence against women “appears to be socially legitimized and accompanied by a culture of silence and impunity” (Human Rights Council, 2011).

In the absence of efforts to ensure that women accused of violence have access to and fair treatment in community-based and formal justice systems, communities resort to compensation.

Back in the community they encourage compensation because the victims have their families and tribe and so on.

(Nondugul, young women)

We leaders do negotiate peace between the two parties (the victim and the deceased) through compensation payment.

(Karap, mature men)

The compensation was paid by the three brothers who caused the problem with the help of the vast community.

(Case Study no. 40)

However, the limitations of using compensation to achieve social justice were noted.

[Community can take action to prevent sorcery killings] but only if the ones who committed the crime go to jail. Otherwise, with compensation, nothing will improve the situation at all.

(Minj, mature women)

The communities wished to have the assistance of the police in dealing with sorcery-related violence.

In the past people used to burn those who claimed to practise sorcery (sanguma). Now we have the law in place, so if someone is suspected of sorcery practices, he/she has to be dealt with according to the law.

(Tabibuka, mature men)

Community can bring the man killing people known as sangumas to police/justice. (Minj, mature men)

This belief is strong and to stop this we need the police to arrest and charge those going around killing people.

(Minj, young men)

The law is weak. Police are weak. Leaders are weak. The government is not caring for the people. If someone takes the life of another person, the law must take his life too. He does not have the right to live.

(Minj, Young women)

However, rather than upholding the law and protecting the victims, police officers are often among the spectators of the gruesome sorcery-related torture and killings (Chandler 2013).

In such situations, impunity becomes the norm (Human Rights Council, 2011). The culture of silence and impunity is aggravated by police’s lack of skills, resources, and the capacity to prevent and investigate crimes related to sorcery.

Strengthening women’s access to justice when accused of sorcery

Women’s access to justice for sorcery-related offences must be strengthened through training, judicial reform and the provision of legal aid to women. But it will require much more than that.

Sorcery-related violence to women and girls derives from a profound social under-valuing of women, and from a strongly gendered and unequally valued division of labour and allocation of social roles. The attendant male power is often abusively exercised, especially through the need to dominate and control.

The Community Survey shows that accusations of sorcery and the consequent sorcery related violence are also related to inequalities of wealth and influence. The accusers often covet the accused woman’s assets.

The Community Survey also indicates that there is a sense of diminishment amongst men, in mature men through their felt loss of their authority and in young men through a sense of loss of purpose and social place. This could also be a contributory factor.

Accusations of adultery and the law and justice sector

There was one case in the Survey when compensation was set by the husband’s family in the case of an accusation of adultery against his wife.

4.7.11. Negotiating women’s and girls’ lives in the law and justice sector

Table 8 has been developed from the data in the Community Survey and on the basis of discussions with Voice for Change staff. It maps out how the situations of violence to women and girls depicted in the thirty images used in the Community Survey are in fact handled at village level. It indicates where the Village Courts Act and regulations assign a specific mandate to the Village Courts in these matters and shows how these situations are in fact usually dealt with, or not, by the system.

Table 8: Negotiating women’s and girls’ lives in the law and justice sector

Forms of violence against women and girls	Man-date	Village Court	Informal mechanisms ¹¹	Comments
1. Wife beating	SM ¹²		x ¹³	Wife complains to husband’s family; compensations may be paid if serious; may be brought to courts if repeated
2. Man taking the money for himself: neglect				Wife complains to husband’s family; may be brought to courts if repeated
3. Slavery: women overburdened with work				Wife complains to husband’s family; may be brought to courts if repeated
4. Gang rape/rape	NL ¹⁴		x	May be dealt with by extended family when within family; compensation paid; peace committee may be involved if potential for tribal conflict
5. Harassment/touching of women by drunken youth in public places	SM			May be dealt with by extended family
6. Polygamy: neglect	SM		x	May be dealt with by extended family
7. Woman denied family planning: man wants many children				Community gossips and causes shame
8. Rape in conflict	NL		x	May be handled by joint peace committees; compensation paid.
9. Use of guns to rape or force marriage	NL		x	May be handled by joint peace committees; compensation may be paid.
10. Woman accused of sorcery by the community about to be burned	SM			Community acts on accusation rather than mediating it; communities would like police action on allegations of sorcery.
11. Bride-price payment	SM		x	Family matter; may be brought to courts if unresolved or if order breached
12. Drunken men prevent women from walking around	SM			Women may be supported by mother’s brother and brothers
13. Accusation of adultery against a woman	NL		x	Brothers of husband if woman caught in the act; can be dealt with informally if accusation made.
14. Girl stopped from going to school				
15. Police don’t attend to women when they come to the police station: police inaction				Responsibility of Police Station Commandant
16. Bias against women in village courts: women not respected in village courts	SM			Women would have to go to the District Court
17. Widow and children sent away out of the village			x	May go to courts if extended family do not deal with it
18. Drunken men destroying women’s market stalls and stealing their money	SM		x	May be considered the responsibility of landowners of markets
19. Security men at market don’t respect women traders				Responsibility of employers
20. Men don’t give market stalls to women				Responsibility of landowners of markets

Forms of violence against women and girls	Man-date	Village Court	Informal mechanisms ¹¹	Comments
21. Sale of young girl for money	NL		x	Community would gossip and wait for extended family to resolve; if made public, could go to Courts
22. Brother abusing and threatening sister and Aunt	SM			Dealt with by the extended family
23. Women kept away from friends and family				Wives only allowed to walk around with women of husband's family, esp. early in marriage,
24. Pregnant girl rejected by family				May be dealt with by the extended family
25. Harassment/touching/theft of bilum on public transport	SM		x	May be dealt with by the extended family; if unresolved may go through courts
26. Murder of wife	NL		x	If compensation paid, murder walks free; if police called, he may be charged
27. Incest/child abuse	NL			Dealt with by the extended family; compensation may be paid.
28. Forcing sex unacceptable to woman after watching pornography	NL			There is a culture of silence around sexuality/'bedroom matters'
29. Rape of disabled girl/minor	NL		x	Dealt with by compensation
30. Bodily mutilation/Limb cut off/severed.	NL		x	Dealt with by compensation

The Survey shows that many of the thirty forms of violence against women and girls are either not being heard in any court system or not in the appropriate courts. Overwhelmingly they are dealt with by the women's or girls' extended families or by the communities. Compensation is the usual procedure.

However, the woman is not compensated for the violence that she has experienced. The compensation is negotiated by men and payment is made through social forms of male authority, namely, the family or community.

This is in line with the recent findings of The Special Rapporteur for the United Nation on violence against women in Papua New Guinea that cases for offences such as grievous bodily harm, rape, or incest, crimes which are not within the jurisdiction of the Village Court are mainly being resolved through mediation processes and compensation payments (Human Rights Council 2013).

The problem with this is that these social forms of male authority may be the cause of the problem through the constraints they place on the lives of women and girls or through their attitudes about how women should act or be. The Community Survey shows that women are used and exploited rather than valued in their families and communities.

Importantly, in these situations of violence to women, the welfare of the women and girls is usually not the focus of the mediation or compensation processes. Rather the welfare of the women involved may be considered secondary to the welfare of the family or community as a whole.

Yet it is the women and girls who are often in need of assistance, of support services, of counselling.

It is the women and girls who have been the victims of violence and who are in need of justice.

It is the women and girls whose human rights have been transgressed.

¹¹ For example, clan leaders, families, Form 2 courts or *wanbel* (peace) committees. See discussion above.

¹² SM = Specific mandate in the Village Court Act

¹³ x = usually dealt with through the informal mechanisms; only brought to courts in certain cases; X = Normally brought to courts

¹⁴ NL = National Law

4.8. WOMEN'S PERSPECTIVES ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

4.8.1. Fear pervades the lives of women and girls

Women and girls in Jiwaka live in the constant fear of violence. They feel constrained and restricted in their movements and in what they can do.

Young girls are chased beaten and raped constantly by those men & young boys who are under the influence of alcohol.

(Minj, mature men)

It is not safe to move around freely. No freedom.

(Tabibuga, young women)

Mothers and young girls have the fear to go around in public place. The woman folks have this fear to travel alone late in the afternoon or close to places that sell alcohol steam or drug. They (woman) don't have some kind of freedom.

(Sipil, young women)

Women usually don't have the freedom to move around or exercise their rights.

(Kudjip, mature men)

4.8.2. Exploitation and violence as a way of life

The incapacitating workload that women bear, their violation by their husbands' appropriation of their money and goods, their abandonment by husband, their families, and communities has become a way of life for them.

Community have come to accept the fact that women will do everything; that includes chores from males to females as well as garden work.

(Kindeng, young women)

Because of the commonality of this issue [husbands taking women's money], members of the community are accepting the fact and normalizing this slavery idea. They are starting to believe that it is normal in the community.

(Kindeng, young women)

The inhumane, often atrocious, violence that they suffer is also coming to be accepted as normal.

We see it happening. It is not right but it is starting to get normalised.

(Kudjip, young women)

It's been happening for a while now without it being dealt with and so it is becoming like a normal thing.

(Karpa, young women)

Violence was discovered as a normal phenomenon in the area. It was treated as a custom.

(Karap, young women)

4.8.3. Women's options in the face of chronic and pervasive violence

Women feel they have few options open to them for handling the violence. They long to leave their husbands but possible consequences of leaving relationships constrain them.

When men cause this violence to happen in the family, women sometimes think about leaving their husbands but bride price is already paid and they suffer slowly and stay.

(Korkor, young women)

Often they try to run away but because of the kids they stay. They want to murder their husband but they think of their people. It can result in tribal war.

(Kawil, mature women)

They long to return to their families. But their families may not want or accept them back or there may be no place for them or their children in the village.

She has no choice. She wants to go home but she feels sorry for her kids. She can't take them home because they will have no proper land or coffee garden. The land at home now belongs to her brothers and their wives plus their sons, and to bring her sons and daughters home, life will be a lot harder since her parents are not around anymore.

(Case Study no. 48)

There is nowhere for these women to go.

She ran away from her husband after 8 years of marriage. She left her four children behind, the last born being only 8 months old who she was breast feeding. She did not dare bring her children to her village because that would create tribal conflict and fights.

(Case Study no. 55)

Many women have yet to find respect and justice in the Village Courts system or more formal legal systems or from the police. If there is any measure of culpability of the men's behaviour, it is usually the measured in the negotiation of compensation.

The leaders tell the men not to beat his wife if she comes to the leaders. If he fails to listen, she goes to her people. And at times she leaves her husband. As for some serious ones, the community contribute to compensation.

(Korkor, young men)

Women cannot see things changing in their lifetimes, even though they desire change so overwhelmingly.

The women expressed that they are the victims of all this violence for the rest of their life time. From this baseline Survey they want some impact on this.

(Karpa, mature women)

Many women stay in situations of violence and seek solace in the Church.

Some very few women divorce or walk out of the marriage.

Others see suicide as their only way out of the situation.

The woman is a victim because when she do all the work she is likely to get sick (not in good health). Woman sometimes commit suicide when the children are affected.

(Karpa, young women)

A significant number of the women in Jiwaka who commit suicide out of desperation use the herbicide, Gramoxone. It is widely available, takes a low toxic dose and is relatively low cost. It is however an appalling way to die. Other means of taking their lives used by women in Jiwaka include hanging, drinking bleach and taking an overdose of chloroquine.

The Community Survey shows that, for too many women in Jiwaka, the laws do not work. The institutions of justice do not work. They have lost faith in their leaders and are not finding justice or support in their communities. They are experiencing forms of personal, spiritual and social death as well as physical death.

4.8.4. The personal and societal impoverishment of violence

Violence reduces and impoverishes women. It strips them of their dignity, their resources and their livelihoods. Through men's selfishness and violence, women and their children are rendered penniless and destitute. Children are deprived of an education and so of a future.

This is especially true for first wives.

The overwhelming majority of women who wrote case studies about polygamy were first wives. It is clear that they suffer and bear the burden of much of the violence against women.

The money taken from women, whether it is appropriated by their husbands or stolen by young men, goes to non-social ends: adultery and promiscuity, the purchase of drugs, steam and beer, the purchase of women and girls, and such like.

As well as taking money from women, men make money out of the appalling violence that happen to women. It is men that receive the compensation payments when, for example, women are raped, murdered, mutilated, accused of sorcery, beaten or grievously harmed. Men also receive bride price payments.

Women are resourceful and hard working. If this money had been given to them or not taken from them, they would have used it to strengthen and protect their families, educate their children and to contribute to the development of the new Province of Jiwaka.

4.8.5. The moral impoverishment of men

Women are eager for the men to change.

Many women who are facing this problem [overwork] have died at an early age because of the hard work and worrying. They desperately want the husbands to change their habits and ways. They also want to know what is really causing all the men to have this type of attitude that is faced by every woman.

(Kindeng, young women)

Women understand that violence is about power. Violence is the use of power over an individual woman or over women as a group. This use of power over or control might come directly from the use of violence or may arise indirectly from community beliefs and practices that position men as superior to women.

Men's power over women may be exercised in public spaces and in private spaces. There does not seem to be a sense of shame associated with the use of violence against women and girls, not even in the case of extreme violence.

The women identified men's desire for power, for pleasure and for the gratifications of affluence as significant contributing factors to the violence the women experience.

Men often concentrate on things that will bring pleasure to themselves and not on the things that will benefit the whole family. For example; he may be busy trying to look for a new wife, or get drunk etc. and leaving all the house chores to his wife to do the job.

(Bunumwoo, mature women)

Men think that they are the boss. They live in their community, staying with their parents or tribes man.

Most fathers and brothers are now forcing young girls to marry those men with lots of money just because they want to enjoy the wealth of the person but they don't care if the person already got a wife or either let he is young nor old.

(Nondugul, mature women)

These are abuses of men's position and power and diminish men as moral human beings.

Change starts with oneself

Many women acknowledged in the Survey that the way women react to a situation often provokes men to violence. Women's way of talking to men was often identified as a trigger for violence.

If men are being asked to respect women, women must act in ways that earn respect.

4.8.6. Men can change

Women know that men can change. They have written a number of case studies about men changing their behaviour.

The case studies written by women about men changing their behaviour are narratives of conversion associated with church attendance or prayer, or women using men's fear of the law or the intimidation of the law to change men, or of women watching men reflect on their lives and deciding to change.

The narratives of conversion include Case Study no.71. R. writes:

When we were newly married, my husband was a very violent man. He will use a knife or a stick or stones to hit me in front of children and family members. Nobody dared to intervene to stop him as they all got scared of him. I never report it to the police or the authority because he threatened me, if I did it, he will kill me. (She showed scars of knife wounds covering her body, three big ones.) ... This have been a way of life and one day I joined the local church and the church members would pray for me and one day, my husband joined me at the church service and now her is a member of our church and he said sorry for what he had done. We now live a life free of violence. I see the churches can change a man's behaviour and there is hope in God.

Case Study no.41 recounts a similar story:

A.'s husband always beats her when he is under the influence of alcohol. For a long time.

Mama became a Christian in the Nazarene church and prayed for her husband. The husband then joined her. The church prayed over them and they are now a happy couple.

A wishes that all husbands and wives were Christian and that the peace of the Lord Jesus comforts them in their daily lives.

Case Study no. 54 shows how taking a complaint to the police can lead to significant change in men:

One day he came over to me and asked for money but I said I had not money he got up and beat me very badly. Nearly he killed me all the people saw it and they ran away but the lord helped me I was taken to hospital. After the hospital I went straight to the police station and reported this matter to the police at Minj Police station.

I praised the Lord for Voice for Change I did my savings and from my savings I got loan and operated a small canteen and looked after chicken. I had money that time I had cash on hand so I went straight to Minj Police Station and laid my complaint. Paid for everything to the police and they went and arrested my husband and put him behind bars. I was bit scared but prayed for the lord's guidance.

We went in for the court case and he was very guilty and in court he swore to the court he won't do such things like this again. That was a lesson learnt by my husband and even gave his life to the Lord and he was a born again Christian.

Now I'm encouraging women to take your husband to court if he is a violent guy and he will learn from his mistake. Praise God now I thank God and I thank Voice For Change to help me really teach my husband to be a real man today.

4.8.7. Women dream of change

Women want change in men, in social relationships, in patterns of social organisation, and in community norms, values and practices.

Woman, children and the whole community want changes in the community. They also want law and order to be strengthened in the community.

(Karpa, mature women)

In particular, women want to be valued, valued in their own right, valued for who they are and what they do.

Valuing women is lost or not practised today.

(Urupkaip, mature women)

Women understand through lived experience that violence against women and girls happens in communities where there are unjust ideas about gender and sexuality, where it is accepted that men have power over women, where women are not valued.

4.9. MEN'S PERSPECTIVES ON VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND GIRLS

4.9.1. The confronting nature of the Community Survey methodology

The methodology of the Community Survey was difficult and confronting for the men who participated, both in both the large consultations and in the focus group discussions. They were required to look at images of men's violence to women and girls. One after another the images were placed before them. Each time, they were asked to describe what was going on in the image, who was doing wrong, and so on.

The images that were presented triggered an emotional alarm in them. For almost all the images displayed, they all had some kind of experience and stories to share.

(Recorder, Karap, young men)

These were challenging spaces to be in for men used to receiving and demanding respect and wielding power over others. That they stayed and participated to the end is a testament to their concern for their communities and for the future of the new Province of Jiwaka.

Males interviewed for this Survey were very responsive and their participatory level was high. They were very cooperative. During the interview, I found out that all of them were good father figures and male role models. We wish to have more of them around so that Jiwaka can be a better place.

(Recorder, Sipil, mature men)

Despite the discomfort they felt during the Community Consultations, men stayed on for the focus group discussions and many offered to write case studies.

About forty per cent of the case studies were written by men. At least one had no relevance to violence against women (36); another two blamed women for rape (27, 65). Many of the stories were about the excessive use of marijuana, steam and beer and the actions that followed; a number were about polygamy, rape and sorcery.

4.9.2. Men's narratives of violence

The unease of the men showed, initially, in the way in which they described the six images that they were shown in the Community Consultations.

When asked to describe the images, some groups of men described the image, but many told a story about the image in which possible causes of the violence, found in the behaviour of women, were brought into the story.

The group of men would often tell a story about the image in which first women did something wrong and then, because of that, men did what they were depicted as doing. Often the story about the image sounded like a justification of their behaviour: men do this because women do that.

For example, when Image 30 – bodily mutilation; limb cut off/severed – was shown, some groups of men merely described the image: 'the man is cutting off the arm of his wife'.

Other men's group told a story about what the woman did to deserve this behaviour from her husband.

The wife must have made the husband angry and he has cut off his wife's hand.

(Korkor, young men)

Husbands drink beer and asked his wife for money to drink more beer and the wife refused to give money so the husband cut his wife's hand off.

(Urupkaip, mature men)

Or for the image of the man murdering his wife:

Not only men kill women but sometimes women kill men as well.

(Karpa, mature men)

The husband couldn't cope with the unacceptable attitude of the woman thus cheats his wife. The wife after finding out thinks of making it even so goes out with other man, which eventually results in death.

It was as if they needed to put the image into a context of interpersonal relationships in which the wrongness of the act might be moderated by apportioning blame.

At times this was spoken in a balanced way, with some humility.

The men are wrong most times. At times the women make the men do it, like the wife makes her husband angry so he hits her. Or women go to places they do not have to go so they get raped e.g. the enemy territory.

(Korkor, young men)

In accounts of violence, the storyteller often includes an account of what led up to the violence. This can help make sense of the violence.

But it can also be a way of 'spreading the blame', and so of defusing issues of the abuse of power and violence. To argue that the way women dress makes men rape them or that wives arguing back to their husbands makes men beat them is to claim that provocation frees men from blame or at least lessens the blame by claiming that women too are to blame.

Claiming provocation is a strategy that men use to shift attention away from their acts of violence. In this way it silences questions of men's responsibility and accountability (Hume, 2009).

4.9.3. Speaking truth to self

The methodology of the Community Survey helped the men to have insights into their own behaviour and its consequences.

We men confess that we do not do help our mothers/wives in all the chores. We do help but we are not faithful. We do not spend time with the kids and they are with their mothers for the first 17 years of their lives. Later, when they became adults, some turn out to be problem citizens of the community. We fathers wish we had known what was going to come and played our part. We see that leaving all the chores and kids to be with their mum and not helping them at all will definitely lead to problems. We were once like this but now we are facing difficulties with our sons. We cannot seem to get through to them.

(Sipil, mature men)

We men we often look down on women and easily target women instead of men. They are women they cannot fight back.

(Korkor, young men)

[We selected wife beating] because men are proud. Men seem to be lazy.

(Karpa, mature men)

We mostly do nothing for the good of the family at home. All we care about is our pleasure. Our poor wives thinking of the kids and family never stop working.

(Karap, young men)

In the highlands, almost all of a male's decision will be centred on his pride.

(Sipil, mature men)

Young men reflected on their behaviour and how their behaviour contributed both to the violence and to the breakdown of authority.

Political and other social problems motivate them to cause such problems.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

Our leaders are trying to do something but the young men are not listening to them. The village court gives some orders but it is not followed.

(Korkor, young men)

Leaders are telling us not to do such things but most times young men do not listen as they do not respect our leaders.

(Korkor, young men)

Leaders here are powerless when it comes to handling young men in the community.

(Recorder, Kindeng, young men)

4.9.4. Taking responsibility for one's actions

It was difficult for the men to take responsibility for their own actions or to accept that the behaviours and practices of other men were wrong.

When discussing an image of an act of violence, the participants were asked first, 'Who did wrong?' and then 'who is the victim?' The men struggled with this sequence of questions. The first is confronting as the images are of men's violence to women. The question demands of them to publically name themselves as wrongdoers. The men often resisted, adding others to the list of wrongdoers, or else claiming that men are under the influence of drugs and alcohol when they behave like that.

The second question tries to turn their attention to the woman or girl harmed by an act of violence. Here too the men often resisted. They often named themselves as the victim in their own acts of violence because, after they have committed an act of violence, they have to pay compensation.

Man is the victim of rape. They go to jail and pay compensation.

(Sipil, young men)

The rapist causes the problem usually under the influence of homebrew and marijuana. At times the woman is at fault too. ... The victim is the family of the rapist as they'll be paying for what has been done. ... Ladies are to be blamed because they are modernised in the sense that they dress way too fancy to attract man.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

The difficulty in admitting wrongdoing and taking responsibility for an act is taken to extremes in the following:

The woman must have said something very provocative to make her husband do that to her. ... The woman is killed maybe because of many reasons, e.g. adultery, jealousy, provocative words or actions, or the man listened to a new lover. But the culprit, the man, is also carrying a burden because when he kills, he faces huge compensation, imprisonment, tribal fights, etc.

(Karpa, mature men)

[Wife beating is caused by] mismanagement by the wife, i.e. she spends money on gambling etc. Sometimes the lady refuses to bear kids for the husband. ... When the victim is greatly injured, community leaders do step in solve it through the village court and compensation payment is decided. When the victim is found out to be at some faults that is not acceptable, the community do go for the husband to kill her. There is no police in the district to deal with such cases according to the law. ... Wife beating is a frequent issue because the ladies do not watch their mouth. Sometimes community leaders neglect to solve it as they refer to it as a family problem.

(Karap, young men)

4.9.5. The social construction of masculinity

Much of the behaviour shown in the images is socially acceptable. These ways of behaving form part of community norms, values and practices. The men's fathers and their fathers' fathers had behaved in this way.

Men act like they are the boss and feel powerful when in control.

(Kudjip, mature women)

It is the attitude that defines a male or so he thinks. They do this (overwork women) because they think that they can do it and feel important when they are in total control. Their expectations are way up high, thinking that, because they put a bride price, a woman is bought so that she can do everything at home.

(Kindeng, young men)

We the people in the community normally praise a woman who does all the work in the community. Most of the family members do not do anything because a woman who does a lot of work in the community brings in fame to the family name and so they tend to ignore that fact [the overwork].

(Kindeng, young men)

Some men understood their 'laziness' not as laziness but as protecting attributes central to being a man. Men value their sexual prowess and fighting abilities. Working hard was thought to make men lose weight and become thin and to look aged in the face and so be less attractive to women. It was also thought to make men physically weak and so to undermine their fighting ability.

Some even say that they will lose their good looks when working in the garden and etc. they won't be able to defend themselves in times of fight.

(Karap, young men)

Man saying that when he works he will lose his weight or diet.

(Korkor, mature women)

Her husband decided not to clean the coffee gardens because he wants to keep fit, healthy and live long. He says that work will deny him of all that.

(Case Study no. 21)

The excessive use of drugs and alcohol has led to beliefs that excuse men's drunken and violent behaviour.

He knows that his wife constantly lives in fear but he can't help it. He says that every time he is drugged, he is forever consumed in some kind of hunger and that he unleashes it or cools down the only time he beats his wife. (Case Study no. 50)

Once it enters our body, the effect is too much that we do not think straight nor feel good. We always feel heat coming out from the intestine leaving us with the urge to drink cold water, chew betel nut or smoke. He says that once he is full drunk, he comes out and destroys the market. (Case Study no. 51)

The men have some kind of problem with their mind or conscience. They are not in their proper state of mind because of the consumption of too much illicit drugs. (Sipil, young men)

By naming drugs, steam and beer as the cause of their violence, men shift the blame from themselves. These intoxicants become the problem rather than men's violence itself. Strategies to address violence are focused on these rather than seeking to address men's violence itself.

In Jiwaka, these are serious social concerns that need to be addressed in their own right.

But men's violence to women and girls is not caused by drugs and alcohol, although it may be worsened by them. Men's violence to women and girls occurs in the absence of drugs and alcohol as well as when men are affected by them.

The use of violence against women and girls is bound up with men's way of thinking about women and their conceptions about what it is to be a man. Men see their manhood as dependent on their control over women and they use violence to achieve this (Eves 2006).

Strategies are needed that specifically address men's violence to women.

4.9.6. Men want to change their way of life

Many of the men who participated in the Community Survey were concerned about the extent of violence to women and girls and the damaging impact that it had on their lives.

Males do not agree to do away with bride price but they do agree that if there is some sort of fixed payment, a lot less than what is being offered nowadays, this can be okay. After all, they want their daughters to be in a trouble free life thus making them satisfied.

(Sipil, mature men)

They expressed a strong desire for the establishment of law and order which would help them to change and to live in greater peace and harmony.

From my point of view as a recorder is that people really want to change their way of life. I can tell that they are really expressing their inner feelings to really do away with all forms of violence.

(Recorder, Tabibuga, Mature men)

In many of the case studies, men expressed concern or remorse for what had been done, including their taking part in a sorcery killing, being in polygamous relationships, growing marijuana or brewing steam, getting high or drunk and stealing, causing vandalism, and destroying women's livelihoods, and taking part in gang rapes.

4.9.7. Men can change

Amongst the case studies written by men there were stories of men deciding to change: to stop beating their wives (case studies no. 38 and 39), to stop leaving all the work to the women and to help them with the work (case study no. 37), to stop using drugs and alcohol (case studies no. 17 and 10), and to stop stealing and destroying women's markets (case studies no. 51 and 34)

Some of the case studies were of events too late to change but where the men were now opposed to such practices or felt remorse for their behaviour. These included polygamous marriages (case studies no. 14 and 15), wife murder (case study no. 18) and participating in the murder of women accused of sorcery (case studies no. 23 and 40).

The words the men used included:

Now I have changed greatly after discovering that taking home brew was causing a lot of problems to my life, my family and the community as a whole. ... I start to realise the needs of my family. I start to realise the importance of the children going to school. I am not employed and I see that my family's needs and wants are very high. So for the last year or so I quit drinking homebrew. ... But I turn my life to God and I am now a born again Christian.

(Case Study no. 17)

I have done so much physical damage to my wives and compensated so much which I regret now.

(Case Study no. 14)

The action of killing [of a man accused of sorcery] was a guilt full thing which demoralised the whole community.

(Case Study no. 40)

These case studies show that men are concerned about the way they were behaving and the impact their behaviour was having on the families and communities. They are stories of change or of struggling to change or of wanting to change.

However, for these changes in men's lives to be sustained, community norms, values and practices will need to change. For an individual man to change, whilst all around him continue with harmful ways of behaving, is difficult. A man might genuinely decide not to be lazy and to help his wife. He might stop drinking or taking drugs. His brothers or cousin brothers, or clansmen, will gossip about him and put pressure on him to stop being different from them.

Imagine how much easier it would be if, for example, there were signs everywhere saying:

Men in Jiwaka who do not work, women will not feed.

And if pastors and priests were preaching about the importance of men working to strengthen their families.

4.9.8. Creating safe spaces for talking, reflecting and changing

There are strong pressures on men to conform to the accepted norms and practices of masculinity, and in particular to the forms of masculinity that propagate violence to women. It is difficult for men who want to lead their gendered lives in different ways, based on different values, to do so. There is significant peer pressure on them to 'revert', to live as others around them are living, to treat their wives as violently as other men do.

Those men who have changed or who are struggling to change or who want to change need spaces, secular and sacred, in which to discuss and develop these new forms of living as a man, and to learn from and support each other.

Many men commented that they found the methodology of the Community Survey was a transformative process which enabled them to reflect on their lives and their practices and values. It also helped them understand the consequences of their actions for others and the impact on others of what they had done.

It helped the men present to walk in the footsteps of the women and girls that had experienced violence by their own hands or the hands of other men. It strengthened for the men present the moral skill of empathy.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS ARISING FROM THE COMMUNITY SURVEY

Many recommendations for change came from the Community Consultations, the case studies, the observations of the Survey team and from interviews. The Village Court Magistrate who wrote Case Study no 42 spoke for many when he said that he was proud of being a citizen of the new Province of Jiwaka and wanted Jiwaka to be a good place to live.

Complex situations require complex solutions

The mature women of Kudjip realise that there was no easy or simple way to stop violence against women and children. Many changes needed to occur if violence to women and girls was to be reduced.

If the community can make new community laws, mind their own business, remove wantokism, as well as publicising a leader who is practising corruption, attend Church work, work closely with police, all these issues won't be a problem. (Kudjip, mature women) They want the National Government to put more money into police so that the police can work closely with the community leaders to stop them from smoking, drinking home brew and also want the provincial government to ban liquor.

(Kindeng, mature men)

Provincial government support to community initiatives against violence to women and girls

The Provincial Government was called on to support local initiatives addressing violence to women and girls.

Nowadays these problems getting worsen and worsen so can the Government do something to stop this violence. In this community we formed the Association to keep this people busy. Is there any way to support our association? It will help them to earn their own living and can settle his family.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Provincial Government to support and fund law and order initiatives

The recorder of the Karpa mature men's discussion recorded the following recommendation:

The Provincial Government to prioritise law and order issues. When there is peace in communities then development will take place.

Communities wanted greater investment by the Provincial Government in the police.

They want the National Government to put more money into police so that the police can work closely with the community leaders to stop them from smoking, drinking home brew and also want the provincial government to ban liquor.

(Kindeng, mature men)

The recorder of the Kindeng mature men's discussion recorded the following recommendations:

All law enforcing agents/employees should be fully trained and knowledgeable about their duties and responsibilities, including their court jurisdiction.

All Local Level Governments (LLGs) in Jiwaka to create court fine books for all village court areas and even Peace Court fines and make them as LLG internal revenue.

Communities urgently want the drunken and destructive behaviour and the stealing in the market places to stop:

If the Government can tighten law and order problems, fund the police, and they too get their job done seriously, there can be change. People are crying for peaceful market and are crying to work together with the government. There are only handfuls who are going around doing all these things. We are ready work hand in hand only if the government can back the police and law abiding workers.

(Sipil, mature men)

It was also recommended to display police contact numbers in market places for the public to respond when there is a problem.

Provincial Government to support initiatives for youth

The recorder of the Karpa mature men's discussion recorded the following recommendation:

The Provincial Government to have priorities in youth development programmes.

Many groups called for programs for youth to help address the problems:

Community leaders, magistrate, councillors and peace officers do try to do something by talking to them (youths especially), counselling them but there is no program or activity in place to sustain them and so they go back to their old ways.

(Bunumwoo, mature men)

From my point of view as a recorder, the people of this LLG want a safer community with peace and harmony. Most of these problems are caused by the youth. They have a dormant Youth Group Association but there is no one there to support to carry out programs as planned.

(Bunumwoo, young men's' focus group recorder)

Rape and gang rape

Many communities recommended that rape not be handled by compensation but dealt with in the courts of law.

Rape - to reduce this violence man causing /culprit must be dealt by law and community must stop to compensate.

(Minj, mature men)

Limit bride price

There were a number of discussions, particularly among men, on limiting bride price.

One man asked if there was a law in place for the government to control the amount of bride price payment.

(Recorder, Karap, mature men)

They recommended that there should be by laws in Jiwaka to control bride price & to avoid future violence between husband and wife etc.

(Minj, mature men)

Ancestors, they made a mistake by paying bride price. We are following the footsteps but now we want the provincial government to set a fixed amount of bride price in our area.

(Minj, mature men)

Women accused of sorcery

Some called for the National Government to introduce the Law on Sorcery.

As a recorder, I realise that this community and the whole of Jimi area, this problem of murdering on sorcery allegation is far more than worse. I strongly urge the government to push forward the law on Alleging on Sorcery.

(Recorder, Karap, mature men)

Others called for a greater use of evidence of cause of death or of the claims that the death was caused by the actions of the person accused as a sorcerer.

If every deceased person is taken to be medically examined and the cause of death known, this this can greatly help.

(Kudjip, mature men)

Law against polygamy

Some people, women in particular, called for a law against polygamy.

Have some by-law to have only one wife, look after them and support the children to get better education.

(Sipil, mature women)

From my experience, polygamy is not good and I want a law [against it].

(Case Study no. 57)

Complete ban on the sale of liquor

Many in the community called for Jiwaka to be a 'dry' Province with a complete ban on the sale of liquor.

Beer is causing this violence so Jiwaka must stop selling beer.

(Minj, mature men)

The community leaders & police are currently doing something to stop this behaviour of drinking but the community feel that there should be a complete ban of liquor in the province because beer is the root cause of other domestic violence that occurs every now and then in families & communities.

(Recorder, Minj, mature men)

Liquor ban should be emphasised.

(Bunumwoo, mature men)

Community laws and community policing

Many of the groups in their discussions indicated a desire for the development of community laws and the introduction of community policing.

Each community must have some by-law in their community and presented to the police and provincial government to make sure that the suspect can get the penalty. Give some counselling to the different age of people understanding between one another.

(Karpa, mature men)

Provincial government to set up law agents & establish community police in the community.

(Minj, mature men)

The participants urged the NGO's to set up community policing to effective responses and can further report to police for further actions.

(Bunumwoo, young men)

If the community can make their own by laws and such, all of these would not have to be a problem.

(Kindeng, mature men)

6. WAYS FORWARD: IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FOR STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT

A number of important insights, principles and operational strategies for responding to violence against women and girls in Jiwaka emerge from the findings of the Community Survey.

FINDING 1: WOMEN AND GIRLS IN JIWAKA PROVINCE ARE SUFFERING.

The Survey clearly shows that violence, intimidation and exploitation are present in every aspect and period of women's lives in Jiwaka. Women and girls live in constant fear of violence and often in situations of extreme pain, distress and misery. They live with a sense of hopelessness and despair, crushed by their lives: *'all die pinis insait'* (we are dead inside).

Women who are married young experience this longer. The younger the age of marriage, particularly as a first wife, the longer the intimidation, brutality and exploitation persists.

The Survey shows that the ways in which women are treated by their families and communities strip them of any sense of themselves as valued and appreciated.

These violations of body and soul are perpetrated by husbands, by fathers, sons, and other men in their families, by community leaders, policemen, and Village Court officials, by neighbours, by young men, both thoughtlessly and with intent, by teachers, drivers, and other men. Sometimes the violence is perpetrated by other women, although these acts usually arise directly or indirectly out of men's behaviour.

The Survey shows that many men feel that they are entitled to act in these ways. Some women agree with them.

Not all men in Jiwaka act like this or believe that men have a right to act in these ways.

Women and girls who have been attacked, mutilated, beaten, raped, restrained, humiliated, robbed and exploited need access to justice and the law, to medical treatment, to police protection, to safe houses, to resettlement and repatriation programs, to a wide range of counselling services, to support for resettlement, to financial assistance, and many other services.

Few if any services are available to, affordable by or accessible to the women and girls who are the victims of this violence in Jiwaka.

At present there are few options open to women and girls survivors of violence, mutilation or beatings, other than to return to the situation in which the violence occurred. Services and support are needed by women not only to assist them to deal with and to heal from experiences of violence, but also to find alternatives to returning to the situation in which she has been violated.

The Survey showed that women desperately want civic education on the law and its institutions and on how they can access and use them.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 1.1. Improving access, affordability and quality of support services for women and girls survivors of violence, including establishing and resourcing safe houses, free access to healthcare and legal support services.**
- 1.2. Increasing access to the law and to justice for women and girls survivors of violence.**
- 1.3. Strengthening women's ability to advocate for the services that they need and to work collectively for an end to violence.**

Certain governmental, non-governmental and church-based organisations and institutions in Jiwaka are providing counselling, protection and support services to women and girls who are experiencing violence.

Jiwaka Family Support Centre runs a counselling and support centre for women survivors of violence

The Minj Police and Banz Station Rapid Response Team has been established to provide timely protection services to women experiencing criminal violence and to assist the apprehension and imprisonment of the perpetrators.

The Highlands Women Human Rights Defenders Movement (HWHDRDM) is a women's movement building peace and ending gender-based violence in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea. It is an umbrella organisation for different grass roots and community based organisations working to defend human rights. Its members work on the protection, repatriation and resettlement of women victims of sorcery and other forms of violence. The Jiwaka Women's Human Rights Defenders Network is a member organisation.

Services for survivors of violence provided by hospitals and health centres in Jiwaka are usually fee-based and this makes these services unaffordable to most of the women and children who are the survivors of violence. Voice for Change has begun negotiating lower fee structures in health care facilities for women who have experienced violence. They have begun advocating that there should be no charges in health care facilities for women survivors of violence.

This should be discussed and a supportive policy adopted by the Provincial Government as a province-wide policy if women are not to be doubly punished for the violence perpetrated on them.

To find more lasting changes for women survivors of violence, however, will require the involvement of people with power, with access to resources and to decision making, who wish to join the struggle against violence to women and girls. Overwhelmingly, in Jiwaka, people with power are men.

There is urgency about the demand for appropriate and effective services and support for women and girls survivors of violence. Women are dying all the time, at the hands of men, or, in desperation, at their own hands. They are being beaten senseless, having their limbs cut off, mutilated and more. They are dying of HIV and living in constant dread that their husbands will infect them. Throughout Jiwaka, women of all ages and backgrounds are living lives of distress and suffering.

The extensive violence to women and girls is occurring in a context of widespread tribal violence and the significant displacement of families and of women and children throughout Jiwaka. Tribal conflicts and the displacement of populations feed into the causes of increasing violence to women and girls.

People must have hope that they can in some way come together and demand an end to all forms of violence so that they can live more peaceful lives.

Women in particular must learn to have faith that they can work together in solidarity for change. Voice for Change has been showing the Liberian documentary, 'Pray the Devil back to Hell', to women's groups to get these discussions started. The documentary tells the "remarkable story of the courageous Liberian women who came together across faith to bring peace to their shattered country." The PNG documentary called 'Enough is Enough' can also be used in this way. These documentaries give the women of Jiwaka a sense of what they might be able to achieve, a sense of what they can do together as women to change their worlds.

Women's collective voice must be freed and listened to if violence against women and the factors that are making women's lives so painful and hopeless are to be lessened.

FINDING 2: MEN IN JIWAKA PROVINCE, INCLUDING YOUNG MEN, CAN CHANGE AND HAVE CHANGED.

One of the striking findings of the Survey is that, in the midst of all the recorded violence, there are men who want to change and there are men who have changed. There are men who do not want harm to come to the women and girls in their families, or to women and girls more broadly. These men live and work throughout Jiwakan society, in villages, in positions of power, in service positions, in Government, in churches, in the private sector, and in the law and justice sector.

They are important resources to build on in any strategy to lessen the violence that women and girls are experiencing in Jiwaka and to address its causes.

The Survey clearly shows that some men have changed themselves and changed their violent behaviour to women and girls. This, they say, they have done out of love for their families, shame of their own behaviour, through the influence of family, friends, and traditional leaders, and through re-conversion in their faith.

Amongst these men who have changed personally, there are also men who are struggling to change the violence in the families and communities around them. For example, the men who are members of the Jiwaka Human Rights Defenders Network. These are men who do not want harm to come to their women or to women and girls in Jiwaka more generally and who want to stop the violence that is pervading their lives.

Amongst the men who have changed personally, there are also those who are working to challenge and change the way their communities think and talk about what it is to be a 'real' man. They are trying to challenge and change what is harmful in the way society creates the concept of masculinity, what is valued about being a man in their communities, and, in particular, the concept of domination that pervades men's thinking and sense of self, and contributes to the extent of the violence that women are experiencing.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

2.1. Give priority to working with men, including young men, who want to change their violent attitudes and behaviours.

There are good case studies in the literature of the effectiveness of working with men who want to change the way they live their lives as men and, in particular, to stop their violence to women: MASVAW (Men's Action for Stopping Violence against Women in India) (Das and Singh 2014), PROMUNDO in Brazil (Barker et al 2011), Engender Health in different African countries, and AHCV (Association of Men against Violence) in Nicaragua (Welsh 2011).

These initiatives have in common the creation of local groups of men or young men as forums for discussion, reflection and value clarification among men. The creation of these reflective spaces enabled men to talk with each other about their violent and discriminatory actions, to take responsibility and be accountable for their actions, and to be supportive of each other in their struggle to change. The programs included training men to talk to their peers in an environment of mutual trust and collective learning. They learn to support each other to challenge patriarchal practices in different institutions and to not be silent bystanders when violence occurs.

The idea that men can change and can have a role to play in preventing violence to women can attract other men to join these groups.

These initiatives worked from the premise that men need to work on their own privileges, to challenge their assumptions, especially about dominance, assertiveness and violence, and change their own behaviours so that space would open up for women to express themselves. These groups then become platforms for collective action against violence against women.

These groups use approaches based on or similar to that of Paulo Freire (1968) which aim to promote a deeper reflection on violence and male culpability, to analyse the distribution of power in families and in their broader contexts, to strengthen men's skills of empathy, esp. empathy for women, and to develop personal action plans for change in the family and other contexts. Some approaches ask the men's wives, daughters and mothers to evaluate the men's progress, for example, Oxfam Australia's Engaging Men in Gender Justice Initiative in Indonesia.

During the Community Survey, the men participants often reflected on how valuable it had been for them to come together and talk with each other about violence to women and girls. They asked for more opportunities to do so. This confirms the validity and effectiveness of the above approaches in the Jiwakan context.

It is urgent that those men who want to change their attitudes and behaviours around violence to women and girls be brought together to support each other on this journey.

FINDING 3: THERE ARE PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS IN JIWAKA PROVINCE THAT CARE ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS TO WOMEN AND GIRLS.

The Survey makes it clear that there are people and institutions in Jiwaka that want to speak out and act against violence against women and girls. They want to challenge accepted but harmful gendered behaviours and values, and to work for social change. These strengths should be harnessed for change.

Such an approach builds on the goodwill and goodness in people. It does not engage with those indifferent or hostile to the social and cultural changes that must be brought about if violence to women and girls is to be lessened. Rather it engages with those who care about what happens to women and girls and works with them to bring about the required changes. A strengths based approach makes social change more possible.

The traditional leader, discussed in the Report, who rejected the community use of compensation to create a culture of impunity around rapists, is a good example. He explained to the community that rape was a crime and the perpetrators had to stand trial. When the villagers failed to respond, he put thirteen of the community leaders in goal for three days for obstructing the carriage of justice. He was prepared to challenge the practices of the community to ensure that the rule of law prevailed.

The Jiwaka Human Rights Defenders' Network is another good example. Originally, Voice for Change identified men and women in different institutions in Jiwaka who were actively engaged in defending the rights of women. The institutions included the churches, NGOs and CBOs, education, health, social services, traditional leaders and youth leaders, ward councillors, and the village courts system.

Voice for Change brought them together for gender and human rights training. The training provided the participants with an opportunity to collectively analyse and reflect on how gendered power and gender-differentiated roles played out in Jiwakan society, on the associated notions of masculinity and femininity, and on the status of women in traditional and contemporary Jiwaka society. They became more knowledgeable about the PNG Constitution, the law and human rights and their relevance to violence against women and girls.

During the training, the participants formed themselves into the Jiwaka Human Rights Defenders' Network, an activist and advocacy organisation in defence of women's and men's human rights. They immediately expressed their interest in helping with the Survey.

The individuals, groups, organisations, churches, networks and institutions who care about what is happening to women, and in particular women's organisations who care, are a potent resource for positive change. They are a powerful starting point for an effective response to violence against women and children.

However, both men and women who wish to be activists and advocates against violence to women and girls need to honour the principle of 'walking the talk', that is, of living in their own lives these new gender-related behaviours, and, in particular, of struggling to establish gendered relationships of respect and mutual support free of the fear, threat or use of violence, intimidation and exploitation.

This principle means that the processes of reflection, analysis and commitment to the struggle to change used in the work with men who want to change outlined above need to be incorporated into all this work.

Similar approaches to helping women to 'walk the talk' also need to be developed: to help women and girls to reflect on the ways they talk to men, on the ways they tease and provoke men to violence and how the ways women react to situations can drive men to violence. Women need to be helped to understand the futility and harm of responses of anger or despair, such as 'payback' behaviour: when women get drunk or take up with men or gamble to payback their men who are doing this.

Women also need support to learn to work collectively with each other and to speak out against gender injustice with one voice. This happened last year when the newly established women's rights group, *Women Arise*, organised '*haus krai*' nationwide, including in Jiwaka. The *haus krai* were a ritual of mourning for the women who had lost their lives to senseless violent crimes and a statement of support and reassurance to those women and girls experiencing violence that they were not alone

A strengths-based approach, which works with those who do not want harm to come to women and girls, not only makes social change easier to bring about but will also attract others to join.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

3.1. Work with individuals, groups, networks and civil society organisations who care about what happens to women and girls.

3.2. Work with institutions, or sections of institutions, which care about what happens to women and girls to include education in schools and other educational institutions on building respectful relationships and on prevention of violence against women and girls.

3.3. Ensure that those who wish to work towards reducing violence to women and girls are engaged in the struggle to 'walk the talk'.

The police force in Jiwaka is a good example of operational principles 3.2 and 3.3 and of the requirements for their effective implementation.

The Commandant of the Minj and Banz Police Station expressed an interest in working with Voice for Change to improve the capacity of the Minj Police Station to protect and respond to the women who come to the Police Station seeking help after they have been violently beaten. A partnership between the Minj police and Voice for Change was established, a Rapid Response Team formed and protocols jointly developed.

As this partnership progresses and the contexts in which such violence occurs are better understood, the work is being refined and improved. Even though it is a fairly recent initiative, it has been of immense value to many of the women who have sought refuge and solace there. Case study no. 55 tells one such story.

However, because little work was done with the police at the Station to help them reflect on their own behaviours and attitudes, and because few men have the skills required to put themselves into the shoes of women, there is a startling lack of empathy on the part of the police for the women who come to them for help. As a result many women do not continue with their cases.

Instead of understanding how courageous, and potentially dangerous, it is for a woman to seek protection and redress from the law, there is often disrespect: 'Why bother even writing up the charge. She will be back tomorrow or the day after to withdraw it!' There is a need to help the police involved in work for women to understand women's lives.

The woman who turns to the law for help is rejecting the customary mediation of family and community. She is stepping out of what is in custom acceptable behaviour for a woman by being assertive and claiming autonomy. She will be fearful of the social consequences of her decision and frightened that the perpetrator will attempt to reassert his dominance and control over her through more violence. She knows that violence escalates when men feel their masculinity is confronted or challenged (Merry 2006: 184-188).

She will be continually questioning whether it is worth proceeding with her complaint, to keep pressing the charges, particularly if the police fail to arrest the perpetrator or to issue a protective order or to be understanding of her predicament.

All those working to prevent harm coming to women and girls need to be engaged in the struggle to 'walk the talk'. They need to understand the contexts of women's lives, to struggle to change their own gendered preconceptions and behaviours, and to be able to work with others with respect.

FINDING 4: SOCIAL CHANGE AND GENDER JUSTICE START IN THE FAMILY.

The discussion in the Survey of polygamy, of women's work load, of children unable to go to school, of incest, the sale of young girls and babies for money, brother abuse, the use of drugs and alcohol, and more, present a disturbing picture of the breakdown of family life and family values in Jiwaka.

The Survey shows that violence to women is creating dysfunctional families. It is contributing to the breakdown of families. It is in contempt of the older customs in Jiwaka of the valuing of family life and of mutual support and respect in family life.

There are many men in Jiwaka who honour and respect their wives and care for their children. But the Survey shows that many men are creating and abandoning families seemingly at will, as an accepted consequence of the way they want to live their lives.

The Survey shows that money that women earn and want to put aside for their children or to improve their homes is taken from them by husbands who want money for things that pleasure them: drinking, womanising, taking a new wife, gambling, and similar things. Many men seem to be drifting towards a life of the satisfaction of their desires without the acceptance of responsibilities or limits.

The family is less and less the place from which men go out into the world to do men's things and to which they then return. More and more, men are moving in and then out of the families they set up, onto the next one, which is itself just another pause on their way.

Repeatedly during the Survey, it was said, for example, by the mature women of Kawil: *Our husbands leave us and go to town to look for a better easier life.* One client of Voice for Change said: *Our dad left, walking away with his new wife.*

Many men seem to be on an aimless journey: moving from woman to woman, from place to place, drifting from bar to bar. They journey from one Pay-day Friday to the next Pay-day Friday.

Many men's lives no longer seem to be centred on their families. They are abandoning their children, leaving their wives to cope, moving on.

Yet men do not seem to intend to or seriously want to harm their children or to intentionally destroy their families and homes. Yet Jiwaka is overwhelmed with abandoned families.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

4.1. Give priority to working towards re-creating and strengthening the family.

4.2. Encourage and advocate men's participation in caring relationships and helping out in the home.

4.3. Strengthen men's empathy for women's lives, men's ability to put themselves into women's shoes.

The MASVAW work in India and similar work elsewhere shows that men who want to change their own behaviour are able to establish closer relationships with their daughters, wives and other women around them and that they consider that they gain a great deal from being able to take care of their children and from undertaking household chores (Das and Singh 2014: 73 -75).

Work on HIV prevention learnt early that telling men to change their sexual behaviour rarely resulted in changes in their behaviour. However, drawing men into conversations about what might happen to their children if they, or their wives, became infected could lead to quite significant protective changes in their behaviour.

Work based on similar principles is being started by Voice for Change in their programmes on Savings and Loans Schemes and on the Fruit and Vegetables program. Under these programs women are taught how to produce surplus food crops for sale and the basics of financial literacy. The money earned through their hard work in the gardens is put into savings schemes.

Further Voice for Change work with the women to raise their consciousness about how they spend the money they have saved. Most women in the scheme want to spend their savings on improving their homes and on their children's' education and health needs. Voice for Change then helps them keep a record of how in fact the money is spent and, in particular, of how much of their money goes towards social obligations such as compensation and bride price payments.

Much, possibly most, of the money contributed towards such payments is contributed by women. Much of these women's savings is spent in this way. Women have little or no say in determining the level of social obligation payments; it is decided by the men involved in the negotiations. Women do not benefit from the social obligations economy. The money, their money to a great extent, is received by, distributed by and spent by men. In particular, men make money out of the terrible things that happen to women: compensation for rape, murder, mutilation, wife beatings, genital mutilation and more.

When the women understand the social obligations economy, they are in a position to decide how to participate in the economy. In some of these groups, the women have decided that will no longer contribute to rape compensations, particularly as these are considered to excuse the men involved, and that they will contribute a maximum of K10 to compensations for accidents. Individually and collectively they develop income expenditure plans which include the decisions taken about social obligations payments. However, they realise that, for them to be able to follow these plans, they will need the support of the men in their lives, their husbands or fathers or sons.

At the women's request, Voice for Change now invites the men in the women's lives to the last day of the workshop. The women explain their savings plans to their husbands and their hope to use their savings on home and family improvements.

The men who have attended so far have been very pleased that there will be money available for the improvement of their homes and for their children's lives. The women then present their proposal for participation in the social obligations economy. These are then discussed, both individually and collectively. If the men agree with the women's proposals, they are asked to sign a joint income expenditure plan which includes their decisions about limiting their contributions to the social obligations economy.

The men who have participated in these workshops so far are enthusiastic about working with their wives on the improvement of their homes and on improving the well-being of their children.

Voice for Change is also starting a broader-based discussion amongst women groups in Jiwaka of what is called here the social obligations economy. Significant support is growing in women's groups to limit the level of contributions that women are prepared to make, or not make, for various social situations, particularly to compensation deriving from acts of violence to women and girls.

FINDING 5: CHANGING GENDERED POWER RELATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY PROTECTS WOMEN AND GIRLS FROM VIOLENCE.

The Survey asked participants how their communities responded to violence against women and girls. The findings show that a great deal of the behaviour shown in the images is socially acceptable. These ways of behaving form part of the community's norms, values and practices.

Communities create a set of social expectations that define the behaviours that are "appropriate" for men and women and determine women's and men's different access to opportunities, resources, and power in society. Certain ways of being a man, or a woman, are culturally and socially accepted and favoured.

The discussion of the images in the Survey shows that men and boys are socialised to be aggressive, competitive and dominant and that sexually responsible and non-violent behaviour is not socially valued in men. Violence against women and girls is used as a means of sustaining men's power relations over women and their social privilege.

These gendered practices guarantee the dominant social position of men, and the subordinate social position of women. They create hierarchical relations of power between women and men.

It is these relations of dominance, of power over women, which drive violence against women and other forms of gender inequity. They make it possible for men to prevent women from accessing family planning services, for men to infect their wives and children with HIV, for men to force on their wives unacceptable sexual practices, for men to believe that they own their wives.

They also make it difficult for men to take responsibility for their actions or to accept that the behaviour and practices of other men are wrong.

While factors such as poverty, alcohol and drugs, landlessness and unemployment may be the context of violence to women and girls, the dominant social position of men, and the subordinate social position of women, is the root cause of this violence.

The norms, values and practise that drive violence against women can be questioned and changed by communities.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 5.1. Strengthening the capacity of communities to reflect on and change the way they live their lives.**
- 5.2. Strengthening the capacity of youth to reflect on and change the way they live their lives.**
- 5.3. Strengthening traditions of community pledges to change.**

The work undertaken by the Sisters of Notre Dame in Banz on Community Conversations and on Youth Community Conversations provide a powerful model of how communities and groups of youth can change.

The Community Conversations methodology was developed specifically as an approach to helping communities reflect on, challenge and change their values, norms and practices and to decide together on the sort of community they want to be.

Like the initiatives with men and youth who want to change discussed in section 2 above, Community Conversations draws on the insights of the work of Paulo Freire (1968). It is based on the practice of freedom: 'the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world.'

The Sisters of Notre Dame in Banz have trained a team of core facilitators to use the methodology to help communities and youth to better understand the driving forces of the HIV epidemic and to take decisions on how they wish to protect their communities from its ravages. They have held Community Conversations in a number of villages and have worked with groups of youth across Jiwaka on Youth Community Conversations.

The evaluations of this work, and of the competency of the Community Conversations core facilitation team, have been very positive and supportive (Leach and Bal 2013).

The Community Conversations methodology was designed to be used to strengthen the capacity of communities to reflect on and change the values and practices that drive violence against women and girls in their families, public spaces, village institutions and other places. Relevant materials for PNG contexts have been produced. However, it is a methodology that requires extensive training and high levels of competency in its use (Lewis and Bradley 2013: 69). It also requires a commitment by the community to participate over time in these conversations.

There are other approaches that work to change specific issues. In India entire villages are taking pledges against early marriage, against the giving or taking of dowry (a form of bride price) and to make wives joint owners of their property (Das and Singh 2014: 73)

Jiwaka has some examples of communities coming together and deciding to change in a particular way: to be a rape free village or an alcohol and drugs free community. These community pledges can transform communities.

However, community pledges to change in Jiwaka have often ceased to be effective because they do not have within them any sanctioning mechanisms. That is, how the community will handle situations when individuals or families or institutions are not honouring the pledge.

It is not difficult to identify possible sanctioning mechanisms. One such might be that the village leaders call another meeting for the community to reconsider the pledge and renew its commitment, or change it.

Many of the recommendations for change identified during the Survey could be addressed through community pledges: limiting compensations payments, not sheltering community member from the law, no compensation for rape, setting a limit for bride price, requiring men to financially support the children they father, limiting or abolishing alcohol consumption in the village and many more.

FINDING 6: USING THE POWER OF ONE'S POSITION TO REDUCE VIOLENCE TO WOMEN AND GIRLS IN JIWAKA PROVINCE.

The Survey shows, including in the participants that attended, that amongst the people in Jiwaka who do not want harm to come to women and girls, there are many people in positions of power and influence. These include Ward Councillors, Police Commandant, Church leaders, public servants in education, health, and social services, traditional leaders, youth leaders, staff of the Village Courts system and others.

Due to their positions of influence and their decision making powers, these people can be influential in the development and implementation of effective policies, by-laws and strategies against violence to women and girls, in the allocation of budgetary resources to these initiatives and in changing cultural and institutionalised perceptions about violence to women.

Most of these people in positions of power are men. Rather than making them uncomfortable about or ashamed of the power and privilege they enjoy, this strategy encourages supportive men to use their power and privileges creatively and responsibly.

For the decisions taken and policies adopted by those in positions of power to be of benefit to women, women must participate in the debates, discussion and decision-making. Men are taking the decisions but men find it difficult to put themselves in women's shoes. Women's perspectives, priorities and competencies differ from men's just because their lives differ. Their voices and viewpoints need to be heard.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

6.1. Encourage those in positions of power to use their networks, influence and power to reduce violence to women and girls. Support and resource women's organisations and networks that work on prevention of violence against women; provide support to women survivors; and focus on changing attitudes in relation to violence against women and girls.

6.2. Encourage those in positions of power to use their networks, influence and power to increase women's presence at and participation in their institutions and networks.

Those in positions of power who are concerned about the lives of women and girls can be of immense support in the response to violence against women.

Barrick Gold Corporation, which has supported and co-funded the Survey, has adopted a policy that violence against women is a serious crime and will not be tolerated at any workplace owned or operated by Barrick Gold Corporation.

A framework of initiatives being developed by Barrick Gold Corporation and the Porgera Joint Venture as part of their response to specific incidents involving sexual violence against women residing in the Porgera Valley, perpetrated by men who were employed at the Porgera mine.

The policy states that Barrick Gold expects all our employees to obey the law and to conduct themselves to high ethical standards, consistent with the company's Code of Business Conduct and Ethics:

We have zero tolerance for human rights violations and will investigate all reports, suspicions or rumours of human rights abuses and take strong and appropriate action. Our policy is clear, any employee implicated in serious human rights violations or other serious crimes, or who has direct knowledge of but fails to report such incidents, will be terminated (Barrick Gold Corporation 2011).

Where those standards have not been met, we recognize that it is our responsibility to ensure that there is effective remediation. This framework fulfils our promise to the women of the Porgera Valley. We will uphold your rights and we will protect your dignity. In particular, we will assist victims to have access to justice and just results (Barrick Gold Corporation).

Another example of a company using its power to address violence against women in the region is found in Case Study no. 70. In this Case Study, the wife tells of how, when her husband's company found out the he was in a polygamous marriage, he was sacked, as polygamy is against the company policy.

The partnership between Voice for Change and the Minj and Banz Police is another example of persons in positions of power using that power to mitigate and reduce violence to women and to bring the perpetrators of violence to the courts of law.

Ward councillors, members of the District Development Authorities and others working in Local Level Government who are committed to improving women's lives are in a position to introduce and enforce by-laws, to educate and advocate for change and to provide guidance to others, especially through their own behaviour towards the women in their families, on their staff, their colleagues and other women.

They, along with Church authorities, are in key positions to encourage men not to be bystanders when violence to women occurs. They can set principled standards which may help restore the moral compass of communities, for example, by advocating that men participate more in family life or by helping people understand that violence to women and girls is not an acceptable response in any situation.

Also the important role can play the Jiwaka Provincial Government. It can develop, endorse and resource the Jiwaka Provincial Gender Based Violence / Violence Against Women and Girls Strategy or Policy and supporting Action Plan, that would include establishing relevant and adequate support services and referral pathways for victims/ survivors of violence (including engagement of courts, Police, health services, psychological / counselling services, safe houses, etc.). This could be done through introducing a Jiwaka Provincial working group, which would be made up of representatives from the Government, Police, NGOs, health services and other relevant stakeholders. The Jiwaka Provincial Government should work in close collaboration with women's organisations and networks that are currently active in the area of prevention of violence against women.

FINDING 7: THOSE WHO COMMIT VIOLENCE TOWARDS WOMEN AND GIRLS MUST BE HELD TO ACCOUNT FOR THEIR ACTIONS.

The Survey showed that few of the men who are the perpetrators of violence against women and girls are likely to face the legal consequences of their behaviour. Nor do they face the moral condemnation of their families, traditional leaders or church members. Accountability for or acceptance of responsibility for their actions does not seem to be expected of men.

The Survey identified a lack of police presence, of bribery and corruption, of indifference or worse to the suffering of women, and of bias against women in the Village Courts system as seriously contributing to the breakdown of law and order. It has led to more and more criminal cases being heard by the traditional leaders and in informal mechanisms.

The Survey shows that the widespread use of compensation is resulting in a culture of impunity. Those who commit criminal offenses are not being punished by the formal courts of law and are living freely in their communities.

These problems predate the creation of the new Province in Jiwaka but they have been worsened by the disruptions caused by its establishment.

Most issues of concern to women are adjudicated in the community or in the family. Even if an issue of concern to women make its way in the village court system, it is difficult for women to get a fair hearing. Bribery distorts access to and the outcomes of the Village Courts system to favour men over women. The use of bribes reflects and reinforces traditional beliefs about male superiority and female submission to the male and these traditional beliefs pervade the workings of the courts.

This creates a sense of helplessness in women, a feeling that they are excluded from the spaces of conflict resolution and decision making and that they are not valued in the community. They feel that within these systems, such practices deny them justice.

Priority must be given to strengthening the law and justice sector in Jiwaka. The Survey showed how little respect the population has for the Police and how slight its presence is in communities.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

7.1. Strengthening the law and justice sector in the Province.

7.2. Continuing the strengthening of the Village Court System.

7.3. Civic education on accessing the law and justice sector.

It is critical that high priority be given to the strengthening of the law and justice sector in Jiwaka. The Provincial Government must take ownership and strengthen the sector.

The Survey provides evidence of the positive ways that a functioning law and justice system can support and protect women. Where the police take violence to women and girls seriously women's lives can be transformed. Case Study no 54 tells of the way that a woman violently treated by her husband successfully brought him to court and how in the process he himself came to regret his treatment of her and decided to change. He has not become an advocate for change with other men.

The Village Court Secretariat has worked hard in recent years to make the Village Courts system a more just, fair and respectful place for women. The Provincial Government should support and expand these efforts.

Women and girls who are survivors of violence and who want to access the police, the Village Courts system and the formal courts need to have considerable financial resources to be able to do this. High priority should be placed by the Provincial Government on ensuring that women are not denied access because of the formal or informal fees structures.

People need to know the law and the legal system. The Survey showed a deep desire on the part of the people of Jiwaka, not only for a strong law and justice sector, but also for them to understand how it works and how they can access it. Thought should be given to how best to respond to this need.

FINDING 8: INCLUSION OF THE ABANDONED AND MARGINALISED BACK INTO SOCIETY SHOULD BE A PRIORITY.

The Survey shows the disturbing extent of abandonment, marginalisation and neglect that violence to women and girls in Jiwaka causes: women reduced to poverty, children unable to begin or complete their education, children left without parental guidance and direction, mothers turning to sex work to support their children, young girls sold off or made pregnant.

These victims of the extent of violence to women and girls that occurs in Jiwaka need to be reintegrated into society.

This finding suggests the following operational strategies to address the issue:

- 8.1. Ensuring that children out of school have access to education and health services.**
- 8.2. Supporting the re-integration of youth in Jiwakan society.**
- 8.3. Creating contexts in which women can contribute to the development of the Province. Prioritise approaches that increase participation of women in community decision-making and village courts, as well as in development activities at provincial level.**

The children who have been the victims of polygamy, neglect and other forms of societal breakdown resulting in their being taken out of school or being denied access to health services cannot just be abandoned. Policies and programs need to be developed to draw them back into Jiwakan society.

The Serendipity Education Endowment Fund (SEEF) was designed to address this issue in families where one or both parents are HIV infected. It could provide some guidance for a programmatic response for all children who have been excluded from education. There are two SEEF partners in Jiwaka - the Sisters of Notre Dame in Banz and Voice for Change. Through this scheme, HIV-infected parents work with the partner organisations to ensure that their children can receive an education.

Youth also have been the victims of the extensive societal breakdown that has occurred in Jiwaka. They have also been caught in the transitions that are occurring from a family based society to a society structured by the values of capital. They too need to be drawn back into and along with the emerging new Jiwaka. Political will is needed to support youth groups and initiatives, to develop training schemes, to devise employment opportunities and other programs for youth.

If the women of Jiwaka were freed from the paralysing effect of violence on their lives, they would be able to better contribute to the development of Jiwaka. The women of Jiwaka have shown themselves to be resourceful and hardworking. In a less violent and gender divided, a more harmonious and equitable world, they could direct their energies and skills to the development of their families and communities and to the Province.

Jimi research team, September 2013



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WOMEN DREAM OF CHANGE

**WOMEN WANT CHANGE IN MEN,
IN SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS, IN PATTERNS
OF SOCIAL ORGANISATION, AND
IN COMMUNITY NORMS, VALUES
AND PRACTICES.**

**WOMAN, CHILDREN AND THE WHOLE
COMMUNITY WANT CHANGES IN THE
COMMUNITY. THEY ALSO WANT LAW
AND ORDER TO BE STRENGTHENED IN
THE COMMUNITY.**

(KARPA, MATURE WOMEN'S GROUP)

