

Unintended Impacts: Resource Extraction Wealth, Polygyny and
Violence Against Women in the Hela Province of Papua New Guinea

Amie Kirkham

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Abstract

Violence against women is widespread in Papua New Guinea (PNG), particularly in the Highlands region, and has been demonstrated to be reinforced by customs such as polygyny. While resource extraction projects provide an important opportunity to achieve national and regional development, new wealth flows introduced by resource extraction have the potential to change customs that affect women and impact on violence against women in project affected areas. The Hela Province of PNG is in the construction phase of a multi-billion dollar Liquefied Natural Gas Project (LNGP), an extraction project of unprecedented scale in PNG. A significant amount of wealth is being distributed into the Hela Province by the LNGP. Using data from ten in-depth interviews and 11 focus group interviews with 71 female and three male participants from Huli communities living in the Hela Province, this study finds that wealth introduced into the Hela Province from the LNGP is affecting the custom of polygyny as well as having impacts on sexual relationships and family life. In addition, violence against women and family neglect are identified as some of the follow-on effects of the changes to polygyny and sexual relationships. The findings therefore suggest that wealth from the LNGP is exacerbating pre-existing social problems in the Hela Province. The study concludes by identifying three policy recommendations and delineating some critical avenues for future research.

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List of Acronyms

BDG	Business Development Grants
BHP	Broken Hill Propriety
BSG	Business Seed Grants
CDOA	Coordinated Development and Operating Agreement
CIF	Community Investment Trust
CRA	Conzine Riotinto of Australia
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DF	Development Forum
EHL	Esso Highlands Limited
FGT	Future Generations Trust
GDP	Gross Domestic Profit
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
IDG	Infrastructure Development Grants
ILG	Incorporated Land Group
IPBC	Independent Public Business Corporation
K	Kina
LANCO	Landowner Company
LNG	Liquefied Natural Gas
LNGP	Liquefied Natural Gas Project
MDC	Mine Development Contract
MMSD	Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development
MRDC	Mineral Resource Development Corporation

PNG	Papua New Guinea
PNG - LRC	Papua New Guinea – Law Reform Commission
UNDP	United Nations Development Program

Pidgin Terms

<i>Anda</i>	Enclosed private space
<i>Bigman</i>	Traditional system of power and authority in the Highlands region of Papua New Guinea
<i>Bigheaded</i>	Describe women who act in their own interest or outside of the role that is considered appropriate for women
<i>Brukim</i>	Breaks
<i>Develop-man</i>	The moment in Papua New Guinean history when indigenous people used Western goods and services.
<i>Hama</i>	Public spaces of ceremonial display and oratory
<i>Hongo</i>	Moral and physical strength
<i>Huli Mana</i>	Traditional lore or cultural knowledge
<i>Jelas tumas long pig-moni</i>	Family members who are greedy for bride price/women being treated like market goods (Wardlow, 2006)
<i>Kalapim</i>	Jumps over
<i>Laniap</i>	Pack rape, when a women is raped by multiple men, usually by <i>raskols</i>
<i>Ngubi</i>	Smelly
<i>Oslem maket</i>	Market goods
<i>Raskols</i>	Criminal gangs
<i>Tok Pisin</i>	Dialect of pidgin spoken in the Highlands region of Papua New Guinea
<i>Wali ore</i>	Good women
<i>Wantok</i>	Family/language group

Tok Ples:

Talk place, people who speak the same local dialect are considered to be part of the same *wantok*/familial group

Key terms

Polygamy	Overarching term for marriage with more than one man or woman (Zeitzen, 2008).
Polygyny	The form of polygamy where one man has multiple wives (Zeitzen, 2008).
Bride price	Refers to the exchange of goods or cash from the would-be husband's clan to the wife's clan. This signifies marriage in many parts of Papua New Guinea.
Violence against women	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 (Ellsberg et al., 2008).
Kina	National currency of Papua New Guinea.

Introduction

I. Overview

In 2010, the construction phase of the Liquefied Natural Gas Project (LNGP) began in the Hela Province of Papua New Guinea (PNG). The project is of unprecedented scale and will extract natural gas located primarily in the Hela Province in the Highlands region of PNG. The gas will be transported through an onshore pipeline to the coast near Port Moresby before continuing through an offshore pipeline to a liquefaction plant located at Caution Bay.

The PNG Government, in partnership with Esso Highlands Limited (EHL)¹, are investing large amounts of wealth and distributing a significant amount of cash into communities living in the Hela Province. Wealth is being introduced into the province through royalty and equity payments, investment in local business development², formal employment³, training and up-skilling programmes, local supply of goods and services and cash payments for resettlement of landowners (McIlraith, Robinson, Lesley Pyrambone, Petai, Sinebare, Darshiney & Maiap, 2012).

Resource extraction is often welcomed by local communities in PNG and is seen as one of the only opportunities to achieve national and regional development. Davis and Tilton (2005) argue that resource extraction provides an opportunity for states to raise absolute poverty, invest in human development and achieve economic development. Accompanied with good governance, sensible spending, policy and stabilisation funds to mitigate price fluctuation and investment in additional industries, resource extraction can facilitate national development as experienced in Chile and Botswana (Davis & Tilton, 2005). EHL, as part of their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) approach, report a range of development initiatives that have already been successful in the Hela Province including improvements to healthcare, education, water sanitation, government capacity building and planning and the construction of infrastructure (ExxonMobil, 2011a). The Managing Director of EHL, Peter Graham, asserts “strong communities will be

¹ Esso Highlands Limited is the project operator on behalf of Exxon Mobil.

² Includes Business Development Seed Grants, Landowner companies and Incorporated Landowner Groups.

³ Formal employment for the project is comprised of 80 per cent PNG nationals.

in a good position to take full advantage of the economic benefits to come from the PNG LNG Project” (ExxonMobil, 2011a, p.2).

In contrast, ‘resource curse’ literature established by Auty (1992) and Sachs and Warner (1995) argue that states whose Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is dependent on resource extraction projects, like in PNG, usually have lower than average economic growth rates, high levels of corruption and higher than average levels of poverty (Sachs & Warner, 1995).

Concerning the particular region of PNG, an additional body of literature from scholars such as Banks (1996, 2001, 2002, 2005, 2008) and Filer (1990, 1996, 1999a) claim that rapid introduction of extraction wealth can create dramatic social upheaval in Melanesia. Banks (1996) argues that the introduction of extraction wealth can exacerbate existing social problems and fail to address longer term social and economic development issues. Macintyre (2011) and Banks (2009) further discuss the exaggerated vulnerability of women to experience these social impacts in PNG which stem from pre-existing gender inequalities that exist in local communities.

Some customs that operate within the traditional system that dictates social life in many PNG communities work to reinforce gender inequality and the low status of women. One of these customs is polygyny, where men can choose to marry more than one woman. Traditionally, excess wealth was used by men through expenditure on bride price, to gain additional wives and would increase a man’s status within their community. Violence against women is widespread in PNG and previous research has linked the custom of polygyny with violence against women and neglect of children from polygynous marriages (Dinnen & Thompson, 2004; Bonnell, 1999). Based on this previous research the present study thus suggests that the rapid introduction of wealth from an extraction project, particularly of the scale introduced by the LNGP, has the potential to impact on customs such as polygyny.

II. Research Question

The overarching research question for this thesis is: *To what extent is wealth introduced by the LNGP having an impact on the custom of polygyny in the Hela Province of Papua New Guinea?*

To answer this question ten in-depth interviews and 11 focus-group interviews with 71 female and three male participants from Huli communities living in the Hela Province were analysed.

The data was collected in three stages between December 2010 and December 2011 by a research team led by Dr James McIlraith from the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago. Interview participants are a combination of key informants and local community members. This study conducts supplementary analysis of this data that was collected for a wider social impact evaluation of the LNGP. My own involvement in the project involved participation in a two-day LNGP partner meeting in Goroka during a four week visit to the Highlands region from November-December, 2011.

III. Thesis Purpose

By investigating the extent to which LNGP wealth is impacting on the custom of polygyny, this thesis begins to fill a gap in current literature of how the LNGP is affecting violence seen through the custom of polygyny. In keeping with current peace and conflict studies literature, this thesis takes Galtung's (1990) definition of violence as consisting of direct, structural and cultural forms. This definition of violence includes the *use* of violence as well as the *legitimation of the use* of violence and concerns "any avoidable insult to basic human needs, and more generally life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible" (Galtung, 1990, p.292). Social life in the Hela Province operates largely along traditional and customary lines and some elements of culture and custom normalise violence against women in these regions. Polygyny is identified as an element of cultural violence, according to Galtung's (1990) definition, and has been associated with violence against women (Dinnen &

Thompson, 2004; Bonnell, 1999). Investigating the impacts of LNGP wealth on the custom of polygyny allows for one element of violence to be explored.

IV. Limitations

This thesis contains two main limitations. The first limitation is that interview participants were not selected using random sampling, thus the results cannot be taken as indicative of the Hela population as a whole. The overwhelming majority of interview participants are women with 71 female and three male participants. Nevertheless, while a balanced gender perspective would have been interesting, the difficulty of accessing women's viewpoints in the Highlands region of PNG means this study gives voice to a group that is not as often heard (Ellsberg, Bradley, Egan & Haddad, 2008).

Secondly, this thesis conducts supplementary analysis of data that was gathered for a wider social impact evaluation. While the interviews were not designed to specifically investigate polygyny the current study is an in-depth investigation into one of the social impacts noted in the earlier study; expanding the research into gender issues and the impacts of resource wealth.

V. Thesis Structure

This thesis contains six chapters. Chapter One provides a context for the research by explaining the conflict in PNG and the LNGP, and providing some background to the Hela Province, the Huli ethno-linguistic group and the wealth that is entering the province. Chapter Two is divided into two parts: Part One presents literature on resource extraction projects in developing countries, specifically literature that discusses social impacts that wealth from extraction projects in Melanesia can have for communities located in project affected areas as well as literature that identified the vulnerability of women to experience the social impacts. Part Two discusses expanded understandings of violence including direct, structural and cultural forms; direct and cultural violence against women in PNG; and the role and position of women in Huli communities. Chapter Three details the research design and method used for the current study. Chapter Four outlines the results found through analysing the in-depth and focus-group interviews and explains key

themes that were identified. Chapter Five revisits the research question and discusses the results in the context of the material previously outlined. Lastly, Chapter Six identifies conclusions, outlines implications and recognises areas for further research.

1 Chapter One: Conflict in PNG, Social Context and the Liquefied Natural Gas Project

1.1 Chapter Outline

This chapter establishes a context for the current study and will be separated into two parts. Firstly, conflicts that exist in PNG are outlined followed by an introduction of the LNGP, the Hela Province, Huli ethno-linguistic groups and wealth flows that are entering the Hela Province.

I: Conflict in PNG

With over 800 different languages spoken, PNG is arguably the most ethnically fragmented place on earth (Dinnen & Thompson, 2004). Identity is grounded in tribal, clan and sub-clan groups, subsequently the population lacks national identity or notions of citizenship. This creates an uneasy and often dysfunctional relationship with the democratic political system that unifies the country (Dinnen & Thompson, 2004). Conflict in PNG is widespread and often loosely distributed into four categories: electoral, criminal, tribal, or motivated by resource extraction. Central to each form of conflict is weak central government and as Kopi, Hinton, Robinson, Maiap, and Gunman (2011) explain, “[t]he law and justice sector is constrained in its ability to deal with the scale of the problem” (p.1). The following sections outline traditional understandings of conflict in PNG and introduce modern forms of conflict that exist in PNG, including weak central government and election conflict, criminal conflict, tribal conflict and lastly resource conflicts.

1.2 Traditional Understandings of Conflict

Traditionally, conflict in PNG was driven by “competition over ownership, access and use of resources, particularly land, women and pigs” (Yala, 2002, p.7). Banks (2008) highlights identity in PNG as being “strongly grounded in webs and networks of social relationships that incorporate elements of the natural environment” (p.26). Banks (2008) argues that the resources of land, women and pigs are strongly associated with the construction of these webs and networks of social relationships and thus conflict was motivated by resources and identity.

Lacking an overarching authority, conflict and the use of violence were viewed as important and an inevitable mechanism to maintain and establish power and authority among competitive tribal groups (Yala, 2002). McLeod (2002) adds that other mechanisms to deal with grievances included negotiation, threat of violence and redress, mediation and compensation. Yala (2002) explains that traditionally young men only trusted their blood relatives and all other men were viewed as suspicious and as potential enemies. This meant tribal, family and individual survival relied on suspicion and mistrust and men “were expected to be alert, vigilant and fully armed at all times” (Yala, 2002, p.7).

Banks (2008) maintains that traditionally conflict was never over a single event and was never fully resolved. Although temporary resolution could be achieved, these past disputes would form the background to new conflicts in the future. Compensation payments were about restoring balance to relationships and not aimed to entirely resolve conflict (Banks, 2008). Thus, conflict was situated in history and political affairs and could be understood as “the creation, maintenance and restoration of networks of social relationship, all of which feed into the construction of group identity” (Banks, 2008, p.27).

Traditionally, conflict settlement was undertaken with community participation through consensus building among conflicting parties (Yala, 2002). Sometimes conflict settlement involved outside mediators and “the actual process of traditional conflict resolution resembled modern court hearings” (Yala, 2002, p.7).

1.3 Modern Conflict

Since the mid-1980s conflict in PNG has changed steadily from its traditional form (Garap, 2004). While many of the traditional motivations for conflict remain, new causes of conflict include a weak state authority, the emergence of *raskols* (criminal gangs), exacerbation of traditional tribal conflict through election competition and firearms, and resource extraction. These forms of conflict will be discussed in the following sections.

1.3.1 Weak State Authority

As previously mentioned, PNG contains over 800 ethno-linguistic groups, the population possesses a limited notion of national identity, and the PNG Government lacks legitimacy with little or no influence in many areas (Banks, 2008). Yala (2002) notes that “as one moves from the centre (capital cities/towns) to the periphery (local remote areas) the application and enforcement of modern laws diminish” (p.9). In many areas traditional structures of power and authority govern social life. The representative democratic system implemented with PNG’s independence from Australia’s colonial rule in 1975 has fused with the traditional *bigman* system of authority motivating corruption, election and political conflict (Dinnen & Thompson, 2004). In the traditional *bigman* leadership system, leaders were selected by the community based on their leadership ability and credibility. Yala (2002) discusses how politicians are now elected based on their wealth and education. This creates confusion for voters deciding who is the most qualified for political representation.

Reilly (2008) argues that in some provinces people now see government positions as one of the only opportunities for financial gain and having contacts in government is seen as necessary for financial success. Tribal loyalties play a significant role in election procedures as political candidates rely on their tribesmen for support. Further, tribal affiliations also play an influential role in the distribution of state resources and have become a major source of contention motivating political conflict (Yala, 2002).

The 2002 elections were criticised as the worst in PNG’s history. These elections saw “numerous instances of bribery, intimidation and other electoral offences, including multiple voting, hijacking of ballot boxes and, in the Southern Highlands Province particularly, large-scale electoral violence” (Reilly, 2008, p.16), which restricted large numbers of people from voting. This form of ‘gun point democracy’ is not present in all regions of PNG but is concentrated in the Highlands provinces of Simbu, Enga and the Southern and Eastern Highlands

Provinces where traditional clan rivalries are the most violent⁴ (Rielly, 2008). Further, Port Moresby is experiencing increasing levels of political violence as tribal and clan rivalries established in the Highlands are relocated into the urban setting. This can be seen in the growing number of *raskol* gangs, which are commonly formed along clan lines (Rielly, 2008).

1.3.2 Raskols and Criminality

Raskols, or criminal gangs, are increasingly common in many parts of PNG. Highway hold-ups by *raskols* and hold-ups outside service centres is a growing problem in urban and Highlands regions partly caused by limited economic opportunity for PNG youth (Yala, 2002). Dinnen and Thompson (2004) report that of the 50,000 young people who enter the job market each year only 20,000 gain employment. The annual build up of unemployed young people in PNG, centred in urban areas, contributes to criminal violence and the prevalence of *raskol* gangs as young people look for alternative forms of income. Dinnen and Thompson (2004) report “groups of predominantly young males engage in criminal activities ranging from minor assaults, car-jacking, housebreaking and highway hold-ups, to armed robberies, pack rapes and murder” (p.5).

Raskols are closely associated with violence against women and are notorious for *lainup* (pack rapes), where a woman is raped by multiple perpetrators belonging to the same *raskol* gang (Dinnen & Thompson, 2004). Dinnen and Thompson (2004) state that “women and girls encountered in the course of a housebreaking, robbery, or car jacking, are routinely subjected to sexual assaults, almost as incidental to the ‘main’ crime” (p.5).

1.3.3 Tribal Conflict

Tribal conflict is common in PNG, especially in the Highlands region where tribal rivalries are more pronounced and competitive. As previously mentioned, traditionally tribal conflicts were fought over women, pigs and land resources. While the motivations for conflict remain consistent the nature of tribal fighting

⁴ The Hela Province was included in the Southern Highlands Province at the time this article was written.

has changed significantly in recent years (Banks, 2008). Traditional weapons such as bows, arrows, spears and clubs, have been replaced with high-powered firearms and home-made guns (United Nations Human Rights Commission, 2010). Alpers (2005) reports that in 1986 the first home-made gun was used in a tribal conflict and high-powered factory made guns were introduced in the 1990s. The introduction of high-powered weapons has dramatically increased rates of death and injury exacerbating the impact of tribal conflict on people in affected areas. High-powered weapons have become an object of pride and have increased the influence of wealthy businessmen who supply arms for many tribal conflicts (Dinnen & Thompson, 2004). In addition, hired mercenaries are now commonly paid to fight in tribal conflict. These fighters are usually paid in cash, goods and women.

Traditional rules that previously governed tribal conflict have been decreasing since the mid-1980s (Garap, 2004). Tradition dictates, for example, that rich men, women and children should not be killed in tribal warfare (Yala, 2002). Tribal conflict was fought by men on battle fields, people outside of this zone were not attacked as it was thought dishonourable to attack a defenceless person. Garap (2004) explains that these rules have not been adhered to for approximately 20 years. Kopi et al. (2011) maintain, “[o]ther than death and injury, social disruption, internal displacement and the destruction of livelihoods are the most obvious effects of tribal violence” (p.1). In addition, women and children are increasingly attacked in modern tribal conflict in order to provoke opposing clans, achieve vengeance or to shame enemy clans (Yala, 2002). Kopi et al. (2011) highlight one Hela Province resident’s account of violence against women in order to provoke a tribal conflict:

We don’t kill women. We only beat them up. Weather it’s the sister or mother we hit them with the stick to provoke our enemy. So they’ll feel the pain and go. Naked we send them to their people for their brothers and fathers to see. We send them away, forcing them to go themselves to their people. “Ok, here comes your daughter or your sister”, that’s what we say. This will provoke them so they’ll come and fight with us (p.5).

As previously mentioned, another factor exacerbating tribal conflict is the uneven distribution of state resources along tribal lines. The uneven distribution of state

resources and uneven access to state services like education and health care fuels contention between tribes on either side of service allocation. Destruction of state service infrastructure by members of tribes that do not receive services is a common initiator of tribal conflict (Yala, 2002).

1.3.4 Resource Conflict

Resource extraction in PNG is characterised by conflict and instability (Banks, 2001). The most notable example is the 10-year civil war on the PNG island of Bougainville where a separatist movement was ignited by grievances surrounding the Panguna copper mine. Other high profile conflict over resource extraction include the closure of Conzine Riotinto of Australia's (CRA) Mt Kare operation after severe legal action was taken by landowners and the PNG Government who were excluded from the landowner negotiations and entitlement agreements in 1992 and the controversial pollution claims made by downstream landowners to the Ok Tedi mine which prompted legal action against Broken Hill Propriety (BHP) between 1994-96 (Banks, 2001).

Central to academic discussion on the causes of conflict surrounding resource extraction projects in PNG is the importance of land. Land remains essential to identity, as well as to practical survival, as it provides the foundation for subsistence agriculture for many communities in PNG (Banks, 2008). Social, environmental, and economic upheaval created by resource extraction and the distribution of revenues into landowning and affected communities motivates further conflict surrounding resource extraction. These arguments are detailed further in Chapter Two.

Banks (2008) maintains conflict motivated by resource extraction is consistent with traditional motivations for conflict, stating:

the logic of these broad, province or regional resource disputes fits comfortably within traditional conflict patterns. People and communities are seeking to restore or enhance their relative standing in regional and provincial contexts. It is primarily relational logic, and is concerned with the relationships between and among regional groups (p.28).

1.3.5 Conflict in the Hela Province

Conflict is prevalent in the Hela Province. Kopi et al. (2011) report “the region is characterised by conflict both between and within kin groups, raskolism and politically motivated violence” (p.3). The region is still experienced the return of tribal conflict, increased levels of violence, criminal activities and a widespread break-down in law and order that emerged in the 1980s (Kopi et al., 2011). Kopi et al. (2011) explain that the state police force in the Hela Province lack the resources required to achieve law and justice for the populations size. Limited road access and dispersed settlements in the Hela Province further complicate policing (Kopi et al., 2011). Most village courts do not operate in the Hela Province, and those that do have limited capacity to enforce decisions (Kopi et al., 2011). Haley and May (2003) report, in the wider region, “dispute resolution mechanisms are not equipped to counter new forms of fighting, which are larger in scale, more violent, and involve high-powered weapons” (p.3). The combination of the prevalence of conflict and violence and the lack of capacity to deal with law and order problems indicates that conflict will continue to impact on people living in the Hela Province in the future.

II: Social Context and the LNGP

1.4 The Hela Province

In early 2012 the Hela Province was created out of three regions from the Southern Highlands Province of PNG. The regions of Komo-Magarima, Koroba-Lake Kapiago and Tari-Pori now make up the Hela Province. The province covers 10,948 square kilometres and has a population of approximately 185,947 people with Huli being the largest ethno-linguistic group in the province (McIlraith et al., 2012). Figure 1, shown below, taken from Kopi et al.’s (2011) article shows the Hela Province and it’s former position within the Southern Highlands Province.

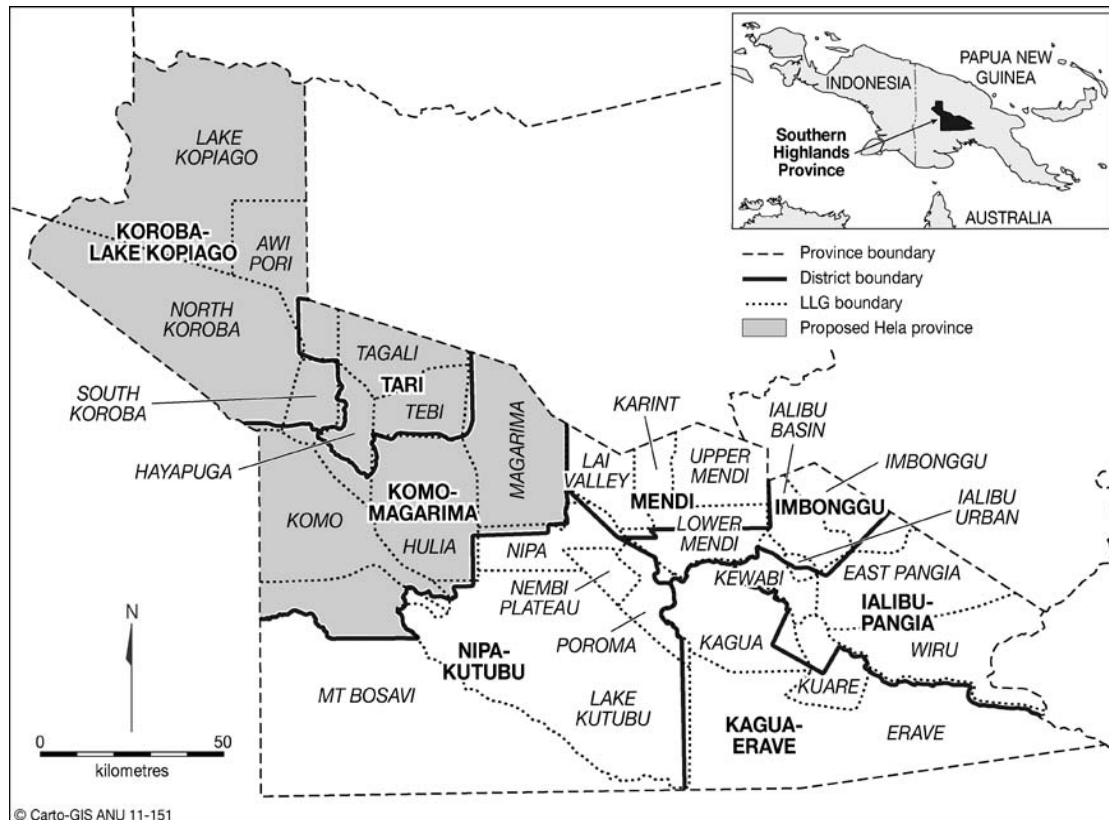


Figure 1: Map of the Southern Highlands and Hela Province (Kopi et al., 2011, p. 2)

Residents in the Hela Province rely heavily on subsistence farming supplemented with a small cash economy used to buy basic household goods such as cooking oil, tinned fish, rice and clothing (McIlraith et al., 2012). Prior to the LNGP, formal employment was limited in the province with the majority of cash income earned through the sale of garden foods, coffee and livestock. McIlraith et al. (2012) notes that money sent from family members working in other provinces is an important additional source of income for Hela residents. The Hela Province has no central electricity system and services that use electricity work on portable generators (McIlraith et al., 2012).

Tari is the largest settlement in the Hela Province containing an open air market, local government offices and the main provincial hospital. The Highlands Highway is the only land transport route connecting Tari and the wider Hela Province with the Highlands region and the rest of PNG (McIlraith et al., 2012). Reliable access to Tari is available through the Tari Airport which runs regular flights to Port Moresby, although the cost of air transport restricts the vast majority of Hela

residents from using these flights as a means of transport (McIlraith et al., 2012). Large parts of the Hela Province do not have any road infrastructure and are accessible only on foot.

The Hela Province has low literacy rates of 30 per cent for women and 41 per cent for men. Before the introduction of the LNGP, Hela was one of the most impoverished regions of PNG largely due to poor agricultural potential, limited access to roads, markets and public services that have been declining since 1980s (Kopi et al., 2011). Poor agricultural potential is exacerbated by high altitudes, steep slopes, flooding, poor soil and one main market for the entire province (McIlraith et al., 2012).

1.5 Huli Communities

Huli are the largest ethno-linguistic group in the Hela Province and are made up of between 300-400 patrilineal clans. McIlraith et al. (2012) explain:

Formed through successive waves of migration, social mapping and genealogical data shows that on the margins, many Huli trace their origins to neighbouring ethnic groups. For reasons such as conflict, drought and flooding as well as better hunting grounds or personal preference, Huli people migrated to temporary or permanent residence elsewhere in the Hela region with friends or relatives (p.2).

The make up of the Huli population in the Hela Province is a complex web of interconnection through family groups, land and people. Land is central to Huli identity. McIlraith et al. (2012) report 117 Huli communities will experience the majority of the project impacts of the construction phase of the LNGP. This population is estimated to be around 33,781 people (McIlraith et al., 2012).

1.6 Introducing the LNGP: Project Outline

The construction phase of the LNGP commenced in 2010 and is forecasted for completion in 2014. The LNGP will extract liquefied natural gas (LNG) primarily located in the Hela Province of the Highlands region of PNG. After extraction, the gas will be conditioned, then transported through an onshore pipeline to processing centres located at the coast near Port Moresby. Next, the gas will be

transported through an offshore pipeline to a LNG liquefaction plant at Caution Bay, before being transported to overseas markets. During the construction phase the pipeline will be built as well as a gas conditioning plant at Hides, in the Hela Province. The LNGP requires K36 billion⁵ of direct capital investment, is forecasted to generate between K200- K443 billion over a 30 year time span, and is the largest resource extraction project ever undertaken in PNG (McIlraith et al., 2012). Figure 1, shown below, details the geographic location of the pipeline and conditioning plant that are currently under construction.

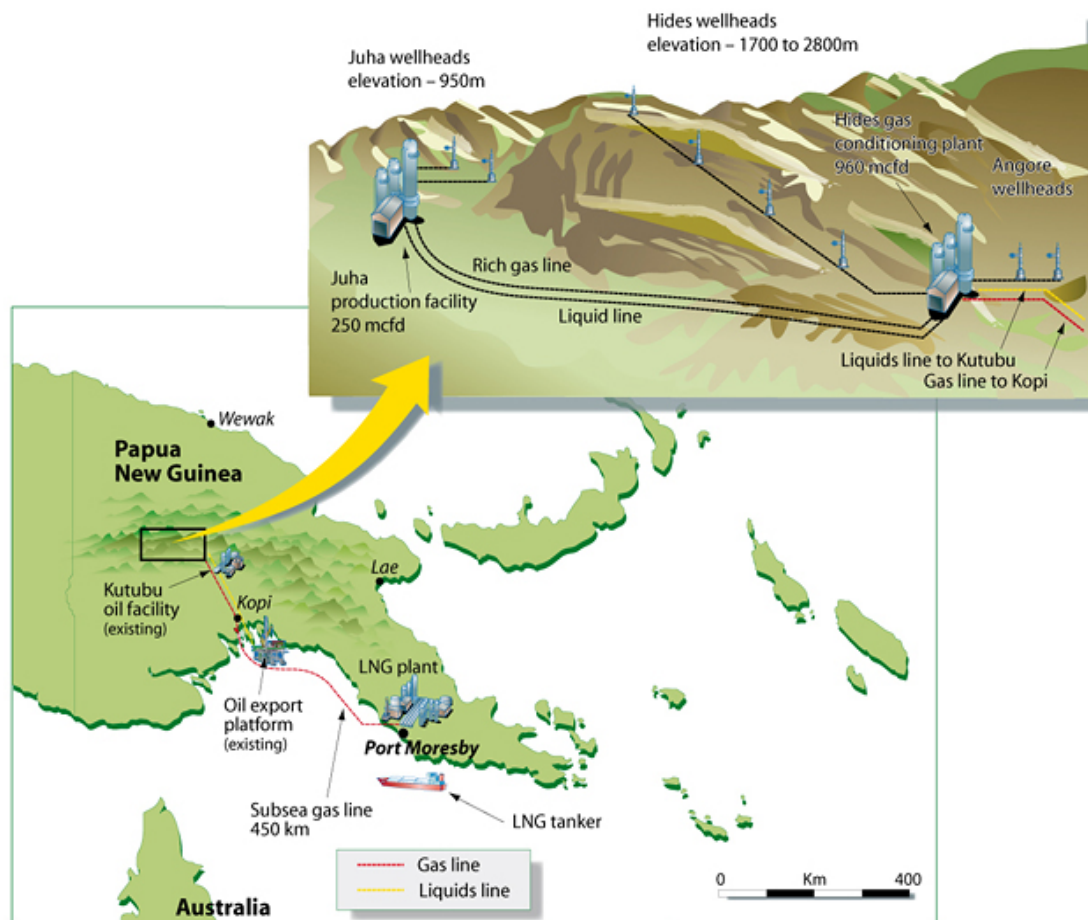


Figure 2: Map of LNGP Pipeline and Conditioning Plant (ExxonMobil, 2011b)

The LNGP is a joint project between Esso Highlands Limited as the operator for Exxon Mobil (33.2 per cent)⁶, Oil Search (29 per cent), Santos Limited (13.5 per cent), JZ Nippon Oil and Explorations Limited (4.7 per cent) and the PNG state and

⁵ McIlraith et al. (2012) uses ACIL Tasman's assumed currency conversion rate of \$1.00 United States Dollar to 3.06 Papua New Guinea Kina.

⁶ Percentage figures represent percentage of project ownership.

landowners (19.6 per cent). Petromin, the Mineral Resource Development Corporation (MRDC) and Independent Public Business Corporation (IPBC) of PNG hold the PNG Government's share of ownership (McIlraith et al., 2012).

1.7 Wealth Distributed into the Hela Province

Wealth from the LNGP is distributed into the Hela Province through royalty and equity payments, Business Development Seed Grants (BDGs), Landowner Companies (LANCOs), Incorporated Landowner Groups (ILGs), formal employment, training and up-skilling programmes, local supply of goods and services to the LNGP, and cash payments for resettlement of landowners (McIlraith et al., 2012).

Through benefit streams, landowners will receive cash benefits such as royalties, dividends on government equities and development levies. ILGs have been created to distribute benefit streams to affected landowners. ILGs recognise customary landowner groups within legal legislation establishing formal title and management rights over land.

Royalty payments from the LNGP are predicted to reach a total of K5.268 billion, over the projects 30 year life-span, and are distributed to provincial and local level governments (30 per cent) and landowners (70 per cent) (McIlraith et al., 2012). Allocation of royalty payments are 40 per cent in cash payments to beneficiaries, 30 per cent is put into a Future Generations Trust (FGT) and 30 per cent paid into a Community Investment Fund (CIF). The FGT will be invested to generate long-term income while the CIF will be used for community projects supporting healthcare, education and welfare in affected communities (McIlraith et al., 2012).

BDGs and LANCO organisations were set up to encourage local businesses to receive contracts from the LNGP. Smaller LANCOs are lumped together and collectively referred to as Umbrella LANCOs. Through either direct job creation with the LNGP or indirectly, through BDGs and LANCOs, employment for Hela Province residents was estimated to be between 12,000-15,000 during the construction phase (McIlraith et al., 2012). In September 2011 formal LNGP wage earners numbered approximately 11,000, of which 65 per cent were PNG citizens.

Half of these were employed through LANCOs indicating that approximately 3,520 were from local communities in the Hela Province. When the construction phase ends this number will reduce dramatically leaving approximately 1,200 jobs, of which 80 per cent will be PNG nationals. There is no indication of how many of these PNG nationals will be from the Hela Province.

An additional K1.2 billion will be available to sub-national government entities for development infrastructure in Infrastructure Development Grants (IDGs) over two five-year periods (McIlraith et al., 2012). High impact infrastructure is planned for township developments, key roads, and bridges and is anticipated to generate further business and employment opportunities (McIlraith et al., 2012). Business Seed Grants (BSGs) of K120 million are available for investment projects by LANCOs (McIlraith et al., 2012). Lastly, tax credits are also available to joint venture partners who can expend up to 1.25 per cent of tax payable on their assessable income on approved infrastructure construction to an estimated value of K490 million over thirty years (McIlraith et al., 2012).

McIlraith et al. (2012) assert:

an estimated total of K3.7 billion in royalties, K4.5 billion in CDOA⁷ equity and potentially around K6 billion in Kroton equity, will accrue to landowners alone. Taking only the 40 per cent of royalty and CDOA equity payments to be provided as cash payments, the estimates suggest that around K3,200 would be available per person per year; this would amount to around K18,000 per year for each household (p.36).

These estimations signify a dramatic increase in annual income from 1990 estimates that reported K20 per person per year (McIlraith et al., 2012). In addition, FGT and CIF estimates equate to an additional K28,000 per household per year which is directed towards community development. This data emphasises the scale of wealth distributed into the Hela Province and provides a context of the social environment that the wealth will enter.

The following chapter will detail the literature that discusses the social impact that wealth from extraction projects can have for communities located in project

⁷ Coordinated Development and Operating Agreement

affected areas, the vulnerable position of women to experience these impacts and outline the wider conceptions of violence, violence against women in PNG and the role and position of women in Huli communities.

2 Chapter Two: Resource Extraction and Violence Against Women in PNG

2.1 Chapter Outline

This chapter will begin by presenting literature on resource extraction projects in developing countries; specifically the literature which discusses social impacts that wealth from extraction projects can have for communities located in project-affected areas in Melanesia followed by the gendered impacts of resource extraction that leave women in PNG more vulnerable to experiencing these impacts. Next, the chapter discusses expanded understandings of violence including it's direct, structural and cultural forms; direct and cultural violence in PNG; and the role and position of women in Huli communities.

I: Resource Extraction Wealth and Social Impacts for Local Communities

2.2 Social Impacts of Extraction Wealth

A range of literature discusses the positive and negative potential of resource extraction in developing countries. Accounts of positive potential are maintained by Davis and Tilton (2005) who argue that resource extraction provides an important opportunity for developing countries to reduce absolute poverty, invest in human development and achieve economic development that can benefit the entire population. Davis and Tilton (2005) maintain that when resource extraction is accompanied with good governance, sensible spending, policy and stabilisation funds to mitigate price fluctuation and investment in additional industries, resource extraction helps countries achieve national development as experienced in Chile and Botswana.

In contrast, 'resource curse' literature, established by Auty (1993) and Sachs and Warner (1995), argues that states whose GDP relies on resource extraction usually have lower than average economic growth rates, high levels of corruption and higher than average levels of poverty. Banks (2008) maintains that PNG fits easily within arguments on the resource curse explaining that PNG is:

heavily 'resource-dependent', has suffered from poor economic growth over the past two decades, and has experienced many conflicts in areas around resource developments ranging from family disputes over the distribution of compensation payments through to all-out civil war (p.23).

He continues by highlighting that while adhering to resource curse symptoms, other factors complicate resource extraction in PNG.

An additional area of literature focuses on the social impact that wealth from extraction projects has for communities located in project-affected areas. Scholars such as Banks (1996, 2001, 2005, 2008, 2009) and Filer (1990, 1996) argue that extraction projects are often conducted in isolated locations, in communities that are unprepared to deal with the influx of cash, infrastructure, and services that

accompany resource extraction endeavours. Under these conditions wealth flows can have extensive social impacts for the communities they enter and operate within.

Bainton (2010), Banks (1996, 2001, 2002, 2005, 2009), Banks and Gilberthorpe (2011), Bonnell (1994), Filer (1990, 1996, 1999a), Filer and Macintyre (2006) and Warden-Fernandez (2001) have established that extraction wealth causes dramatic social upheaval in affected communities in PNG. Further, the Mining, Minerals and Sustainable Development project (MMSD)⁸ recognises that wealth flows from resource extraction can have social and economic impacts for local communities.

In a MMSD baseline report on PNG's extractive industry, Banks (2001) argues that with a lack of previous exposure to large scale money transfer, wealth flows cause dramatic social and economic impacts in communities that receive them. In addition, he points out that since the closure of Panguna mine in Bougainville, direct wealth flows into communities have increased dramatically for a number of reasons which contribute to the 'power of the local' in PNG (Banks, 2001). 'The power of the local' in PNG refers to the influential role that local communities play in mineral extraction projects at all stages of development. When discussing mineral extraction in PNG, Filer (1990, 1996, 1999a), Filer and Macintyre (2006), Banks (2001, 2009) and Banks and Gilberthorpe (2011) highlight 'the power of the local' as exacerbating extraction related issues.

The scholars cited above argue that local communities in PNG play an influential role in resource development because 97 per cent of land in PNG is owned through customary land tenure (Banks & Gilberthorpe, 2011). This means that the overwhelming majority of land that is wanted for resource extraction is owned by local landowners, not the state. While the Mining Act 1992 stipulates that any resource contained in or below the surface of any land in PNG belongs to the state,

⁸ Administered by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) the Mining, Mineral and Sustainable Development project conducted two years of research, analysis and consultation with the goal of making the mining and minerals industry compatible with sustainable development goals.

the PNG Government recognises customary landowner status and this same act works to protect landowner rights (Banks, 2001).

In the 1980s local communities were introduced as valuable stakeholders. This shift was brought into legislation in the Mining Act 1992. The Act specifies that 20 per cent of government royalties must be paid to landowning communities in the mining lease area. Alternatively these royalties should be paid by the company directly to the agreed upon beneficiary as decided upon in the Mining Lease Agreement (MLA) (Banks, 2001). Cash compensation for landowning communities agreed on in compensation agreements must also be decided on before a mining lease is established. Previous occupation fees paid to local landowners introduced in the 1977 Mining Act were incorporated into the Mining Act 1992 (Banks, 2001).

Adding to this legislation, previous resource extraction projects in PNG have brought attention to the influential role communities can play in the project. In 1988 a civil war on the Papua New Guinean island of Bougainville was sparked by grievances exacerbated by the Panguna mine (Banks, 1996). As a result the PNG Government began distributing larger benefit packages directly into landowning communities. Banks (2001) reports some of the key changes to the state's approach to extraction of mineral resources from 1991 to 2001 as :

greater emphasis on the involvement of local communities in the mineral development process; a marked shift in the distribution of revenue flows from mining operations from central government to local communities and institutions; the de-facto surrender of state sovereignty over mineral resources with the payment of the full value of royalties from the sector to the local communities and provincial institutions (p.34).

Banks (2001) details the influential role of community, and especially landowner participation that begins at Exploration Lease (EL) hearings held in the proposed lease area. Communities are involved in negotiating compensation and relocation agreements as well as the Development Forum (DF); a process introduced in the Mining Act 1992. The DF is a negotiation between national, provincial and local-level governments, affected landowners and the mining corporation, which occurs prior to the issuing of any mining lease. Banks (2001) reports that the DF usually produces a tripartite set of agreements between national government, provincial

government and landowners as well as a Mine Development Contract (MDC) between the national government and the mining corporation. The DF in PNG is often cited as a model of 'good practice' for indigenous and landowner rights as it increases local participation (Pedro, 2006).

In sum, the influential position of local communities in PNG is due to 97 per cent of land being held in customary title, larger wealth flows being distributed directly into local communities and increased entitlements for local communities that were formalised in national legislation since the 1980s. These factors exaggerate the potential for negative social impacts that wealth flows can have as revenue packages continue to grow and wealth is increasingly distributed directly into local communities. Banks (2001) maintains that the re-distribution of wealth flows by local communities provides the basis for negative social impacts experienced by these communities. The influential position that local communities hold in resource extraction projects, and the subsequently wealth they receive, is one reason why communities experience dramatic social impacts in PNG.

2.3 Theories of Social Change from Wealth Flows: *Social Disintegration* and *Hyperdevelopment*

Two theories have emerged that explain the process of social change caused by wealth flows introduced from resource extraction projects in PNG; they are Colin Filer's (1990) theory of *social disintegration* and Glenn Bank's (2005) theory of *hyperdevelopment*.

Filer's (1990) theory of social disintegration was initially suggested as an explanation for the cause of conflict on Bougainville. He argues that any large compensation or benefit package for local communities in Melanesia will lead to rapid destruction of local societal norms and values that will result in conflict approximately 15 years after the extraction project began. The origin, he argues, lies in the inability of traditional forms of exchange and sociality to deal with the distribution of large sums of cash. This leads to internal inter-generational disputes between families over the equity of patterns of distribution. He maintains that Melanesian societies, where customary trade and exchange operates with

pigs and shell money, lack the capacity to deal with equitable distribution of millions of kina in cash. This inability to absorb wealth from extraction projects is the foundation for all cultural and social effects and is of primary importance in order to understand the likely impacts on communities from resource extraction projects.

Filer (1990) deconstructs his analysis of social disintegration into five elements of stratification, delineation, succession, distribution and inheritance. The *stratification* effect, which Filer (1990) maintains is the most important aspect will be explained here. Delineation, succession, distribution and inheritance are explained in the following paragraphs.

According to Filer (1990) stratification occurs when members of the same community experience different forms of development and opportunity made available by resource extraction wealth. The process of stratification creates new divisions, inequality and conflict within the community.

Divisions created by stratification lead to a demoralisation effect where communities can begin to feel overwhelmed by the extraction project. Pre-existing mechanisms of control are devalued as custom is replaced with dependency on the extraction project (Filer, 1990). Dependency on the extraction project causes community members to see the project as the source of all social problems as well as the only means which can provide a solution to these problems (Filer, 1990).

Bainton (2010) supports Filer's (1990) theory in his analysis of social change experienced with mining on Lihir⁹, and suggests that the process of social disintegration can be found in each of the major mining projects undertaken in PNG, including Ok Tedi, Porgera, Misima and Lihir. He argues that while each example is unique, common problems such as delineation of boundaries, benefit distribution, stratification of society, inheritance of resources and the succession to leadership have been experienced at all project sites. In addition, Banks and

⁹ Lihir, an island located in PNG's New Ireland Province, contains an open cast gold mine which began operation in 1996 and is currently being extracted from.

Gilberthorpe (2011) report that the process of social disintegration was experienced at the extraction sites of Porgera and Kutubu.

Banks (2005) argues *hyperdevelopment* can also explain the process of social change that wealth flows from extraction projects can create. Specific to Melanesia, he argues that the sudden influx of large amounts of cash, services and infrastructure over a short time-period can have disproportional impacts on communities. Under these conditions, resource extraction projects exacerbate existing social problems and fail to take into account longer-term social and economic development issues.

Banks (2005) points out that extraction projects are often conducted in remote geographic locations where people have had little exposure to global influences. Subsistence agriculture and traditional forms of non-monetary exchange remain the basis for social, economic, and political life in these societies. Banks (2005) suggests that:

global forces never extend their influence into areas that are blank slates, and global capital must always interact, in one way or another, with existing social and economic structures (p.140).

Banks (2005) asserts, that under these conditions, through the process of hyperdevelopment rapid introduction of wealth and development results in a mutated, enlarged version of what is considered normal and intensifies pre-existing social problems.

2.4 Community Destabilisation through Incompatible Structures

One theme found throughout the literature is the problematic relationship that exists between traditional and customary dynamics that dictate social life in PNG communities and company and government structures that accompany resource extraction projects. The remaining four of Filer's factors of social disintegration fit within this incompatibility and will be discussed in the following section. Banks (2009) discusses the uneasy relationship created on the basis of vastly different capacities, values and resources that influence community, company and government actors. The incompatibilities can be seen in understandings of the

value of land, community membership, leadership and kinship dynamics, as well as in-migration.

According to Banks (2001, 2009) and Filer (1990) land is one sphere where different understandings of value can cause conflict. For communities there is a strong cultural association to land as well as a pragmatic social and economic attachment as land provides the basis for survival through subsistence agriculture (Banks, 2001). A Bougainvillean man expresses the attachment to land as:

Land is our life. Land is our physical life – food and sustenance. Land is our social life: it is marriage; it is status; it is security; it is politics; in fact it is our only world. When you [the Administration] take our land, you cut away the very heart of our existence. We have little or no experience of social survival detached from the land. For us to be completely landless is a nightmare with no dollar in the pocket or dollar in the bank will allay; we are a threatened people (Dove, Miriung, & Togolo, 1974, p.182).

Attachment to land, as understood by communities in PNG, goes beyond the monetary value systems that are used by company and government entities (Banks, 2009). The different understanding of the value of land can cause problems, often unforeseen by all three actors, when making agreements and can generate grievances for landowners after relocation and compensation settlements have been agreed on (Banks, 2009).

Banks (2001) points out another area of contention is the understanding of what constitutes community membership, which can differ between company, government and community groups. While tribal or clan groups are easily distinguished, problems arise due to the fluidity of tribal and clan membership. For local communities, individuals who have been absent geographically for a long time may still be included as tribe or clan members (Banks, 2001).

When company or government officials attempt to establish community membership, in order to distribute benefits, long-term non-residence sometimes do not fit within company and government classification for community membership (Banks, 2001). When geographical membership is forced by company and government structures, tribal and clan groups lose the fluidity fundamental to the functionality of the tribal system (Banks, 2001).

In his theory of social disintegration, Filer (1990) calls this process *delineation*, which occurs when land needed for resource extraction projects is put into titles which formalises ownership with one family group. Undertaken to determine entitlement to revenues for local communities from the company and government, delineation is incompatible with traditional forms of land ownership which change over time (Filer, 1990). Filer (1990) further argues that imposing straight lines on land ownership does not comply with communal boundaries that have previously been established by colonial administrations and that the creation of these lines can lead to conflict (Filer, 1990).

Ernst (1999) has termed the process described above *entification*. When examining the processes of change for the Onabasulu clan located in the Southern Highlands Province with the introduction of Chevron's petroleum project, Ernst (1999) found that companies make entities within communities that did not previously exist. Further, he states that through company processes, 'hard' or 'sharp' edges are created where they had previously been 'soft' or 'thick'. This means that ridged structures of land ownership are imposed on fluid borders of ownership that had previously changed over time.

Banks and Gilberthorpe (2011) further support this notion and argue that corporate strategies work to breakdown social networks of cooperation and obligation that had previously created social cohesion. Through processes of definition or categorisation of eligibility to extraction project benefits, communities are divided into distinct groups which compound destabilisation caused by in-migration which will be discussed later in this chapter.

A related theme is highlighted by Banks (2009) who maintains that inequality is created between *haves* and *have nots*, due to some people receiving landowning and affected community benefits of wealth payments. He argues that this is one way that wealth flows hinder development goals. Banks (2009) reasons that corporate and government distribution strategies do not coincide with clan formations; largely because these actors assume bounded, discrete territorial groups with distinct forms of leadership. Banks (2009) suggests that Melanesian society consists of:

Loose-knit ephemeral groupings to complex social landscapes with overlapping and interlocking groups that do not have any “ownership” of a particular territory (p. 48).

Creating new divisions in societies necessary for companies and governments to distribute revenue payments clearly does not fit with tribal structures and requirements for membership, this further disrupts the functionality of tribal systems operating in PNG.

Another social dynamic operating at the community level that does not fit with corporate and government structures surrounds the existence of the traditional *bigman* leadership system. Banks (2001) explains that particularly in the Highlands region, the *bigman* system still prevails to establish structures of power and authority where leadership is achieved, not inherited, or won through a democratic process. This system should be understood as an on-going process, where leadership must be continuously earned (Banks, 2001). Problems arise when government and company requirements fix wealth payments with individuals because of the integral role that wealth plays in establishing *bigman* leaders. The process of fixing leadership with an individual stems competition for leadership and constrains the normally fluid process of leadership exchange (Banks, 2001).

Filer (1990), in his theory of social disintegration, also highlights problems associated with fixed leadership in a factor he calls *succession*. Filer (1990) argues that the integrated role of wealth in *bigman* status, when combined with fixed wealth distribution payments from resource extraction, locks power and authority in one generation with revenue payments. In order for the succession of new leaders, these men must first accept to receive revenue payments from the extraction projects which destabilises normal succession of leadership processes (Filer, 1990). Fixing wealth payments with individuals further illustrates an incompatibility between company and government structures that affect traditional leadership patterns for communities in PNG.

An incompatibility can also be seen when company and government structures of distribution meet kinship and customary relationship ties that operate in many parts of PNG. As part of Filer’s (1990) theory of social disintegration he describes

problems of *distribution* where extraction wealth creates new economic relationships, which are then superimposed upon relationships determined by custom and kinship (Filer, 1990). For example, individual members of landowning communities become landlords entitled to extraction revenue. They then have to negotiate with relationship obligations determined by custom and kinship prior to becoming landlords and are distinguished by factors such as age, seniority as well as economic position (Filer, 1990). Filer (1990) argues that the lack of a traditional mechanism to re-distribute wealth leads the recipient to forecast future disputes and, perhaps correctly, restrict individuals from re-distributing the wealth.

Banks (2009) maintains that traditional kinship obligations surrounding sharing within families or whole clans can cause hostilities within communities when wealth is introduced. In addition, he highlights the unequal distribution of wealth that occurs. Women in particular usually receive less benefits than men when wealth is distributed by male family members, a problem that is compounded by the prevalence of higher-paying jobs taken by men. This issue will be discussed in more depth in the following section.

Associated with the problem of distribution, another of Filer's (1990) factors of social disintegration relates to problems of distribution through *inheritance*. Filer (1990) argues that government and company assumptions left from the colonial administration assumes that inheritance of wealth will be passed to children after a parent dies (Filer, 1990). However, Filer (1990) argues that in Melanesian culture distribution of one's inheritance should come before death. Distribution of landowning benefits to the next generation then must be decided on by individuals who receive these benefits and can be problematic due to problems of distribution explained above. In cases such as Bougainville where custom dictates that land inheritance will follow matrilineal lines the processes of inheritance have become problematic when men who are receiving landowner benefits are reluctant to follow these customary norms.

Lastly, Banks (1990) argues that in-migration is another way that communities can be destabilised in resource extraction areas. Resource extraction projects in

PNG are often accompanied by high numbers of migrants moving into the area motivated by perceived or actual economic opportunities. Banks (2009) states that in-migration places stress on pre-existing social structures by reconfiguring relationships for the original community. In-migration causes additional problems because the migrant communities usually have higher levels of employment and living standards, which motivates jealousy within original community members who can come to see migrants as restricting their access to extraction related benefits (Banks, 2009).

The above sections have highlighted the potential for dramatic social upheaval, negative social impacts and conflict that can be motivated by resource extraction and more specifically by wealth flows entering local communities in PNG.

2.5 The Gender Impact of Resource Extraction

An additional area of literature discusses the social impacts of resource extraction specific to women in local communities. The secondary position of women in PNG communities is pronounced and resource extraction projects can provide opportunities for increased income, education and health care for women in these communities. MMSD (2002) assert “mining[and other extractive industries] can provide an opportunity for reducing gender disparities through direct and indirect employment and through access to project services” (p.212).

Conversely, women are also particularly vulnerable to experience negative social impacts of extraction projects. One reason is that women are often excluded from community consultancy and planning stages of resource development projects. MMSD (2002) maintain that consultation and community engagement by companies is centered around community leaders who are usually male. Specific to PNG, the DF, explained previously, is the primary avenue for engagement and negotiation for local communities in Mining Lease Agreements. Due to cultural norms that operate in PNG, women’s role in negotiation and formal discussion is limited and subsequently their input is largely overlooked in this process (Banks, 2009). Discussing research in PNG communities affected by resource extraction, Macintyre (2011) argues:

Women rarely present themselves at meetings of stakeholders. If asked what business they might be interested in developing, they usually lack any experience that would suggest that they could operate a business that supplies goods or services to the mine. Their absence from negotiations at crucial initial stages means that their involvement in economic development is limited from the outset (p.24).

Additionally, employment by resource extraction projects is dominated by men. The nature of employment in resource extraction acts as a deterrent for women to work in the industry (MMSD, 2002). Isolation of mine sites, the fly-in fly-out nature of many jobs and absence of local markets to support other economic activities restrict women's ability to uphold their family roles as mothers and as the primary worker of subsistence agriculture that most women in PNG hold (MMSD, 2002). Macintyre (2011) reports an absence of childcare facilities at all of the major mining sites that she visited in PNG. Further, MMSD (2002) maintain that the sudden influx of resource extraction related employment for men can devalue the contribution that women provide through subsistence agricultural production.

Banks (2009) states that in PNG women's concerns over resource extraction projects are related to "their exclusion from a share of the economic benefits of the mine, and more broadly at the impacts of the mine on family life and subsistence production" (p.50). These concerns are supported by research conducted at the Porgera gold mine which found that women's incomes averaged less than a third of men's (Bonnell, 1999). Banks (1999) argues "the greater wealth available to communities associated with mine development is rarely applied equally to the society: "trickle-down" doesn't necessarily provide more egalitarian outcomes" (p.51).

Cultural norms in PNG also work to deter women from working in formal employment. Macintyre (2011) argues that women "who move beyond the bounds of home, family or garden are often considered to be actively seeking sexual adventure" (p.26). She found that this discouraged married women from looking for work where men also worked. In PNG most tasks are gendered or contained within a familial group, creating uneasy working relationships in extraction related employment when men and women who are not related are required to

share a working space (Macintyre, 2011). Macintyre (2011) further reports a high number of women who were intimidated and so did not try to gain formal employment or who were deterred by husbands who were jealous or violent towards their wives if they were “ ‘too friendly’ with their male colleagues” (p.26).

Macintyre (2011) criticizes CSR policies which aim to achieve gender equality through “policies that are non-discriminatory rather than through policies and programs that redress the imbalances and enable women to participate equally” (p.21). She argues that these non-discriminatory policies do not allow for women to participate equally in the resource extractive industry due to pronounced pre-existing gender inequalities that exist in PNG society (Macintyre, 2011). Macintyre (2011) argues that the creation of employment, development infrastructure and services does not always benefit women in communities affected by resource extraction. In the Porgera Valley, for example, the increase in wealth available to young men from the Porgera gold mine resulted in a dramatic increase in bride price and polygyny (Bonnell, 1999). This led to social impacts on marriage and family life that destabilised the community (Bonnell, 1999). Discussing this situation Macintyre (2011) purports:

many women perceive this as having contributed to a decline in their status generally and to the erosion of customary ways of negotiating marriage. The abandonment of older wives and increasing number of wives taken from other tribal groups is seen as a factor in increased incidence of domestic violence and tensions with neighboring groups (who have been marrying – in as a strategy for gaining access to benefits) (p.22).

Macintyre (2011) points out that the forces driving the unequal gender experience of resource extraction are not all motivated by external forces, it is the social context, with pre-existing gender disparities that provide the basis for gender inequality and the exaggerated vulnerability of women to experience social impacts of resource extraction projects in PNG. For this reason the next section will discuss the violence experienced by women in PNG and the position and roles of women in Huli communities.

II: Violence Against Women in PNG and Huli Gender Roles

A second area of literature discusses women's vulnerability to violence in PNG. The following sections discuss what Galtung (1990) describes as the two aspects that research on violence must address; "the use of violence and the legitimization of that use", particularly "those aspects of a culture that serve to justify and legitimise violence" (p.291).

This section begins by introducing notions of violence as understood within the field of peace and conflict studies. Then, direct violence against women in PNG is discussed. Next, literature discussing violence against women in PNG is reviewed through Galtung's (1990) definition of cultural violence. Finally, cultural forms of violence that are changing over time and new motivations for direct violence are presented, followed by the role and position of women in Huli communities.

2.6 Understandings of Violence

Galtung (1969) expanded the notion of violence to go beyond direct or physical forms by introducing the concept of structural violence. Galtung (1990) defines violence as "any avoidable insult to basic human needs, and more generally life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible" (p.292).

Galtung (1990) argues that an accurate understanding of violence must include direct, structural, and cultural violence. Direct violence is the *use* of violence, which is direct physical harm to a person. Structural and cultural forms of violence, on the other hand, concern the *legitimation of the use* of violence. Structural violence refers to structurally built in repression or any structure that denies basic human needs (Galtung, 1990). Opatow (2000) describes structural violence as:

gradual, imperceptible, and diffused in society as the way things are done, as a matter of whose voice is systematically heard or ignored, and who gets particular resources and who goes without. Structural violence is often hidden, chronic, and institutionalised (p.404).

Galtung (1990) refers to cultural violence as any part of a culture that works to legitimise structural and direct violence as normal or at least acceptable within a society and that “make violence look, even feel right – or at least not wrong” (p.291). He explains that whole cultures cannot be violent, but cultures can contain elements that work to legitimise violence; these elements are classified as cultural violence. Galtung (1990) explains :

Direct violence is an event; structural violence is a process with ups and downs; cultural violence is an invariant, a ‘permanence’, remaining essentially the same for long periods, given the slow transformations of basic culture (p.294).

Combined, these three types of violence work to make a *violence triangle* which can portray the interconnected nature of the three types of violence that societies experience:

When the triangle is stood on its ‘direct’ and ‘structural violence’ feet, the image invoked is cultural violence as the legitimiser of both. Standing the triangle on its ‘direct violence’ head yields the image of structural and cultural sources of direct violence (Galtung, 1990, p.294).

Further, Galtung (1990) argues that when structural violence is institutionalised and cultural violence is internalised, direct violence is likely to be “institutionalised, repetitive and ritualistic”(p.302). Galtung (1990) explains that denial of basic human needs in both direct and structural violence can be understood in Figure 3, shown below.

	Survival Needs	Well-being Needs	Identity Needs	Freedom Needs
Direct Violence	Killing	Maiming Siege, Sanctions Misery	Desocialization Resocialization Secondary Citizen	Repression Detention Expulsion
Structural Violence	Exploitation A	Exploitation B	Penetration Segmentation	Marginalization Fragmentation

Figure 3: Typology of Violence (Galtung, 1990, p. 292)

In addition, McPherson (2012) and Eves (2010) maintain that violence concerns structures of power inequality such as culture, economic access, political access, religion and:

cultural violence where individuals are enculturated to a system of beliefs that hold violence to be legitimate and normal. Thus, violence - whether physical, psychological, verbal, spiritual - is broadly, acts against another who consequently suffers negatively [sic]- pain, disadvantage, fear, disempowerment (McPherson, 2012, p.49).

Wider conceptions of violence are increasingly recognised by documents such as the Millennium Development Goals as including “emotional violence, psychological harassment, sexual abuse, financial violence, neglect and coercion” (Jolly, 2012a, p.1), and “increasingly, it also refers to ‘structures’ or ‘states’ of violence, routine forms of coercion or threats of violence inherent in systems of deprivation, exploitation, slavery or oppression” (Jolly, 2012a, p.1).

Structural and cultural violence are similar because they both work to legitimise and hide violence from the moral conscious of a society. The remainder of this research will discuss only direct and cultural violence as this research focuses on a cultural element of Huli society and its link to direct violence.

2.7 Direct Violence: The Use of Violence Against Women in PNG

Despite the illegality of violence against women in PNG, women remain at a constant risk of violence. PNG’s national constitution states a commitment to gender equality and “guarantees men and women be treated equally before the law” (Garap, 2000, p.159). In addition, the PNG Government has signed the United Nations Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW). DEVAW requires states to protect women from all forms of violence, which includes a legal system that upholds law and justice for women and addresses the root causes of violence against women (Eves, 2010).

Garap (2000) maintains that women in PNG are not protected by the formal justice system. In many parts of PNG, especially in the Highlands region, customary law dictates social life, including law and order. Although a village court system has “been create[d] to mediate local disputes using customary laws, in practice they often serve to favour the interests of men” (Garap, 2000, p.162).

The full extent of the problem of gender-based violence in PNG today is difficult to gauge because no nationwide research in this area has been undertaken since the Law Reform Commission's research in the 1980s. However, some literature exists that details direct violence against women in PNG. Jolly (2012b) argues:

For many Papua New Guineans, gender violence is a pervasive and intractable problem – in the home, on the streets, in the market place, in the towns and villages of the nation (Jolly, 2012b, p. xxvii).

Women in PNG are exposed to a constant risk of violence. Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) asserts “violence against women is the most common form of interpersonal violence in Melanesia” (p.73). Violence against women is particularly widespread in urban centres and Highland regions (Ellsberg et al., 2008). PNG ranks 140th out of 146 countries in the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) gender-related development index ¹⁰ (United Nations Development Programme, 2011), which indicates the extent to which women are vulnerable to violence in PNG.

Ellsberg et al. (2008) state that “gang rape, rape in connection with tribal fighting, and the torture and murder of women suspected of sorcery” (p.105) are distinct types of violence against women in PNG. These forms of violence against women contain the additional risk of spreading Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS), which is becoming more pronounced in rural and urban areas of PNG (Ellsberg et al., 2008). Table 1, shown below, was modified from Ellsberg et al. (2008) and details previous research on violence against women in PNG.

¹⁰ UNDP gender-related development index is based on gender disparity in basic capabilities. It is measured comparing a country's gender-related development index ranking with its human development index ranking.

Table 1: Results from Previous Studies on Violence Against Women in PNG (Ellsberg et al., 2008, p.10)

PNG Law Reform Commission, 1992	Quantitative research covering 16 provinces and Port Moresby; postal questionnaire sent to public servants and wives; surveys of two squatter settlements; studies of domestic violence cases at a major hospital and three police stations; case studies of abused wives, and three anthropological studies (N=1203 women and 1192 men).	<p>67 per cent of wives had been beaten by their husbands (national average).</p> <p>Close to 100 per cent of wives in the Highlands were beaten by their husbands, but half that for Oro and New Ireland provinces.</p> <p>In urban areas, one of every six women interviewed needed treatment for injuries caused by their husbands.</p> <p>97 per cent of patients treated for domestic violence injuries were women.</p> <p>94 per cent of domestic violence complaints made to the police were made by women.</p> <p>When wives hit husbands, it was usually in self-defence.</p>
PNG Institute of Medical Research, 1994	Study on sexual violence involving 432 interviews with women and men and 61 focus groups.	<p>55 per cent of women had been forced into sex against their will.</p> <p>Half of married women had been forced into sex by their husbands.</p> <p>60 per cent of men interviewed reported having participated in lainap (gang rape) at least once.</p>
Riley, Wohlfahrt et al., 1985	Study of case records of sexual assault victims needing medical treatment at Port Moresby hospital (n=91).	<p>Of the female victims seeking treatment:</p> <p>Half were younger than 16, one quarter younger than 12, and one in ten younger than eight.</p> <p>Many perpetrators were family members.</p>
UNICEF and Resources, 2005	Situational analysis based on qualitative data including focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, testimonies, life stories, and observations, from three selected areas spanning seven provinces in PNG.	Many examples of child sexual exploitation were found in towns and in the vicinity of mines, logging operations, fisheries and other sites of resource exploitation or large-scale construction.
Amnesty International, 2006	Interviews with women and service providers in five provinces and in the capital.	Widespread and extreme physical and sexual violence was reported by women and service providers.

Oxfam Highlands Programme: Violence in the Hela Region, 2011	Interviews with 908 inpatients and outpatients from Tari Hospital who had been admitted for injuries caused by violence over a 16 month time period.	<p>69 per cent of patients who were admitted for treatment of injuries caused by violence were female.</p> <p>80 per cent of total injuries were inflicted by males.</p> <p>94 per cent of females knew their assailants.</p> <p>80 per cent of all cases of violence against women were carried out by male relatives.</p> <p>68 per cent of violence experienced by women involved domestic violence, family violence or both.</p>
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A recent study conducted by the Oxfam Highlands Programme, investigates violence in the Hela Province and identified patterns of violence experienced in the Hela region (Kopi et al., 2011). Key findings in this study show that the Hela Province experiences high levels of violence against women reporting 69 per cent of patients who visited Tari hospital for treatment of injuries caused by violence as female (Kopi et al., 2011)¹¹. Further, 80 per cent of injuries were inflicted by males and 94 per cent of females knew their assailants (Kopi et al., 2011). Domestic violence and family violence affected females equally, while males were significantly more likely to experience violence from family members other than their wives. In addition, 80 per cent of all cases of violence against women were carried out by male relatives (Kopi et al., 2011). Kopi et al. (2011) report the breakdown of this 80 per cent as “37 per cent by brother/step-brother; 20 per cent by father/step father; 18 per cent by uncle; 2 per cent by male cousin, and 5 per cent by other” (p.4). In addition, Kopi et al. (2011) report that 68 per cent of violence experienced by women involved “domestic, family violence or both” (p.5).

The study by Kopi et al. (2011) highlights the role of polygyny as a trigger for domestic violence experienced by both men and women. The ten most prevalent triggers of violence identified are shown below in Figure 4, taken from Kopi et al. (2011).

¹¹ The study used a sample of 908 inpatients and outpatients from Tari Hospital (the main hospital in the Hela Province) over a 16 month period (Kopi et al., 2011).

Top ten triggers females (n=625)	(n)	(per cent)
Violence	102	16
Money	91	15
Infidelity	77	12
Polygamy	68	11
Stealing	58	9
Disobedience	49	8
Control spouse	48	8
Jealousy	44	7
Family pressure	39	6
Destruction of property	37	6

Figure 4: Most Commonly Cited Triggers by Gender (Kopi et al., 2011, p. 7).

McPherson (2012) gives the estimation that “67 per cent of gender violence in PNG is husbands abusing their wives and that men are far more likely to be the perpetrators of violence, regardless of the sex of the victim” (p.47). Ellsberg et al. (2008) report common forms of abuse by intimate partners as physical, emotional, sexual, financial, destruction or theft of property and forced pregnancy.

Jolly (2012a) suggests that common justifications for violence by men towards their wives include:

if a wife refuses sex, if he suspects her of infidelity, if she secretly uses contraception, if she fails to adequately nurture their children or look after him by gardening, cooking and cleaning, if she fails to graciously accept co-wives, if she scolds him for his laziness or drunkenness, or if she disobeys his edicts (p.4).

McPherson (2012) explains that women enter marriage with the knowledge that their behaviour could result in being physically assaulted by their husbands. McPherson (2012) claims “masculine violence finds its outlet on female bodies which are hit, kicked, cut, violently bruised, battered and broken; they are made black and blue” (p.49). Combined, the above discussion demonstrates the level to which women are vulnerable to experiencing direct violence in PNG.

2.8 Cultural Violence: The *Legitimation* of the Use of Violence Against Women in PNG

The following paragraphs will discuss the legitimisation of violence in PNG by exploring elements of cultural violence. As explained previously, Galtung (1990) defines structural violence as structurally built in repression or any structure that denies basic human needs. As mentioned earlier, cultural violence is defined as any part of a culture that works to legitimise structural and direct violence as normal or at least acceptable within a society and that “make violence look, even feel right – or at least not wrong” (Galtung, 1990, p.291).

Hukula (2012) has identified idioms commonly used in PNG that express acceptance of violence against women as: *em pasin blo ol* (that’s their way), and *em nomol ya* (that’s normal). These idioms fit within Galtung’s (1990) definition of cultural violence in the broadest sense demonstrating the acceptance and normality of violence against women and that direct violence is legitimised in social norms and understandings in PNG. Jolly (2012a) discusses how:

Men are more often seen to be entitled, to have the *rait* (. . . right, authority) to violence, to express ‘righteous indignation’ and to be acting reasonably while violence by women is viewed as lacking entitlement, as subversive of legitimate male authority and to be acting irrationally or emotionally (p.27).

McPherson (2012), working from the premise that violence is situated within structures of power inequality, asserts that gendered violence is driven by “non-reductive, highly complex, structurally situated concepts that creates, informs, and condones violent acts against others” (p.51). McPherson (2012) and Eves (2010) discuss the ways that children are socialised to accept and behave violently through learning hierarchies of power in PNG; these include: men over women and adults over children.

McPherson (2012) explains that children are encouraged to be aggressive and to hit others including their parents. Hitting is seen as a “positively acquired trait for developing a strong personality” (p.56). McPherson (2012) also highlights the ease with which children respond violently when playing with other children. She

claims “with no encouragement at all, they will aggress the other child and fight with hands, feet, rocks, sticks or other hand objects (fishing spears, knives)” (McPherson, 2012, p.56). Children learn these behaviours by being physically disciplined by their parents or elder siblings. McPherson (2012) maintains that in this context “women, ‘learn’ how to be the recipient of the violence of others, particularly from their husbands” (McPherson, 2012, p.56).

In addition, Eves (2010) discusses the way that boys are taught male bonding and sociality and to exclude women through initiation rights. McPherson (2012) adds that through initiation rites:

boys are taught cultural concepts of male privilege, superiority, and dominance over women and youth, . . . in this way, an aggressive, violent culture of masculinity is literally inscribed on young males (McPherson, 2012, p.48).

Boys are socialised to believe that women’s bodily substances are dangerous and that women are antithetical (Eves, 2010). These cultural norms and methods of socialisation can be classified as cultural structures of violence that legitimise violence against women.

Eves (2010) describes the increasing recognition of the role of masculinities in gender-based violence, stating that masculinities that see violence as legitimate play an important role in perpetuating violence against women in PNG. He further explains violence against women is situated within power relations between men and women where men are always more powerful. Powerfulness and aggression were characteristics required for leaderships in the *bigman* system when, for example, a leader was required to lead a group of men in tribal warfare or an exchange ceremony. As a result, today, men’s domination over women and violent responses to challenges are seen as normal in PNG (Eves, 2010). These attitudes of male masculinities contribute to cycles of violence against women and can be seen as an element of cultural violence.

Eves (2010) argues that keeping women in their place is a prevailing characteristic of gender relations in PNG where men’s roles include socialising women with violence. Bradley (1985) reports with relation to domestic violence

in Tolai communities that “the general rationalization for coercive violence against wives is that it is ““corrective”, “educational”, “informative”, or for teaching a lesson” (p.50). Eves (2006) explains that women are beaten by their husbands when they argue over other wives or mistresses, for not being “stoical and accepting of her co-wives, and for disobeying her husband’s demands that she accept his decision on polygyny” (p.24). Men’s role of socialising women with violence fits within Galtung’s (1990) definition of cultural violence as it works to legitimise direct violence.

McPherson (2012) explains that women are often accepting of the violence they experience, seeing violence as normal and expected, especially from their husbands or male relatives. McPherson (2012) concludes that women’s acceptance of violence portrays the extent to which “violence is engendered and embodied within a framework of ‘cultural violence’ that both men and women come to accept as a way of life” (p.48).

Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) further problematises gendered violence by pointing out that “males and females live (and often are caught) in webs of relationships that change over time” (Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012, p.83). While she is careful to avoid using the term violence against women as it can exclude other affected groups, Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) points out that gendered violence was present in pre-colonial PNG but Western influence has impacted on social life to varying extents in different areas. Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) suggests that men’s uneasy confrontations with modernity and custom results in “embattled masculinities” which resulted in increased gender violence in PNG communities. She states:

men’s status insecurities amidst some women’s new agency, and the changing structures and contexts (such as kinship age and gender) that may promote violence against females and males (Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012, p.82).

Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) asserts that modernity motivates increased levels of violence through restricting men’s access and “control over the resources they need to achieve both local and global ideas of masculine social and individual power” (Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012, p.82). She describes new necessary resources for achieving manhood in PNG as education, landowner status (for places near

extraction sites) and cash for bride price or other exchange goods. When young men are unable to access these resources compensatory violence ensues (Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012). Zimmer-Tamakoshi (2012) maintains “men’s frustrations and need to acquire (or control) wealth in order to be ‘real men’ can lead to violence when older men and women seemingly or in actuality, disregard their needs” (p.96).

2.8.1 The Role of Custom in Legitimising Violence Against Women in PNG

Ellsberg et al. (2008) report that custom reinforces patriarchal norms and ownership of women. Their research, conducted in PNG, states that:

the women and men, . . . referred to customary practices and attitudes they believe put women at risk of violence and make it difficult or even impossible for them to protect themselves against it (Ellsberg, 2008, p.17).

Ellsberg et al. (2008) maintain that polygamy and bride price work to reinforce male dominance in PNG, the subordinate position of women and contributes to the legitimisation of violence against women.

Bride price in PNG is a leading factor perpetuating violence by men against their wives as it leads to the belief that women are the ‘property’ of men (Ellsberg et al., 2008). Eves (2010) suggests that the subordination of women can be seen in bride price exchange, where women are obliged to obey their husbands because of the payment received by the women’s family. Eves (2010) maintains:

the payment of bride price is used to justify the husband’s authority over his wife, entitling him to her labour, her sexual services, and her full obedience. Put bluntly, the underlying and general objection is to any exercise of agency on the part of a woman (p.58).

While traditionally bride price exchange was used to create relationships between clans thus creating social cohesion, Eves (2010) and Garap (2000) both argue the introduction of cash payments of bride price have led to a commodification of women where women are seen as the property of men. This reinforces the right of men to discipline their wives violently or the right to sexual intercourse regardless of the women’s wishes (Eves, 2010). An additional problem relates to women

feeling constrained by the bride price payment. Garap (2000) reports that many women in PNG feel unable to leave violent marriages because they do not have the capacity to pay their bride price back to their husbands.

Dinnen and Thompson (2004) suggest that there is a link between polygyny and violence against women in PNG. When conducting research in the Tari township in the Hela Province, Dinnen and Thompson (2004) found behavioural problems in children from polygynous marriages, that women in polygynous marriages are routinely beaten for refusing sex with their husbands and that polygyny is the leading cause of violence between women in polygynous marriages in PNG (Dinnen & Thompson, 2004). Jolly (2012a) reports that while polygyny was historically undertaken by older men, young men are increasingly marrying additional wives and that jealousy as a source of conflict in marriage is exacerbated with younger men engaging in polygynous marriages. Garap (2000) describes the reconstruction of polygamy in the Highlands of PNG as:

suit[ing] the interests of swaggering, power-hungry and irresponsible men. Polygamy is now taken by many men as a right of privilege attached to their own personal power, status and wealth. Modern day polygamy is dysfunctional and violent (Garap, 2000, p.162).

Garap (2000) reports the commonality of violence between wives in polygynous marriages that can cause “serious injury or even death” and results in many women from polygamous marriages being imprisoned (Garap, 2000, p.162). Further, Ellsberg et al. (2008) maintain that women in polygamous marriages feel that they suffered financially as a result of additional wives and that one major factor that contributed to wife-beating was women complaining about ‘other women’ to their husbands. Further, women reported inter-wife fighting due to jealousy or uneven distribution of finances by their husbands.

In a study conducted with communities affected by the Porgera gold mine, Bonnell (1999) found high rates of marital breakdown associated with a significant increase in polygyny undertaken by men who received economic rewards from the mining industry (Bonnell, 1999). Bonnell (1999) found that stress caused by men’s anxiety over dealing with rapid changes and women’s anger over men

taking new wives, among other factors, exacerbated the severity and rate of domestic violence in Porgera Valley. She also found that fighting between co-wives was common as well as sexual jealousy causing violence, although this was due to the expectation that adultery usually leads to marriage between the partners. The literature on polygyny, detailed above, demonstrates the link between polygyny and direct violence and portrays polygyny as an element of cultural violence; as a structure that works to make “violence look, even feel right – or at least not wrong” (Galtung, 1990, p.292).

This section has detailed relevant literature that discusses the direct and cultural forms of violence prevalent in PNG. While it is important to present a general understanding of violence, distinct cultural diversity restricts generalisations in PNG as even tribes that are located geographically near to one another often have diverse cultures. For this reason the following section will use ethnographic literature to discuss gendered structures and the position and role of women in Huli communities, as the Huli ethno-linguistic group are the focus of this thesis.

2.9 Gendered Structures in Huli Communities: Position and Role of Women

The notion of an *individual* is central to understanding social roles in Huli communities. Strathern (1988) argues that in Huli communities, as in wider PNG society, *individuals* do not have the self-autonomous agency conceptualised in the Western notion of *self*. Biersack (1991) supports this notion suggesting identity in Melanesia exists “within network[s] of consanguine and affines[,] . . . born of others and dependent and interdependent rather than autonomous” (Biersack, 1991, p.148). Further, Biersack (1991) puts forward the notion that *individuals* do not exist in PNG and are better understood as *dividuals* existing in relationships with others. Strathern (1988) maintains that in PNG people are created through various substances contributed to a person through conception, nurture, initiation and ritual, thus individuals physically contain parts of others. Wardlow (2006) argues that culturally specific constructions of personhood among Huli can be described as both *dividual* and *individual*. Wardlow (2006) maintains that while people act with individual capacity, a person’s identity and agency to act is unmistakably embedded within a network of complex social relations present in

Huli communities. It is in this context that the position and role of women in Huli communities will be discussed.

Wardlow (2006) explains that:

Most Huli people seem to have a fairly rigid and dichotomous notion of gender, what constitutes proper female and male behaviour, how girls should be socialized differently than boys and so on (p.10).

Wardlow (2006) points out that in addition to gender, personhood or identity can be defined by kin, class or religion as well as other relationship markers. However, gendered identity is well defined, distinctly separate and taught from a young age.

Moore (1999) supports McNay's (2000) assertion that:

gender identities are not free-floating: they involve deep-rooted investments on the part of individuals and historically sedimented practices which severely limit their . . . transformability (p.18).

Huli mana, traditional lore or cultural knowledge, is elaborate concerning gender and reinforced through:

discourse, practice, and disciplinary measures; thus any child can recite 'women are for bridewealth'¹² or 'women raise pigs, make gardens, and have babies' (Wardlow, 2006, p.4).

Correct behaviour for women is established through *huli mana* in the understanding of *wali ore* (good women). In addition, *huli mana* clearly details that women should not be *bigheaded* (self important or making oneself an individual) (Wardlow, 2006).

In Huli communities male and female roles are expressed as dichotomous and segregated. The essence of gender can be found in male and female substances and it is believed that people are made through the contribution of substances a person receives during their life time (Wardlow, 2006). Women's substances, for example menstruation blood and breast milk, have a negative connotation as

¹² Historically ethnographers placed emphasis on using the term bridewealth to avoid classifying the exchange as a Western purchase when it should more accurately be described as a transaction that created relationship ties in the larger system of exchange reciprocity, worked to bind families and clans together, and formed enduring obligations; effectively creating stronger communities. With the introduction of a cash economy bridewealth is increasingly paid in cash, hence the transition to more common use of the term bride price (Wardlow, 2006)

dangerous and potentially harmful for men (Wardlow, 2006). As a result, women should avoid walking over legs or cooking utensils to ensure dangerous female substances are not passed on to others (Wardlow, 2006). In addition, women are expected to wash before dawn and refrain from cooking while menstruating to ensure men's safety (Wardlow, 2006). The belief that women's substances are dangerous reinforces a need for men to control or exert authority over women to ensure their own safety.

Dichotomous understandings of gender can also be seen in aesthetics of male and female bodies in Huli communities. Male bodies are understood as aesthetically pleasing, while females are not. It is thought that men can naturally attract a wife, while women must resort to love magic (Wardlow, 2006). This dynamic can be found in Huli mythology which often compliments women when they physically resemble men. Wardlow (2006) provides one example of this found in Huli mythology that frequently praises women on their masculine appearance, for example "her daughter was very beautiful. Her daughter had arms and thighs like a young man" (Wardlow, 2006, p.12). Further, aesthetic beauty is understood to represent internal integrity. Wardlow (2006) explains that to say men are more aesthetically beautiful translates to the belief that they are more socially charismatic and have more value; clearly portraying male superiority and gender imbalance.

In Huli communities women are seen as emotionally deficient. One example of this is evident in the prestige taken by male Huli members who pride themselves on their fluctuating emotions. In contrast women are known to hold their anger for longer which is perceived as a sign of weakness (Wardlow, 2006). Further, women are also seen as dangerous to men's health through theft, public profanity, use of love magic and as previously mentioned menstruation blood (Wardlow, 2006).

These ideas are reinforced in popular discourse, which describes women as *ngubi* (smelly), lacking *hongo* (moral and physical strength) and *mana* (cultural knowledge or the capacity to internalise social rules), and controlled by dubious intentions (Wardlow, 2006).

Women are also viewed as lacking the logic necessary for oratory. As a result, when women speak at a village court hearing their words are taken less seriously and they are often asked many questions when giving their side of the story and not left to speak as men are permitted to (Wardlow, 2006). Again, these gender ideologies reinforce gender inequality through strengthening the notion that women are inferior.

Dichotomous and subordinate understandings of women can also be found in gendered spatial segregation in Huli communities. Wardlow (2006) points out that ideologies and gender hierarchy are repeatedly reinforced in spatial arrangements. Goldman (1983), Clark (1997) and Wardlow (2006) maintain that in Huli communities duality of gender can be seen in spatial and bodily practices.

The phrase “women should be under the legs of men”, is used to refer to the subordinate position of women as well as physical rules of segregation (Wardlow, 2006). Traditionally men and women slept in separate houses, although this has changed due to influence of Christian churches which stress the importance of the sanctity of marriage expressed through shared sleeping spaces. While men and women now largely sleep in the same house, traditional housing contained separate men’s and women’s living houses with men’s houses situated on higher ground. Now men are still careful to physically separate their sleeping space from women and have adapted the traditional layout of houses to create different sleeping rooms (Wardlow, 2006).

In addition, men physically position themselves on higher ground when conversing with women (Wardlow, 2006). Glasse (1969) describes that most men, excluding young boys and old men, do not eat food cooked by women. Further, men’s walking paths are differentiated from those used by women, most often using a geographically higher route. If there is only space for one walking track men try to walk on the sides of the path to avoid walking in the footsteps of women (Wardlow, 2006).

Further, women are understood to belong to the *anda* (enclosed private space), while men belong to the *hama* (public spaces of ceremonial display and oratory) (Goldman, 1983). Wardlow (2006) maintains that this is an attempt to control the

dangerous substances of women and to protect men. Spatial segregation, particularly the practice of men always taking the higher space, reinforces male dominance and superiority over women.

Wardlow (2006) maintains that women's roles in Huli communities are encompassed by male agency and goals. She argues that the effects of women's actions are used for a wider social purpose within communities. Wardlow (2006) explains women's role in social reproduction as:

A woman grows the sweet potato that feeds herself, her children, and often her husband; she raises the pigs that are used for bridewealth and compensation payments; and she raises the children who will "replace" the previous generation of persons (Wardlow, 2006, p.66).

Wardlow (2006) argues that these actions show women exercising agency in the spheres of production and reproduction, but this sphere is encompassed within a larger sphere of socio-political relationships that men engage in. The role of women is fundamental to achieving men's goals, but limited in their scope of influence to supporting men.

Wardlow (2006) and Bourdieu (1977) are careful to point out that women within Huli communities do not see the limitations to their sphere of influence as marginalising or exploitative. Both men and women understand the encompassed role of women as necessary for collective action (Wardlow, 2006). Wardlow (2006) posits that women take pride in their role as facilitators of events and the outcomes that they help to produce. Even though these attitudes are held by females, women's encompassed role within the goals of men demonstrates male dominance and male power over women.

As previously mentioned, the role of women in Huli communities can be found in Huli discourse that refers to women's social position as 'under the legs of men'. This idiom expresses the expectation that women will be subordinate to men, reinforces the spatial rule, portrays the suppression of women's desires as sacrificed for the family or clan, and further supports the idea that women's roles are encompassed within the goals of men (Wardlow, 2006).

Another idiom found in Huli discourse refers to the proper position of women as 'fenced in' (Wardlow, 2006). This idiom expresses the dominant and protective role that men should have over women (Wardlow, 2006). It is understood that, due to inadequacies outlined in previous sections, women need to be controlled, protected and nurtured by men. 'Fencing' women, not only controls women and keeps women in the correct inside space, but it draws parallels to crops and pigs which must be fenced in to ensure protection and successful growth. Like women, pigs and crops are encompassed and used for a wider purpose. Akin to pigs, it is understood women must be fenced in to ensure they do not "run amuck, be stolen by others and fail to carry out their intended purpose" (Wardlow, 2006, p.57). In a practical sense this phrase dictates how garden work is undertaken. Women do most of the agricultural work, while men build fences and dig drainage ditches to protect crops. This idiom clearly shows gender inequality and the dominating position of men over women as a social responsibility. Further, ideology around being 'fenced in' is realised and portrayed in structured social institutions such as the ideal brother-sister relationships outlined below.

Women in Huli communities learn to be *wali ore* (good women) through their brothers' nurturing, protective and disciplinary role. According to Wardlow (2006), the brother-sister relationship is the ideal example of female encompassment as a brother's 'fence' is nurturing and disciplinary. The importance of this relationship is evident in its inclusion in Huli folk tales. Wardlow (2006) reports a common beginning to folk tales as:

Once there were five sisters and one brother. One day the brother decided to go on a journey. Before he left, he built deep ditches and a beautiful fence around their property and told his sisters to stay inside while he was gone (Wardlow, 2006, p.56).

Wardlow (2006) explains that stories carry on to depict an array of moral lessons, sometimes referring back to the sisters and rewarding the sisters that stayed inside the fence. She notes that in all stories where a sister *brukim* (breaks) or *kalapim* (jumps over) the brother's fence, she is severely punished and usually eaten by an ogre. This reinforces the protective and disciplinary qualities of a brother's fence and his role in the brother-sister relationship as well as the consequences for women who act on their own accord. The inclusion of a

brother's protective and disciplinary role over women in mythology demonstrates the extent to which gender inequality and male power over women is entrenched within Huli social life.

Wardlow (2006) argues that because women's roles are encompassed within men's goals, one way that women can exert influence is through non-cooperation or 'negative agency'. Through refusing to contribute, women hinder men's ability to achieve their goals. This can take the form of refusing sex and therefore reproduction, refusing to garden, or refusing to take part in bride price transactions. The most extreme way that women can exert influence on men is to physically withdraw from contributing to men's goals through suicide or cutting off part of their fingers and by doing so, damaging what is seen as men's resources (Wardlow, 2006). The existence of 'negative agency' draws attention to the lack of power that women hold over men; they must resort to self-harm in order to influence men.

Gender identities, in part, are reinforced through custom that generate continuity of traditional gendered roles. As in PNG generally, bride price transactions are the most pronounced example of how custom can work to reinforce the role and status of women in Huli communities. Wardlow (2006) asserts that women's participation in bride price transactions provides the basis for social reproduction. Goldman (1983) emphasises the role that bride price plays in circulating cash in rural communities where many people are unemployed. Through bride price exchanges men deploy alliances through women and reproduce social relationships with the husband's clan. In addition, bride price facilitates through the management of land tenure, "a sense of social historical continuity, secures reproductive substances and labour for creating new generations" (Wardlow, 2006, p.107).

The bride price payment is based on an understanding that the woman's clan is losing a valuable resource for social reproduction and agricultural labour and that the husband's clan is gaining a valuable agricultural and reproductive resource from which his clan can reproduce (Strathern, 1972). Bride price payments demonstrate women's encompassed role as the transaction has benefits for the

wider family of the clan group; bringing bride price to her own clan and becoming a valuable resource to her new husband's clan. While bride price transactions highlight the value of women they also reinforce the power that men have over women.

Wardlow (2006) points out that in Huli communities it is increasingly common for men to be absent from the community in order to partake in wage labour. Wardlow (2006) makes a direct link between wage labour and the payment of bride price in cash. This leads her to query cash payments of bride price and their role in the commoditisation of women (Wardlow, 2006).

Wardlow (2006) further argues bride price implies contractual motivations, ownership and suggests disassociation of a women from their clans. She argues that men use the term bride price specifically to portray dominance over a women and her clan. Wardlow (2006) maintains that the increased size of bride price, and payment by cash instead of other valuables, suggest the transaction is being commoditised but it is difficult to discern a clear conclusion. Strathern (1996) argues that the point is not the exchange of cash, but the quality of the relationships created. She claims that in order to assess if women are increasingly commoditised through cash payments for bride price the quality of familial or clan relationships must be explored. Wardlow (2006) concludes that this is difficult to establish but details that many women do tell stories of family members who are too greedy for bride price (*jelas tumas long pig-muni*) and occasionally women state that they are treated like market goods (*olsem maket*). Further Wardlow (2006) reports that some women in Huli communities speak of a reversal of value; where women used to be the objects of value acquired through exchange, now money is the object of value, for which women are exchanged in order to gain. Further, Wardlow (2006) reports that men invoke a discourse of ownership ordering women to complete tasks because they have paid bride price.

Glasse (1969) argues polygynous marriage in Huli communities, as in wider PNG society, are motivated by men's aspirations for status, which is largely dictated by

the number of pigs he owns¹³. In order to increase the amount of pigs a man has he must be able to produce enough agricultural crops to rear more pigs. Wives provide the labour to produce these crops. If a man has more pigs he can participate in more exchange transactions and thus gain status in the community. For a man to have the capacity to take a second wife is, in itself, a mark of prestige because he must be able to afford the bride price for an additional wife (Glasse, 1969). While Wardlow (2006) notes an increase in polygynous marriages, the cause for this increase is not discussed.

2.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter began by detailing literature that established the potential for wealth from resource extraction to cause social upheaval, instability and conflict in communities affected by resource extraction projects in PNG before highlighting the gendered impacts of resource extraction which exaggerate the vulnerability of women to experience these social impacts. It then discussed expanded notions of violence, and detailed direct and cultural violence in PNG before providing an overview of the role and position of women in Huli communities. This section also established structures of male domination over women in Huli communities and women's vulnerability to violence because of this position. One element that this section established as fitting within Galtung's (1990) definition of cultural violence in PNG and in Huli communities is the custom of polygyny.

¹³ Pigs are a traditional item of wealth in Huli communities, as in wider PNG. Pigs can be used to exchange for other goods and to participate in exchange ceremonies which allows a man to gain status in his community.

3 Chapter Three: Research Design and Methods

3.1 Research Design

To investigate the impact of wealth on the custom of polygyny, this research uses interview data from a case study involving Huli communities in the Hela Province of PNG. Yin (2009) maintains that case studies are valuable when research seeks “to understand a complex social phenomenon” or aims to understand “holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events” (p.4). A case study design is relevant for this research in order to study the complex contextual conditions that surround Huli social life, custom and the introduction of a resource extraction project.

Analysis of ten in-depth interviews and 11 focus group interviews was undertaken with a total of 71 female and three male participants from the Huli tribal group living in the Hela Province. Prior to collecting the in-depth interview and focus-group interview data, the project received approval from the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee¹⁴. The field research was conducted in the Hela Province, in and outside of the Petroleum Development Licence (PDL) areas in order to access a cross-section of participants with differing experiences of the LNGP’s impacts. Interview participants are a combination of key informants and local community members. The field research was carried out in three stages between December 2010 and December 2011 by a research team led by Dr James McIlraith from the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago¹⁵.

Lack of available census data as well as security concerns surrounding access to many communities in the Hela Province restricted the use of random sampling. Subsequently this sample is not indicative of the Hela Province. The majority of interviewees are women. In total, 71 female and three male participants were interviewed. As previously stated, while an equal gender perspective would be useful, given that it is difficult to access women’s view points in the Highlands of

¹⁴ Ethics approval number #10/070.

¹⁵ This research was primarily funded by ChildFund Australia, the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, the PNG Church Partnership Programme and the Oxfam Highlands Programme with additional support from Jubilee Australia and the Melanesian Institute.

PNG, the significant value of this sample is that it gives voice to a group that is not heard as often.

All in-depth and focus-group interviews were conducted in *Tok Pisin*, the dialect of pidgin English used in the Hela Province. The in-depth interviews and focus group interviews were recorded and then transcribed into both *Tok Pisin* and English by the same interviewer in an attempt to minimise translation errors or re-interpretation bias.

The present study uses this primary interview data, interpreting the in-depth and focus group interviews collected for a social evaluation of the LNGP¹⁶. As Heaton (2008) asserts, supplementary analysis is commonly used for “a more in-depth analysis of an emergent issue or aspect of the data, that was not addressed or was only partially addressed in the primary study” (Heaton, 2008, p.39).

This present thesis is therefore an in-depth investigation into one of the social impacts noted in the earlier study; expanding upon the research into gender issues and the impacts of resource wealth. Heaton (1998) advocates the use of supplementary analysis when faced with limited opportunity to re-gather primary research as well as funding constraints. She maintains that supplementary analysis “allows wider use of data from rare or inaccessible respondents” (Heaton, 1998).

Conducting field research in the Hela Province is difficult for a number of reasons including security, cost, and time constraints. Security concerns, in particular, make the logistics of field work difficult and costly. Obstacles to re-gathering field data were further obstructed by the 2012 elections which exacerbated security concerns in the region.

Heaton (1998) argues that the flexibility of qualitative research found in semi-structured interviews produce “datasets with variable depth and breadth of

¹⁶ Findings of this research were published in: McIlraith, J., Robinson, S., Lesley Pyrambone, L., Petai, L., Sinebare, Darshiney & Maiap, S. (2012). *The Community Good: Examining the Influence of the PNG LNG Project in the Hela Region of Papua New Guinea*. Dunedin, NZ: National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago.

coverage of topics” (Heaton, 1998, p.40). The semi-structured in-depth interviews and focus-group interviews collected covered a broad range of social issues including impacts relevant to this thesis, making this interview data suitable for supplementary analysis.

Further, supporting the use of supplementary analysis, Eck (2011) discusses the need to find out if there is available data that could be used before undertaking field research. With reference to field surveys Eck (2011) maintains that “often it is not necessary to conduct a new survey since there is a great deal of existing data that are rarely used in academic analysis” (p.167). Goodhand (2000) highlights the impacts that a researcher is likely to have on the social environment they encounter outlining that there is a “substantial risk that the research may have unexpected negative outcomes” (p.12). In addition, Eckl (2008) discusses the unintended consequences that researchers often create when carrying out field research as well as the responsibility that field researchers must take for these impacts. Further, Clark (2008) explains “there is some evidence to suggest that research fatigue is increasingly being mobilised as a reason to decline or withdraw from qualitative research” (p.956). Clark (2008) goes on to explain that one of the two situations where research fatigue typically occurs is with research groups that are “hard to reach” (Clark, 2008, p.956).

Hence, given the unique opportunity to use rich in-depth interview and focus-group interview data, supplementary analysis was decided upon for this study.

3.2 Method of Analysis

The interview data was analysed with NVIVO coding software using open-coding for themes relating to polygyny. According to Rubin and Rubin (2005) open-coding requires each line of the text to be coded individually, allowing for themes to emerge from the data instead of working to any preconceived notions of outcomes. Further, Rubin and Rubin (2005) maintain that open-coding is especially important when coding someone else’s data. The authors maintain “if you are analysing someone else’s data . . . you do not have the kind of experiential learning that went into the production of your interviews and that initially suggests possible concepts and themes” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p.222). The use of

open-coding ensured that all potential concepts and themes were picked up in the coding process. The themes that emerged through open-coding will be presented, explained and analysed in the following chapters.

4 Chapter Four: Analysis and Results

This chapter presents, explains and analyses the findings identified in the interview data. As discussed in Chapter Three, ten in-depth and 11 focus-group interviews with a total of 71 female and three male participants were conducted in the Hela Province and analysed for this research. The interviews were analysed through open-coding for key themes relating to the main theme of changes to polygyny. Five themes relating to polygyny emerged in the interview material: 1) distribution of LNGP wealth towards polygyny, 2) an increase in polygyny, 3) women and children suffering from neglect when their husbands marry additional wives, 4) an association between polygyny and domestic violence, and 5) violence between wives in polygynous marriages.

In addition to changes to polygyny, two other main themes were identified; changes to sexual relationships and changes to family life. The theme of changing sexual relationships was broken down into five sub themes; a general increase in extra or pre-marital relationships, men in new relationships, women in new relationships, cell phones facilitating new relationships, an increase in prostitution and women marrying younger because they are attracted by men with LNGP wealth. Three sub themes for changes to family life were identified; mobile phones contributing to domestic violence, domestic violence driven by sexual jealousy, and distribution of LNGP wealth within marital relationships contributing to domestic violence.

The frequency of reference to the three main themes is shown proportionally in Figure 5. The figures are presented to provide a visual picture of the extent to which themes were spoken of relatively, hence while the percentage frequencies will be given, the goal of the figures is to provide an intuitive illustration rather than speak of numbers as the aim here is to look for trends rather than statistics.

Figure 5, shown below, shows changes to polygyny received 38 per cent of total reference, changes to sexual relationships received 42 per cent of reporting and the final 20 per cent of reporting concerns changes to family life.

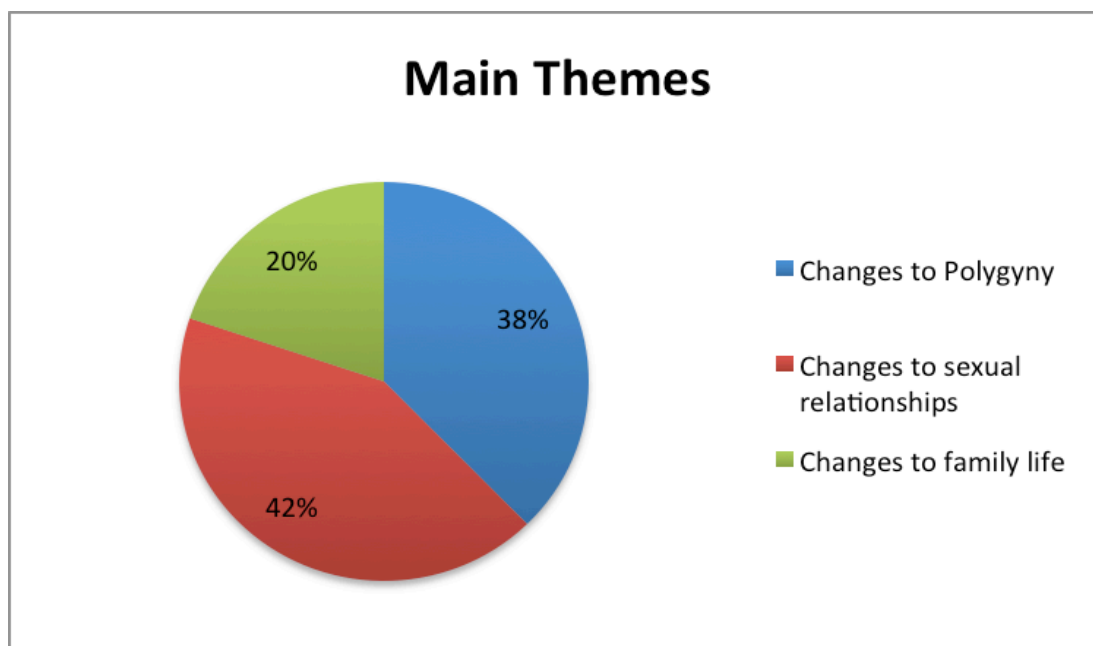


Figure 5: Main Themes

4.1 Changes to Polygyny

A general change to polygyny and bride price was identified in the interview data. These included changes to polygyny and changes to bride price. The frequency of reporting of these themes is shown in Figure 6, below. The graph shows that 93 per cent of the total reference to changes to polygyny directly referred to polygyny while the remaining seven per cent concerned bride price.

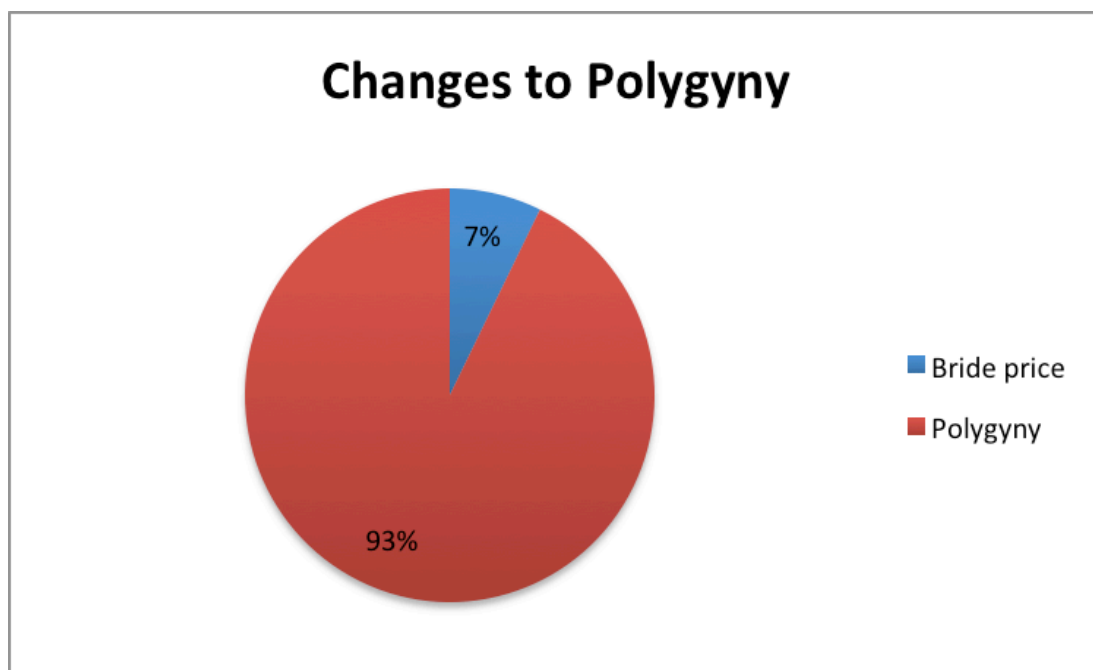


Figure 6: Changes to Polygyny

The majority of the comments about bride price referred to men and women in the Hela Province getting married without paying bride price or engaging in the traditional ceremonies. One participant stated “[t]oday many of the young girls are no longer worried about getting bride price, they are just getting married to men without any bride price payment”. Another report concludes “from our observation we have seen that most of the young ladies are breaking the cultural practices of marriage”.

Of the 93 per cent of direct reference to polygyny, five major themes relating to polygyny were identified; 1) distribution of LNGP revenue towards polygyny, 2) an increase in polygyny, 3) women and children suffering from neglect when their husbands marry additional wives, 4) a link between polygyny and domestic violence and 5) violence between wives in polygynous marriages. The strength of these results is heightened given that polygyny was never directly asked about. These themes emerged as responses to investigation into wider social impacts that are being experienced since the introduction of the LNGP. The frequency of reference to the themes relating to polygyny are presented proportionally in Figure 7, shown below, illustrating that 24 per cent of the total mention of changes to polygyny concerned the distribution of LNGP wealth to polygyny, 25 per cent concerned an increase in polygyny, 25 per cent was regarding family neglect when

husbands marry additional wives, 14 per cent detailed an association between polygyny and domestic violence and the remaining 12 per cent mentioned violence between wives in polygynous marriages.

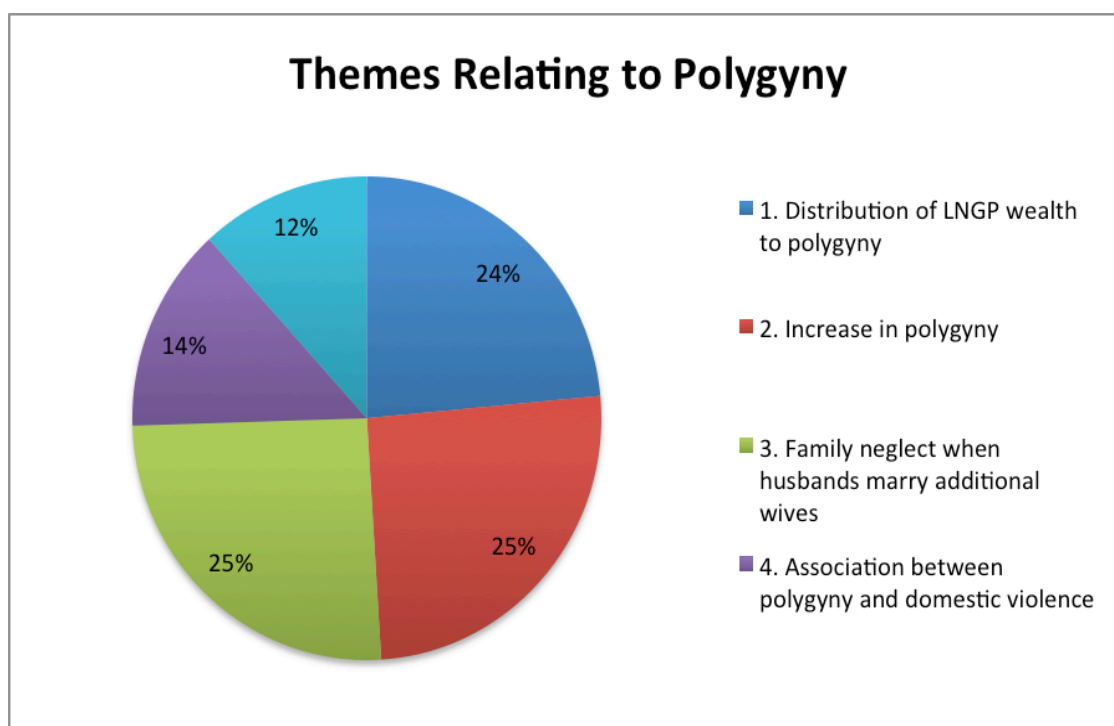


Figure 7: Themes Relating to Polygyny

4.1.1 Distribution of LNGP Wealth to Polygyny

A dominant theme identified was that money received from the LNGP is being spent on polygyny. A general trend of men spending their earnings from the LNGP on additional wives was strongly reported in the interview data. All participants reported this in a negative way. One example can be seen through a participant's comment on employed men "they are into womanising and polygyny, they are not using their money properly". Another participant explained how her own husband spends his income on polygyny, commenting that he now has four wives and continues to acquire more wives as his salary permits. In addition, a participant explains "when they see the money, they neglect the first wife and they are looking for new wives".

As commented on previously, one male participant explains the spending of LNGP wages on additional wives as 'thinking big'. He details how, in the past, men had to

rely on their wives for income through gardening sold at the market. With LNGP wages men see an opportunity to increase their status by spending their wages on second or third wives. Men gaining the capacity to engage in polygynous marriages through salaries and revenue payments from the LNGP is a prevalent theme found in the data.

Further, one participant detailed that women are entering polygynous marriages to gain access to money. The participant explains:

Nowadays . . . as long as men are working in the project or mining site and receiving regular cash, many young women prefer to marry them. These young women are marrying them even if he has more than one wife already. The young women's mentality is that as long as he can support me I will marry him for financial security.

4.1.2 An Increase in Polygyny

The second dominant theme that emerged from the data was that polygyny is increasing in the Hela Province since the introduction of the LNGP and is linked to employment with the LNGP. The increase in polygyny was reported by participants as a general societal trend and several participants reported their own experience of polygyny.

One participant, when responding to the question "*what is the largest social impact brought about by the LNGP?*", explains "men marrying more than five or six wives is increasing around here and is an increasing problem for our communities". Another participant explained that "when the husband is employed in any sector, he is most likely to marry as many women as he can". Again, a participant reported "the changes we see here are that polygyny is increasing with the coming of the LNGP because men have money so they are marrying more than one wife".

One participant indicated that men's desires to gain additional wives could be linked to desires for status in the community, reporting:

When the LNGP came in he[men from the Hela Province] has the chance of working and getting huge sums of money worth K400 to K500 and he thinks big saying "I am now a real man" so he has

money and forgets about his wife at home and marries the second and third wives.

A related reference of employed men *looking* for additional wives was also identified. A distinction is made here between an increase in polygyny that has already occurred and those men who are looking to partake in polygynous marriage in the future. This was expressed by one participant as “I have seen this with my own eyes, men from project areas, men who receive money, they are spending their money looking around for new wives”. An additional sub theme identified is that women will leave their husbands in the future and marry new men when their husbands marry more wives. One participant reports “men will marry more wives and women will marry a new man”.

Further, two women detailed their personal experience of polygyny. The first woman is in a polygynous marriage and reports her husband as “becoming wilder and ending up marrying three women and continuing to see other women at the same time too . . . now he has married a fourth wife adding more problems on top of what he already had”. The second woman explained how her brother took additional wives as his business grew due to opportunities created by the LNGP.

All references to an increase in polygyny were reported as being undertaken by men who were employed by the LNGP project or benefited financially from the money introduced by the LNGP.

4.1.3 Women and Children Suffering in Polygynous Marriages

Another dominant theme reported was that women and children suffer when husbands decide to take additional wives. In particular, first and second wives and the children of these wives, suffer when men marry new wives. These women and children are often forgotten by the husband and not supported in anyway. Husband’s neglect of their first wives and children after marrying an additional wife was heavily reported. The most common situation explained by participants was that after men had married an additional wife he stopped spending time with his first wife and the children from this wife. Also, this family stopped receiving financial support. One woman reported “this is what husbands do; most of their attention is given to his current or new wife and he ignores the children and his

first wife, not fulfilling his responsibilities to provide for them". Another participant explained "when men get new wives the children are neglected and the mother becomes the victim again, looking for food for the children and for herself". One participant suggested that this is because men are not used to having expendable income.

Several participants spoke of the struggle that women must endure in polygynous marriages. One participant commented that "sometimes her relatives will help her but often she will struggle on her own". Another female participant reported a personal story of a male relative saying "he never looks after his first wife with money. He never shows her any concern and love. He just left the wife alone, he left for the other wives".

Additionally, concern was expressed over children's welfare. In particular, concerns were expressed for children, who suffered when men engaged in polygynous marriages failed to provide food and money for school fees for all of their children. One participant explained "when men are doing polygyny, women are just lost, they are just so poor and children are not fed well". The idea that men are neglecting women and children once they have a new wife was pronounced throughout the interviews.

4.1.4 Domestic Violence and Polygyny

Another theme that emerged in the in-depth and focus group interviews was a link between domestic violence and polygyny. Polygyny contributing to domestic violence was reported as a general trend as well as by individual women as the cause for being beaten by their husbands.

Polygyny, as contributing to domestic violence, was linked to situations where men wanted to marry additional wives. When the first wife objected or started an argument about their husband marrying another woman, husbands responded violently. One participant explained how a friend's husband beat his third wife very badly because of the verbal argument that this wife started over the husband's intention to marry another wife. Another woman states the reason she

was “bashed up” by her husband was because she told him not to marry another woman. One female participant explained:

When men are having a relationship with another woman and you as the first wife want to tell him not to do that he will just say that “she is my wife, why do you have to stop me from getting her” and he will beat you up, this is one of the main causes of family problems.

Another participant suggested that family violence and polygyny are linked because of the financial obligation that men break when they marry additional wives. In other words, financial competition that is anticipated by existing wives causes verbal arguments that lead to domestic violence.

Other reports do not detail the first wife’s role in provoking a verbal argument before they are beaten by their husbands, only that husbands will beat their wives when they want to marry another woman. One female participant commented that “when men want to marry another woman, they beat us severely”. This theme is of crucial importance given the previous finding that polygyny is increasing in the Hela Province.

A related theme identified was the lack of choice that wives have when men decide to marry an additional wife. Two participants spoke about the lack of consultation that wives receive when their husbands decide to marry another woman. One woman explains:

Even if the first wife disagrees with the proposal of her husband re-marrying another wife he would say “who are you to rile over men. I am the head of the family and I make the final decision to marry the second or multiple wives”. . . . The first wife had no decision making power but to shout and accept her husband’s decisions. . . What we are saying is that the wife just submits to the husband’s decisions.

4.1.5 Violence Between Wives in Polygynous Marriages

Another theme that emerged in the interview material was violence between wives in polygynous marriages. The predominant reasons for inter-wife violence was reported as sexual jealousy caused by lack of attention from husbands to earlier wives, loss of power in the marriage, and jealousy at not receiving financial

support from husbands. All of the reports of inter-wife violence were undertaken by first or second wives directed towards later wives.

One female participant explained:

We see in polygynous marriages, the first wife and the second wife getting into arguments and stabbing each other while others decide to commit suicide and end their worries. Most often the second wife will dominate and take control of everything in the house. She wants to control the choices of men by becoming very possessive over him; she doesn't allow him to visit or support the first wife and the children.

Another female participant explains her own behaviour as a first wife in a polygynous marriage:

When I come across the second wife on the road or somewhere she would smile and show off in front of me. I don't like those kind of actions because I am the first wife and my husband is rightfully mine so I will start throwing stones and chasing her.

Another woman explains her attitudes as a first wife and the justification for her own violence against her husband's second wife:

The second wives are full of showing-off attitudes. They will act like babies and the husband will do everything for her so I go and fight her and draw blood to stop this baby attitude towards the second wife. This is what I do to get attention from my husband.

This comment was met with support by the focus group with one woman commenting "she is expressing the views of every woman because that is what we all do around here. All of us observe that. That is exactly what is going on".

The idea that men gain status by wives fighting over them was also mentioned. One participant explains "this will raise his ego. He is plainly showing off because we ladies are fighting for him and his feelings will be elevated, he will be thinking he's somebody".

The last form of inter-wife violence that was reported was the story of a wife who gave permission for her husband to marry additional wives after finding out that she was HIV positive. One participant reported "the second woman gave

permission for other women to marry her husband after knowing her HIV status so other women will become victims of HIV and AIDs”.

4.2 Additional Themes

Two additional themes emerged linking the LNGP indirectly to social change. The themes of changes to sexual relationships and changes to family life are explained in greater detail below.

4.2.1 Additional Theme One: Changes to Sexual Relationship

The main theme of changing sexual relationships was broken down into five sub themes; a general increase in extra or pre-marital relationships, men in new relationships, women in new relationships, cell phones facilitating new relationships, an increase in prostitution and women marrying younger (attracted by men with LNGP wealth). The frequency of reporting of these sub themes is presented in Figure 8, below. It illustrates that 12 per cent of total discussion regarding sexual relationships concerned an increase in pre and extra-marital relationships, 25 per cent concerned men in new relationships, nine per cent detailed women in new relationships, 14 per cent regarded mobile phones facilitating new relationships and the remaining 40 per cent concerned an increase in prostitution.

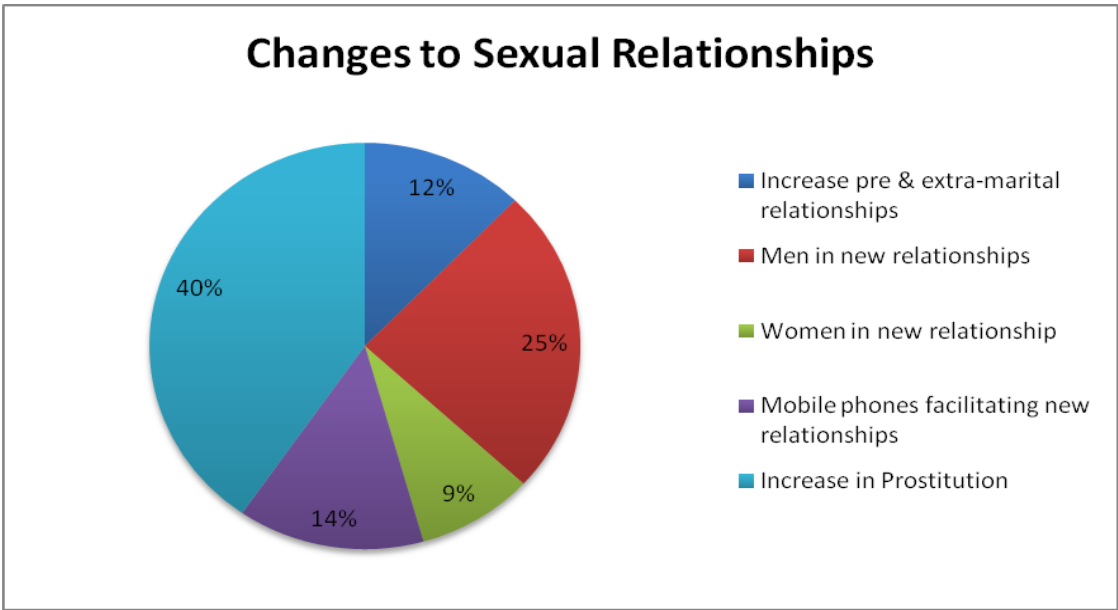


Figure 8: Changes to Sexual Relationships

A general increase in men and women engaging in extra-marital and pre-marital relationships because of extra resources provided by the LNGP came through as an important theme in the in-depth and focus-group interviews. One participant commented “[i]f the wife is having an affair with another man the husband will also do the same . . . these are changes that never happened in the past”.

In addition, an increase in non-marital relationships was identified. Some participants reported these changes as occurring because of the LNGP, while the other participants explained more generally that these were new changes. One participant states:

All the young people are sleeping around with anyone, whether young or older folks, extra sexual practices are increasing in the communities unlike in the past where young people are controlled by custom and church laws to marry officially.

Two participants reported that around 50 per cent of the Hela population are keeping to the customary norm of only having one relationship, while the other 50 per cent had changed their relationship practices; engaging in pre-marital relationships and extra-marital relationships.

Men engaging in new relationships is another theme that was identified in the interview data. This theme was reported as a combination of men having more sexual partners as well as additional girlfriends.

A related theme identified is men using LNGP income to attract women into new relationships. Participants reported men attracting young women with money as well as generally spending money earned from the LNGP on new relationships with women regardless of their marital status. One participant reported:

With the establishment of the LNG Project, they [men from the Hela Province] get employed in high profile positions and with the money they earn, they lure young women and pick up women any time they feel like it.

Women engaging in additional relationships was another trend identified and were associated with prostitution practices. One participant reported women who had benefited economically from LNGP related business were “buying men” while

the remaining reports discussed women who were “spending money on young boys”, “hanging around with young boys” or “going for young boys”.

An additional element identified for women concern reports detailing restrictions imposed on married women by their husbands who thought they would engage in a new relationship. For example, one participant explained that educated women were restricted from gaining employment with the LNGP because their husbands thought that they would have an extra-marital affair if they worked on the project.

Mobile phones were reported as contributing to the number of extra and pre-marital relationships detailed above where mobile phones were used to contact men and women for affairs. This change was referred to as a general change that the communities had not previously experienced but was not specifically linked to the introduction of the LNGP. Participants reported that mobile phones were used by both men and women to call and text potential partners to organise meetings. Several participants indicated that sometimes men and women did not know the people they were calling, but called the numbers in search of an extra-marital affair. When commenting on mobile phones, one participant stated that “with the invention of the mobile phone, a married couple, be it the husband or the wife can call a young lady or man saying; meet me at this time in this location”. Another participant explained “women from as far as Sepik or other women from PNG are using phones and contacting our men around here in seek of new relationships”.

A general increase in prostitution was a strongly reported theme in the interview data. Several reports specified that men and women were engaging in prostitution. One participant explained “local men and women, and the company men too, when they are working there is prostitution going on. Also, because there’s money floating around prostitution is high now”. Half of the reports of increased prostitution linked the increase in prostitution with LNGP money while the other half report a general increase. One participant reported “the bad side of LNGP is that lucrative amounts of money coming into the country triggers a lot of prostitution around here”.

Another theme suggests that women are marrying earlier and are attracted by men with money acquired from the LNGP. Young girls marrying or undertaking

relationships in order to gain access to LNGP money was identified in the interview data. The comments detail young women marrying men in order to gain access to their money or for financial security. One participant reported “our young girls are getting worse; they are running after money-men, not completing their education, dropping out of school and getting married”.

4.2.2 Additional Theme Two: Changes to Family Life

The second theme, changes to family life, was broken down into the sub themes of mobile phones contributing to domestic violence, domestic violence driven by sexual jealousy and distribution of LNGP wealth contributing to domestic violence. The extent to which these themes were discussed with regards to changes to family life are shown in Figure 9, below. The figure illustrates that 34 per cent of reference was about mobile phones contributing to domestic violence, 38 per cent mentioned domestic violence driven by sexual jealousy and the remaining 28 per cent concerned the distribution of LNGP wealth contributing to domestic violence.

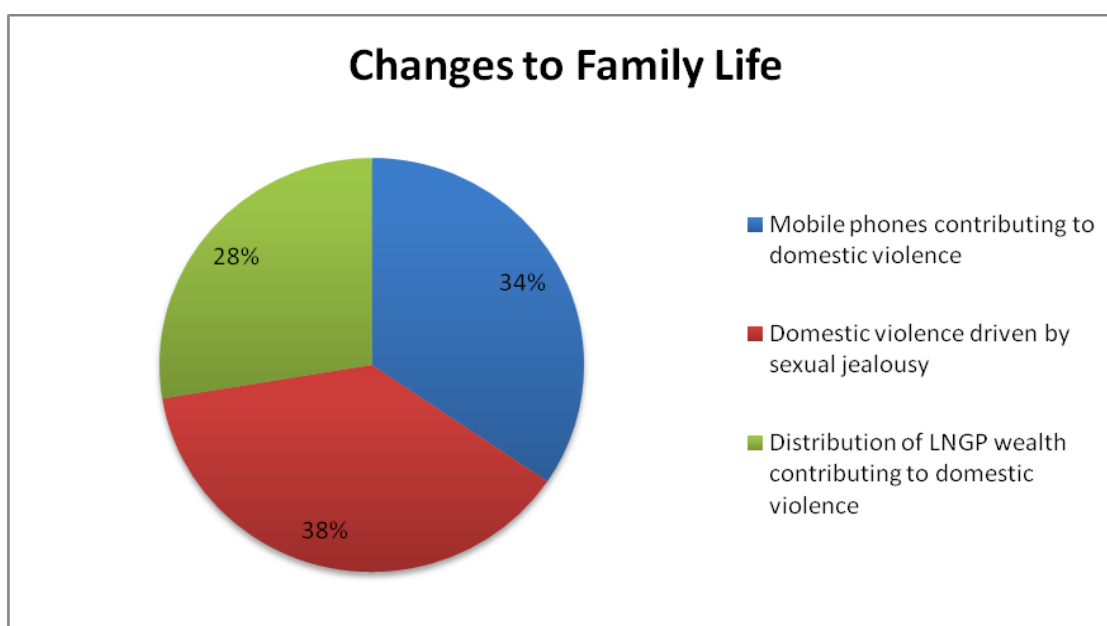


Figure 9: Changes to Family Life

The use of mobile phones as a contributor to domestic violence was a prevailing theme in the interview data. The use of mobile phones was not specifically linked to the introduction of the LNGP but was reported as a change that the community had not previously experienced. One participant reported that in three months,

four women and one man were admitted to Tari Hospital for severe injuries that occurred as a result of a domestic dispute motivated by the use of mobile phones. The participant reports:

She had chopped the man up because he was talking on the mobile . . . one was hospitalised for four months with a fractured femur and tibia and all the thigh meat was cut out . . . another female, her skull was almost broken and she had a major face operation because she was talking on the phone . . . within three months I saw four women and one man.

Another participant explained “Tari people are short minded people, they will want to know who is calling and they will chop their wives for using a mobile phone”. Domestic violence caused by mobile phone usage indicates that in some cases domestic violence can be linked to sexual jealousy.

As explained above, extra-marital affairs and pre-marital relationships that men and women are having in the Hela Province was reportedly increasing in part due to the extra income from the LNGP. The in-depth interview and focus group interview data shows that the increase has follow-on effects. One of these is the increase in domestic violence caused by sexual jealousy which was strongly reported in the interview data.

Domestic violence linked to sexual jealousy was reported as occurring when men or women knew of, or suspected, their marital partner of promiscuity. Wives were reported as confronting husbands with violence or with a verbal argument. This confrontation led to further domestic violence. One participant stated:

When he starts going out and sleeping with other women and that report is told to his wife, she gets very angry and starts fighting with her husband . . . this causes a lot of family violence at the household level in the community.

Another participant explained:

Especially for those men who are using money to pay for sex, once that news reached the wife, that’s when the problems at home start to happen in terms of domestic violence. Nowadays it is becoming worse than before.

Another theme identified as contributing to domestic violence was women not being given money by their husbands. Men failing to give women sufficient money to feed the family and provide for children was strongly reported by participants. This situation usually led to women confronting their husbands which led to domestic violence or occurred when men became angry due to a lack of food available in the house, which also resulted in domestic violence. One participant described:

In my experience my husband is working but he never gives us any of his income. He ignores us and goes around enjoying himself with the money, it makes me angry and will lead me to put up a fight or argument with him.

Another participant commented:

They give women so little and he expects the women to feed the household. So the women says “there’s still no money, I cannot feed the children, they cannot go to school, there is not enough for the children” that’s when the fighting erupts.

Domestic violence was reported as being carried out by both men and women.

One participant describes the situation where lack of food contributes to men’s violence against their wives, explaining:

Those husbands who work, when they get their fortnightly they spend it on beer clubs and alcohol. They do not bother to spend some money on food for their family, they put the entire burden on their wife. When they return home and there is no food, they beat up their wife and complain for food.

4.3 Summary of Findings

The results show that Huli communities are experiencing a dramatic change to sexual relationships and marriage practices demonstrated through a range of themes identified that began occurring with the introduction of the LNGP. Money from the LNGP was found to be playing a role in facilitating new sexual relationships and influencing a change to these traditions. This relationship is evident because LNGP income was reported to be spent on polygynous marriages, prostitutes, and used by men to attract women. In addition, these findings suggest follow-on effects including family neglect in polygynous marriages, domestic

violence in polygynous marriages, contributing to domestic violence due to increased sexual jealousy and a link between domestic violence motivated by women not receiving a sufficient share of LNGP income from their husbands.

The following chapter will discuss the significance of the findings outlined above in relation to previous studies and literature presented in Chapter Two.

5 Chapter Five: Discussion

5.1 Revisiting the Research Question

As outlined in Chapter Three, this thesis asks the research question: *To what extent is wealth introduced by the LNGP having an impact on the custom of polygyny in the Hela Province of Papua New Guinea?* Ten in-depth interviews and 11 focus-group interviews with 71 female and three male participants from Huli communities located within the Hela Province were analysed in order to address the research question. The analysis produced a series of themes that relate to this research question and provide a description of how the custom of polygyny seems to be changing since the introduction of the LNGP. The strength of the results identified are heightened given that polygyny was never directly asked about in the in-depth and focus-group interviews. These themes emerged as responses to an investigation into wider social impacts that are being experienced since the introduction of the LNGP.

The first main theme described by the interviews is that income from the LNGP is being spent on polygynous marriages. The second is that polygyny is increasing partly due to wealth being introduced by the LNGP. Thirdly, women and children suffer from neglect when men marry additional wives. Fourth, the results showed an association between polygyny and domestic violence and lastly, violence occurs between wives in polygynous marriages.

The most direct change found is that income from the LNGP is being spent on polygynous marriages and interviewees reported an increase in polygynous marriages in the Hela Province since the introduction of LNGP. The importance of this finding is exacerbated by the follow-on effects that were identified. The interviews suggest that women and children are suffering neglect when men gain additional wives is important given that polygyny was reported to be increasing. In addition, the link that has been found in previous research between polygyny and domestic violence and inter-wife violence is confirmed by this study and is concerning given that polygyny is increasing and is, in part, driven by revenue that is being

introduced from the LNGP. The findings that family neglect and violence are being indirectly exacerbated by the LNGP have important implications for the PNG Government and the company operating the extraction project who both highlight the development potential that this project can bring to PNG nationally as well as to the Hela Province.

The following section discusses how the findings from the current study relate to literature on the social impacts of resource extraction wealth and violence against women introduced in Chapter Two.

5.2 Extraction Literature

As mentioned earlier, resource extraction, if utilised effectively provides opportunities for national and regional development and provides capital that can reduce absolute poverty, invest in human development and achieve national economic development (Davis & Tilton, 2005). Through the provision of new income opportunities for local communities, capacity building, and education and healthcare for women and children the potential for resource extraction to contribute to development is significant. Further, as stated in the introductory chapter, EHL report a number of development initiatives that have been achieved in the Hela Province including improvements to healthcare, water and sanitation, government and capacity building, education, planning, and the construction of infrastructure (ExxonMobil, 2011a).

Conversely, as introduced in Chapter Two, several authors such as Banks (2001, 2005, 2009), Banks and Gilberthorpe (2011) and Filer (1990, 1999a) argue that resource extraction produces dramatic social change, can alter custom and can have negative impacts for communities, and especially women, in affected areas. The current study supports this assertion based on the findings that sexual relationships and the custom of polygyny are reported to have changed since the introduction of the LNGP; and that these changes are contributing to domestic violence and family neglect within Huli communities in the Hela Province.

Banks (2001) discusses the role that revenue flows play in influencing the process of social change in communities affected by resource extraction projects, maintaining that the re-distribution of wealth flows by local communities provides the basis for negative social impacts. The findings of this research support Banks' (2001) argument by identifying several problematic changes driven by the re-distribution of money received from the LNGP. These changes include an increase in prostitution due to LNGP money, men buying prostitutes with LNGP money, men attracting women with LNGP money, women marrying men in order to access LNGP money, an increase in polygyny facilitated by income earned from the LNGP and income earned from the LNGP being spent on polygyny within Huli communities in the Hela Province. The findings also link the increase in polygyny to family neglect, domestic violence and inter-wife violence. As a result the findings from this research support Banks' (2001) assertion that the re-distribution of wealth flows provide the basis for negative social impacts experienced by communities affected by resource extraction projects.

As outlined in Chapter Two, Filer (1990, 1996, 1999a), Filer and Macintyre (2006), Banks (2001, 2009) and Banks and Gilberthorpe (2011) discuss the influential position that local communities play in resource extraction in PNG. They argue that communities with an influential role in resource extraction leads to the distribution of large amounts of wealth directly into these communities, which can exacerbate social impacts. The findings of the current study support the argument that large wealth flows distributed into local communities is exacerbating social impacts. The findings indicate that wealth received by Huli communities in the Hela Province, driven by their influential status, is playing a role in changing social patterns around polygyny, sexual relationship and family life, which have follow-on effects, including, family neglect and violence.

The results of this study partly support Filer's (1990) theory of social disintegration. As outlined in Chapter Two, Filer's (1990) theory of social disintegration posits that rapid introduction of wealth entering a

traditional Melanesian context will have negative social impacts. Specifically, he states that large compensation and benefit packages for local communities cannot be absorbed by traditional forms of exchange and sociality. These societies lack the capacity to distribute large sums of cash which instead leads to rapid destruction of local societal norms and values. Bainton (2010) supports Filer's (2010) hypothesis asserting that this process has occurred in all extraction projects in PNG up to 2010.

The findings of the current study support Filer's (1990) overarching assertion that wealth will lead to rapid social change. This is clear given the findings that money from the LNGP is playing a role in changing sexual relationships, family life and customs relating to marriage. However, these findings do not make any comment of the inability of the communities to distribute wealth, only that wealth has led to rapid social change and the alteration of local societal norms with relation to sexual relationships and polygyny.

Similarly, Banks' (2005) concept of hyperdevelopment details that the sudden influx of large amounts of cash, services and infrastructure in a Melanesian context can have disproportional impacts on a community. Large revenue payments can exaggerate existing social problems, creating mutated, enlarged versions of what is normal and fail to take into account longer-term social and economic development issues. The current research demonstrates that a sudden influx of large amounts of cash, services and infrastructure over a short time period are having significant social impacts and that LNGP wealth is exacerbating pre-existing social problems of domestic violence, family neglect and prostitution in the Hela Province. The increase in polygyny reported in the current study demonstrates an increase in a custom that is associated with violence against women. These increases are being driven by income earned from the LNGP, hence indicating that wealth from the LNGP is indirectly exacerbating an existing social problem.

The findings of the current study have important implications for the PNG Government. As Banks (2001) posits, the distribution of larger revenue packages directly into affected communities was, in part, implemented as a strategy to avoid reoccurrence of conflict after the Bougainville crisis. The findings of the current study supports literature that argues that the distribution of large sums of money directly into affected communities has the risks to, in itself, create negative social impacts. The current study finds the strategy implemented to prevent a reoccurrence of conflict experienced in Bougainville is exacerbating existing negative social problems of domestic violence and family neglect in Huli communities living in the Hela Province of PNG.

In addition, this research supports Banks' (2009) assertion that wealth from resource extraction is distributed with an uneven gender balance, as women do not have equal access to resource wealth as it enters affected communities. The theme identified in the current study, that domestic violence is, in part, driven by women not receiving LNGP wealth from their husbands, supports Banks' (2009) argument and suggests that not only do women have less access to LNGP wealth but that this lack of access contributes to domestic violence.

5.3 Violence Against Women

Galtung (1990), as detailed in Chapter Two, expanded notions of violence to include direct, structural and cultural forms. The results of the current study indicate changes to direct and cultural forms of violence in the Hela Province. The theme that polygyny is increasing, combined with the results detailing the link between domestic violence and polygyny suggests that direct violence is increasing and is influenced by wealth from the LNGP.

In addition, the follow-on effect of domestic violence associated with sexual jealousy from a reported increase in pre and extra-marital relationships further indicates that the province is experiencing increased levels of direct violence which is, in part, associated with the introduction of wealth from the LNPG. The findings of the current study show that domestic violence is

perpetrated by men against women and between women in polygynous marriages, however violence against women by men was significantly more commonly reported.

The findings that polygyny is increasing, as well as women's lack of choice when their husband marries a new wife, indicates that cultural violence is being exacerbated by wealth introduced by the LNBP. The lack of choice for women when their husbands decide to marry additional wives can be categorised as a form of cultural violence seen in the custom of polygyny. The findings that women and children suffer neglect when men in polygynous marriages fail to provide food, shelter, school fees or emotional support for all of their wives and children further indicate that the custom of polygyny is a form of cultural violence. These results indicate that the LNBP has exacerbated direct and cultural forms of violence in the Hela Province.

Ellsberg et al. (2008) found that women in polygynous marriages felt they suffered financially when their husbands married additional wives, that women complaining about 'other women' was one major factor contributing to wife-beating and reported inter-wife fighting due to distribution of finances as well as sexual jealousy. The current research supports these dynamics for Huli communities in the Hela Province; finding that women and children suffer from financial neglect when husbands marry additional wives. Further, women complaining about 'other women' was found to be one reason that resulted in husbands beating their wives and financial and sexual jealousy were identified as motivating inter-wife violence.

Bonnell (1999), in a study conducted with communities affected by the Porgera gold mine, found that revenue payments had similar negative impacts on women and marriage on populations in the Porgera Valley. Bonnell (1999) found an increase in polygyny in the Porgera Valley populations from 19 per cent in 1989 to 43 per cent in 1993 and found that "adultery, abandoned wives and children, and domestic violence became

major concerns” (Filer, 1999b, p.6). Further, Bonnell (1999) found women’s anger over men taking new wives, among other factors, exacerbated the severity and rate of domestic violence in Porgera. She also found that fighting between co-wives was common as well as sexual jealousy causing violence. The impacts that Bonnell (1999) identifies at the Porgera gold mine are consistent with the findings of the current study of Huli populations in the Hela Province. Similar to Bonnell’s (1999) findings interviewees in the present study reported an increase in polygyny, increased pre and extra-marital relationships, neglect of wives and children in polygynous marriages, an association between polygyny and domestic violence, inter-wife violence in polygynous marriages and sexual jealousy causing violence between wives in polygynous marriages as well as between husbands and wives in polygynous marriages. These findings also support Macintyre’s (2011) argument where she details that the social impacts of resource extraction for women in PNG that work to exacerbate existing gender inequality that exists within PNG communities.

McPherson (2012) maintains that violence against women by their husbands is often seen as justified if women do not stoically accept their husbands’ decisions to marry an additional wife. The current study supports McPherson’s (2012) assertions with the findings that domestic violence was linked to women complaining about ‘other women’ within Huli communities in the Hela Province.

The increase in polygyny found in this study also reinforces literature detailing the role of polygyny in Huli communities. Glasse (1969) explains that polygynous marriages in Huli communities are motivated by men’s aspiration for status. Additional wives facilitate rearing of more pigs and agricultural crops to sustain the pigs. Wives provide the labour to produce crops and pigs, which are capital that can be used to participate in exchange ceremonies, and create status for men (Glasse, 1969). Having the capital to gain more than one wife is a mark of prestige in itself. Bonnell (1999) explains that polygyny reduces competition for men by increasing a man’s resources. The increase in polygyny, and the trend that men are

spending income earned from the LNGP on polygyny, suggests a desire by men to achieve status and follow patterns of consumption historically established by spending excess income on polygyny. Garap's (2000) account of reconstruction of modern polygyny "as a right or privilege attached to their own personal power, status and wealth" (Garap, 2000, p.162), is supported by one participant in the current study who reported young men's attitudes when receiving LNGP wealth as an opportunity to "think big" and "become a real man" by marrying additional women.

The results of the current study suggest that wealth introduced from the LNGP is exacerbating social problems that already existed in the Hela Province. Wealth entering Huli communities in the Hela Province is being spent in a way that reinforces the dominant position of men within these communities and further reinforces the link between the subordinate position of women and their susceptibility to violence. The following chapter will highlight conclusions, implications of the findings and identify areas for further research.

6 Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis found that wealth from the LNGP is exacerbating existing problems in relation to sexual relationships, family life and the custom of polygyny in the Hela Province of PNG. These changes are linked to negative follow-on effects such as domestic violence and family neglect. Domestic violence was found to be between husbands and wives, and between wives in polygynous marriages; as well as generally linked to sexual jealousy exacerbated by increases in pre and extra-marital relationships that men and women are partaking in. Additionally, family neglect in polygynous marriages was reported as one of the follow-on effects of a reported increase in polygyny. The increase in polygyny is of concern due to the association between polygyny and violence against women found in previous research as well as in this study. Overall, LNGP wealth distributed to Huli communities in the Hela Province was found to be exacerbating violence that already existed in these communities.

As mentioned in Chapter Five, the findings suggest that the PNG Government should further investigate the impacts that distributing money directly into local communities can create. While direct distribution was used in an attempt to bypass conflict that occurred in Bougainville, the findings of the current study identify direct distribution as exacerbating existing social problems of violence and family neglect. These findings suggest further research is required, particularly focusing on alternative ways of distributing money to local communities to ensure that resource extraction does not have negative impacts for communities' and also for women within these communities.

The results of this study also have implications for the Corporate Social Responsibility approaches to resource extraction for companies involved with the LNGP. EHL have made a significant effort to implement and fund social programmes in the Hela Province and continue to report positive social outcomes that these development programmes have brought to the province. However, the results of this study add complexity to the situation

as they suggest that the LNGP is exacerbating polygyny, domestic violence and neglect of women and children in polygynous marriages.

While a significant grey area exists over responsibility of the well-being of communities affected by resource extraction, whether government or company, Exxon Mobil and EHL should consider the results of this study when engaging in community development.

The results further suggest that the custom of polygyny is compromising the basic human needs of women in Huli communities in the Hela Province. The implications of this study for women are that they will continue to experience increased domestic violence in polygynous marriages, neglect when husbands marry additional wives and that they will not have any choice in the process. Additionally, these results imply that Huli communities require additional social programs that address the low status of women and target customs that compromise women's safety and capacity to make choices.

As discussed previously, Banks and Gilberthorpe (2011) argue that corporate strategies work to break down social networks of cooperation and obligation that had previously created social cohesion. While these authors are referring to divisions that are created when determining eligibility for extraction benefits, the break down or strengthening of social cohesion is an important element to be explored in light of the increase of polygyny. Strathern (1996) discusses the social cohesion created through polygyny and the bride price exchange systems. With reference to the purpose of bride price exchange, Strathern (1996) maintains that it is the quality of the relationship that is created, not the quantity of wealth exchanged, that is important as this is how social cohesion is created. The results of the current study show that polygyny is increasing but provides no insight into the quality of the relationship or social cohesion that these marriages create. Further research surrounding the nature of the relationships created through bride price exchanges for marriage, especially bride price exchanges for polygynous marriages, would provide

important insight into the social cohesion of communities affected by resource extraction and indicate if the increase in cash income from the LNGP is having any impact on social cohesion in the Hela Province.

Additional research using a random sample of the population would be useful to gain a broader understanding of the increase in polygyny and associated social impacts that the current study highlights. Further, this study found an increase in family neglect and domestic violence linked to changes driven by the influx of resources by the LNGP. Further research investigating these findings in more depth would be an important next step to mitigate increases in violence and family neglect for Huli communities in the Hela Province.

Another important area for further research would be to investigate how the findings that emerged in the current study change in 2014 when the LNGP construction phase is forecasted for completion. The end of the LNGP construction phase will mean that the majority of the contestable income in the form of employment from the LNGP will cease and wealth that enters the Hela Province will largely be fixed in landowner benefit payments creating potential for new social impacts to emerge as wealth flows change. The challenge lies in stemming increases to violence and family neglect that are currently occurring, avoiding further negative impacts that may occur when the construction phase ends and to ensure that resource extraction wealth is transformed into positive outcomes for communities in the Hela Province.

The findings of the current study emphasise the importance of understanding existing social contexts in areas where resource extraction projects operate. Great effort must be made by both the PNG Government and companies, to understand and forecast social impacts as they are likely to emerge given the social constructs of local communities. Preconceived notions of how to engage with local communities to achieve positive outcomes must be replaced with informed analysis created from a more in-depth understanding of the local context and the customs that operate

within it. After all, it is the people of the local community - both women and men - who must live with the ongoing impacts of resource extraction.

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