

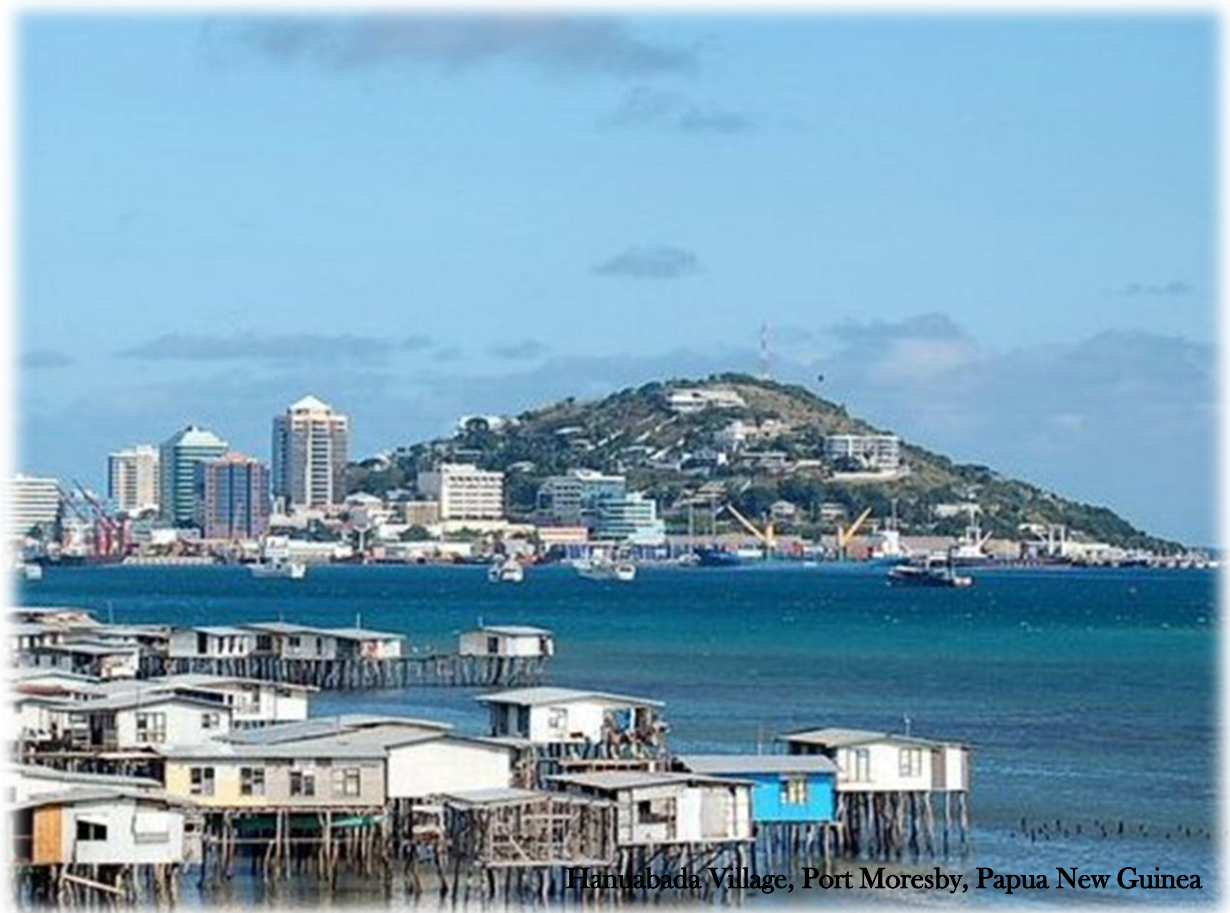
LUND UNIVERSITY

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# YOUNG ADULTS' PERCEPTIONS of INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

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## **ABSTRACT**

This research study has sought the contextual understanding of young adults' realities and the repeated use of violence within heterosexual intimate partner relationships in Hanuabada village, Papua New Guinea through an interactive transformative approach. Peer interviewers guided the researcher's tasks and conducted semi-structured interviews utilizing a photo voice methodology to investigate their own and their peer's life worlds. Primary data constituted the foundation for a focus group discussion and thus a first analysis was conducted in collaboration with peer interviewers. Thereafter, findings were further analyzed utilizing the framework of 'the social structure of a relationship' as a theoretical lens. Findings demonstrate that young adults' realities and daily lives are highly influence by the distinct gender roles defined by the community. They have a major impact on the way they view their world, what they do and what decisions they make. Furthermore, key structural conditions given by the theoretical framework all showed to be relevant for the repeated use of violence within intimate partner relationships in Hanuabada.

Key words: Hanuabada village, intimate partner violence, Papua New Guinea, participatory approach, young adults, peer interviewers.

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*Thank you tru!*

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

CEDAW	Convention of Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GoPNG	Government of PNG
HB	Hanuabada Village
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PI	Peer Interviewer
PNG	Papua New Guinea
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WHO	World Health Organization

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## **1 INTRODUCTION**

This thesis contributes with a deeper knowledge and insight of young adults' situations, thoughts and perceptions on intimate partner violence (IPV). Something which will further contribute to knowledge of how interventions trying to reduce the prevalence of IPV targeting young adults should be shaped on the basis of the target group's terms and conditions: their realities, their point of view. Hence, successful interventions aiming at changing people's attitudes and beliefs can only arise from a platform stemming from the target group's own reality. Thus, change for the future can only become reality through knowledge from today.

The fight for gender equality has long been on the development agenda. The United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention of Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979. The convention sets a strategy for nations to fight against these types of discrimination (United Nations, 2007). The importance of gender equality for global development were highlighted again in the Millennium Development Goals (MGDs) which were set to meet the needs of the world's poorest (United Nations, 2010). Further, the latest World Development Report (2012) is solely dedicated to gender equality, the empowerment of women and its connections to development. The report recognizes the goals of gender equality to be goals in their own right but also as a means to achieve development (World Bank, 2012).

The relationship between gender equality and violence is multifaceted nevertheless studies have shown that gender inequalities increase the risk of gender based violence (World Health Organization, 2009). Though, today's globalized world includes all sorts of societies with cultures that differ greatly from one another. Despite these differences IPV along with other forms of gender based violence seem to be rather common (Michalski, 2004, pp. 652-655). This also holds true for those countries perceived as having reached a very high level of gender equality. This indicates that gender equality is not necessarily equivalent to the elimination of gender based violence, and therefore, suggests that gender based violence needs to be tackled alongside the battle for gender equality.

In Papua New Guinea (PNG) the most common form of gender based violence is violence committed towards women by their intimate partners (World Bank, 2011-08-18, p. 1). It is thought that IPV in PNG has been somewhat socially and culturally sanctioned due to

traditional disciplinary roles of husbands. Moreover, PNG is known for its violent community. Thus, it can be assumed that the tolerance and normalization of violence as a dispute mechanism in PNG society has been carried over to the homes, which also legitimizes the use of violence in conflict management between intimate partners (World Bank, 2011-08-18, p. 3).

The government of PNG recognizes the wide spread problems of IPV as well as its effects on the country's future development. They specifically call for interventions targeting youths, challenging outdated beliefs, societal norms and traditional gender roles (GoPNG, 2010, p. 53). However, taking into account that gender based violence is shared with countries rooted in non-violent societal norms and values (Michalski, 2004); the importance of approaching the issue from a broader perspective is highlighted. Additionally, sound interventions can only derive from knowledge of youths' own perceptions of their daily life how they perceive themselves and their existence in social interaction with society. Thus, this thesis seeks to understand intimate partner relationships through the eyes of young adults living in one of the traditional communities in Port Moresby, Hanuabada Village (HB).

### **1.1 Aim and Research Questions**

This research study aims to investigate how the repeated use of violence in conflict management within intimate partners in HB can be explained through the contextual social structure of a relationship.

- How is the social structure of a relationship reflected by young adults in HB?
- How can the given social structure of a relationship explain the repeated use of violence within intimate partner relationships in HB?

### **1.2 Demarcations**

Safety issues within and outside of Port Moresby as well as security regulations given by the researcher's host organization had to be taken in to consideration when deciding on demarcations for this thesis. Thus the factor of access to communities due to safety issues excluded all communities except for HB, to which the researcher had had previous personal contact with potential gate keepers.



The demarcation ‘young adults’ stems out of the PNG government’s call for the need to target young adults when designing interventions aiming at decreasing the prevalence of domestic violence (GoPNG, 2010, p. 53).

Furthermore, in youth one starts to question those norms and values obtained by parents during childhood. And thus one starts to recreate its core foundation values. Parents are no longer the biggest focus but friends, school and society as a whole slowly get higher importance. It is this socialization process; this search for an identity; that helps to define oneself as a human being and citizen. The perceptions, norms and values one create during youth will lay foundation for the values you carry with you for the rest of your life (Berger & T, 1999). Thus, this makes young adults especially susceptible to new ideas and interventions aiming at transforming societal norms and traditional cultural beliefs. Through this, the demarcation also complies with the participatory research methodology employed in this thesis which will be further explained in chapter four.

### **1.3 Disposition**

The thesis ahead falls into eight sections which move from key definitions and scene-setting to a contextual background to the presentation of employed methodology and data collection processes which is significant because of its participatory approach. Next, previous research will be presented together with the lens through which the collected data has been analyzed comprising an understanding of ‘the social structure of a relationship’. Finally the thesis moves on to the core of the paper; presenting young adults’ perceptions as well as the analysis of findings. The thesis will thereafter be tied together in the concluding remarks, highlighting major findings and suggesting avenues for further research.

## **2 DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS**

### **2.1 Young Adults**

The concept ‘young adult’ have no clear cut lower or upper ages. However, in this thesis the concept includes ages ranging from 18 to 24. The lower age stems out of ethical considerations of not including people under age; whilst the upper age derives from the United Nation’s definition of youth as a person between the ages of 15 and 24 (UNESCO, 1995-2011).

## 2.2 Conflict Management

This thesis uses the concept ‘conflict management’ to describe an individual’s conflict-handling strategies. The key understanding of the concept lies in the acknowledgement that a conflict itself is neutral; it is neither good nor bad. Thus, the conflict is given its meaning from beliefs and norms held by the involved parties (Dunnette, et al., 1998, pp. 143-146).

With respect to the topic, IPV, the use of the concept further refers to conflicts that arise in interaction between partners, more specifically, the handling of interpersonal conflicts (Dunnette, et al., 1998, pp. 143-146).

## 2.3 Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)

Gender based violence is a broad concept; in PNG it is also synonymous with the term Family and Sexual Violence. The issue of violence against women is a worldwide problem; domestic violence in particular is the most prevalent form of such violence (El-Mouelhy, 2004, Oct, p. 297). In respect of the target group it can be assumed that many of them do not share domestic sphere with their intimate partners. Therefore, the concept IPV has been used during data collection. However, both concepts are used in the thesis and they are both referring to: the intentional use of violence with the potential risk of causing direct or indirect death, disability, injury or harm by a partner against another within a relationship (Saltzman, et al., 1999).

The violence can be physical, psychological or sexual in nature and also includes verbal threats of such violence (Saltzman, et al., 1999)<sup>1</sup> The concept ‘intimate partner’ does in the context of this thesis not necessarily have to involve intercourse between partners; but refers to having indicated a high level of intimacy. Thus, how young adults define their relationship as intimate is a particular point of interest. In the early stages of data collection no limitation in sexual orientation was given. However, it soon became clear that only heterosexual relationships were entailed in the discussions. In view of PNG’s penal code 210 and 212, forbidding any kind of homosexual act, this is not surprising and thus only heterosexual relationships are enclosed (Ottoson, 2009).

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<sup>1</sup> The different types of violence used in the definition of intimate partner violence in this paper (physical, psychological, sexual and threat) as defined by Salzman et al (2002) can be found in Appendix I.

### 3 BACKGROUND

To enable a contextual understanding, the background section will start off with information about PNG and the country's historical socio-cultural features relating to domestic violence. Further, HB will be presented along with particular issues connected to being a young adult in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

#### 3.1 Papua New Guinea (PNG)

PNG is with its 600 associated islands a population of approximately 6.5 million people (2007); and a total land area of 462,840 square kilometers, the largest country in the Pacific (World Health Organization, 2010).



(Commonwealth Secretariat, 2010)

The country is recognized by its widespread mountains, covering about fifty per cent of the country; rainforests; coral reefs and river systems. The high geographical diversity of the country makes villages and communities very inaccessible and a lot of them are only accessible by plane (World Health Organization, 2010). These geographical circumstances have allowed a vastly heterogenic socio cultural population to flourish, side by side but still out of sight (ibid.). It is estimated that PNG has about 860 different indigenous languages. Just to give a picture of how many languages that is it is worth mentioning that together they represents over one tenth of the whole worlds total of indigenous spoken languages (Central

Intelligence Agency 2012; Brouwer, Harris and Tanaka 1998,5). Every language group has its own distinct socio cultural heritage with their specific traditions, norms and values. However, the three official languages spoken are Tok Pisin (widely used and understood), English (spoken by 1-2%) and Hiri Motu (spoken by less than 2%) (Central Intelligence Agency, 2012).

The highly heterogenic country and rich variances amongst the population hinders generalizations and the possibility to discuss men and women as two homogenous groups<sup>2</sup> (Brouwer, et al., 1998, p. 1). However, if excluding the few matrilineal societies of PNG, there are some general statements that can be said about the traditional patrilineal societies, their traditions, norms and customs (Morley, 1994, p. 26). Despite the time that has passed, Morley's study from 1994 showed to be of relevance to society in PNG today and particularly to findings of this study, thus, enclosed in this thesis.

Traditional societies were based on family belonging through clan or kinship and neighboring societies were tied together and dependant on each other through a system of exchange (Morley, 1994, p. 26). Marriage was also part of this exchange system and instead of being a personal understanding between two people the marriage was rather an agreement between two clans (ibid.). A 'brideprice', given by the groom's clan to the bride's clan, finalized the marriage and symbolized that the rights to the women, her reproductive abilities and work labor now belonged to the husband. Upon marriage the wife generally moved to the husband's family (Morley, 1994, p. 27). Within this context, the domestic and public spheres were tightly integrated to one another and marital problems, including conflicts between the partners, had the potential to affect the whole community (Morley, 1994, p. 26). Women's responsibilities within the marriage were closely tied to the domestic sphere whilst the husband's responsibilities were tied to the public and political sphere. The woman was responsible for preparing food, taking care of the children and potential animals, elder family members' etcetera. Included in her duties were also to give her husband sexual access (Morley, 1994, p. 27).

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<sup>2</sup> For clarification: Women or men from same cultures should be not be viewed as homogenous groups, though, when looking for cultural structures or relating issues, such as violence against women, it has to be viewed from within the context it occurs.

The control that husbands gained over their wife through the brideprice generally also permitted to use violence if the wife did not show him obedience. In case of a divorce the brideprice was to be returned to the husband's clan by the wife's clan and if there were children within the marriage the husband gained sole custody. It has been discussed to what extent the custom of brideprice has given sanctions to male domination and wife battering (Morley, 1994, p. 27). Interesting to note in respect to that discussion is that a Lae<sup>3</sup> Hospital survey carried out in the late 1980's showed that only 37% of victims seeking help at the hospital had their brideprice paid (Ekenoma, 1986) implying that women who do not have their brideprice paid may be more inclined seeking help for domestic violence issues.

The National Goals and Directive Principles of PNG strive for gender equality; an equality which assures an equal distribution of rights and duties between genders in society as well as in marriage; an equality that the marriage itself should be rested upon (GoPNG, 1975). In contrast, reality is something other than principles. During a floor debate discussing wife battering in 1987 one of the parliamentarians hoped to come to an end to the discussion regarding domestic violence with the words “[...] *Wife beating is an accepted custom... we are wasting our time debating the issue*” (As cited in El-Mouelhy 2004, Oct, 1). Seven years later in 1994, Morley concluded that the realization of gender equality within the country still was far from reality and rather remained a far off goal (Morley, 1994). In 2002 PNG was found to have one of the highest prevalence rates among married or partnered women ever experienced spousal abuse (Krug, et al., 2002). A decade in to the 21<sup>st</sup> century gender equality still seems to be a far off goal for the country (World Health Organization, 2010).

However, judged by the strategic framework for national development starting from 2010, where politicians recognize the strong linkages between level of gender equality and a country's prosperity, a change in attitude seems to have been taken place. The documents constituting the framework<sup>4</sup> identify gender equality and women's empowerment to be key focus areas to ensure sustainable development and growth. It is further suggested that these issues should be addressed proactively and GBV in particular is identified as an issue that needs to be addressed promptly (World Bank, 2011-08-19, p. 1).

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<sup>3</sup> Lae is the second largest city in PNG and provincial capital of Morobe Province.

<sup>4</sup> Vision 2010-2050, the PNG Development Strategic Plan 2010-2030 and the Medium-Term Development Plan 2011-2015, for full information please see the Bibliography.

The MDG's Second National Progress Summary Report for PNG concludes that the gender inequalities within areas such as literacy and longevity are not as large as could be thought; something that is partly confirmed by the World Development Report (World Bank, 2012, p. 385). The progress report instead points to how the gender culture in PNG puts women in a very difficult position where gender based violence in particular is widespread throughout the country (GoPNG, 2009, p. ix).

### **3.2 Hanuabada Village (HB)**

HB is the biggest out of the seven Motu Koitabu villages around Port Moresby habited by the costal people of the Motu Koitabu people. The Motu Koitabu people are the traditional land owners of the greater area where the capital, Port Moresby, lies today. Hanuabada Village means 'the big village' and about 15,000 of the estimated total of 30,000 Motu Koitabu population that lives in Port Moresby lives in HB (UNESCO, 2001).



(Source: PNG Holidays, 2011)

HB is a coastal village with its major parts built on stilts over the sea; it's located on the outskirts of Port Moresby, approximately two kilometers from the city centre. Villagers are predominately Motuan and speak Hiri Motu (UNESCOa, 2001). The HB community has a strong connection to the Church and the deacons take care of all matters regarding the Church and community whilst clan leaders take care of clan matters. The first house built out on stilts belongs to the clan leader which marks his social status; it is also the clan leader who decides where other can build their houses within his clan boundary (UNESCO , 1999). The urban

villages surrounding Port Moresby, including HB, are considered dangerous to outsiders (UNESCOb, 1999).

Due to the location on the outskirts of Port Moresby and its rapid never-ending expansion of the capital, HB has been especially affected. The community is thought to be losing a lot of its traditional practices that usually serves to bind a community together. Moreover, the closeness to the urban city has led youth within the village to crime and drug addictions and is identified to further break down the cohesive social structures of the village (Thulstrup, 2000).

#### **4 METHODOLOGY**

Security risks tied to Port Moresby highly limited my access to communities as well as security regulations set up by my host organisation. Circumstances that needed to be taken into account when deciding on research design for this thesis. However, high importance was also given to research questions and ethical reflections. Furthermore, issues such as financial restrains and time limitations also had to be considered.

The research design employs an interactive transformative methodology framework which entails full participation and collaboration between researcher and participants. By raising awareness around one's own perceptions, interactions and ways to communicate I am aiming at getting participants involved and empowered through the research process (Mikkelsen, 2005, pp. 59-61). Thus, I have taken on an exploratory and inductive role through the whole research process (Mikkelsen, 2005, pp. 59-61; Chambers, 2009, p. 39). However, it is the collectives' common norms, values, accepted behaviors and perceptions among young adults living in HB that are of interest and not the individual differences among the participants, nor my own reflected thoughts (Silverman, 2005, p. 112). Thus, when asking for reasons and background information efforts have been put into not questioning or judging the perceptions as such, but to withhold a neutral position. To further decrease my own influence over data no questions have been asked participants for personal experiences or thoughts but rather for perceived common norms and behaviors among friends (Grellier, et al., 2011, p. 13).

This highly participatory methodology does not however take away the high importance of me and my key role as the researcher. Just as important is my experience in collecting data and the ability to make informed decisions regarding what is relevant and what is not. It is

also my role to critically examine existing theories and previous research from an insider perspective (Westerlander, 2006).

A researchers' right to research other people's worlds is something that has been widely discussed (Mikkelsen, 2005, p. 27). Research conducted in developing countries by foreign uppers<sup>5</sup> highlights this ethical discussion. Thus, the high relevance of this ethical discussion is reflected in the employed methodology and my vision has been to contribute with as much as what the fully worth of the extraction from the participants represents. However, the isolated impact of this micro-study can be thought to have no, or maybe an insignificant impact on its participants. Though, empowerment must not be seen as an isolated event or activity. Thus, if another future event is watering the seed that has been sown by this study, the contribution and impact of this intervention on the whole can be seen as immeasurable. Moreover, the value of this methodology lies in the participant's experience of the intervention together with the intention itself. Thus, the question of measurement of real impact becomes in this sense irrelevant.

With the exception for reimbursements<sup>6</sup> of costs for participating and refreshments during work-shops, no economic compensation was offered and all participation was made on a voluntary basis. Further, all participants were assured that their identity would remain anonymous and thus they have been given pseudonym names. For clarification purposes; peer interviewers (PIs) have been assigned a capital P as their surnames whilst other interviewees are given a pseudonym first name only.

#### **4.1 Case Selection**

The study employs a purposive snowball method where a controlled selection of informants with the two criteria's: young adults aged from 18-24 and living in HB was given to two gate keepers (Barbour, 2001). Through the gate keepers I got in contact with six possible participants, two female and four male. All six possible participants later chose to take part in the research as PIs. I had previous been in contact with three of the male and one of the female PIs through the local canoeing club in which we were all members.

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<sup>5</sup> The concept upper is referring to the hierarchies of human relationships understood in terms of "power and weakness, of dominance and subordination" as defined by (Chambers, 2009, p. 58).

<sup>6</sup> A list with all reimbursements can be found in Appendix II.



## 5 DATA COLLECTION

As a European affiliated with the United Nations Development Programme I was automatically positioned on the upper scale of social hierarchy in PNG and with that comes a great deal of informal power. Being powerful also entails influential and it can potentially be used for achieving good outcomes, it is usually seen as strength. But being powerful can also be a weakness. When conducting research one of those weaknesses is that people with power are not people one want to argue or disagree with (Chambers, 2009, p. 76). Issues of power imbalances and its risks of skewing data have been considered when choosing methods for data collection.

In line with the interactive participatory approach data was collected through working with PIs. They took on the role seeking to understand the 'life world' of themselves and their peers (Kvale, 1996, p. 30). Open-ended questions were used to stimulate active participation during the first day preparatory work-shop<sup>7</sup> facilitated by me (Silverman, 2005, p. 112). During the work-shop interview guides<sup>8</sup> were constructed and with my guidance the PIs practiced conversational interviewing on each other. By the end of the preparatory work-shop day individual debriefings and interview sessions with me was booked with each PI. After the first day work-shop PIs were given two to three days<sup>9</sup> during which they were asked to conduct two interviews with same sex peers of their choice living in HB. Additionally, PIs were asked to take three pictures; one representing what is female - what lies in the concept of being a woman; another one representing what is male – what lies in the concept of being a man; and the third one representing what lies in the concept of a relationship. They were further asked to task their interviewees to do the same.

### 5.1 Advantages/Disadvantages

The high cost of using PIs and photographs can be seen from several perspectives. There are direct financial costs of cameras and venues for work-shops but moreover it is a method that takes up a lot of time from PIs (Given, et al., 2011). However, the methods contribution in form of enhanced validity together with the aim of contributing and giving back and considering the community's inaccessibility, spoke to the method's applicability. Ethical

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<sup>7</sup> A schedule over the whole data collection process can be found in Appendix III.

<sup>8</sup> The interview guide can be found in Appendix IV.

<sup>9</sup> Depending on when they had their individual session booked with me.

issues arise from the fact that once PIs are in the field I am out of control over how ethical principles are followed. Hence, the ethical guidelines were constructed in a highly participatory fashion during the first day work-shop. Through which a strong sense of ownership is promoted thus, increases the chances of them being actively implemented in the field. The data collection process was finalized by a concluding one day work-shop where PIs got the chance to share their experiences and discuss their findings. Additionally, participant's photos were interpreted and this laid as a foundation for the second FGD (FGD2).

The employment of photo elicitation has further the potential to show preconceptions, underlying norms, beliefs and perceptions that are not reflected upon. Thereby the method offers a deeper insight into the participants' consciousness (Harper, 2011, p. 18). Additionally, by including PIs in the first analysis of the photos the method also offers them a deeper understanding and insight to their own constructed realities (Jacoby P. & Østergaard, 2003, p. 2).

The majority of weaknesses connected with the employment of PIs are the same as those previously mentioned relating to my own skills as a researcher. The major challenge is to withhold the participatory part of the approach and keep myself from taking over; keep myself from dominating. Though, as an upper I can never escape domination thus, domination is integrated in the way I talk, the way I dress, the way I walk, and the way I interrupt (Chambers, 2009, pp. 211-213). However, by being aware of these issues their impact on the process can be decreased.

## **5.2 Collected Data**

During data collection unforeseen circumstances limited the scope of data. One male PI dropped out. Another male PI participated in the FGDs but did not contribute with any collected data; the same PI could not make it for a debriefing and individual interview session. Yet another male PI was not able to attend his debriefing and individual interview session but submitted instead transcripts of his collected data. In addition one female young adult, fitting with the PIs profile, assisted one other female PI in her data collection. The additional participant took part in that PI's debriefing and individual interview as well as in FGD2.

### Collected Data

- ✓ 8 interviews conducted by PIs
- ✓ 2 individual debriefings and interviews with PIs
- ✓ 1 duo debriefing and interview with PI and additional female participant
- ✓ 36 photos (12 photos per theme)
- ✓ 1 FGD with the original six PIs, referred to as FGD1
- ✓ 1 FGD with five of the original PIs plus the additional female participant, referred to as FGD2

The full drop-out PI was because of death within the family. The PI who could not find time to take part in an individual session was working during the two days when the sessions were scheduled. Due to security regulations I did not have the possibility to offer an alternative session outside office hours. The third semi drop-out invoked did not submit any collected data and did not give an explanation for this. The understanding was that his collected data were to be submitted but it never was.

### **5.3 Validity and Reliability**

This thesis takes on a postmodern approach to knowledge where focus lies within the context that knowledge is produced. The truth itself is flexible and something that undergoes continuous production. Thus, the importance does not lie in the generalizability of the truth but of its contextuality (Kvale, 1996, p. 232). Hence, this study is not aiming at producing laws of human behavior (ibid., p. 232); nor for reaching wider generalizations or theoretical inferences (Foster, et al., 2000); but rather it seeks to confine the unique perceptions of young adults in HB. However, that does not exclude the possibility that findings of this study might be of use and applicable to other settings and contexts on the basis of fit (Foster, et al., 2000). Possible logical assertions drawn in the study also have the potential to guide possible proactive interventions in other settings (Kvale, 1996, p. 233).

My interaction with the local population has, during my six months in PNG been minimal, a fact that restrained my communication skills in our interaction. Viewing the validity; as a measurement of how well its results reflect the reality of the given phenomena in the given context, the use of PIs strengthens the validity of the research (Kvale, 1996, pp. 231-236). Additionally, by including stakeholder participation on all levels through the data collection

process, and participant-generated data, I am given the opportunity to understand phenomenon through the eyes of the PIs (Given, et al., 2011). Further, reflecting results<sup>10</sup> determined by the target group, rather than my own views, the study's validity is further strengthened (ibid.).

FGD2 further facilitates a context sensitized sound and logic interpretation of the participant generated photos. Thus, peers do not only speak the same mother tongue as the target group but also use the same kind of contextual and age specific language (Kvale, 1996, p. 237). This together with the use of conversational peer interviewing techniques contributes to a higher level of reliability (Kvale, 1996, p. 235). However, an interviewer will always have an influence on the interview. Though, by letting the PIs train their interviewing techniques on each other as well as reflecting upon one's role as an interviewer the PIs level of influencing have been decreased and thus the reliability of the research increases further (ibid.). Additionally: having peers belonging to the same tribe, interviewing same sex friends, and by involving questions through a participatory approach, are all factors influencing the thesis's reliability positively.

## **6 ANALYTICAL APPROACH**

This chapter, presenting the analytical approach of the thesis, will start off by outlining a research frontier relevant to domestic violence in PNG as well as the field more broadly. Discussed explanatory research will be presented and follows by factors commonly suggested taking into consideration when planning for interventions. The chapter then roles over into presenting the theoretical framework and thus, provides the glasses trough which the data will be analyzed. The chapter will end of by presenting the Operationalization of the theoretical framework.

### **6.1 Research Frontier**

The World Health Organization's (WHO) multi country study on domestic violence from 2006 concluded that domestic violence is common all over the world and often in severe forms. Further it states that prevalence rates of such violence might be higher in non-industrialized settings which are reflective of PNG (Garcia-Moreno, et al., 2006). Morley

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<sup>10</sup> Is referring to results from FGD2 where participant's photos where interpreted and lay as a foundation for the discussion.

(1994) took this idea further and studied if modernization instead contributed to higher levels of domestic violence and used rural and urban PNG as a case study (Morley, 1994, p. 25). However, the study concluded that wife battering does not seem to be more frequent in the urban than the rural parts of the country but rather seems to be common everywhere (ibid., 38).

Morley's findings reflected a seemingly significant change in the mindset of people living in the urban context. Therefore although the amount of wife battering was the same in rural/urban settings, the urban sample of women were less accepting of the violence; most clearly displayed amongst the urban female respondents (Morley, 1994, pp. 29,36). It was also among this group where the difference in attitude and experience varied the most. Only half of the women experiencing violence from their husbands would be likely to say that they approved of wife battering (Morley, 1994, p. 37).

The studies that Morley (1994) considered in her research also asked correspondents of factors explaining why the husband hits his wife. For the total sample the most common answers were (1) '*wife fails to fulfill her obligations*' (2) '*sexual jealousy*' and (3) '*domestic argument*'. Significantly fewer respondents from the urban sample in comparison to the rural one referred to a '*husband's right*' to beat his wife. The most frequent answer among beaten urban women was '*husband was drunk*', the same as for urban men (Morley, 1994, pp. 36-37). However, even though the event of spousal abuse occurs when the husband is drunk, the underlying reason may still be concerning the wife's duties or rather, her unsuccessfulness in fulfilling them (Morley, 1994, p. 39). Thus, in a situation such as the urban one, where the traditional support of domestic violence is decreasing, the alcohol does not necessarily justify the beating itself but to some degree excuses the husband's 'lost' of self-control and thereby their 'uncontrollable' consequences (ibid.).

When trying to tackle the problems of IPV El-Mouelhy (2004) points out the utter importance of raising awareness among the women themselves; and acknowledging and claiming their rights as citizens. Thus, empowerment of women is identified as a key factor in this process where equal access to society, its services, as well as given opportunities to personal development is a precondition as well as a goal itself (El-Mouelhy, 2004, Oct, pp. 300-301). Further, interventions must have a multidisciplinary approach and include partnership

between different stakeholders within a country as well as internationally (El-Mouelhy, 2004, Oct, pp. 289-301).

El-Mouelhy (2004) further points out that for interventions targeting domestic violence to be successful, norms and cultural beliefs must change. Men in particular need help in this process changing their aggressive behavior and attitudes. Furthermore he posits youth to be an important group to target thus; “*social behavior is learned at an early age*” (El-Mouelhy, 2004, Oct, p. 300).

Krahé, Bieneck and Möller (2005) just as El-Mouelhy, explain the occurrence of domestic violence to a large extent by its norms in regards to gender relations and society’s acceptance of violence in general. Further they point out demographic ‘risk factors’ such as *age, level of education, economic situation and own experience as a child* as the most common. Interestingly enough these variables have shown to be valid independent from different cultural settings (Krahé, et al., 2005).

When looking at the bigger picture; the WHO’s multi country study concluded that the prevalence of domestic violence is worldwide (Garcia-Moreno, et al., 2006); the fact that this also includes countries where violence does not appear to be culturally accepted reflects the need for a wider approach. Michalski (2004) points out the risk that by solely focusing on cultural dimensions of violence, or any other individual risk factor, one misses out on key features in social life also affecting the prevalence and perpetration of domestic violence. Thus, an approach is proposed, where violence can be seen as a component in one’s conflict management (2004:669-671). Rather than focusing solely on societal factors such as patriarchal values or a cultural acceptance of violence he proposes a more holistic approach. Interventions targeting domestic violence will not meet success unless the social structures in which they exist is examined and addressed. Violence stems from the “*structural foundations of interpersonal relationships*” (Michalski, 2004, p. 653) foundations that might be “*expressed or even justified*” (ibid) through cultural norms and beliefs (Michalski, 2004).

In the context of PNG and its reputation of violent traditions, a context that easily could lure one to solely focus on concepts such as patriarchal values and cultural acceptance of violence, Michalski’s perspective becomes especially attractive. Hence,

the theoretical framework of this study takes in several societal factors where, amongst others, the psychology of violence, demographic risk factors and cultural conditioning is integrated with the significant features of social life that perpetuate the use of violence in conflict management between intimate partners (ibid.).

There is a lot of research to find regarding IPV, particularly on heterosexual relationships focusing on violence against women; all well justified. However, the gap to fill within the researched field lies in that departing from young adults' perspective. Recently, young adults have been recognized to be an important target group when tackling the high prevalence of domestic violence in PNG (GoPNG, 2010, p. 53). Hence, it is of utter importance, that terms and conditions of young adults are investigated so that implemented interventions have is given the chance to be successful and to have an impact.

## **6.2 The Social Structure of a Relationship**

The focus of this theoretical approach lies in the social 'structure of a relationship' and the descriptive emphasis lies within key structural conditions that may perpetuate the use of violence (Michalski, 2004). Following six sub sections outlines the different key conditions as identified by Michalski (2004). Together and reworked in light of the context of youth relationships they provide the overarching structural framework employed in the data analysis.

### \_\_\_\_\_ *Degree of Social Isolation*

The degree of social isolation refers to the degree in which the women have the possibility to call for a third party support. The supporter can be within the nearest family or friends but also with acquaintances or go as far as to the formal control and legal system (i.e. a police officer) (Michalski, 2004, pp. 662-664).

Factors that may increase a women's isolation could be post-marital residence arrangements, the degree of privacy that customarily is assigned to the domestic sphere and whether or not domestic activities are physically perceptible to the surroundings (ibid.). A third party's support usually take form as an alternative place to live, an 'exit' from the current situation or it could come as a direct threat or actual violence against the husband in an effort trying to protect the women (ibid.).

Interdependence of Support Networks

The second structural condition takes into account the degree to which the two partners and their networks are entwined or not. The theory is that the more the two partner's networks are entwined, and the more cross-cutting ties there are and the more incentives there are for the partners to keep disagreements civil and to come to a non-violent solution. Likewise the absence of an entwined network without cross-cutting ties gives less social pressure to keep arguments civil (Michalski, 2004, pp. 662-664).

Inequality

Research has shown that there is a correlation between traditional norms, women's inequality and the level of violence against female partners. Hence, this structural condition takes into account the level of women's access to economic and political resources. Less access and lack of resources is seen to reinforce women's dependency, as well as subordinate position in relation to their husbands, and increases the prevalence of violence (Michalski, 2004, pp. 662-664).

Relational Distance

The relational distance within an intimate partner relationship has in some ways turned out to be a predictor of the probability of a dispute to turn violent or not, thus, the etiology of IPV lies in the intimacy itself. Hence, the level of relational distance, the level of intimacy, and to which level partners take part in each other's lives are relevant structural conditions for the level of violence within that relationship. A lower degree of relational distance gives a higher prevalence of violence (Michalski, 2004, pp. 662-664).

The structural condition at hand can first and foremost be applied to couples living together and thus making the core of a partnership between those not living together lie in the interaction itself. The target group in this thesis is young adults aged between 18 and 24, most of which not yet share domestic sphere with their partners, as is the case for all of the participants. Thus, the concept of 'relational distance' is beyond the scope of this research and therefore excluded from the analysis.



### Centralization of Authority

This key structural condition stems from the political arena where one party holds all the political assets. And, just as ‘one-party nations’ or dictatorships lend towards a more violent nature, intimate partner relationships where all the political power and decision making lies in the hands of only one of the partners, the level of violence increases compared to relationships with more equally distributed decision-making (Michalski, 2004).

In consideration of the target group of this thesis and the social context they live, in which the employment of this condition will be profiled thereafter. Thus, the focus on the power relations between partners will be complimented and substantiated with the power relations between young men and women in general as portrayed in the collected data.

### Exposure to Violent Networks

The exposure of violent networks refers to a person’s experience of violence during their upbringing, and draws on the social learning model. Though, here emphasis lies on to what extent other alternative conflict solutions are offered. The condition also includes existing partisan support or networks and their encouragement or discouragement to the use of violence in conflict management (Michalski, 2004, pp. 662-664).

In terms of the relationship, the higher level of exposure to violence as a conflict management method and the lower level of alternative strategies one are exposed to during upbringing, the more affect the likelihood for experiencing IPV. In the same way existing partisan support networks encouraging violence leads to a higher level of use of violence in conflict management (ibid.).

Due to the use of a ‘third party perspective’ during data collection, there are no data regarding personal experiences passed or presence. To isolate the given conditions, societal structures found in the data indicating the intergenerational transmission of violence are identified and discussed.

## **6.3 Model of Analysis**

As the social structure of a relationship is used as a lens through which the data is analyzed the previous mentioned key structural conditions are used as subheadings to organize collected data in the analysis. Throughout the whole analysis it is the views of the target group

that are displayed and it is worth to repeat that the truth herein is viewed as something flexible that is under continuous construction. Thus, this is not a study describing the situation for females and males in HB; there are as many of those as there are men and women, boys and girls living in the village. Instead this is the story of structural conditions existing within the village, affecting and controlling the lives of its inhabitants, some more, some less.

### \_\_\_\_\_ *Incorporation of Photovoice*

The participant generated photos are included in the research to supplement the conducted interviews; this to find underlying perceptions that interviewees and PIs themselves might not be actively aware of at first thought. As a part of the final work-shop the photos were used as a foundation for the FGD and a discussion regarding what the pictures were symbolizing was facilitated through requesting the PIs different interpretations of the taken pictures.

Data from the photo elicitation that: complements, supports, contradicts or adds a new perspective to the other data are presented and discussed intertwined under the different sub-headings. The photos are both analyzed in respective theme groups, individually, and as a part of their three picture sequence belonging.

## **7 ANALYSIS**

The analysis falls into five sections following the arrangement of the ‘social structure of a relationship’: degree of social isolation, interdependence of support networks, inequality, centralization of authority and exposure to violent networks. The variable length of each section reflects the amount of data obtained. Some of the lengthier sections are further divided into subsections in which case they follow distinctions identified within the specific condition.

### **7.1 Degree of Social Isolation**

The following section presents the data reflecting the social isolation for women in HB and has been divided into three subsections: privacy, formal control and the role of the family. The section draws on the occurrence of third party support where the subsection *Privacy* discusses the physical and socially assigned privacy. Subsection *Formal Control* draws on the perceptions of existing laws and their implementation as well as other formal authorities. The last subsection *The Role of the Family* details the given role of the family and its dependency on having your brideprice paid or not.

Privacy

Houses in HB are built close together; house walls are thin and the major part of the village is built on stilts over the water which makes sound travel clear and fast. A call for help, a quarrel inside a house or an argument in the alleys would be easily perceptible (FGD1, 2012). These factors suggest that the physical perceptible level of privacy in HB is low and thus, indicates a low level of women's isolation (Michalski, 2004). The majority of interaction between young adult intimate partners who are not married takes place outdoors. In lieu of a common living space this is also the case when it comes to being intimate with one's partner (FGD1) and thus if calling out for help in times of trouble one would be easily perceptible for onlookers. However, data suggests that when a woman is in a troublesome situation she cannot count on outsiders to intervene:

*"[...] there are no changing, if you change your mind then the boy will just give you a hot one by the face or something, just grab you and pull you up" (Tabitha P. 2012).*

*"At the village there are plenty of dark corners so if you're on your way [with a boy] and you change your mind then you're too late" (Vincentyne P. 2012).*

A quarrel, as portrayed in the first quotation, can be assumed to be easily perceptible by outsiders still there is no sign of onlookers intervening. The second quotation indicates the dark to be a factor, indeed the dark can be assumed to hinder someone from fully perceiving the severity of a situation. Additionally, data does not reveal if a girl would call for help or what kind of resistance she would use - circumstances that may be notify onlookers' to intervene. In HB the daylight hours are pretty regular all year round; the sun rises around 6am and sets around 6pm. Hence, people are still out socializing during a large proportion of the dark evening hours.

The lack of third party support in relation to the low physical privacy in the village suggests that there is a high level of socially assigned privacy allotted to the domestic sphere and relational matters. The unwillingness to interfere is often explained by not wanting to worsen the situation for the battered wife or for the girlfriend, and thus people do not pay attention to a quarrel in the street corner (Tabitha, 2012; Florence, 2012; Vincentyne, 2012; Grace, 2012). Hence, relational matters seems to be just as private and out-of-sight, in public as it is in one's home.

*“Among strangers no one will intervene, if you’re not belonging to the closest family then it’s none of your business” (Florence P. 2012).*

Though, one of the male respondents had an opposing view to what the rest of the data suggests and stated that he would intervene in case he would see a quarrel between a couple:

*“[...] I asked him if like, what will you do if you walk by a fight; would you interfere. And he said he would go in between and calm the husband down and tell the man that this is not a proper way to solve their problems” (Aaron P. retelling his interview with Robert 2012).*

### Formal Control

Interviewed young adults seem to perceive the formal control and legal system as complete failures, at least when it comes to on-going incidents:

*“Last weekend one girl was battered by her boyfriend outside The Penthouse [local nightclub] and no one did anything, some didn’t see and some of the guards was just watching” (Tabitha P. 2012).*

Sometimes informants not only identified the laws themselves but also the lack in implementation as the problem:

*“There would be an end to intimate partner violence if law and order are exercised, like taking that person to a police [station] and lock him up” (David P. 2012).*

*“The penalties for wife beating should be higher and implemented so that men are afraid to beat their wives. That could be one way of cutting down the rates of domestic violence” (Florence P. 2012).*

*“There should be a higher legal threat” (Jason P. 2012).*

There are formal institutions where victims of IPV can seek help. The elderly, who are much respected in the community, can assist with advice. And generally, people working within the church are perceived as trustworthy people with whom you can talk openly with, especially pastors. They are identified to give hands-on counseling for individuals as well as for couples. Additionally, being involved in the church is seen as a protective factor against IPV and also something that is promoted within the village (FGD2, 2012; Abigail, 2012; Lillian, 2012).

However, seeking help from the church can be problematic and visiting the pastor for counseling is also taking a risk of having the word go around about you:

*“The church is a place where you can go and seek for help or counseling, with the pastors that work there, [...] But that’s another thing about our village, if someone tries to go and talk to a pastor or an elderly for help [...] the ones sitting selling buai<sup>11</sup> at the market they will spread this gossip about her, they’ll say all sorts of things just to discriminate that girl or to hurt her. That’s why we keep it to ourselves, like those people [the pastors and the elderly] they will help but she’ll be thinking: If I go pass those people sitting there [selling buai at the market] they’ll gossip about me saying all sorts o things. And that’s why we don’t want to go and share our problems or what’s within us, we’re just keeping it within, as long as possible” (Vincentyne P. 2012).*

Corruption and a lack of interest in taking action against IPV among the leaders in HB is also something that is reflected in the data (Felix, 2012; Robert, 2012; Tabitha P, 2012):

*“There are some chairman at the village and if they stand up and do their jobs and talk for the rights of the people to get some changes in the village. But instead they just like sitting at their house and enjoying their money with their family only and not caring about the once walking around in the streets” (Vincentyne P. 2012).*

### *The Role of the Family*

Findings reveal that if you don’t belong to the closest family then you do not have any belonging intervening in an argument between intimate partners. The closest family, however, seems to have some say and possibility to go in between and support the women. Though the only support given on behalf of the women comes from the women’s own family:

*“You seek help from your parents, most people they go back to the parents, and they’re helping them out” (Florence P. 2012).*

Researcher: “In what way are the parents helping out?”

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<sup>11</sup> Buai = Betel nut: Betel nut is very common in PNG and chewed as part of social occasions or just as a part of everyday life. Betel nut has a mild stimulant effect.

*“Some parents they’ll go back and tell that man that he has no right to hit their daughter” (Florence P. 2012).*

It also happens that the woman’s family supports her by threatening and/or abusing the partner though, those parents are often viewed as overprotective:

*“Sometimes over protective parents send their sons to basting [beat] the boy up”. (Jason P. 2012).*

One interviewee brings up an example of a specific family where the man in the household is known to be violent and very aggressive. The wife has had to visit the hospital several times after an argument with her husband:

*“[...] if there’s a fight at that certain house then everyone will go there to see what is happening and then the men will hold the man back from hitting his wife and then they’ll sit him down and they’ll discuss it. -What happened that led to this? And they’ll resolve it right away. Sometimes the wife, she gets like, if she’s so fed up with her husband beating her up she’ll pack her things and leave” (Tabitha P. 2012).*

In this case the parents offer the woman an exit, an alternative place to live. Though, this support is temporary and it comes with the expectation that she will move back to the husband once things have settled down, Tabitha continues:

*“The parents decide when she needs to go back and sort things out to live together with her husband again. So they’ll go and see them and they’ll cook food and sit with the man’s family and they’ll talk it over and apologize and reconcile and then they’ll move into the house again. [...] The parent’s are the ones that know the best. I mean they don’t want their daughter to leave the husband so they’ll do that to keep them together” (Tabitha P. 2012).*

The brideprice does not have to be paid in connection to the wedding ceremony but can be paid years later, often after the couple has children. This also appears to be relevant in regards to the parents’ inclination and ability to intervene. If the brideprice is paid a separation would be more complicated, it would mean that the bride’s family has to pay back the brideprice to the husband’s family. The brideprice is a large amount of money and thus, a divorce after the brideprice has been paid seems unlikely (FGD2 2012):

*“It doesn’t happen that you get divorced if the brideprice is paid. It only happens if the brideprice is not paid yet” (Sylvester P. 2012).*

The PIs suggests that most people in HB see the payment of brideprice as a sign of love. The brideprice is a way for the husband to demonstrate his support and thankfulness towards the bride’s parents for raising their daughter to be a fine woman (FGD1 2012). Although, PIs also recognizes that the custom is used as legitimizing domestic violence:

*“Some men take advantage of the brideprice; they say that they have already bought their wife so they can do whatever they want to her” (Paul P. 2012).*

*“Some men they say that they bought their wife so they can do anything they want and that’s where the problems come up and that” (Florence P. 2012).*

Under the conditions that the brideprice is not yet paid and there are no children involved, the young adults perceive parents to be slightly more inclined to advise their daughter to leave an abusive partner. Though, the occurrence of IPV within marriages where the brideprice is paid is thought to be higher than among other intimate partner relationships. And the quotation beneath clearly shows how IPV is not accepted between two unmarried partners:

*“Violence within intimate partner relationships is not accepted in our village; the reason for this is that the male or female doesn’t have the right to both their lives. If the male was violent towards his girlfriend and the parents heard about it then he would be scold at and told not to do so, because he hasn’t got the girls hand in marriage and the girl needs to be treated with respect (Tabitha P. 2012).*

At the same time the quote also supports the thought of a higher acceptance of wife abuse of married women.

In contrast to how the lines between public and private sphere were blurry and concerning the whole clan in the traditional societies, the lack of third party support from outsiders suggests that there is a high level of privacy assigned to the domestic sphere and relational matters in HB (Morley, 1994, p. 26). The unwillingness to interfere is explained by fear of worsening the situation for the woman. However, the severity and frequency of violence greatly impacts onlookers’ inclination to intervene, and in cases where they are high, surroundings seem to be on alert.

Furthermore, the implementation of laws is seen as insufficient and the high level of social privacy assigned to the domestic sphere even keeps guards from intervening when a dispute between partners turns violent in front of their eyes. This together with the experienced unwillingness to achieve change among leaders and corruption calls for tougher laws and improved implementation of them. The church's significant role in the village (UNESCO , 1999) is reflected in the trust and high worth young adults put into the counseling offered by the pastor. It also shows in the view that pure involvement in the church is a protective factor against IPV in itself but efforts are obstructed by fear of gossip.

Despite the high level of socially assigned privacy to the domestic sphere the closest family is still in the position to intervene on the woman's behalf. Especially women's parents seem to be supportive of their daughters, though; the support is dependent on the husband's payment of brideprice. Furthermore, the brideprice is perceived to be affecting the frequency of IPV. When considering this data in relation to the Lae survey, which finds that only 37% of the women seeking help for IPV have had their brideprice paid (Ekenoma, 1986); two possible conclusions can be drawn. Either the study contradicts the perception that wives belonging to households where the brideprice has been paid are, to a greater extent, victims of IPV. Or, it is suggesting that the increased acceptance of IPV against women who have their brideprice paid inhibit them to seek help at health facilities.

## **7.2 Interdependence of Support Networks**

The upcoming section will focus on analyzing partner's interdependence of support networks. Due to the age of participants, two different networks are discussed; one relating to family; and one relating to friends. Further, incentives presence in society relating to one's inclination to keep relational arguments civil will be discussed.

Relationships between young adults not yet being married is often kept a secret to the families and only the closest friends will have confirmed knowledge of the relationship (FGD1 2012). Hence, the partners support network in regards to their families can be assumed to be widely separated. Thus, the young adult partner's interdependence of each other's support networks regarding their families can be thought to be close to null. Further, it becomes clear that the young adult's intimate partner relationship is their own private business.



When it comes to the support network offered by friends, data shows that girl's and boy's networks are fairly separated. For example, when a conflict arises, the support is gender divided, meaning, girls will support girls, and guys will support guys (FGD1, 2012). Though, data also shows that guy friends sometimes try to influence each other positively by suggesting doing the right thing. However, this kind of influencing between guy friends is only taking place unofficially; when it comes down to it, the support still lies with the guy friend even though the supporter might be of another opinion (Aaron P, 2012; Robert, 2012).

When analyzing the photos taken by participants, some of the pictures representing the different sexes are very similar. However, the interpretations of the pictures are greatly gender divided and the different views of male and female becomes clear. There is for example that picture taken of a ukulele representing female at the same time as there is that picture taken of a guitar representing male. The ukulele is in respect to the female associated to the shapes of a female body while the guitar in respect to the male is associated with a guy's freedoms and ease in life. Additionally, there are several picture sequences like the ones presented in *Figure 1*, where the male and female can be seen to be two different parts united in a relationship (FGD2 2012). The view of the man and women belonging to two separate parts that unites side by side in the relationship further supports the assumption of gender separated networks among friends.



*Figure 1*

When searching through the data after societal incentives for keeping conflicts with one's partner civil the different perceptions of boys and girls in society seem to have explanatory

powers. Identified key factors relating to boy's inclination to keep conflicts with their partners civil will be presented and discussed below though; the different gender roles in HB will be further discussed under section 7.3 Inequality.

Moreover, the personal behavior of a boy seems to have a mild effect on the community's view of him. And although all participants agree that IPV is not accepted in the village, the view of a guy beating his girlfriend is only mildly affected by this unaccepted behavior:

*"The girls' family tends to dislike the guy [talking about a guy being violent towards his girlfriend] or even say bad things about him, which spoils the girl" (Sylvester P. 2012).*

Furthermore, the perception mainly seems to be changing in the girlfriend's family. The girlfriend in this quotation moreover disagrees with the family's change in mind regarding the boyfriend. Another interviewee states that some girls are just crazy about their boyfriends and that it does not matter how bad they treat the girl, for she will always stay with him (Felix 2012).

To summarize young adults partners seems to have fairly separated support networks both in regards to their families as well as when it comes to their groups of friends. Though the gender divided support networks among friends does not hinder guys from trying to influence each other positively to do 'the right thing' behind the scenes. This became especially apparent in case of a girl getting pregnant. Further, no signs of social incentives for boys to keep arguments with their girlfriends civil were found thus, the community's view of them is only mildly affected by their actions. Instead there seems to be incentives for the girl to keep arguments with her boyfriend civil and the relationship as a secret. Hence, a boy's power advantage emphasizes further and girl's subordinated role is enhanced. Thus, boys remain in relation to girls as 'uppers'.

### **7.3 Inequality**

Throughout the section insight will be given to the norms and values shaping the lives of young adults in HB through which women's inequality within relationships as well as within society will show. Given conditions are thematically clustered under following subsections; Gender Roles; Views of IPV; Women's Economic Resources; and Access to Political Voice.

Gender Roles

Findings, pictures the church as a place where equality and respect between husbands and wives, men and women, are preached about. Honesty, trust and faithfulness are further identified as modern thoughts that have influenced the village. However, data also overwhelmingly points out the subordinated role that women obtain in relationships (FGD1 2012; FGD2 2012; Florence P. 2012; Abigail, 2012; Lillian, 2012). Men are generally viewed to have an easier life than women which starts already in youth. Benefits from being a boy include absence of chores and greater freedom:

*“[...] a boy’s life is easier cause when a boy go down [as going down town], their family don’t look for them but if a girl go down then their parents will look for them” (Sylvester P. 2012).*

The freedoms of boys and men as well as their greater access to modernity are portrayed in the analysis of the pictures. A mobile phone and a guitar, representing male, is interpreted to represent the freedoms and ease in a boy’s life. While pictures of a book and a pen, also representing male, are interpreted to symbolize education and business. One picture, representing female, is that of a biro but the association is not drawn to education as in the case for the picture representing male. Instead it is the shape of the biro that are highlighted, thus it reminds of the female body (FGD2 2012).

Girls on the other hand are expected to help out around the household. Further responses pose they need to be looked after and protected from the life in the village and thus their movements are restricted:

*“I’m not afraid to go there cause I grew up there and I know which corners are okay and which are not. But realistically it’s like a war site. We have our boundaries of where we are allowed to go and where not to go. Cause if you go in to the dark side you can fall in to a trap or something, cause the boys over there they drink a lot. They might try to trick you “(Tabitha P. 2012).*

Moreover, the quotation further points out boys as being the main threat for girls; particularly a boy in combination with alcohol or other drugs.

A girl's chores naturally follows her into the marriage where she becomes responsible for the household; taking care of children and the elderly people belonging to the family as well as cooking, cleaning and washing:

*“Women have more responsibilities than the men; they are responsible for the household, looking after the children, cooking, washing. For our [referring to HB] case the women do everything where as the men just sit in the house, go fishing or maybe do small jobs around the house”*(Aaron P. 2012).

*“[...] it's easier to be a boy because he has all the freedom. I mean, he'll become the head of the family in the future. He'll have his wife and kids submit to him [...] and he'll be respected more than the wife within the village. The wife will have to do all the house chores and look after the children. The men will go out fishing and then come back and then the food will be ready for them. Yes, I think it's much easier being a boy than a girl; man than a women”* (Florence P. 2012).

The boys are also asked to help out in the family. They often follow the men out on the sea when they go fishing, and they help out restoring the house (FGD1 2012). The major difference instead seems to stem from the fact that help from boys is grounded on a voluntary basis meanwhile help from the girls is expected and enforced chores.

During FGD2 women's chores and belonging to the kitchen are reflected through the picture of a cup and her responsibility over the household is represented by a picture of a big bilum bag<sup>12</sup>. Thus from the total sample of twelve pictures representing females two of them are associated with a women's duties as a wife. Whilst there are null photos representing males associated to the household. Two pictures, representing male, are related to education and two are related to business whilst there are null photos, representing female, associated to either (FGD2 2012). Factors supporting the assumption that women are still mainly associated with the domestic sphere and men with the public one (Morley, 1994, p. 27); today's public sphere can be thought to also include a natural belonging to education and business life. However, the school as such is perceived to be treating its student more equally:

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<sup>12</sup> A bilum bag is a traditional string bag in PNG.

*“In the village, boys are more respected than the girls [...]. They are, it’s, I’d say, that the men have a higher status than the girls in the village but in school it’s more equal.”* (Vincentyne P. 2012).

Though, girls’ belonging to the school is not reflected in the analysis of the photographs. Even when the photo, representing female, is of a biro no association is made to neither education nor business. But again, as in the case with the guitar and the ukulele, associations go to the shape of the biro, thus, the female body (FGD2 2012). Even though the MDG’s Second National Progress Summary Report’s concludes that inequalities between boys and girls in PNG in relation to literacy is not as high as could be thought (GoPNG, 2009) found data suggest that boys have a greater belonging to school and education than girls.

#### Views on Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)

When discussing the acceptance of IPV in HB all interviewees agrees to that it is not accepted. Though, a closer analysis gives a rather complex relationship where the cause of use is given high importance; certain reasons seem to legitimize the use of violence in disputes with one’s wife. A wife who do not do her duties within the household properly; infidelity on the women’s behalf; or suspicions of her infidelity are examples of reasons legitimizing violence. However, if the reason is unknown; if the husband is drunk; or if the violence is used to satisfy himself IPV is unaccepted (Florence P. 2012; Tabitha P. 2012; Vincentyne P. 2012; Abigail. 2012; Lillian 2012; Aaron P. 2012; Jeremiah. 2012; Robert. 2012).

Additionally, the severity and frequency of IPV in one household is important for how it is perceived. Where too severe violence, as when causing hospitalization, and where the frequency in use is not reasonable, the acceptance fades. Or rather, the likelihood for a third party support on the women’s behalf increases as well as their inclination to intervene at an earlier stage of a conflict (FGD2 2012; Florence P. 2012; Kathrynia 2012; Grace 2012; Aaron P. 2012; Jeremiah 2012; Robert 2012).

There is only one photo that could be related to violence. It is a picture of a fist representing male. The picture was interpreted to symbolize the mighty physical strength of a man. When situating the picture in the context of the whole picture sequence; the female is represented by a bilum bag; and a relationship is represented by a house. Thus, the mighty strength is put in

relation to what is needed when fulfilling his role as a protector of the family as well as in repairing their house (FGD2 2012).

### *Women's Economic Resources*

The financial control within a family lies with the husband. Although, how he manages that control differs from one man to another. The perception is that most often the wife is provided with money so that she can take care of the household. Through which she is put in charge of the money as well as how they are spent. Other times, the man himself buys goods and groceries and then provides his wife with what is needed for her to run the household. Another mentioned financial management strategy is that the woman is given cash from when the man has been out fishing. The woman then sells the fish at the market and with the money she can buy what she needs to run the household. Women also have their own incomes which she mostly spends in the market for the household (FGD2 2012).

A longing for money, status and acceptance within the village seems to impel young women to engage in relationships with older married men. There are jobs available but with a very low pay. The older married man will provide the girl with money, accessories and clothes. These relationships do not seem to be condemned by the community at least not until there are noticeable consequences, such as an unwanted pregnancy. However, before any consequences occurs, the money that the girl benefit seems to be money that she enjoys individually but also shares with her parents. Though, there are also those parents who disapprove and try to hinder the relationship (Tabitha P, 2012; Vincentyne P, 2012; Abigail, 2012; Lillian, 2012).

### *Access to Political Voice*

The representation of women in parliament in PNG is close to non-existent. Since the country's independence there have been four female parliamentarians in total; in other words the number of women in parliament have been ranging from zero to one (Hutchinson, 2011). Currently (2011 and 2012) there is a bill calling for reserving 20% of the seats in parliament for women, this to promote higher gender equality (Hutchinson, 2011).

The current female parliamentarian, Dame Carol Kidu, states at the end of 2011 that she thinks there are slim chances for getting the bill passed through all the legislative procedures.

Kidu further notes that she is shocked over some of the statements said by other parliamentarians during floor debates discussing the current bill. Kidu means that the perception that women do not belong in leadership positions is still not an uncommon one among her male college members of parliament (Hutchinson, 2011).

Among the participants the bill reserving seats for women is viewed positively:

*“If they [women] work together with men then there might be a good progress of development within the country” (Tabitha P. 2012).*

*“It’s good to have women in parliament cause sometimes men, they all have the same thinking, so I prefer, yeah that they should get some women in there” (Sylvester P. 2012).*

*“It’s a good idea to have a woman in the parliament cause how many years when there have only been men in the parliament and plenty of corruption to, and it’s really good to have women in the parliament to see some changes” (Jason P. 2012).*

Women’s presence in parliament is in these quotations identified to bring positive changes for the country. This by working together with men and contributing with new ideas; additionally the female presence are believed to decrease the level of corruption. One quotation though clearly shows that the rooted subordinated role of women continues:

*“I think it’s a good idea [to reserve seats for women] because if more women are educated like, then they’ll have a fair idea of how to help and support men in decision making” (Florence P. 2012).*

Traditional gender roles and the gender differentiated belonging in society (Morley, 1994, p. 27) is still apparent.

In school both boys and girls perceive themselves to be more equally treated which also is in line with the government’s assumption that gender differences, in view of literacy level, is not as great as could be thought. Assumptions could be made that boys and girls access to school therefore is equal. However, the unbalance between ‘male’ photos relating education and ‘female’ photos relating to education rather points out a stronger belonging for boys within the school sphere. Further, data shows that the acceptance of IPV is dependent on the root cause for using violence as well as the severity and frequency of use. Additionally, women’s

access to political voice has in the past been close to null though efforts such as reserved seats for women in parliament are on the upcoming; something that all participants supports.

#### **7.4 Centralization of Authority**

The following section compresses earlier presented and discussed data indicating level of centralization of authority within intimate partner relationships. Management and control over financial resources within the family; young women's restricted movements; and the role women's families' plays are identified indicators found in the data.

Power structures between boys and girls as well as men and women in relationships are much skewed. When it comes to financial resources within a household this relationship becomes especially apparent. The man is in control over the assets and even though different men manage the family's finances in different ways; some men chose to distribute cash that are for the household as well as the management of the given money to his wife. Other men keep the decision making to themselves providing the wife with the goods she needs for managing the household. However, no matter if a man decides to include his wife in the management of how the family's financial resources are spent or not the ultimate power and decision lies in his hands (FGD2 2012).

In regards to younger individuals who are not yet cohabitated with their partners the picture of a highly gender skewed power imbalance remains. Young women are less valued within the village and when there is a dispute between young intimate partners it is the young boy's word that will stand strong (FGD2 2012; Lillian 2012; Florence P. 2012; Kathrynia 2012; Grace 2012). Girls are restricted in their movements and judged by their actions in a way that the boys are not (FGD2, 2012; Tabitha P, 2012). Mentioned factors all further impel the unbalance in power structures between young men and women as well as between intimate partners.

The picture of the man, young as old, as the one holding the power is clearly portrayed, though data also shows that there is some power on the women's behalf. More specifically women's parent's seems to be holding some kind of power and ability to influence how their daughters are treated within the relationship. It is often to the parents women turn to when having troubles with a husband, and parents often seem to be supportive. The perception is that parents want their daughters to reconcile with her husbands, this since it is viewed as the



best thing for her. In achieving this goal, parents can provide temporarily accommodation for the daughter as well as taking on the role of being mediators. Together with the male partner's parents they reconcile the two partners (Tabitha P. 2012; Florence P. 2012). Though, the power that women's parents hold shows to be related to the payment of brideprice and thus, once the bride price is paid the parent's power fades away (FGD1 2012; Sylvester P. 2012).

## 7.5 Exposure to Violent Networks

Due to the use of 'third party questions' during data collection the amount of data reflecting personal experiences is very limited. Thus, the discussion regarding exposure of violence derives from the mentioning of children and child abuse when talking of domestic and intimate partner violence. The discussion after that leads into being a young adult in HB today and their double influences from on the one hand their traditional village and from the other the urban life that Port Moresby offers. Further, alternatives offered by the community, given in the data, are presented. Finally, partisan support on behalf of the perpetrator is discussed.

Abuse of children is frequently mentioned in connection to wife beating. Tabitha P. points out the intergenerational transmission taking use of violence might have in particular and thus, highlights the need for interventions targeting domestic violence within HB:

*"I think domestic violence should be stopped, it's not very helpful and especially for the children, they might learn from that. It should be stopped"* (Tabitha P. 2012).

Moreover, Tabitha's thought of violence as 'not very helpful' further suggests that the thought of violence as helpful also is present. Through other data it can further be assumed that there is not much difference if you beat your wife or your children; if violence is one component in your conflict management that component plays a part in conflict with your wife just as in conflicts with your children:

*"People often get out of hand when they are drunk and they just go and, you know, committing this wife beating or child abuse and stuff"* (Florence P. 2012).

*"Sometimes there is a disagreement between two [partners] if they don't agree to one thing that leads to an argument and then it goes out of hand and that's when men starts beating their wife or their children"* (Jason P. 2012).

The frequent mentioning of child abuse when talking about IPV indicates that the two are about as common. Thus, the exposure to violence during ones upbringing can be assumed to be high. The two quotations further highlight beatings coming out of rage and a place where the husband is getting out of control. Thus, suggests that the use of violence in these cases would more rightly be described as an individual's lack in conflict management, rather than as a component to it.

Further the first of the two quotations above mentions the involvement of alcohol and young adults in HB seem to assign alcohol a lot of the blame for the occurrence of domestic and intimate partner violence. This is a relation that supports earlier findings where 'husband was drunk' was the most common reason for wife abuse according to urban men and urban beaten women while this reason not even was mentioned in a equivalent rural sample (Morley, 1994, pp. 36-37). This influence of urbanity and 'modern world' in particular is further identified to have brought thoughts of honesty, faithfulness and trust as important key components to a relationship (Jason P, 2012; Felix, 2012; David, 2012; Aaron P, 212)

*"These norms [of trust, honesty and faithfulness within a relationship] have kind of changed over the years. Well, they have all sorts of thoughts, modern world, so they will try to change the village. But they will not really enter that life back in the village" (Aaron P, 2012).*

The quotation identifies a duplicity any traditional society can be imagined to have adjusting to 'modernity'. This duplicity becomes especially relevant in case of a traditional village located in the outskirts of a big city such as HB; a traditional village and society that are invaded by the never ending expansion of the city (Thulstrup, 2000). However, even though new thoughts and norms are entering the minds of the people it takes time for them to show in actual human behavior 'but they will not really enter that life back in the village'.

By organizing the photos under either 'modernity' or 'tradition' this duplicity of living in two worlds is analyzed. Photos that relates back to village life, such as a picture of a fist or an instrument, things which can be thought to have played a role forever, are grouped under tradition. In the same way photos that relates to modern world such as modern clothes or mobile phones are grouped under modernity.

	FEMALE	MALE	RELATIONSHIP
TRADITION	5 pictures	3 pictures	6 pictures
MODERNITY	7 pictures	9 pictures	6 pictures

The clustering of photos shows that modernity and tradition exists side by side, and how young adults living in HB literally are living on the cusp of two worlds. Further, boys seem to be associated stronger to the modern world than girls whilst a relationship can be assumed to be even closer associated and rooted in traditional norms and customs. However, some photos could be interpreted as belonging to both worlds. One picture of a couple's wedding represented a relationship, a western wedding couple with a white woman in a white wedding dress and a white man in a black tuxedo and top hat. Although, relationships and wedding ceremonies also belong to the traditional HB, with traditional ceremonies still taking place. The picture was interpreted to symbolize the unity a ceremony symbolizes, as such, and not a western wedding. Hence, the picture was identified as belonging to the group tradition<sup>13</sup>.

When searching the data for alternatives for utilizing violence in conflicts that are offered in society the role of the church stands out (FGD2, 2012; Florence P, 2012; Kathrynia, 2012; Grace, 2012).

*"In church they talk about equality and what the bible preaches, on like marriages. And the love married people, the love and respect they must share, and in raising their family as well"* (Florence P. 2012).

The lack of guidance in how to resolve relational conflicts and young adults call for interventions within the community is often mentioned (FGD1, 2012; Florence P, 2012; Tabitha P, 2012; Vincentyne P, 2012; Kathrynia, 2012; Abigail, 2012; Lillian, 2012):

*"It's very hurtful to think about it. I mean, there should be something out there to stop this; everything should be talked about, violence between partners and how to work things out, how to reconcile. Helping people to get that knowledge that will help them to redirect their*

<sup>13</sup> Please find full table of how the pictures were grouped in Appendix V.

*lives and think positive, maybe that could help to decrease the rate of violence and killings” (Florence P. 2012).*

There is no clear cut response in regards to partisan support to offenders in the data. Some guys will be supportive and some will not:

*“Some guys will see him as a tuff guy” (Jason P. 2012).*

*“[...] his friends will see him as a fit man or ‘trupla’ man because he beats his wife and, but really, it’s just abusing and that” (Florence P. 2012).*

However, taking into account the lack of intervening when arguments get violent one can assume that those that are not supportive will keep it to themselves. At the same time silence could also indicate support or at least indifference in attitude. However, the support of utilizing violence against a wife again shows to be dependent on the cause and moreover the husband is sometimes identified as having no choice:

*“Maybe she’s not fit to be a wife, maybe she doesn’t do what the husband says, then what can he do?” (Jason P. 2012).*

The fact that children and child abuse is frequently mentioned, even though not being the issue of interest, suggests a high level of intergenerational transmission of violence. Even though there is a lack of alternative options displayed in society, the church and ‘modernity’ can be identified as two such sources. Though change takes time and the duality it brings living in two worlds - the traditional village life and urban life - is further a challenge in itself. Additionally, partisan support is dependent on the motives that legitimize the use of violence, such as infidelity, and at times husbands are left with no choice but to use violence.

## **8 CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The aim of this research was to understand young adults’ realities, their self-perceptions, and their view of themselves as girlfriends and boyfriends, as well as their social environment. Key structural conditions, which perpetuate the use of violence, have been identified through these realities, when dealing with conflicts with one’s intimate partner. The analysis of data through the lens of ‘the social structure of a relationship’ shows that young adults in HB of

today live by clearly defined gender roles and has been demonstrated to have a major impact on the way they view their world, what they do and what decisions they make.

Structural conditions, given by the theoretical framework, all have shown relevance to explain the repeated use of violence between intimate partners: the isolation of young adults' relationships in society as such, the high level of privacy assigned socially to relational matters, the limited amount of as well as the monotonous support on women's behalf, and the highly subordinated role assigned to girls and women particularly ingrained in relationships between boys and girls, women and men as well as the high levels of IPV.

The subordination of women becomes especially clear through the view of young adults' perceptions of marriage, where the wife is expected to follow the decisions of her husband. Moreover, a boy's word is of higher value than a girl's, which reflects that the subordinated role of married women exists in unmarried relationships as well. Furthermore, the slightly negative outlook of being a girl in a relationship versus the relative positive view of a boy puts the girl in a more sensitive position and increases her inclination to keep the relationship a secret. Additionally, data further suggests that girls that are beaten by their boyfriends are at risk of being viewed as a 'tough girl' being 'big headed'. She risks becoming suspected of doing something that does not 'suit the community,' while she risks a negative reputation within the village if she seeks for help at the church. Hence, the blame for the beating is placed on the girl herself through which the power imbalance further enhances the benefit of the male sex.

The participatory approach of this research was challenging yet fruitful. It allowed for a very broad discussion with the PIs and my personal experience is that their own involvement led to a higher level of trust and openness and hence a greater validity in findings. However, my lack of experience employing the photovoice methodology limited the use of the pictures themselves but I maintain that it still spurred a successful second FGD. The theory further enhanced the richness of the data through a holistic approach which matched well with the broad data gathered. Nevertheless, in hindsight it would probably have been beneficial to have had limited the discussions to only incorporate young adults' partnerships thus, now the discussions went back and forth concerning both married couples and younger boyfriend girlfriend relationships.

Given the limitations of my study, further research into this topic in terms of using a wider body of research which includes a representative or random sample of PNG villages could allow for better generalizability of the study at hand. This and that could help further illuminate why IPV is so worryingly common in Papua New Guinea and help further identify the root causes of IPV. This is important inasmuch they can help provide solutions to an important problem which continues to subordinate women in PNG society at- large.

What I do and my decisions are just as shaped by my history and the way I see the world as those young adults' decisions participating in this research is by theirs. This holds true also for IPV perpetrators around the world, for the ones in Sweden; as for the ones in Papua New Guinea. I want to emphasize that it has not been my intention to create stereotypes nor a feeling of us and them, but to be able to decrease the use of violence in conflict management between intimate partners, IPV must be understood from its roots, in the context of conditions and motivations from national and tribal traditions and values, as well as the ones brought in by expats and former colonialists. Without a localized understanding, there is not much hope for a solution to IPV in Papua or in other countries.

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[Accessed 12 05 2012].

#### *Personal communication*

Paul P. (2012) Peer Interviewer

- Focus group discussion 1, 2012-01-20

Sylvester P. (2012) Peer Interviewer

- Focus group discussion 1, 2012-01-20
- Focus group discussion 2, 2012-01-25

Jason P. (2012) Peer Interviewer

- Focus group discussion 1, 2012-01-20
- Focus group discussion 2, 2012-01-25

Tabitha P. (2012) Peer interviewer

- Focus group discussion 1, 2012-01-20
- Duo interview and debriefing, 2012-01-23

- Focus group discussion 2, 2012-01-25

Aaron P. (2012) Peer interviewer

- Focus group discussion 1, 2012-01-20
- Interview and debriefing, 2012-01-23
- Focus group discussion 2, 2012-01-25

Vincentyne P. (2012) Peer Interviewer

- Duo interview and debriefing, 2012-01-23
- Focus group discussion 2, 2012-01-25

Florence P. (2012) Peer interviewer

- Focus group discussion 1, 2012-01-20
- Interview and debriefing, 2012-01-24
- Focus group discussion 2, 2012-01-25

FGD 1 (2012) Focus group discussion 1 with peer interviewers/ preparatory work-shop 2012-01-20 Participants: Florence P.: Aaron P.: Tabitha P.: Sylvester P.: Jason P.: Paul P.

FGD 2 (2012) Focus group discussion 2 with peer interviewers/concluding workshop 2012-01-25 Participants: Florence P.: Aaron P.: Tabitha P.: Sylvester P.: Jason P.: Vincentyne P.

           *Peer Interviewer's Interviewees*

Felix (2012), peer interview 2012-01

David (2012) peer interview 2012-01

Jeremiah (2012) peer interview 2012-01

Robert (2012) peer interview 2012-01

Kathrynia (2012) peer interview 2012-01

Grace (2012) peer interview 2012-01

Abigail (2012) peer interview 2012-01

Lillian (2012) peer interview 2012-01

## APPENDIX I: DIFFERENT TYPES OF INTIMATE PARTNER VIOLENCE

There are four main types of intimate partner violence (Saltzman, et al., 1999):

1. **Physical violence** is the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, disability, injury, or harm. Physical violence includes, but is not limited to, scratching; pushing; shoving; throwing; grabbing; biting; choking; shaking; slapping; punching; burning; use of a weapon; and use of restraints or one's body, size, or strength against another person.
2. **Sexual violence** is divided into three categories: 1) use of physical force to compel a person to engage in a sexual act against his or her will, whether or not the act is completed; 2) attempted or completed sex act involving a person who is unable to understand the nature or condition of the act, to decline participation, or to communicate unwillingness to engage in the sexual act, e.g., because of illness, disability, or the influence of alcohol or other drugs, or because of intimidation or pressure; and 3) abusive sexual contact.
3. **Threats of physical or sexual violence** use words, gestures, or weapons to communicate the intent to cause death, disability, injury, or physical harm.
4. **Psychological/emotional violence** involves trauma to the victim caused by acts, threats of acts, or coercive tactics. Psychological/emotional abuse can include, but is not limited to, humiliating the victim, controlling what the victim can and cannot do, withholding information from the victim, deliberately doing something to make the victim feel diminished or embarrassed, isolating the victim from friends and family, and denying the victim access to money or other basic resources. It is considered psychological/emotional violence when there has been prior physical or sexual violence or prior threat of physical or sexual violence. In addition, stalking is often included among the types of IPV. Stalking generally refers to "harassing or threatening behavior that an individual engages in repeatedly, such as following a person, appearing at a person's home or place of business, making harassing phone calls, leaving written messages or objects, or vandalizing a person's property.

**APPENDIX II: LIST OF REIMBURSEMENTS**

- Return tickets for bus fare Hanuabada Village – City Centre of Port Moresby (UNDP Head Office) for participating in work-shops.
- Lunch for participants during the two work-shop days.
- Snacks and soft drinks during the two work-shop days.
- 10 PGK (ca. 5\$) top-up for cell-phone to each PI to get in contact with their interviewees.

### **APPENDIX III: DATA COLLECTION SCHEDULE**

#### *Phase 1 – Recruitment and Theme Building*

- Recruit PI's
- Introduction of research topic and aim of study
- Finalize themes in collaboration with PI's – will contribute to a more open and community-driven data collection

#### *Phase 2 – Training and Picture Taking*

- Elaborating on ethical issues in regards to the use of photos together with PI's and out of that constructing guidelines to frame the picture taking
- Jointly decide on timeframe for picture taking
- Create joint ownership over the pictures by establishing a contract over how the pictures shall be handled, distributed and used in the research and by participants.

#### *Phase 3 – Analysis of Data*

- Conduct Focus Group Discussion (FGD) with PI's using photo data as foundation of discussions. The FGD will be conducted using unstructured dialogic approaches contextualizing out of the PI's own perspectives identifying common themes and concepts among the photos.
- Include an ethical discussion regarding photos taken as well as potential photos not taken due to ethical consideration, which will show potential gaps in the visual data and effects it might have on research results.

## APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW GUIDES

- How do you look upon an intimate partner relationship?

Probe questions:

- What does a partnership symbolize among young adults within your village?
  - What does it mean for a guy to have a girlfriend? Is a guy a more of a ‘trupla’ man if he has a girlfriend?
  - What does it mean for a girl to have a boyfriend? Is a girl more of a ‘trupla’ woman if she has a boyfriend?
  - What is the most important thing with an intimate partner relationship?
  - Have these norms/thoughts about relationships between a boy and a girl changed since your parents grow up?
- 
- Would you say that violence in intimate relationships is common within the HB village?
  - Would you say that violence within intimate partner relationships is accepted in your village? (If so what do you think is the reason for that?)
  - Does the view (from the community) of a girl change if she is together with a guy that hits her?
  - Does the view (from the community) of a boy change if he is physically violent towards his girlfriend?
  - Does it happen that a girl is physically violent towards her boyfriend? What happens to the view of her in that case?
  - What do you think is the reason to physical violence within intimate partnerships? Why does it occur?
  - Do you think there is an end to physical violence within intimate partnerships?
  - How do you think it will be ten years from now?

**APPENDIX V: PHOTO ANALYSIS**

Photos, grouped after modernity and tradition accordingly:

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>	Bird of Paradise	Guitar	Traditional Basket
<b>MODERNITY</b>			
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>	Ukulele		Bilum Bag
<b>MODERNITY</b>		Hat	
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>	A Cup		
<b>MODERNITY</b>		A Book	A Mobile Phone
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>			Blue Marry Blouse
<b>MODERNITY</b>	Pink Dress	Blue Hat	
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>	Red Rose	Yellow Rose	Wedding Couple
<b>MODERNITY</b>			
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>			
<b>MODERNITY</b>	Female Dress	Male Shirt	Shirt & Dress Together
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>			
<b>MODERNITY</b>	Left Feale Shoe	Right Male Shoe	The Two Shoes
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>			
<b>MODERNITY</b>	Left FemaleShoe	Left Male Shoe	The Two Shoes
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>			
<b>MODERNITY</b>	Red Shirt	Blue Shirt	Purple Shirt
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>	Flower		Bird
<b>MODERNITY</b>		Phone	
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>		Fist	House
<b>MODERNITY</b>	Handbag		
	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>	<b>RELATIONSHIP</b>
<b>TRADITION</b>			Handshake
<b>MODERNITY</b>	A Biro	A Book	