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COMMUNITY TRANSFORMATION

Unlocking the Development Potential of the People

**edited by
Dr. Michael Unage**

**Proceedings of the Community Transformation Conference held at the National
Research Institute, 16-18 July 2009**

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This report contains select papers from the Community Transformation Conference that was held at the National Research Institute in June 2009.

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Foreword by the Minister for Community Development

This publication intends to assist the process of community development by identifying issues that might need further policy research and program intervention. It contains selected papers from a three-day Community Transformation Conference which was held at the National Research Institute in June 2009 in which community development partners came together to share and learn from each other and to devise best practices for transforming local communities. I thank the National Research Institute for taking the initiative to contribute to community development policy research.

It gives me great joy to see people coming together to devise plans that will change their perception of politics, improve the performance of implementing agencies, and lead to the wise distribution of the nation's resources, while communities become the catalyst for their own transformation. The persistent tendency to bring about community development using top-down approaches has achieved little for the rural people. In order to achieve bottom-up planning, the consultation, involvement, mobilisation and empowerment of the people are of paramount significance.

After reading the articles in this publication, I am pleased that community issues are discussed in the broad areas of community governance, conflict resolution, rural economic prospects, and women in community development. These themes are related to the four pillars that are found in the Integrated Community Development Policy — *community governance, community learning, community economic and community environment*. The publication could be a useful supplement to the Integrated Community Development Policy document. From the themes contained in *Community Transformation: Unlocking the Development Potential of the People*, sound development strategies are envisaged using the Integrated Community Development Policy as the guiding document.

More importantly, I desire an effective collaboration from academic institutions, research centres, government agencies, development partners, community groups, and key stakeholders. Only through effective stakeholders' collaboration can we begin to unlock the development potential of our people.

I encourage — and recommend — everyone who is involved in community development to study this book, and where possible, implement the suggestions that are offered.



Dame Carol Kidu, DBE, MP
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- Kate Wheen, Media and Communication;
- Eunice Kivan, Secretarial Services;
- Hellen Moliki, Member;
- Michael George, Member; and
- Dr. Michael Unage, Coordinator of Conference.

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- Joseph Klapat, Secretary, Department for Community Development (official closing of the conference).

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ACRONYMS

ACIAR	Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research
ADRA	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AKIS	Agricultural and Knowledge Information System
AusAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CBHC	Community-Based Health Care
CBME	Community-Based Monitoring and Evaluation
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CDA	Community Development Agency
CDS	Community Development Scheme
CHASP	Community
CIMC	Consultative and Implementation Monitoring Council
CORD	Catholic Organisation for Development
COS	Cost of Services
CSO	Community Support
CU	Census Unit
DAL	Department of Agriculture and Livestock
DFCD	Department for Community Development
DGTP	Democratic Governance Transition Phase
DSIP	District Services Improvement Program
EcoSoc	Education and Social Unit
EDF	Electoral Development Fund
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FPCD	Foundation of People and Community Development
FPDA	Fresh Produce Development Agency
FRI	Forest Research Institute
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoPNG	Government of Papua New Guinea
ICHD	Intergral Community Health and Development
INGO	International Non-Government Organisation
IPA	Investment promotion Authority
JICA	Japan International Corporation Agency
KWP	Kup Women for Peace
LLG	Local-Level Government
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MP	Member of Parliament
MTDS	Medium Term Development Strategy
NADP	National Agriculture Development Plan
NARI	National Agriculture Research Institute
NCD	National Capital District
NEC	National Executive Council
NEFC	National Economic and Fiscal Commission
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NSO	National Statistical Office
OHP	Oxfam Highlands Program

OLPG	Organic Law on Provincial Government
OLPGLLG	Organic Law on Provincial Government and Local-Level Government
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PARD	People's Action for Rural Development
PCDA	Pamusa Community Development Association
PEACE`	People and Community Empowerment
PFM	Peace Foundation Melanesia
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PNGIPA	Papua New Guinea Institute of Public Administration
PPP	Public Private Partnership
PSRAG	Public Sector Reform Advisory Group
RIGFA	Review of Intergovernmental Financial Arrangements
RPNGC	Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary
SACIR	Security and Community Initiatives Research
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
SLFCS	Salt Livestock Farmers' Cooperative Society
SPSN	Strongim Pipol, Strongim Nesen
SRC	Short-Rotation Coppice
SSI	Semi-Structured Interview
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TFGAR	Taskforce for Government and Administrative Reform
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
VHF	Very High Frequency
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

Introduction

Michael Unage

Introduction

This publication comprises selected papers that were presented at the Community Transformation Conference which was held at the National Research Institute on 16-18 June 2009. The conference captured the successes and challenges in community development programs in PNG, with presentations from community development groups, academics, policy analysts, research institutions, the private sector, and representatives from government departments who gathered and shared their knowledge and experiences. The conference facilitated the sharing of lessons learned to help all involved in various projects on community development in Papua New Guinea to share in a vital pool of information. This publication contains that information from the many stakeholders involved in community development.

Community development initiatives often occur at the grassroots level, and their successes and experiences are rarely captured in national policy debates and discussions. However, these experiences can be useful in helping other communities who are experiencing similar challenges throughout PNG. This publication will assist government policy makers, as well as community development actors, to create and share a vital body of knowledge that can be used to help community groups. There is a growing awareness of the need for government to learn from successful community development initiatives to improve service delivery to the people. Government agencies need to foster and encourage community-driven development, while at the same time meeting the health, education, and infrastructure needs of the population.

The Backdrop

Many community development initiatives have survived and flourished in Papua New Guinea despite the lack of government service delivery. In Papua New Guinea, government services have struggled to meet the needs of the majority of the population, especially in rural and remote areas. Without these essential government services, communities have had to take the initiative to access or create basic services themselves to sustain their livelihood. Some community development initiatives have flourished while other communities have struggled to develop, manage, and sustain localised initiatives in the face of changing global and local pressures.

The National Research Institute has recognised the need to take a coordinated approach to identify those factors which have enabled certain communities in PNG to become more productive and self-sufficient, explore the resilience found in communities facing economic, cultural and social pressures, and determine how communities can take ownership of their own development processes and become empowered development actors, rather than passive recipients.

2 *Community Transformation*

Undoubtedly, community empowerment is essential, if the people are to achieve any sustainable development in Papua New Guinea. People need to be empowered and become viable to raise their standard of living, have healthier lives, exist in a safer environment, and have sufficient income to meet their basic needs. The community transformation conference and this publication aim to find ways to facilitate this process of empowerment, as well as identify areas that might need more research into our communities using a variety of community development models, such as the rural appraisal community resilience, community capacity, and several others.

More importantly, it is appropriate to test those community development models with what is already practised through some excellent development models, such as the Domil Integrated Health and Development Program. This publication is also a way of sharing knowledge with other development stakeholders, and to learn from each other the best processes and practices to transform communities in Papua New Guinea.

However, most community development initiatives happen at the grassroots level and do not become public knowledge. Consequently, our local knowledge must be captured through research to further strengthen development initiatives and policies about community empowerment. Most of the government's community development budget is given to Members of Parliaments (MPs), through the Electoral Development Fund (EDF), which hardly trickles down to the communities. This makes community development a slow, agonising, and protracted process in many electorates.

This forum brought key stakeholders together to discuss and openly debate the issues and impediments of community development, so that community development initiatives would gain attention and gather momentum for communities in Papua New Guinea, to strive towards living healthy and wealthier lives in united communities.

According to the Director of the National Research Institute, Dr. Thomas Webster, in his official welcome address to the participants at the Community Transformation Conference, individuals and families live within communities. He stated that development is about improving the quality of life of individuals. Little is known at the central government levels, about how the people organise themselves to access the basic services that the different levels of government are attempting to provide. This includes security, health, education, and essential infrastructure, such as roads, electricity, water, and so on. The forum helped people with different insights into communities to share ideas and build up knowledge. This will assist government agencies and NGOs to ensure that their programs are accessible by communities.

These and many other issues are challenges for development and should be the focus of future discussion. The challenge is for people in communities, those who are working with communities, and those who work with government agencies responsible for improving the welfare of individuals and communities to share ideas, learn from each other, and provide some clear recommendations as to how the Government can make communities vibrant and dynamic environments for people to grow up in, live in, and

contribute to the betterment of Papua New Guinea. Some ideas arising from this publication will contribute to policy framework and development strategies. They will contribute to achieving the Medium Term Development Strategies (MTDS) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

In development plans, there is always the tendency to speak about top-down and bottom-up planning. While top-down planning normally refers to government service delivery, bottom-up planning refers to grassroots initiatives in development. In order for bottom-up planning to be effective, awareness raising and consultation, empowerment, mobilisation, and involvement of people are crucial to this process. If Papua New Guinea is to be a better place in which to live, community engagement for development is of paramount importance.

The failure by Papua New Guinea to develop stems from the lack of government services, to the rural communities. In some provinces, the government outpost conditions are appalling, and people start to question if a State exists. Also, the call for a change in the political system is determined by the lack of service delivery to the rural population. What can people learn about community development mechanisms that can be useful in informing them as to how they can realign service delivery mechanisms to community systems and strengths? Can we reorganise community governments to be more effective mechanisms for service delivery? These are questions on which we need to reflect. Thus, the major thrust in the *PNG Vision 2050* is about reorganising the government's priorities so that basic services are delivered to communities to ensure the building of a modern nation.

The Contents

This publication comprises five parts:

- Part A deals with community development initiatives;
- Part B deals with perspectives on community governance;
- Part C deals with community conflict resolution;
- Part D deals with prospects for the rural economy; and
- Part E deals with the potential for women in community development.

Part A: Community Development Initiatives

Chapter 1 by James Ogia, gives an exposition of the community development initiative by the Pamusa Community in Okapa District, Eastern Highlands Province. Ogia discusses the painstaking problem of trying to change people's mind-set, from that of a handout mentality to one of self-reliance and empowerment. That community tries to help itself through volunteerism and community action, in the absence of government services. A governance structure has been established that underscores and validates the local-level government system, together with an effective administrative structure that facilitates the development of villages. His paper is concerned with community initiatives and organisation, in the face of lack of government presence and activity.

Similar to the development found in Pamusa, Chapter 2, by Bernard Gunn, presents an account of the Domil Integrated Community Health and Development Program. The Domil community in Western Highlands Province has received publicity as being the most consistent local community development initiative. Gunn tells of the irrelevance of the formal government system in rural communities, especially in the north-east area of North Wahgi District. He proposes a tribal form of governance that he has seen working in the Domil community over the past 15 years. The community is now moving towards seeking innovative ways to improve the living standard of the people through networking with community groups and relevant development partners.

From a slightly different angle, in Chapter 3, Sil Poi discusses the livestock farming initiative of the Salt people in Simbu Province. Although rural economics is the focus, the association has also looked at ways to improve the livelihood of the people. Because of its remoteness, which is similar to Pamusa, this initiative aims at assisting people to find solutions to their own problems. The project is about community resilience and rural economic empowerment. It was started in 2008, but needs outside assistance to sustain this development. This is where the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) came in to assist.

Part B: Perspectives on Community Governance

The lack of good governance has become an issue for many people in Papua New Guinea. We have problems with authority and lack of leadership. We need a grassroots initiative to assist in solving those problems. Governance issues and practices must begin at the village or community level. Social order and prosperity begin when proper governance systems are found at the rudimentary level of the social units. This part of the publication looks at how community government interrelates with formal governance structures at the local level. Often, villages and traditional governance structures have a difficult relationship with state institutions, particularly where there are government failures at the national level. It is also clear that forms of government which are appropriate to, and originate from, the community level can lead to greater community stability, which in turn, creates greater prospects for long-term prosperity.

In Chapter 4, Dr. Nahuwo Ahai details the comprehensive work done by the Democratic Governance Transition Phase Program, which is an AusAID program in the communities. The work was formerly known as the Community Development Scheme (CDS). Key delivery approaches that have been applied in implementing the program include:

- forecasting what a democratic governance-oriented, community development project activities would entail, and then adapting the CDS systems and processes for the new program;
- field testing thematic, democratic, governance aspects through demand-driven grant activities, including integrating democratic governance principles into community development practice; and

- facilitating increased partnerships between government, civil society, and the private sector.

Chapter 5 is a representation of a paper from the Taskforce for Government and Administrative Reform (TFGAR) Report that advocates an effective formal government at the local level which will serve as the focus for a community services system. The article reminds policy makers about an effective local-level government that was functioning well until the introduction of the Organic Law on Provincial Government (OLGP), which destabilised authority at the micro-level. However, for elective local governance and effective community services, the TFGAR suggested that more funding should go to the local-level government, with established training for government officials. To be effective, the paper proposes a National Commission for Local-level Government and Community Service to monitor and assist development at the village level (TFGAR 2009: 15-28)

Chapter 6, by Alphonse Aime, presents a more theoretical perspective on community governance. Understandably, from an academic institution, he poses the problem of community governance against the process of ‘detraditionalisation’, as communities try to embrace modernity. Aime’s main contention deals with the compatibility between traditional and modern forms of governance, which, in practice, seem diametrically opposed. He maintains that the sustainability of some characteristics of traditional leadership would assist in effective community governance. Leadership was the main issue in this paper, and how traditional forms of leadership could be adapted to inform modern authority structures.

Part C: Community Conflict Resolution

Because the introduced legal system is viewed exclusively as serving the rich, and with the experience of justice not equitably and expeditiously dispensed by the formal judicial system, the need for community conflict resolution and community justice is becoming increasingly a *sine quo non* in many communities. Because law and order is a problem in many communities, a pragmatic justice system needs to be put in place. Communities are destroyed because conflicts cannot be amicably resolved. As a result, the onus is on communities to understand how conflicts are settled at the basic social unit level.

Communities and community development initiatives are destroyed when conflict cannot be effectively resolved. When the legal system at the national level, which was introduced from elsewhere, does not effectively serve people at the grassroots level, community conflict resolution and community justice become incredibly important, as they are responsive to the unique experiences of different communities.

In Chapter 7, Archbishop Douglas Young recounts his personal interest, involvement, and total academic and pastoral dedication to the process of conflict resolution in Enga Province. From the conceptual grid of Paulo Freire, he is convinced that people know more about conflict resolution, and by sourcing those talents and strategies, one can assist practitioners in conflict resolution and community restorative justice. The paper presents

some collaborative approach undertaken in mediating a solution to some intergroup conflicts in the Highlands Region, and discusses the role of the churches in conflict resolution, as an indispensable task to peace building.

In Chapter 8, James Laki discusses the Peace Foundation Melanesian Inc. (PFM) story — a famous NGO foundation that was actively involved in the peace process in Bougainville — and many other peace initiatives, and how such initiatives have secured peace for Papua New Guinean communities. Peace Foundation Melanesia Inc is a strong, and dynamic organisation that promotes the use of mediation and restorative justice by resorting to Melanesian customary law. The foundation provides people and community empowerment through the establishment of sustainable community justice initiatives that use win-win mediation and restorative justice to repair community relationships and minimise law and order issues. The PMF contends that, for meaningful economic and social development to take place, there must be peace in the community, a district, and a province. This paper provides an overview of the PFM's the activities in promoting personal and community security and peace building at the grassroots level, to transform the community for the better.

In Chapter 9, Michelle Kopi, Rachael Hinton, and Yanny Guman, report on the problems arising from armed conflict in Southern Highlands Province, as research conducted by Oxfam Highlands. The paper discusses the promotion of peaceful development, improved human security, and reduced conflict and violence in the Highlands Region. Significantly, the paper shows the different research tools that are used in trying to work with those communities. The paper is similar to those of Archbishop Young and James Laki, as it underscores community involvement and engagement, and the need to use them as subjects, and not objects, of any information regarding their life and experience. The paper documents the activities, approaches, and learnings of the Oxfam Highlands Program in the areas of armed violence, human security, and peace building in Papua New Guinea. The implications for human security policy and practice are also examined.

Chapter 10 is by Oxfam Highlands' partners who are involved in community-based approaches to conflict resolution. The three partners are the Kup Women for Peace, the Tari-based Community-Based Health and Development (CBHD) program, and the Community Development Agency (CDA) in Simbu Province. Their paper provides examples of how their community-based organisations have played central roles in coping with critical challenges in reducing conflict and violence. The implications for law and justice sector policy and programming in Papua New Guinea are discussed in relation to the knowledge that can be gained from the approaches, values, and entry points of local organisations.

Community-Based Health Care, Kup Women for Peace, and the Community Development Agency are local examples of non-government organisations (NGOs) in Papua New Guinea that have developed in response to local security challenges and have become powerful forces for peace in their communities. The three organisations operate

in rural settings that are remote and lack essential government services. They understand the critical challenges and demands of the social, political, economic, and cultural contexts and their first-hand experience sustains their motivation for change. People and resources are mobilised through a commitment to social values. Each organisation works to incorporate peace building activities with the concerns of clan-based communities.

Part D: Prospects for the Rural Economy

Rural economic prospects are about graduating our subsistence farmers into semi-commercial farmers. Cooperative societies, which seemed to work successfully in the past, should be reintroduced to provide business security for small farmers against the exploitation of capitalist economy that has created new forms of economic vulnerability for people. When Papua New Guinea fulfils its development potential, it will be a country that has successfully harnessed the potential of the rural economy. There are economic benefits in encouraging the subsistence forms of agricultural activities to transform into semi-commercial or commercial forms of production. However, the benefits to the social fabric of communities are also significant when communities are not reliant on outside assistance to provide the necessary resources to the people.

In Chapter 11, Diego Miranda and David Kui discuss the provision of agricultural services at the subnational level, while assessing the impact on the rural economy. They argue that there is disconnect between political intentions and policy outcome, which results in the decay of service delivery at the subnational level — an issue that was identified by Sil Poi (see Chapter 3). In turn, they use data from the National Economic and Fiscal Commission (NEFC), which were gathered and analysed for the period 2005-2007, to demonstrate an overlooked and empirically testable point.

Subnational governments have insufficient funding (a funding gap) to carry out their mandated functions, and then spend their scarce resources on the wrong things (a priority gap). These gaps lead to the failure in service delivery accounts for the substandard policy outcome that is observable in the agricultural sector, and which seriously compromises the potential for growth in rural PNG. At the most basic level, most subnational governments simply do not have enough resources to fully fund the provision of goods and services at the provincial level. When they look at recurrent goods and services at the subnational level, the agricultural sector is underfunded, as scarce resources are not targeted to support it, despite all the rhetoric.

In Chapter 12, Ian Nuberg, Brian Gunn, and Israel Bewang discuss the promotion of rural-based fuelwood production systems. The paper describes the project that tries to establish working models and extension capacity to promote a fuelwood production culture. Field trials involving short-rotation, tree coppicing systems with desirable wood traits have shown immediate impact and adoption. Both woodlots and contour-hedgerow agroforestry systems will be established to generate the required production data and to serve as demonstration models for extension theory in this project. Fuelwood plantations will directly enhance smallholders' incomes and provide a pathway for rehabilitating grasslands. Business opportunities will be created to supply a growing fuelwood market,

while at the same time providing opportunities to produce other products, including seedlings, poles, and fodder. A major challenge will be to create fuelwood businesses in an economy where fuelwood is sourced from a 'free', but diminishing and contested resource.

Part E: Women in Development

Women can become a catalyst for community development, if their potential is realised and nurtured. In many places, women provide most of the labour on the land. They are productive and can have a say in any economic development at the community level. Women can be the backbone for development in many rural areas, and their initiatives in development should be encouraged and supported. Women are essential to achieving successful community development. Women are the labourers, and in many societies, the landowners. When women can participate in decision making in their communities they can be a unique force for the equitable and effective distribution of resources. Women are also often the 'behind scene actors' in community development.

In Chapter 13, Dr. Anastasia Sai makes use of powerful metaphors likening women to 'volcanoes and bulldozers'. There is no doubt that women transform society, often from behind the scenes, by supporting the men in their lives, who could be their husbands, fathers, brothers, uncles, or male friends. Modern women are actively going out to acquire tertiary education and venture into workplaces that have been previously only occupied by men. While it is easy to identify the contribution of these women in the work force, we can easily overlook the contribution of women in the rural areas and the informal sector. This chapter highlights some of the work that women do behind the scenes, and which is not always adequately acknowledged. Papua New Guinean women do transform society and are the unsung heroes in community development. They are like 'volcanoes and bulldozers', and who leave a trail of influence as they change the map for others to follow.

In Chapter 14, Naomi Fait-Simet explores the *Kraku-Bandi* female initiation ceremony in the remote area of East Sepik where feminine values, roles, and responsibilities are reaffirmed in the ceremony. She discusses the role that women play in the development of their communities. In the Yangit community of the Burui Kunai Local-level Government area of East Sepik Province, women's roles are emphasised in the Yangit female initiation ceremony known as *Kraku-Bandi*. This traditional ceremony provides the occasion for the restatement and redefining of gender roles. At the same time, this occasion reminds the wider community of the females' different roles in the gender divide and also for others, particularly the young, to learn about these roles. The chapter discusses the importance of the *Kraku-Bandi* process, as a traditional cultural institution. In emphasising, restating, and redefining women's roles in the socioeconomic life of the community, these roles are important for the development and maintenance of the community.

In Chapter 15, Matilda Parau presents the report of the Young Women Christian Association's work in PNG. She discusses the work that the association has been

consistently endeavouring to do to help young girls in PNG to gain confidence in the small skills which they learn and to share those skills with their families. Moreover, the YWCA encourages women to gain self-esteem and self-confidence, which are the very foundations towards women's empowerment.

Limitations

This publication is not intended to be exhaustive or to provide a systematic account of community development. Topics have not been predetermined, as with journal publications. The conference on community transformation was promoted to seek expressions of interest from various stakeholders in community studies and community development. Out of their own initiative and willingness, the contributors offered to share what they knew, practised, and experienced. The authors comprise mixed groups. Although there were very few from academia and policy development domains, there were many community development practitioners. This publication may not exclusively satisfy the interest and curiosity of any particular sphere — be it academia, community development practitioners, or community organizations — but it pools information together in a way in which people can gain insight into what is required in developing plans and policies for community change.

From the papers received, the interest in the issues of community development centred on four areas — *community governance*, *community conflict resolution*, *rural economy prospect*, and *women in community development*. However, we also realised that there are many more issues of concern to the community that have not been captured. What is important is the concept of a community learning centre that has been developed by the Department for Community Development, and the usefulness of community resource centres. During the conference, a powerpoint presentation was made by the Digicel Foundation in relation to their Mobile Learning Centres. Another aspect was the issue of traditional and cultural knowledge in community development. Although aspects were mentioned by various writers, there was no specific treatment of the topic. These and other issues will be given research consideration and policy attention when the need arises.

Policy Considerations

The Department for Community Development has recently developed an 'Integrated Community Development Policy'. This policy needs to be implemented by responsible stakeholders in community development. The four basic pillars on which the policy is based are *community governance*, *community learning*, *community economics*, and *community environment* (Department for Community Development 2007: 29-30). The four pillars share some affinity with the themes of this publication.

The pillar on community governance shares the concerns expressed in this publication on perspectives on community governance. Community governance is an area that needs research and policy attention. Linking community governance with the current push for

subnational government strategies should include how governance is realised at the ward level, utilising and implementing the provisions in the Organic Law on Provincial Governments and Local-level Governments (OLPGLLG). The formal governance mechanism should recognise ward or community governance as the basic formal government institution. It is on that level that the government will be relevant to the people — the very concern raised by the Taskforce for Government and Administrative Reform in Chapter 5.

The pillar on community economics raises the same concerns as expressed in this publication on prospects for the rural economy. There is no denial that most of the people's incomes and livelihood are based on agricultural produce. As such, an informed agricultural policy is needed to assist farmers in the rural areas. The research undertaken by the NEFC and reported in Chapter 11 discusses the provision of agricultural services at the subnational level, while at the same time assessing its impact on the rural economy. Another issue on community economics, but which is not discussed at length in this publication, is the idea of establishing cooperative societies in rural communities. The Salt Livestock Farmers' Cooperative, which was discussed in Chapter 3, is an initiative that needs attention from the Government—especially the agricultural sector. Furthermore, there are many other government and semi-government organisations that can assist in this social economy.

The pillar on community environment shares some issues expressed in this publication on community conflicts resolutions, especially Chapters 9 and 10. According to the policy, community environment is concerned with the physical and social environment in which people live. It is about building safe, healthy, and sustainable communities, with positive values such as cooperation, respect for rights, cultural pride and identity. It also includes improved water supplies, hygiene, and sanitation, improved nutrition, HIV/AIDS work, village beautification, and community sports (*ibid.*: 30). Perhaps the work by Oxfam Highlands Program, as reported in Chapter 9, is the implementation of the fourth pillar in the Integrated Community Development Policy.

Oxfam's approach to human security is based on the assumption that all people have basic human rights and should enjoy these rights, regardless of who and where they are. Oxfam maintains that security, and refers not only to war and violent conflict, but also to political instability, the rise of fundamentalism, ethnic or communal divisions, and other types of upheavals such as natural disasters. It also addresses chronic threats such as poverty, malnutrition, and ill-health. This also means that the promotion of security is broadened to encompass both macro-level social, political, and economic security, and micro-level concerns, such as ensuring access to food, water, shelter, sanitation, and basic education. This initiative is about creating a healthy physical and social environment.

The pillar on community learning has been covered in many of the community development groups given attention in this publication. In Part A, the importance of community learning for development has become obvious in the community development initiatives. Community learning is about building up human capital at the community level. Personal enrichment contributes to community vitality in people empowerment,

and learning enhances this process. My working definition of people empowerment to the National Strategic Plan states that:

‘Generally, people empowerment refers to two intrinsic and interrelated phenomena — *personal enrichment* and *community vitality*. Personal enrichment involves the integration and enhancement of physical, emotional, cognitive (mind), conative (will), and spiritual dimension of a human being. Community vitality involves the bonding of individuals within a particular setting, the bridging of those bonds with other basic groups, and linking them to a wider horizontal network regarding the provisions of human needs and fulfilment. Personal enrichment is the essential part of community building, from which mutual benefit derives. Individuals invest in community vitality, and in return, community vitality enriches the individual, which results in people being empowered’.

Useful training to be conducted in the community learning centre would be renowned personal viability training. Skills and other knowledge areas can be developed and disseminated at the community learning centres. Significantly, the participatory action research would be useful and practical, if communities have a community learning centre that is conducive for this learning process. I have suggested the amalgamation of the community school setting with the concept of community learning centres; that is, the bridging of the formal with the informal systems of learning (Unage 2007: 53-58). This is an area where the Department of Education and the Department for Community Development should engage in a constructive dialogue.

Government support is required in community development initiatives. The government’s role is more to do with funding, coordinating, and regulating a community service system, while at the same time, harnessing people’s initiatives. The national government must establish a community service system in which the ward development community would be totally responsible for linking community initiatives with government service provisions. The suggestion of establishing a National Commission for Local-level Government and Community Service system by the Taskforce for Government and Administrative Reform should be given consideration. The Commission should allow for a vital network among different stakeholders, be it the Government, churches, or NGOs in addressing community needs, while simultaneously trying not to be too paternalistic.

Finally, the *PNG Vision 2050* has given attention to three focal areas—*human capital development*, *institution* and *service delivery*, and *wealth creation*. However, for this vision to be realised, community empowerment is the launch pad. Effective community governance is crucial, whereby people will be able to take ownership of decision making and implementation of any development program. Community governance is the sound foundation on which community-based nation building will gather momentum.

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Chapter 1

The Pamusa Community Development Association

James Ogia

Introduction

Rural communities in Papua New Guinea are becoming more and more disconnected from government services and are experiencing very little government presence. The government activities are concentrated in urban areas. The majority of the rural population does not have much say in government decisions, policies, development agendas, and other related issues, except being involved in electing their national, provincial, and local government representatives. Rural communities know very little about the government's processes and activities which affect their lives. This results in many rural communities not knowing what to do, and often leads to dependency on others.

This realisation prompted the establishment of the Pamusa Community Development Association (PCDA) to address some of these issues. This paper gives some information on the reasons for forming the association, the strengths of the community that became the catalyst for communal effort, the objectives and structure of the association, the achievements, the challenges, and lessons learned. It highlights the importance of empowering people with relevant information and skills so that they can meaningfully participate in Papua New Guinea's social, economic, and political development.

Background to the Pamusa Community Development Association

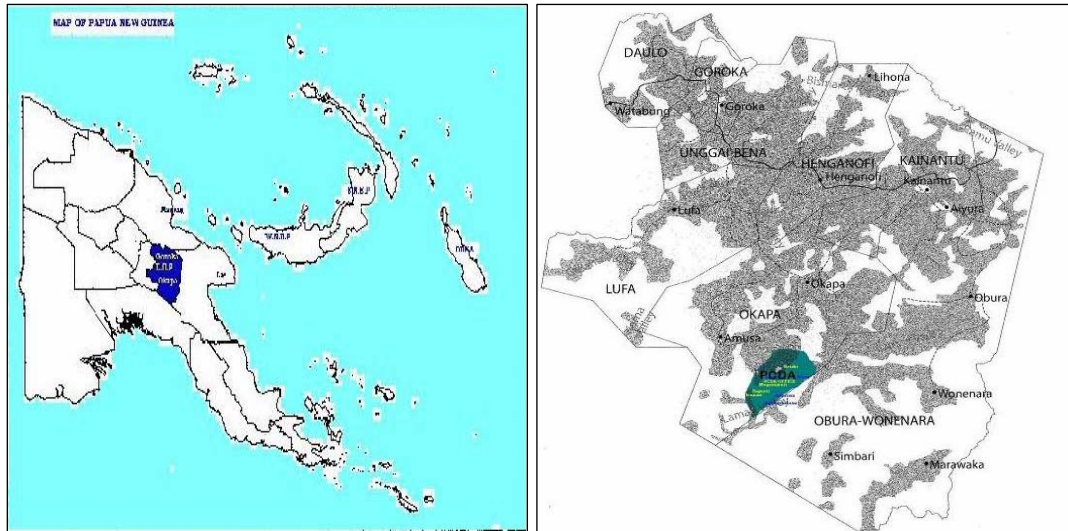
The Pamusa Community Development Association (PCDA) was established early in 2004 and registered with the Eastern Highlands Provincial Administration's Division of Community Development. Initially, it has taken time to create awareness within the community about the idea of community responsibility. The incentive to establish this association started in 2002, which resulted in formally establishing the association. An application has been lodged with the Investment Promotion Authority (IPA) for a proper group registration.

Pamusa is located in the remotest part of Okapa District, in Eastern Highlands Province. It is approximately 22 kilometres from Okapa Station and some 90 kilometres from Goroka (see Figure 1.1). The population of the community is 3 490, as per the village roll book. The area is regarded as one of the most underdeveloped and disadvantaged in the district, and the province as well. The association consists of the Purosa and Awarosa Wards, including Kinigitasa Village in Wanitave Ward.

There are 12 villages that come under the PCDA. The motto of the association is, 'Sustainable Development through Community Empowerment'. It was envisioned that

development initiatives can be pursued using the resources that people have, rather than waiting for the Government to deliver services, which are hard to come by.

Figure 1.1: The Location of Eastern Highlands Province and the Pamusa Community Development Association in the Province



Establishing the Association

The Pamusa Community Development Association was established to primarily pursue development through self-help initiatives. Its aim is to foster the social, economic, political, spiritual, and physical development of the community and its members. Realising that very little help will come from outside sources, the community pursued development avenues to improve their standard of living and reduce poverty.

Some of the core reasons for establishing the PCDA were to foster and enhance community participation in any development projects that were carried out by the community, and to enhance community ownership. Ownership of development will become the medium through which a change of attitude will be advocated. The attitude of being recipients of services only enhances the ‘handout mentality’. This initiative aims to encourage individuals to contribute to, and provide for, one’s own need to be self-reliant. The community knows that any development which occurs in the community is because of the members’ own sweat. Therefore, the community will claim ownership of these assets, and will look after them. This will reduce vandalism and the destruction of public properties, which are so prevalent in Papua New Guinea, and address the issue of sustainability.

Major Objectives of the Association

To help guide the operation of the PCDA, a set of guidelines was developed. The association's objectives provide direction and purpose, and include:

- planning, leading, managing, and promoting socioeconomic activities for the local, rural population, thus creating self-reliance, and giving rise to an improved standard of living;
- striving to ensure that improved education and health infrastructure and associated services are achieved and maintained for the benefit of the community members;
- initiating, constructing, and maintaining roads and bridges in the area;
- achieving a decent and clean water supply and related services to promote a high level of personal hygiene;
- initiating appropriate activities that are aimed at alleviating rural poverty and other associated social problems;
- initiating and raising monies from various activities and organisations, including donors, to fund and achieve the association's aims and objectives;
- pursuing farming and the sustainable management of cash crops for the benefit of the community;
- promoting and upholding gender equality in all forms of development;
- contributing to the political and socioeconomic development of the community and the district through participatory discussion with relevant authorities; and
- liaising with appropriate government and support service organisations, on behalf of the people, in addressing issues of common interest.

Common Binding Factors

One means of mobilising communities is to make them aware of their cultural and traditional strengths. The strengths are practices that foster communal efforts to achieve certain tasks, such as brideprice contributions, funeral feasts, the construction of new houses, making new gardens, payment of school fees, contributions towards settling disputes, building of roads, construction of schools and aidposts, and other common activities. These are good collective efforts that can be used to satisfy our modern day development needs by using the principle of collective participation. There have been some positive results from these community activities.

For example, one village built a 500-metre road to link their village to the main road. They also planted flowers to beautify the roadside. A women's group cleaned up a local day clinic, and ensured a positive turnout at the parents' day at the local community school. A group of young men organised themselves and maintained the local road for easy access by vehicles. These are small things, but at least there is some change in the manner of doing voluntary work. The PCDA hopes to continually promote these activities so that they become embedded within the community and the people will reach a stage where they will intrinsically value what they do rather than doing it to gain favour, praise, or prestige, which often leads to negative implications.

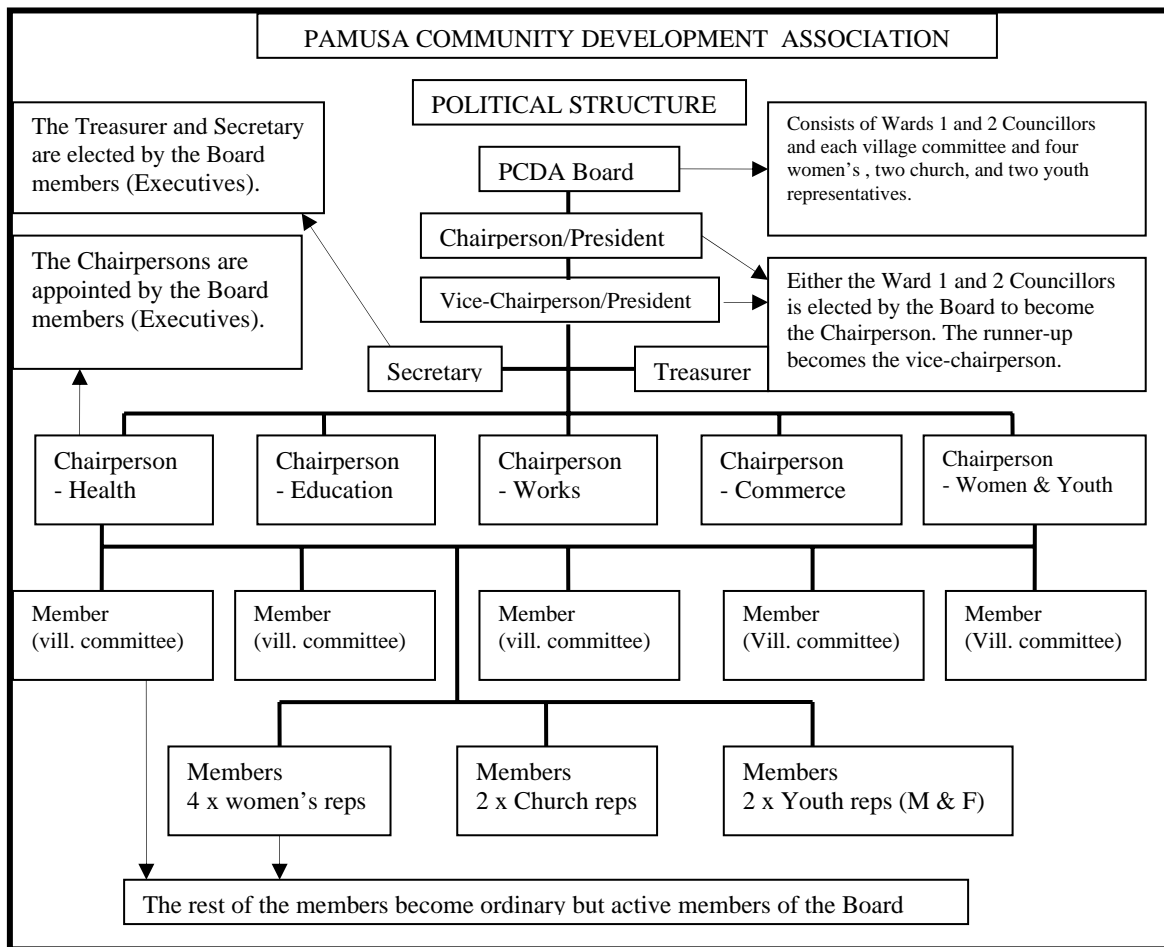
The Association's Structure

The PCDA is governed by a board which comprises:

- two ward councillors;
- all the committees (government recognised village committee which assists the ward councillor in running the affairs of the ward);
- four women;
- two youths; and
- two church representatives (see Figure 1.2).

The board members elect the chairperson from the two ward councillors, while the runner-up becomes the vice-chairperson. The election tenure is for five years, which is in line with the local-level government (LLG) election cycle.

Figure 1.2: Governance Structure of the Pamusa Community Development Association

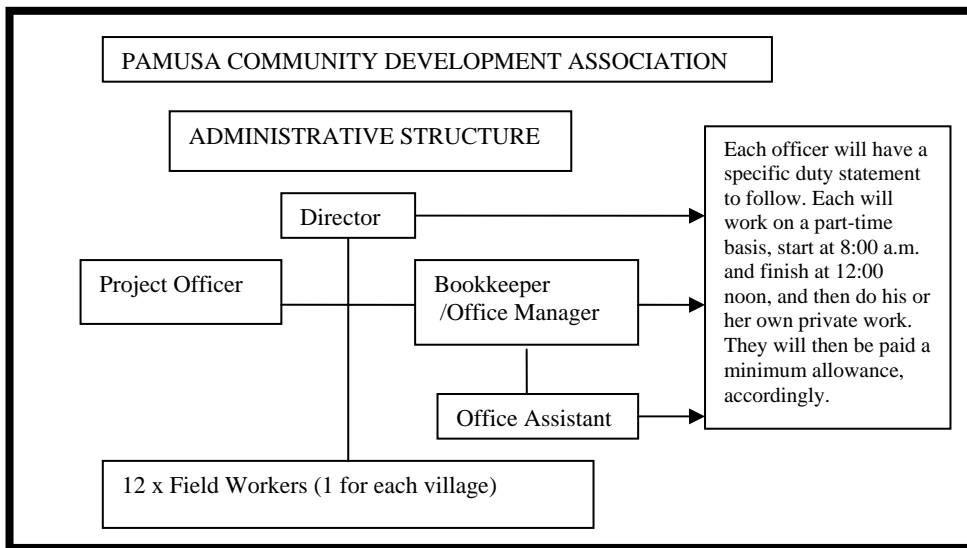


The intention is to use the existing leadership structure, rather than creating a duplicate leadership structure in the community, be it traditional or any new imposed form. This is

to strengthen the community leadership structure, by empowering them, and becomes the governance (political) structure of the PCDA. This avenue is also used to generate ideas and agenda items or issues of concern for the two ward councillors to take to the Okapa East LLG meetings, or bring back information from the LLG meetings and inform the board members, who then take the information and inform their constituents. This promotes participatory governance at the local and district levels.

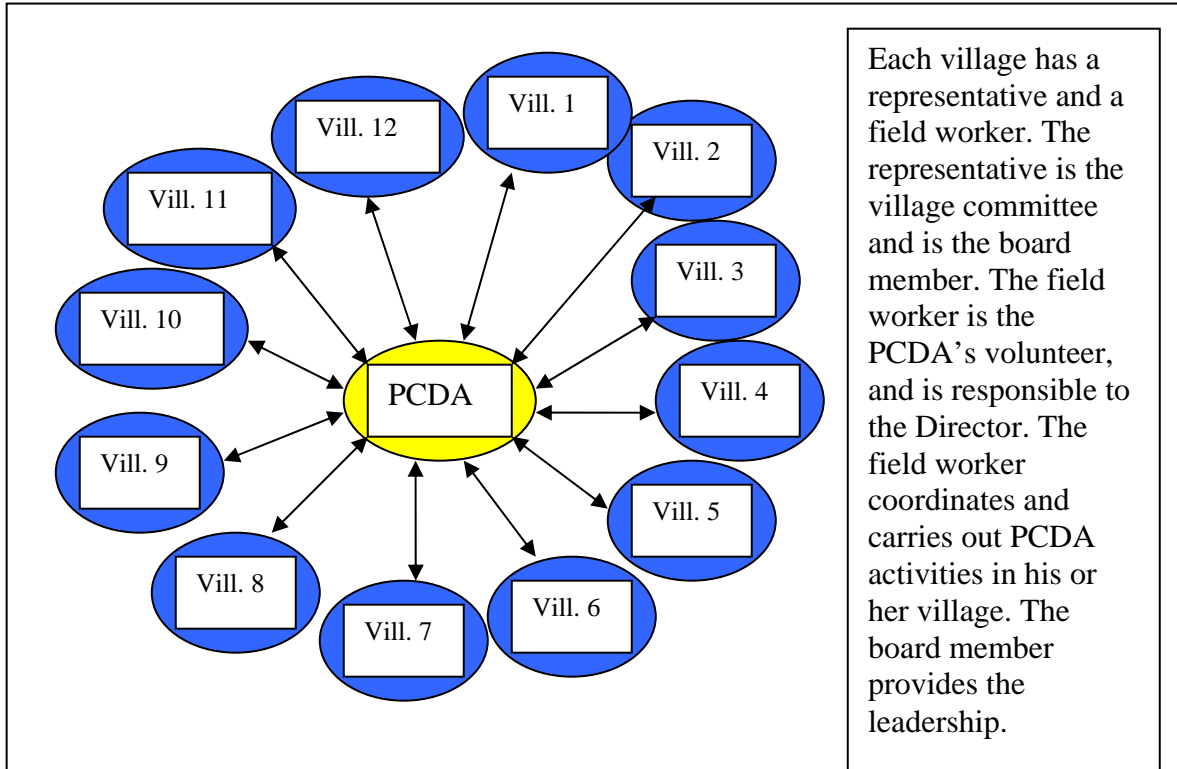
Administratively, the PCDA has a Director, who is assisted by field workers. The field workers report to the Director, act as a secretariat for the board, and assist the board in running any village activities (see Figure 1.3). This is done on a voluntary basis, and are not full-time jobs. This gives time for these volunteers to attend to their gardens, coffee plots, and other private responsibilities. In all these activities, the spirit of volunteerism and communal contribution is emphasised, until the people’s mind-set is changed sufficiently to see the importance of contributing in cash and kind for the recurrent maintenance of basic services and new projects in the community. This has a positive impact on the financial status of the PCDA.

Figure 1.3: Administrative Structure of the Pamusa Community Development Association



The PCDA links all of the villages and the people in these wards to carry out communal development initiatives. It becomes a focal coordination point for the villages in the two wards (see Figure 1.4).

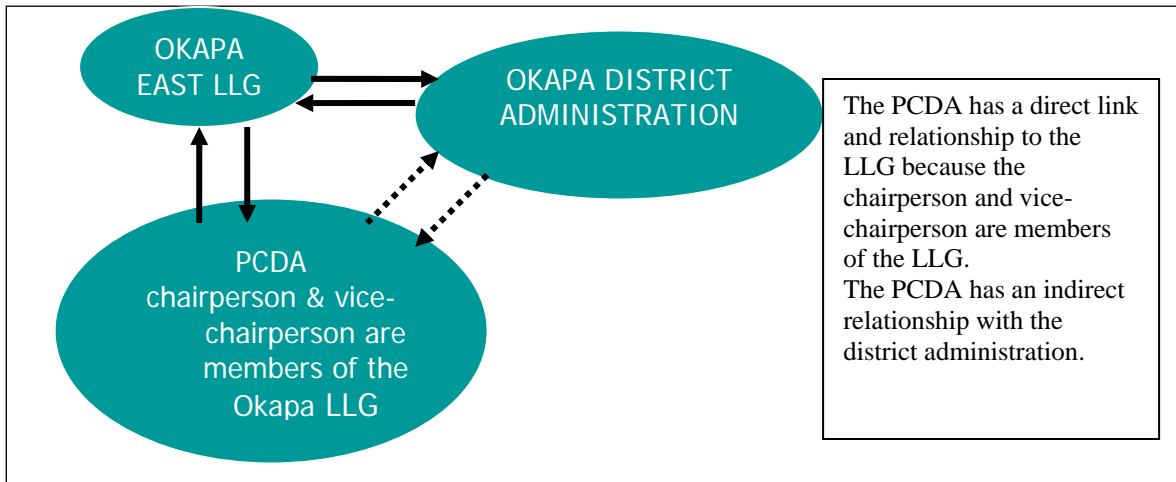
Figure 1.4: PCDA's Linkages to the Villages



Relationship with the Formal Government Authority and Structure

The PCDA has a direct link and relationship with the local-level government, as the chairperson and the vice-chairperson of the association are members of the local-level government. In turn, the local-level government has a direct link and relationship with the District Administration (see Figure 1.5). Therefore, consultation and networking complement each other's development efforts, and are very well-facilitated.

Figure 1.5: PCDA’s Relationship with the Local-level Government and the District Administration



Convincing the Community

It is not easy to work with a community where there are several levels of understanding. It is even more difficult when the ‘handout mentality’ has become ingrained in many Papua New Guinean communities. It took considerable time to create awareness and mobilise people to support community initiatives and self-help projects. The awareness started in 2002, and in 2004, the association took shape.

It took two years to convince the majority of people to agree to this venture, as most of the awareness and mobilisation was done during weekends and holidays. The important thing was to make the community aware of, and agree to, the initiative, as they had to play the major role in the implementation. This raises an ownership issue, as everyone had to be a party to the decision to sustain the initiative.

Achievements

There have been some positive impacts in the community as a result of the work of the PCDA. Some of the major impacts are:

- making people aware of the development needs of the community and by building on the traditional norms, modern development agendas can be pursued and addressed;
- creating some sense of self-initiative and self-reliance and some degree of organisation in the community;
- helping people market some of their agricultural product, especially coffee, in Goroka, to get a better price than they would normally be obtained in the village;

- attracting donor support for initiatives such as the Electoral Support Program to carry out LPV awareness in the community, and the Save the Children Fund's nutrition program;
- improving leadership and assisting young people to take up leadership roles by training them to become field workers; and
- establishing community roll book and profile (a comprehensive community roll book and profile were developed for the association area, which has become very handy for various activities, especially for planning purposes).

Problems and Challenges

There are still challenges and problems to overcome, including:

- deteriorating road condition that has made travel very difficult between the community and Goroka (Last year (2007) the association mobilised 120 x 50 - kilograms of coffee for the members of the community but could not transport it out);
- communication and transport difficulties due to the remoteness of Pamusa from Goroka;
- changing people's perceptions;
- traditional and cultural norms, which can be an hindrance to people's participation and have adverse effect on the objectives of the association;
- competitive forces in the community, which can contribute negatively to the community's (association's) progress and even hamper members' participation; and
- lack of capacity and skills at the community level (most of the well-educated and skilled people live and work in towns, and it is difficult to find such people when there is a need for one).

Lessons Learned

It is not easy to mobilise people for such activities. In many rural Papua New Guinea, there is serious lack of information, appropriate skills and knowledge to pursue modern development needs. There is a huge disconnection between the Government and the people, therefore, people are not conscious of governance issues and are not involve in any Government sponsored activities.

However, this experience demonstrates that governance and community development by empowering the people is possible in Papua New Guinean communities. Using the current leadership structure that exists in the community, modern intervention can be introduced. The one focal point can be used to foster government agendas and development issues. What it requires is empowering people with skills, knowledge and other capacity needs to effectively be engaged. Building on from what they have already got, or are doing or have been part of their culture or tradition will enhance ownership and sustainability of any initiatives or interventions. Interventions or initiatives imposed

on people from outside often don't work, so it is wise to use people's own initiatives as entry points into the community for pursuing any development agendas. This will also narrow down the gap between the State and the people.

Conclusion

The Pamusa case illustrates a community's initiative to address lack of development and other associated issues based on cultural norms as catalyst for addressing modern development needs. It also demonstrates that governance is possible and can influence some of government decisions and policies. With careful planning and applying best approaches, this kind of interventions can make a lot of difference in many communities.

However, there are challenges and if they are not given appropriate attention; they can have negative impact and jeopardise future initiatives. However, if PNG has to progress on issues like participatory governance, poverty alleviation, empowerment of the marginalised, transparency and accountability in decision making, there has to be some kind of initiative. Therefore, what Pamusa Association has done is in a small way contributes to these overarching development goals.

Chapter 2

Integral Community Health and Development

Bernard Gunn

Introduction

The Integral Community Health and Development (ICHHD) program is a rural community-based initiative that assists local communities to move towards self-help and self-sufficiency in socioeconomic needs. The program attempts to blend traditional ways of living with the modern influences which make tribal governance the focus for this program. The ICHHD program targets the majority of the rural population which currently lacks, and/or cannot afford, basic health and other essential livelihood requirements. The program arose out of the realisation that the present Westminster-style government system in Papua New Guinea cannot adequately support, protect, and provide for the entire nation. The program attempts to empower rural communities to provide their own solutions to overcome the lack of basic government service delivery, as a vehicle for a healthy and productive lifestyle.

Background

Perhaps, when the ‘White people’ first came to Papua New Guinea, they drew an unfortunate conclusion that the native population was ‘uncivilised’, lacked knowledge and intelligence, were unable to communicate effectively, and did not have the ability to reason. In short, the indigenous people required their assistance and that was their noble duty. This gave rise to what is called *paternalism*. Based upon the experiences of conquering nations and a colonial history based upon dominance and imperialism, it may have been ‘natural’ to assume that what worked as effective government administration in their homeland must be the best possible future direction for Papua New Guinea.

The realisation that the indigenous people did have a system of local administration and a stable, albeit contradictory, lifestyle, going back many thousands of years, was a fact not appreciated. Papua New Guinea was therefore given a Western-style democracy which was based on the assumption that governments are all-encompassing natural protectors and providers for the entire population. The belief that the population would comprehend its own responsibility was unthinkable.

Unfortunately, after more than thirty years of independence, that assumption remains only just that — an assumption. Government today becomes less and less relevant to the majority, most of whom live in the rural areas. Only a very small proportion of the population contributes to the national purse, and even less benefit in return.

The majority of national revenue is consumed as administrative expenses, procedures, redemption payments, and corrupt dealings. What is left mainly goes to urban areas, with

the remainder filtering down through to the provincial governments, which, in turn, take their share. Almost nothing goes to the villages where the bulk of the population resides. The rural people are left with only a flawed image imposed upon them by those who are empowered, and who wish to remain in power.

Rural people are repeatedly told that the State is the protector and provider for the nation and for them, but it simply does not have the resources to implement these functions. Neither will it, unless the social and economic indicators improve. There is virtually no development in the rural areas, and the quality of life has markedly deteriorated during the past three decades.

By and large, the rural population remains in an increasingly desperate and worsening situation. Control, security, and the sustenance of villages by the former chieftain system has been replaced by a national government which cannot provide or protect. Instead, it imposes its own version of law and order with misunderstood foreign requirements. Personal and communal welfare have been effectively usurped by the State, leaving villages without a viable replacement.

The majority of the rural population, in attempting to maintain themselves with digging sticks and strong backs, has lost interest in the Government over the years. The only relevance nowadays is whether their personal 'big-man' is 'big' enough to insert a financial pipeline into the government's coffers at election time and 'turn the tap on', spraying funds to his own tribesmen in return for their support.

There is a great divide between the Government and the rural population, and between the former 'uncivilised' system of tribal elders and the 'modern' system of all-encompassing central government. That this democratic system works well in developed countries extols its virtues. However, for it to work it needs a large and vibrant economy to produce the expected service delivery.

In the future, the democratic Western-style government will be the provider and protector of its peoples and fulfil its promise, but in the interim period, there is a yawning gap. It is easy to see why there are such law and order problems, poverty, helplessness, and a lack of hope in rural communities. In much of the world, these situations lead to frustration and spark conflict — perhaps even war.

The Integral Community Health and Development program initiative is an attempt to bridge that gap. It is a peaceful and constructive way for villages to find their own security, direction, and sustainable development, while the national government comes to terms with its own charter.

Brief History

The Integrated Community Health and Development program is an offshoot of the Nazarene Health Care Ministries, which came into existence in 1967. In 1992, a Community-Based Health Care (CBHC) project, which centred on disease prevention and

on holistic community-based program involving community participation, began. As a nursing tutor, teaching personal and community health, I began implementing what I taught to students in Domil Village on weekends. I realised that my community needed a health system which centred on prevention rather than curative care, and started preventive health work with the community. The community's index of illness has declined, and the program has incorporated other development activities.

So far, the development component of the ICHD program includes:

- community government;
- a resource centre;
- a community banking facility;
- agricultural activity (livestock, crops, and fish farming);
- small coffee growers' association;
- health facilities, with antenatal checks and deliveries; and
- carpentry training, with the construct of low-cost, permanent buildings.

Individuals are encouraged to adopt and embrace the objectives of the program. The people who have adopted this model have prospered in terms of personal health, financial security, increased incomes, and better living conditions.

The Goals of the Integral Community Health and Development Program

The major goals of the ICHD program are to:

- mobilise people, communities, and their resources in an intellectually and economically revolutionary manner; and
- encourage people to create their own wealth, and have the capacity to retain and use it for their own well-being and their children's future.

The program intends to create financial capital for the Domil community to drive the economy of this community forward, so that people can hold their heads high, boast of the rise in their living and educational standards, and assess their own growth out of poverty, misery, dependency, and hopelessness.

Other minor goals to be achieved by the ICHD program are to:

- recognise traditional Papua New Guinean tribal groups and the 'hausman' system of community-based governance;
- empower rural communities to help themselves, regardless of church denominations;
- facilitate rural communities to address their basic survival needs and the alleviation of poverty, health problems, apathy, and helplessness;

- address law and order issues in a positive and productive way by providing direction, purpose, occupation, and involvement for every community member;
- provide the necessary knowledge and ‘skills for living’ in order to empower each member of the community to be socially responsible and economically self-reliant;
- enable communities, either individually or collectively, to achieve sustainable economic stability and financial security; and
- provide every child in a community with an enhanced educational opportunity in a secure, caring, family environment.

The Strategies for the ICHD Program

The strategies to achieve the objectives of the ICHD program include:

1. social mobilisation of clan groups;
2. increasing the work force in order to increase the production of goods and services;
3. improving productivity and marketing;
4. promoting a savings environment;
5. enhancing the development by the people;
6. linking the community to the district for one-stop governance, service delivery, and development; and
7. situating ICHD offices in central locations in the district to enable communities to have access.

Strategy 1 underscores the importance of the social mobilisation of clan groups. This is done by establishing a community government in each clan. The important elements of a community government include:

- the formation of a ward development committee comprising clan chiefs, youth, women, pastors, a council member, and a village court magistrate;
- skills training for needs assessment, planning, budgeting, and implementing projects;
- facilitating the writing of a constitution for the community government;
- the appointment of ministerial positions for the tasks that have been identified and oversee the provision of services;
- the construction of a permanent building to house all of the village departments under one roof; and
- linking community buildings using a two-way radio system to communicate with district departments and other communities.

Another aspect of Strategy 1 deals with community cooperatives to work for a common economic good, and include the incorporation of the clan group under the Investment Promotion Authority (IPA). Also, with the incorporation, clan groups can go into entrepreneurship businesses, market their produce locally, or export it under the bigger umbrella association of the ICHD.

Strategy 2 deals with increasing human capacity in order to increase the production of goods and the provision of services. Skills training is necessary to bring service delivery to the doorstep. These strategies involve:

- training village health volunteers to supervise day clinics;
- ensuring the safe delivery of babies and monitoring growth;
- counselling and conducting awareness concerning HIV/AIDS;
- treating people at a first-aid centre and referring major cases to health centres; and
- having a health support scheme to meet the cost for referrals, admissions, and operations for the rural majority, following the Melanesian cooperative support concept.

Strategy 3 concerns improving productivity and marketing. Items that have been identified by the community include:

- cottage industries, such as making bilums;
- soap production;
- making fruit jams;
- producing cassava flour; and
- making animal feed that can be produced locally by the clan and marketed by the group.

Strategy 4 provides a savings environment in order to introduce and promote a savings culture among people. The idea is to have members open savings accounts with the community bank and start savings for purposes such as:

- general savings;
- school fees;
- housing schemes; and
- health insurance.

Strategy 5 underscores the idea of development by the people. Rural poverty will be eliminated once people have been economically empowered and are able to make choices among many alternatives.

Strategy 6 concerns linkages. There should be links from the communities to the district. A one-stop government and service delivery centre is envisaged. The connectivity involves:

- a community government to be functioning as the ward development committee;
- a community development plan to become the ward development plan and be incorporated into the district development plan;
- community government programs for service delivery to be linked with district offices for service delivery;
- the community government, with its departmental Ministers, to work smoothly with the district departments and offices to improve efficiency, effective service

- delivery, monitoring, supervisory visits, and reporting, using the volunteers, and combined with the monthly visits from the district officers; and
- funding for ward development and the community government to be funded through the LLG, to finance the community development plan.

Strategy 7 is for the ICHD office be situated in a central location, perhaps in the district headquarters, so that the communities can have access. Facilities at the centre would include a resource centre, a learning centre, a link bank, a factory, a telicentre, and basic stationery items. A central location has been established in Domil. However, the centre needs to increase its capacity, and needs a telephone system to link up with the rest of the world.

Current Achievements

The current indicators of the ICHD program identify Domil as the model community with the following facilities:

- community government established;
- Ministers appointed;
- village departments established;
- resource centre and ICHD head office established;
- model farm linked with the National Agricultural Research Institute (NARI) and the Fresh Produce Development Agency (FPDA) with resource information in the resource centre;
- establishing a seed bank to enable farmers to obtain loans to plant, after training;
- community bank for savings and withdrawals; and
- cassava milling machine and a technical engineer in preparation for processing, while farmers started planting cassava.

The Domil community is also developing products to use in making animal feed. Furthermore, special plants were brought in from America, including *alfalfa* and *moringa* plants. The leaves of the moringa tree have been proven to be a powerhouse of nutritional value. It has been discovered that moringa leaves contain:

- four times more calcium than milk;
- four times more vitamin A than carrots;
- seven times more vitamin C than oranges;
- twice as much protein as milk; and
- three times more potassium than bananas.

This plant is available from NARI and can be multiplied into thousands for planting. It will then be processed and packed for distribution to HIV and AIDS patients for their nutritional requirements. These can also be used by all for substituting in their diets.

With the aim of moving six percent of the population into productivity, wealth creation, and development, people need to be convinced. As well as Domil, the ICHD

program has six other project communities. These communities have constructed office buildings, but are incomplete because of the withdrawal of the Nazarene Health Ministries. However, after completion, the communities will follow the Domil model, and train the ward development committees to enable them to carry out their roles and responsibilities. The six incomplete buildings are in the Sigmil and Tun communities in the South Wahgi Electorate, and Kalanga, Kongambil, Tolpa, and Nondol-Polonga communities in the North Wahgi Electorates.

Linking with the District Development Plan and Service Delivery

The ICHD program has been recognised, and incorporated into the Five-Year Electoral Development Plan by the current North Wahgi MP, Hon. Benjamin Mul. The MP has made an initial commitment of K 100 000 to support the organisation. Also, the idea of community government has been incorporated in the new Jiwaka Province Development and Service Delivery Plan. Getting the local-level government and the district administration to accept the Integral Community Health and Development Program, as a ward development program, will greatly assist in the establishment of community government.

Conclusion

Undeniably, there are significant outcomes from the Westminster system of government. It is democratic, just, and fair. It has stood the test of time in other countries, such as Great Britain. However, for it to work efficiently, it needs a dynamic economy to provide the wealth that is needed to give its people protection, education, health, and prosperity. If the economy fails, then the system can no longer provide. Services will not get to the people and the idea of having a State becomes irrelevant, which will generate frustration and dissent among the population.

Blending the former, traditional, tribal governance system with contemporary modern concepts of the Westminster-style government system in Papua New Guinea can support the concept of the traditional hausman government which collectively protects and provides the needs of its tribal members.

Chapter 3

Salt Livestock Farmers' Cooperative Society

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Introduction

The Salt-Nomane-Karimui District covers the Lower Wahgi Valley and the Karimui Plateau, with extensive mountain ranges and valleys that make it one of the remotest districts in Simbu Province and the country. More than 36 000 people suffer daily from many forms of socioeconomic setbacks that deprive them of their basic rights. Despite the inclusion of numerous national government policies in rural agriculture development plans, the district has yet to see tangible changes in the agriculture and livestock industry. This and many more deficiencies have prompted livestock farmers in the district to initiate change and embark on development by themselves. This paper presents creative, rural community initiatives in livestock farming.

In general, this paper revisits some recent national government policies concerning agriculture. Despite numerous government agriculture and livestock policy initiatives, very limited, tangible, positive benefits have been experienced by the rural people. This prompted rural change initiatives such as the Salt Livestock Farmers Cooperative Society (SLFCS).

Since independence, Papua New Guinea's rural communities were united for a common purpose and with common goals. However, development disparity has denied change in the standard of living, good health, transport infrastructure, good education facilities, high disposable incomes, and good personal and general health services. In general, government development initiatives only seem to decorate policy documents, while people in rural areas remain below the poverty line.

Located in the southern part of Simbu Prince are the Yuwi, Keri, and Kia people, who comprise the Salt Local-level Government. The Salt LLG has 24 council wards, with more than 50 community villages, and is more than 63 kilometres from Kundiawa town. These people face the challenges of modern development policies, against the expected tangible outcomes which do not often materialise. This led to the initiation and formation of this rural-based agriculture livestock initiative which aims to empower local people to realise their socioeconomic aspirations. Working together as a rural team to explore new initiatives and increase their earning capacities will improve their standard of living.

In the process of developing initiatives and working with the members of this society, the enthusiasm, motivation, and interest are high. The team spirit has been built, and good progress has been made for further development.

Government Policies and Initiatives

This paper does not intend to provide a detailed analysis of government policies regarding agriculture and livestock, only to briefly mention some of them. Agriculture is the backbone of the rural economy and is also a major export earner, apart from mineral resources. Previous governments have developed appropriate policies and strategies when addressing the agriculture sector. The current Government deliberately introduced a number of key policy initiatives, strategies, and plans to promote development when they came into office in 2002. These initiatives include the Medium Term Development Strategy (MTDS), 2005-2010, the Agriculture Investment Incentives and Subsidies Policy 2003 (Green Revolution), and the National Agriculture Development Plan (NADP), 2007-2016, to name a few.

These government-sponsored programs and policies fund programs and initiatives that directly promote agriculture and income-earning opportunities in the rural sector. The MTDS is a strategic tool to guide expenditure and policy decision making. As the government's overarching development plan, the MTDS plays a pivotal role in people's endeavours to improve the living standards of Papua New Guineans.

There is doubt as to whether these policies will assist and empower local rural farmers to accomplish their objectives. In fact, the policies and funding of agricultural programs never trickles down to the rural communities. This is something which prompted the establishment of the SLFCS to assist and empower the local people.

Change Initiation: Salt Livestock Farmers' Cooperative Society

The saying, "*Nobody will feed you, you have to feed yourself*", is the business concept that has been marketed to a small group of local people who have some goats and fish, and have been energetic. They have shown great interest and have pledged to support, contribute to, and assist the formation and sustainability of the concept. The Salt Livestock Farmers' Cooperative Society was registered in May 2008 and strives for change, amidst struggles and suffering.

This group has already identified land and contributed breeder goats, fish ponds, cash, and other essential resources for large-scale commercial farming. The project has started and is now in the initial development stage.

The Scope of the Society

The scope of the society is confined to livestock farming within the defined remote Salt District of Simbu Province. Membership is open to all the resident farmers and those who are willing to be farmers of various livestock farming projects that have been identified by the society.

Purpose

The main purpose of the society is to create sound awareness and motivation for the rural people to participate in farming activities in order to address their own socioeconomic development needs and challenges.

Objectives

The primary objective of the society is to produce livestock and associated products to boost the local and national economies, minimise socioeconomic setbacks, and improve income and living standards in the rural community.

Principles of the Society

The principles of the group adopted from the Cooperative Societies of PNG are:

- voluntary and open membership;
- democratic member control;
- autonomy and independence;
- equal membership;
- education;
- training and information;
- collaboration with other cooperatives; and
- concern for the community.

Also, the society accepts and adopts the regulations and practices of the Cooperative Society of PNG. The society will also promote and market the concept of cooperative society work in the country.

Organisational Structure

The society devised a structure as part of the requirements for organisational development. The structure from the top to the bottom includes advisers, shareholders, directors, officers, and farm management staff. Individual farmers report to management, management to directors, and directors to shareholders, under the direction and guidance of the advisers. Advisers are drawn from established institutions, such as the National Agricultural Research Institute (NARI), the Fresh Produce Development Agency (FPDA), and the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), through networking and consultations. Advisers are professionals in areas such as business, economics, livestock farming, crop farming, food processing, and community development.

Organisational Membership (Shareholders) and Registration

Membership is essential prior to registration, and members are required to abide by all the rules adopted and set by the society. Shares are sold equally to all farmers and those who want to be farmers, and are over 18 years of age. Shareholders are smallholder farmers. The registration of individual members was set at a female goat each, a fish pond, or the equivalent of K100.

Registration of the Society, Networking, and Partnership

The group sought sufficient advice on how to develop the idea in their first meeting, prior to the start-up, with the election of directors and the endorsement of the structure.

In addition to the start-up, the directors sought assistance from ADRA (PNG), which is a Christian organisation of the SDA church based in Lae, in order to gauge their views and advice on the development of the group under their Rural Economic Development Project. ADRA helped in registering the group as the Salt Livestock Farmers' Cooperative Society Ltd., with the Cooperative Societies of PNG. The society is now embarking on implementing changes in their livestock farming, with assistance from the National Agricultural Research Institute, the Department of Agriculture and Livestock in Simbu Province, and the Salt Local-level Government.

Bank Account and Financial Arrangements

The group successfully opened up a bank cheque account for the Salt Livestock Farmers Cooperative Societies Ltd., at the Kundiawa Branch of the Bank South Pacific. The account has three nominated account signatories who are directors of the group, with the assistance of an adviser. They keep proper books of their operations, for audit purposes.

Current Farming Activities

Since the formation of the society, it has accomplished some planned tasks, and others are progressing well. So far, the society has already established two separate goat farms with over 80 females and 10 males in the flocks. The integrated fish farm has more than 20 ponds which are owned by the society. The number of fish and goats excludes the individual ponds and flocks at smallholder farms.

Society's Integrated Farming and Resources Analysis

The landscape and the environmental settings are ideal for livestock and crop farming. The society identified and allocated 150 hectares of land for livestock farming. The goat farms are built and fenced in local style which is currently managed by the volunteer farm workers.

Fish Farming

The society also built 20 fish ponds and has two full-time staff who are leading fish farmers. These fish farmers built two separate ponds for fingerlings and they are the only fingerlings suppliers to the rest of the society's fish farms. These ponds are mostly built in traditional style with no correct standard measurement, pipes, or other modern equipment. These activities have vast resources and the potential to expand and secure better economy for their farming.

Farmers' Management Training, Education, and Networking Support

The society has been fortunate to secure technical support from the National Agricultural Research Institute and the Department of Agriculture and Livestock in Simbu Province. The NARI livestock research officer, Mr. Kabila Ku, conducted the first training on basic livestock farming from 21 December 2008 to 4 January 2009. The training ended successfully, with the production of goats milk as the first primary harvest of the society. The training covers disease control, feeding, housing, fencing, breeding, and other areas of livestock management. More training is anticipated on farm management, and other community development areas such as leadership, resource management, bookkeeping, conflict resolution, dispute settlement, and others.

The Fruits of Hard Labour

Social Benefits

The society has experienced many challenges concerning issues that remain at the forefront, as they embark on this new exciting venture. The major benefits may occur in the long term, but short-term benefits have started to be realised.

Some of the social benefits that are envisaged from the project include:

- increasing nutrients, protein, and value to food, health, and living standards;
- promoting peace and unity, which minimises troublesome tribal fighting and social disorder;
- promoting love, care, and respect in the community;
- promoting and providing leadership, governance, education, and training;
- attracting urban youths or discouraging migration which helps to minimise escalating crimes in urban societies;
- promoting community participation and gender equality; and
- educating children from the next generation in adopting farming and development activities and others.

Economic Benefits

The economic benefits that are most likely to be derived from the society's activities in these farming ventures include:

- increasing small-scale farming and individual productivity;
- increasing farmers' creativity and innovation in rural development activities;
- attracting rural investment in farming and creating self-help employment;
- increasing national productivity and domestic incomes;
- promoting, encouraging, and supporting other cooperatives;
- increasing government tax revenue;
- helping government infrastructure development;
- increasing the volume of food supply to the nation's economy;
- improving food security; and
- alleviating rural poverty and malnutrition.

The society is anticipating that more farmers will join and become involved so that they will strive with common purpose to achieve their objectives. As the business activities increase in volume, and quality opens up, other essential government services such as education, health, and transport infrastructure, which are the major challenges confronting the local people, will be able to reach them.

Strategic Business and Marketing Plan

The society is also working on marketing strategies for their produce, with support from relevant organisations. The diverse produce is likely to include goat meat, local fresh milk, cheese, butter, chocolates, fresh trout and carp, local eggs and chickens, stock feed and fertilisers, local fresh sugar and lemons, fresh vegetables, fruit, starch, and other associated products.

These products will be distributed, starting from the local community market through a local shop, to diverse rural primary business serving the needs of both local and national consumers. The group is looking at operating a freezer company in line with the abattoir, and many other businesses suitable to their activities. Goat products will have greater export opportunities. A separate research and costing analysis is underway and will be launched with the long-term development plan at the opening of the society's activities in December 2009.

Constraints

The constraints that are faced in the development of the farms include technical expertise, machinery, equipment, tools, additional flocks, and sufficient funds to meet the set-up and operational costs of the farming. This specifically includes additional goats and sheep for integrated farming, fencing, permanent housing, livestock farming tools, equipment, pipes, cement, lubricants, medication, horses, wheelbarrows, transportation,

management training, consultation, logistics, and other administrative support costs of their activities.

The society's activities have survived through personal sacrifices, commitment, and dedication from the shareholders, directors, and management staff, hence, the activities require external support for further development.

Budget and Future Plans

The budget is in two parts, which reflect the farming activities of the society. Currently, the society is concentrating on goat farming and developing inland carp and trout farms. Therefore, the budget presents estimated costs for both of these activities.

The budget for goat farming is K280 000, while the budget for the inland fish farming is K44 000. The total budget for the goat and fish farming is K324 000. The details of the budgets, with the specific costs, are given in Tables 1.3 and 3.2.

Table 3.1: First Year Development Budget for Goat Farming

Activity	Resource Requirements	Narration and Break-up	Estimated Cost (Kina)	Comments
Additional flock	Male Goats	10 @ K200	2 000	Additional requirements to integrate with goats
	Female Goats	150 @ K200	30 000	
	Male Sheep	10 @ K200	2 000	
	Female Sheep	60 @ K200	12 000	
Housing	All building materials, and equipment inclusive of labour	5 goat/sheep houses and 5 staff houses	75 000	2 houses per farm @ total estimated cost of K15 000 farm.
Fencing	Barbed wire rolls and posts	5 rolls of wire and posts sufficient for 100 hectares of land	60 000	Estimated
Farming transportation	Horses and wheelbarrows	5 horses, and 2 wheelbarrows for each farm	8 000	Estimated
Equipment, tools, and medication	Equipment, tools, and medication	Cost estimated	15 000	Estimated
Labour	2 full-time labourers per farm	10 staff @ K50/fortnight	13 000	For one year
Transportation and logistics	Transportation of capital assets to the farm	Goats, sheep, horses, housing, and fencing materials	40 000	Estimated load cost, from Lae to Simbu, Salt District
Training and education	NARI (Lae) and DAL (Simbu) training	4 farmers for training per annum @ K2 000 each	8 000	Transportation, accommodation, food, and trainers' allowances
Management and administration	General admin, travel, and logistical support	Cost estimated	5 000	Annual cost estimated
Consultation fees	External project consultation fees	Estimated for contingency	10 000.00	Estimated
Total			K280 000	

All costs are estimated, except for the cost of livestock which is based on actual prices, at NARI and the local market. All external funding will be acquitted and reported accordingly.

Table 3.2: First Year Development and Extension Budget for Inland Trout and Carp Farming

Activity	Unit Cost	Amount
Fingerling production and distribution	K 100	K 5 000
Farm materials	K 400	K20 000
Freight for farm materials	K 6 000	K 6 000
Group training and consultation	K 7 000	K 7 000
Training/extension material production	K 20	K 1 000
Labour, management, and administration cost	K 100	K 5 000
Total Estimated Cost for Year 1 (2009)	K13 620	K44 000

Recommendations

The activities of the Salt Livestock Farmers' Cooperative Society have high potential to alleviate rural socioeconomic problems, and support the nation's economic growth from primary sector rural farming. This will bring positive benefits to the population of 20 000 in the Salt-Nomane Subdistrict. After this project kick starts and begins operating, it will change the mind-set and lives of these people.

The project initiators, management, and directors request leading government institutions, organisations, the district and provincial administrations, and private professionals to support this worthy rural-based society in its endeavour to alleviate and empower the people of Salt District.

Conclusion

This paper contains a sincere change initiative that has a desire to assist and empower fellow Papua New Guineans in their poor rural condition. This will enable them to rise up, move forward in their mind-set, and cooperate and work as a team. This project has no connection to any existing institutions and has no political affiliations.

The farmers are located in the southern part of Simbu Province, which is a disadvantaged region of the country. The farmers have established livestock farming for the society. At present, this activity is in its preliminary development stages, and requires additional external support from the community, the local government, the national government, and other non-government organisations. The society has reached sufficient agreement with relevant government institutions and other organisations for the growth and development of its activities.

The society is hopeful that present and future involvement and engagement in its activities will support and help the target population, the nearby villages, the district, and the province. In this way, the society will contribute to the current government's rural empowerment and economic agenda, by raising the standard of living among the rural people.

Chapter 4

Dr. Naihuwo Ahai

Experiences through the Community Development Scheme and Democratic Governance Transition Phase Program

Introduction

The National Research Institute should be commended for convening a conference to share experiences on community transformation in the hope that this will better inform policy and practice in the pursuit of improved livelihood in our communities. This conference continues the national dialogue on the theme ‘community’, as convened through various fora in recent times:

- the biannual community development expos (2006 and 2008) were hosted by AusAID’s Community Development Scheme (CDS) and the Department for Community Development (DFCD), which brought together some 300 community development organisations to share experiences in the sector;
- the Divine Word University’s series of symposiums in 2008 and 2009 — indigenous voices on participatory governance, transparency and accountability in good governance, and the role of media and sports in promoting democratic governance;
- the Consultative Implementation and Monitoring Council’s regional consultations also cover aspects relating to community livelihoods;
- the DFCD’s National Forum in May 2009, which brought all provinces together to review the roll out of the integrated community development policy and community learning and development centres’ program; and
- there is also increasing interest in this sector, such as the European Union’s non-state actors project, the JICA non-formal education project, the Sanap Wantaim project, and AusAID’s forthcoming SPSN project, which all aim to target communities as ultimate beneficiaries.

All these foray confirm the importance of ‘community’ as ‘central’ in the development agenda of contemporary PNG. Without an orderly community unit, the union of communities that is present-day PNG, would be chaotic, and even traumatic, as we are increasingly beginning to experience.

The increased interest in ‘community’ by the Government and academic institutions is perhaps recognition that all is not well in our communities, as indicated by their daily struggles to access a basic level of livelihood and social services. It borders on criminal negligence, by those who are responsible, when we regularly hear stories of expectant mothers having to walk four to six hours just to safely deliver their babies. How can we strategise to transform communities, and society in general, so that the happy, smiling

society that is being articulated in the new 40-year National Strategic Plan does not remain mere rhetoric.

The views expressed in this paper are my reflections on community development vis-a-vis the theme of ‘transforming communities’. Some sections of this paper make reference to the previous AusAID-funded Community Development Scheme (CDS) and the current Democratic Governance Transition Phase Program (DGTP) to highlight key points. However, the ideas are my synthesis, and any misrepresentations are my shortcomings.

The Concept of Community in Papua New Guinea

The concept of ‘community’ is becoming varied with the accelerated exposure to social and economic changes. Parameters of geography, language, culture, identity, social systems, and interest are usually applied when differentiating one community from another. However, education, employment, mobility, politics, and spirituality add further dimensions to ‘community affiliations’, and enable individuals to transverse several communities, depending on the primacy of interest at a given point in time. In this sense, some communities are very transitional in nature; that is, they form, dissolve, reform, and dissolve again.

Communities in urban settlements are also very fluid, as some members are highly migratory. However, others tend to stay for several generations. The weak cohesion presents constraints to any organised and sustained development efforts, with settlers preferring the handout of social services, such as water supplies and health services.

We are increasingly witnessing the emergence of communities within communities, as groups seek to renegotiate structural relationships because of external influences. In turn, this led to the fragile diversification of communities. The number of church buildings that grace the village landscapes are evidence of this fragmented diversity. When we talk about ‘community transformation’, which of these different types of communities do we have in mind, for what purposes, and using what strategies?

This paper disregards ‘transitional and temporal communities’, but considers *community as a group of persons with a common identity or interest who ‘share a common structure, language, culture, religion, sport, or profession, and share a geographically defined space’*. Such a definition has utility appeal, as it is potentially applicable to a hamlet or a village, a number of villages comprising a ward, a number of wards, local-level governments, districts, provinces, and the whole nation. This all-encompassing notion of community is also useful as it can possibly apply to nation building as an aggregate outcome of a purposeful, synchronised, and systematic nationwide movement of ‘community transformation’. This may be food for thought for the Department of Prime Minister and NEC’s 40-year National Development Strategy, the Department for Community Development’s Integrated Community Development Plan, the Department of Provincial and Local-level Government’s planning at the district, LLG, and ward levels, and the Medium Term Development Strategy.

Community Transformation

The underlying tenet shaping the nature of community engagement through the Community Development Scheme and the DGTP Program is that genuine long-term transformation of communities must be from within the communities. Communities should chart a pathway that is based on the analysis of their own realities and aspirations which is driven through its *social capital and natural resources*, and which will eventually bring about changes to the community. 'Community Readiness' is therefore essential for such 'endogenous community transformation' (Ahai 2000). The CDS and the DGTP programs have aimed at strengthening social capital of communities using the grants as a mechanism for engaging communities through a 'learning and development' journey.

Most of Papua New Guinea's previous development interventions, while very well meaning, have focused on delivering the goods (cargo), with token attention to capacity building for long-term community transformation. Examples include the Rural Improvement Program of the 1960s and 1970s, the Integrated Rural Development Programs of the mid-1970s and 1980s (Crittenden and Lea 1989), the various forestry, agriculture, and conservation projects, and other smaller sectoral-level initiatives. In hindsight, these massive investments have not resulted in any sustained transformation of the targeted communities.

It is important for transformation to be incremental and long-term. Small cumulative changes become foundations for bigger changes in due course. From a community education perspective, what may be deemed a failure during the lifetime of a particular change event, may provide the experiential learning and lay the foundations for successful behavioural and developmental changes, over time (Ahai 1996). A long-term commitment and patience are required beyond the short-term or medium-term engagement. Also, expectations need to expand beyond the immediate tangible benefits and embrace the long-term cultivation of 'community readiness' for sustained community transformation as a development goal. Two specific AusAID initiatives are currently assisting in laying foundations that will eventually lead to changes in the communities, if these interventions are continued, over time. They are the Community Development Scheme and the Democratic Governance Transition Phase Program.

The Community Development Scheme

The Community Development Scheme operated from 2001 to 2007 with the goal of contributing to 'poverty alleviation through the strengthening of civil society organisations' so that they are better able to respond to the needs of communities throughout PNG (CDS Evaluation Report 2007). Key program strategies include:

- ***Small Grants Program***, which was used as a catalyst to gain entry into communities and to facilitate a process for social capital formation embedded into development practice. Apart from the cargo, the types of support which were

provided included leadership, and organisation and skills/knowledge that were specific to the actual development enterprise.

- ***Community Support Organisations Strengthening Program***, which provided capacity building support to some 25 intermediary community support organisations (CSOs) that work with communities in carrying out a specific development enterprise in addressing immediate development priorities, while at the same time, using the opportunity to build social capital. Types of support that were provided included strengthening organisational leadership and management, human resource and financial management, and program management capacities through grant funding or through accessing specific technical skills.
- ***Specialist Partners Program***, which provided resources support to some 20 intermediary organisations with specialist skills and expertise to extend to partner communities. Examples include conflict resolution training by Peace Foundation Melanesia, human rights and environmental education by the Centre for Environmental Law and Community Rights, potato farming skills training by the Alele Fresh Produce Company, adult literacy by the Adventist Relief Agency, water supply by Living Waters and so on.
- ***Strategic Thinking and Learning program***, which supported dialogue and reflective type processes on specific thematic issues so that lessons from development practice systematically feed into program design and implementation. The program also promoted networking and partnerships.
- ***Partnerships and Networks*** were developed between CSOs, the Government, and the private sector.
- ***Community Development Workers Program***, which trained a cadre of grassroots development workers throughout Papua New Guinea in community development skills and processes to empower them to facilitate community engagement.
- ***Capacity Building*** was included as a mandatory component for each grant.
- ***Systems and Processes*** were included to flexibly guide the overall management of the program, as well as the implementation of each individual grant.
- ***Compliance*** with systems and processes throughout PNG.

During the seven years since the inception of the Community Development Scheme, and currently under the DGTP Program, over 2 000 community development grants have been disbursed by AusAID. Table 4.1 shows the types of development activities that were supported across the program's core strategies, by primary markers.

Table 4.1: Types of CDS Activities that Were Funded, by Primary Marker

Primary Marker	Type of Activities Funded
Agriculture and Rural Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • vanilla extension services; • rehabilitation of plantations/facilities and farmer skills training for coffee, cocoa, and coconut production; • procurement of equipment and rice farming skills training; • organic farming skills training; • skills training and procurement of seeds for vegetables, spices, and potatoes, and citrus farming; • procurement of equipment and skills training for livestock farming, such as pigs, poultry, fish, rabbits, and bees, and sustainable atolls farming; • pest control; and • others, including training in basic bookkeeping for farmer groups, leadership and governance of farmer groups, management review and training, organisational reviews, and strategic planning.
Community Development	<p>Training in various community planning skills such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • participatory rural appraisal; • identifying community priorities; • analysing stakeholder groups and assessing organisational skills; • approaches for strengthening associations; • project planning; • preparing budgets; • networking and information sharing; • potato seed management program; • various aspects of sports administration; • various aspects of wildlife management; • community-based disaster management strategies; • empowering women; and • communication improvement program.

Table 4.1 (continued)

Education (areas not covered under formal education system)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • construction of new classrooms or rehabilitation of existing buildings for elementary schools; • infrastructure development of community, youth, or women’s training and resource centres; • training in leadership and management for leaders of training centres; • skills training in a variety of areas such as project planning, organisational development, financial management, fundraising, and so on; • training for school Boards of Management; • sports materials; • management training; • institutional strengthening; • publicity and materials production; • staff housing construction; • capacity building; • literacy training and skills training; • enhancing awareness and publicity on consumer rights; • developing best practice standards for counselling; • bridging knowledge gaps and various types of capacity building activities; and • youth skills training and personal development programs.
Enterprise Development	<p>Some of these areas have already been included in Agriculture and Rural Development.</p> <p>Procurement of materials and skills training in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • fabric designs; • trout fingerlings breeding and distribution; • ecoforestry management; • sewing; • wokabaut sawmill; • baking; • guesthouses and resource centres; • museum and art gallery; • joinery shops; • insect and butterfly projects; • microfinance; • financial management; • organisational strengthening; • crocodile farming; • goat farming and fresh produce training; • basic food preparation; and • informal economic policy.

Table 4.1 (continued)

Environmental Sustainability	<p>Procurement of materials and skills training in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • forest management; • management areas; • ecoforestry; • community conservation education programs for both terrestrial and marine conservation; • nursery construction and management; • institutional strengthening; • revival of bird habitats; • organisational strengthening and financial management skills; • marine protection training; • strengthening wildlife management groups; • butterfly farming; • conservation against sea level rise, such as sea walls and culverts; • information dissemination programs; • youth training; • paralegal training; • human rights education; • environmental awareness; and • capacity building.
Gender and Equity	<p>Procurement of materials and skills training in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • leadership; • strategic planning; • managing women's resource centres; • gender education; • youth education and sports programs; • home skills; • income generation; • management; • social and economic empowerment training; • family life improvement programs; • community development skills training; • awareness against violence in communities; • organisational training; • sewing, baking and poultry projects; • increasing financial independence of women through micro-credit training; • food processing; • leadership and conflict resolution training; • village and ward-level planning; • improved temporary shelter (refuge centres) for women and children; • counselling services; • village birthing centres; • primary health care; • improved water supply and sanitation; and • institutional strengthening.

Table 4.1 (continued)

Governance	<p>Skills and resources support for:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • institutional strengthening; • capacity building in specific skills areas such as leadership, financial and human resources management, and project management; • review and upgrade of management systems through joint organisational assessment; • strengthening partnership and networks through workshops and dialogue on various thematic issues; • leaders' training; • youth enhancement training; • leadership training for resource centres; • train the trainer programs; • crisis counselling; • human resources development training; • enhancing outreach programs; • conflict resolution training; • conducting electoral awareness of remote communities; • developing field worker standards; • advocacy and good governance; • management trainings; • local-level planning; • NGO networking and awareness; • upskilling of executives; • organisational training; • management reviews; • training programs for good governance; • ward planning; • institutional straightening; • leadership programs; • strengthening LLG and district plans; and • training in integrating democratic governance principles and practices in community development practice.
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Table 4.1 (continued)

Health	<p>Some project activities related to the health sector also appear under other primary markers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • procurement of materials and skills training for strengthening provincial AIDS councils; • renovation of community health centres, some with a focus on maternity wards; • support to district AIDS councils; • awareness and information dissemination programs; • health and nutrition training programs; • improved information management; • improved birthing centre; • disabled people skills training; • training of trainer trauma counselling; • distribution of malaria bednets as a strategy for reducing malaria infections; • pasim sua program; • tuberculosis awareness programs; • village birth attendance programs; • clinic extensions; • family health care outreach; • reproductive sexual health training; • village health volunteer training; • elderly care; • conservation and training in traditional medicines and herbs; • improved water supply and sanitation; and • strengthening of community health organisations.
HIV/AIDS	<p>Types of activities supported include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • procurement of materials and training for drop-in centres; • resources support for district HIV/AIDS training workshops; • materials and resources support for HIV/AIDS awareness programs throughout rural PNG; • resources support for organisations specialising in providing HIV/AIDS support; • supporting training for HIV/AIDS counselling; • support for the design and development of HIV/AIDS community care tool kits; and • training in mainstreaming HIV/AIDS work into community development projects.

Infrastructure	<p>Types of activities supported include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • training; • procurement of materials for community halls and resource centres, and cultural centres; • buildings for service providers such as the Red Cross and Callen Services; • shelter for victims of domestic violence; • elementary classrooms; • community guesthouses; • rural foot bridges; • radio links; • youth centres; • classrooms; • solar power; • hydro-electricity; • improved communications; • vehicles; • VHF radios; • Airstrips; • VHF radio system; • information centres; • sports fields and courts; and • coffee certification and marketing infrastructure.
Law and Justice	<p>Types of activities supported include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conflict resolution training programs; • peace building training programs; • probation and rehabilitation committees; • community justice training; • family violence and gender training; • human rights education and advocacy awareness; • drug and alcohol rehabilitation centres; • family life and communication programs; • juvenile rehabilitation; • rehabilitation of prisoners; and • organisational development.
Literacy	<p>Types of activities supported include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • production of materials and training in vernacular literacy programs for both adults and children; • construction of classrooms; • training of trainers for literacy; • organisational development of literacy service providers; • inservice training for literacy; • strategic planning for supporting literacy; and • empowerment of women through literacy.

Organisational Development	Types of activities supported include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • capacity building and organisational development training; • management skills training; • strategic planning; • financial management training; • human resource management training; and • procurement of administrative support.
Water Supply	Support for this sector was very high and included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • procurement and transportation of materials for a variety of water supply types, such as gravity feed; • bore water and rain catchment; • providing relief water supply at disaster care centres in Madang and Rabaul; • training on water supply maintenance skills; • leadership training of village water supply committees; • training on health and sanitation; • awareness issues on HIV/AIDS; • development and production of water supply field notes; and • linking water supply projects to agricultural income-generating activities.
Media	Types of activities supported include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • establishment of community information noticeboards; • production and distribution of awareness materials; • procurement of media equipment; • training in media skills; • publication and distribution of newspaper issues targeting rural readers; and • production of multimedia programs.
Peace Building and Conflict Resolution	Types of activities supported include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conflict resolution training; • organisational development of peace building agencies; • strengthening peace building in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville and Southern Highlands Province; and • awareness and training.
Sports	Types of activities supported include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • sports skills training; • coaching and management skills; • procurement of sports equipment; • production and dissemination of awareness materials during sports tournaments; and • peace and reconciliation through sports.

It is mandatory for each grant to have a training component that is relevant to the community development priorities which are being addressed through the grant. As shown in Table 4.1, leadership skills and organisational development are common training activities, as well as specific skills required in implementing and sustaining the development project. Consequently, capacity building is an integral part of the way that grants are delivered.

Evaluations of the grants (Carlua *et al.* 2009; Kokun *et al.* 2009) indicate significant changes in the community with regard to the immediate development benefits that accrued as a result of the project. Some benefits included improved water supply, improved income, and the skills and knowledge acquired during the planning, implementation, and management of the projects. All communities noted the increased community cohesion and leadership skills that were gained, with many reporting to have expanded their knowledge to other spheres of community life. Moreover, for some rural and remote communities (such as the Kaintiba area), the experiences of designing and managing the CDS/DGTP projects is usually their first exposure to any systematic development process. These initiatives may not immediately result in significant changes, and will require further exposure to build on the skills and knowledge gained.

The Democratic Governance Transition Phase Program

In 2006, AusAID commissioned a Civil Society Scoping Mission (Fox *et al.* 2006) which recommended:

- strengthened role for civil society in service delivery as well as in public policy formulation; and
- for civil society to be an equal partner with the Government and the private sector in service delivery and sustainable development.

Up to then, civil society was largely considered to be a necessary bystander that filled in gaps where governments could not reach or whose participation is tokenistic, such as through membership of various national boards or committees. At other times, civil society's voices are viewed as a nuisance that impedes the interest of various sectors of society, such as that witnessed recently in the riots concerning illegal Chinese migrants.

A new strategy was therefore required, through which this 'new elevated status of civil society, as equal partners with the Government and the private sector in the policy formulation and development practice' would be cultivated. Reform in the enabling environment — for example, the introduction of the Organic Law on Provincial Governments and Local-level Governments — was also seen as necessary, if civil society was to participate as an equal partner.

A democratic governance program was recommended as the best way of methodically providing a cohesive strategy for strengthening the partnership between the Government, civil society, and the private sector. To make this a smooth transition, a bridge was needed to facilitate the shift from a purely 'community development approach' that was delivered through civil society organisations towards a 'democratic governance strategy', which promoted partnerships between, government, civil society, the private sector and academia. The Democratic Governance Transition Phase Program was initiated as that bridge with the goals of:

- maintaining the operations and functions of the CDS program (processes and relationships; and

- supporting the transition to the future program.

This involved adapting operational systems and processes and testing out specific thematic areas.

The Concept of Democratic Governance

The term ‘democratic governance’ has gained increasing intuitive use by everyday Papua New Guineans as a result of the Civil Society Scoping Mission commissioned by AusAID, and which has led to the design of the imminent Democratic Governance program (Fox *et al.* 200). However, what does democratic governance really mean?

Generally, ‘democracy’ is understood to mean a type of government where Members of Parliament are elected by the people through a competitive election process. Democracy is based on the principles of government ‘by the people for the people’, with the notion of majority rule, where people are the primary source of political power. Social equality and respect for individuals who have differing views are considered part of the democratic governance environment.

‘Governance’ generally refers to the way in which any social unit — a clan, community, church, government, or non-government body — organises itself to make decisions and implements those decisions. When combined with ‘democratic governance’, it refers to how people and the Government come together to make decisions and carry out the decisions. Democratic governance embodies the notion of ‘shared governance’ whereby civil society (citizens), elected local and national leaders, and the private sector participate in public policy making, the resolution of public problems, the allocation of public resources, and the implementation of these decisions.

Shared governance implies partnerships between the three stakeholders — civil society, government, and the private sector — in the continuous negotiation and renegotiation in demanding and supplying good governance through the principles of participation, equality, legitimacy, transparency, accountability, and responsiveness. This is the underlying meaning that is shaping the work being done through the DGTP Programs.

Figure 4.1: Linking Supply and Demand



Source: Morona 2007.

This is the conceptual understanding that has given impetus to the work of the Democratic Governance Transition Phase Program.

DGTP Program Strategies

The key delivery approaches that have been applied in implementing the program include:

- forecasting what democratic governance oriented community development project activities would entail, and then adapting the CDS systems and processes for the new program;
- field testing thematic democratic governance aspects through demand driven grant activities, including integrating democratic governance principles into community development practice; and
- facilitating increased partnerships between government, civil society, and the private sector.

The different programs types include:

- DGTP Small Grants, which directly support communities in addressing their priorities;
- DGTP CSOs, which provide technical and resources support to large CSOs in strengthening their own capacities or strengthening their relationships with partner communities;
- Media for Development Initiative, which provides support to media organisations in strengthening their organisational or program capacity and information dissemination;
- Sports for Development Initiative, which provides support to sporting organisations in using sport as a development tool; and
- specific initiatives to improve good governance.

While the types of program activities that are supported under the DGTP Program are similar to those under the CDS (see Table 4.1), the key differences have been:

- the deliberate integration of democratic governance principles and practices in the way that each community project is designed, implemented, and evaluated. For example, the needs assessment process must involve different sections of the community and be done in a transparent, accountable, participatory, equitable, and responsive manner;
- the upscaling of dialogue and reflection on relevant thematic issues, such as the Divine Word University's symposium on media and sports in promoting democratic governance, the Centre for Environmental Law and Human Rights conference on the Independent Commission Against Corruption, and the biannual Community Development Expos;
- the innovative integration of media and sport as development tools; and
- the widening of partnerships and networks from a largely civil society network to active engagement with national and subnational government agencies. For example, the Ward Planning Pilot Program being trialled in Bogia district, Madang Province, is an exercise that has involved partnerships with the Public Sector Reform Management Unit of the Department of Prime Minister and NEC, Department of Provincial and Local-level Government, the Department for Community Development; the Madang Provincial Administration, the Bogia District Administration and the three Local-level Governments located in Bogia District, two international civil society organisations (World Vision and The Nature Conservancy), three provincial civil society organisations (Partners in Community Development, the Madang Women's Council, and the Madang NGO Forum), and the network of community development workers. There are also active partnerships with other government departments, universities, and industry organisations, such as the PNG Trade Union Congress.

Lessons Learned and Challenges in Community Transformation

Experiences from these two programs suggest that the key ingredients for community transformation are:

a shared community vision about its own future, strong community leadership, good strategies and processes for pursuing visions, and good capacity (skills, knowledge, and relationships) to mobilise and harmonise all of these ingredients in implementing the strategies and active networks and partnerships with other change agents to mentor and support communities in the change process.

These experiences also indicate that community transformation will not occur through ad hoc, sporadic, and uncoordinated efforts. It requires long-term, systematic, sustained, and collaborated efforts to enable consolidation on initial investments in social capital formation (Coleman 1988: Putnam 2000) and be underpinned by a philosophical tenet

that is linked to higher national development goals. Without such a basis, transformation may lead to a multitude of competitive, inward looking, isolated communities at the least, or clans at the most, that are not synchronised in any greater movement towards nation building. It may well be worthwhile revisiting under the new 40-year National Strategies (Sukwianomb 2009), and the eight National Directive Principles which were articulated by the nation's founders at independence so that they underpin any future community transformation.

Furthermore, community transformation should be process and learning oriented, and not cargo based, in order to awaken and harness the latent consciousness of the citizens. Civic education has to be a fundamental strategy in which the cargo becomes a mechanism for the awakening process. Furthermore, economies of scale and critical mass issues must be taken into consideration, if community-level transformation is to have any impact across the nation state.

Strengthening of Papua New Guinean government, civil society, and private sector institutions, as catalysts in community transformation, whether such an exercise is coached in community development, democratic governance, non-formal education, health, agriculture, environment, or language, must not be underestimated, because there are extremely weak institutions across the length and breadth of Papua New Guinean society. This has resulted from many decades of neglect, and interacts with significant geographic and population areas. Such efforts should focus on strengthening the organisation itself — structure, governance, and leadership — as well as increasing the skills, knowledge, and expertise of the organisation consummate with its mandate, and resourcing it adequately. Cultivating a suitable organisational culture, values, and attitudes should also form part of institutional strengthening.

Strengthening the broader enabling environment, be it political, policy, administrative, socioeconomic, or infrastructural, is a precondition for effective community transformation, in order to create fertile grounds on which the germination of citizen-driven change should take root. For example, participation by civil society on public policy matters for good governance will not be effective, if restrictions are placed on the liberty and freedom of movement and assembly of citizens.

Any limitations on the media and access to information will also be detrimental to effective citizen participation in this regard. Adequate resourcing of community-level organisations, such as local-level governments, is also essential to facilitate community transformation. Commitment by the national and subnational governments to ensure due process in making and enforcing decisions also enhances the untiring efforts of civil society in bringing about changes at the community level.

Partnerships and networks across government, civil society, and the private sector are crucial as they bring unique qualities into the transformation process. The Government brings to the process the knowledge of relevant policies, programs, and linkages to government, while civil society brings with it skills and knowledge in working with communities, processes, strong work ethics, and values. The private sector brings

efficiency and virtues of prudent economic management. Public Private Partnerships (PPP) are currently in fashion and seem a good idea, if pursued with principles. However, recent experiences, such as the reported expenditure of K31 million on 3.1 kilometres of road in the NCD, seem to suggest that PPP means ‘*Pulumapim Poket Pastaim*’, while not delivering the goods and services at ‘value for money’.

The role of international CSO partners in facilitating community transformation has brought about interesting experiences, with hierarchical decision making (often located outside of PNG) that is unable to respond with timely flexibility to local Papua New Guinean situations and may become a constraint in the speedy response to demand. The cost structures of international CSOs are usually high, which may consume considerable resources that would otherwise reach communities. Also, the process of negotiating supply and demand in democratic governance will invariably lead to some processes that are legitimately the domain of citizens which may be a source of discomfort to non-citizen workers of international CSOs (with the exception of organisations such as GreenPeace) and Papua New Guinean leaders at various levels of society.

Another lesson which has been learned is that democratic governance cannot be enforced from the top down. It must be realised from within, and from across the rural society where the bulk of our citizens live. Strategies for promoting the practice of democratic governance must be embedded within the social and economic realities of citizens. It cannot be a political education exercise that is divorced from citizens’ efforts in securing a decent livelihood.

It is hoped that this presentation of some concepts related to community transformation and a discussion of two programs, as examples of the types of foundations being laid in strengthening social capital for community transformation, has provided some useful ideas for fruitful deliberations.

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Chapter 5

Local Government and Community Service System

Taskforce for Government and Administrative Reform

Introduction

In 1993, the Bipartisan Parliamentary Select Committee on Provincial Government proposed direct national government support for that level of government, as this is where participation by citizens is best achieved. Instead of recommending the transfer of national responsibilities to lower levels of government, the committee recommended a unified national public service to serve and monitor provincial governments and local-level governments. It also recommended that grants, devolved taxation powers, and other resources from the national government should form the basis for subnational revenues.

In its corrigendum to the Final Report (1993), the committee stated the need for increased national assistance for local governments and proposed:

... a Commission for Urban and Rural Councils. The Commission shall comprise key advisers in law, finances and budgets, economics, engineering, and so on. The Commission shall also manage, supervise, control, provide training, and supply, all auxiliary public service for all councils throughout the country. Under this Commission, Village Services shall be construed as the most important unit, playing the crucial role in the provision of capacity, training, monitoring, and implementation of policies. Key areas of the Village Service Program shall include council staff, peace officers, village court magistrates and clerks, land mediators, village census recorders, and extension officers in various resource sectors vital to village progress.¹

This was not incorporated into the subsequent *Organic Law on Provincial Governments and Local-level Governments* which was developed by the Constitutional Reform Commission. Consequently, one of the key recommendations of the Bipartisan Parliamentary Select Committee was omitted. The current recommendation is to fill this gap by establishing a Commission for Local Government and Community Service.

The Commission would report directly to a Minister, and among other activities, would:

- provide administrative, financial, and legal advice, and support to local governments and communities;

¹ See Corrigendum to Final Report of the Bi-Partisan Parliamentary Select Committee on Provincial Government, 17 August 1993, pp.147-148.

- secure finance from the national government, and make annual grants for local government operations;
- assist and coordinate aid donor funding for local government and community projects;
- coordinate transferred functions from other agencies; and
- administer the local government and community service.

In the past, the system has failed because the devolution of powers and responsibilities to subnational level has excluded any guarantees of empowerment to the people at the local government and community levels.

This report is based on the findings of the Bipartisan Parliamentary Select Committee, the Public Sector Reform Advisory Group (PSRAG) report, and the Consultative Implementation Monitoring Council (CIMC) report to recommend the establishment of a Commission for Local Government and Community Service.

The Proposal

To improve basic services at the community and local government level, the proposal is to:

- establish a direct funding mechanism to local governments to address priority community needs;
- enhance village-level planning and consultations by involving people more directly in local decision making; and
- create a local government and community service.

Through amendments to the *Organic Law on Provincial Governments and Local-level Governments (OLPGLLG)*, and the *Local-level Governments Administration Act 1997*, a local government and community service would be created to provide support for capacity strengthening at the local level. Also, this would establish a Commission for Local Government and Community Service, similar to that existing from 1971, until it faded out in the late 1980s.

The Local Government and Community Service

A local government and community service would provide support for capacity strengthening at the local level. Many basic services can be more effectively implemented by councils and community organisations rather than through ‘discretionary funding’ and direct public service intervention.

The ultimate objectives of the recommendations of this report are to:

- create stable and peaceful communities;
- produce a healthier, better-informed, and educated population; and
- improve living standards for all.

This must begin with people in a situation where they are not totally dependent on outside sources for help, and where they can also contribute to the development of the nation. The Government and donor programs must coordinate their resources for greater self-reliance.

It cannot be assumed that the preoccupation with central agency reforms will be reflected in improved conditions for the majority of the people. The manpower and financial resources of the central agencies need to connect with the appropriate level of subnational government in order to involve it in generating positive social and economic development.

In practical terms, processes must be put in place and funded by central government agencies and donors in order to give the basic tools to the people to generate the foundations for their self-sufficiency. These basic tools need to be established as an essential part of a system, and should include:

- leadership, including councillors;
- group identification through village books to include families, communities, and villages, and used also for the purposes of organising community activities. The compilers are referred to later in this report as village recorders;
- basic law and justice and restorative justice processes, which are included in the report under village courts;
- basic land arbitration and mediation processes, which require trained land surveyors, mediators, and elementary and primary schools, which require trained elementary and primary teachers;
- land and arbitrators;
- community health awareness, which require trained community health workers;
- agricultural and appropriate technology extension, which require trained extension officers; and
- sporting and entertainment facilities, which require trained sports coordinators.

National funding must be made available for village recorders, village courts, and land officials in order to have a focused, uniform approach which gives the people the tools to sustain a practical, cohesive system of manpower mobilisation. This is the foundation of self-reliance and effective decentralisation.

Current Financial Arrangements

The reluctance to disburse money, employing simple means, results from some higher officials proclaiming that there is a lack of accountability at the local level. Reports indicate that most scams, misappropriation, and corrupt practices which involve public monies are perpetrated by persons at those much higher levels.

The solution to this situation is to devolve powers and functions directly to respective local governments to bring responsibilities and accountability back where the action is

occurring and break the syndrome of dependency and anonymity. This must begin by developing communities to a stage where they are not totally dependent on outside sources for help, and where they can also contribute to the development of the nation.

The present system of funding, as it applies to the local level, is generally:

- not understood, and information about processes is distorted;
- open to corruption and does not ‘trickle down’ to the community;
- fraught with cash supply impediments involved in ‘other use’ or redirection to other layers of administration;
- does not trigger a ‘bottom-up’ approach to basic service delivery needs; and
- does not encourage any value of participation, self-reliance, and use of local resources.

Need to Improve Government Efficiency and Use of Funds

The high wage costs of public servants and excessive administrative overheads imply a need for better fiscal and manpower management, where financial resources can be redirected to directly fund local governments and communities. This is allied to strengthening local government and community contributions to self-betterment. These changes include improving human resource contributions as well as financial allocations.

According to the National Economic and Fiscal Commission (NEFC), provincial governments’ administrative costs are excessive and do not directly contribute to basic services at the local government level. The national government’s assistance to local governments is through the provision for public servants, as well as supervising local governments and their provision of goods and services, which leaves less than 12 percent for capital and projects.²

Direct Funding

Direct funding is required for the effective delivery of services to local communities because:

- many basic services can be effectively implemented by local government and community organisations; and
- the Government cannot provide all of the community’s needs.

The idea is to ensure alignment with the NEFC’s cost of services formula, and promote enhanced government responsiveness to community needs by linking more participatory planning processes to the availability of funds and capacity support.

² National Economic and Fiscal Commission, 2007. “More than Numbers”, p. 5. See also NEFC, 2007. **Cost! Capacity! Performance!** pp. 75 onwards.

Many basic services can be more effectively implemented by councils and community organisations than ‘discretionary funding’ and direct public service intervention. Local governments require direct per head of population grants calculated by the National Statistical Office (NSO) on a ‘still picture’ census count. This does not exclude other funds, including equalisation grants.

This will allow a guaranteed base amount of money with which to plan. It is impossible to encourage community and local government plans when there is an erratic disbursement of money. Some direct grants from the national budget can be tied to projects and services on a subsidy basis, thus providing the incentive for people to use their disposable incomes to raise more revenue and optimise available resources, to be more productive. This was a proven methodology in the 1960s and 1970s, and more recently, in the short-lived village service grants of 1994.

Finding the Money

The proposal for direct funding to local governments can only be successful if the same level of ‘political will’ is demonstrated, as occurred for the creation of the District Services Improvement Program (DSIP).

With this political approach, money can be found in:

- the redirection of financial resources at the provincial level; and
- any future windfall gains from resource exploitation.

Zero budgeting applications that return money to consolidated revenue have caused erratic and unnecessary expenditure at the end of each financial year. This annual expenditure cycle extends to February of each following year — and with many local governments to July — before expenditure warrants are issued and activated. This process leads to the proliferation of trust accounts in order to quarantine funds.

Current trust account holdings amount to well over K6 billion, are not negotiated to optimise interest revenue, and have no effective, dedicated people to examine their accountability. This leaves the door open and provides opportunities for the loss and leakage of many more millions of kina. Saving money is finding money.

A part of the solution is to transfer the responsibilities for money accountability for specified activities direct to local government accounts, rather than district treasury accounts. Accounting in most rural, local governments is small enough to be managed by handwritten ledger methods. Electronic accounting can be used in urban areas.

National Economic and Fiscal Commission's Findings

The National Economic and Fiscal Commission indicates that K120 million may be available to go direct to local government operations, if there is a rearrangement of normal budget funding to provinces.³ As long as it is monitored, direct funding is essential to activate community and local government involvement towards greater self-reliance and providing for basic needs. An estimated annual amount of K30 per head for the six million population is required; that is, approximately K180 million. This amount is only 20 percent of the initial District Services Improvement Program allocation, which is K 14 million per district, and still lacks recurrent and human resource capacity — building elements in the way it is funded.

The pro rata K30 will not only have the greatest impact on the majority of people, but will provide a higher return than most other investments.

Additional Support from Development Partners

Three donor partners are already mobilising or planning to initiate programs at the district, local government, and community levels:

- AusAID's Democratic Governance Program — AUD\$150 million, over the next five years;
- Two EU Grant programs of approximately K120 million over the next five years to:
 - strengthening district and local-level government grant programs; and
 - non-state actors grant program; and
- the World Bank's community development project involving more than US\$25 million over next five years.

This international aid adds more than K100 million each year, over the next five years, and could be available for programs that are developed together with donors.

Cash Flow of Direct Grants

When pass-through funds that are intended for local governments are allocated, they are not quarantined, and are often lost to consolidated revenue or ad hoc provincial spending. This applies especially to local governments in remote locations. District Service Improvement Program allocations are quarantined, with the advantage that they are available for project implementation beyond the financial year.

³ National Economic and Fiscal Commission, 2007. **Cost! Capacity! Performance!.** Review of all expenditure in 2005, by provincial government (Full Report).

Direct funding to local governments, with an internal system of district audits and inspections, as recommended, should also be quarantined to ensure that there is a cash flow availability through subsequent financial years.

Local Government: District Audits and Inspections

Scrutiny is the responsibility of the Local Government Commission through having officers placed at the district level to carry out audits and inspections of:

- grants;
- other revenues;
- honoraria payments; and
- grants to NGOs.

In most cases, the money is close enough to the ‘action’ to be self-accounting by public notice and word of mouth. Scrutiny is the responsibility of the Local Government Commission through the creation of positions for training and financial accountability, and involves all local government funds, including all revenue and expenditure.

Apart from a centrally institutionalised system of auditing and monitoring, local scrutiny can be encouraged and employed through:

- publicly displayed budget documents;
- public involvement in budget preparation;
- establishment of a local government audit committee; and
- adopting a community-based monitoring and evaluation approach (commonly referred to as a CBME) that is widely used in other countries, to be adapted to Papua New Guinea’s conditions.

Where Services Are Directed

Through an amended or replaced Organic Law, depending on the political and administrative option that is chosen for the provincial level, and a new or revised *Local-level Governments Administration Act* 1997, it is envisaged that a Local Government and Community Service Commission would be created, similar to that which existed from 1971, until it faded out in the late 1980s. The local government and community service would be directed to primary-needs service delivery:

- which relates to the capacity of wards, the communities, and the councils; and
- where services, which are unable to be effectively provided under the current administrative system, can be better delegated to local authorities.

Primary needs can be determined by the communities themselves, according to their capacity to implement, and include:

- information and communications;

- health awareness to prevent major diseases;
- construction and maintenance of schools and health facilities;
- water supplies;
- access roads;
- a peaceful environment for development; and
- rural and urban employment opportunities.

Urban local governments and those rural local governments with advanced capacity could become involved in ‘secondary-needs service delivery’. This requires more disciplined planning through national departments and urban development plans.

Secondary needs often require outside assistance and support, where capacity is lacking in the community such as:

- training;
- mentoring of central agencies to community workers, such as village courts, land mediators, and village recorders;
- the provision of teachers, medical personnel, and school and medical supplies;
- agriculture extension services;
- institutionalised links with the communities (civil society) and the national government; and
- large-scale maritime, road, power, and communications infrastructure.

Human Capital

Dependency and anonymity are tendencies that are on the increase among people. As a result, there is a need to empower people to participate on a more inclusive and equitable basis. Further economic and social opportunities can progress through steady exponential growth in the communities as a result of new initiatives, including:

- community-level capacity to implement ‘self-help’ projects has been demonstrated in the way that many churches and other NGOs operate in various infrastructure and social development fields; and
- direct funding to local governments and communities that can be established by practice.

The effective participation of people improves governance by bringing greater transparency and accountability to local decision making. There are similar experiences of existing programs in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Eastern Europe.

Investments in small-scale activities that benefit communities can yield high social and economic rates of return and inspire local development. Rather than inflexible delegations, there can be a process which involves helping people to identify situations where services are within, or beyond, the capacity of communities, and where higher-level interventions, for example, at the district level, may be more appropriate.

Provincial leaders recognise that they have a cultural and geographical base which can be mobilised for better productivity and a better way of life for their people. Mobilisation can be achieved by establishing the Local Government and Community Service Commission, as a means of releasing latent human capital in the communities. This is 'grassroots' autonomy.

Capacity for a Local Government and Community Service

The local government and community service would comprise three groups that would support local capacity building efforts:

- *local government officers*, who comprise a small core of clerks, accountants, and managers, are overseen by the Local Government and Community Service Commission and are funded by budget neutral adjustments, over time, through the transfer of public servant employee funds currently being allocated for local government operations by the national government;
- *community development officers*, who are mentored by the Department for Community Development to maintain consistency with that department's Integrated Community Development Policy; and
- *honoraria paid people*, such as village court officials, land mediators, and village book recorders, who are sponsored by their mentoring departments.

These officers would:

- have different, but supporting roles in the community;
- be tutored by appropriate national departments; and
- be paid centrally through monies deposited in dedicated local government accounts.

Others, including health educators and peace mediators, may also be steered by central agencies, donors, NGOs, and the churches. The community development officers would liaise with the local governments and their permanent staff concerning local government, community, and ward plans.

A database of NGOs, hospitals, clinics, schools, and so on in the local government area would be established to assist the Local Government and Community Service Commission in its planning. Initially, the Commission's focus will be on:

- the establishment of permanent staff in each local government, which might initially average two each, to take over duties from the present public service managers (this would result in the abolition of hundreds of current public service positions);
- the allocation of community development officers for each local government area; and
- manpower training that is programmed on indicative numbers of personnel who are needed, to be designed and implemented over the next four years.

Each local government would work with its wards and communities by utilising government funding and its own resources to implement projects, using small-scale local contractors in combination with the direct hire-and-fire of casuals at local market rates.

A partnership needs to be established between the Local Government and Community Service Commission and mentoring departments, for policy and planning purposes. For example, the Department of Justice and Attorney-General should be responsible for village court officials, whereas a Local Government and Community Service Commission could be responsible for:

- regularising the employment of local government staff;
- payment of councillors' allowances;
- employment and allowances of village recorders; and
- other village officials best placed under national government control, but not directly related to national departments and agencies.

For integrated policy and planning, the commissioner for local government and community service would work with two assistant commissioners, with one responsible for the formalised operations of local government and the other responsible for community services. The various officers referred to here are included in the following section dealing with specialised training courses that are specific to their tasks and responsibilities.

Training

Training is essential for those officers who are involved in district administration and local government. The staff and officials who have been identified include:

- district administrators and district staff;
- heads of local government, councillors, and ward development committee members;
- village peace officers and auxiliary police;
- village court officials, peace officers, and land mediators; and
- village recorders (in partnership with the National Statistical Office).

According to the Public Sector Reform Advisory Group's report (2006), *Improved Decentralisation*, existing and new courses could cover the following topics:

- ethics and corruption;
- land acquisition and investigation;
- land dispute settlement;
- effective report writing;
- management planning and controlling;
- managing people;
- management for excellence;
- working with people;

- mediation and conflict resolution;
- budget preparation and expenditure monitoring;
- field and community development working skills;
- accounting for non-financial managers;
- roles and responsibilities of councillors;
- council procedures;
- council services;
- roles and responsibilities of heads of local-level governments;
- village court procedures;
- compilation of village books and basic statistics;
- national censuses;
- disaster and emergency services;
- electoral procedures;
- airstrip maintenance;
- outstation management;
- basic road, bridge, and culvert maintenance;
- basic mechanics;
- genealogical studies; and
- national intelligence reporting.

Furthermore, the recommended existing and new course modules could cover a wide range of topics. They could be integrated into modules or courses to advanced level qualification, which might include:

- a certificate in integrated village development;
- a certificate in middle management;
- a certificate in development planning and control/monitoring;
- a certificate in local government administration; and/or
- a diploma in public administration.

With the successful completion of the programs, the results obtained could be accredited by other tertiary institutions. Quality assessment systems and mechanisms are set up to ensure that training targets and desired competency levels are achieved. The assessment process will be established, and progress in training and enrichment of personnel progressively maintained.

Administration Training Institutions

The number of training institutions for district and local government officials has declined over the past 30 years. In the past, most local government training was at a special college located at Vunadadir, and was conducted in-house, in the form of short courses. Some 25 years ago, training was decentralised, but it has since been the realm of one institution — the Papua New Guinea Institute of Public Administration (PNGIPA).

An Act of Parliament in 1993 reinforced this by providing for a user-pay policy for the PNGIPA.⁴

Government training institutions in Papua New Guinea that are intended for specific training have had a mixed record. When adequately resourced with constant reassessment and updates of courses, they produced excellent results. However, many eventually fell on hard times, with declining resources leading to physical infrastructure and academic deterioration, with the fossilisation of courses. This particularly applied to institutions that were located under those parent departments which had no primary expertise in training.

Nonetheless, according to the Public Sector Reform Advisory Group, decentralised and mixed-mode delivery of courses has been economically viable, and when carried out using dedicated training facilities, results in:

- high utilisation rates;
- correspondingly good finances for well-maintained teaching and residential accommodation;
- a host institution which combines an entrepreneurial attitude and a dedication to the provision of services; and
- an understanding of the requirements of presentation and hosting of quality training programs.⁵

This technique of delivering training to the target working population is needed in the mode and manner in which it previously worked. There is a need to seriously assess the institutional basis for training for district administration, local-level government, and local community services.

Conclusion

Direct grants should go to local governments, where community scrutiny and involvement will ensure their effectiveness and greater accountability. In this way, the funds can be locally monitored under an appropriate monitoring and evaluation methodology framework. It will require a reorganisation of systems for financing that are relevant to development, and in getting people involved with service delivery in cooperation with relevant development partners.

With direct funding to local governments and communities, people can be better assisted to determine the mandate of local communities, based on what they are able to do for themselves. It will involve:

⁴ *The Papua New Guinea Institute of Public Administration Act 1993.*

⁵ Public Sector Reform Advisory Group, 2006. **Improved Decentralisation: Getting People Involved in Democracy, Strong Civil Society, Peace and Good Order, and Self-Reliance.** Port Moresby: Government of Papua New Guinea, p. 45.

- empowering people to participate on a more inclusive and equitable basis to take advantage of economic and social opportunities for growth;
- effective participation of people to improve governance by bringing greater transparency and accountability to local decision making; and
- investment in small-scale activities that benefit communities, yield high social and economic rates of return, and spur local development.

It challenges people to move towards an incremental self-empowerment process of what they can do by identifying situations where services that are currently beyond the capacity of their communities, but in which higher-level interventions, for example, at the district or provincial level, may be more appropriate.

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Chapter 6

Are Modern Forms of Governance Compatible with Traditional Forms?

Alphonse Aime

Introduction

Prior to the impact of Western influence, Papua New Guinean communities were living under various forms of community governance. These forms of governance were provided under traditional systems of leadership. However, Thomson (1996) suggests that community governance, which was rooted in traditional leadership, is being eroded by what some social scientists call 'detraditionalisation'. Detraditionalisation is an inevitable process in the formation of modern societies. Through this process, pre-existing traditions are increasingly undermined and are increasingly stripped of traditional mechanisms of support. Given this process of detraditionalisation, can Papua New Guinean communities retrieve significant aspects of traditional community governance?

Traditional Leadership and Community Governance

For Papua New Guinean societies, 'community' is regarded as a value in itself. Community exist where members are bonded together in a series of relationships. Community epitomises both *fundamental* and *functional values*. As a fundamental value, community gives identity, meaning, and purpose in life to its members. As a functional value, community provides security, protection, and guidance to each of its members in their social, economic, political, and religious activities. As a community comprises people, leadership in the organisation of the community is necessary to guarantee individual members a sense of security, prosperity, and harmony. Ultimately, the value of the community was deemed to be far more important than the value of an individual.

In Papua New Guinea, traditional leadership was at the heart of the community. Each community had a system of community governance under the leadership of traditional leaders. These traditional leaders operated on a shared leadership which was based on a semi-egalitarian model, rather than one person assuming powers of decision making, as is commonly found in monarchical or feudal systems.

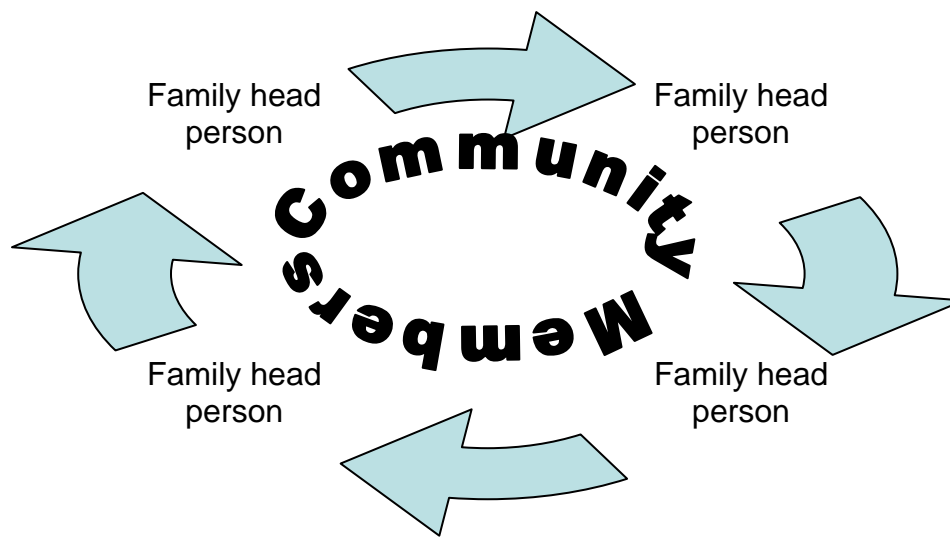
Traditional leadership and governance took the welfare of the community as the main responsibility. The leadership structure was flat, and each family clan had a leader (or leaders) who was recognised as head of a family genealogy, which was popularly known as a *hauslain* in Tok Pisin. In the event of disputes, feasting, and general order of the community, these leaders consulted each other, found common grounds, reached consensus, and acted upon the decision for which there was common agreement. Therefore, leadership and governance in traditional Melanesia were participatory and

conciliatory. However, that does not deny the fact that there were disagreements and serious tensions in the process. However, contrary to modern introduced leadership models, traditional leadership and governance were not about power and authority, they were about creating equilibrium and sustenance of the community. Leadership and governance were about serving the needs of the community.

Traditional leadership had the following traits in that it was:

- at the heart of the community;
- a shared responsibility;
- not exclusive;
- negotiated with mutual rights and obligations; and
- not appointed, but recognised.

Figure 6.1: Structure of Community Leadership and Governance



The centre of the community structure is left as a fluid zone, which indicates that village leadership is a shared responsibility, whereby clan leaders and heads of families negotiate on matters concerning their livelihood. Leadership is not monopolised or personalised, it is shared. This leadership trait reinforces the idea that communal leadership should rise above personal interests.

The Arrival of Europeans

“They came, they saw, they named, they claimed” Tuhiwai (1999: 80).

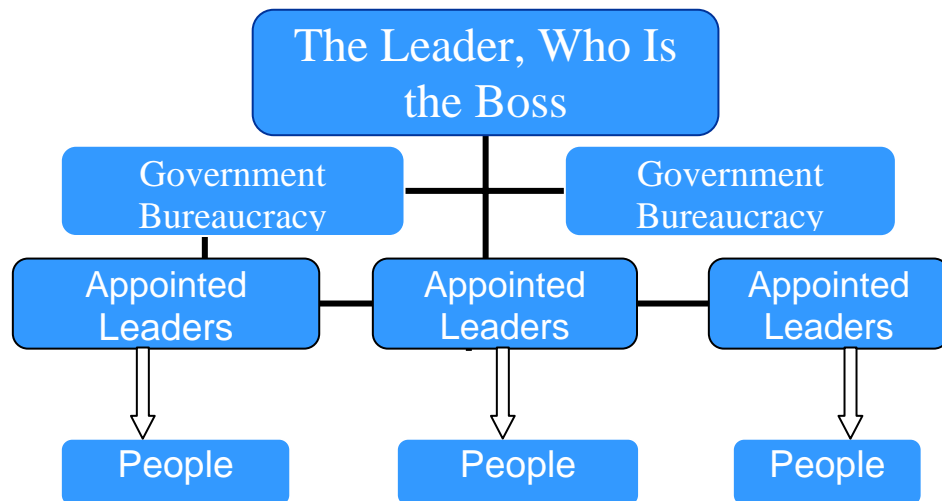
This phrase succinctly sums up the impact of Western influence on Papua New Guinean communities.

The arrival of the Europeans brought a complete change to the social fabric of Papua New Guinean societies. Aime (2006:68) asserts that, when the colonisers first set foot on Papua New Guinean shores, they most probably thought that Papua New Guinean communities were just a conglomeration of tribes, which lacked any established traditional authority to manage the affairs of our communities. Consequently, they imposed uniformity and regimentation on these heterogeneous communities. The colonisers failed to understand that the communities were highly sophisticated in managing their own affairs independently, although dependent on one another.

Papua New Guinean communities had organised structures of social order which regulated traditions, behaviour, and values of community, including individual members of the community. According to Narokobi (1987: 20), each cultural unit was autonomous, possessed its origins, and had defined territorial boundaries; that is, each community was a nation state of its own, with its own system of governance. However, with the introduction of the new imposed system, traditional leadership was virtually undermined. Consequently, they saw their influence and their authority diminished by a process that was foreign, arbitrary, and at times, very disruptive.

The colonisers believed that it was their moral obligation to establish new administrative systems of leadership and governance which they thought were good and appropriate for the people. They believed that, with the established network of administrative structures, institutions, a political system of governance, and a legal system, Papua New Guineans would be trained in the skills of leadership and governance.

Figure: 6.2: The Introduced Structure of Governance and Leadership



These new governance structures and government institutions created a new breed of leaders who were appointed and vested with new leadership styles. These newly

introduced and established forms of leadership, to a great extent, undermined the role of village leaders who were operating from within the traditional forms of leadership and social structure. However, traditional leaders still maintained power over the livelihood of the community, as opposed to government affairs, which were under the jurisdiction of the government appointed officials.

Consequences of the Hierarchical Structure of Leadership

With the introduction of the hierarchical structure, leadership became:

- institutionalised, with educated elites put in charge of institutions;
- personalised, with individuals wielding power; and
- bureaucratised, with individuals supported by instruments of government.

Much literature on leadership in PNG is based on Western concepts and structure which is hierarchical, institutionalised, and personalised. Obviously, traditional leadership does not fit within this framework, thus understanding leadership from this perspective is not easy. McLaughlin (2002:12) stated that it is almost impossible when relationships are founded on colonial discourses and assumptions. McLaughlin (*ibid.*), when referring to educational leadership, states that:

‘as long as we depend entirely on Western literature to assess leadership, it will continue to perpetuate dependency. In this way, neocolonialism will remain the lasting legacy of the colonial past firmly embedded in the minds of Papua New Guineans’.

The Coexistence of Modern and Traditional Systems of Governance

The present-day practice of leadership and governance in Papua New Guinean institutions is based on practices handed down from the colonial era. It is a legacy that dictates how the community defines and views its form of governance. The colonial administration imposed system of leadership alienated the already existing leadership systems and practices among the people. There was a general belief that the ‘natives’ had no structured system of leadership. Therefore, it was their prerogative to establish a system for people who they considered primitive in their manner of organisation. The administration established a leadership framework from which governance and administrative control could be maintained. The colonial administration believed that, for the advancement of the natives, they depended on a European system of leadership and governance which was based on the hierarchical structure, and was deemed to be the universal model.

For example, Chinnua, the African post-colonial writer describes this imposition as Western ethnocentrism. From a Western standpoint, leadership and governance has become institutionalised. Leadership and governance must operate within the parameters of institutionalised systems, where their power is derived, and where their authority is legitimised.

Traditional Leadership in Transition

It has been shown that the introduced model of leadership advocates individual merit, neutrality, equal participation, and the rights of the individual and the nuclear family. The traditional model demands loyalty to kin and community, a consultative and consensual process in arriving at decisions, respect for the position of the 'big-men', and defines the roles for men and women. Such an uncomfortable integration of leadership values helps to explain the often ineffective application of a modern merit-based public service system, widespread practices in the name of traditional culture that are deemed corrupt under the modern system, and the inherent weaknesses of the electoral system.

Traditional leadership is going through a period of transition. However, the problem is how to adapt the traditional values of leadership and integrate those values with the modern practices of leadership. The dilemma of good governance and leadership is causing development setbacks. Noticing this apparent decline in the quality of leadership, the United Nations and overseas experts have suggested that PNG should look at leadership models which will move the country forward. This good governance and leadership should permeate the political, social, and economic progress of the country.

One of the important aspects of leadership in Melanesia is that leaders were not appointed. Traditionally, people became leaders either through hereditary inheritance or through their own prowess, such as being good orators, strong warriors, or skilful hunters. However, during the colonial period, appointment of leaders became the norm of government administration to supervise the running of newly established institutions and infrastructure. Schools were opened and leaders were appointed amongst the educated Papua New Guineans to take up positions as headmasters. Because they became leaders through appointment, they now had to cope with the new set of values and measure up to the new styles and practices of leadership, as dictated by the new system. The recognition of them, as leaders, came from the administration rather than the people.

Subsequently, the administration was the body responsible for providing support for this sort of leadership. To get this recognition, the leaders were dependent on the administration for direction and the execution of powers. McLaughlin (2002: 27, citing Watson) stated that, 'these educated indigenous became Westernised in manners, their behaviour, outlook, dress, interests, and style of living changed, and as a result, once in the seat of power, became more colonial in their attitudes than was the white-man'. There was a major shift from the traditional forms of leadership to the modern style and this created confusion and much anxiety among the leaders. Consequently, the current practice of leadership has now been personalised by various instruments of the government bureaucracy; that is, leadership has become 'governmentalised'.

There has been academic discussion of accountability in the Solomon Islands and elsewhere in the Pacific concerning this interplay between indigenous and introduced systems of governance. Morgan (2005: 5) emphasised Melanesian traditions of

reciprocity and characterised the cultural obligations placed on ‘*big-man*’ politicians by their constituents, who expect to be rewarded through the redistribution of the spoils of office. Similarly, Morgan (*ibid.*) states that nepotism within the bureaucracy is often referred to as the *wantok* system. Corruption is often presumed to be the result of a ‘lack of fit’ between the tribal allegiances or extended kinship obligations and the notionally depersonalised ‘rational’ systems of government that have been inherited from the colonial powers.

The weakness of political parties and dominance of personalised leadership, which are characterised by the self-interested wrangling for power among elected politicians, has given rise to a version of the Westminster system which is very unstable. As a result, allegiances are based on short-term objectives, not policy platforms or ideological commitments.

Many of today’s national leaders have confused leadership with power, such that they cannot differentiate between leadership and power. Therefore, they have used power to maintain and justify their leadership positions. Many lengthy court battles to sort out the legitimacy of their being in these positions of leadership bear testimony to that confusion.

What Literature Says about Leadership

Leadership has played a vital role in the affairs of humankind since the earliest recorded history. However, leadership is an elusive property that is difficult to pin down. It cannot be defined, only talked about in broad terms in specific contexts, situations, and different environments. The various notions and concepts of leadership demonstrate that there is no single style or model of leadership that can fit all situations and contexts.

Drawing lessons from Chinua, it is safe to say that most writings on leadership are based on Western constructs. McLaughlin (2002: 12), when referring to educational leadership stated that:

‘as long as we depend entirely on Western literature to assess leadership, it will continue to perpetuate dependency. In this way, neocolonialism will remain the lasting legacy of the colonial past firmly embedded in the minds of Papua New Guineans’.

And it is almost impossible when relationships are founded on colonial discourses and assumptions.

Grace (1985) argues that there are four things which are dangerous to indigenous readers:

- they do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture, and identity;
- when they tell us only about others, they are saying that we do not exist;
- they may be writing about us, but saying negative things which are not true; and

- they are writing about us, but are saying negative and insensitive things which tell us that we are no good.

This observation is very true of the history of Papua New Guinea as Waiko (1993: 5) states:

‘readers of these historical records must realise that they are often flavoured by cultural misunderstanding of our societies by Europeans writers’.

Waiko (*ibid.*) also states that errors have inevitably arisen when these writers have tried to generalise the social ideas and relating to human origins, based on records of particular societies.

Papua New Guinea’s images of history and its people have been pieced together by scholars from a wide range of disciplines, such as anthropologists, botanists, linguists, archaeologists, and missionaries. It is against this backdrop that Papua New Guinea must discover its cultural heritage which is alluded to in the Preamble to the Papua New Guinean Constitution (1975: 15):

‘We, the people of Papua New Guinea, acknowledge the worthy customs and traditional wisdoms of our people, which have come to us from generation to generation.’

Therefore, there is a need to rethink leadership, based on Melanesian traditional constructs which were founded on pragmatic and functional principles to enhance and foster the solidarity of the community.

The Concept of Community in the Melanesian Context

The Melanesian concept of ‘community’ is not as complex as the varied descriptions and definitions given by Western literature. According to Dempsey (1996: 140), there is no slipperier concept in sociology than community. The term ‘community’ is regarded as a slippery one, with varied connotations. Dempsey (*ibid.*) attests to this problem of definition from a Western concept:

‘Community has many meanings; it involves different sets of experience for different groups of people, and indeed for the same people at different times in their lives.’

Westerners define community in various clusters, either in relation to a group of individuals, as a physical space, or as an organisation. Essentially, they view community as individuals who occupy space and time in a given locality. This categorisation of community is foreign to Papua New Guineans, where community is valued as a collective social unit of people whose lives are intertwined with reciprocal obligations and responsibilities. For Papua New Guineans, individuals in a community were seen as a collective unit rather than single individuals who made up the community. This concept

and understanding of community is very different from the concepts proposed by Westerners.

The following description of a community attempts to give an insight into how Papua New Guineans embrace community as a value by which they live in a simple interactive network of relationships.

Community as a Fundamental, Social, Spiritual Value

For Papua New Guineans, community is a fundamental, social, spiritual value. It is in a community that members find meaning and purpose in life. It is where they are loved, liked, and wanted. Therefore, community gives life to individuals and a reason for each to live. It is where members draw strength and renewal of energy when they feel insecure. It is also the place where members feel bonded, and have a sense of identity and belonging. Members hold onto the dominant, shared values, as espoused by the community, and feel a sense of moral obligation to live by these values. Therefore, in essence, a community is a value in itself.

The Functional Value of Community

With the knowledge that the community would give them support, members dare to do things because of the assurance that the community would support and protect them. They find protection and security in the community. On the other hand, they feel obligated to the community and value community as having precedence over their individual values. Members look to the community for guidance and support. Community plays a functional role of socialisation, whereby, in and through the community, members go through the process of socialisation. Members learn the code of behaviour and conduct, and how to participate in the affairs of the community; that is, the community provides a blueprint of how one is assimilated into a given community.

Traditional Community Leadership Today

'I have come from 50 000 years, so they think. Others say I was born on 16 September. Let my arrows fly another 50 000 years' (Tawali 1984).

This poetic and visionary inscription (Tawali cited in Waiko (1993:1), should make us think whether we should look for models of community leadership and governance from outside, or look into our age-old noble traditions. Many would lead us to believe that traditions are dying and that we should embrace modern constructs to achieve development goals, including good governance and leadership. On the contrary, tradition is still very strong.

In the case of community, village leaders still maintain a lot of power over matters which they consider as non-government issues, such as land, village conflicts, compensation, tribal fights, and conflicts. From observation, leadership itself has been, and still is, the root cause of many development impediments in village communities.

Conflict of leadership roles between government appointed leaders and village leaders have also contributed to lack of receptivity and non-corporate attitudes displayed by the members of the community. People in village communities still have a strong affinity towards their village and clan leaders. These leaders have an effect of permanency on their lives, rather than the government appointed leaders.

Conclusion

To nurture good leadership and governance in Papua New Guinea today, there must be a conscious, inclusive approach. Village community leadership must be included in community governance. Village leaders must be equally recognised as important facilitators or agents of change. Traditionally, this was the role and function that they played in the community. They displayed shared responsibility in maintaining and managing the affairs of the members of their communities. A call for drawing wisdom from traditional systems has been expressed by a number of people. May (1997) cites a *Post-Courier* article which presents a village chief's proposal of a mini-sort-of-government, based on a village leadership system:

Today, the disintegration of the traditional village leadership system and non-recognition or respect of village customs and culture at the village level create confusion and frustration amongst village people. Leadership roles played by some individuals ... even some elected members of the highest level of government... are creating all sorts of confusion amongst the ordinary village people ... consequently law and order problems become more confounded [*sic*] ... there has been no sign of development at the village level [*Post-Courier*, 27 April 1993].

These sentiments highlight the need for Papua New Guineans to take a definitive stand, and search for models of leadership and governance that best suit their society. As Henderson (2003) stated, 'there is no perfect system. But it would help for the former colonial powers of the region to recognise that Pacific political systems, like their own, need to evolve'. Therefore, it is not surprising that many problems have occurred with transplanted systems. Henderson (*ibid.*) further adds that these problems rest, in good part, with the former colonial power, which should give encouragement, not criticism, to creative Pacific ways to modify imported political systems to enhance effective and accountable government.

For Papua New Guinea, good governance and leadership must be home-grown, and based on the traditional principles and values of community sharing, if it wants to achieve transformation in community governance.

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Chapter 7

From Conflict Resolution to Community Transformation

Douglas W. Young

Introduction

This paper presents my thoughts concerning academic, pastoral, and practical conflict resolution, especially as it relates to intergroup conflict, which is commonly known as tribal fighting. These are some of my experiences and learnings — both theoretical and practical — from research in the past, and to a much lesser extent, in the present.

I first came to Papua New Guinea, to Enga, in 1973, as a student. Before leaving Australia, the director of Caritas Australia made a remark that he hoped that I would read Paulo Freire, if I was going to be engaged in any kind of community development work in Papua New Guinea. I wasn't sure what he meant, but I kept this in mind, especially when I came across a copy of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 1970) in the Christian Bookshop in Madang. I bought it and began reading it while I was training catechists in the use of new catechetical materials. After giving a lesson, I would return to my room and read, only to find that I was doing exactly what Freire was recommending not to do! I was engaged in banking education, which views the recipients as empty heads to be filled by the knowledge of the teacher.

The contrast between what I was doing and the vision of Freire for a truly liberating education brought about a major conversion in my life. Since then, I have always had a great interest in training, especially those methods which acknowledge that people already know a lot about what the teacher is 'teaching'. This insight became the basis of my first thesis in theology — the application of Paulo Freire's method to religious pedagogy.

I have subsequently realised that his practical approach was not new, as many other pedagogical methods use the principle of 'see, judge and act', or the cycle of cognition. Action for change springs from our *experience*, which generates questions (inquiry), *research*, which delves deeply and systematically into these questions, new *insights*, which are usually experienced as gifts ('innovative solutions'), *judgements* which are about the correctness and practicality of the insights, *formulation* of a plan or program that others might understand, the *willingness* to carry out the plan, and then the *implementation* of the new action, which, in turn, should generate new questions, and so on (Lonergan 1957). *Willingness* is the key to transforming the idea into action. Knowing what to do does not always mean that we will do it. How many great failures are attributed to 'lack of political will'?

Tribal Fighting

After my ordination as a priest, I returned to Papua New Guinea, to Enga. I became the parish priest of Kompiam in the Sau Valley, with an added responsibility over the neighbouring parish of Keman in the Wali-Tarua River system. I soon became confronted with the reality of tribal fighting, as my main station (Imapa) used to be a battlefield. Soon after I took up the position, my neighbours decided to use it for that purpose. This is not unusual as much of the land given to missionaries in the early days was either disputed, a battlefield, or both. The gift of the land was often a deliberate and simultaneous act of rejection of warfare and opening up to a new world.

I already knew about the phenomenon of tribal warfare from my reading of Meggitt (1977), a key anthropologist who had studied the Enga tribesmen. I also witnessed one or two skirmishes in my earlier time in Enga. At that time, I saw it through the perspective of an outside observer. This time, it was a lot closer to home. It directly impinged on what I saw as my job, turned my faithful Catholics into aggressive warriors, and led to the deaths of people who I regarded as friends. I felt more like an insider, with regard to the consequences, but an outsider, with my view of the whole picture and my neutrality.

The conversion I had already experienced through the writing of Freire (1970) led to another conversion. This was not simply a matter of judging all this as men behaving badly. I was fascinated by the willingness of men to lay down their lives for some non-negotiable values. I thought that, if I want to present Jesus Christ as an ultimate value, I had better find out what people think is worth dying for. That began my reflection on the dynamics of intergroup violence in the Highlands Region of PNG, which has lasted until now. Like many observers in such a situation, the more I knew, the more I realised, I didn't know.

I took these interests to Berkeley, USA, when I was offered a new opportunity for studies. They became the subject of my thesis titled, '*The Theology of Peace among the Enga: The Preferential Option for the Enemy.*' This was a theological reflection of the values contained in tribal fighting (Young 1986). There are many such values — self-sacrifice, courage, and solidarity, to name a few.

On my return to Papua New Guinea, to Enga, I became Director of a youth and pastoral centre at Par in the Ambum Valley. I was blessed with excellent facilities and a social environment in which values could be explored, and programs developed in order to bring about change in a constructive and systematic manner. One of the first questions that was explored in planning processes concerned the obstacles to achieving the desired goals. I was struck by the consistency with which people blamed tribal fighting as the major obstacle to most of what they desired — freedom of movement, peace, development and *gutpela sindaun*.

I worked in this environment for five years, and directly engaged with people in their attempts to build a better society. This was a real lesson in the basic goodness of people,

as well as the realisation that certain traditional cultural practices seemed to militate against their achieving their goals.

When I was given the opportunity to pursue doctoral studies I asked many people what would be the most useful topic to study. The almost unanimous response was, 'learn something that could help us to get out of this cycle of violence'.

At first, I thought of attempting peace studies or the history or anthropology of war. Luckily, I made the initial inquiries just when a Centre for Conflict Resolution had been established at Macquarie University, in Sydney. I could see that this more behavioural and practical approach was what was needed. The director of the centre was astonished to find a potential doctoral student presenting himself in the first year of the operation. The centre has subsequently closed down, but not before injecting some very serious academic reflection into the processes of conflict resolution.

Conflict Resolution

I learned a lot of theory, and also that there is nothing as practical as a good theory. Conflict is a perception of incompatible needs. People mistake satisfiers, such as land, for the real need, which is identity. I learned about the differences between *puzzles* which are solved with only one correct answer, *problems* which are solved with many possible answers, *disputes* which are settled, *conflicts* which may be resolved, and *deep rooted or protracted conflicts* which must be transformed. I also learned about the differences between peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peace building, conflict resolution skills, such as listening, assertiveness, conflict analysis, negotiation, and mediation, the differences between conflict *management*, which implies that technical or practical solutions can be found, conflict *resolution*, which implies that conflicts are undesirable and should be stopped, sometimes aiming for harmony even at the expense of justice, addressing symptoms rather than causes, and *reconciliation*, which tries to re-establish the relationship as it was before.

Finally, I learned about conflict *transformation*. The image of transformation sees conflict not as something to be eliminated or controlled but as a normal human experience, which is part of the reality of change in all societies. Conflict always transforms its protagonists and those around them, for better or for worse. Whether it is for better; that is, a more just and cooperative relationship or worse; that is, prolonging a cycle of violence, depends largely on how it is expressed, either *destructively* by aggression, misuse of power, and violence, or *constructively* with persuasion, cooperation, common goals, and systemic change, such as the type of change we are hearing about in places like Domil.

As already stated, transformation is from within. It does not come from external models. An expatriate only has an external model, at least to start with, including PNG researchers overseas.

I became acquainted with many heroes of conflict resolution and mediation — many of them coming from the Anabaptist strand of Christianity, such as Quakers and Mennonites. The great Quaker mediator Adam Curle (1986) noted that, in all our work for conflict resolution, there are only commas, not full stops; what resolves a conflict now can be the cause of new conflict in the future.

I was impressed by the work of the Mennonite writer and trainer John Paul Lederach (1995). Lederach (*ibid.*) contrasts the *elicitive* approach which builds on local knowledge; that is, trying to draw out the understandings that are already in place, with a *prescriptive* approach, which proposes universal rules for conflict resolution, that supposedly only require slight modification or alteration across cultures. The elicitive approach uses interactive processes, such as role plays, to determine how people define conflict and what they think should be done about it. In the prescriptive approach, role plays are used to see how well the trainees have learned and applied the principles which they have been taught. In most situations, a balance between elicitive and prescriptive is needed, as people are anxious to learn some general principles and what has worked well in other cultures.

Reflect on your own *Tok Ples*. How would you express the word ‘conflict’? Probably not in the same abstract way as in English; probably in a metaphor, such as ‘trouble’—something that is ‘not straight’ or is ‘tangled up’. Resolution then becomes a ‘straightening’ or an “unravelling”.

Lederach (*ibid.*) continues to influence my approach and confirms the unique role that religious values and churches can play in conflict resolution, reconciliation, and transformation.

Research into Conflict Resolution

My doctoral research covered traditional and modern means of conflict resolution among the Enga (Young 2004). The Enga people obligingly turned on four major fights during my period of research. I began with the principle that people already knew a lot about conflict resolution. Instead of focusing on the anthropology of warfare, I focused on the anthropology of peace, and the steps taken to avoid conflict, contain it, resolve it, and prevent it happening in the future.

People already know a lot about conflict resolution. Otherwise they would all be dead. The majority of people in Enga and the rest of the Highlands Region live in peace most of the time. Most disputes are resolved non-violently. As the Clifford Report (1984) pointed out, people see tribal fighting as a solution to a problem, not a problem in itself. Traditionally, people are very good at resolving conflict. However, some are better than others.

Participatory Action Research

My research used a method that involved maximum participation by the people whom it was intended to benefit — Participatory Action Research (PAR) (Kemmis and McTaggart 1988). PAR follows a practical cycle of analytical reflection on current action for change, which generates insight into more effective action, and designs systematic programs of implementation. Also, it seeks the participation of the practitioners in research in a way that is designed to make their own actions more effective. The reason that the recommendations of many research projects are not implemented is possibly because the people who were supposed to implement the findings were not involved in the research, and do not own it in any way. Many expensive reports are simply gathering dust because of ‘lack of ownership’.

There are many traditional methods of conflict resolution already in use. For example:

- **Avoidance:** That is, knowing who to avoid. I call ‘considered vagueness’, as it allows for flexibility about land boundaries and genealogical relationship, agreements, or treaties, shame and social restraint, anger management, and migration.
- **Provention:** This is a neologism coined by Burton (1990), which includes all those steps that remove sources of conflict, such as traditional exchange, intermarriage, alliances and leadership, traditional religion (communal confession), forgiveness, informal dispute settlement, and effective compensation.
- **Violent Self-help:** This proceeds through several stages, which aim at an equal number of deaths. In this era of evidence-based programs, there is no evidence that tribal fighting or violence leads to long-term prosperity. Quite the contrary.
- **Reparative Compensation.**

The State has proposed several means for preventing or resolving intergroup conflicts — legislation, courts, village courts system, joint court sittings, and administrative means, such as population control, land management, liquor bans, and coercive enforcement. The Village Court System is something in which I believe. It has enormous unrealised potential (Young 1993).

There are also non-governmental forms of intervention, such as economic development, sporting activities, awareness programs, and popular movements.

Gutpela Sindaun Komiti

Fortunately, the pastoral plan of the Wabag Diocese called for some form of team or committee in each parish to respond to conflicts. This provided an excellent framework for my research to be able to work with these recognised peacemakers and develop the necessary training and intervention methods to be able to deal with intergroup conflict. We developed intervention methods for each stage of a tribal fight. I believe that the

program has been very successful and has saved many lives. It is a success story, but the real evaluation of it belongs to someone else.

After completion of my doctoral studies, I was able to work for another three years in Enga implementing these research findings. That was very satisfying, as people often complain that researchers use their knowledge and information to obtain status and privilege, while those who provided the information and the hospitality receive very little or nothing.

Following those three years, I moved to the Divine Word University to head up the PNG Studies Department. This enabled me to bring these issues into a wider context of Papua New Guinean history and culture and apply them to other situations, such as Bougainville, mining and resource conflicts, and land disputes. It was a thrill to train young Papua New Guineans in research methods and the inquiring mind, and send them out into Papua New Guinean society to make a difference.

I was settling down to a life of research and study and teaching in PNG Studies when I was appointed as a Bishop in the Mount Hagen Diocese. One advantage of this appointment was to bring me back into the front line of dealing with day-to-day issues in violence and conflict in PNG, especially the Highlands Region. Some of my former students sought help in their research projects, and this suited me, as I have always believed in outsider-insider collaboration in social research.

Research Issues

I worked with some Papua New Guineans on the issue of host immigrant relationships, how immigrants avoid conflicts with traditional landowners in the Waghi Valley (Young *et al.* 2004), and a case study of a peri-urban community and how it deals with its conflicts (Petrus 2007). More recently, I have worked with both Catholic and Lutheran clergy in the resolution of the long-running conflict in part of the Nebilyer Valley in Western Highlands Province. This brought me into contact with Dr. Alan Rumsey, from The Australian National University, who had carried out extensive research in this area. We were able to collaborate on hosting a meeting of concerned peacemakers from Western Highlands Province, but especially from this fighting area. It was a wonderful experience of the benefits of religious and academic collaboration in the resolution of disputes. I believe that Peace Foundation Melanesia is also beginning an intervention in this area.

Recently, I collaborated with Dr. Philip Gibbs and local researchers on a project to explore the role of churches in peacemaking (Gibbs and Young 2007). The project was funded by the Church Partnership Program and involved the Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, United, SDA, Salvation Army, and Baptist churches. It was another excellent example of outsider-insider collaboration that recognised the wisdom and research abilities of local peacemakers.

The project analysed the following conflicts in the nominated provinces:

- **Enga:** Election related disputes from 2007, especially for Kompiam-Ambum, the shooting of a Tinalapin man; the killing of two Titi tribesmen; the Sambeoko-Depao conflict.
- **Southern Highlands:** The work of Young Ambassadors for Peace in Tari; the Unjmap and Tunjup conflict in Mendi town.
- **Western Highlands:** Mano-Maanyi (Lumusa), Kaiyema Makuyene (Lumusa), Ulga-Ukupa and Kulka, Moge-Nambaka election-related disputes, and a dispute about a plantation at Wara Wau.
- **Simbu:** Bomaikane, Nauri, Kuikane and Grai-Tamale, Konkani, Malauku-Dokindekane, Komkane-Wandike, Urrmanglekan-Ommauelkane.
- **Eastern Highlands:** Kamano 2, Unggai Bena (Napamogana, Sebago, Kafetegu, Kopafu, Bagahi, and Hofaga).

This project explored the special role of the churches in peace building. Churches, like academics, have a neutral role in analysing and responding to conflicts, and pursue a superordinate goal — one for which all sides might let go of the conflict. We were able to summarise the experience of churches in peace building. Most churches see themselves as having a role to play in promoting peace. We were able to analyse the responses that worked well, such as perseverance in achieving a solution, and follow-up. For churches, there is a spiritual foundation of all such engagement — biblical teaching, prayer, fasting, the use of symbols, conversion, and effective peacemaking leadership.

In any community, church workers have a special impact because people realise that they are ‘here to stay’. They are part of the community and have a vested interest in seeing a peaceful outcome. This gives them the neutrality which enables them to respect both sides, recognising that favouritism and blaming doesn’t help.

Constructive speech making is an important factor whereby a gifted orator can frame the conflict in ways that lead to resolution. Public demonstrations for peace can help, as they are corporate acts for peace, not war. Churches are in a good position to provide training, having an established record in this and usually access to safe venues. This sort of training is the type in which church workers often excel — developing listening skills, assertiveness, the win-win approach (not compromise, but a determined effort to ensure that everyone gets what they need, which is not always possible but must be the starting point of any attempt at resolution), anger management, mediation, and so on. It was found that people favour treaties or formal Memoranda of Understanding. These treaties build on the earlier method of accepting Form 4 preventive orders and public verbal agreements. Some have developed community constitutions that guide the behaviour of the community. Finally, the churches record in humanitarian concern gives them authority in dealing with manmade disasters, going beyond the win-lose models.

It was also noted what has not worked well — adopting coercive approaches, and wearing uniforms and badges. Opportunities for greater collaboration among the churches were identified, as clan boundaries are often denominational boundaries. However, little has been done in this regard.

The reality of the environment in which we work was noted, together with the problems that we face, such as drugs, poverty, corruption; inefficient police services; inefficient court services; the fragmentation of society; and ultimately the lack of commitment to justice that lies at the heart of all of our problems. This was a job for the churches, but they have failed.

Cross-Cultural Conflict Resolution

This is one of the more challenging and interesting issues in conflict resolution. What happens when you have a conflict between two different cultures with different understandings of conflict and its resolution? This occurs all the time in Port Moresby and other 'melting pots' in PNG. Although village court magistrates in urban and other settlements are constantly dealing with cross-cultural mediation, they are supposed to use 'custom' in the resolution of disputes (for example, over bride wealth or compensation). Peni Keris, Director of the Village Court Services, taught me years ago that, in such cases, 'custom' is what everyone will accept.

It is also part of the current conflict concerning Asian immigration and Asian activity in the commercial sector. This is a conflict like any other, and it is transforming our society. How should we transform the conflict? Different cultures can have different models of what conflict is and how it should be 'handled'. Some are aggressive, while some expect you to read their minds. In many situations, there is what anthropologists call 'the opacity of minds', whereby many Papua New Guinean cultures, and possibly some in Asia, maintain that other people's motivations and mental activities are beyond our understanding. We can only observe their behaviour without attempting to determine what it might mean. However, in politics, it seems that it is okay to impute sinister motives to what on the surface looks quite innocent or even positive. This conflict is transforming our society, and the challenge for us is how to transform it.

Conclusion

Conflict in Papua New Guinean society is not necessarily a bad thing, if it expresses certain realities that:

- we are operating with different, apparently incompatible values;
- the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer; and
- the political system is not delivering services, only frustration.

These are conflicts that are transforming society. However, there can be constructive outcomes when matters come to a head and are then dealt with. Those who reject violence as a means of resolution can cooperate in strengthening constructive approaches, especially traditional ones. The transformation of Papua New Guinean communities has already happened, many times. Societies have been transformed by money, power, and sex, but are we happy with the result?

Around independence, traditionally independent, self-reliant communities were transformed into dependent ones. The failure of the State to live up to expectations has transformed many communities into interdependent ones. Many communities have been transformed from strong local identities to weak national identities, then back to strong local identities that are open to the world.

To become active agents of transformation we have to decide what we want, the ideal community that we are aiming at, assess the reality in which we actually live, and determine what we have to do to get from where we are to where we want to be. Then we must develop the necessary programs to bring about the changes that will transform us.

In order to further these processes, we have to strengthen these partnerships — church, government, civil society, private sector, and academia — by ensuring that they really are partnerships of equals. We have heard of so many organisations working in peace building — Oxfam, Peace Foundation Melanesia, Young Ambassadors for Peace, and so on. We are working far too much in isolation from each other, and possibly sometimes in competition with each other.

It is important to promote developing communities as agents of national development. At first, I thought we needed a national conference on training for peace building, in which problems could be addressed together, insights shared, and new actions carried out more cooperatively. Now, I see that this might be another top-down approach. It would be better to support the communities to clarify what they need in this regard and assist them. Communities must be agents of their own development, not passive recipients of the services of NGOs. A conglomerate of organised communities might be the best answer. It is not so important that conflict resolution training is coordinated, but that a provider is responsive to the real needs. This is elicitive training.

‘Talk builds bridges’, as our ancestors wisely observed. They also observed that sugarcane grows best when it is bundled tightly together. Let us hope that our discussions will not only build bridges but also begin a process of binding that will foster growth in conflict transformation, peace building, and initiating the peaceful society in which we all wish to live.

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Chapter 8

The Peace Foundation Melanesia Story

James Laki

Introduction

Peace Foundation Melanesia Inc. (PFM) has a vision to be a strong and dynamic organisation which promotes the use of mediation and restorative justice, using Melanesian customary law. Its mission is to provide people and community empowerment through the establishment of sustainable community justice initiatives that use win-win mediation and restorative justice practices to repair community relationships and minimise law and order issues. For meaningful economic and social development to take place, there must be peace in the communities, districts, and provinces.

The acronym, PEACE, stands for People and Community Empowerment. PFM believes in community involvement and the community taking ownership. These objectives are inclusive from the beginning in its training program. PFM is a non-government, non-church organisation with a Board of Governance drawn from the government, the community at large, and the private sector.

This paper argues that the informal justice concepts provided by PFM activities have wider implications in transforming and empowering communities, especially in minimising law and order issues. This is achieved through research, community awareness, and project work that is aimed at preventing crime and reducing violence through community justice training. The training package includes people skills, win-win mediation, conflict resolution and restorative justice.

Law and Order Background

Urbanisation, corruption, organised crime, state absenteeism, and declining state institutions are the hallmarks of the state of affairs in Papua New Guinea. The absence of state systems and declining state apparatus are common in the rural communities when confronted with law and order issues. The only encounter the rural people have with state institutions, especially the police force, is when a punitive expedition reaches their communities and administers harsh, unjust punishment on suspects. On the other hand, organised crime, corruption, and other white-collar crime continue to prevail in the urban periphery.

There are many rural dwellers who have scant education, because they leave school early for one reason or another — mainly the non-affordability of school fees. These people have every reason to indulge in delinquent, anti-social behaviour, which is undoubtedly being registered everywhere. Some look for opportunities to survive, by either growing their own cash crops or subsistence crops, or make their livelihood

through dubious means. Others are compelled or motivated to be destructive because they may have lost their patience when there is a lack of services, no arbitration for disputes, a deteriorating law and order situation, lack of social (cohesion) capital, and most of all, bad government leadership.

On the other hand, there is the educated elite, which comprises politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen, and missionaries. Many live in our towns and cities, together with skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers. Quite a few are properly housed, while many fend for themselves. The majority live in settlements, where life is barely manageable, and community living is practised much in a multicultural fashion. Norms and ethos, although different, usually follow the most dominant group or the first settlers who have already made the ground rules.

These people believe that they have several things in common — they are not part of the urban ‘equation’, and they have missed out on municipal provisions. Furthermore, they have common enemies and purposes for existence — supporting the formal cash economy of the country, or assisting with the state’s arms of service. When some of their expectations are not met, they may become delinquent and uncooperative, and are a cause for concern by state authorities. Any assistance must be aimed at arresting the fate of these disadvantaged people in the rural and urban areas, including those in the informal sector of the economy.

Many see the bureaucratic machinery as being incompetent, corrupt, and self-serving, while also lacking the underlying causes which reflect motivation, political intervention, and direction. The bureaucracy should be the driving force and the engine room for change, but it has not been allowed to operate independently from the legislators. Initially, the correct mechanisms were in place, but they have been altered by politicians who thought they had better ideas. Now nepotism, misappropriation, embezzlement, and lack of motivation and commitment to work are the hallmarks.

Since independence, the Government acquired senior management loyalty through contract employment as an incentive. However, the general workers have been offered very little. Most times, the workers are concerned with families, child care, children at school, and the children’s future prospects, as many are eliminated from the education system. Towards their mid-careers, public servants are also concerned about their retirement, considered options for resettlement, retrenchment, and life after the public service. For many, there are few options.

Socioeconomic Issues

Social despair is evident as ‘many rural villagers believe their quality of life is now worse than it was twenty or so years ago’ (Windybank and Manning 2003:3) when many people died of illnesses that could have been easily prevented, if only they had access to drugs. Although this observation was made in 2003, the situation still remains, or has even become worse, given the development indexes. In other situations, it may be access to markets or food sources for nourishment. Some areas require the skills and

opportunities to live within their means. When education and literacy are denied, through lack of schools, lack of economic opportunities to generate funds to meet school fees, and more importantly, lack of teachers, they seek them. 'Crime is taking its toll on traditional village life, and the social support system that has enabled ordinary Papua New Guineans to weather hard times in the past (*ibid.*: 7). Unless the legitimacy and the authority of the central government is restored, 'Papua New Guinea risks degenerating into a patchwork of local fiefdoms contested by strongmen and criminals' (*ibid.*: 4).

'Mob rule' and 'tribal allegiance', as observed in some areas leading up to and during the 2002 National General Elections, are prime examples of what might happen in PNG, if state institutions are not strengthened and supported. This is further reflected by the suggestion that, 'it is no coincidence that 'identity' wars and demands for regional autonomy or independence ignite around large-scale resource projects' (*ibid.*: 8). The situation has encouraged neotribalism, where high-powered automatic weapons, made available through transnational linkages, are increasingly being used in ethnic violence. 'Mining revenues are decreasing, and there are few new projects on the horizon' (*ibid.*: 5)

Economic hardships, which have been generated by the declining non-renewable resources, have aggravated the situation, as it becomes lopsided. Questions remain as to whether the Government could effectively address this issue through its export driven economic recovery plans, as the responsibility for economic growth and employment creation shifted to the private sector. However, successive governments have been known to pursue 'self-interests', through compromises, as demanded by parliamentary colleagues, while scant long-term national interests are pursued.

Good governance and lack of a properly represented government when faced with the observation that 'politicians have used the 'big-man' tradition of gift-giving and patronage at the village level to justify gross corruption and graft at the national level (*ibid.*: 9).' Capital inflow and foreign direct investment (FDI) have been wanting, as much of the capital seems to go offshore, fearing money laundering, which may be made possible by pyramid money schemes.

'Economic growth is not keeping up with population increases, so the country is going backwards' (*ibid.*: 6) because the rates of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth and population growth do not correlate. It indicates that the gap between urban and rural people will widen, and create contemporary tribes and cultures, as more than 800 different cultures 'melt' in urban settlements. The increase in population and products of the education system produce many job opportunists. There are many beggars on the streets, while smaller children are being fed by charitable organisations, appropriately feeding into the 'dependency' syndrome.

Cultural and ethnic diversity have prevented conformity to one particular system of living, thinking, and behaving. However, consensus and harmony are almost always present, thus promoting Melanesian values as the basis. It is the same Melanesian values that are imposed every now and then, whether on bigamy, chewing betel nut at the workplace, or more seriously, misappropriation of public funds under the 'big-man'

umbrella. There are conflicts between Western concepts and the Melanesian mind-set, whereby minimum accepted standards have not been adopted by the diverse societies. However, there is a good deal of tolerance amongst the major societies in the country.

Land Issues

Scarcity of land in PNG is aggravated by an increasing population whose average growth rate, according to the 2000 National Census, was 3.2 percent, to some 5 190 786 people. This was an increase of some 38 percent from 1990. Such growth has applied tremendous pressure on the limited arable land, as much of the customary land could be described as rugged, uninhabited, swampy, and most of all, inaccessible for meaningful commercial exploitation. Commercial use of what little land is available may be fiercely contested by fellow clansmen or siblings. In many instances, the siblings would separate and live in individual hamlets tending to their new commercial interests such as coffee estates. By doing so, the siblings too are becoming vulnerable to other groups that could lay claim to the same piece of land.

Land claims have been based on various modes through which it was acquired. It could be through many years of settlement, forcefully by warfare, or acquired as alienated land by colonial settlers. There have been rare cases of acquisition through invitation by another tribe, except for traditional use such as gardening, hunting, and gathering. Melanesians in Papua New Guinea have a special attitude to land. They are very much attached to it for general life support, its ecology, biodiversity, flora and fauna, and other general wildlife. Most of all, the people have an attachment to land that is spiritual and mythical — a place of origin, and an object of ownership that is perceived as permanent property, as distinct from property that could be perishable or tangible.

In many traditional areas, land has been acquired through warfare — a conquest that is referred to as ‘blood land’ or ‘spear land’, which is commonly called customary land, and comprises 97 percent of the total land mass in PNG. The other three percent comprises alienated land, and accounts for two percent, while the other one percent is evenly divided as freehold and conditional freehold. Very little land is available for sale, and even if it was available, the sale of land has been contentious because it is regarded as permanent property that is inherited. It is not to be deformed by mining, deforested through log harvests, or destroyed for permanent features such as roads and bridges.

Because of some of these reasons, land is safeguarded with much passion, and defended against further alienation, deformation, and settlement. It is for these reasons that there are many claims for compensation on land that has been deformed. Other ‘customary landholders’ demand the return of alienated land. Many more wait to gain from land proposed for business ventures and demand to benefit or share in the profits from produce or any other commercial gains facilitated through the land. Furthermore, calls are being initiated to claim improperly acquired land, while there is much dislike for any developer or a new rightholder who may be seen to be in possession of traditional landowners’ land.

Consequently, conflicts erupt, which further develop complexities that may be cultural or ethnic and escalate into the fringes of society as socioeconomic concerns. The situation then demands the use of weapons and tribal allegiance or support from other groups, bringing in other tribes. In some cases, additional weaponry, such as homemade guns, are sought.

As soon as any death occurs in tribal fights, the situation becomes tense and some revenge is forthcoming, unless some 'blood money' or compensation is paid, so that a settlement of the conflict is effected. Compensation is normally demanded by the aggrieved party. In order for the conflict to be resolved amicably, the demand has to be met. The time of waiting for a conflict settlement could be described as the period of distrust and animosity. However, after compensation is paid this particular tribal fight would seem to be settled, until something else happens to trigger another fight. Old scars open up with new wounds, and this process appears to be a vicious circle that does not seem to end. The situation is worsened when tribes acquire mutual defence by owning automatic small arms and light weapons.

Ethnic Tensions

Tribal fights are easily predicted, as they occur between known tribes. Each tribe would have a perimeter within which to operate in such matters as fighting, negotiating for peace, compensation demands, or conflict settlement. These tribes would have a mutual understanding of the vulnerabilities, volatilities, and extent of violence or damage that each tribe could inflict upon the other, where there could be an 'unwritten law' concerning tribal fights.

However, some conflicts could be difficult, unpredictable, and unmanageable, particularly when different ethnic groups in an urban settlement are involved. These groups would not have that 'unwritten law' concerning conflicts. Destruction of property and harm to women and children could be unprecedented. One group may be dominating and could impose their way of doing things, thus resulting in violent behaviour that is not common within a known group.

Ethnic tensions usually occur in urban areas and could be triggered by a drunken brawl. In the National Capital District (NCD), alcohol and drug-related crime accounts for 39 percent of total reports (Findlay *et al.* 2005: 18). Alcohol-related crime is most expected by the older respondents of the Community Crime Survey in the NCD (*ibid.*). Other conflicts have occurred as a result of 'land grab'. Such conflicts have involved '*wantok*' groups that have created different forms of cultural affinities, and have a common goal to fight off other ethnic groups. Group violence has also strengthened cultural affiliations within areas, districts, or provinces of origin.

Cultural Affiliation

An individual person's first allegiance and loyalty is to the village or community leader of origin, before that individual thinks of being part of a district that is served by an Open Member of Parliament. The next descending hierarchical order is the province then followed by the region, as in the Islands, Momase, Southern, or Highlands. Being a Papua New Guinean is the last thing on anyone's mind.

Practising cultural activities based on their identity and origin has been a positive feature for these diverse cultural groups. Although these practices may not be wholly provincial or regional, a few items could be combined, if the different groups have the desire and the motivation. Such groups become the basis for identity and the social capital that is needed when violence and conflicts arise amongst others.

Being part of a larger community grouping could also provide a wider support base when groups are confronted with personal needs and problems. Such support could come in the form of shelter and food. The social safety net through the '*wantok*' concept, although not formal, is extended to the rural communities. Public servants and other wage-earners continue to assist their relatives, in cash or kind, in the village communities. However, this support is insufficient when services such as health and education are diminished or virtually not available.

Economic Security and Urbanisation

The non-provision of social services and lack of access to economic opportunities have created the 'push' factors for rural people to move to urban areas. This urban environment is the 'melting pot' of cultures, ways, and norms in the squatter settlements. The settlements are the places where the people practise their cultures, which could involve all night singing or performing puberty rites for young females. It is where the extended family support is most common when new arrivals are made to feel at home, gather confidence in a new environment, and create a sense of security. Also, this creates allegiances for future confrontation with the law or any other social or ethnic grouping.

In many instances, that euphoria vanishes with time as the reality of urban life creeps in, leading to poverty, and disappointment with the expected lifestyle that the migrants had dreamt about. The extended support also wanes when wage-earners are retrenched or laid off because of reduced economic activities. These people in the settlements have assisted with the formal economy, where one component of a society supports another, which is analogous to the functions of micro-organisms that feed on other organisms.

Without wages and with no true sense of direction or existence, people in the urban settlements strategise options for survival. Some of the settlements become the 'havens' for criminals who may become partners or are coopted into a bigger criminal syndicate. Prostitution or facilitating the process of prostitution has been one form of poverty alleviation for the urban settlement dwellers and has led to unwanted pregnancies, and contracting and spreading sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) such as HIV/AIDS.

The urban settlements are the sources of privatised violence, criminal activities, and recruitment of support for the 'big-men'. They are places where smaller ethnic groups submit to dominant large ethnic groups. 'Raskalism' appears to be condoned because it is multi-dimensional, possibly having social, cultural, and most of all criminal traits. Culturally, it emulates initiation practices where bravery and a warlike mentality feed into the social peer group pressures and structures. Acceptance and identity, which become the culture of violence, are promoted further when these youths are seen with the neighbouring strong man. It becomes organised and systemic through the 'big-man' culture, which is a paradigm that nurtures 'raskalism', by patronising and facilitating the support or a social 'safety net'.

Community Security and the 'Big-Man' Concept

On the one hand, the social safety net could be outreaching, while on the other, it is feeding into the proliferation of the 'big-man' concept, which generally involves competition for status that could be acquired in two forms:

- through genuine hard work gained over a period of time and supported by fellow affinities; or
- being elevated through coercion, corruption, and intimidation of affines or lineage.

In the latter context, the 'big-man' provides inducements, indulges in gift-giving and taking, provides some form of protection against crime in the urban areas, and is readily available to apply violence to acquire more or extend influence and jurisdiction. Rivalry amongst the 'big-men' becomes a common phenomenon that leads to conflict, by creating pseudo-warlords who have control over certain interests. Many of these 'big-men' are highly visible during national elections, but tend to be 'packed into the woodwork' after the elections, living off a systemic crime and corruption process.

The 'big-man' concept has become an exploited cultural phenomenon, and now includes non-practising groups that are easily lured into the concept. The 'pull' towards this phenomenon is derived from the support base, and includes patronising protection against crime on one hand, and dissuading law enforcement on the other. The support could be very limited, but the benefits for the 'big-men' are enormous.

The support base is easily widened through reputation and perceived gains by followers, as well as coopting others through an hierarchical structure, which ensures that some of the wealth and power is shared. Violence has become an ingredient of power, which may be wielded through the gun culture. Rival 'big-men' have clashed, while in other areas certain ethnic groups may be in control because of the power and influence that are emulated. The possibility of anarchy and ethnic violence exists when a gun culture prevails.

Internal Stability

'Given the increased availability of, and resort to, arms, the risk that Papua New Guinea will descend into anarchy is high' (Windybank and Manning 2003). This appears to be a similar message to that suggested by the Australian Minister for Defence, in October 2002, that Papua New Guinea faced a different level of threat, internally. Consequently, there was a call to address the issue when internal stability became a prominent problem, and for the authorities to act (*Post-Courier*, 23 October 2002:11). Failing that, there could be a 'greater misfortune'. Hence, the evacuation of Australian citizens and other foreigners should be a written doctrine — one that is too familiar within the Pacific Island Countries.

The Peace Foundation Melanesia Story

The outcomes of PFM's interventions are varied, and include respect for the rule of law, understanding of human rights, increased participation in political activities, and changed attitude and behaviour. Understanding gender issues and equal participation by men and women are evident. The people also have the ability to resolve conflicts through win-win mediation. The communities are encouraged to form voluntary community justice committees to resolve broken relations amongst persons or groups. In this way, the possibility of escalation is minimised, before any formal state systems intervene. The operations of the community justice committees are normally checked, and where possible, assisted through the monitoring and mentoring phase of the projects.

Brief History

The original vision of the founding fathers of Papua New Guinea's Constitution was to have a village court, where mediation (customary law) was the first initiative in any conflict. The Western court was to be brought into play only if the traditional processes failed. Melanesians see facilitation, mediation, and the consensus process as central to their culture. Win-win mediation is favoured over the win-lose process of the Western court system, and restorative justice is seen as the traditional law process. There was a need for an alternative system of justice which did not depend so much on courts and jails.

PFM's Objectives

In 1989, Hon. Bernard Narokobi, MP, the then Minister for Justice and Attorney-General, established the Foundation for Law, Order, and Justice because he felt that the Western court system was not suitable or just for ordinary Papua New Guineans. The Foundation had four main objectives:

- improve the quality of life for people in Papua New Guinea by conducting training in community justice so that civil society can assist community police officers and Village Courts to maintain law and order through the establishment of Peace and Good Order Committees;

- work with village court magistrates and court officers to provide training in mediation skills;
- train suitable people to conduct training in community justice; and
- assist police and the courts by providing alternatives to court and incarceration for its first offenders and young people.

What Does PFM Do?

The core business of Peace Foundation Melanesia (PFM) is to conduct community justice (conflict resolution) training consisting of people skills, win-win mediation, and restorative justice. Difficulty in accessing the formal judicial system contributes to conflicts deteriorating into violence and destruction:

‘A common theme is that people in conflict deal with their differences by remaining closed to communication. And the longer people remain closed to communication, the harder it is for them to deal with one another peacefully’ (Moore and McDonald 2000:13).

Development cannot take place without peace. Since 1995, PFM has provided training to various communities in order to initiate self-reflection by those involved in conflict, and encourage the creation of community justice committees to provide volunteer mediation services in their communities.

The community justice course has three parts:

- people skills training, which focuses on self-understanding, development of positive attitudes, male/female relationships, listening skills, assertive communication skills, facilitation skills, and negotiation skills;
- win-win mediation; and
- restorative justice.

By 2008, PFM had provided training for 13 972 participants (10 840 males and 3 132 females) in the National Capital District, and Central, Oro, Southern Highlands, Eastern Highlands, Simbu, and Madang Provinces. This included the training of inmates at Bomana Gaol. Peace Foundation Melanesia has been working on Bougainville since 1994. In 1996, training was extended to Vabukori, Saraga, and Bitapaka (East New Britain), and in 1997 to squatter settlements in the NCD. Simbu, Eastern Highlands, Western Highlands and Enga Provinces would follow, if bidding for funds was successful.

PFM has developed important linkages with formal law and justice sector agencies and has provided community justice training to the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary (RPNGC) Training Unit and Correctional Service officers in recent years. It is exploring the possibility of providing training to all village court magistrates, further work with RPNGC Training Unit personnel, and extending its Correctional Service inmate rehabilitation training program.

Table 8.1: Number of People Trained, 2003-2008

Year	Male	Female	Total
2003	2 273	569	2 842
2004	2 569	845	3 414
2005	557	245	802
2006	3 410	867	4 277
2007	1 173	418	1 591
2008	858	188	1 046
Total	10 840	3 132	13 972

Facilitation, Negotiation, and Mediation

Often, people who have completed the community justice course — especially those who have become trainers — feel confident to begin work as counsellors and dispute mediators. The courses provide people with facilitation skills and other skills to approach other NGOs and donors. Participants usually have the ability to plan small-to-large projects by using advice, knowledge, and good will. This ensures that decision making and implementation of other projects become the property of the community, and not just the ‘big-man’ and his followers. Furthermore, mediation enables trainers to successfully resolve most of the conflicts that take place in a village. The value of this process is the aspect of inclusiveness by the people in the community, which is understandable and just. This is quite different to the formal court systems. It is a phenomenon about which some village court magistrates have made favourable remarks in relation to the courses.

Most people face direct confrontation in their ability to conduct negotiations because of cultural difficulties, and prefer to avoid facing a confrontational issue. However, the presence of a neutral mediator reduces the cultural stress and barriers, and greatly increases the chances of a successful solution to a conflict. Mediators usually work in pairs in these exercises, which may involve village chiefs, village court magistrates, and ‘*wanbel*’¹ court officials. Mediators working in their communities have successfully mediated conflicts including sorcery, drunk and disorderly behaviour, ownership of coconut palm trees, house-building sites, village fights, women’s fights, disputes over the use of community property, ownership of pigs, as well as cases of adultery.

For example, on the Bougainville mainland, where there was no court system, the community leaders have mediated cases involving murder, which took place during the crisis. There were no courts for more than ten years. Restorative justice has proven to be a very powerful instrument in reconciling families following the horrors and human rights abuses of the civil war, in order to make the community safe and secure by their terms.

¹ Tok Pisin for having the same ideals and principles — literally means ‘one stomach’, or in some cases ‘heartfelt actions’.

Peace Foundation Melanesia has also worked with the Corrective Service in providing training to inmates and staff. The results have been widely encouraged. Its work in the prisons led to an international award, from the Canadian Centre for Justice and Reconciliation (Prison Fellowship) for 'significant contributions to the advancement of restorative justice around the world'.

In 1999, PFM began working with the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, training community police personnel, by providing communications skills training to build bridges between the police and the communities in which they work. Their hard policing approaches have changed to providing a policing service. The PFM experience has shown that an individual participant gets good value on the course.

However, the impact on the village or urban settlement is very limited, especially when only one person in a village has done the course. This person is alone, therefore no-one else understands what he or she has learned. There is a greater impact when there are eight or ten people from a village, or when many community leaders in an urban settlement attend the courses. The participants in the communal groups have a support base that understands the process of win-win mediation and restorative justice and are able to help and support each other. The PFM policy is to continue training in an area until there are enough trained leaders in a village to be able to influence the thinking of the whole village. This ensures that there is understanding and willingness to accept the community justice methods in their daily activities.

After the courses, PFM leaves behind people who are able to mediate conflicts at the grassroots level, counsel people in distress, and make plans for village development. PFM continues to support further courses with materials and other logistics, where possible. Reports on the successes of PFM's community justice training have spread widely throughout the villages and urban settlements by word of mouth. PFM frequently receives requests from people who have attended one of the courses and desires another one at some other location. Unfortunately, PFM is never in a position to satisfy the needs of all. It tries to keep records of these requests and addresses them when funding becomes available.

PFM's Experiences in Southern Highlands Province

Sir Peter Barter, who was acting Governor of Southern Highlands Province in 2002 had this to say in Parliament after the 2002 National General Elections, during a debate to institute a 'State of Emergency' in the province:

The problems in Southern Highlands Province are not new. Since the commencement in 1995 of the reforms under the *Organic Law on Provincial Governments and Local-level Governments*, the Southern Highlands Provincial Government has suffered from increasing factionalism and the provincial and district administrations have suffered from increasing political interference. The 1997 General Elections saw an increased trend in political related violence and disruption of the electoral process in some areas within the province. A distinct 'gun culture' emerged at that time, with the following five years being notable for the level of lawlessness.

The 2002 General Elections in the province disintegrated into a complete fiasco dominated by gun culture, intimidation of voters, and voting irregularities. The Electoral Commission declared only three out of the nine Southern Highlands seats in Parliament and a few of the 728 wards of the local-level governments. I believe the wards declared were sufficient for only about nine out of the thirty-two local-level governments to be constituted. Six seats in Parliament and the majority of wards were not declared. By this standard, the elections in the province were a failure.

The failure of the elections in the Southern Highlands has resulted in there being at this present time no provincial government and possibly only a few local-level governments in the province. In addition to the failure of the electoral and political processes, the administration structures in the province remain ineffective and in such a state of chaos that most normal services have ceased to exist.

Moreover, Mr. Speaker, reports have reached me concerning gross financial irregularities. It is reported that certain people are trying to negotiate signed cheques and that while there is insufficient money in the provincial operating account these people are waiting for the next national government allocation to the province so that they can claim the proceeds. It is also reported that most of these cheques are illegal and not for services rendered.

This type of abuse must be investigated and stopped, and the nation's scarce resources must be immediately directed back to serving the needs of our long-suffering people. The appalling state of Southern Highlands Province is of utmost concern to the Prime Minister, and he has directed me as Minister for Inter-Government Relations to take matters into hand so as to get corrective action in place as soon as practicable."

PMF's Impact

Against this backdrop of anarchy and chaos, Peace Foundation Melanesia Inc. was invited by Sir Peter Barter, the then Minister for Inter-Government Relations, to conduct community justice courses in Southern Highlands Province. Comprehensive training packages were then put in place, beginning with the formation of an Advisory Committee comprising various stakeholders such as the churches, women's groups, youths, and the formal law and order agencies. Various donors including the Government, AusAID, and Chevron-Texaco gave assistance for the informal justice concept to bear relevance in another province, apart from Bougainville, and the peri-urban areas in Port Moresby.

The end part of the process was the development of monitoring and evaluation systems to measure the impact of training delivered. This stage provided a guide for further training requirements. The PFM interventions have been field tested on four selected locations from the original twenty that received earlier training. The results were encouraging.

PFM was saturated with requests for training from the police, churches, individuals, villagers, and the formal sector. The Advisory Committee in Mendi identified 250 locations throughout the province that needed the PFM training. The demand has been there and PFM has the capacity. However, some grant in financial support is required. PFM prides itself with awards from the Asia Pacific Mediation Forum in 2003, and the

Centre for Justice and Reconciliation Prison Fellowship International by Prison Fellowship Canada in 2007.

Future Plans

PFM has embarked on three main outcome-based operational objectives. These are outlined in its corporate plan. The first highlights its core activity in training, which involves the development of skills and knowledge in communities that foster peaceful conflict resolution and reduce law and order problems. This entails the provision of training in mediation, conflict resolution, and protective behaviour, in order to promote sustainable community relations.

The second outcome-based operational objective addresses its own organisational outlook so that it is a well-governed, well-managed, and viable organisation. This involves strengthening and maintaining organisational operating systems and processes, including capacity building and resource sourcing.

The third outcome-based operational objective looks at creating strong and effective partnerships with agencies and sectors that have similar interests and goals. The main theme here is to build and maintain partnerships with national government agencies and other state and non-state actors on agreed initiatives. The informal justice concept that PFM promotes should provide the linkage for a stronger cohesive community through existing structures created by the *Village Court Act* 1989.

In the training programs provided by PFM, participants are mostly village or community leaders — village chiefs, church leaders, councillors, magistrates, village constables, women's groups, youth groups, and sports groups. All participants usually have a group to which they can return. In each course, PFM takes thirty people. Gender balance (equal members of males and females) and a mixture of participants in terms of age, religious affiliation and position within the village or an organisation is one of the principal guidelines. Age is not a problem, nor is education and social standing. People who are 60 or 70 years of age are equally important as youths who are 19 and 20. People who cannot read or write are encouraged and are able to gain just as much at their own level from the course as people with a university degree. All of the people who complete the ten days of training receive a certificate.

Conclusion

Law and order issues in the country and in communities could be a great hindrance, and could hamper social and economic development. Such problems are quite common in urban as well as rural communities. PFM's activities in transforming the communities through peace building and conflict resolution, through a win-win mediation process are quite significant and should be supported by the national government. PFM has a track record in Bougainville, and especially Southern Highlands Province, which changed from anarchy after the 2002 National General Elections to a peaceful province in the following national elections. It has worked in complex and hostile situations.

Many communities resort to informal justice concepts, using traditional customary means to resolve conflicts and use restorative processes to build broken relations. PFM has been part of those initiatives. The PFM experiences could be seen as a vehicle to develop informal justice concepts to minimise the escalation of conflicts, before state intervention. Lack of state authority in all its aspects, such as goods and services, has been well-documented. Consequently, there is a need for alternative dispute and conflict resolution for a community to live and develop harmoniously.

However, like all non-government organisations, lack of funding has hindered the organisation to be truly viable in performing its aims and objectives. It has a very good profile that is outcome-based on three fronts — providing skills for people and community empowerment, continuing to improve its organisational capability and competence, and creating and maintaining partnerships with all sectors of civil society.

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Chapter 9

Improving Human Security through Development: Implications for Policy and Practice

Michelle Kopi, Rachael Hinton, and Yanny Guman

Introduction

Oxfam International Papua New Guinea was established by Oxfam Australia and Oxfam New Zealand in 2005. Oxfam New Zealand developed strong expertise in conflict prevention and peace building in response to the Bougainville crisis. The lessons learned about working in post-conflict areas contributed to the establishment of the Oxfam Highlands Program (OHP). The Highlands Peace Building and Conflict Reduction Program is based in Goroka and is one of three program offices of Oxfam International PNG.¹

The goal of the OHP is to promote peaceful development, improve human security, and reduce conflict and violence in the Highlands Region of Papua New Guinea. This paper documents the activities, approach, and learnings of the Oxfam Highlands Program in the areas of armed violence, human security, and peace building in Papua New Guinea. The implications for human security policy and practice are discussed.

Linking Human Security to Development

Discussions about security have moved away from focusing solely on national security, to place greater emphasis on human security. This shift requires governments to recognise the importance of placing human beings, and not states, at the centre of security concerns. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 1994: 23) defines human security as it relates to the safety of people (particularly disadvantaged people):

“from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression . . . [and] from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs, or in communities.”

The human security approach is based on the assumption that all people have basic human rights and should enjoy these rights, regardless of who and where they are (*ibid.*). Security refers not only to war and violent conflict, but also to political instability, the rise of fundamentalism, ethnic or communal divisions, and other types of upheavals, such as natural disasters, and chronic threats such as poverty, malnutrition, and ill-health. It also means that the promotion of security is broadened to encompass both macro-level

¹ Oxfam International PNG also has program offices in Port Moresby and Wewak.

social, political and economic security, and micro-level concerns, such as ensuring access to food, water, shelter, sanitation, and basic education (Narayanaswamy and Sever 2004).

In recent times, there has been growing interest by national and international agencies, non-government organisations, and the United Nations, in the links between development, human security, and armed violence. On the one hand, the interest has been driven by the need to ensure that there are sustainable development programs in areas which are threatened by armed violence. On the other hand, interest has been driven by the realisation that the effective control of armed violence depends, in part, on supportive development programming. It is clear that armed violence poses significant challenges to the realisation of the Millennium Development Goals (Hazen 2008). However, where gun violence is a daily reality, policy makers, bureaucrats, and analysts often fail to understand precisely how men, women, and children are affected, the multiplier effects of insecurity on development, and how individuals develop local solutions to their concerns.

Human Security, Armed Violence, and Development in Papua New Guinea

Weak law and order structures are conducive to the illegal possession, transfer, and use of small arms in Papua New Guinea. Firearms (both homemade and factory-made) are playing a significant role in exacerbating Papua New Guinea's law and order problems and have contributed to the rise of less common forms of violence, including maiming, abduction, and kidnapping for ransom (Haley and Muggah 2006). In the form of armed conflict or as criminal or interpersonal violence, armed violence has inflicted significant human and material costs on communities in Papua New Guinea.

A small number of weapons can result in large-scale violence, and insecurity continues well after armed violence comes to an end. This affects community cohesion, income generation, and the safety and psychosocial health of men, women, and children. The violence itself restricts investment, destroys livelihoods, and limits access to basic education and health services (Alpers 2008). Armed violence erodes the rule of law and undermines effective governance. Associated spending on reactive policing and law enforcement, health care, and the victims' assistance diverts resources away from development and social welfare.

As a signatory to the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development², the Government of Papua New Guinea has committed itself to the integration of armed violence prevention programs into development frameworks, and has pledged to work in partnership with civil society. However, high profile arms reduction initiatives in the form of gun amnesties and weapons buybacks continue to be popular amongst donors, implementers, and policy makers. Disarmament exercises tend to yield only homemade weapons, often target the wrong people, and can do more harm than good, if they do not take proper account of the local context (Haley and Muggah 2006). The implication of

² The Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development was adopted by 42 states on 7 June 2006 and endorsed by 105 countries by February 2009.

this is that a reduction in the number of firearms may well have little impact, if it is not part of a broader process to address the varied socioeconomic root causes of armed violence, and reduce vulnerabilities to insecurity.

The Government of Papua New Guinea receives substantial amounts of development assistance from the international community for law and justice. Australia has provided some AUD\$200 million from 2003 to 2009 to increase the responsiveness of the justice system in Papua New Guinea (AusAID 2007), but the security of many rural and urban populations continues to get worse. Top-down security measures are limited in their impact on the burden of armed violence and in their delivery of tangible improvements in human security. Substantial aid funding must be dedicated to the development of a coherent and integrated approach to the prevention and reduction of armed violence in order to make progress towards sustainable peace in Papua New Guinean communities.

The Program Context

Despite significant resource wealth, Papua New Guinea faces many development challenges. Rising poverty and declining living standards has meant that some 39 percent of the population live on less than US\$1 per day (World Bank 2007). Papua New Guinea is one of the least urbanised countries in the world, with more than 85 percent of the population living in rural areas (UNICEF 2008), and relying on agricultural production as the predominant means for food security and to acquire cash incomes. Traditional systems of cultivation and customary tenure are experiencing increased pressure because of a rapidly expanding population, the conversion to cash cropping, and the expansion of large-scale extraction projects. As in many areas of the Pacific Region, conflict over land and resource use is rapidly gaining precedence in Papua New Guinea (Haley and May 2007).

Problems of lawlessness are a constant theme in current accounts of Papua New Guinea. More than 40 percent of the population live in the Highlands Region and parts of the region are marked by serious outbreaks of inter-group conflict. In the context of an increasingly alienated political and governance machinery, the rule of 'conflict custom' has remained the cornerstone for the redress of grievances (LeBrun and Muggah 2005). Violence, payback, and recurrent fighting are perceived by many in rural communities as a legitimate means of prosecuting claims and seeking restitution.

The spread of lawlessness has tended to follow larger patterns of development, and criminal gangs are active in urban areas and along important arterial highways. Reactive policing strategies have failed to stem existing levels of crime and contribute to further disorder (fear and mistrust) through the use of excessive force (Dinnen 2002). These developments have, in turn, placed enormous pressure on an already weak criminal justice system. Growing poverty and conflict are associated with an erosion of basic human rights.

The policy focus on deteriorating law and order structures has resulted in insufficient attention being given in national policy frameworks to innovative, grounded, and

responsive community-based approaches that deal with insecurity. Inadequate effort has been made to understand and monitor law and justice priorities and human security concerns from the community perspective, and there is a scarcity of women's and youth voices concerning community security. During the past decade, a growing number of local non-government organisations has emerged in parts of the Highlands Region in response to the complex development issues that contribute to insecurity and conflict in their communities. These groups have become powerful forces for peace and human rights in their communities.

Approach of the Oxfam Highlands Program

The peace building agenda of Oxfam International PNG is much broader than simply preventing or ending conflict in the Highlands Region. It has developed a broad, integrated agenda to address the key structural causes of armed violence and insecurity and to promote an enabling environment for development and the maintenance of law and order. A multidimensional strategy underlies this approach and includes:

- Capacity building and training with local non-government organisations (NGOs), working to reduce violence, improving governance, protecting human rights of vulnerable groups, promoting gender equality, and engaging youth in communities. This also includes supporting NGOs to empower local communities to use local resources to sustain their livelihoods, and the facilitation of initiatives to increase access to clean water through the provision of water supply and health sanitation education.
- Research is combined with policy advocacy on human security issues with a focus on the links to development. Solid community-level development, research experience, and working with government institutions to improve capacity to respond to law and justice issues and essential service delivery give Oxfam the necessary linkages and credibility required in its advocacy role. The objective is to create new linkages and contexts for collaboration between civil society and government, in order to seed new dialogues and partnerships.
- Creating a knowledge base for modelling appropriate Highlands-based approaches to security and violence reduction.

Developing Partnerships

The Oxfam Highlands Program (OHP) focuses on specific themes and the promotion of rights-based approaches. These include enhancing the participation of women, identifying the most at-risk components in society and involving them in conflict reduction strategies, supporting communities with livelihood strategies and water supply and sanitation, assisting communities in governance awareness, and encouraging women and wide community participation in decision making.

Engagement with partners underpins the implementation of Oxfam’s rights-based approach and is directed by a three-pronged strategy to:

- identify and partner with local NGOs that are designing and delivering interventions in response to local insecurity and human rights concerns;
- support partners’ responses to local needs through the provision of institutional support, such as management systems, planning, proposal design, monitoring and evaluation, and financial support for activities and operational costs; and
- assist with the development of structures which directly respond to local needs, strengthen links with relevant development stakeholders for targeted advocacy, and ensure a collective response to addressing local concerns.

This strategy is guided by fundamental principles which have been crucial to the design and subsequent success of the OHP. Key elements to the OHP include:

- the recognition of the need for long-term partnerships with local NGOs and to add value by enhancing skills in the form, and at a pace agreed by partners;
- respecting and utilising local knowledge, structures, and expertise, together with employing local staff at all levels of the program;
- linking good practice models and providing forums for the exchange of ideas and experience at the local, national, and international levels;
- documenting program learning and using local priorities to inform Oxfam’s advocacy priorities;
- building research capacity within the program; and
- working from a position of respect.

The Oxfam Highlands Program has developed at a controlled pace, with limits set on growth. Quality over quantity has been implicit in this approach. The demand for Oxfam to partner with a host of community-based organisations in the Highlands Region has been overwhelmingly high. However, the temptation to expand is moderated by a focus on building strong relationships and establishing a solid base with current partners. It has been necessary to resist the temptation to impose outside systems, structures, and ideologies upon partners, as this only serves to undermine productive working relationships and the respect currently experienced with partners. It also limits Oxfam’s understanding of local realities and the effectiveness of interventions.

The Oxfam Highlands Program works with three partners in the Highlands Region — Kup Women for Peace (KWP), Community Development Agency (CDA), and Community-Based Health Care (CBHC). These local organisations are working in remote, underserved areas of the Highlands Region and have developed in response to years of large-scale conflict, increasing levels of crime, and gender-based violence.³

³ Chapter 10 in this publication, “Strengthening Partnerships to Improve Law and Justice in Rural PNG: Learning from Local Strategies for Change”, provides a more detailed account of the KWP, CBHC, and CDA.

The three groups typify the strength and appropriateness of the activities of local non-government organisations. They are value and empowerment based and respond to local needs in a non-service oriented way. Their approach is designed and developed locally, marginalised groups — specifically women and youth — are targeted and meaningfully integrated, and the underlying triggers of conflict and violence are addressed by engaging individuals, families, and communities in a long-term process of empowerment and transformation. These organisations have become the best resources for building and sustaining peace in their communities and for improving people's lives.

The nature, causes, and effects of insecurity are context specific and vary widely, and there is a corresponding variation in the most effective means by which insecurity is being addressed by Oxfam's partners. However, an emphasis on enhancing people-centred, sustainable development, as reflected in the Millennium Development Goals, is a unifying component of partnership approaches and is a key element in the prevention and reduction of armed violence in Papua New Guinea.

Research and Advocacy

An integrated action research component explores insecurity and demand for weapons, sufferers of violence, health and hygiene awareness, and government accountability for basic services. Research is used to assess risks and vulnerabilities, evaluate the effectiveness of violence reduction strategies, and disseminate knowledge of best practice. This provides a solid evidence base to inform partner support, program and policy development, advocacy focused on government accountability, and the development of active partnerships between governments, international organisations, and local non-government organisations.

Oxfam International PNG has developed a participatory research project that offers alternative options and fresh perspectives to addressing the security needs of women, marginalised groups, and local populations living in areas of conflict. The Security and Community Initiatives Research (SACIR) in the Hela Region of Southern Highlands Province is taking a human-centred approach to security which looks at freedom from pervasive threats to people's safety, rights, and lives. Community perceptions of security are examined using a gendered perspective in order to understand people's perceptions of their own security, the impact of insecurity and violence on daily lives, and to empower people to identify and strengthen their own local solutions and strategies in response. This approach enables people to develop their own criteria of risks and their own ideas about what appropriate interventions might look like.

SACIR incorporates quantitative and qualitative methodologies which allow issues of violence and insecurity to be expressed in different ways. Focus group discussions and in-depth interviews are utilised, together with participatory diagramming techniques. Participatory techniques have been developed from tools used in rapid rural appraisal, and local participants work together to map out areas of insecurity, draw venn diagrams of the types and impact of violence affecting men and women, develop problem trees to

identify the causes and effects of violence, and draw peace circles to identify their own solutions to the main triggers of violence. A violence-related trauma survey was also conducted in collaboration with Tari Hospital, which is the main referral hospital for the Hela Region.

Findings show that security is broadly understood and linked to development structures and processes. The determinants of insecurity are broad and far-reaching and include:

- the ineffective law and justice sector;
- frustration associated with poor service provision and the inequitable distribution of resources;
- polygamy and men's control over women;
- limited social and economic opportunities;
- instability associated with internal displacement;
- support (payback) for violence; and
- ineffective formal and informal leadership structures.

The determinants of insecurity are multiple, as are the types of violence that people experience. The frequency and impact of different types of violence differ among men and women and across age groups. Endemic violence against women and gender injustice underpin the security paradigm. More than two-thirds of all people ($n=1\ 118$) who were violently injured and who presented to Tari Hospital during a 16-month period were female. Adult women between 26 and 55 years of age made up 45 percent of all people who had been violently injured, and 55 percent of adult women who presented had injuries sustained from domestic violence. Females were nearly three times more likely to know their perpetrators compared with male victims, and males were nearly four times more likely to be victims of physical violence (by a non-family member) than females. Perceived threats or actual episodes of violence severely restrict people's freedom of movement, access to basic services, and quality of life, particularly that of women.

The solutions to community security concerns and chronic violence, which were identified as part of the action research process, are tailored to local needs, address contextual triggers, and respond to the personal, social, and economic costs of violence. A course of action to improve community security focuses on upholding a commitment to human rights, challenges social, economic, and cultural inequalities, promotes the peaceful settlement of conflicts based on justice and the rule of law, and addresses the chronic ineffectiveness of service delivery.

A solid evidence base which is informed by partner relationships and action research, gives strength to Oxfam's advocacy for increased rights to life and security. Ultimately, the Oxfam Highlands Program works at two levels — *community-based empowerment* and *national level advocacy*. Before engaging with national-level policy makers, decision makers, and donors, the OHP works to acquire sound, qualitative, community-level development experience, which provides it with the necessary credibility that is required

for its national advocacy role and to facilitate dialogue and partnership between local organisations and government agencies.

Learnings and Implications

Working with Highlands communities and empowerment-based local organisations has provided Oxfam International PNG with the opportunity to gain essential community development experience that is relevant for the development of the human security agenda and for the setting of policy priorities. Practitioners working on conflict and violence reduction in PNG must consider a multidimensional approach that is based on local realities, and which recognises the security links to gender, essential services, health, and livelihoods (see Figure 9.1).

This means engaging in long-term partnerships, where local non-government organisations exist, and not driving local security and peace building strategies, but being driven by them. A strong evidence base can give voice to groups that are vulnerable to violence. In this way, attention is drawn to a broadened notion of security, and to locally appropriate intervention strategies and alternative models of peace building that will address security needs.

Field-based solutions are tailored to local needs and address the burden of armed violence and insecurity by investing in development. Practitioners must therefore focus on understanding key community security and human rights challenges, and support home-grown solutions to these challenges. Justice must form the core to any approach in order to avoid the prioritisation of conflict resolution to the neglect of overcoming the underlying determinants of conflict.

The approaches of civil society show that a range of steps and innovative methodologies is required to address the links between insecurity, development, and the demand for small arms in PNG. Entry points into communities can be wide-ranging in order to:

- strengthen the rule of law;
- build an effective security sector;
- reduce gender inequality and health inequities;
- promote sustainable livelihoods and environmental protection; and
- improve governance.

As a starting point, national-level efforts must be broadened by practitioners to encompass this.

The Government of Papua New Guinea and major development donors must directly support such community-based efforts in order to improve security and reduce armed violence. This would include supporting linkages between local organisations and the district and provincial levels, and the translation of home-grown approaches to sector-

wide work. Donors and practitioners must also support the creation of linkages and contexts for collaboration between different groups of change agents. Networking opportunities and civil society collaboration should provide the basis for the development of a workable and appropriate model for violence reduction through development in Papua New Guinean communities.

Law and justice interventions that are based on solid community-level development experience will give practitioners the necessary linkages and credibility which are required for program development, implementation, advocacy, and government engagement. By prioritising the voices, and learning from the successes and challenges of those who are most affected by insecurity and better placed to respond to it, practitioners and advocates will be in a strong position to push for government accountability, and create pressure for the integration of armed violence prevention programs into development frameworks in PNG.

Figure 9.1: Applying a Multidimensional Approach to Human Security in Papua New Guinea



Conclusion

Current state security efforts in Papua New Guinea to curb violence and contain conflict in the Highlands Region are reactive. They do not address the human security dimension, and as a result, these efforts will be ineffective and unlikely to be successful in the long term. The learnings from programs such as the OHP have relevance for

informing the development of priorities for policy making, program planning, and interventions.

Ultimately, a comprehensive, empowering, and inclusive approach to preventing and reducing violence requires a commitment to evidence-based interventions, entails adapting attitudes and professional approaches, and promote learning from the good practice of justice and value-based organisations. The approach of local non-government organisations has wider applicability for the design of incentives to reduce violence and for their contribution to contemporary thinking and policy development of a human rights and security framework in PNG.

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Chapter 10

Strengthening Partnerships to Improve Law and Justice in Rural PNG: Learning from Local Strategies for Change

Oxfam International PNG, Community Development Agency, Community-Based Health Care, and Kup Women for Peace

Introduction

Civil society organisations (CSOs) have emerged as important actors in the global policy debate on development and social change. Civil society brings innovative ideas and solutions, as well as participatory approaches to local development problems. The participation of civil society organisations in development projects and programs can enhance their performance by contributing local knowledge, providing technical expertise, and leveraging social capital (World Bank, n.d.). Civil society advocates an equal balance of power between the government, the private sector, local organisations, and amongst stakeholder groups, such as women, youth, the elderly, and ethnic and religious minorities.

Top-down interventions are limited in their capacity to meet the identified security needs of rural populations. As a result, civil society organisations are often at the forefront of conflict reduction and prevention programs in communities. Community-based organisations play an important role in promoting a collective set of civic and social values, which form the basis for peace building, good governance, and rights-based approach to development. These values can bring local governments and civil society together, and set the scene for an effective partnership.

This paper provides examples of three community-based organisations in the Highlands Region of Papua New Guinea that are playing a central role in coping with critical challenges to reduce conflict and violence in their communities. The implications for law and justice sector policy and programming in Papua New Guinea is discussed in relation to the learning that can be gained from the approaches, values, and entry points of local organisations.

Civil Society, Conflict Reduction, and Peace Building

The Highlands Region host is to 40 percent of Papua New Guinea's population. The nature and level of violence varies widely across the Highlands Region. However, increased lawlessness and serious intergroup conflict is associated with rapidly emerging larger patterns of development, a large youth population, inequitable distribution of resources, and deteriorating government services. Widespread intimate partner and sexual violence, together with a weak health system, high levels of poverty, and socioeconomic inequity limit Papua New Guinea's ability to meet its commitment to the Millennium

Development Goals (MDGs), and contribute to extremely poor women's health indicators.

The Community Development Agency (CDA), Community-Based Health Care (CBHC), and Kup Women for Peace (KWP) are local examples of non-government organisations (NGOs) in Papua New Guinea that have developed in response to local security challenges and have become a powerful force for peace in their communities. The three organisations operate in rural settings that are remote and lack essential government services. They understand the critical challenges and demands of the social, political, economic, and cultural context, and their first-hand experience sustains their motivation for change. People and resources are mobilised through a commitment to social values. Each organisation works to incorporate peace building activities with the concerns of clan-based communities.

Community Development Agency

The CDA works across a population of 70 000 in three local-level government wards in the Gumine District, Simbu Province. Gumine is a socially and economically disadvantaged rural area, with rugged terrain, few roads, and poor social service provision. The population has experienced long-term, intergroup conflict, as seen more recently with the large-scale politically motivated violence that erupted during the 2007 National General Elections, which resulted in the death of ten people and the displacement of over 10 000 others. Several villages were razed and many crops and livestock destroyed.

The CDA was formally established in 2001 by a group of young local men who had rudimentary training in community development. The group developed in response to emerging social problems which they attributed to a large and increasingly marginalised youth population. A growing number of male youth who were disconnected from the formal education system were faced with limited employment opportunities, and had become reliant on the cultivation of drugs and criminal activity for income generation.

The CDA targets marginalised youth and their association with community insecurity and violence by taking a holistic and human-centred approach to community development. Core values underpin CDA's drive for social, spiritual, economic, and cultural development, which includes upholding Christian principles, gender equality, self-reliance and empowerment, economic sustainability, community justice, and environmental protection. CDA believes in strengthening young people to become agents of change, through knowledge and education. Awareness and educational campaigns and training provide individuals with the information and skills to meaningfully participate and take ownership in the development process in their communities.

The CDA takes the position that insecurity can be addressed by minimising risk and creating a more sustainable community. This position is underpinned by the fundamental belief that empowered individuals can mobilise others and initiate change in their own

communities. The CDA builds the capacity and skills of youth to participate in productive livelihood activities, and to effectively use local resources. Young men and women are provided with development education and personal empowerment training, and male youth are targeted with drug and alcohol awareness and rehabilitation.

Community justice and human rights training equip youth and local leaders to mediate local tensions before a dispute escalates into large-scale conflict. Extensive training across three local-level government areas has provided significant opportunities for male and female youth to become key community facilitators for development, human rights, and justice in their communities.

The CDA is also aware that local communities face many issues associated with a lack of strong leadership and ineffective community leadership structures. They work to redress this issue by moulding, motivating, and supporting young people to become good community leaders, while simultaneously strengthening existing traditional and formal leaders through the provision of practical support, empowerment, and community justice training and information.

Improved communication skills and an increased understanding of community development practices and processes have contributed to an increase in confidence and self-esteem among male and female youth, and greater connectedness to social and cultural institutions, such as the family, church, and local leadership and youth groups. Trained community justice mediators are respected by the community because of the role they play in bridging the gap between the community and the formal justice sector, and they are regularly sought out for their negotiation and mediation skills. Young men are empowered to recognise the value of their own skills, resources, and capacity, and are offered the opportunity to leave criminal and violent groups. Over 200 young men have rejected criminality in order to participate in productive economic activities that are integrated within the wider community.

The CDA's long-term presence and engagement with communities has been vital for building relationships based on trust and mutual respect. Trained community facilitators are based in communities across Gumine District, which has made it possible for the CDA to build a strong, broad network with local-level government officials, and church and community leaders. The CDA's approach to community mobilisation and participation is gaining momentum throughout the district. It is creating opportunities to further strengthen and sustain their work through increased engagement and collaboration with the local-level government and allowing for the cultivation of links at the district level. The result is more meaningful and active community consultation to inform development efforts at all levels, which will allow for a more collaborative development process.

Community-Based Health Care

Community-Based Health Care (CBHC) was established in Tari, Southern Highlands Province, in the early 1990s, and works with communities in the three districts of the

Hela Region. It was developed in response to the poor health indicators and deteriorating living standards associated with long-term conflict and the withdrawal of government services. Large-scale resource developments have established Southern Highlands Province as resource-rich in gold, oil, and gas. However, the accelerated pace of transformation with respect to infrastructure development, training, and general access to benefits is uneven. Livelihood strategies have become dependent on royalty and compensation payments. The past decade has seen an upsurge in the incidence of inter-group fighting, armed criminality, and politically motivated violence, which have coincided, for the most part, with the advent of resource developments and associated immigration.

CBHC uses a holistic, community health approach as an entry point to work with communities. This approach focuses on the mobilisation and organisation of communities to improve their living conditions and local environment. Community health and development training is used to mobilise and empower communities to take ownership of their own social and economic development. In exchange for the acceptance of the CBHC program, communities collectively make a commitment to peace, work to improve health and hygiene aligned with the 'healthy island' concept, establish community laws and a resource centre, and agree not to engage in inter-group conflict.

The Community Health and Agricultural Support Program (CHASP) builds on the community mobilisation component of the CBHC approach. Lead families are identified during community mobilisation activities because of their high level of motivation and willingness to engage in the CBHC program. CHASP provides technical support to lead families, which includes building their capacity and skills for high-diversity farming, animal husbandry, and nutritional gardening. In 75 percent of cases, women have taken the lead within their family in the areas of agriculture and livestock and are provided with ongoing extension support for family-run enterprises. In turn, lead families provide information and technical skills to outreach families to ensure that the benefits of the CBHC program have a wider influence. Community banking is provided for families in conjunction with the increase in income-generating opportunities. A culture of savings has developed among CBHC families, and has contributed to more responsible and family-orientated spending.

A annual, two-day agriculture show is held in Tari to showcase produce from the CBHC communities. Communities compete to see who has the best produce and livestock, the most hygienic community, the greatest variety of seedlings, and the most improved savings in their community bank account. The event creates a local market and income-earning opportunities. However, it is the less tangible benefits of the show that deserve attention. It provides a unique peace building opportunity for the CBHC communities across the Hela Region to unite and cross tribal boundaries for a common cause.

The CBHC program has shown a strong correlation between improved livelihoods through health and agriculture and a reduction in inter-group conflict. Community mobilisation activities have strengthened community cohesion and unity, and

participating families develop a sense of pride and motivation to look after their resources and shared environment. The CBHC's holistic approach and emphasis on community empowerment and self-reliance has contributed to an increase in productive, income-generating activities, increased food security, improved environmental health, and a more secure way of life. In light of these achievements, the CBHC has been inundated with requests to provide support and training throughout the Hela Region. With limited government collaboration and support, the CBHC's capacity to respond is stretched very thin.

Kup Women for Peace

Kup is a subdistrict in the Kerowagi District, Simbu Province. The population of 24 000 people comprises twelve clans that are dispersed over small, isolated communities. Kup communities have a long history of large-scale intergroup violence (Garap 2004). Although the rugged geographical terrain and isolation of the subdistrict plays a part, violent conflict has contributed significantly to a lack of social and economic development in the area, over the past three decades.

Kup Women for Peace (KWP) was formed in 1999 by four women with the intention to reduce the sorrow of mothers. Women who had experienced the negative impacts of intergroup violence took a stand to mobilise women from rival tribes to put pressure on their leaders to end the violence. At a time when people felt that they had been abandoned by the Government, the shared hardships among local Kup women provided an opportunity for tribal enemies and sufferers of violence to unite to end the conflict.

The KWP has a membership that reaches across the subdistrict and involves various components. Over the past decade, the KWP has done more than mitigate the effects of violence. It has developed interventions to rebuild communities that have lacked government services and been torn apart by violence and conflict. The KWP has an expanded notion of violence prevention and reduction which encompasses good governance, justice, and the facilitation of the delivery of essential services to the community. Key components of the KWP approach include, improving local law and justice structures, such as the development of community laws, community policing, tribal watch, and community justice committees, providing non-violent livelihood opportunities, mainstreaming gender and human rights, providing young women with leadership, and initiating holistic health, such as addressing the causes and impact of violence against women, HIV/AIDS care and counselling, and the establishment of a village health volunteer system.

The goal of the KWP is to promote human rights and create sustainable community development activities within the Kup local-level government. This means creating a culture amongst men and women which supports fairness and tolerance and rejects violence. Central to the KWP approach is its focus on gender and human rights, specifically to empower women and educate men. This has been done in collaboration with local leadership structures and the meaningful participation of marginalised groups

such as women, youth, people living with HIV/AIDS, and the disabled. From the outset, the stance taken by the KWP has been to challenge, but also to work in partnership with, traditional structures and male leadership.

The KWP organises workshops and campaigns, and conducts training and community education to raise awareness on the existence and unacceptability of gender-based violence. Efforts are made to transfer the values of gender equality, human rights, and gender justice to local institutions that govern conflict. The KWP conducts gender and human rights training with community police and community justice committees, the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary, village court officials, local-level government councillors, village leaders, school teachers, and children.

The KWP also takes the lead to prevent the outbreak of large-scale violence and facilitate the mediation process, often at great personal risk. The KWP members 'camp out on the battlefield' to alleviate tensions between conflicting parties and prevent the exchange of gunfire. The KWP community police and community justice mediators promote restorative justice processes by opening dialogue between the conflicting parties. Between July 2007 and July 2008, the KWP responded to five serious incidents which had the potential to escalate into large-scale tribal conflicts. Peace building work requires constant attention. The KWP monitors trends and activities for potential outbreaks of conflict and mobilises communities to respond to minor disputes. The success of the KWP's conflict prevention work is acknowledged and respected throughout the Kup subdistrict and beyond its borders, with several requests made to the KWP from outside communities for peace building support and training.

Strengthening relationships with government is essential to the KWP's drive for the return of essential services to the district. In 2008, the KWP adopted a new governing structure to decentralise responsibilities for the different components of their program in order to be more in line with the local level government system. The objective is to provide extensive human rights and community justice training to ward development committees so that local-level government officials will have the capacity to directly respond to the identified needs of their communities and take ownership of the development process. Key mentors and role models in the community are identified and trained for enhanced support.

A real shift in mind-sets about violence and peace building has been closely connected to a second shift in perceptions about women and their roles in the Kup subdistrict. Violence is discussed more openly than it used to be in terms of its physical, mental, and emotional impact on women and men, their children, and on the community as a whole (Hinton *et al.* 2008). A reduction in tribal violence has enabled the resettlement of displaced communities, provided opportunities for improved living conditions, increased freedom of movement, assist in the return of essential health and education services, and promoted the engagement of men and women in productive activities. It appears that the work of the KWP has led to comparative stability in Kup. Attempts are made to resolve disputes without resorting to violence.

Strengthening Law and Justice Programming

The Community Development Agency, the Community-Based Health Care, and the Kup Women for Peace are examples of three local initiatives in PNG that have developed in response to local security needs and concerns. The focus, approach, and content may differ, but each organisation is value-driven and working to transform attitudes and behaviour, by using locally appropriate methods and practices. Organic in design, these organisations have become catalysts for change through the use of empowerment, social mobilisation and transformative approaches. The aim is to move beyond short-term ‘bandaid’ solutions to address key structural causes of violence, conflict, and insecurity, building on long-term engagement with communities and by strengthening social justice.

The nature, causes, and effects of violence and insecurity vary widely, and as this paper shows, there is a corresponding variation in the most effective means by which insecurity can be addressed. Community-based NGOs that are working on conflict reduction issues must be identified, documented, and assessed for their contribution to an appropriate framework for law and justice programming in PNG. In turn, the framework would integrate specific components that are based on the strengths of relevant organisational approaches and values, but as a minimum, a model for Papua New Guinean communities would ensure that the following activities were implemented:

- Prioritise community mobilisation and long-term community engagement, specifically focusing on strengthening community cohesion and community ownership of development processes.
- Integrate a focus on empowerment, transformation, and self-reliance, which would involve a shift from tangible provisions of development to an approach that supports the conditions for development. People must be mobilised and challenged to use local resources to sustain their own conditions by giving them the power, motivation, skills, and tools to do so.
- Incorporate human rights and gender justice in order to challenge the power imbalances between men and women, and promote the development of the whole community. This would include working with institutions (such as the police, the judiciary, Correctional Service) to help them understand and integrate a commitment to human rights and gender equality into all structures, policies, and procedures.
- Target marginalised groups and address local conflict trigger points through empowerment, self-reliance, mind-set change, and cooperation. These groups would include women and youth and the most vulnerable people in society, for example, children, victims of violence and people living with HIV/AIDS.
- Be directed at the use of local resources, expertise, and skills.

Improving Law and Justice by Learning from Local Organisations

A disconnect exists between local approaches to violence and insecurity in rural Papua New Guinean communities and current government efforts to address law and justice issues. The civil society catalyst for local strategies that are sustained at the local level is

also frequently overlooked. In order to improve the security of Papua New Guineans, law and justice actors must ensure policy and programming efforts are developed to support local approaches to conflict prevention and reduction and reflect a greater appreciation for the role of civil society. The learnings of community-based organisations must be incorporated into the development of an appropriate sector-wide strategy. Key points for consideration should include:

- Law and justice actors must partner directly with community-based organisations through contracting technical assistance and training services, funding civil society initiatives, and managing joint programs. The design of programs and projects must be driven by local justice needs and directed by what could be a range of local solutions and strategies. Law and justice actors must encourage dialogue and consult with community-based organisations on issues, policies, and programs, by listening to their perspectives and encouraging suggestions. Local organisations such as the churches, women and youth groups can be used as entry points into communities and leverage can be gained from their authority.
- The fragile nature of conflict and post-conflict communities means interventions must be carefully managed and organised. Top-down, short-term solutions do not address the processes and systems that can turn everyday aspects of common life into trigger points and conflict.
- Community initiatives must be linked into formal government structures and systems to strengthen and support efforts that have been made at the community level. Currently, local non-government organisations fill the gap between formal justice structures such as village courts and the outbreak of local disputes. Because formal systems often do not work, local community justice structures have developed in response to mediate and resolve issues as they occur, before the problem escalates. The formal justice sector, including village courts and community policing, must collaborate with civil society to fill this gap.
- Dispute mediation and conflict resolution are prioritised, to the neglect of meaningful reconciliation. Communities must have the opportunity to reflect on the triggers and negative impact of crime and violence and remember to understand its past experiences with rights abuses and conflict. People need to learn that peace cannot be realised at the expense of justice.
- Equal value must be attributed to value-based programs and mind-set change, as given service delivery and tangible benefits. Law and justice actors must make a shift in focus to pursue social change and the strengthening of societies.
- Communities are desperate for increased services, but the focus on tangible benefits does not address underlying triggers. In many parts of Papua New Guinea the culture of dependency is deep, and a focus on empowerment, and mind-set and behavioural changes will be a powerful counter to the culture of dependence, which is unproductive and has little sustainable impact.
- Training alone is not sufficient. Long-term engagement with communities and local stakeholders is paramount. Achieving sustainable mind-set and behavioural changes, as well as improvements in local law and justice structures, requires long-term relationships to be built on mutual commitment and respect.

- There must be a change in attitudes towards the role of women and a focus on involving women in peace building and conflict prevention and reduction activities. Community-based organisations have shown that this can be achieved in a non-threatening way, which incorporates local leadership structures.
- Support for civil society must include linking local organisations for networking opportunities and cross-sectoral learning. Information sharing, skills training, as well as grant funding are required.
- Consideration must be given to the role of the individual and the community. Community pressures can overwhelm the individual, even if they are working towards change.

Conclusion

The community-based approaches that are outlined in this paper promote community-wide awareness, self-reliance, and empowerment to deal with the challenge of insecurity and violence in communities. The organisations that share similar values and methods of community mobilisation and empowerment underpin their work. Their uniqueness lies in their context-specific approach and the different entry points that are used to engage with communities on security. The learnings of these organisations must inform the development of sector-wide law and justice work in Papua New Guinea. Law and justice policy and programming must be instilled with the values of self-reliance, empowerment and community mobilisation that have been shown to be fundamental aspects to improving community security.

Civil society and community-based organisations are showing the way forward in Papua New Guinea, but where civil society organisations exist, it must be in partnership with government. Government must take the lead to design, implement, and evaluate conflict prevention and reduction interventions that are based on reliable information and informed by the approaches of community-based organisations. Government must also be ready to adopt a comprehensive and all-encompassing approach to the many dimensions that are associated with insecurity, conflict, and violence in Papua New Guinea. Collaborative efforts at all levels, starting at the local and moving to the national and international levels, with effective partnerships with all concerned stakeholders is the most feasible approach to promote community justice and reduce violence.

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Chapter 11

Provision of Agricultural Services at the Subnational Level: Assessing the Impact on the Rural Economy

David Kui and Diego Miranda

Explaining Agricultural Stagnation

A glance at Papua New Guinea's political and demographic landscape suggests that the agricultural sector should be receiving a great deal of attention. The relevance of the rural areas in Papua New Guinea (PNG) is, by international standards, staggering. In PNG, '95 percent... of people... live outside the capital city, Port Moresby. Eighty-five percent... live outside the main urban centres. We are very much a rural-based people spread widely throughout our country's borders' (NEFC 2008: iii). Moreover, since Papua New Guinea's political system revolves around district representatives whose electorates are rooted in that rural population, one would further expect this attention to translate into the steady provision of funds to foster the improvement of agriculture in the country (May 2006; Gelu 2008).

A review of PNG's many national, provincial, and district sectoral or development plans would inevitably find support for agriculture as one of the key policies that the Government promoted at all levels (GoPNG 1976, 1985, 1996, 2005; Yala and Sanida 2008). If expressions of interest at all levels of government were cashable, PNG's agricultural sector would be flush with resources. However, over the last decade, agriculture sector growth was averaging only around one percent while the population growth was averaging 2.7 percent... With the exception of oil palm, agriculture industries were either stagnant or have had a negative growth (DAL 2006:1).¹ How is stagnant or even declining agricultural output explained in a context where political and demographic considerations would lead one to expect the agricultural sector to be flourishing?

This paper argues that this disconnect between political intentions and policy outcomes is a consequence of decaying service delivery at the subnational level. In turn, we use data which the National Economic and Fiscal Commission (NEFC) has gathered and analysed, for the period 2005-2007, to demonstrate an overlooked and empirically testable point — subnational governments have insufficient funding (a funding gap) to carry out their mandated functions, and then spend their scarce resources on the wrong things (a priority gap). The resultant failure in service delivery accounts for the substandard policy outcomes that are observable in the agricultural sector, and which seriously compromise the potential for growth in rural PNG. At the most basic level, the majority of subnational governments simply do not have enough resources to fully fund the provision of goods and services at the provincial level. All but two provinces — New

¹ While this decline may have been arrested as a result of rising prices associated with the 2005-2008 commodity boom, the subsequent boost in agricultural prices, beginning in late 2008, is likely to push the agricultural sector back to the historic trend.

Ireland and Western Highlands — do not sufficiently prioritise agriculture in their spending patterns. On looking at recurrent goods and services at the subnational level, the agricultural sector is underfunded, as scarce resources are not targeted to support it.

As the data analysed here show, in 2007, only six out of 18 provinces (excluding Bougainville) had sufficient resources to fully fund the extremely conservative cost of services that the NEFC estimated for each province, back in 2005 (NEFC 2009:23). During the 2005-2007 period, there were eight provinces which, after all their revenue was accounted for, could fund only 50 percent, or less, of all the goods and services minimally required to maintain and operate their existing infrastructure. On (unweighted) average, these eight provinces could cover only 35 percent of those costs (*ibid.*).

Irrespective of funding levels, the NEFC found that, on average, provinces in 2007 spent an (unweighted) average of only 35 percent of the funds required to properly carry out service delivery in the agricultural sector. Even among the six provinces that could have fully funded service delivery to the agriculture sector in 2007, if they so wished, the (unweighted) average was to fund just 43 percent of the NEFC cost of service line for agriculture — and that is only 22 percent, if we set aside New Ireland (see Table 11.1).

Table 11.1: Spending per Sector in 2007, as a Percentage of the COS Estimate

Province	Admin.	Health	Agri.	Educ.	VCA	VC	
						FG	Infrastructure
Enga	509	27	4	284	189	638	25
Morobe	306	21	20	62	118	227	34
N. Ireland	238	19	137	79	621	195	12
S. Highlands	92	21	4	38	66	148	8
Western	356	37	54	65	91	205	16
W. N. Britain	173	32	40	49	120	136	28
Central	231	23	13	30	112	89	7
E. Sepik	72	8	11	23	68	78	1
Manus	82	35	8	28	118	147	6
Milne Bay	75	12	29	29	292	609	16
Oro	114	10	7	41	231	127	7
Sandaun	68	9	15	25	195	122	18
Simbu	103	11	2	24	65	251	5
E. Highlands	150	36	56	29	94	195	28
E. N. Britain	230	22	41	18	127	122	26
Gulf	197	11	73	15	123	142	32
Madang	247	12	4	27	55	244	4
W. Highlands	307	30	105	23	182	62	45

Source: NEFC, 2009.

The message of these findings is straightforward. Provinces, districts, and local-level governments (LLGs) have insufficient funds to spend, and then they spend most of their scarce resources on the wrong things to be effective service deliverers. The consequence of these funding and spending decisions has, not surprisingly, been deficient service delivery in agriculture — and all other core Medium Term Development Strategy (MTDS) areas. Rural communities have been the victims of this situation, as ineffective service delivery has resulted in the decline of agricultural production and human development across PNG.

This paper initially analyses the cost of agricultural services in the provinces, as captured by the NEFC Cost of Services (COS) study, and matches those estimated costs with actual provincial spending in agriculture during the 2005-2007 period. This shows the link between spending and the performance of the real economy. Based on this, conclusions which outline a potential way forward for PNG are proposed.

Assessing the Cost of Service Delivery in the Agricultural Sector

The cost of delivering services varies considerably across PNG, because of the rugged terrain and low population density which characterise most of the country. This claim was quantified by the NEFC's Cost of Services study (2005), in an attempt to assess the equity of PNG's intergovernmental finance system. The COS adopted a zero-based budgeting approach, which identified and costed a set of basic services that provincial governments, district authorities, and LLGs should have been funding to minimally maintain and operate their existing facilities.

The prices of the goods that were used in service delivery were surveyed in every province in PNG, including fuel prices in each district, as there is usually a large variation in the price of fuel between provincial capitals and district centres. More than 60 items were priced in the survey, including stationery, the maintenance of computer and office equipment, repairs and maintenance of boats, mechanical repairs, building materials, accommodation, venue hire, printing, food, clothing, and toiletries.

It is worth highlighting that the COS only estimated the minimum amount needed to fund annual recurrent operations. Development needs, such as the major rehabilitation of infrastructure were not included, nor were staff salary costs. Further restricting the scope of the project, the COS only estimated the minimum cost for maintaining existing service delivery programs, as they should have been delivered, rather than as they were actually being delivered at the time.

Even if very little agricultural extension work was being done at the provincial level at the time of the study, the COS nevertheless costed the provision of minimum extension services in each province, as extension services and associated farmer training should be the core of agricultural services at the subnational level (NEFC 2007). On the other hand, the NEFC did not cost activities beyond a very conservative set of basic functions, even when some provinces clearly spent well beyond that basic set.

In that sense, the study assumed that a standard set of services was being delivered in all provinces, effectively aiming to capture the minimum common denominator across provinces. While this may have prevented the NEFC from capturing province-specific spending patterns, it did allow a meaningful comparison to be made between provinces. For example:

The costing study was prepared for the purpose of establishing relativities between provinces in terms of the cost of their expenditure mandates, as a basis for dividing up a limited pool of [national grant] funding. Thus, it was less important to be accurate about the total quantum [needed to provide a service to capacity in a given province] than it was to be accurate about the differences between the cost of the same service being delivered in different districts and provinces (NEFC 2009: 109).

Furthermore, the COS estimates were designed to capture the minimum point below which service delivery in a particular sector would break down in any given province in the absence of further funding, and not as an accurate estimate of all that is entailed to run the said services at capacity. The NEFC's intent was to be extremely conservative in their estimates, so that every single element of the [estimated] costs could be readily justified. The NEFC wanted to be certain that it could confidently assert that any reduction in funding below the level of these estimates would certainly result in a reduction in service levels (*ibid.*). This biased the NEFC, cost estimates downward in a systematic manner, using the rationale that, in a resource-constrained environment, a costing exercise should aim to underestimate costs rather than overestimate them. As declared by the NEFC:

Some indication of how significantly the NEFC costing study may have underestimated costs can be gained from looking at the current funding levels for church-run health centres and rural hospitals. On the basis of the NEFC costing, the operating costs of running church health facilities in PNG is less than K5 million. The actual funding currently being provided to church health agencies to meet their operating costs (not including the separate salary grant) is K13 million. There is no... evidence to suggest that church health services are flush with money. Indeed, the opposite is the case. All the evidence is that they do a good job with relatively little resources. In other words, the actual cost of church health facility operations may well be K13 million, not K5 million. If this is the case, it suggests that the NEFC cost estimates may have underestimated actual costs [for health service delivery] by as much as 60 percent (NEFC 2009: 111).

As such, the COS estimates are open to the criticism that they are too conservative. By design, a more encompassing cost of service delivery estimate is very likely to be higher than that which the NEFC has estimated. As conservative as the COS estimates may be, they are far beyond the immediate reach of most provinces. For example, in 2005, eight provinces could barely cover 40 percent of the COS estimate (with a less than 33 percent average), and only five provinces could fund the whole COS estimate. For the 13 underfunded provinces (excluding Bougainville), the average revenue was 46 percent of the COS estimate.

In spite of growing awareness, this funding gap remained important during 2006 and 2007. Almost no province has used this scant funding in a manner that is consistent with

Medium Term Development Strategy priorities. Only after provincial governments, district authorities and LLGs manage to cover the bare minimum needed to prevent their programs in core MTDS areas from breaking down, could higher and more demanding estimates be of use for policy makers. Before that, such higher estimates would only make the real requirements look even more surmountable.

With those caveats in mind, the COS quantified what ‘everybody knew’ — there are profound differences between travel costs in different parts of PNG, depending largely on whether there is road or maritime access or not. The COS documented the differences between districts within provinces, which, in many cases, was greater than the differences between provinces. By accurately recording the travel routes, distances, and methods of transportation for each district, the COS has generated information that is now beginning to be used by provincial staff to determine what funding they need to allocate in order to achieve effective service delivery at the district level. If ‘kina per head’ was not an adequate formula for national grants distribution among provinces, provincial authorities are now learning that ‘equal funding’ to all districts is also invariably inequitable (NEFC 2006).

Agricultural services are most affected by the differential costs of travel around districts by extension officers. This is so because the travel costs are higher in the districts that are most remote (and most in need of assistance). For example, the provision of similar agricultural services to Telefomin and Nuku Districts in Sandaun Province could cost three times more in the former, than in the latter. These different costs should be recognised at budgeting and planning time, because they are likely to have an impact on whether services are delivered at the district level or not.

The COS study estimated the following costs for agriculture:

- At provincial headquarters, the COS estimated administration costs of the provincial agriculture division; training for agriculture division staff; supervision of program delivery in the districts; utilities, office equipment, and vehicles for provincial staff; and training for provincial staff.
- At district headquarters, the COS estimated costs related to administration costs of agriculture staff in the district; quarterly agricultural extension patrols; farmer training courses conducted at LLG headquarters; production and dissemination of farmer awareness information; the conduct of one field day in each LLG each year; and training for district agriculture staff.

Within that cost structure, the COS study showed that 90 percent of the costs of agriculture service delivery fall at the district level (GoPNG 2008, Appendix B). This is consistent with the pattern of staffing in the agriculture sector, as more than 70 percent of the agriculture sector staff are based in district administrations (NEFC 2007:65). The most fundamental function for agriculture service delivery is district-based extension services, which account for more than 40 percent of the total estimated cost for this sector (K10 million for the whole of PNG, in 2005). A further forty percent of the total cost (K10 million) was accounted for by the provision of farmer training and information

awareness that complement those extension services. The remaining 20 percent (K5 million) relates to provincial administration, supervision, human resource development, and activities associated with marketing and quality assurance for cash crops.

The next section shows that, in general, the bulk of extension and farmer training costs were almost never met by the subnational governments. This lack of funding and spending in a core MTDS area explains why agriculture (among other MTDS core areas) has lagged behind in PNG's still-agrarian society. To solve this problem, successive governments have emphasised the need to increase capital expenditure, and provide funds for the rehabilitation of decaying infrastructure. But unless the underfunding of recurrent costs at the subnational level is addressed, capital spending will soon have to be rehabilitated, thus restarting the cycle. Today's expensive rehabilitation is a direct function of yesterday's lack of (cheaper) recurrent maintenance. Covering the funding gap that the NEFC has identified in the provision of recurrent goods and services is of utmost importance. However, it should be done in such a way that at the same time, it helps provinces address the priority gap.

Agricultural Spending in the Provinces, 2005-2007

If service delivery for agriculture has not been effective, it has not been for lack of awareness of what is needed to improve it; that is, extension services and the training of farmers. Consistent with the cost structure estimated by the COS study, in its Medium Term Development Strategy, the Government has stated unequivocally that in 'agriculture, expenditure programs will focus on extension services, agricultural research, farmer training programs, demonstration farms, marketing facilities, access to credit and access to up-to-date information on market prices' (GoPNG 2005: 36). With slightly different wording, these propositions have been a staple policy proposal in all Papua New Guinea development plans, over time (Yala, Sanida, and Kalop 2006; Yala and Sanida 2008).

Provincial and district administrations, as well as LLGs, are well aware of this advice, as communicated through constant workshops which focus on these issues. However, NEFC's analysis of provincial expenditures makes it clear that this advice has not been needed (at least up to 2007), even where sufficient funding existed to do so effectively. While staffing and overhead costs are often well-funded, the most important functions for agriculture, extension services, and farmer training are not. It is not surprising that agricultural output has stagnated. Addressing the funding and priority gaps that have been identified by the NEFC is of utmost necessity to prevent further deterioration of living standards for rural Papua New Guineans.

To fully appreciate the importance of this issue, it is necessary to explain the impact of extension services and farmer training on agricultural output. Extension services involve visiting extension points to speak to farmers, providing them with materials to improve their productivity, and advising on farming techniques and marketing. To do this:

“agriculture officers need to travel to districts to provide training and assistance to farmers who are the backbone of the rural economy. But how can extension officers travel without the money to pay for fuel, accommodation and living expenses? The answer is that many don’t. This is why services stop” (NEFC 2008a:vii).

Insufficient resources (a funding gap) and improper spending (a priority gap) are the main reasons for this failure of service delivery.

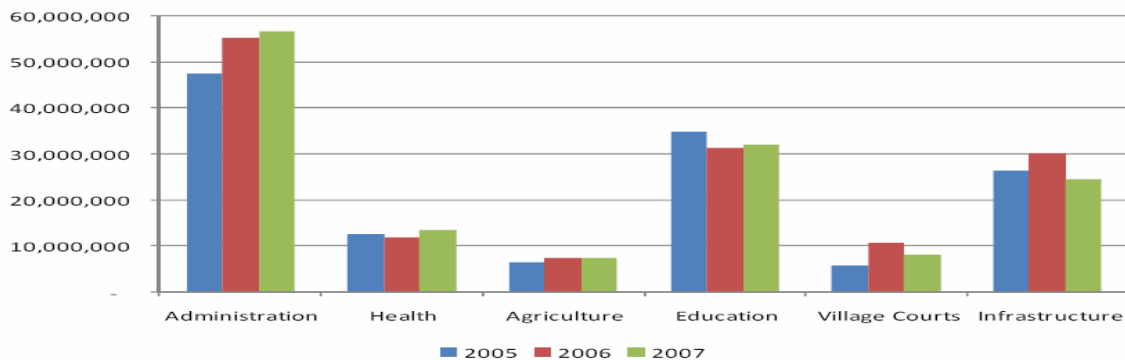
A direct consequence of these funding and prioritisation issues is that, in most parts of PNG, agricultural extension services are simply not being provided. When calculating costs in 2005, for example, the COS study had to determine a methodology for working out what it would have cost to provide extension services, if they were actually provided, because in many provinces, those extension services were no longer provided. Everthing seems to indicate that this has not changed significantly since 2005. According to the NEFC:

travel related [budget] codes such as 121 and 125 for TA [travel allowances] and fuel are not present in the top five [items of agricultural spending in most provinces]. This is surprising, given that extension work is at the very heart of agriculture service delivery [requiring extensive travel and, therefore fuel and travel allowances]... Spending under these items is just four percent of total spending’ in agriculture in all provinces (NEFC 2009: 85).

Simply put, provinces seem to be funding just overhead goods and services, and little of the sector’s core business; that is, extension services and farmer training.

To gauge what this means for service delivery in agriculture, consider the provincial goods and services spending per sector (see Figure 11.1). In absolute terms, agriculture was the least funded sector for the 2005-2007 period. Given that provincial spending is the only significant source of recurrent spending at the subnational level (district and LLG spending is almost nil beyond core administrative functions), the end result is a starving agricultural sector throughout PNG.

Figure 11.1: Provincial Goods and Services Spending per Sector, 2005-2007 (Kina, millions)



Source: NEFC, 2009:34.

These total amounts mask some very worrying geographical characteristics concerning agricultural spending. Specifically, those aggregates include spending by New Ireland, Western Highlands and Eastern Highlands Provinces, which accounted for more than 43 percent of all agricultural spending in 2005-2007. These three provinces are the only ones that are close to (or in excess of) spending what the NEFC deemed as the minimum cost for service delivery in agriculture (see Table 11.2). All other provinces seriously underspend in agriculture, with Southern Highlands, Enga, Madang, Oro, Simbu, and Manus Provinces, spending less than 10 percent of total goods and services costs by 2007. Even assuming that those single-digit investments in the recurrent provision of agricultural services were properly spent, these six provinces would have, on (unweighted) average, funded less than five percent of the very conservative NEFC cost estimate for service delivery in agriculture during 2007 (see NEFC 2008:48).²

Table 11.2: Agriculture Sector Cost, Spending, and Percentage of Cost Funded per Province, 2005-2007 (Kina, millions)

Province	Cost Estimate	Spending 2005	Spending 2006	Spending 2007	Funded (%) 2005	Funded (%) 2006	Funded (%) 2007
Western	1.64	0.22	0.89	0.88	13.56	54.25	53.57
S. Highlands	2.28	0.39	0.07	0.09	16.89	3.16	3.86
Morobe	2.50	0.36	0.59	0.49	14.59	23.53	19.64
Enga	1.39	0.12	0.23	0.05	8.33	16.59	3.74
W.N. Britain	1.14	0.34	0.36	0.45	30.31	31.28	39.65
New Ireland	0.72	0.73	1.82	0.99	100.69	253.19	136.81
E.N. Britain	1.35	0.58	0.54	0.56	42.91	39.79	41.43
Madang	1.61	0.17	0.35	0.06	10.39	21.59	3.98
Gulf	0.93	0.09	0.11	0.68	9.27	11.75	73.06
W. Highlands	1.43	1.03	1.00	1.51	71.65	69.83	105.31
E. Highlands	1.38	1.03	0.66	0.77	74.40	47.58	55.82
Oro	0.81	0.09	0.34	0.06	11.45	41.50	6.77
Central	1.23	0.31	0.09	0.16	24.94	7.55	13.08
Milne Bay	1.26	0.45	0.20	0.37	35.70	16.02	29.08
Simbu	0.86	0.05	0.04	0.02	6.29	5.01	2.44
E. Sepik	1.70	0.14	0.23	0.19	8.24	13.35	11.18
Sandaun	1.74	0.30	0.04	0.25	17.41	2.07	14.64
Manus	0.55	0.07	0.05	0.05	12.09	9.57	8.48
Total	24.50	6.45	7.60	7.62	26.34	31.00	31.08

Source: NEFC (2009: 86), and authors' own calculations.

Table 11.3 presents some of the most problematic characteristics of subnational spending in agriculture. Even though the top three spenders — New Ireland, Western Highlands and Eastern Highlands Provinces — have an estimated COS which is less than 15 percent of the total COS for agriculture, they spent more than 43 percent of all

² Beyond this divergence in spending performance across provinces, another important characteristic of the data shown in Table 11.2 is the extreme volatility of spending within provinces, over the years. This volatility cannot be conducive to the proper funding of agricultural services.

agricultural spending in the country, and nearly as much as the nine provinces that are grouped as middle spenders. Encouragingly, funding by the nine middle spenders has grown from 21 percent of COS in 2005 to 30 percent in 2007.

However, these amounts still show a sector that is in dire disarray. If the COS estimates were equivalent to the minimum nutrition level required for the agricultural sector to properly develop, an increase from 21 to 30 percent of the required ‘caloric intake’ would make little difference. The ‘patient’ would still probably die of starvation. In relation to the situation of the lower six spenders — Southern Highlands, Enga, Madang, Oro, Simbu, and Manus Provinces — their spending on agriculture fell from 12 percent in 2006, to less than five percent in 2007. Agricultural producers in those six provinces are clearly on their own.³

Table 11.3: Aggregate Cost, Spending, and Percentage Funded, 2005-2007 (Kina, millions)

Province Group	Cost Estimate	Spending 2005	Spending 2006	Spending 2007	Funded (%)2005	Funded (%) 2006	Funded (%) 2007
Lower Spenders (6)	7.50	0.88	1.08	0.33	11.75	14.43	4.36
Middle Spenders (9)	13.46	2.79	3.03	4.02	20.73	22.52	29.88
Top Spenders (3)	3.54	2.78	3.48	3.27	78.64	98.47	92.36
Total	24.50	6.45	7.60	7.62	26.34	31.00	31.08

Source: Calculated from Table 11.2.

The data shown in Table 11.3 capture total spending, but there is no analysis of the areas in which the money is spent. Extension services and farmers’ training are the main activities for spending in the agricultural sector, and account for 80 percent of the COS estimate for agriculture. However, there is no indication in the public records that this prioritisation has taken place.

Could this be a function of extension services and farmer training being included in development, rather than as recurrent activities in the provincial financial records? Table 11.4 shows the details of provincial transactions per budget item, including capital expenditure carried out using provincial revenues. This excludes national public investment programs, special support grants, and district-based funding, such as the district support grant and the district improvement service program.

³ Manus Province is perhaps different, in that most of the agricultural sector is overwhelmed by fisheries. Although agricultural produce is still needed, support from the provincial, district, or LLG governments is still lacking.

Table 11.4: Spending by Budget Item, Including Recurrent, Personal Emoluments, and Provincially Funded Development Projects

The 5 Largest Spending Areas (by items)				The Split by Category		
Item #	Item Description	Amount	%	Category Description	Amount	%
135	Other Operational Expenses	6 499 684	57	Recurrent Goods & Services	7 613 032	67
143	Grants and Transfer to Public	1 059 573	9	Personnel Emoluments	545 727	5
223	Feasibility Studies.....	579 633	5	Capital & Projects	3 222 645	28
112	Casual Wages	530 452	5			
222	Purchase of Vehicles	454 825	4			
	All other codes	2 307 238	20			
	Total spending from recurrent & capital	11 381 404	100	Total spending from recurrent and capital	11 381 404	100

Source: NEFC, 2009:85.

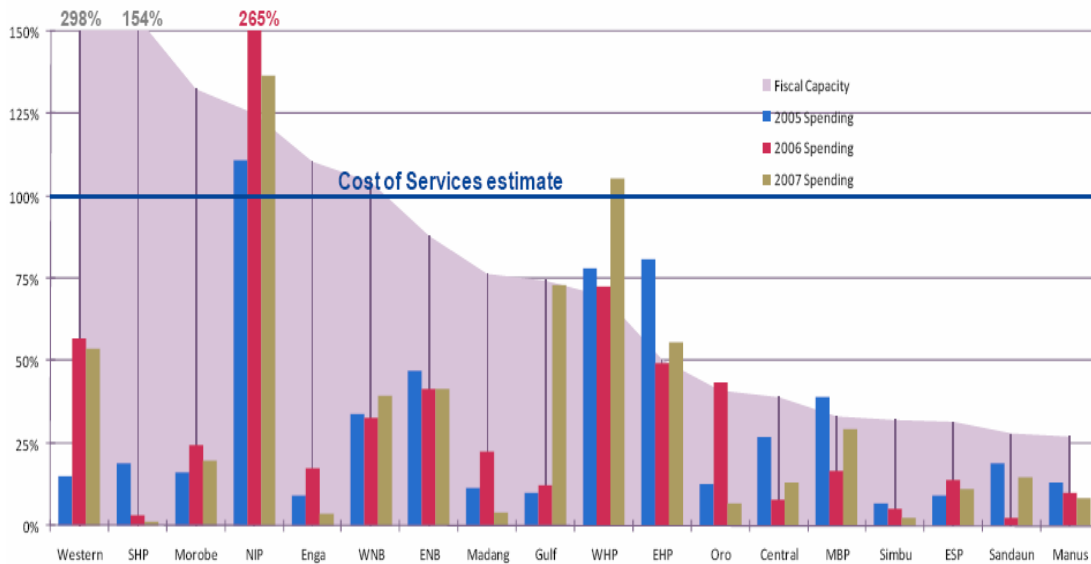
Consistent with most anecdotal accounts, there is no evidence to indicate any prioritisation of what the Medium Term Development Strategy defines as the core business of public support for agriculture — extension services, agricultural research, farmers’ training programs, demonstration farms, marketing facilities, access to credit and access to up-to-date information on market prices (GoPNG 2005: 36). Instead, as stated by the NEFC:

- Spending from Items 135 and 143 comprises 66 percent... of all expenditure. The general nature of the codes accurately reflects the underlying spending – it is a wide mix, from extension work to project related and everything in between.
- The highest percentage of spending (57%) is classified as other operational expenses (Item 135), which is a catch-all spending bucket that allows provinces the maximum flexibility in spending.
- Feasibility studies and project preparation work were prominent at five percent.
- *What is interesting is that travel-related codes such as Items 121 and 125 for travel allowance and fuel are not present in the top five. This is surprising, given that extension work is at the very heart of agricultural service delivery. Spending under these items is just four percent of total spending.*
- Capital spending was significant at 28 percent of total spending, and includes project feasibility work, vehicle purchases, and significant project investments, (our emphasis in italics, NEFC 2009: 85).

Figures 11.2, 11.3, and 11.4 provide a useful summary of some key provincial expenditure patterns. Figure 11.2 shows the priority and funding gaps, per province, for the 2005-2007 period. The mountain-like shadow in the background shows fiscal capacity. It shows the amount of funding that would be available for the agricultural sector in all provinces; that is, if resources were allocated to the agricultural sector in proportion to its weight in the total COS estimate. The horizontal line at 100 percent is the COS estimate for the sector. The vertical columns indicate provincial spending in 2005, 2006, and 2007 (see Figure 11.2).

The provinces on the right side of Figure 11.2 have a noticeable funding gap. Their available funds are well below the level needed to properly cover the COS estimate. It can also be seen that their spending levels are, in most cases, below the fiscal capacity; that is, they spend less on agriculture than they could, given available resources. This is the priority gap, which is more noticeable in the provinces on the left side. With the exception of New Ireland Province, all well-funded provinces failed to properly spend in agriculture, not because of lack of funds, but because of poor prioritisation in core areas.

Figure 11. 2: Agriculture Spending Performance, 2005-2007



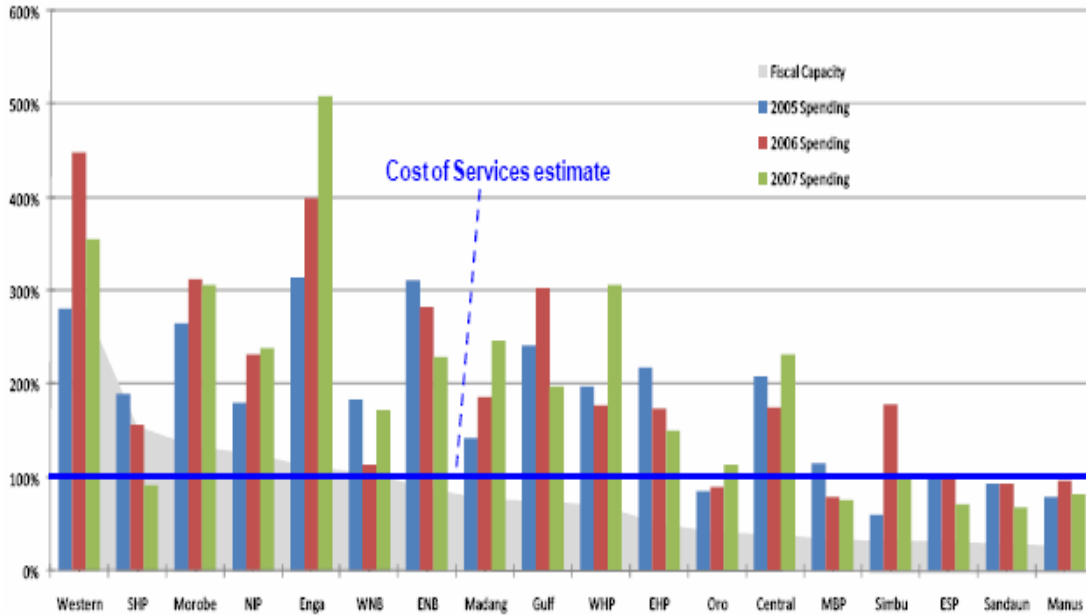
Source: NEFC, 2009: 83.

Because of funding constraints and lack of prioritisation, most provinces clearly fail to properly fund the agricultural sector. In turn, this helps to explain why the sector has declined or remained stagnant, over time. This is a common feature in all MTDS core areas. No province, irrespective of funding availability, sufficiently prioritises the MTDS core areas (see Figure 11.3). For most provinces during 2005-2007, spending in these areas is below 50 percent of the COS estimate. This further compromises the development of the agricultural sector. Provincial underspending in transport infrastructure maintenance is particularly damaging, as it makes transport and the commercialisation of agricultural produce extremely onerous, if not impossible. This situation is compounded by the absence of adequate communication, education, health care, sanitation, and basic water services.

The financial starvation of most provincial governments has extremely serious cost consequences. The poor prioritisation demonstrated by *all* provincial governments emphasised the fact that the problem is more than financial. Without careful monitoring and conditionalities, provincial governments may not be able to properly address their priority gaps by themselves. As already stated, the COS estimates were designed to capture the minimum point below which service delivery in a particular sector in any province would breakdown in the absence of further funding. Figure 11.3 clearly shows

that service delivery in core MTDS areas is underfunded, and well below the breaking point — and has been so for quite a few years.

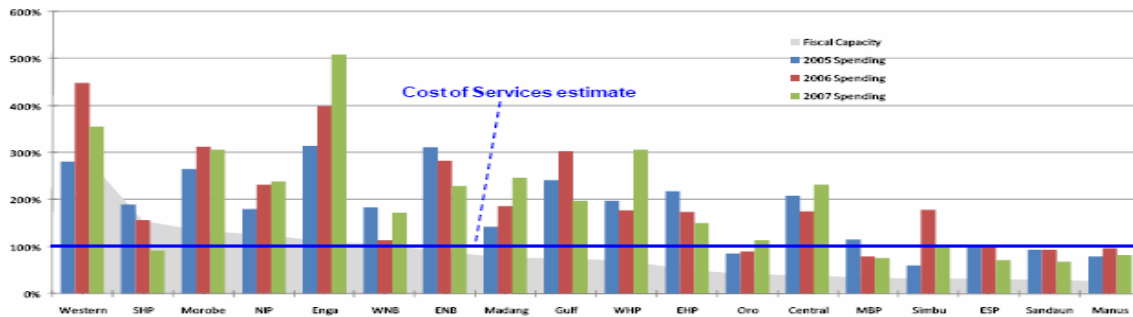
Figure 11.3: Spending Performance in All MTDS Areas 2005-2007



Source: NEFC, 2008:43.

However, one area of government that is well-served by provincial governments is administration (see Figure 11.4). All provinces go well beyond their financial capabilities to fund administrative costs. The provinces on the right manage to almost cover the full COS estimate for administration. For the provinces on the left, it is overfunding that becomes the issue. The unsurmountable (for MTDS priority areas) fiscal capacity shadow is now barely discernible behind provincial spending.

Figure 11. 4: Spending Performance in Administration,2005-2007



Source: NEFC, 2008: 95.

Clearly, provincial governments prioritise spending on their administration, sometimes spending three, four, or five times more than the very conservative COS estimate for

administration costs. While systematically collected data are hard to find, all available information shows that this bias for administration grows bigger in the district administrations and LLGs. All spending in the LLGs can safely be assumed to be staff allowances and administrative services.

The impact of these funding and spending decisions is clearly reflected in the perception that service delivery is declining in PNG. However, this analysis provides hope for a solution. If declining service delivery is a function of poor funding and spending decisions, then modifying those decisions would be an obvious initial step to address the problem. Service delivery in agriculture may have been affected by the lack of a comprehensive national strategy for the agricultural sector. Also, capacity problems are prevalent in most provinces and districts, which means that, if funding was available, the provinces may not be able to spend it appropriately. Furthermore, ‘leakages’ may exist, which diverts funds away from where they are supposed to be spent.

Only by ending the financial starvation of underfunded subnational governments could a start be made to address these issues. Closing the funding gap should be done in such a way that it prevents today’s underfunded provinces from exacerbating their priority gaps. The current experience of the six well-funded provinces — Western, Southern Highlands, Morobe, New Ireland, Enga, and West New Britain — makes it evident that financial needs are only part of the problem. Without proper monitoring and conditionality, closing the funding gap could easily increase the size of the priority gap.

RIGFA as The Way Forward

Over the past decade, most government initiatives to deal with declining service delivery have concentrated on development expenditure. At the national level, the national government has funded a number of public investment programs, including research by the National Agriculture Research Institute, and investment activities by various marketing boards. At the provincial level, several provinces — particularly New Ireland, Western Highlands, and Eastern Highlands, as well as Western and Gulf — have started their own development initiatives. The national government has also scaled up investment through district-based funding, culminating with the K10 million kina per district, District Service Improvement Program (DSIP) grant, and so have development partners, who are lining up with hundreds of millions of kina for direct district support.

Undoubtedly, these are worthwhile initiatives. However, they do not address the main point that the decline in service delivery relates to recurrent spending, the day-to-day maintenance of existing infrastructure, and the funding of the goods of services required to provide PNG with the services it demands and deserves. As stated by the NEFC Chairman:

“we are all interested in improved service outcomes. We want... improved health care and a healthier population, improved schooling and educational attainment for our children, a road network that is maintained and that enables

the flow of people and goods for market, and a developing agricultural sector that provides income for the many. However, these are the outcomes of a range of activities: regular health patrols to rural areas; aidposts that function and are stocked with medical supplies; schools that are maintained and have basic materials and school books; roads that are regularly maintained and not left to degrade; and extension patrols that support agriculture development.” (NEFC2006: i)

These activities are unfortunately not taking place. In relation to agriculture, extension services and farmers’ training should be the core priorities of agricultural spending, and agricultural spending should be a core priority in total subnational expenditures. However, this is not the case, and should not lead to the bypassing of subnational governments in the provision of goods and services. It is not possible to do that in a sustainable manner, without further exacerbating the already huge interprovincial and interdistrict inequalities. If there was no alternative, home-grown mechanism for delivery, such a move might nevertheless be necessary. As a result of the Review of Intergovernmental Financial Arrangements (RIGFA), that is now no longer the case.

As a corollary of the research underlying these findings, the NEFC gained passage of a significant reform of the provincial funding system in 2008. The previous ‘kina per head’ system was unanimously considered to be ineffective, and was replaced by a system in which provinces and LLGs began to receive a percentage of the revenues collected by the national government. Moreover, the new system allocates the extra money according to need (as captured by the fiscal gap), quarantining the allocated funds to particular sectors in the form of highly conditional functional grants. If the law is not broken, the new system could provide coverage of 70 percent of the funding gap by 2013. Furthermore, it would fund and monitor advances in the provision of key service delivery functions at the provincial level, which are recognised by the provinces and line agencies as Minimum Priority Activities (MPAs).

It is beyond the scope of this paper to fully describe the new system. However, the Fiscal Report 2009 provides such details (GoPNG 2008). Nevertheless, it is necessary to highlight the need to protect and enhance these reforms. Specifically, the reforms that were unanimously passed by parliament provide a set of legal instruments which are geared to cover part of the funding gap. Also, they are set up in order to condition provincial governments to spend in core service delivery areas, and help them close their priority gaps. Through these legal instruments, it would be possible to direct funds to specific functions, and involve key sector stakeholders in the monitoring and evaluation process, as well as involving them in providing capacity building and development expenditure to lagging provinces in a comprehensive manner.

Only by successfully coordinating development activities with a sustainable level of recurrent spending for maintaining and operating existing infrastructure can the course of history in rural PNG be changed. For agriculture, this means increasing — or starting in most cases — the provision of agricultural extension and farmers’ training in a sustainable manner. Erratic efforts will only add to the confusion. Coordination would

also require linking efforts to build capacity and infrastructure, where that investment is to have the greatest impact, and the recurrent muscle necessary to properly maintain it, and operate it, over time (Department of Agriculture and Livestock 2006).

What has been started about agriculture is part of a more cross-sectoral syndrome, whereby the funding and priority gaps are key bottlenecks preventing the fulfilment of Papua New Guinea's promise. Without increasing the recurrent spending at the subnational level, there is no way forward, and there will be no rural community transformation. However, to be useful, that extra spending requires monitoring and conditionality. RIGFA is possibly the only mechanism which can provide the necessary instruments to achieve this outcome. Yet to succeed, RIGFA requires concerted efforts from all stakeholders, including rural communities, to enforce its rules. Community transformation will only happen if monitoring and conditionality are enforced by the national government, its development partners, and the rural communities which they are supposed to serve.

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Chapter 12

Promoting Rural-Based Fuelwood Production Systems

Ian Nuberg, Brian Gunn, and Israel Bewang

Introduction

Papua New Guinea currently has an estimated population of 6.3 million people, with an annual growth rate of 2.3 percent. This growth rate is increasing at three times the rate at which the area of land being used for agriculture is increasing. Consequently, the intensity of land use is increasing and the availability of firewood is decreasing (Allen *et al.* 2001). This has created increasing pressure on the environment, as shown by the already minimal forest cover in some Highlands provinces, and the denuded woodlands in the National Capital District.

In the Highlands districts which are dominated by grasslands, people need to walk significant distances in search of fuelwood. Even the existing highland bush fallow systems do not provide adequate fuelwood, as evidenced by the inferior firewood that is often used, such as bamboo and grass, and the long hours spent in fuelwood gathering. In and around urban areas, this has led to an increasingly serious shortage of fuelwood at affordable prices.

The value of the national fuelwood economy has been estimated at US\$105 million per year within the World Bank Poverty Assessment (Bourke 1997). Fuelwood is the primary energy source for cooking and heating, especially in the Highlands Region, where more than 40 percent of the population lives. In 1996, more than one million people were engaged in fuelwood sales, but it only amounted to some 2.3 percent of total agricultural income (Allen *et al.* 2001). At an average income of K4 per person per year, it is small compared to incomes gathered from Arabica coffee (K43 per person per year) or fresh food (K13 per person per year), but similar to that earned from growing tobacco, cattle, rubber, and rice. However, these statistics should be understood in the context that an estimated one-third of the total rural population – approximately 1.4 million people – earn less than K20 per person per year.

While fuelwood is used across the whole nation, the main districts where it is recognised as a significant part of the local economy are in the Highlands provinces of Simbu, Enga, Eastern Highlands, Western Highlands, and Southern Highlands. Many of these districts have been assessed to be under significant agricultural pressure, and are relatively socially disadvantaged (Hanson *et al.* 2001).

There is scant documented data concerning the fuelwood economy in PNG. The most recent survey of fuelwood use was undertaken to the south of Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province, as part of an AusAID-funded PNG Forestry Human Resource Development Project, 1997-2001 (Murphy 2006). Using proxy values, Murphy (*ibid.*) estimated that

the value of collecting wood was K15 per day (and for the season K300) compared with the minimum rural income of K5 per day (K260 per year).

Collecting fuelwood can cost the household the equivalent of 15-20 percent of potential household income per day. When these values are extrapolated nationally, which is probably a dangerous extrapolation, given the geographic narrowness of the original data, Murphy (*ibid.*) estimates that the national fuelwood consumption, based on market price, is K550 million (approximately US\$193 million) for 2.75 million tonnes per year. However, because only five percent of households buy wood (at least in the author's survey area), the market-based economy could be worth K3.9 million. This estimate should be compared with the World Bank Poverty Assessment which placed the value of the fuelwood economy at US\$105million per year (Bourke 1997; details of assumptions not available). In summary, information on the fuelwood economy is either very localised or over generalised. There is clearly the need for a well-stratified national survey, encompassing both domestic and commercial fuelwood users, and focusing on fuelwood-stressed highland areas and lowland urban areas.

The development of fuelwood production systems that are linked to agroforestry could lead to appropriate intensification of smallholder land utilisation. The direct potential beneficiaries are broad and many. People – especially women – who have to carry fuelwood long distances will have more time available for other more productive pursuits. Individual landholders and community groups will have opportunities for extra income generation.

The use of alley cropping systems can reduce soil erosion, leading to increased fertility and greater crop production compared to shifting cultivation. Urban fuelwood users will have a source of fuelwood at stable and reasonable prices, while industrial fuelwood users will have an assured continuity of supply and will make production efficiencies. NGOs that are involved with village and community development will have information on a new enterprise model to offer their clients.

This project seeks to map the flow of fuelwood from sources to users, and analyse this market chain. It will provide knowledge to improve the institutional environment to shift the culture from wild harvest to intentional production of fuelwood. There are opportunities for developing charcoal as a commodity biomass for energy, especially in rural areas where electrification has not occurred.

The project needs to establish working models and extension capacity to support fuelwood production. There is a need to investigate short-rotation, coppice (SRC) systems that will have the most immediate impact and adoption. Some of the SRC species that are used will serve a multiple purpose, including being nitrogen-fixing, providing green manure and/or fodder from the leaves, fuelwood, and poles from the stems. In addition, these species can be used in contour-hedgerow agroforestry systems designed along the lines of alley cropping (Tacio 1993).

A major hurdle for the project will be to create fuelwood businesses in an economy where fuelwood is sourced from a 'free', but diminishing and contested, resource. By

understanding the market, those producers from managed fuelwood sources will be in a better position to take advantage of market opportunities. If planted tree crops are located close to markets, growers could produce fuelwood of a size and wood type to meet market needs.

Harvesting from natural resources requires travel over distances, for an uncertain resource that is often from disputed landownership. Growers will also be linked with current markets. For example, fuelwood producers in Mt. Hagen will be linked with industrial fuelwood users. Fuelwood producers in Port Moresby need to be trained in charcoal production and small business management. Also, SRC systems will be producing fuelwood in agricultural time-scales (1.5-3 years) rather than traditional forestry time-scales for fuelwood (greater than 10-15 years), thereby reducing investment time.

A key characteristic of this project is that it involves a national survey as well as focused, on-ground activity. For reasons of extension theory and logistics, it is important that the participation of local agencies – particularly NGOs – is maintained from the very outset of the project. In terms of extension theory, it is important that local agencies are involved with the intellectual work in designing the wood-flow survey and market-chain analysis. Their knowledge will be critical for determining survey foci and the feasibility of the survey methodology.

The project will use participatory approaches, as outlined by Horne and Stür (2003). Although the field plantings will be in configurations of SRC contour hedgerow systems and SRC wood lots, participants will assess and select the fuelwood species and the management regimes that suit their circumstances. In addition, a ‘learning selection’ approach will be encouraged whereby people can modify the given planting configurations as they see fit. This is recognised as the most efficient way of transferring the ownership of new technology from researcher to user (Douthwaite 2002). It has been the experience of most alley cropping researchers that farmers rarely adopt the system as presented, but usually adapt components to fit their own circumstances (Pretty 1998).

There is evidence to suggest that SRC fuelwood systems may be well-received. There is a strong culture of planting trees in the highlands. In Murphy’s survey (2006), squatters stated that they plant tree species such as yar and eucalypts because they are acutely aware of diminishing access to fuelwood. However, they do not necessarily see tree-growing as an opportunity to generate income. This is possibly because of the perceived long lead time to income generation, as highlighted by Kanowski *et al.* (2006).

Methods

The project is supported by the Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research (ACIAR) and has been implemented by a number of collaborators. The key organisations are the Forest Research Institute (FRI), which is part of the PNG Forest Authority, three NGOs – Foundation for People and Community Development (FPCD),

HOPE Worldwide, and People's Action for Rural Development (PARD) – and landowner communities in the NCD, and Western Highlands and Simbu Provinces. The collaborators from Australia are the University of Adelaide and the CSIRO Plant Industry.

In order to establish a national fuelwood economy that is based on wood lots and agroforestry systems, three key steps have been identified which are designed to gather appropriate information in order to establish a community of practice.¹ The three steps are:

- describe and quantify the national fuelwood market;
- establish a range of fuelwood production systems as pilot projects in both lowland peri-urban and highlands rural regions; and
- establish a community of practice which will ensure the wider adoption and long-term development of fuelwood production.

In designing activities to support these steps, it is necessary to provide a possible fuelwood flowchart to assist in identifying the issues (see Figure 12.1).

Description and Quantification of the National Fuelwood Market

Describing the fuelwood market required a sequence of workshop and survey activities to produce a progressively clear picture of the structure and dimensions of the national fuelwood market.

A conventional clipboard questionnaire survey of domestic fuelwood users and vendors was conducted to determine the broad dimensions of household fuelwood use, and fuelwood and energy preferences; that is, fuelwood versus kerosene, electricity, and so on. This survey followed a stratified, semi-random sampling of fuelwood users in urban, peri-urban, and highlands centres (Patton 1990). For roadside vendors, the survey determined the volume sold, source, preparation, prices, time spent sourcing, and sales. The survey adopted a stratified, purposeful sampling method, following selected routes in the Highlands Region and around the NCD.

Semi-structured interviews of industrial users, such as plantation factories, and commercial users, such as fish dryers, lime-makers, road stalls, and so on were conducted to ascertain monthly fuelwood consumption, sources, prices paid, and fuelwood access problems. Similar interviews of larger fuelwood vendors, such as retailers and sawmills were also made.

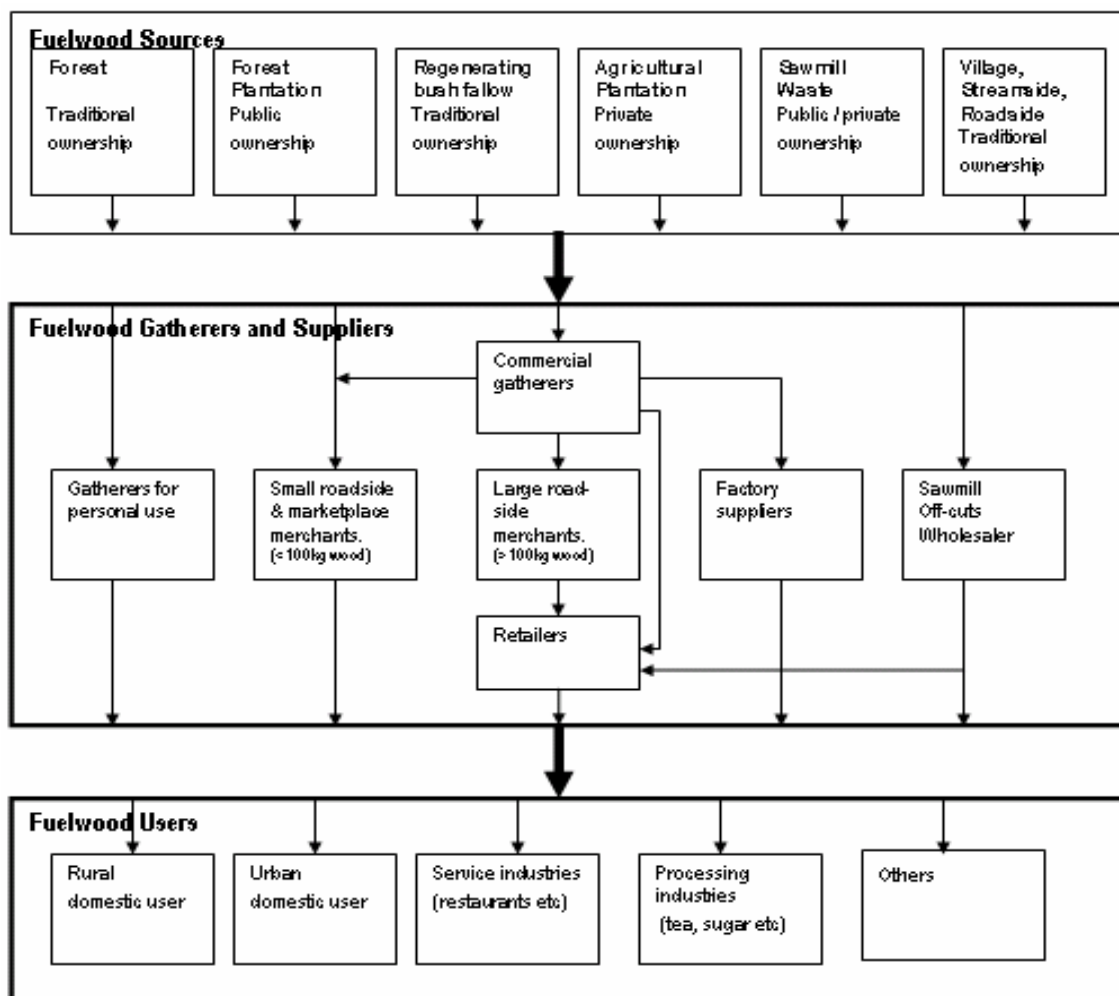
Interviews with the energy industry provided estimates of future fuelwood demand in the light of information on alternative energy sources, such as oil and electricity, and alternative wood-energy products, such as charcoal and bioenergy.

¹ The concept of a **community of practice** refers to the process of social learning that occurs when people who have a common interest in some subject or problem collaborate over an extended period to share ideas, find solutions, and build innovations. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Community_of_practice

Establishment of a Range of Pilot Fuelwood Production Systems

The process involved the project NGOs negotiating with their contacts and community-based organisations (CBOs) to identify stakeholders who were interested in using their land for fuelwood production and/ or alley cropping. Site establishment was overseen by the NGOs using labour from participating CBOs. Annual assessments of the various plantings will be undertaken and the results analysed as part of information dissemination to various audiences.

Figure 12.1: Possible Fuelwood Flows in Papua New Guinea



The project aims to establish at least three community-based wood lots in peri-urban areas around Port Moresby, in partnership with HOPE worldwide. The NCD sites will be established with ‘best-bet’ tree species such as *Eucalyptus pellita*, *E. tereticornis*,

Casuarina, *Calliandra calothyrsus*, and a local species *E. alba*. HOPE raised the seedlings and coordinated the planting of the trials, following training.

PARD has access to a large network of CBOs in Western Highlands and Simbu Provinces. Six sites have been established in Western Highlands and two sites in Simbu. They comprised alley cropping or hedgerow plantings and wood lots of fast-growing trees with recognised fuelwood characteristics. Landholder participants were, and will continue to be, involved in the establishment and evaluation of these systems, following participatory methods such as those recommended by Horne and Stür (2003). The Highlands village sites will trial seven species. Some of these species will be in wood lot configurations, for example, *Eucalyptus grandis*, *E. robusta*, *E. pellita*, *Casuarina junghuhniana*, and *C. oligodon* (yar), while woody legumes, such as *Calliandra calothyrsus* and *Leucaena diversifolia* will be planted as hedgerows in alley-cropping systems, on sloping land.

Establishing a Community of Practice

The project will establish a national fuelwood network among the relevant NGO community in PNG and prepare extension materials for a range of audiences. This will be achieved by initially reviewing existing communication channels that are operating through government, NGOs, and CBOs, and describe this in terms of an agricultural knowledge and information system (AKIS) (Leeuwis and van den Ban 2004). Key actors in this system will be surveyed to determine their interest in fuelwood production, as an enterprise option for community development. Access to internet-based information will also be ascertained. Depending on the nature of the AKIS, the project will develop a strategy to maintain the existence of fuelwood knowledge beyond the life of the project.

Results

The results reported here reflect one year's activities under the project. Most of the results discuss the implementation of activities, as outlined in the previous section of this paper. However, it is too early to present data or draw conclusions from the surveys and planted trials.

Description and Quantification of the National Fuelwood Market

An initial workshop was held at the Forest Research Institute (FRI), Lae, in April 2008 during which the questionnaire surveys (Q-Survey), case study monitoring (CSM), and semi-structured interviews (SSI) were discussed, and strategies developed.

Questionnaire Survey

Sampling was based on fuelwood stress and logistics to include Port Moresby and four provincial districts:

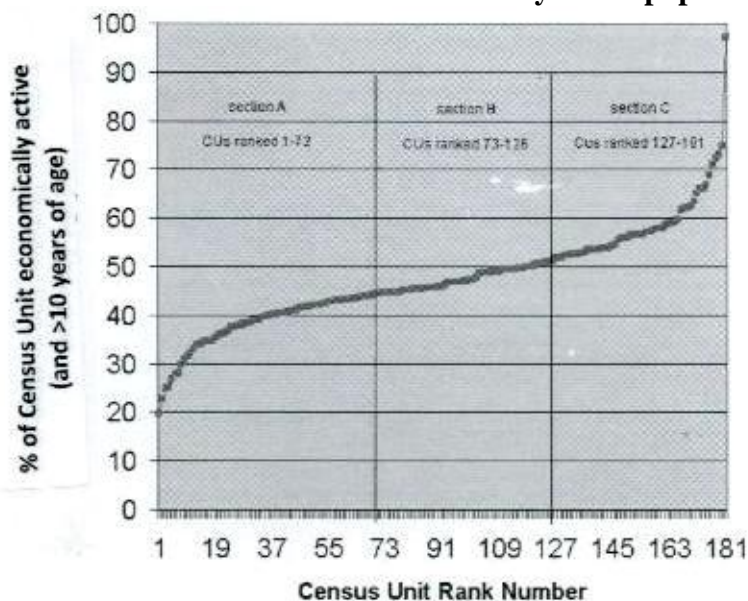
Table 12.1: District and Provinces Survey

District	Province	No. of Surveys
Port Moresby	NCD	1800
Chuave	Simbu	240
Henganofi	Eastern Highlands	360
Mount Hagen	Western Highlands	600
Lae	Morobe	840

Note: The number of survey questionnaires is approximate, as some had yet to be returned.

These districts are recognised as particularly fuelwood-stressed in the PNG Rural Development Handbook (Hanson *et al.* 2001). Information on the socioeconomic groupings of the districts was gathered to prepare a representative sampling strategy, taking into account the need to focus on fuelwood demanding communities within the districts. For example, data from the 2000 Census Unit (CU), for Lae Urban LLG, was used to make sure that the survey gathered a balanced and representative sample of the population (see Figure 12.2).

Figure 12.2: Basis of Census Units, Lae Urban LLG, segregated into three Sections based on economic activity of the population.



Note: These three sections represent equal proportions (14,063) of the LLG population (44,888).

Data that were analysed at the CU level compared the criterion proportion aged 10 years and over economically active² and the CU population. As the CU populations vary greatly (from 50 to more than 3 000), CUs were ranked in order of 'economic activity' and then divided into three equal sections, based on one-third of the population in each LLG. The fact that Section B includes the least number of CUs indicates that most of the middle third of the populations of both LLGs occur in CUs with large populations, such as settlement areas. Survey routes were then planned, based on this information.

The total sample of approximately 3 480 Q-surveys was determined in this manner. This represents some 0.63 percent of the total PNG population. A review of fuelwood surveys that were undertaken in India considered 0.5 percent to be a very high level of sampling intensity (Pandey 2002), which supports the rigour of our sampling. Separate survey questionnaires were used for rural domestic households, Port Moresby urban households, and fuelwood sellers. The surveys were carried out by staff from FPCD over two stages – one between October and December 2008 and the second between January and March 2009.

The case study monitoring (CSM), which was conducted in March 2009, took direct measurements of the amount of fuelwood that was consumed by a household over a period of time. The results will be compared with the questionnaire survey. Sampling strategy will be different for the rural and urban areas because of the differences in practical access to respondents. The information that was gathered included weight of firewood used each day, cost of wood, source, fuelwood type. Measurements were taken over two, 7 - 14 day periods.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews (SSIs) were carried out by staff at FRI, and targeted industrial and commercial users of fuelwood. This survey was designed to quantify the flow of fuelwood from sources to users, and to uncover qualitative information that indicates how easy or difficult it is to deal with fuelwood. The industrial fuelwood users included 11 lime-burner communities along the Morobe coast, six oil palm mills around Kimbe, six cocoa and copra driers on East New Britain and the tea factories in Mt. Hagen District. Interviews with 42 small business users of fuelwood (mainly food vendors) along the highway from Lae to Enga represented approximately 20 percent of those operating at the time. Finally, nine large public and private organisations that have an interest in fuelwood issues were also interviewed. Results of the interviews have yet to be collated and analysed.

² There are 28 types of statistical information presented in the available census data. These data do not provide information on income levels, and indications of household wealth are indirect. The consensus of the survey team is that the 'Proportion aged 10 years and over economically active' criterion would be the most suitable for determining overall economic activity that may, in turn, influence fuelwood use.

Establishment of a Range of Pilot Fuelwood Production Systems

Eight pilot tree plantings were established in the Highlands Region and two in the NCD on communal land following agreement between the landowners and project NGOs. For the Highlands Region, PARD established a 12 000 seedling capacity nursery, following initial training of staff and community representatives. A similar nursery was operated by HOPE, in Port Moresby. Highlands seedlings were planted in the field during November 2008, and February 2009 for the NCD plantings.

For the Highlands Region, PARD identified seven landowner/ CBO communities that were interested in growing trees. Six of the trials were established in the Mt. Hagen district with the remaining two established at Kerowagi, Simbu Province. One planting comprised a research wood lot to compare the six species and two different spacing regimes. The other plantings were a mixture of wood lots or alley cropping systems. For the alley cropping system, fast-growing nitrogen fixing trees with strong coppicing ability were selected and planted in double rows 30 cm apart and allowing five to eight metres between rows, depending on slope, to provide for agricultural cash crops. In the NCD, two research designed wood lots incorporating seven species were established, as well as a landowner wood lot.

Identification of suitable committed landowners in the Highlands Region, and more so within the NCD, provided the greatest challenge. Throughout the process of identifying potential collaborators, both PARD and HOPE staff found that, after initial interest in the fuelwood concept, enthusiasm waned. In the NCD, it was only possible to identify two landowners who were committed to establishing model trials on their land. Initially, it had been agreed that the project would provide technical support and seedlings, and that the trial maintenance would be the responsibility of the landowners. However, as time went by, more responsibility was placed on the NGOs to ensure that the maintenance was undertaken.

Establishment of a Community of Practice

The facilitation of the wider adoption and long-term development of fuelwood production will be implemented after the initial two activities associated with the results from the surveys and the field trials have delivered the necessary information.

Conclusion

The results of the various surveys and field plantings will provide very useful and in-depth information on fuelwood production systems in PNG. The project collaborators have derived considerable experience from these processes. The sampling approach provides a useful model for other socioeconomic surveys for rural and urban data collection. The research trials will provide valuable information on 'best bet' fuelwood species for the Highlands Region and the lowlands of PNG. The data from these trials will not only be of immediate value to identifying potential species, wood characteristics, growth rates, coppicing ability, and spacing options for fuelwood production, but will

also provide sound scientific data for other tree growing ventures that are interested in using these species.

The short rotation coppice-model plantings in the form of wood lots or in alley cropping systems will serve as valuable local demonstration systems from which farmers can adopt for their own application. HOPE and PARD staff have gained considerable experience from raising their own seedlings in a nursery and establishing wood lots and alley cropping trials. Both organisations are now in a position where they can operate their own nurseries and train others to operate nurseries such as individual family-run operations.

In terms of tree planting and the benefits of this undertaking, there is much work to be done to convince potential growers of the benefits. Currently, very few people in PNG grow trees for money, which makes the concept a high risk venture especially, when food security is at the forefront of most rural people's thinking. It is hoped that this project can provide the information which quantifies the economic and social benefits of growing short coppice rotation tree crops and that through demonstration and establishment of a community of practice relating to a range of fuelwood production systems.

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Chapter 13

Women as Volcanoes and Bulldozers in Development

Anastasia Sai

Introduction

As Ursula Le Guin stated, ‘We are volcanoes. When we women offer our experience as our truth, as human truth, all the maps change. There are new mountains.’

This paper contains some very interesting ideas about women’s role in childbirth, the socialisation of children, and family life, as well as community and national development in the Papua New Guinean context. At times, there appeared to be too many ideas and concepts being presented and these needed to be better linked and explained in some places.

The use of some terms appeared confusing – in particular, the idea of a demographic landscape. *Demographic* (relating to population characteristics) and *landscape* (a view of scenery) do not really work that well together in the context of this paper. Consequently, the term *social landscape* is used as a more general concept that can capture the specific references to population, and better communicates the complex social and cultural processes that are discussed. Human resources, rather than human capital, is used throughout the paper to explain what is meant by both terms.

Volcanoes and bulldozers do change the landscape and change the ‘map’. When a volcano erupts, it destroys a landscape and can build a new mountain. A volcano has regenerative qualities in that it nourishes the soil and leaves it fertile. A bulldozer also leaves a trail of destruction of trees and mountains, but a new development begins. One phenomenon is natural and the other is caused by human intervention. However, both change the landscape tremendously.

The force and power of the volcano and the bulldozer can be likened to the power and force that women carry with them to bring about change. The metaphors of volcanoes and bulldozers are used here to highlight how women can change the landscapes at the different levels and in arenas of our society. However, many people give little or no acknowledgement or credit to their contributions, without which Papua New Guinea could not have progressed to its present status.

This paper describes how Papua New Guinean women, like volcanoes and bulldozers, can transform our communities and society. This paper discusses three issues:

- the social landscape;
- women’s activities in development behind the scenes; and

- what women are doing today.

Changing the Social Landscape

Women in Papua New Guinea, as in all other parts of the world, do change their social landscape. The social landscape here refers to the people and their activities. Women change the social landscape in two unique way by:

- contributing human resources through childbirth; and
- socialising their children to contribute to change and development.

In playing their biological role of motherhood, women nurture and bring to life new human beings as citizens of this country and the world. This changes the map of our communities and our country. Women's role of motherhood contributes to providing the human resources that our communities need for development and for the people for whom development is intended. We hear about our increasing population and the rate at which it is growing. According to an AusAID report (2007), Papua New Guinea's population is 6.25 million, and the annual average growth rate is 2.7 percent. Fifty percent of the population is under 19 years of age, and has the potential to increase the future average annual growth rate.

Mothers are the first teachers of children, hence what they teach and how they raise their children creates the basis of early childhood education. This early childhood education forms some of the knowledge and attitude that children take into their adolescent and adult lives. There are different ways that young children learn, by using all their five senses: they see, touch and feel, hear, smell and taste. As children learn from their mothers and fathers and other adults around them, they learn the values of love, friendship, respect, and care. Negative values of hate, unfriendliness, disrespect, and uncaring attitudes can also be learned. Unfortunately, what our mothers teach their children, and how they teach them is from what they know from their own learning. If they learn negative values, they will pass these values on to their children. Likewise, the opposite is also true.

In a poem by William Ross Wallace entitled, 'What Rules the World', he states that, 'the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world'. The hand that rocks the cradle is that of a mother who is a force which changes the world through her role as a nurturer and a teacher. This poem highlights the influence of a mother on a child.

In PNG, our cradle is the *bilum*¹ where the baby is rocked to sleep. It is in the bilum that the baby listens to the lullabies and soothing songs from the mother. The womb of a mother is also referred to as 'bilum blong bebi' (the baby's bilum). The bilum is where the baby starts to learn, whether it is accepted and welcomed at all. The psychological and emotional connection the mother has with her unborn baby is the

¹ A *bilum* is a string bag that is woven by Papua New Guinean women. They come in different sizes for different purposes. Women use bilums to place their babies in to sleep, carry things in, carry their foodstuff from the garden to the village, or use as small handbags.

beginning of the child's learning from the moment of conception. If a mother has a happy home, the baby learns to feel loved and accepted. However, if a mother is threatened by different forms of violence and abuse, the child will learn that his or her life is threatened. If the culture prefers males to females, the female child's life is threatened in the cradle (the bilum). Therefore, the mother may influence the baby in both positive and negative ways.

One major threat to our girls is what our culture imposes on them. If our culture prefers boys, then girl babies are already unwanted before they are born. The girls are not secure, especially in a patrilineal society, because there are implications of rejection, or treatment that is inferior to the boys. In patrilineal societies, there is celebration when a boy is born, but when a girl is born, often there is no celebration. This may be different in matrilineal societies.

In a patrilineal culture, where a girl is not celebrated, the message is clear; that is, the boy is worth the celebration, but the girl is not. Our culture socialises boys to view themselves as superior to girls. Very often girls can be criticised for not doing things that are expected of girls and women. If they deviate from the norms, their mothers are quick to criticise them by saying, "Yu man, ah?" (Do you think you are a boy?). This means that girls cannot be seen to be doing things that culture has traditionally prescribed for boys.

This kind of socialisation is negative and leaves a girl at a disadvantage. She may be denied opportunities to improve herself and reach her potential because she is a girl. This will contribute to her lack of self-confidence and self-esteem. She will perpetuate the system that has left her disadvantaged because that is the only thing she knows. In turn, she will most probably raise her children in that way and so the vicious cycle will go on, unless women become conscious of the negative effects of gender socialisation and put a stop to this, or they are lucky enough to receive education that sensitises them in gender matters. It takes strong women to change the status-quo of patriarchy.

For example, Nora Vagi Brash's mother was an extraordinary woman who believed that, 'boys should also carry out their share of the housework and learn to cook, and the whole family unit should work, regardless of sex, even though the rest of the village practised male dominance' (Turner 1993:29). This woman socialised her five sons to share housework, even when the village community was looking at them. This great woman was before her time and saw the importance of sharing responsibilities even if the patriarchal system was strong.

This is the story of a woman who did change, and there are many others who are changing the social landscape so that social roles and responsibilities of men and women can be shared. PNG can achieve greater gender equality, and women can be appreciated just as well as the men in our societies. This woman subverted the patriarchal system by starting small; on making a small change in her own family. If these five sons continue this way of sharing household responsibilities, five more

families will be changing the system. It could one day grow into a new culture where housework is shared, and this would make a new PNG.

Lilian Matbob, a final year student at Divine Word University in 2007, researched the cultural meanings of the expression, “Pikinini man, ya. Larim/Lusim em” (He is a boy-child. Leave/let him be). Matbob found that this expression is commonly used in Highlands societies. In her research amongst Highlands men and women, participants stated that this expression is mostly used by mothers to tell their sons that they are important members of their society and therefore must be respected by their mothers and sisters. This is because boys and men are regarded as the backbone of society (Matbob 2007:27). Girls and women take a subordinate position in the family, community, and society because that is what the culture has taught them to do.

Irrespective of gender, from the bilum to the world stage, mothers play a significant role in creating the kind of citizens and leaders who will participate in the transformation and development of our communities. Our women contribute to the development of PNG through the children they nurture and raise.

Cultural expectations put women under a lot of pressure to produce sons. Matbob (*ibid.*) refers to the bilum, where the baby is supposed to be secure and safe, as a ‘troubled womb’, when mothers are anxious about giving birth to sons and raising them to meet the expectations of their husbands and their societies. She asserts:

the Highlands women knowingly and intentionally continue to promote the ‘pikinini man culture’ because that was how they were raised. They fight amongst themselves about the produce of their wombs. So the womb is presented as a battlefield where the ‘pikinini man culture’ raves on, unseen, yet so deeply entrenched (ibid.:36).

The mothers raise their sons to know and believe that they are the centre of the universe and that they are given the best of everything, while their mothers and sisters get nothing. Matbob’s research (*ibid.*) found that this is more pronounced in the Highlands Region where men are raised up, and this is the way things are for them. Women and mothers on the coast also promote the ‘*pikinini man culture*’, but they are not as aggressive as the Highlands women.

While in the bilum, the girl baby might be already troubled - in the womb or at risk - by the sociocultural environment in which she is to be born. The girl, who is born into a predominantly patrilineal society, has no right of ownership to land and she is to be served the second best. She is a second class citizen. Her life will be spent helping her mother to support her brothers to build their economic and power base. According to Matbob (*ibid.*), the girl’s cradle becomes the troubled womb because she faces hardships while already in the bilum, which is the womb. It is the boy who takes precedence in patrilineal societies like the Highlands Region, the Momase Region, and the other parts of PNG. Mothers socialise their children to know their place in society,

and therefore are already teaching citizens of this nation to form patriarchal gender relations with members of the opposite sex.

It is the women who teach and raise their children in this patriarchal system which upholds the importance and control of the fathers over their wives and children. Men become, and remain, the important figures of authority and what the women should be as mothers, teach the children, endorsed by the patriarchal system. The children growing up in this system learn appropriate behaviour that defines them as girls and boys who grow up to be women and men of the society. Their gender socialisation is translated into the roles and responsibilities which they perform. Hence, the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world. If the mothers raise their children to know their place in the family, community, and society, they will live and behave according to this socialisation because the cultural environment supports this system.

Mothers in PNG face hardships like this and suffer many other forms of abuse, such as rejection or abandonment by husbands, and physical, verbal, emotional, and psychological abuse. Research has shown that pregnant women who experience hardships are affected and might reject their pregnancies. As a result, their babies are ‘...more likely to experience physical or psychological problems in infancy’ (Kroelinger *et al.* 2000: 112). The disposition of the mothers who raise the human capital of PNG does influence the socialisation of their children. Children either become good or bad rulers of the country or the world.

Behind the Scenes

Women have always participated in Papua New Guinea’s development, including the first contact with the Europeans in the 16th and 19th Centuries which brought scientists, adventurers, traders, and missionaries, and German and British governments (Waiko 1993:21). The German colonisation of New Guinea and the British colonisation of Papua brought the modern systems to PNG. The Germans established coconut plantations in New Britain and recruited men from mainland New Guinea to work on the plantations, leaving women to care for the children and tend the land.

In Papua, the British and then the Australians established their administration and expanded gold and copper production and their commercial sector. However, they paid little attention to the agriculture sector and the education of the people. When the men were engaged as carriers during the Second World War, the women were left at home to care for the children and gardens (Waiko 1993). While men were taken out of their villages to go to schools that were set up by the colonial agents, the women remained in the villages to tend to their gardens and care for their families, the sick, and the aged. While men’s participation was recorded in colonial history, women’s participation in development was not recorded. Women’s achievements are missing from the history books.

More than 80 percent of the women in rural areas have their livelihoods in subsistence agriculture. They also support their husbands in the cash crop sector, by working in coconut, cocoa, and coffee plantations. The Highlands women contribute most of the labour in the coffee plantations, while the men handle the money earned from the sale of the coffee.

Some Women's Achievements

For example, when Rose Muingnepe and her brother were born, her father, Ninkama Maima, decided that his children should get a Western-style education. For this, he walked over the rugged terrain with Rose's mother, Mol Maima, to Goroka to ask the Department of Education to establish a primary school in his area (Turner 1993:66). Women like Mol Maima brought new developments such as schools or roads to their area where people — especially children — could progress in development.

Another stateswoman, the late Dame Mary Kekedo (the late Dame Rose Kekedo's mother) was a woman who had a strong influence in ensuring that her daughter, Rose, advanced through school. Dame Rose Kekedo's achievements are testimony to her mother's positive influence. Dame Mary Kekedo also supported her husband and established clubs through which she taught hygiene, child care, and Western-style cooking and craft work to the local women (Turner 1993: 84).

What the lives of these women - the generation of our mothers - shows is their considerable work in helping their husbands contribute to the education of their children, as well as the members of the communities around them. This work is often taken for granted. These are the women I acknowledge and honour for their participation in transforming our communities. Most of them worked behind the scenes and are the unsung heroes in Papua New Guinea's history of development.

While acknowledging that there are many Papua New Guinean women who work behind the scenes in the community, I would like to draw attention to what all of our mothers have done and do every day – providing everyday things to enable us to have food on the table, to have clean clothes to wear, and clean homes in which to live. These everyday things that mothers and women do are often taken for granted.

Today, more women accompany their husbands to the urban centres when they get recruited into the formal work force and they continue to support their husbands by minding the children and managing the domestic arena. Some women are employed where they also contribute to development, and their contribution is compensated with a salary compared to the unemployed wives and women. Our society has dubbed housewives 'as women who do not work, and their household work does not get valued in the same way that paid work does.

For example, when students enrol in high school in the beginning of the year, they are often asked to introduce themselves and also tell what their parents do for a living. Many students who come from rural areas state that their mothers and fathers are

subsistence farmers, while a few whose parents are employed may say, “My father is a teacher, driver, or a doctor, and my mother is a teacher, nurse, or *just a housewife*”. The *just a housewife* statement denotes that her work as a housewife is not valued as much as the work of a woman who is employed. Children do not see that their mother’s work as a housewife is very important. Children learn this from society. These young students have been taught to think that way.

Society does not see that a housewife’s work is a big contribution to development. Housework ensures a healthy home and healthy environment, contributes to a healthy family and consequently a healthy community and country. Employed husbands can go to work with ease, knowing that they will come home to a clean house, warm kitchen, happy children, and a loving and supportive wife. The husband’s contribution to development is possible because of the woman in his life. She is also contributing to community development, and consequently, transforming society.

For example, it is highly likely that all the 108 male politicians who go about their business trying to run the affairs of our country can do so because their wives are at home keeping the house and looking after the children. The women at home – if they are not in any active form of employment – are likely to keep their husbands grounded. This great accolade came from Sir Arnold Amet, the Governor of Madang, when paying tribute to his late wife, Lady Miaru Amet:

This is the woman who was my soul mate, my companion. She prayed me out of my drinking habit; she prayed me out of my smoking and partying; she prayed me into being a committed husband and father; and she supported me to the heights of my career as Chief Justice. She is the woman who sacrificed her career so that I could advance in mine. She kept me grounded (Amet 2009).

This is one Papuan New Guinean woman whose life was lived out in the public domain and we saw the support she gave her husband. However, there is a large proportion of the country’s women who are never in the limelight and who quietly and faithfully go about the business of supporting their husbands in their work. These are the Papua New Guinean women who work for development behind the scenes and who transform our communities.

Women Today

*What do women do today to contribute to development?
How do they transform communities?*

Today, more and more women are venturing into higher education and moving into non-traditional areas of science and technology. Women are asserting their right to be in workplaces once only open to men, for example, the recent recruitment of 23 women into the PNG Defence Force. More women are participating in the modern work force where it is easy to see their part in community and national development. However,

attention should be drawn to those women in the informal sector who are the volcanoes and bulldozers who transform our communities. Many are selling things that they make, such as clothes, and crafts such as bilums and market bags, food, and iceblocks.

One woman and her contribution to the development of women and communities through bilum wear is Ms Florence Jaukae. She has tapped into traditional creative weaving skills to give a contemporary style and meaning to the art. She employs some 50 women in Goroka. Her work with women hit the world stage at the Commonwealth Games in Melbourne in 2006. This was a moment when all Papua New Guineans stood still to let Team PNG march past in the opening ceremony – a moment when our nation came together, just as it did when Ryan Pini won the gold medal in the 100 metres butterfly final at the same games. Everyone was proud to be a Papua New Guinean. Robert Putnam (2000) calls this the ‘social capital’. For example:

Whereas physical capital refers to physical objects and human capital refers to the properties of individuals, social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense, social capital is closely related to what some have called ‘civic virtue.’ The difference is that ‘social capital’ calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a sense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital (Putnam 2000:19).

Reciprocity in building relations and communities is our forte. If we lose that, we will become disconnected individuals and lose our sense of community. Florence Jaukae and the women of Goroka contributed to realising some things that can bring people of different tribes, provinces, and villages together. Our culture was in the limelight at the opening ceremony of the 2006 Commonwealth Games in Melbourne, and the women contributed to PNG’s cultural identity. This has contributed to transforming community with a blend of our cultural art form – the bilum wear.

Papua New Guinean women with their nurturing and caring abilities, build communities. They are quick to be compassionate and work to amend broken relationships from war – as in Bougainville (Leitana Nehan Women’s Development Agency 2005), the Kup Women for Peace in relation to tribal fights and violence against women (Garap 2005), and in arguments between two parties. When women stop fights, development can go on and lives will be saved.

Peace on Bougainville was made possible when women became involved because they brought a different perspective to the discussion table. They were speaking as mothers of sons involved in the fight, as wives of husbands at war, and as sisters of brothers who were in the fighting zones (Siviri and Havini 2004). With women advocating for peace, the social landscape is protected. This transforms communities and the country. Peace builds investor confidence that is continuously marred by lawlessness. Investor confidence is essential for economic growth and development.

In the rural areas, women continue to till the land for their sustenance. This saves the government from worrying about feeding the population. Women's contributions in the agricultural sector have kept our population fed. Women bring their sick children to a health centre, even if they have to walk for days. The few women who have received formal education, do show a sense of cleanliness about themselves and their children. I have especially noticed that in girls who I had taught in high school, and who are now married and in their villages. When they come to the local health centre, they stand out among the rest. They are clean and well-groomed. Their state of cleanliness is a lesson from which others can learn. This cleanliness attests to their level of literacy, and literacy helps women raise their quality of life and that of their families.

Faith-based organisations, such as churches and church-run institutions, cannot do without women. Women's groups in the different churches are some of the most organised with well-planned activities. These women initiate all kinds of activities to help themselves (Dickson-Waiko 2003). One common activity in which women today are involved is the 'Senis Basket' (basket exchange) or 'Senis Bilum' (bilum exchange). Women from basket-making or bilum-making areas forge partnerships with women from non-basket-making or non-bilum-making areas, to exchange artifacts. The two groups decide on what goods to exchange in this event.

Some groups go out of the province and often, rural women identify an urban group of women with whom to exchange. For example, the women in Megiar Village on the north coast of Madang Province have prepared and exchanged bilums and goods with women from Buimo Correctional Institute, in Lae. The women have decided on this exchange to raise funds for a classroom for the village elementary school. The women's ingenuity has increased their personal development by way of organising themselves. They have improved their bilum-making skills and their communication skills in meetings and with their husbands, and demonstrated their negotiation skills. They have certainly increased their networking, and this exchange will be reciprocated at a later date. Women's participation in informal sector activities such as these develops and transforms their communities.

Conclusion

Women in Papua New Guinea have always been part of the development of the country. From the early days of development, women have played a supportive role to their husbands, after the men had been recruited to work in plantations or the public sector work force. Also, most of these women do not boast about the things they do every day to sustain themselves and their families. They just do it.

Women take their role and responsibilities of motherhood seriously and they care for their children with little or no help from the Government. Women nurture and care for the human capital of this country. They need all the help they can get to enhance the quality of care which they give. They need adequate and appropriate medical help to keep them and their children healthy. They need assistance in family planning so that

they only have children that they plan for, and that they can look after, educate, clothe, and house.

It is only through a woman that Papua New Guinea's human capital and that of the world can be borne. Therefore, it is in the best interest of the government-of-the-day to ensure that babies from the time of conception to the time they are born, and up to the time when they become independent young adults, that their mothers get the best help. A woman needs a stable, steady, and faithful husband to be the father of their sons and daughters. Mothers and their babies should both be well-cared for, physically, socially, emotionally, psychologically, and spiritually, before, during, and after childbirth. The fathers should also be responsible to ensure that the children are planned for and that there are all the necessary resources which the mothers and children need. If the mothers are well, the children and the fathers will also be well. Papua New Guinean women should not expect or accept anything less!

There is no doubt that women transform society, often behind the scenes, by supporting the men in their lives – their husbands, fathers, brothers, uncles, or male friends. Today, women are consciously pursuing a tertiary education and venturing into workplaces that have been previously only occupied by men. While it is easy to identify the contributions of these women in the work force, it is easy to overlook the contribution of women in the rural areas and those in the informal sector. This paper has highlighted some of the work that women do behind the scenes, and which is not always adequately acknowledged. Papua New Guinean women do transform society and are the unsung heroes in community development. They are like volcanoes and bulldozers who leave a trail of influence as they change the map for others to follow.

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Chapter 14

Gender and Leadership Role of Women: The Yangit Female Initiation Ceremony

Naomi Faik Simet

Introduction

This paper focuses on the role of women in the development and maintenance of communities, as espoused in the government's Medium Term Development Strategy (MTDS), 2005-2010. Women play important roles in maintaining the family unit. In Chapter Two of the MTDS, the social sector is seen as one of the key government entities in strengthening the family unit. It states that:

The MTDS, 2005-2010 recognises that the family and clan are the foundation of Papua New Guinean society and the glue that holds it together. It is therefore important that strengthening the family and community is recognised as a policy priority, consistent with the constitutional goals and directive principles to respect Papua New Guinean ways (MTDS 2005-2010).

As part of the government's initiative to recognise the role of women in development, gender equality and empowerment of women is a priority. This is also highlighted in Section 2.3.5 of the MTDS:

The success of the MTDS will be constrained, if the issues of gender equality and empowerment of women are not addressed. While there has been progress in reducing the disparity between male and female enrolments in formal education, much work is still required to improve both the health status of women and their participation in decision making at all levels. To address female gender issues, the Government recognises that male gender issues must also be addressed, particularly in the area of gender awareness (MTDS 2005-2010).

The roles that women play in the development of their communities in Papua New Guinea vary between the different societies. In the Yangit community in the Burui-Kunai Local-Level Government area of East Sepik Province, women's roles are emphasised in the Yangit female initiation ceremony called *Kraku-Bandi*. This traditional skin-cutting ceremony provides the occasion for the restatement and redefining of gender roles. At the same time, this occasion reminds the wider community of their different roles in the gender divide, and also for others, particularly the young, to learn about these roles.

This paper discusses the importance of the *Kraku-Bandi* process, as a traditional cultural institution. In emphasising, restating, and redefining women's roles in the socioeconomic life of the community, these roles are important for the development and maintenance of the community.

Location

Yangit Village is located in one of the remote areas of East Sepik Province. It takes four hours to reach the village by road from the township of Wewak. Yangit is one of the villages of the Sawos language group in the north of the Middle Sepik. Given its remoteness, many of the beliefs and practices associated with the *Kraku-Bandi* ceremony have been maintained from generation to generation and are still intact.

Background

Male initiation ceremonies involving body scarification are a common feature of Papua New Guinea's traditional ceremonial and cultural life. In East Sepik Province, and most particularly along the Sepik tributary, male initiation into the crocodile cult is a common feature. This involves the skin-cutting ceremony of young boys. Young boys pass into manhood after such initiation rituals. In this context, female initiation is given scant attention.

However, according to oral history found among the Burui-Kunai people of East Sepik Province, initiation through skin-cutting ceremonies is the domain of the women. Only recently was this initiation ceremony taken over by the men. Thus, the *Kraku-Bandi* event in Yangit Village reveals that the skin-cutting practice also belongs to the domain of the women.

This paper is based on preliminary ethnographic work undertaken on the *Kraku-Bandi* ceremony which took place on Friday 25 July 2008. In this process, nine young females were initiated and went into seclusion for a period of three months.

The *Kraku-Bandi* ceremony takes place when a young girl experiences her first menstruation. The skin-cutting ceremony is performed on the girl in the belief that the blood acquired from her parents is released. During seclusion, the young girl is expected to make new blood for herself.

The new blood enables the young girl to be productive for her upcoming role as a wife and mother. Also, during the seclusion, the young girl develops the strength and skills to produce children and to physically sustain her family and community. The seclusion period is a learning stage for the young initiates. The young initiates are referred to as *bandis*. They are trained to look after their husbands, children, families, and their community.

The scarification done on the *bandis* is significant to the ceremony. The marks and designs of each scar symbolise the *bandis* status. For example, the carved marks on the initiate's arm symbolise the strength and bravery of the girl during the process. The marks that run through the centre of the womb, right through the abdomen area, signify the young girl's ability to produce children.

Men's roles are also expressed and emphasised during the *Kraku-Bandi* process. It is the man who performs the scarification on the female initiate's body. Although the skin-cutting is done by a man, it is the women who acquire the strength and skills they require to perform their roles in the development and maintenance of the community.

Some ethnographic documentation has been done by anthropologists and other researchers on female initiation in East Sepik Province. Some of these include Brigitta Hausa-Schaublin (1995:33-53), who studied the puberty rites of the Iatmul and Abelam women, and Paul Roscoe (1995:72-81), who did research on male and female initiation ceremonies in the Yangoru-Boiken area. Other accounts discuss the complementary roles of men and women during initiation ceremonies. Barlow (1995: 85-111) emphasises the gender roles that men and women have in the Murik society, which complement each other during initiation ceremonies.

The Socioeconomic Role of Women in Yangit Society

Women gain the knowledge of the socioeconomic role that is expected of them after they pass out from the *Kraku-Bandi* ceremony. They are taught the skills to harvest and trade sago which is an important staple food of the area. Women are entirely responsible for the sago trade which occurs amongst the Sawos people and the nearby Iatmul villages (Schindlbeck 1980). Sago production and trade are mainly the activities of the women.

During the emergence ceremony, the young initiates are taken to the market area to begin their trade partnership with other villagers in the Iatmul area of the Middle Sepik. The marketplace is reserved only for women, and men are restricted. Women control the exchange of sago with other food items. The significance of the sago trade is learned by each female initiate before they emerge from the seclusion area. This trade is their way of life and is a daily activity that must be performed by the women.

The emergence ceremony is completed through payments in cash and valuables by the young initiate's paternal relatives to her maternal uncles. The significance of this is to compensate for the maternal blood that was released from the initiate during the skin-cutting ceremony. This blood belongs to the mother's brother and has to be removed during the ceremony to allow the girl to make new blood for herself. The cash and valuables will be returned to the girl's parents and paternal relatives by her future husband when she marries.

This practice adds value to the life of a young girl whose future is destined to achieve this social and cultural obligation. It is a process that a girl goes through to earn the respect and dignity from her family, clan, and the community. While in seclusion, the young initiates are taught the skills of upholding good moral conduct. The conduct of a woman is important to the development of the community.

An important part of the ceremony that adds status to the value of the young initiates is the girls' virginity. As part of the seclusion period, the young girls are required to wear a

belt-like mini-grass-skirt called a *gavi* to symbolise their virginity. The *gavi* is worn around the waist area, until the girl meets her new husband. The *gavi* is then removed by the husband. If a new initiate is without a husband after a year, she is given another belt-like mini-grass-skirt which is bigger in size to wear around the waist. This is called a *bipi* which means that the young girl is still single.

The number of years of being single is determined by the size of the *bipi*. These restrictions are placed on the young initiates to help them find good husbands who will love, respect, and value their contribution to them and their family. This also adds status to the young girls who are now ready to take on the responsibilities of a wife, mother, sister, and in-law.

Even though the Yangit community is patrilineal, men consider women's decisions as important in deciding matters relating to land. There is equal discussion by men and women on the distribution and use of land and resources. The men consult with the women before they agree on any development to take place within their community. Men consider women as important partners in decision making.

The *Kraku-Bandi* process is aimed at maintaining and preserving the culture of the Yangit people. An important part of this is the emphasis of women's roles in the community. At the same time, the ritual instils social codes of behaviour and integrity among the young people. Social problems associated with law and order, fornication, adultery, rape, alcohol, and drugs are rarely faced in this community. There is cooperation and respect amongst the young towards the elderly people, and women are highly regarded for their status as leaders who underwent the *Kraku-Bandi* ceremony.

Women's Leadership and Gender Role

Women play vital roles in producing, reproducing, and maintaining social and kinship relations. Women are responsible for the continuation of the lineage strength. They are considered leaders in their roles towards the maintenance of family and community relations. Women are custodians of certain traditional knowledge that is unknown to men. However, men also have roles to play during the women's skin-cutting ceremony.

Before the women's emergence ceremony, men are responsible for staging an all-night performance which involves singing and dancing. This performance begins on the eve of the emergence ceremony and continues throughout the night and into the early hours of the next morning. It is a celebration by the men to welcome the initiates out of the seclusion area. By doing this, the men show their appreciation towards the young girls' achievements and also as future leaders of their community.

Men also practice rituals that emphasise their status as fathers, husbands, and brothers, who are responsible for protecting their families and the community. Men's rituals are focused on acquiring power and prestige, from which they draw their strength. The *Kraku-Bandi* ceremony provides the platform for the women to publicly display their achievement as women who are equivalent to men. On that day, women are dressed to

resemble the Bird of Paradise as the main attraction for the day. Men keep their distance to avoid interfering with the procession. Failure to observe this will result in the payment of compensation by the men to the young initiates.

Although these rules are observed only throughout the emergence ceremony, it influences the everyday activity of men and women in Yangit Village. Men remain conscious of the importance of women and their worth as a result of the *Kraku-Bandi* ceremony. The ceremony presents an interesting case where men's and women's roles can be seen as complementary towards the development of their community.

Cultural Aspects of the Kraku-Bandi Ceremony and Development

The Yangit community suffers from an acute lack of access to government services, which is a situation that is common to many isolated rural communities in the country. For example, there are no health and education facilities within reach, and people have to walk for hours to get to the nearest government service centres. Because of the poor roads and bridges, travel for these villagers is often difficult.

Government officers seldom visit the area. One rare occasion was when they attended the *Kraku-Bandi* emergence ceremony in October 2008. The local people invited government officials from the Commerce and Tourism Division of the East Sepik Provincial Government to officiate at the ceremony. The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies was also invited by the Office of Commerce and Tourism to record and conduct research on this special female initiation ceremony.

Also present were representatives from the Burui-Kunai Local-level Government. The ceremony provided the venue for these government officials to see for themselves the difficulties that exist in this community. The speeches that followed throughout the ceremony focused on the need to bring services to the Yangit community in the form of basic education, proper health facilities, and good roads.

In the absence of formal government services, the Yangit community depends on its traditional system of social organisation to maintain themselves. This highlights the importance of traditional cultures in remote parts of Papua New Guinea.

Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women

Many of the traditional institutions of the indigenous peoples of Papua New Guinea must be studied and examined to establish how they contribute to the common goal of community development and maintenance, and in the process, achieve gender parity. At present, women's roles are marginalised and limited by their societies. Women make every effort to gain recognition for their everyday roles as a wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, and in-laws.

Apart from their domestic roles, women are now advancing in education and career opportunities to take on the male-dominated industries and professions. Many of the

background roles played by women have to be recognised and valued for their contribution to the development of their communities and the country as a whole. Traditional laws have recognised women's roles as being important in addressing social, physical, spiritual, and economic problems that are associated with a particular society.

The Government should focus more on empowering women in the rural communities, as 80 percent of the country's population still live in the rural areas. For a country to fully develop, local communities must be equipped with the necessary know-how to implement some of the government's policies. The rural communities should actively participate in implementing some of the Government's Medium Term Development Strategy goals in which women are key players. Women are the basis for all foundations, and are responsible for maintaining family and social relations.

The *Kraku-Bandi* Ceremony and Women's Education

It is a growing concern among the people in the Yangit community that the Western education system involving young girls contributes to the delay in the initiation process. Many young girls tend to go to schools and miss out on the initiation process. As a result, many of the girls who eventually undergo the initiation ceremony have lapsed their period by two or three years. Some are hardly initiated at all. The local people have suggested that the education system should recognise this important women's ceremony and make provisions in the education curriculum to accommodate these important cultural practices.

The Department of Education has recently incorporated the subject of culture as an important area to be studied as a core subject in the secondary and upper secondary school syllabus. This is made aware through the Curriculum Unit's Subject Advisory Committee meetings which have been held twice a year since its inception in 2004.

Traditional knowledge relating to women's practices and beliefs should be taught at the primary stages to allow young girls to take the subject seriously and have an in-depth foundation on which all other aspects of knowledge are built.

The Renaissance of Women's Cultural Knowledge and Value Systems

The Government of Papua New Guinea recognises culture as an important area for integral human development. It has established the following cultural institutions under the *National Cultural Commission Act* 1994 to develop and promote cultural development and heritage:

- the National Performing Arts Troupe;
- the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies; and
- the National Film Institute.

These institutions have different functions, but have the ultimate goal of preserving, promoting, and developing the diverse arts and cultures of Papua New Guinea.

The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, which was established in 1974, has recently conducted research into the role of women in Papua New Guinea, in the context of traditional ceremonies. Women's roles are studied in relation to men's roles and how they complement each other.

Women's roles are studied as part of the Institute's function in carrying out research into, recording, and interpreting all aspects of the traditional culture of the indigenous inhabitants of the country. Women's roles are explored as part of the ongoing research activity at the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies.

The *Kraku-Bandi* ceremony paves a fertile area in research which relates to the renaissance of women's cultural knowledge and value systems. Government policies that are aimed at improving the status of women in rural communities should incorporate some of these cultural knowledge and value systems of which women are custodians.

Conclusion

Women everywhere have certain roles to play in the development and maintenance of their communities. These roles are as important as those roles played by the men, and are constantly reinforced by certain activities and institutions of the community, as part of the reifying processes.

Traditional Papua New Guinean communities have existed on the separation of roles between the sexes. While in some parts of the country this situation has changed, in others, these systems are still very much in use.

One of the main problems faced by remote rural communities is the acute lack of basic government services. As a result, many communities depend on traditional institutions to provide the framework within which both men and women can develop and maintain their communities. These traditional institutions are then important means to achieving the development and maintenance of communities. The *Kraku-Bandi* ceremony of the Yangit is one of these important cultural institutions.

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Chapter 15

The Young Women's Christian Association as a Partner in Development

Matilda Parau

Introduction

'Development' is a term that is used extensively to describe progress, growth, advancement, improvement, and promotion. This paper shows how the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) has tried to encompass all these aspects of development. It is an overview of our vision to:

develop the leadership and collective power of women and girls around the world in order to achieve human rights, health, security, dignity, freedom, justice, and peace, and maintain the integrity of the environment.

Brief History of the YWCA in PNG

The World Young Women's Christian Association is an international non-government organisation (INGO) with a special consultative status to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The affiliation of the YWCA in PNG with the World YWCA unites Papua New Guinean women and girls with a growing international membership of 25 million volunteers in more than 125 countries. These volunteers are all campaigning to improve the lives and skills of less fortunate women and girls around the world.

The YWCA in PNG was established in 1962 (and registered in 1972) with the vision of bringing together women of all cultures and traditions, and providing opportunities for them to work together for the common causes of fighting poverty, illiteracy, and abuses against women. Most importantly, the YWCA is also a voice for women to advocate their issues and concerns. This organisation has given women from all walks of life a chance to come together and empower themselves through activities that are strategically aimed at achieving better conditions and opportunities for women and their communities.

Through the establishment of the five provincial branches, numerous project sites, and a number of interested provincial women's and girls' groups, the YWCA has contributed to the growth and the improvement in quality of services to Papua New Guinea's rural population. This has occurred using the strategies identified by women within their local communities, as well as the policies set out by the Government of Papua New Guinea.

Role of Informal Education in Development

The services and establishments that we have initiated and pioneered continue to address the National Goals and Directive Principles of Papua New Guinea's *Constitution*,

which focus on providing women and girls with the necessary skills to actively participate in the economy of the country, as well as assisting them to emancipate themselves from the gender-biased practices that are persistent in traditional Papua New Guinean cultures.

Although the *Constitution* gives some form of guidance to the government to address issues relating to the welfare of women and children, many relevant laws are not implemented because there are no complementary service providers to activate them. We continue to be part of various policy and law reform committees that consult and make recommendations on amendments which focus on these social issues.

Literacy and Health

The economic boom that Papua New Guinea has recently experienced provides no relief for the rural and urban families that seek to educate their children and ensure that they are able to provide a family meal at the end of the day. The education system has created a gap between the haves and the have nots. The lack of space and the cost of education have pushed many young people out of schools and on to the streets. The Government has been short-sighted and has not delivered a more affordable education and improved infrastructure for primary and high schools or other vocational and training facilities.

The lack of employment opportunities is another problem. It has created the ingredients for a dependent young population, that is a social and economic cost to the State, as a result of this semi-education.

The provision of informal education services for both adults and children is a pioneer project of the YWCA in PNG. The YWCA was the first organisation to provide day care and preschool for working mothers. It realised that more and more women in the 1970s and 1980s needed an affordable education, especially the older women. This was a vital point in Papua New Guinea's history because many more men were educated than women. Subsequently, activities such as literacy programs and typing schools were set up in the two major centres—Port Moresby and Lae. This saw an influx of rural women to the services at the time.

The Catholic Organisation for Development Aid (CORD Aid) from The Netherlands has been a very supportive development partner of the YWCA in terms of funding its health and literacy training programs. The Women's Health and Literacy Project has gone a step further from the traditional reading and writing programs, to deliver language classes. In addition, with the help of student volunteers from The Netherlands, and support funding from the National AIDS Council Secretariat through the HIV Project and Democratic Governance Transition Project, the YWCA is now entering the digital age with computing classes.

The provincial heads of literacy projects are some of the first recipients of the computers and lessons on basic computing. Computers from this support funding will

also be distributed within the provinces to ensure that women have a daily, hands-on opportunity to practise with the computers. They will then be able to assist rural women and children in the preparation of presentable documents for proposals and job applications.

Life-Skills and Other Training Programs

Other initiatives, such as leadership courses for women whose spouses are in high-profile positions, culture nights and orientation programs for foreign visitors to PNG are all examples of the YWCA's efforts in providing quality services and informal education.

Other skills that were developed by the programs include sewing, baking, cooking (preservation and food preparation), arts and crafts for small business initiatives, micro-credit schemes, grooming, and hospitality. These services were also provided for marginalised and stigmatised groups such as sex workers. This project was formally known as Henao Sisters, and was funded by the EZE Germany Fund and other successive funders. However, some of these services have become inactive as a result of the growing number of other non-government organisations and private enterprises providing these services, as well as a lack of funding and demand for these services from the YWCA.

The current programs that are available focus on affordability and are skills oriented. Traditionally, Papua New Guinea has been dependent on an oral, observation-type culture, which is why the organisation's role is important in ensuring that these programs are fully inclusive, thereby reducing discrimination on the basis of education. While women and girls are the main beneficiaries of these services, the recent increase in the number of men, the young, and old, who are accessing these services has been encouraging.

Information as the Key to Unlocking Norms Associated with Gender Issues

School Holiday Programs

Research has shown that the involvement of youth and young children in activities can provide a pivotal point for positive change. In the Papua New Guinean context, programs for children in term breaks are limited, and if they are provided, they have less focus on values or behaviour change. These out-of-school activities are not particularly enticing, which results in youths and students becoming delinquents and even becoming the cause of social problems.

The YWCA's school holiday programs are tailored to the needs of the children. The YWCA undertakes an initial baseline survey, and activities are then organised to try to address these needs throughout the week-long training program. These activities include excursions to government offices, such as the police, or to community-based organisations, peer education programs which are age and sex sensitive, and advocacy programs such as the making of posters, amongst others.

Out-of- School Youth Peer Education Programs

Peer education programs are concerned with empowering young individuals with information and experience, which will allow them to make informed choices and lead to change in their communities. The peer education training programs vary slightly for different ages, groups, professions, religions, and cultures. However, the main focus areas of the programs are:

- adolescent sexual and reproductive health issues;
- violence against women;
- understanding sexuality and gender roles;
- addressing alcohol and drug abuse;
- basic counselling; and
- peer relations.

Because of the sensitivity of these programs, specialists and professionals are invited to facilitate as volunteers. This has seen the confidence level of the participants grow. It also ensures that the information which is delivered is evidence-based and questions can be personally answered by professionals.

Many young women and girls who graduate from these programs have asked for the training to be extended to people in other localities and have gone on to become facilitators themselves. One such example is the Young Women of Vanimo who have embarked on advocacy and awareness programs amongst their peers. This has seen them participate in the provincial program for the World AIDS day in 2008. In July 2009, they facilitated peer education for women from the north coast area, with guidance from a senior trainer. The young women are now thinking of setting up a YWCA office in the province to consolidate their work and promote the leadership of women in creating change and providing safe spaces for women and girls.

Faith-Based Partnerships

The YWCA is an ecumenical partner with the Council of Churches, at both the global and national levels. Therefore, the need to involve faith-based organisations is paramount in reaching the masses.

However, some participants have been concerned that the churches in PNG have been great violators of human rights by inspiring stigma and discrimination, particularly in statements such as, “AIDS is a punishment from God for those who live adulterous lives or are involved in fornication acts/practices”. Such comments do not take into account the large number of people, particularly innocent children, who are infected through abuse (rape), mother-to-child transmission, use of unsterilised syringes in medical practices, and others situations.

People living with HIV and AIDS have also expressed the need for greater awareness of the disease and the means of transmission. In many instances, stigma and discrimination have had a profound effect on the recovery progress of patients.

It is vital that people in authority and those who are particularly influential in communities are sensitive in their advocacy of these issues, so that they are better able to counsel their communities about their health and other social issues which impede development. In a recent training seminar, several pastors claimed that dealing with this issue was 'beyond them'. While the teaching of love is emphasised by the churches, more than 80 percent of the same pastors stated that they had never uttered the phrase 'I love you' to their spouses.

Media for Change

In 1997, the YWCA embarked on a partnership with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) to facilitate the promotion of YWCA's programs, with its partners, to educate Papua New Guineans about their rights and responsibilities in sexual reproductive health issues. The project, 'Tokstret Radio', became a forum for young people to communicate their ideas.

The program initially worked like a classroom. There were students and a facilitator, who dominated much of the discussion. However, it was soon realised that the program needed to be more interactive with the audience, as well as being informative. The program soon transformed to give more opportunities to the studio and radio audience to pose questions to people in authority. Over time, the program involved planners, government officials, health specialists, law and enforcement agencies, development partners, faith-based organisations, community-based organisations and non-governmental organisations.

During the past 11 years, Tokstret Radio has travelled to twelve provinces in Papua New Guinea. For the participants in rural centres, the radio programs have provided a voice for their concerns. Many of the rural provinces that were visited have been abandoned by their local governments and the private and multinational companies operating in these areas. The program has subsequently received numerous invitations by civil society groups to travel to their local areas and broadcast their concerns. The program has also been seen as a platform for bringing together leaders and their people, thus encouraging dialogue within communities about how they can seek solutions together.

Conclusion

By participating in major annual programs such as *International Women's Rights and Peace Day*, *World Day of Prayer*, *20 days of Activism*, and *Women in Politics*, the Young Women's Christian Association also reflects the diversity of the many groups of people that the organisation represents. The YWCA's participation in these programs also

strengthens its partnerships with other organisations working in the same area, and which have values that are in line with the YWCA. These programs are another tool for promoting and advocating the type of work that the YWCA does, as well as involving its target audiences.