Man tasol I ken senisim man: Only men can change men to address gender based violence in Bougainville

急速の出版

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A Thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

March 2019
TAIM ol man I kisim save, san bai kamap klia long Bougainville

Once men are educated, the sun will shine brighter over Bougainville
Abstract

The almost ten year civil war, known locally as ‘the crisis’ from 1989-1998 transformed the Autonomous Region of Bougainville. It changed traditional, social, and cultural structures. Violent masculine tendencies emerged during the crisis and have subsequently become normalised and entrenched into the current post conflict society, leading to increased gender based violence (GBV). Three out of four women experience some form of violence by their partners. Local grassroots organisations in Bougainville have voluntarily initiated programmes to address GBV. The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation is an important local organisation that have implemented a male advocacy programme (MAP) which aims to address GBV, foster gender equality and create societal change. Based on extensive fieldwork carried out in Bougainville and previous Volunteer Service Abroad experience, this research analyses the effectiveness of the current male advocacy programme as a way in which to address gender based violence. The MAP operates in a number of rural communities and involves community conversations by trained male facilitators for male and female community members. In particular, this study explores how this programme is a locally designed, participatory gender sensitive approach, based around a human rights framework that incorporates theology and Melanesian culture. The research questions that focus this work ask, what is the prevalence of GBV in Bougainville today, how the MAP addresses GBV and how effective the MAP is in addressing GBV. To address these questions, I use a feminist framework and decolonising methodology to obtain data and utilised a wide literature base. Through 35 semi-structured interviews undertaken in Bougainville, this thesis argues three particular points. First, that the design of a programme to address GBV must be homegrown and culturally appropriate. Secondly, men need to be educated by men and require the support of women and their communities to change. Thirdly, that specific aspects of Bougainvillean culture permits men to change in this programme. This thesis outlines how this programme, facilitated by ex-perpetrators of violence, subverts harmful masculinities and draws upon cultural ideologies such as forgiveness and reconciliation to enable men to change, and create safer and more peaceful communities. This research provides an evidence base for understanding the conditions and resourcing required for a successful programme in Bougainville.
Acknowledgements

First to my lewas, the Congregation of the Sisters of Nazareth in Bougainville, you have shown me warmth, kindness, and taught me so much about patience, love, respect and compassion. Thank you for caring for me as your own and giving me the village type of love. The Sisters at the Motherhouse, you will always be my adopted grandmothers, thank you for all the conversations, endless laughs, your prayers, blessings, hugs, food and baking and all the tears whenever I leave you, my heart and spirit will always be with you as yours are with me.

To all my friends in Bougainville and everyone else I met there, who allowed me into their lives, into the hard conversations and are always so warm, welcoming and generous with me. To the women and men that risk their lives for others, and stand up for injustice, you will remain a huge source of strength for me, the challenges and obstacles you’ve overcome are incredible, and I’m so blessed to be able to draw on your strength and know you all as friends and part of my family.

To Kate, Alisha, Dave, Lucy, Bex, Skip and Mitch. Wow What a rollercoaster. You made the last two or more years the best years of my time in Otago. What a privilege and a blessing it has been to get to know you all. The nights and days have been endless fun, occasionally stressful but I love how I can say I finished up (hopefully some) of the best years of my life with some intelligent, fun loving, exceptional people. I can’t wait to see the paths you take in the future, you’re all going to do great things.

To all my family and friends who have stuck by through everything, who shout me with treats, chats, unconditional love and endless support. Who support my ideas and dreams, thank you for believing in me and bringing out the sparkle in me especially when it dims.

To Sophie, thank you for teaching me in such a kind manner, one in which you allowed me to express myself and somehow keep the academia type of writing I hate. I never in a thousand years thought I’d write a thesis and do it in such an enjoyable way. I am so thankful and grateful for all the time you put into me and for growing a love of academia and education within me and putting up with some horrendous writing at times.
To Sister Lorraine, I am in awe of you every day, your strength, your compassion, your unrelenting nature. In particular, your inability to compromise when you shouldn’t is something I will treasure forever and take with me in life. A teacher like you comes around once in a lifetime, and how lucky I am to know you, have lived with you, and have been taught by you during these formative years of my life. Thank you for caring for me as your own, my parents never had to worry one bit whenever I visit, they know you are the safest person to be with. My admiration of you has just continued to grow with this research, you are such a treasure.

To Mum, Dad and Meera, are you happy? I’m finally done. Looks like I’ll be on the couch with you watching cricket in no time Dad. I know that my life has the vaguest plan, which stresses you all out, but trust me, it’ll all work out. Thanks for the emotional and huge financial support which I am extremely blessed to have had for all the years I’ve been away from home. It’s been a long, tumultuous journey, but I think I keep life interesting for you all, albeit I probably give you a lot of heart attacks. I could never have done this without you, and I know that this work and who I am is a result of Dada, Ba, Aja and Aji’s love and hard work. I am forever grateful for all the sacrifices you both have made for us to live such wonderful, fulfilling lives in such a beautiful country and giving us all the opportunities in the world to succeed.
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## Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>ABG</td>
<td>Autonomous Bougainville Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>BCL</td>
<td>Bougainville Copper Limited</td>
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<tr>
<td>BRA</td>
<td>Bougainville Revolutionary Army</td>
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<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender based violence</td>
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<tr>
<td>INGO</td>
<td>International non-governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>IPV</td>
<td>Intimate partner violence</td>
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<td>MA</td>
<td>Male advocate</td>
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<td>MAP</td>
<td>Male advocate programme</td>
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<td>NCfR</td>
<td>Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>PNG</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
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<td>PNGDF</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea Defence Force</td>
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<td>PTSD</td>
<td>Post-traumatic stress disorder</td>
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<td>WHRD</td>
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Chapter 1: Introduction

In the Autonomous Region of Bougainville (or simply ‘Bougainville’), a small autonomous island currently under the administrative jurisdiction of Papua New Guinea (PNG) in the region of Melanesia, women and men are championing initiatives and programmes that work to prevent violence against women and girls. The end of civil conflict in Bougainville in 1998 was marked by a significant increase in gender based violence (GBV). Initially to address GBV, Bougainvillean women continued their role as traditional peacebuilders to engage in and develop initiatives that aimed to prevent and reduce this perverse problem. More recently, a Male Advocacy Programme (MAP) which focused predominantly on men working with men was established. It is this programme and its transformative work that is the focus of this thesis.

An exceptional young Women Human Rights Defender (WHRD) in Bana, South Bougainville demonstrates the transformative work that women and men are engaging in to address GBV. The following excerpt is from Ida, a single mother who is leading the charge for change in her community.

But I say, “it’s work, I don’t care about the pay, the more I work and keep going, later, big changes will happen”. … I don’t do this for money I do it for the future. If I work hard now something good will come later. … This year I’m seeing that with the hard work I’ve done, the community is changing. Violence has completely dropped. Last year they were brewing homebrew, this year it’s gone. In my village we don’t have it, all the gas bottles, we have given them to the police. I have changed from these workshops, when I attended the human rights workshops, when I looked at myself, I saw lots of failures within myself, now I say to the people in my community, my change is your change. I change, and the community will change. This mind set has just come.

1 The WHRDs are a network of women who have undergone trainings by The NCfR in order to help prevent and reduce violence in their communities. They connect women survivors to safe houses, law enforcement and health officials, and other members to community counsellors. They aim to educate their communities on a variety of social issues. A number of WHRDs have now been elected to the community government, further strengthening their ability to effect change at a government level.
Ida epitomises the characteristics of the women and men who voluntarily undertake these roles. She typifies Bougainvillean culture of community which places the desires of the community above an individual’s needs. The training workshops that she engaged in has sparked a personal change that now flows far deeper and has empowered her to promote and champion change in her community. Her desire to see a violence free community is slowly being realised and enabled by her unwavering support for the men in her community. This research explores the nature and value of the MAP and the role of women and men in addressing GBV in Bougainville.

The evidence presented in this thesis tells stories of horrific experiences and hopeful and positive transformations, undertaken by ordinary people in Bougainville. It includes stories of women and men who started their own safe house (interviews with David and Brenda), communities who marched and removed all the gas bottles used for homebrewing to reduce alcohol dependence and associated violence (interviews with Carol, Ida, Anthony, Paul and Nick), as well as a woman who started her own business selling her garden vegetables so she could send her husband to a vocational college to earn more money for their family (interview with Gloria). However, these are not the dominant narratives the media disseminates about PNG.

Headlines such as “Port Moresby: The world’s most dangerous city to be a woman?” (see BBC, 2018), “No women MPs to sit in PNG’s new parliament” (see SBS, 2017), “Papua New Guinea: Failing to protect women and girls” (see Human rights watch, 2016), “Violence against women and children is a daily struggle in Papua New Guinea” (Huffington Post, 2016) are examples of regular headlines in PNG and internationally. The reality is that two out of three women are survivors or sadly become victims of gendered violence in PNG (GoPNG, 2016; Ganster-Breidler, 2010). These headlines and these statistics are the reality of gender based violence (GBV) in Papua New Guinea and Bougainville. Yet, the stories from the women and men in this research flip this narrative from one of violence, to one of transformation and hope. The purpose of this thesis is to explore these transformative and hopeful narratives, and to identify how the work these women and men are engaging in is reducing and addressing GBV in Bougainville. It also provides an example from which other people and communities can learn from and create change to address GBV.
Bougainville consists of a number of islands in Melanesia. While it is currently administered by Papua New Guinea, it has its own governing body, the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG). Bougainville in the last 200 years is a colonised island region which has undergone successive waves of invasion by colonial powers, including Germany, Australia and America. In particular, WW II saw the island become a strategic location where war was waged (see Chapter 3). In part as a response to these ongoing colonialisms, and the globalised extractive industry, Bougainville endured an almost ten-year armed civil conflict. Among the many impacts from the war, increased GBV has been significant with three in every four women experiencing intimate partner violence (IPV) (Jewkes et al., 2015). It has been found that war and GBV is linked (Manjoo and McRaith, 2011), with war disproportionately affecting women and children (Ghobarah, Huth and Russett, 2004; Degomme and Guha-Sapir, 2010). Research into international conflicts have demonstrated high levels of sexual violence inflicted upon women and girls (Leatherman, 2011). All these various forms of violence fall under the category of GBV, defined as,

Violence that is directed at an individual based on his or her biological sex, gender identity, or his or her perceived adherence to socially defined norms of masculinity and femininity. It includes physical, sexual, and psychological abuse; threats; coercion; arbitrary deprivation of liberty; and economic deprivation, whether occurring in public or private life (NCfR, 2017:5).

While the definition of GBV is contested (as discussed in Chapter 4) this definition was created by The NCfR, a Bougainville grassroots organisation which is addressing the social issues which became apparent following the civil conflict. It is this organisation that developed the MAP and the workshops that Ida is involved with (quoted above).

1.1 The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (The NCfR or ‘The Centre’)

The NCfR was established in 2001 by the Congregation of the Sisters of Nazareth and aims to help individuals and communities establish long term sustainable peace and stability through a human rights approach (Garasu, 2014). They provide safe houses for women and children, access to justice, counselling services, practical skills education, a men and boys rehabilitation programme, and various training programmes and workshops, plus a range of other services.
A key goal of The Centre is to reduce violence in communities, and this is accomplished by providing education on drug and alcohol awareness, peace building, GBV, life skills development and sexual reproductive health. Moreover, The NCfR also collaborates with a number of other Bougainvillean grassroots organisations, and together they complement each other to work towards the common goal of reducing and preventing GBV. The risk of this work is evident. One safe house counsellor about 60 years old, voiced to me the challenges she faces and the changes she had seen after undertaking community education,

When the safe house first opened, perpetrators [of violence] were coming with sticks, timber, grass knifes and bush knives, I had to run at them with a piece of timber when I saw them coming here with these knives. We conducted awareness’s and now, nothing (Interview with Linda).

This is the reality of this work in Bougainville and in much of the Global South. But the tide is turning, and men are being called in to support women in this line of work. They are able to play a vital role and engage with men and influence them in ways women may not be able to. As Connell (2005:1802) suggests, “men are gatekeepers for gender equality”. Unless men stop their problematic behaviours and attitudes, GBV will continue to exist. More significantly, when men and boys as a group start realising that a more gender equal society brings benefits to them as well, societal change will occur.

Men are not born violent, so why and how are men the prevalent perpetrators of violence? How is violence socially permitted? What social constructions allow for violence to be maintained as the status quo? And how can we change these constructions in order to stop violence altogether? Furthermore, complexities arise when we factor in different cultures, societies, generations and conflicts. This research aims to address these questions in relation to Bougainville. Evidence suggests that that violence can be unlearned, and it is possible to create a more gender equitable future for all. In a more structured sense, this project investigates gender based violence in Bougainville and how the MAP implemented by The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation, is helping to alleviate this problem.

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2 An awareness is an educational activity that participants of workshops can implement in their communities to educate their peers about key concepts they learnt during the workshop.
The MAP involves a number of training workshops facilitated by men. It involves men who have been past perpetrators of violence, who have transformed and now advocate to their male peers to change their attitudes and behaviours. These are group participatory workshops, involving predominantly men but also women. The overall aim is to change problematic behaviours and attitudes of men in order to prevent and reduce GBV in communities, and create spaces for women and girls free from violence. The training workshops are founded on human rights principles and integrate education about Melanesian perspectives of human rights, and theology. In addition, Bougainvillean centred analytical tools and activities are utilised, this helps participants understand core concepts and grounds the education received in the culture and context.

1.2 Research Questions

Throughout this research I pursue the overarching question of, “How is gender based violence being addressed in post-conflict Bougainville?” Three supplementary research questions will aid in answering this:

1) What is the prevalence of gender based violence in Bougainville today?
2) How is the male advocacy programme addressing gender based violence?
3) How effective is the male advocacy programme in addressing gender based violence?

These questions have been addressed using a feminist theoretical approach with a decolonising methodology (see Chapter 2). This allowed for a prioritising of Indigenous knowledge as well as much due thought on my positionality as a researcher. Steps to ensure ethical practices were followed throughout due to the sensitive nature of this topic. I used the interview process to collect qualitative data, in doing so, this captured the emotions and voices of the men and women interviewed and privileged their experiences. Following this, data was manually coded and analysed in order to present the findings of this research.

1.3 Thesis Structure

Chapter 2, discusses the adopted research methodology. I reflect on why I have chosen this topic, and my positionality as a western researcher. Chapter 3 situates the research in the
context of the history of Bougainville, specifically looking into the role colonialism played and the long-lasting effects of the civil war. Chapter 4 is an extensive literature review which analyses the role hegemonic masculinities play in society, defines gender based violence, links violent conflict to trauma and violence, whilst delving into current interventions and solutions to GBV. Chapter 5 addresses research question one using evidence from literature and interviews. In addition, I suggest why and how GBV has become prevalent. Chapter 6 explores civil society in Bougainville, traditional reconciliation in Bougainville, The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation and the MAP. It looks at how this distinct approach helps to address GBV in Bougainville, and in doing so, addresses research question two. The final discussion in Chapter 7, privileges the men’s voices and stories of change. It explores how processes such as gender sensitisation, alliances between men and women, resistance, and forgiveness, work interdependently to foster a nurturing and effective environment, which aids in the effectiveness of the MAP, and in doing so, answers research question three. Finally, Chapter 8 concludes this research by drawing together the findings to address the overall aim, and identify limitations and future research opportunities in this field.

This piece of research explores how individuals and communities are promoting and leading the change for a violence free Bougainville. It examines the homegrown design of the MAP, why male to male advocacy is successful and how culturally entrenched characteristics such as forgiveness and reconciliation are supporting and permitting men to change. Most importantly it demonstrates that by weaving together the traditional threads of the past a solution can be created to strengthen the fabric of the future.
Chapter 2: Methodology

I have never been surrounded by brown in a place that has grown to be a second home for me. Living with Sister Lorraine, she taught me without being a teacher and she cared for me as a daughter… just like she does with everyone that comes to Chabai. During my time in Chabai I felt like I was back in India learning from my grandmothers, watching them from the tiled floors, tasting all the food fresh from the fire, that type of feeling that only comes from a woman’s warmth. Our relationship is one huge blessing from my volunteer year in Bougainville and just like in the development sector the reciprocity is often unbalanced. There remains a feeling deep within me that I have learnt far more from Bougainvillians than they learnt from me. Which continues to cause discomfort within me. The latter part of that year was where this research was born. But was this my story to tell? And would I give it the justice it so greatly deserved?

- (Personal reflections during research)

This chapter will outline the origins of this research, discuss the theoretical foundation this study is based upon, discuss undertaking Indigenous research and the problems involved with this, and state the research methods applied for this thesis and why these were chosen. I identify myself throughout this project as a western researcher, however, my own Indian cultural background underpins my values and beliefs and has allowed me to navigate through this research process with a distinctive lens. This chapter provides reflections on my positionality as a western researcher working in and with Indigenous people and within their lands. It also explains why, despite much self-reflection that problematises undertaking such research, I have nevertheless pursued it.

2.1 Research Origins

The idea for this project developed following time spent as a Volunteer Service Abroad university volunteer in 2016 at The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (The NCfR or ‘The Centre’). The Centre is a place where the primary goal is to prevent and reduce gender based violence (GBV). This was quite the juxtaposition, having a safe house for women within the area that training workshops were being held to prevent violence, which sometimes involved working with (male) perpetrators of violence. This was where I saw first-hand how the justice
system works in Bougainville, from women seeking refuge at the safe houses, to then seeking law and justice services and counselling, gaining skills that enable self-empowerment, and finally allowing women to independently decide their next step and to be fully supported. At The Centre, I fostered relationships with my colleagues which evolved into friendships and from here I was able to witness, hear and experience first-hand the challenges of addressing such a perverse issue in a post-conflict setting.

At one point during my stay, I was able to watch part of a male advocacy training workshop based on men’s health. This caught my attention as it targeted the men in communities who perpetrated violence. It was facilitated by men and sought to address the various root causes of GBV. In the loosest possible meaning, Sister Lorraine Garasu said to me after I enquired about this programme that “only men can change men” (Pers. comm, 2016). That comment was the catalyst for this research. Although I understood that this phrase wasn’t meant to be taken as is, from what I had observed there remained a lot of truth behind this. It drove me to ask why and how this approach seemed so successful, and whether the success I heard of had been reflected across communities that have engaged in the programme.

2.2 Problematic research methods

Non-Indigenous research adds to previous narratives of a place and space in a certain time frame and from a specific perspective. This feeds into the place’s narrative for people who have never been there. But to assume this role is a position of power and of privilege. This is also where danger can lie. Danger for the Indigenous population as their story can be distorted through the researchers’ lens.

Non-Indigenous people undertaking Indigenous research is problematic for a number of reasons. One reason is because of the methodologies adopted for the research. A decolonising approach to the research aims to prioritise Indigenous knowledge and ensure the power remains within the community. As a non-Indigenous researcher in Bougainville, the question of “should I be doing this research?” is a crucial negotiation. I believe in many settings the answer would be no. Examples of problematic instances of parachuting into a new environment, extracting

3 Sister Lorraine Garasu is also referred to as ‘Sister’ or ‘Sr. Lorraine.’
information and leaving without giving back to the communities, engaging in a community without forming relationships and without the endorsement of the community, or when the knowledge gained does not benefit the community in any way. These thoughtless approaches are colonising, extractive and inappropriate and often result in harming the community. I have experienced such problematic ways that makes westerners engage in research on Indigenous peoples whilst living at The NCfR, and also through discussing situations with prominent Bougainvillean women. I witnessed certain situations which were embarrassing. Though the intent may not to be to harm, there is no doubt in my mind that it was harmful and would have caused some distress. I discuss some of these interactions below and examine why they are problematic.

The Chabai community where The NCfR is based is familiar with researchers and volunteers. The director of The Centre Sr. Lorraine Garasu is a well-known political leader in Bougainville, holding extensive knowledge on the history, politics, culture and social intricacies of the region. Inevitably, this has led to many academics visiting and interviewing her. In one instance a university Master's student came to undertake research and interview Sr. Lorraine. I witnessed this interaction from afar and you could see the frustration in her face as the researcher had come with preconceived answers, as if they were fishing for an answer, they thought they knew better without listening. Listening to her frustrations after and the inability of this researcher to even comprehend the harm they were inflicting is unfortunately often the norm.

Another interaction I find deeply embarrassing involves westerners speaking to Bougainvilleans and especially leaders that are fluent in English in broken Tok Pisin. Personally, I find this extremely degrading and condescending. The practising of a language in a situation that does not warrant it is uncalled for. These leaders do not have time to decipher through broken Tok Pisin, but even more disrespectful is when westerners come and speak English extra slowly and loudly as if Bougainvilleans cannot understand. These experiences increased my awareness of how easily the privilege of westerners degrade Indigenous people and shift power dynamics. Though the intent may not be to harm, the damage has been done.
2.3 Indigenous research

This section predominantly focuses on the importance of Indigeneity within the methodology process, especially since research was (and still is to some extent) an instrument of colonialism. By seeking out Indigenous academics and specifically Bougainvillean academics to inform this research I aim to prioritise the knowledge of Indigenous peoples, which have been systematically devalued. Research by non-Indigenous researchers in Indigenous spaces has been highly criticised, and rightly so (Smith, 2012). “The word research itself is probably one of the dirtiest words in the Indigenous world’s vocabulary” (Smith, 2012:1). It is a reconstruction of the practice of colonialism where so often a western ‘researcher’ comes in and the Indigenous population becomes the ‘researched’. Historically, research undertaken in Indigenous lands has hurt Indigenous populations. It has led to Indigenous peoples questioning their own forms of knowledge, instincts and aspirations (Smith, 2012; Battiste, 2014). They have analysed and gathered data through a colonial lens, undermined Indigenous knowledge in this process, and disregarded the importance of sharing and conveying any information gained with the Indigenous population (Getty, 2010; Smith, 2012).

Academia is a colonial construct, and yet holds significant power in being among the most powerful knowledge producers. However, in order for research to be truly Indigenous it can’t sit within the framework of such a colonial institution. Indigenous researchers have had limited choice but to navigate their way through this rigid, often racist, Eurocentric structure. This is hugely problematic in itself but in doing so, they have imparted on western systems a whole paradigm of knowledge (Battiste, 2014). With this in mind, Smith (2012) has discussed ways in which non-Indigenous researchers may approach Indigenous research. The principles of Kaupapa Māori and Talanoa research aligned with the values held within Bougainvilleans society and culture, as well as my own and these were practised as far as possible throughout the research. Although I do not explicitly use these principles, they have all informed the approach taken. These Kaupapa Māori principles (Smith, 2012:124), Melanesian values (Franklin, 2007:28), and Talanoa principles, although Tongan terms are used (Vaioleti, 2006:29) are outlined in Table 2.1 below.
Table 2.1: Kaupapa Māori principles, Melanesian values and Talanoa Principles

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Kaupapa Māori Principles</th>
<th>Melanesian values</th>
<th>Talanoa Principles</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Aroha ki te tangata</em> (Respect for people)</td>
<td>• The value of <em>graun or wara</em> (land)</td>
<td>• <em>Faka'apa'apa</em> (respectful, humble, considerate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Kanohi kitea</em> (Communicating with people face to face)</td>
<td>• The value of <em>lain or wantok</em> (the clan)</td>
<td>• <em>Anga Lelei</em> (tolerant, generous, kind, helpful, calm, dignified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Titiro, whakarongo...korero</em> (look, listen then speak)</td>
<td>• The value of <em>bekim, bekim bek</em> (reciprocity)</td>
<td>• <em>Mateuteu</em> (well prepared, hardworking, culturally versed, professional, responsive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Manaaki ki te tangata</em> (Share, host people, be generous)</td>
<td>• The value of <em>kaikai, mumu</em> (food)</td>
<td>• <em>Poto He Anga</em> (knowing what to do and doing it well, cultured)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Kia tūpato</em> (Be cautious of your environment)</td>
<td>• The value of <em>tumbuna</em> (ancestors)</td>
<td>• <em>Ofa Fe’unga</em> (showing appropriate compassion, empathy, aroha, love for the context)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata</em> (Do not disrespect others)</td>
<td>• The value of <em>tambu, singsing, lotu</em> (ritual)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• <em>Kaua e mahaki</em> (Do not flaunt your knowledge)</td>
<td>• The value of <em>hetman</em> (leadership)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The value of <em>skul</em> (education)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The value of <em>peibeck, bekim, biru</em> (compensation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• The value of <em>wok</em> (work)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Indigenous research requires a framework that prioritises Indigenous knowledge, and worldview, this must be the common thread throughout the research. For Talanoa research, Vaioleti, (2006:21) argues that “a cultural synthesis of the information, stories, emotions and theorising made available by Talanoa will produce relevant knowledge and possibilities for addressing Pacific issues.” The emphasis placed on emotions, histories and culture within these research approaches acknowledge the differing epistemologies between Indigenous and western knowledge systems.
2.4 Feminist Geography

This research is underpinned by a feminist theoretical approach combined with a decolonising methodology. Using this theoretical approach allowed me to analyse the patriarchal social and cultural practices that are entangled within a society or community, as well as consider the role power dynamics play within these structures. Reflexivity is an important aspect of this approach, as it allows me to pull apart my research methodology and critique it accordingly. A feminist approach draws on gender, sex, power, race and class. All are deemed to be intertwined and provide different angles from which to view an issue. This approach is grounded in second wave feminism when feminism gained an increased level of recognition and momentum (Panelli, 2004). Rose (1995), argues that women have been unrecognised within geography circles. The knowledge of women continues to be dismissed because it falls outside the realm of institutional frameworks built by patriarchal systems (Cresswell, 2013). The gendering of knowledge is an important aspect in this research. Cresswell (2013) and Rose (1995) discuss masculine (western) knowledge as being final, knowledge which detaches itself from the relativity of a subject, whilst feminist knowledge in geography allows fluidity and the ease to tap into other forms of knowledge. Understanding this allows me to further critique this research whilst accounting for cultural considerations which can become messy and entangled within rigid western colonised systematic structures and formalities. Despite the various challenges’ feminist geographers face, we hold an integral part in the research realm by providing an avenue to voice the struggles women and girls face and are able to voice narratives of those who are often marginalised which results in a better reflection of the societies we do research with. Therefore, a feminist approach allows me to privilege the voices of rural Indigenous women and their male allies in the male advocacy programme (MAP) in this research, whilst unpicking the key themes of gender and power within this very unique space of hegemonic masculinities.

2.5 Positionality

From a personal perspective, there remains a common theme with volunteering, it's expressed something like this, “I think I got more out of this experience than they did.” This comment was common in conversations and reflections with others who were volunteering. The continual taking from the Indigenous experience is seemingly unavoidable, and upon reflection is deeply concerning and upsetting. However, the experience for me provided a feeling of
belonging. As a first generation New Zealander born of Indian descent, my feeling of home and belonging came through huge family occasions where I didn’t feel the gaze of others or was so self-conscious about my culture. I attended a very white, upper middle-class public high school and other ‘brown girls’ became my family. Through shared cultural practices we somehow kept a degree of brown culture in a very white space. When I went to Bougainville, I felt that same sense of being brown (or black as Bougainvilleans would say) and belonging. But once again, I question whether I have taken from Indigenous people just as colonial powers did. Being surrounded by brown and black was empowering and felt like home. I was given a house and more than enough money to live off of and therefore, it was paradise to me. This is far from the case from an Indigenous perspective. The ground is a different colour and as westerners we are often placed on a pedestal. The reality of Bougainvilleans can never be understood from a non-Bougainvillean researcher and I am very mindful of my contestable right to give this story a voice and the risks that I will misrecognise crucial elements as trivial.

Positionality and reflexivity frame an entire research narrative. Although it is necessary to actively question one’s positionality and reasons for undertaking research, one aspect out of our control is how an audience views a piece of research. Rose, (1997) argues it is not possible to know oneself well enough nor to know the full effects of our research completely, no matter how reflective we are. The best we can do is be attuned to the uncertainties and power involved in research. Throughout the research process I have actively considered my positionality, from design, to implementation, to the write up. “Why am I doing this?” “Am I the right person for this?” “Was I creating my own space and further pushing Indigenous voices to the peripheries?” I also endured a persistent voice in my mind that reminded me that there are Bougainvillean women who are far more knowledgeable about this than me, this is not my place, I shouldn’t be doing this. The persistence of these thoughts has meant that I have continued to reflect throughout the research process, and to think through my positionality and its significance in the knowledge produced in this research. My own culture, identity, values and beliefs have informed and shaped this research. One of the blessings in this research that I have often viewed as a curse in my past is my Indian heritage, my typically large family, entrenched cultures and customs that come with this often negatively affect women and girls. This has allowed a greater objectivity to many *kastoms* in Bougainvillean culture as I can also

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4 Tok Pisin spelling of customs
draw comparisons to my own life and culture. In light of this, it is impossible for humans to be entirely objective (Gray et al., 2007). However, my cultural insights have allowed for what I hope is a view that understands the challenges in transforming cultures without the loss of it and prioritises this before critiquing them.

2.6 Data collection methods

This research draws on qualitative research methods, predominantly through semi-structured interviews and an analysis of data undertaken in North and Central Bougainville in March and April 2018. Overall, 35 interviews were conducted in Chabai and Arawa, Bougainville, Papua New Guinea (PNG). Participants comprised of 14 men and 21 women. This included a mixture of women human rights defenders (WHRDs), male advocates, staff at The NCfR, partners of the male advocates, counsellors, paramount chiefs, ex perpetrators and ex government ministers. The Director of The NCfR was consulted on the interview questions before any participants were interviewed to ensure they were culturally sensitive, and appropriate given the nature of the research. Semi-structured interviews were adopted as these are a valuable method in providing flexibility and adaptability in the interview process and allows space for clarification and elaboration of ideas (Dunn, 2010). These were mostly conducted in English with parts conversed in Tok Pisin when participants felt they could explain themselves better in their own language. Some participants were more comfortable being interviewed in Tok Pisin, in these cases I ensured my Tok Pisin to English translations were checked by a staff member of The NCfR to ensure they were accurately translated, and quality was maintained.

In addition, the use of semi structured interviews enabled myself as the interviewer to make judgements on the discussion, flow and focus of each interview. Participants received a copy of the Information sheet (Appendix A and B) and Consent form (Appendix C and D) in both English and Tok Pisin. They were informed verbally of the aims of this research and it was stressed that participants could stop the interview at any time and did not have to answer all or any of the questions.

My three research questions acted as a guide from which further questions were asked throughout the interview. The use of storytelling, emphasising relationships within stories, and collective sharing was an important tool within the interview process due to the cultural context. This aided in creating a space of inclusivity and shared history. A key tool used was
the use of a ‘historical scan’ to begin the interview. This tool was suggested to me to use early on in the research process by a NCFR staff member in order to ease participants into the interview. This was something participants were familiar with and allowed participants a chance to tell their story thoroughly and provide valuable background information.

Each interview took between 20 minutes to two hours and were audio recorded. I provided all participants with either chocolate or betel nut (a traditional Bougainvillean tobacco like substance) whilst the interview occurred as a very small token of gratitude. One aspect I was not able to complete was the ability to give a copy of the transcript of the interview to participants to check. This was in part logistical, as often participants were available for only a short time and I was not able to see them again whilst I was there. Logistically, returning transcripts would require either printing and distributing transcripts or emailing them. While printing access was limited for me, email access was limited for participants. Alongside the interview process, a research diary was kept of observations and thoughts whilst in Bougainville, this is also useful as a reference point for events that occurred and to situate them in a certain time and place. Throughout the thesis, ‘field observations and a date’ is used where results or findings refer to these notes. Furthermore, to cite participants, I have chosen to use the following convention (interview with *insert anonymised name, * see also____). Where it is important to note it is a male advocate this is followed by MA, or for a women human rights defender, WHRD.

The process of interviewing and the space an interview takes place in will affect the nature of an interview. Elwood and Martin (2000;649) suggest the ‘interview site itself produces “micro-geographies” of spatial relations and meaning, where multiple scales of social relations intersect in the research interview.’ Understanding this, the previous relationships with several of the people I interviewed will have influenced the results. My year as a volunteer and close relationships with my participants made me an insider in the research process. However, I was also always an outsider, Smiths, (2012) and Mullings (1999) discussion around inside/outside research speaks to this. Mullings (1999) explains that insider research involves research about a group in which a person belongs to, and outsider research involves researching a group where the researcher has no relationships or connections to. The insider/outsider boundary is unstable,

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5 Where a participant gives a brief background of their life to set the scene for the interview.
most often a person partakes in both elements which allows for flexibility in positionalities within data collection (Mullings, 1999). This insider/outsider boundary became evident to me in the interview process. Previously I had engaged with ease in informal, trivial, conversations with several of the people I interviewed whom I considered friends. However, the interview process turned the situation into a more formal experience, one in which the power dynamic seemed to shift. In light of this, participants were extremely giving with the information they shared about a highly sensitive topic.

Despite the many challenges I encountered within this sensitive topic, I feel that having these previous personal relationships was a strength in the process. My relationship with Sr. Lorraine Garasu and her networks of family, friends and friends of The Centre opened doors for me which allowed me to interview key people in Bougainville. Without this I feel that I would be in no position to undertake this research and participants may resist sharing information with me, especially given the history of colonisation in this setting.

### 2.7 Data Analysis

All the interviews were transcribed within two days of the interview taking place in order to decrease the possibility of misinterpretation of the interview (Dunn, 2010). The data was collated and then coded using inductive and deductive methods. I primarily used a manual method of coding, initially into relevant themes having read through the data set. These included:

- The impact of the crisis
- Male to male advocacy
- Personal transformation
- Partnering with women
- Addressing trauma
- Gender sensitisation
- Cultural conditions that allow for change

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6 Gender sensitisation is a process where men become fully aware of GBV as a problem and have understood the implications on women and girls (see section 7.2).
This allowed myself as the researcher to group key themes accordingly, to see trends within the data and interpret it suitably. I then developed further codes within each theme and organised the ideas emerging from the data, making connection with wider literature, the broader context and my own observations to make better sense of the material as a whole. These themes are discussed further in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

2.8 Ethical considerations and reflexivity

All the issues discussed above in relation to decolonising research and positionality have been ethical negotiations which have been present throughout the research process. In addition to those, the sensitive nature of the topic was of particular concern and steps were taken to ensure that risks were minimised in the interviews. Approval from the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Otago was gained in February 2018 (Approval #18/008, Appendix E).

Ethical research involves actively considering the well-being of participants that are involved in one’s research. The approval of key stakeholders in Bougainville to undertake this research was a large factor in pursuing the research. This includes ensuring privacy and confidentiality of participants, getting informed consent, adopting the ‘do no harm’ approach as well as considering the power dynamics at play during the entire process (Dowling, 2010). The preservation of anonymity within this research topic is of considerable concern. Participants were given the option of being anonymous or not. 34 of the 35 participants chose to remain anonymous with the exception of Sr. Lorraine Garasu. The kinship between Bougainvilleans made protecting the anonymity of conversations even more important. The interviews took place in quiet areas in order to protect the knowledge and well-being of participants. Given the potential risks of triggering unwanted memories or causing distress, knowledge that participants would have access to counselling services at The Centre should they require it was a fundamental step in continuing with the research.

The research approaches adopted help to undertake culturally sensitive research and that the community’s needs, desires and aspirations shape the research so the community has control of the research (Getty, 2010). This was actively followed throughout the research process. One particular example of aroha ki te tangata is described here. In one instance, I did not want to disturb some people that I was informed would be good to interview. I have a deep respect for
Bougainvilleans and the work they do. One participant was particularly difficult to organise an interview with, and only in the last week did this happen. He had a wealth of knowledge on the issue as a male advocate and in designing some of the training modules and he is someone I deeply respect for his values and beliefs since I met him. It became a bit of a cat and mouse game for four weeks and we were mostly no more than 200m away from each other. In the end, we had a conversation about this,

Thanks so much for sitting down with me Daniel it was hard to find time to meet each other. He responded, “I didn’t want to disturb you because it looked like you were working on things on the computer.” And I said, “I didn’t want to come and disturb you, it looked like you needed to rest or were talking to other people or working” (interview with Daniel).

This culturally ingrained value of not wanting to disturb a person is often seen in a negative light especially in western settings. But to me it’s a sign of respect for the other person and for us it helped strengthen our bond.

Reflecting on another situation, Poto He Anga was not practiced to the standard it should have been due to my own lack of foresight. For myself the most important aspect of the methodology I chose to use is ensuring that harm is completely avoided and therefore I do not disrespect another person or space. However, after undertaking my research, I now believe that this is not possible in this line of research. Therefore, it must be minimised as much as possible for the participant. One concern I carried was the significant emotional risk in questioning participants about a person’s own traumatic events particularly in discussions surrounding the civil war and the potential it had to re-traumatise participants. Although participants were forthcoming with information and eager to share, this does not negate the process of re-traumatisation. The high level of variability and unpredictability between humans means that as an interviewer I will never know the extent to which someone may be re-traumatised. I made it explicitly clear in interviews that participants did not have to answer any questions they did not want to, and that free counselling was available from The Centre at any time. However, this method is not full proof, and I learnt early on just how sensitive this issue was, when a participant I consider to be one of my aunties became uncomfortable when discussing the topic of the crisis. This was one of the most difficult experiences I had, not just as a researcher but as a human being and
interviewing someone I highly respected. I could see that the reliving of this traumatic experience caused considerable hurt which was my own fault. I reiterated that she did not have to answer the question and we moved on. This is where a huge danger lies in engaging in research as a ‘outsider’ and failing to recognise the full extent of hurt a population has experienced through a conflict. I communicated this with Sr. Lorraine that night who told me very straightforwardly, “of course, these questions about the crisis will re-traumatise some” (Field observations, 9/03/18). And at that point I stopped asking conflict related questions, the only blessing here was that this interview was done early on and I could minimise the hurt imparted to other participants. Despite actively seeking to practise the ‘do no harm’ approach through the design of this research, I failed in this regard, and as a researcher I learnt a significant lesson from this.

In many settings, there are more than enough capable Indigenous people that are far more knowledgeable than myself to carry out this work. In Bougainville, there are women who could easily do this academic work and have done so. Sr. Lorraine Garasu, Helen Hakena, Ruth Savoana-Spriggs are just a few, they have far greater knowledge than I have, and live within the cultures and kastoms. The challenge here is that these women and men are tied to the significant amount of work they continue to do. So, there are instances where it may be appropriate to undertake research with Indigenous groups. For example, when you are invited or your work is endorsed, where it has value to the researched and they recognise, and value it and gain something from it. When there are enduring relationships and trust that has been established and when it is mutually recognised as important.

2.9 “Should I be undertaking this research?”

I began this chapter with the question, “should I be undertaking this research as a westerner?” That has plagued me and caused much discomfort throughout – the answer is yes, but it is not so straightforward. The final motivations for following through with the work was that I was given Sr. Lorraine’s blessing to undertake this research and was so warmly welcomed back to Chabai and Bougainville. Without these relationships of trust and mutual respect, I do not believe it would have been appropriate to undertake the research on such a sensitive topic. Moreover, I was able to give a draft copy of this entire research thesis to Sr. Lorraine Garasu to check through and edit as she felt. I am forever grateful to be trusted with such an important
task and I hope I do justice to the work of The NCfR and the work of the Congregation of the Sisters of Nazareth in Bougainville.

This chapter has set out the methods used and how I have sought to ensure the research is ethical and decolonised. I have outlined my flaws in pursuing my methodology and learnings taken from the process and endeavoured to demonstrate the various self-reflections that has underpinned the work. The next chapter contains the context behind this research, this aims to situate this research in the local context and give an appreciation of the background that underpins this research.
Chapter 3: Context

In this chapter I introduce Bougainville in its current state, then navigate into its contentious pre-colonial and colonial history, followed by sections that discuss the pre-conflict period and the crisis itself. Woven throughout this entire thesis I aim to privilege the personal experiences, narratives and voices of Bougainvilleans. Key themes emerge within this chapter including, the intrinsic value land holds to Bougainvilleans own identity, the ongoing effects of colonialism, foreign antipathy, issues of secession, Indigenous injustice and violence. The hope is that the reader gains an understanding of the people of Bougainville and the multi-faceted struggles they have faced in recent history and how this has shaped everyday life in Bougainville today. Gender based violence (GBV) must be understood in this context because the historical context has shaped its emergence and shapes the means to address it.

3.1 Geography

The Autonomous Region of Bougainville is a part of Melanesia, and is the largest island of the Solomon Islands Archipelago chain (Figure 1). It has a population of approximately 250,000, 90 percent of whom are rural (GoPNG, 2011). The region of Bougainville consists of one main larger island called Bougainville Island, with smaller Buka Island to the North (Figure 2). In addition, there are various other smaller atolls and island groups surrounding these two main landmasses including, Nissan (Green Island), Nuguria (Fead), Takuu (Mortlock), Nukumanu (Tasman) and Tulun (Carteret) islands (Hanson et al., 2001:282). The entire region covers 9,438 square kilometres of land, with Buka Island and Bougainville Island stretching over 250km in length and approximately 65km in width (Regan, 2018). Buka Town is the official capital of Bougainville, with the government and main administrative offices having moved to Buka Town from Arawa following the period of conflict from 1989-1998.
Figure 3.1: Map of Papua New Guinea

Figure 3.2: Map of Bougainville
3.2 Political situation

Bougainville is decentralised from Papua New Guinea (PNG) both geographically and politically, as an Autonomous Region. This means that Bougainville has its own government, policies, and laws, but is still administered by, and answerable to the national government of PNG. Furthermore, the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) has only been delegated certain powers under the Peace Agreement and the national government remains responsible for areas such as roads, health, and education. The ABG reflects a post conflict government and at times struggles to cater to its populations needs. A significant challenge lies with the disconnection between the ABG and rural Bougainvillean communities. Government services do not reach many communities and they consequently rely on their traditional systems of governance. Consequently, some do not actively recognise the government as a governing authority. There are also challenges with the National government of PNG. For example, finances that may be promised do not eventuate which compounds these difficulties and restricts the ABG from carrying out their roles and responsibilities to the people of Bougainville (Nisira, 2017). Despite these challenges, there have been various policies and laws created which are making gender equality more of a reality in Bougainville. In 2016, the Community Government Act (Bougainville) passed into law. This Act ensures a 50 percent representation of women and men at local level government. This is a breakthrough in gender equality in governance, not only in Melanesia but globally; and will hopefully have far reaching implications on society looking into the future. Currently, the ABG is preparing for a referendum for independence, which is due to take place in October 2019.

3.3 The culture

Bougainvilleans hold a unique place in the South West Pacific due to the significant diversity of their culture within such a small area (Ogan, 2005a). Bougainville was settled about 29,000 years ago and is a region with distinct belief systems and community structures. In its current contemporary landscape, it is also a region currently trying to strike a balance between western and traditional systems of governance and knowledge. Bougainville predominantly consists of many small, isolated hamlets and villages which all have slightly differing cultures, customs, political, and social systems. Despite its small population there is significant linguistic diversity, with population and cultural movements contributing to the now 16 Austronesian and nine Papuan Languages spoken in Bougainville (Ogan, 2005a; Tryon, 2005).
Melanesian society evolves around maintaining, restoring and strengthening relationships between individuals, families and communities (Interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu) she highlights how traditional systems maintained peace and life is based on commonality. These relationships are important in keeping peace between other clans and community members, providing support and is a necessity for survival. In a personal sense, an individual’s identification is reflected through the community. Furthermore, culture and governance in Bougainville revolves around the egalitarian notion of “balanced reciprocity” in order to sustain a peaceful organised society (Regan, 2005: 419). At times where this balance is compromised traditional forms of mediation, exchanges and reconciliation provide means for restoration (Regan, 2005).

Bougainville is predominantly a matrilineal society, apart from Buin and Nissan islands. Prior to the crisis, in certain places women had as much power as men and their voices were valued, in others they were not (Nash, 1981). However, throughout Bougainville the land and women are profoundly connected, women exercise their status and power through the land as well as through traditional knowledge systems, this deeply spiritual relationship is discussed by Saovana-Spriggs, (2010:204),

Women’s position of power has its origin in the land. The land here does not belong to the clan but to the lineage in which the females are the authority…. The conceptualisation and symbolic significance of land is objectified in the female body. The body of a woman reproduces life for the next generation. Continuity in things traditional is essential and therefore a woman’s body is crucial.

The status and respect of Bougainvillean women is also seen through the recognition of “descent through females as an important principle of social organisation” as they are seen as “custodians of the land” (Sirivi and Havini, 2004:7; Ogan, 2005). Women held key positions of power in their villages as peacemakers to ensure harmonious relationships and violence was minimal (Sirivi and Havini, 2004; Braithwaite, 2006). In the post conflict setting although society remains mainly matrilineal, this does not necessarily indicate gender equality or a share in powers, as matrilineality differs between places (Ogan, 2005; see also interviews with, Fred, John). There remains considerable diversity within gender relations between men and women (Eves and Koredong, 2015; see also interviews with John, Fred). Nevertheless, in recent times
During and following the crisis women have played a significant political role in peacemaking (Ogan, 2005). It is suggested that this has revitalised women’s power which had been slowly eroded through colonialism (Saovana-Spriggs, 2007). Furthermore, civil society today is another stronghold where women continue to exert their power to create a safer Bougainville.

### 3.4 The economy

Prior to the civil war (further discussed in section 3.7 and 3.8), the Panguna mine was the largest provider of foreign exchange for Bougainville as well as for PNG, generating over one billion Australian dollars in taxes and dividends alone (Dorney, 1998). Over the 17 years the mine was operating the earnings totalled US$4.6 billion, $1.9 billion in revenue and 5.63% of this went to Bougainville (Ghai and Regan, 2006). Currently, Bougainville has limited foreign exchange reserves, with less than 2.5 percent internal revenue generated per year (GoPNG, 2008). The region is heavily reliant on the informal sector, with cocoa, copra, and subsistence agriculture supporting the rural livelihoods of 90 percent of Bougainvilleans (Kent and Barnett, 2012). There are limited formal employment options and unemployment rates are extremely high and incomes are low (Hanson et al., 2001). Bougainville is extremely rich in resources and there is potential in the future for the region to benefit from these resources in an appropriate manner.

Scales, Craemer and Thappa (2008:31), describe Bougainville today as “developed North - underdeveloped South,” although this is all relative. Accessibility to state services is poor, partly as a result of underdeveloped roads and transportation links. This is further complicated by the fact that the National Government of PNG is responsible for roads. The lack of accessibility on the island to most rural communities continues to disadvantage people’s well-being and health outcomes and affects their access to employment and education. It takes over a day to reach any service centre from the outer atolls and events such as heavy rainfall often washes away bridges, further isolating rural communities from basic state services such as hospitals (Hanson et al., 2001). Moreover, the average time it takes Bougainvilleans in each district to reach major service centres is between four to eight hours (Hanson, et al., 2001).

Following this background into the current state of Bougainville as a post conflict region, in the rest of this chapter I argue that ongoing colonialism in Bougainville was instrumental to the origins of the crisis and how the crisis played out. The pristine land that once bore no scars,
now has an open wound, with dirty colonial hands scraping out the heart of the island. The crisis fractured the population, causing a large number of fatalities and caused widespread disharmony, conflict and violence in communities. And this was all in the name of money, a colonial construct.

3.5 Colonial history

This section will discuss the complex history of Bougainville. As an island state, it is characterised by population movements and these have influenced and affected the region in different ways. This chapter chronologically details the effects of the pre-contact phase prior to 1786 when Louis de Bougainville ‘discovered’ the islands, through to colonial nations fighting over them in the late 1800s, World War II, and finally to the 10-year conflict. Throughout this section, secession, resistance, violence and conflict become major themes, and the consequences and causes of these are discussed.

3.5.1 Pre-contact

Research into pre-colonial Bougainville is extremely limited, documentation is difficult to locate, and often inaccessible (Ogan, 1991; 2005a). In addition, some of the earliest research is recorded in German or French. Much of the discussion in this subsection is not surrounding pre-contact so to speak as the academics that undertook the earliest work from 1882 all came well after the first European, British explorer Carteret set their sights on Buka island in 1767 and after Bougainville’s namesake, Frenchman Louis de Bougainville sighted it in 1768 (Oliver, 1949; Spriggs, 2005). However, it is possible to paint a very generalised picture of pre-contact Bougainville. The lack of Indigenous voice within the early literature is unfortunately typical of that era and therefore this must be viewed with a degree of uncertainty.

The islands were inhabited over 29,000 years ago (Wickler and Spriggs, 1988). Ogan (1991) has suggested that Bougainvillean life at the time of earliest European encounters was centred around a strong spiritual belief system which is still practiced today. Bougainville society revolved around a community and living arrangements consisted of small settlements that were autonomous and self-governing (Ogan, 1991). Population movements with neighbouring islands and also within islands has led to a transmission of cultural traits, traditions and livelihoods (Ogan, 2005; Oliver 1949). Spriggs (2008), suggests that Melanesian’s resilience
has originated from large social transformations prior to formal colonisation, such as with the introduction of diseases from first contact with traders. However, being resilient does not reduce the impact of colonisation as discussed within this chapter.

### 3.5.2 The early colonisers-1886-1960

In my grandfather’s time, we did not believe in the Christian God but in a Siwai Creator. My ancestors prayed for their food crops to be productive. Farmers put aside their best food and let it grow rotten so the Creator could smell it and bless us with more food. The first Catholic priest in Siwai (South Bougainville) was French. He told us not to believe in our Gods and our kastoms. We began to believe in Catholic beliefs. I was brought up thinking about certain things from the distant past and some things from the new ways of thinking (Tombot, 2010:256).

This section will discuss the period of German and Australian control of Bougainville, through to the end of World War II in 1945. Throughout this section it becomes apparent that Bougainvilleans have always resisted foreigners and have pushed back by many means. However, some colonial constructs have stuck, namely religion.

After the first sightings of Bougainville in the 1760’s, the next 100 years included a period of scattered coastal navigations by Europeans, and horrendous accounts of black birding recruitments of Bougainvilleans to work in overseas plantations in Australia (Oliver, 1949, 1991; Hannett, 1975). In 1886 declarations between the Germans and British led to Bougainville coming under German rule (Griffin, 2005). This period between 1886-1914 was characterised by the introduction of Christianity in 1901, local resistances to the German Administration resulting in fatalities, black birding, and the imposition of western systems of governance (Laracy, 2005; Sack, 2005). Australian military forces took over the German rule in 1914 and gained rule through a mandate in 1921 (Regan and Griffin, 2005). The period from

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7 80% of the population converted to Catholism, 15% to Methodism and 5% to Seventh Day Adventist (Howley, 2002:24)
1914 until World War II of Australian rule was characterised by the implementation of social- and economic colonial systems of governance. During this time religion flourished with different churches being established. In 1930, gold was first found in Kupei, Panguna and Moroni.

World War II brought large scale devastation and violence. Foreigners outnumbered the Bougainvilean population 130,000 to 50,000 at the height of the fighting (Nelson, 2005). The Japanese seized control briefly in 1943, before Australian regained control with the help of Bougainvilleans in 1945. To conclude, foreigners waged a war on the lands of Bougainvilleans, a war which Bougainvilleans never even knew existed. This war resulted in the death of one in every four Bougainvilleans, and foreign diseases brought in killed the main staple crop, taro (Oliver, 1949; AGA, 1989). If you survived the war you now faced the possibility of starvation and death. There is little doubt the foreign interventions in this period amplified antipathy towards foreigners. It didn’t stop here however, as Australian rule post World War II continued to be problematic on a scale that no one could have imagined.

3.6 Australian colonial rule post WW2 until 1975

At the time of European control Bougainvilleans shared only two things in common: an almost universal dislike of foreigners, and a uniform black skin colour (Mamak and Bedford with Hannets and Momis, 1974:5)

This section will continue to detail the effects Australian rule had on Bougainville. The most significant event was the discovery of large mineral deposits in Central Bougainville. In 1961 the government confirmed the reports from 1930 that indicated copper and gold in Panguna and Kupei. This discovery was of considerable importance for the colonial Administration and to PNG who was colonised at the same time as Bougainville. There was a necessity for the government to secure a profitable revenue chain to fund the country in preparation for independence. Politically and economically there was a lot riding on the success of this mine. However, the colonial Administration and the mining company continually failed to understand

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8 In order for the administrators to control people easier, they implemented a change in housing patterns by grouping small traditional hamlets into larger administrative villages, this removed clans from their traditional lands (Mamak and Bedford, 1974; Elder, 2005).
the deep attachment Bougainvilleans had with their land. The failure to identify this led to localised resistance to the mine, particularly from Bougainvilleans who resided within the mining operations zone.

The Panguna mine was located in Panguna, one of the least developed and isolated areas in Central Bougainville. In 1963, the government granted a special prospecting authority to Cozinc Riotinto Australia (CRA) a subsidiary of the large multi-national mining company Rio Tinto Zinc to begin prospecting. The permission of the traditional landowners - the Nasioi people was not sought, nor granted (AGA, 1989; Cooper, 1991; Gillespie, 1996; Davies, 2005). This would prove to be problematic. Not only did the Nasioi and Nagovisi people who lived in the mining area deeply oppose mining activities from the outset, but land ownership is very complex (Vernon, 2005). In addition, in 1964 there was a desire and motion sent to the United Nations for Bougainville to secede from Papua New Guinea and be reunited with the Solomon Islands, which was ignored (Sirivi and Havini, 2004).

During this time, trust and relations between some landowners and the Australian Administration worsened. Women, the custodians of the land, never gave permission for their land to be explored or mined. In 1965 the Nasioi women pulled down the Cozinc Riotinto Australia exploration teams camps as they had trespassed onto their land without seeking permission (Gillespie, 1996). This resulted in 200 Bougainvilleans being jailed by the Australian colonial Administration (Gillespie, 1996). Throughout this struggle, the missionaries supported Bougainvilleans and continued to challenge the Administration’s agenda in the exploitation of Indigenous land and lack of compensation (Oliver, 1991; Laracy, 2005). In addition, the Administration’s manipulation of laws had a significant effect on land owner’s rights at the time and essentially legitimised the exploitation and forceful acquisition of Indigenous land (Cooper, 1991; Liria, 1993; Gillespie, 1996; Evenhuis, 2017). In 1968, further calls for secession were once again made by Bougainvilleans. Throughout this period the Australian Administration continued to ignore the desires of the traditional landowners

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9 Rio Tinto Zinc is the multi-national mining company, Cozinc Riotinto Australia (CRA) is a subsidiary of Rio Tinto and the principle investor of Bougainville copper limited who is the mining company in charge of operations of the Panguna mine.

10 Bougainville and PNG were colonised together, however Bougainville during the 60, 70s and 80s developed strong desires for secession from PNG.
The struggle of the Rorovana people demonstrates the attachment to the land that Bougainvilleans have. In March 1969, the Administration announced it needed a port, airport, land for roads, land for tailings and a BCL company town for mining operations. A decision was made to acquire half of Rorovana’s land on the East coast of Central Bougainville for the port (Cooper, 1991; Evenhuis, 2017). The Rorovana’s objected strongly. In July 1969, the Rorovana people were offered a compensation package of $105 per acre and $2 per coconut tree from Cozinc Riotinto Australia and given the ultimatum that if they rejected this their land would be compulsorily acquired (Cooper, 1991; Gillespie, 1996). The Rorovana’s rejected this and one hundred specially trained and equipped riot police who were flown in on Australian government orders to forcefully take the land (Cooper, 1991). A confrontation took place in front of bulldozers between unarmed Rorovana’s and local police. Rorovana women lay down in front of bulldozers crying “…we weep for what is being done to our land” and men yelled “the white man is destroying us…” (Griffin, Nelson and Firth, 1979:153). A financial compensation settlement between BCL and the Rorovana’s was eventually reached and in return the company got immediate rights to the land and use of it (Mamak and Bedford, 1974:26; Cooper, 1991:53). The sentiments of the Rorovana people at the time are articulately summed up by Melchir Togolo (2005:275), a Torau who grew up in the 1960’s in Rorovana,

Our people did not want a mine. They feared losing their land. They feared the effects of mining on the land and the sea, on their children and their society. They argued, resisted, pulled our surveyors pegs, battled against the police riot squads and the company bulldozers. My uncle made up songs, still sung today, about the mine and the destruction of the land, asking, ‘Why can’t you wait until our children grow up so we will have our educated people to protect our rights?

Land has been fundamental to many issues in Bougainville. The Administration failed to see was just how important land was and continues to be in Bougainville. This failure fuelled resentment towards BCL as discussed above. Three unnamed Bougainvilleans expressed their connections to the land below (AGA, 1988:7.2.1),
Land is our life. Land is our physical life – food and sustenance. Land is our social life; it is marriage; it is status; it is security; it is politics; in fact, it is our only world. When you [the Administration] take our land, you cut away the very heart of our existence. We have little or no experience of social survival detached from the land. For us to be completely landless is a nightmare which no dollar in the pocket or dollar in the bank will allay; we are a threatened people.

With Havini and Havini (1999: no page) further reiterating the importance,

To Bougainvilleans, land is like the skin on the back of your hand. You inherit it, and it is your duty to pass it on to your children in as good a condition as, or better than, that in which you received it. You would not expect us to sell our skin, would you?

The unjust acquirement of land helped fuel social disintegration in Bougainville during this time. With resentment towards people in Central Bougainville rising due to the perceived benefits Arawa gained. Benefits included employment opportunities, improved education and healthcare, and improved accessibility to villages and to the West coast and South West communities (Vernon, 2005). There was a significant influx of foreigners and PNG nationals from other provinces entering Arawa for employment, this was suggested as causing an increase in criminal activity and behaviours, including things that were foreign to Bougainvilleans such as rape, assault, alcohol abuse, and traffic incidences (AGA, 1989; Memak and Bedford, 1974; 12-13). Further tensions arose as the lack of housing resulted in squatter settlements forming on the fringes of Kieta and Arawa adding to tensions between the both Bougainvilleans and PNG nationals (AGA, 1989; Ogan, 2005b; Tanis, 2005).

In 1975 PNG gained independence from Australia. Calls for secession, foreign antipathy towards the colonial Administration, social disintegration, inadequate compensation, and local resistance against the mine characterised this time period. One aspect that is largely untouched is the loss of culture due to the rapid development of the Bougainville region. Tanis (2005:469) identifies that,
over an extended period new economic, social and religious needs had been undermining the strength of customary social ties that had held families and clans together from time immemorial.

The impacts of this on the current society will be discussed in Chapter 5. This is just one of the trade-offs rapid development brings to Indigenous regions, but one which is deeply felt in society today.

3.7 Independence to the start of the crisis 1975-1988

The issues outlined above continued into this time period but remained overlooked as the initial benefits of the mine continued to emerge. By the end of 1988, the mine pit had reached 400ha in diameter, the extent of the environmental degradation was severe, and social problems were taking their toll on Bougainvilleans (Oliver, 1991; AGA, 1989). The mine brought development to the province at a rapid rate. For many Bougainvilleans that experienced life pre-conflict, it was a time that countless elder Bougainvilleans talk about as the ‘good old times.’

In 1987 the New Panguna Landowner’s Association voiced their frustrations over health and education facilities, environmental damage, relocation of villages, business development, distribution of compensation and renewed threats to close the mine if their demands were not met. Over time the company seemed more immune to these threats and failed to respond adequately (AGA, 1988; Oliver, 1991). In 1988, the PNG government finally responded through commissioning a report into the environmental and social impacts of the mine. A New Zealand consultancy, Applied Geology Associates undertook this task. In a meeting with landowners to discuss the findings, the report was deemed a ‘whitewash’ by Fred Ona, a Panguna landowner and the secretary of the New Panguna Landowners Association. Although

12 The New Panguna Landowners Association is comprised of children of landowner groups who became concerned about the unfairness of the distribution of financial benefits of the mine and their loss of faith in the older generation of landowner leaders to remedy this. They challenged the original Panguna Landowners Association leadership (Tanis, 2005).
this report contains some useful information, it failed to substantiate landowner’s pollution and health concerns and resulted in the landowners walking out of the meeting (Vernon, 2005).

BCL and the government failed to recognise the scale in which the environment would play a part in the politics of the island, especially with the mine. The effects of the mine on the land were disastrous to Bougainvilleans and at times the scale of devastation was incomprehensible. An estimated 1.25 billion tonnes of material were excavated (Vernon, 2005). The waste rock dumps occupy 300ha, and though there was an agreement to cap these to ensure revegetation could happen, it was evident that “the company was not stockpiling suitable capping material and BCL had no intention of doing so” (AGA, 1989:8.7). The tailings damaged the Kawerong and Jaba rivers and surrounding valleys and tributaries and polluted it effecting drinking water (AGA, 1989; Gillespie, 1996) . In the 1960’s it was estimated that 80 percent of the tailings would be dispersed into Empress Augusta Bay on the West coast, the reality was that only 60 percent made it to the sea (AGA, 1989). The rest were spread into the valleys, causing significant flooding problems for the people who lived along and near the river (AGA, 1989). Furthermore, the marine life was buried and killed by the tailings or by copper contamination (AGA, 1989:8.6).

During the time from the late 1960s until 1988, Bougainville underwent a phase of rapid socio-economic and environmental change. Mining however is synonymous with also causing harm to localised groups of people whom are directly affected by mining operations. This opposition proved that the cost of the mine would outweigh the benefits in the long run. The next phase in Bougainville’s history is well discussed in literature (Sirivi and Havini, 2004; Braithwaite et al., 2011; Kent and Barnett 2012). It will draw on the voices of those who lived through the events and their perceptions of what occurred and why.

3.8 The Bougainville crisis 1989-1998

There are two things that are always dear to a Bougainvillean, land and women. Put three things together, land that CRA (Cozinc Riotinto Australia) dug in Panguna, illegal squatting on land, and the killing of a mother plus the other violence that was carried out by one agency of the State, and you have the recipe for full scale retaliation. (Tanis, 2002: no page)
The story pre-conflict has demonstrated that the crisis was far more complex than a want for independence and adequate compensation from degraded land, it is also rooted in identity politics. This section describes the Bougainville conflict which is known locally as ‘the crisis.’ It includes a section detailing a Papua New Guinea Defence Force (PNGDF) commander’s personal account of the crisis. This conflict divided communities and the nation, pitting family against family. A civil war holds more complexities than opposition to a foreign entity, and these complexities run deep. The period of the Bougainville Conflict lasted almost ten years, from 1989-1998. This broke down traditional structures and mechanisms that had long supported a peaceful existence. An estimated 20,000 civilians lives were lost and over half the population were internally displaced (Tierney et al., 2016). It fractured the region and left physical and social structures in disrepair. It divided Bougainvilleans “everyone in Bougainville was forced at some time to take sides” (Sirivi and Havini, 2004:3). The aims of the war changed as it progressed, and “the war that that started against Cozinc Riotinto Australia then against the retskins and against the State became a war within Bougainville families, a war within clans and villages” (Tanis, 2002: no page). Howley (2002:28) lays four reasons for the crisis which the Nasioi council of chiefs decided upon,

- The colonial Administration, which did not believe in consultation
- The distribution of wealth
- The influx of people from other parts of PNG
- Environmental damage from the mine

In November 1988, following the New Panguna Landowners Association’s meeting that was deemed a ‘whitewash’, some Panguna landowners stole explosives from BCL and detonated them to damage a major power pylon in the mining area. In response, the PNG Government initially sent in riot police (Liria, 1993). Reports of police brutality further escalated Bougainvilleans resentment towards the Government. Government buildings were destroyed and in March 1989, the government sent in the PNGDF to defend the mine and Government property.

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13 Retskins is a derogatory term for PNG nationals from other provinces, comparing their skin colour to Bougainvilleans.
The Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) was formed because of the lack of compensation, environmental and social degradation and to demand secession and independence for Bougainville (Braithwaite et al., 2010). Panguna mine closed in May 1989 resulting in a significant financial loss for PNG. Government ‘care centres’ were established to house those who had lost their homes during the crisis. Over the next two years, Government forces engaged inhumane tactics harming local civilians and caused mass displacement of the population. With the level of violence and the effects on civilians tragic. For example, Sirivi and Havini (2004:14) report that “by mid-June 1989, the situation was getting worse. The villages were being raided, houses burnt down, and everything destroyed. People were getting beaten, women were raped and humiliated by the PNG soldiers.”

Throughout the crisis, the BRA was a force to be reckoned with. The PNGDF were surprised at the unexpected efficacy of the BRA in their home territory (Liria, 1993). Sam Kauna an ex PNGDF army officer had returned to Bougainville and joined the BRA. His knowledge enabled the BRA to be a “formidable insurgency force” (Liria, 1993:76). The BRA predominantly compromised of young men between 15 to 25 years old (Liria, 1993). Rape was used as a strategic weapon of war and there are numerous accounts of rape that took place over the course of the crisis, by both parties (Havini, 1996). This strategy was especially poignant in Bougainville as women here have high cultural status which meant that “by attacking them [the women], the opponent aims to destroy the very roots of our communities” (Sirivi and Havini 2002:47).

A failure by the Government to stop the fighting resulted in increased hostility displayed towards them and subsequently, they withdrew entirely in March 1990 and a total blockade ensued. “The blockade imposed by the PNG Government meant Bougainville had no hospitals, no schools, no media, no mail services or telecommunications, no imports or exports, no banks or shops. Basically, we were cut off from the rest of the world” (Sirivi and Havini, 2004:35). This blockade resulted in numerous preventable deaths, the vast majority due to the blockade. Moreover, children lost their access to education, people lost access to health facilities and

14 These care centres were part of the PNGDFs counter insurgency plan to control the population and keep tabs on BRA members. BRA strongholds were evacuated to care centres in order to prevent their families and supporters from supporting them (Braithwaite et al, 2010).
resources and communities lost their chiefs and leaders compounding the impacts of this conflict. Over the next few years, a civil war continued in Bougainville and peace agreements were rejected. The use of mercenaries by the PNG Government led to widespread outrage throughout PNG and was a catalyst for creating a space for the peace process finally gaining momentum in 1996.

Bougainvillean women were fundamental actors in establishing and implementing peace dialogues during the crisis. In 1996, a Women's Peace Forum was held in Arawa paving a path for future peace talks (Garasu, 2002). Women utilised their traditional roles as peacebuilders to promote peace on a large scale (Alexander, 2010). This led to the successful meetings in New Zealand in 1997 and 1998 in which all factions including women participated in an inclusive peace process. This participatory approach was fundamental to the success of peace in Bougainville. The official ceasefire in Bougainville commenced on 30th of April 1998 and peace monitoring groups from around the Pacific were sent to Bougainville to ensure that peace prevailed.

The strength of the Bougainville Peace Process lay in the combination of traditional Melanesian diplomacy and modern civil society (Boëge and Garasu, 2004). The approach was process-focused, as opposed to outcome-focused and relied on rebuilding trust and relationships (Boëge, 2006). Various traditional reconciliation ceremonies have taken place as peacebuilding measures since the end of the crisis. In 2001, the Bougainville Peace Agreement was signed, and the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) formed in 2005. Bougainville is currently in a phase of ‘relative peace’ in peacebuilding terms (Garasu, 2018; pers comm).

### 3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the crisis was a defining moment in Bougainville’s history. It represented a significant loss of social and human capital and consequently identity due to the ongoing colonialism. A generation of Bougainvilleans grew up only knowing violence and war. The violent ideologies and behaviours that were created out of this war have remained today. The significant unresolved trauma from the crisis that has flowed into the next generation and is cited as one reason for the disharmony in communities and the increase in gender based violence (GBV) and other social issues such as substance abuse and gambling
(Interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu). Individual and community trauma from this conflict has never been addressed on the large scale that is needed and therefore this trauma continues to run freely within the very fabric of society. The current society is unfortunately a place where communities struggle with combatting violence, there is a high prevalence of unresolved mental trauma and substance abuse, with children often not completing their schooling. However, it would be unfair to only highlight the inadequacies of the current situation. There are numerous local actors and grassroots organisations actively working towards a more politically and socially stable Bougainville. In the following chapters this thesis discusses the male advocacy programme (MAP) that one organisation, The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation has implemented to combat these social issues. Before moving to discuss the MAP, this chapter has given an overview into the current Bougainvillean society and continued into a thorough historical overview into the history of the region and the cause and the consequences of the Bougainville crisis. The next chapter will situate the rise of GBV in Bougainville within the wider literature of gender violence, hegemonic masculinities, and armed conflict.
Chapter 4 – Literature Review

4.1 Introduction

To support this study on male advocacy programmes in reducing and preventing gender based violence (GBV), this chapter aims to establish a strong foundation by reviewing a wide range of literature relevant to this research. The key concepts of masculinity and violence are defined and the implications this has on individuals and on wider society are discussed. Following this, I draw on literature and look into the impacts of violence on women and girls, and in particular, what GBV is and the risk factors involved. There is a heavy focus on intimate partner violence (IPV), as this is one of the most common forms of GBV occurring in Bougainville. This is followed by an exploration of the impacts of conflict and trauma on society in post conflict settings. Finally, interventions for GBV are discussed and in particular how certain violence interventions are creating environments which are fostering changes in men and boys and have demonstrated positive signs in reducing GBV.

4.2 Personal reflections

In spaces where violence has become normalised it can often be easy to surrender and accept violence as a part and parcel of life. In the early hours of a morning in April 2018, I was staying at The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (The NCfR or The Centre) and was awoken by a woman along with her relative running to The Centre yelling out for Sister, saying she was being chased by a man with a knife. It is not uncommon for there to be late night visits. My first emotion was fear, I didn’t want to move from my bed; followed by a hope the problem would go away and someone else would deal with it; followed by, “why is this happening at this hour? What is wrong now?” In this response, I realised I was already becoming desensitised to the GBV. This left me in a predicament, if it only took me 18 months (the cumulative time I had spent in Bougainville over three different visits) to have these thoughts and I know that this is not okay or normal, then imagine growing up in this environment. I woke up my friend, a counsellor, who was asleep in the room next door and whilst Sr. Lorraine was still asleep, she went out to find out what was going on. For me, this was a complete reality check, and a frightening and self-reflective lesson for me on just how easy it is to become normalised into the environment you live in. It hit me with the reality that if you’re not actively
trying to find a solution, be it big or small, you become a part of the problem. The enormity of the task at hand struck me, how do you prevent violence on such a large scale? How do you transform traumatised minds let alone minds that aren’t traumatised and just fall into the workings of societies’ gendered norms? How is it that some of the men here have successfully transformed?

4.3 Men and violence: Hegemonic Masculinities

For many around the world, violence is part and parcel of life. Over 1.3 million people are estimated to die due to violence annually, with hundreds of thousands hurt or injured (WHO, 2014:2). Kimmel, 2000 cited in (DeKeseredy and Schwartz 2005:354), found “that datasets generated by a variety of scientific means all show that men’s involvement in all types of violent crime greatly exceeds that of women”. Moreover, physical violence is understood as being at the “extreme manifestation on a continuum of abusive controls” (Jukes, 1999:118).

So why is this? The connection between violence and men is a complex one. It is one which exists due to social and cultural and contextual constructs of gender and the socially constructed roles ascribed to each. A theory that has been adopted in Gender studies is that there is a higher possibility of violence where cultural, social, and economic environments are places where gendered social norms which privilege males dominate (Dobash and Dobash, 1979; Yllö, 1984). These power structures, values and ideologies are embedded in our society. Additionally, violence also exists because of the ability of society to silence the voices of survivors, and the absence of consequences for (Flood and Pease, 2009). The acceptability and normalisation of violence by the majority of society also aids in its manifestation. Kaufman (2001:10) argues that men’s violence against women and other men occurs due to two contradictory sets of factors. “On the one hand, men’s social power and privileges in male dominated societies provide a form of social permission for perpetrating violence against women.” On the other hand, “childhood experiences as witnesses or recipients of violence, and the impossible emotional demands patriarchy places on boys and men to fit into the tight pants of masculinity, create social norms and expectation that permit violence against women” (2001:10). One way these contradictory factors can be described is as hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity describes a set of characteristics that set norms and expectations in a society for what it means to be gendered male. These characteristics are situated and vary in different societies and cultures. However, the dominance of Western ways of being and
patriarchy means that there are some characteristics that are common across different places. One characteristic is that hegemonic masculinities tend to prohibit expressions of emotion from a young age, representing emotion as a weakness which only aids in a person’s social conditioning. However, this is in no way “an excuse for violence, but forms part of its causal chain” (Kaufman, 2001:10). Situating this in western contexts, Kaufman (2001:10) further discusses, “the gender expectations placed on boys tend to emphasize control through aggression. Not only does this limit their human potential, but it ups the stakes when it comes to violence and conflict.” In order to dismantle these, we must start by looking at how we enable them by participating, sustaining and reproducing them. Early feminist theorists looked into how patriarchy underpins this work.

The feminist movement has been key in seeking to prevent and reduce violence towards women and girls. Early feminist theorists have used the term ‘patriarchy’ as a theoretical concept (Hunnicutt, 2009), defined as “a hierarchal social order centred on hegemonic masculinities” (Leatherman, 2011:3). But the term patriarchy has been heavily contested, Kandiyoti (1988:274) argues that,

the term patriarchy often evokes an overly monolithic conception of male dominance, which is treated at a level of abstraction that obfuscates rather than reveals the intimate inner workings of culturally and historically distinct arrangements between the genders.

Furthermore, (Oyèwùmí, 1997) discusses how patriarchy does not fit in with many Global South contexts and is a western construct heavily associated with colonialism. In certain places in Africa, the British colonialists refused to acknowledge the existence of female chiefs (Oyèwùmí, 1997), consequently imposing western patriarchal structures on Indigenous groups. Though the history of these events is important to recognise, and it is even more important to learn from pre-colonial societies in order to better understand the problems of today, addressing the forced system of patriarchy in all its localised manifestations is critical to ending GBV. One significant way in which patriarchy is maintained is through the hegemonic character of ‘masculinity’. Connell (1995:77), defines hegemonic masculinity as, “the configuration of gender practice…which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.” In other words, how do men and their practices, attitudes and behaviours maintain dominance over women and other genders in society.
Hegemonic masculinities organise power relations between men and women which reinforces hierarchy between genders (Leatherman, 2011). In addition, it is recognised that one masculine norm is able to dominate multiple other masculinities (Dowd, Levit and McGinley, 2012). Multiple masculinities exist in society in hierarchy. For example, “a man can be both a member of a violent gang and a loving husband and father” (Myrttinen, 2004:29; see also Connell, 1995; Dowd, Levit and McGinley, 2012). There are different ways that masculinity theorist have sought to explain the workings of dominant masculinities. For example, Brannon (1985) has looked into femininity avoidance, whereby men avoid actions, feelings or thoughts that are commonly associated with femininity, such as appearing weak, or fragile (Smith et al., 2015). (Levant et al., 1992) looked into toughness and aggression, restricted emotionality and self-reliance, here he suggests many men have received little nurturing or training compared to their sisters in understanding sensitivity, empathy and the needs of others. Cheng, (1999) explored dominance, power and control, whereby men feel the need to be in control, successful and capable. The argument is that males aim to measure up to these prescribed qualities society has created that are associated with the hegemonic masculinity, such as the ones stated above, which is where challenges arise for men and as a consequence, women. In order for hegemonic masculinities to exist, a level of complicity has to also exist. Connell (1995:79), discusses how although the number of men that practice the dominating masculinity may be small, men in general profit from the “patriarchal divide” and “overall subordination of women.” Furthermore, women as well as men are enablers of hegemony and help in maintaining patriarchy (Hearn, 2004). In addition, Connell (1995) suggests that masculinities are not fixed but are able to be shifted temporally and are contestable. In order to transform hegemonic masculinities this “ultimately requires change in ideals shared at a societal level” (Jewkes et al., 2015:113). This gives hope that dominant masculine ideologies and values which oppress women and girls are able to be changed at an individual level and then provide the impetus to be changed at the community and society level.

The way that masculinities are socially constructed implies that they have never been ‘the problem.’ Rather it is the constricting way in which they are defined, and the values placed on them in their social constructions. Dowd et al., (2012:25) argue that,
Men and boys are gendered beings who operate in a gendered context and collectively experience both privilege and harm as a result of the social construction of what it means to be a boy or a man.

Furthermore, McCarthy, Mehta and Haberland, (2018:27) suggests that the “socially constructed ideologies about masculinity are implicated in men’s perpetration of violence.” There are a number of factors which increase the likelihood of male to female abuse, these include but are not limited to, being abused or witnessing abuse as a child, having an absent or rejecting father, substance abuse, gang membership, unemployment, male control of decision making in families, rigid gender roles and a perception of male ownership of women (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottmoeller, 2002; McCarthy, Mehta and Haberland, 2018).

Therefore, it is necessary to transform the narratives surrounding masculinities as a measure in which to aid in the prevention of violence. Social conditioning starts from a young age. We routinely and problematically assign certain attributes and characteristics to those who identify as male or female. For a male, these can include but are not limited to, risk taking, athleticism, aggression, decisiveness, dominance and violence (Ludlow et al., 2005). Those who identify as female are ascribed with characteristics such as being gentle, focused on physical appearances, being emotional and being submissive or passive behaviours (Sobieraj, 1998; Bozkurt, Tartanoglu and Dawes, 2015). These characteristics become internalised for both boys and girls, with cultural and social structures maintaining these views. Although they may vary in different social structures the norms created can become embedded in society. Places where rigid understanding of the roles the genders play in society permits dominance and allows the inequality of genders, these continue to inflict harm upon everyone, including those in dominant positions. This impacts on the behaviours and attitudes genders exhibit. One example is how different genders respond to instances of conflict. Writing in the context of Campbell, (1993:1), she explains that “both sexes see an intimate connection between aggression and control, but for women aggression is the failure of self-control, while for men it is the imposing of control over others.” There are far reaching consequences of this difference felt by all, including men. As noted in this section, hegemonic masculinities and gender are social constructions that can be problematic. Where dominant masculinities that permit violence are normalised, they have the potential to cause harm on an individual and societal level.
4.4 Defining gender based violence

gender based violence includes but is not limited to intimate partner violence, physical violence, psychological violence, sexual violence and child abuse. Historically and even currently defining GBV poses various challenges (Muehlenhard and Kimes, 1999; Beetham, 2013). The United Nations (UN, 1992:1) defines GBV as,

violence that is directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately. It includes acts that inflict physical, mental or sexual harm or suffering, threats of such acts, coercion and other deprivations of liberty.

Similarly, Article one of the United Nations Declaration on the elimination of violence against women (UN, 1993:3) defined violence against women as,

any act of gender based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life.

In both definitions, who is mostly affected by the violence is at the forefront of the question. In recent times, there have been instances where definitions have been inclusive of all genders. The Coalition of Feminists for Social Change (2017) explains that by broadening the definition to include all genders, this diminishes the importance that traditionally was centred on women and girls. The harm in broadening the definition to include all genders as (Linos, 2009), suggests, is that this may misrecognise that men are also victims of violence and could lead to negative health implications for them, especially in conflict zones. GBV has many different drivers and implications depending on the context and the nature of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities if they are present. Consequently, how GBV is defined is situational and contextual. In light of this, in this study, a definition for GBV has been constructed by Bougainvilleans. GBV will be defined as,

Violence that is directed at an individual based on his or her biological sex, gender identity, or his or her perceived adherence to socially defined norms of masculinity and femininity. It includes physical, sexual, and psychological abuse; threats; coercion;
arbitrary deprivation of liberty; and economic deprivation, whether occurring in public or private life (NCfR, 2017:5).

Alongside the difficulties associated with defining GBV, measuring the prevalence of GBV is also problematic. Over 20 years ago, the Beijing Platform for Action at the Fourth World Conference on Women acknowledged the lack of research in this field and the implications this has on designing intervention strategies (UN, 1995). This presents challenges to humanitarian agencies, organisations, NGOs, and individuals. Large surveys are expensive, impersonal, and fail to recognise specific local and contextual elements, especially when undertaken by international agencies that follow rigid, time constrained frameworks (Stark et al., 2009). These agencies have also had difficulty estimating and accurately measuring data for violence in conflict settings, compromising the effectiveness of programmes into areas (Stark et al., 2009). Furthermore, because of the intersectional nature of violence, knowledge in these areas spans across a range of disciplines and fields. Jewkes (2014:1) argues that there is “fragmentation in research efforts” in the violence research fields such as “between youth violence prevention and GBV prevention, yet rape is an important form of youth violence.” This affects the quality of studies, Jewkes, (2014) whereas this should be a space for collaboration and interdisciplinary research in order to work towards the common goal of violence prevention.

Despite the lack of connectedness across disciplines, there is an agreement on a number of risk factors for GBV and protective measures associated with the perpetration of GBV. One common form of GBV is intimate partner violence (IPV). This involves abuse such as physical, psychological, and in some cases sexual violence within a partnered relationship (Heise, Ellsberg and Gottmoeller, 2002). Academics have in particular identified a number of risk factors and protective measures of IPV (Morrison, Ellsberg and Bott, 2007). IPV has been shown to be perpetrated by both current and former partners (Kyriacou et al., 1999), with Dunkle et al., (2006) suggesting that men’s perpetration of IPV is associated with controlling and more risky sexual behaviour. Jewkes (2002:1426) has developed a web of factors identifying the causes of IPV and suggests that two causes interact with other “complementary” factors to enable IPV to occur. These two causes are “the unequal position of women in a particular relationship (and in society) and the normative use of violence in conflict” (Jewkes, 2002:1426). Complementary factors such as, heavy alcohol consumption, witnessing and
experiencing violence, violence in conflict, few public roles for women, male superiority also support IPV occurring (Jewkes, 2002:1426). Moreover, studies have argued that certain factors increase the risk of IPV, these are outlined in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1: Factors which increase the risk of IPV and various sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Substance abuse</td>
<td>Kyriacou et al., 1999; Abramsky et al., 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unemployment</td>
<td>Kyriacou et al., 1999;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Poverty leading to increased stress</td>
<td>Jewkes, 2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Childhood abuse, and witnessing parental violence</td>
<td>Abrahams and Jewkes, 2005; Gupta et al., 2008; Abramsky et al., 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Unfaithful husbands</td>
<td>Ambramsky et al., 2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Whilst studies have identified protective measures such as education has demonstrated the ability to decrease women’s risk of IPV (Schuler et al., 1996; Kyriacou et al., 1999; Jewkes, Levin and Penn-Kekana, 2002; Abramsky et al., 2011). Conversely, two theories exist surrounding economic empowerment, one which enhances violence and one which decreases it (Vyas and Watts, 2009). The resource theory ultimately argues that men with fewer resources use violence as a control mechanism on their partner, as a consequence women who are earning a higher income are at an increased risk of IPV. Whilst marital dependency theory argues that a women’s economic dependence on their partner increases the risk of IPV. Studies have supported both these theories (Schuler et al., 1996; Rahman, Hoque and Makinoda, 2011). Therefore, it can be argued that the context of a place is significant and the gendered norms within a society has the ability to influence the results of what is considered a protective or a risk factor of IPV.

Childhood abuse or exposure to violence as part of everyday life is a well-known risk factor. Experiencing and or witnessing violence in childhood and the severity of the abuse experienced can be a determinant to re-victimisation as an adult and consequently the perpetration of violence and violence supportive attitudes (Wyatt, Guthrie and Notgrass, 1992; Heise, 1998; Kessler and Bieschke, 1999; Heise, Ellsberg and Gottmoeller, 2002; Flood, 2011; Day et al.,
Numerous negative long-term effects for the survivors of childhood abuse and exposure to violence include an increased likelihood of heavy alcohol consumption (Lown et al., 2011), and these perpetrators tend to participate in risky behaviours such as pregnancy involvement, having multiple partners, and unsafe sex (Homma et al., 2012), as well as suffering from psychological effects such as depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder, and internalisation of shame leading to isolation and suicidal behaviour (Alexander, 1993; Kessler and Bieschke, 1999). In addition, a history of sexual abuse can also affect interpersonal relationships (Homma et al., 2012). In specific regard to women, a study which included female college students from two universities in America found that those who experienced childhood abuse had a 2.55 times higher rate of experiencing unwanted sexual contact compared to those who were not abused (Kessler and Bieschke, 1999). Moreover, 44 per cent of women in a community sample taken in Los Angeles, America who reported abuse before 18 years of age experienced abuse as an adult (Wyatt et al., 1992:170). All these risk factors present a complex mix of challenges for preventing GBV, and these risk factors are often exacerbated during times of conflict.

4.5 Conflict and gender based violence

Areas of conflict undergo prolonged periods of violence, which can normalise behaviours and attitudes which disempower women and girls and can exacerbate harmful hegemonic masculinities (Ghobarah, Huth and Russett, 2004; Degomme and Guha-Sapir, 2010). It is suggested that conflicts increase the tolerance for violence in societies (Manjoo and McRaith, 2011). Conflicts represent a significant loss of life, health and wellbeing and leaves a legacy of trauma (Miller and Rasmussen, 2010). State and non-state institutions are destroyed, whilst the political, economic, and social landscapes become unstable. Civilians bear the brunt of impacts from human losses, poor health, loss of livelihoods, gender inequality, food insecurity, loss of education and internal displacement (Meddings, 2001). Common treatable health issues that are in times of peace easily preventable become deadly due to the lack of medicines and health institutions. Armed combatants in war are predominantly men (Plümer and Neumayer, 2006). It is argued that the values and beliefs associated with hegemonic masculinities are reinforced, reinvigorated and institutionalised in times of conflict due to the militarisation of practices and the violence associated war and conflict (Goldstein, 2003; Higate and Hopton, 2005). Some feminist scholars such as (Hartsock, 1989), argue that masculinity is a key underlying cause of
war, and that these violent beliefs and attitudes are carried into life post conflict and can create new hegemonic masculinities.

Women and girls are particularly affected by armed conflicts through various forms of gendered violence. Women and girls are often reduced to mere objects by humiliating and forcibly violating them (Manjoo and McRaith, 2011). Numerous conflicts have shown extremely high levels of sexual violence and in particular rape of women and girls. For example, in the Rwandan Genocide as many as 500,000 cases were estimated, similarly in the Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia conflict 60,000 and in Sierra Leone 64,000 rapes were estimated to have occurred (Leatherman, 2011:2). In the last century, widespread sexual violence and in particular rape remains a common military tactic (Braithwaite, 2006). Conflict does not create sexual violence because it exists in both times of peace and war. However, it often exacerbates it to alarmingly high rates, whilst simultaneously reinforcing patriarchal norms which lead to gender inequitable behaviour and attitudes. Although female perpetrators of sexual violence exist (Johnson et al., 2008, 2010), the overwhelming majority of perpetrators are male combatants (Ba and Bhopal, 2017). A systematic review on health outcomes of civilians who have experienced sexual violence in conflict zones between 1981 and 2014 found that most perpetrators of sexual violence were combatants (Ba and Bhopal, 2017). Survivors of sexual violence as well as their families suffer severe and long-lasting health impacts (Bosmans, 2007). The implications of such trauma extend far into communities that are recovering from conflict. Given that a key risk factor for IPV is exposure to violence and the normalisation of violence (Jewkes, 2002), it is hardly surprising that some post conflict societies face levels of violence that exceed death statistics in times of violent conflict (Ghobarah, Huth and Russett, 2003).

Trauma is a significant result of armed conflict and the lingering unresolved trauma in society is one of the most dangerous aspects for a nation recovering from war. De Jong et al., (2003) found that post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is the most common disorder in individuals exposed to violence in places of armed conflict. This severely impacts on an individual’s ability to function in society. Common PTSD symptoms include distress, irritability, rage, anxiety, shame, guilt, anger or fear when reminded of the event (Adshead, 2014). In addition, substance abuse and isolation, and sleep mood and appetite disturbance, can also lead to difficulties in maintaining and creating healthy relationships (Adshead, 2014). Grieger et al., (2006) found
that 78 per cent of seriously injured soldiers tested positive for PTSD or depression seven months after combat despite testing negative for both PTSD and depression one month following injury. This has shown to lead to difficulties between partners in intimate relationships (Riggs et al., 1998). Furthermore, children are also affected. Valle and Alvelo (1996) found that up to 40 per cent of children who had a caregiver with PTSD also demonstrated high levels of PTSD symptoms. Additionally, Arzi, Solomon and Dekel (2000), indicates that spouses of combatants with psychological health issues are more likely to demonstrate traumatic stress symptoms than spouses married to healthy partners. Similarly, McLeod, Kessler and Landis (1992), indicate that where a male survivor has female spouse support in depressive episodes, this can lead to faster recovery, whilst having multiple family members with psychological health impacts threatens the stability of families and relationships, which feeds into the community and society.

There is a link between trauma, exhibiting poor mental health and the likelihood of violence. Mental health concerns in communities can be addressed through trauma focused and psychosocial approaches (Miller and Rasmussen, 2010). These approaches focus on the direct impacts of war, such as violence, physical assault, destruction of homes, loss of lives, whilst psychosocial focuses on social conditions which have worsened due to war such as, poverty, and this heightens distress. Miller and Rasmussen (2010), suggest that daily societal stressors in both conflict and post conflict settings impact on psychological distress. In post conflict societies when trauma is not addressed adequately, stress tends to pile up on people which has detrimental consequences on individuals, communities and regions. At an individual level, this affects a person’s ability to function in society, with war related violence contributing to ongoing violence in post conflict settings for many and in particular children (Saile et al., 2014). In post conflict regions the social services needed to alleviate many of these problems has often fallen to non-state actors. While this allows for the design and implementation of home-grown methods to address various trauma and other social issues, it also places a burden on the actors undertaking this often voluntary role.

Civil society therefore plays a significant role in conflicts: brokering peace and providing the foundations for a peaceful post conflict society. Women are often central to such work (Boege and Garasu, 2011). In particular, non-governmental organisations and faith based organisations, frequently adopt a role of rebuilding societies and maintaining peace (Lekskes,
van Hooren and de Beus, 2007). Their proximity to the community, and the fact that they are privy to the problems that occur at the local level, allows for them to undertake and provide a highly effective role in catering to the needs of those most vulnerable in communities. This is particularly so for those who are escaping violence.

4.6 Addressing gender based violence

In relation to GBV, the types of initiatives that women’s organisations implement can broadly be divided into first, providing services to women and girls who experience GBV, and, second, carrying out activities designed to prevent, or reduce, GBV (Terry and Hoare, 2007). This is no easy task, and there are considerable challenges for organisations and individuals. Work directly affecting women and in particular social work to counter GBV is continually underfunded and under resourced by governments. Nevertheless, there are a range of interventions to reduce GBV specifically. One approach aims to shift the power structures between men and women and to account for the dynamic social environments and cultures that exist and interact. For example, the human ecological model was first proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1979). This discussed how the environmental, cultural and social structures influenced an individual into adulthood. The model has been modified, it is often named a socio-ecological model, and is now widely used as a theoretical framework to discuss and explore the dynamic factors and environments that allow the perpetration of gendered violence as well as how to address it (Heise, 1998). The model conceptualises violence and identifies how four factors; individual, relationship, community and society can increase or decrease the likelihood of GBV depending on a specific context and acknowledges the interaction of these factors at multiple scales. This model also has the ability to look into different cultural and histories of a place. At an individual level, social gendered norms will shape a person, but they can also become instruments for change and influence other spheres of the model. The relationship level can examine how unequal gendered norms and certain aspects like male dominance and control, and alcohol dependence in families can shape likelihood of violence (Heise, 1998). Whilst at the community level, crime rates, culture, religion and economics shape the nature of violence. At a societal level, legislation and policy changes are needed to better support survivors of violence. In particular these need to look at the design and implementation of policy and ways to establish effective systems to report and protect survivors (Jewkes, 2002). In order to effectively address violence, there is a need for
intersectional approaches which work across the four factors of this model in changing gender inequitable behaviours and norms.

An example of an intervention that uses this model is the ‘SASA! study,’ which demonstrates success in reducing the risk of IPV in communities in Uganda (Abramsky et al., 2016). SASA stands for, start, awareness, support and action. This intervention implemented a holistic “community mobilisation approach to try to change the community attitudes, norms and behaviours that underlie power imbalances between men and women and support the perpetration of violence against women” (Abramsky et al., 2012:4). Transformations at all levels of the socio-ecological model were achieved in a variety of ways at all levels of society, surrounding discussions of power and power inequality and how these impact on the community and relationships (Abramsky et al., 2014). Strategies included, involving their entire community, the identification of key ‘progressive’ male and female leaders in communities to promote the work, using media to advocate, and training workshops by healthcare providers to educate (Abramsky et al., 2012). The implementation of this programme resulted in “reduced social acceptance of gender inequality and IPV, decrease in experience of IPV, improved response to women experiencing violence and decrease in sexually risky behaviours” (Abramsky et al., 2014:5).

Fulu, Kerr-Wilson and Lang (2014) also examined the evidence of interventions that aim to prevent violence against women through a socio-ecological model. This meta-analysis of 244 studies concludes with 10 recommendations with one recommendation suggesting the promotion of multi component interventions that use a holistic approach. Multi component interventions involve addressing a range of factors across the socio-ecological model as a means to address the multiple drivers of violence. For example, the Yaari Dosti programme undertaken in India demonstrated that men became more supportive to equitable gender norms following the intervention. This was achieved through exercises in gender and sexuality, partner, family and community violence, alcohol and risk, and sexually transmitted infection and HIV risk and prevention (Verma et al., 2008). These exercises involved, group educational activities such as role playing, games and exercises to engage men in discussions to promote critical thinking (Verma et al., 2008). Furthermore, another successful intervention (Pronyk et al., 2006) used micro finance in conjunction with a gender HIV training programme. A participatory learning and action program were integrated into business meetings focusing on
reflections on culture, gender, and gender roles, bodies, violence and empowering change. The result was a 55 per cent decrease of IPV experienced (Pronyk et al., 2006).

Additionally, interventions of GBV must consider the specific cultural conditions of a place as this can either contribute to the resilience of a woman surviving GBV or add to the risk (O’Brien and Macy, 2016). Flood and Pease (2009), found that both gender and culture strongly influence attitudes about violence against women in society. Cultures that follow strongly gendered social norms may enable a culture of silencing of women in regard to violence, with shame, humiliation, and fear all playing their part as to why the majority of people never seek help. There are a number of culturally specific GBV interventions that have aimed to cater to Indigenous needs (Norton and Manson, 1997), conflict settings (Stark, 2006; Hustache et al., 2009; Doucet and Denov, 2012), and survivors of IPV (Naved et al., 2009; Schuler et al., 2011; Nicolaidis et al., 2012). Norton and Mason (1997:336) suggest that through in-home services as opposed to office counselling Native American women in the United States of America “experienced a reduction in their distress” as these home visits allowed a greater emotional connection to occur between survivors and counsellors and resulted in greater return rates for counselling and consequently better health outcomes for survivors. In another example, in post conflict Sierra Leone, local traditional healing ceremonies have helped to heal individuals and community psychosocial trauma. It allowed for reconciliation for girls that survived GBV to be reintegrated in to their communities and gave a degree of closure to a traumatic past (Stark, 2006).

For individual perpetrators of violence, Funk and Bancroft (2017:185) suggest that in order to have a meaningful impact interventions need to have “serious consequences for the perpetrator, both to dissuade him from reoffending and to increase his motivation to participate in offender services.” But this does not mean that consequences need to be harshly punitive like in the majority of western judicial systems. In instances where it is deemed possible for an individual to change, there should be avenues available for this to happen in a conducive, encouraging environment. Various Indigenous cultures believe and live in a restorative justice system as opposed to a retributive system, where restoring justice is vital to ensuring peace. Ratuva, (2010) discusses The Veiisorosorovi Model, a Fijian model for peace building. The foundations of this process base itself in the language which helps to reiterate the overall goal of the process:
The term veisorosorovi comes from the word soro, meaning to humble oneself, surrender or ask for forgiveness while admitting fault. It is most commonly used as a means of redressing conflict between two parties and involves the interplay between sociocultural and psychological factors (Ratuva, 2010:156).

Because of the communal lifestyle in much of the Pacific islands, there is a need to keep relationships peaceful and repair those which become fractured and rehabilitate individuals (Ratuva, 2010). These customary practices emphasise the rehabilitation and a whole community approach, and demonstrate efficacy in maintaining and providing long lasting sustainable peace. Consequently, understanding that humans rely on each other for survival and support. Group training workshops is a valued methodology for interventions. In contexts that rely on communities for support and survival is high, this can foster collective action and solidarity. The environment that group work is implemented in is vital to success, and it is suggested that in “environments that are respectful, equitable, and just, the perpetration of IPV and sexual violence is reduced significantly” (Funk and Bancroft, 2017:184). It is important to provide these environments where men feel safe to engage in difficult conversations, self-reflect, and address their own attitudes and behaviours. Engaging men effectively in conversations and workshops to prevent and reduce GBV is a necessity for the future.

There is limited research available on best practice for involving men in the prevention of GBV (Flood, 2011). However, in recent years there is has been a growing body of evidence of successful outcomes of programmes which are transforming men’s attitudes and behaviours towards violence. It is suggested that gender transformative programmes that challenge gendered norms, attitudes and behaviours are more effective for men and boys (Pease, 2008; Peacock and Barker, 2014). A systematic review of engaging men and boys in the prevention of sexual violence by Ricardo, Eads and Barker, (2011) has found promising studies that reduced the perpetration of violence against women (for example Foshee et al., 2004; Jewkes et al., 2008; Gidycz, Orchowski and Berkowitz, 2011). The study by Foshee et al., (2004) involved a school-based intervention, it has been successful for the following reasons, being offered at the start of adolescents dating careers, offering skills and information to adolescents that was able to be used throughout their high school years, participants reflected on being a perpetrator and a victim of violence, were educated on effective communication with their partners as well as how to deal with anger. Jewkes et al., (2008) stepping stones programme
reduced the perpetration of violence against women through an 18-week programme, participants critically assess societal norms that support the perpetuation of violence and identify changes they can implement in their daily lives. Further research has found that men’s levels of acceptability of violence decreased with a more gender equitable attitudinal shift (Abramsky et al., 2016). Similarly, IPV and certain risk behaviours in men decreased, with men reporting less alcohol related problems (Jewkes et al., 2008), a decrease in physical and sexual violence perpetration in adolescents (Foshee et al., 2004), and a successful bystander intervention in decreasing sexually aggressive behaviour in a dormitory setting (Gidycz et al., 2011). There are certain characteristics that successful programmes exhibit, these are summarised in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Characteristics of successful violence prevention programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Characteristics of successful programmes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abramsky et al., (2016)</td>
<td>• Holistic&lt;br&gt;• Community mobilization approach&lt;br&gt;• Targets key community leaders to promote the programme&lt;br&gt;• Change community attitudes, norms and behaviours&lt;br&gt;• Targets both men and women&lt;br&gt;• Group and individual education&lt;br&gt;• Multi component</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulu, Kerr-Wilson and Lang (2014) (Meta-analysis)</td>
<td>• Multicomponent&lt;br&gt;• Skill building&lt;br&gt;• Holistic&lt;br&gt;• Gender transformative&lt;br&gt;• Targets both men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foshee et al., (2004)</td>
<td>• Offered at an early age, adolescent&lt;br&gt;• Critical reflection&lt;br&gt;• Communication skills&lt;br&gt;• Multi component&lt;br&gt;• Targets both men and women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewkes et al., (2008)</td>
<td>• Group participatory education&lt;br&gt;• Skill building&lt;br&gt;• Communication skills&lt;br&gt;• Critical reflection&lt;br&gt;• Changing attitudes and behaviours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gidycz et al., (2011)</td>
<td>• Targets both men and women&lt;br&gt;• Group education&lt;br&gt;• Empathy building&lt;br&gt;• Skill building&lt;br&gt;• Challenges social norms</td>
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</table>
Table 4.2 above shows that many of the interventions that have been successful target both men and women, often in mixed sex groups, are multi component, participatory and involve skill building. Furthermore, the inclusion of both men and women in these programmes is of particular note. Educating men by men is viewed as one way forward in reducing gender based violence (Flood, 2011). Recently there has been a marked shift in violence prevention work where men are being called in to partner with women in order to create sustainable long-term solutions to GBV. It is widely acknowledged that men and boys need to be active participants in violence prevention programs. Flood, (2015:163) suggests that this may also have consequences for women such as,

- diminish the legitimacy of women-only and women-focused programmes and services in prompting a mistaken belief that all interventions should include men...an emphasis on and practice of including men can fuel invalidation and marginalisation of the expertise of women… it can add to women’s work and divert energy and focus, with women working to thank and reassure men and to manage their own critical responses.

In addition, Casey and Smith (2010) in their social justice model, emphasise the importance of allies. Involving and engaging man as allies in anti-violence work means “an active involvement in taking a stand against the abuse of women” (Casey and Smith, 2010:954). They further suggest that multiple layers of alleyship exist, from male self-reflection to engagement with others, through to opportunities for involvement in anti-violence work. Casey and Smith identify three themes associated with men’s active involvement in gender equality efforts. These include, men’s personal experiences with violence, receiving support from peers, role models and female mentors, and employing a social justice analysis that links violence against women to sexism. Although these are not the only pathways for men to become involved in anti-violence efforts, this does provide a valuable knowledge base on how men may become involved in violence intervention work.

Male interventions come in different forms. Sometimes it is more effective to have gender separate trainings and sometimes mixed groups. Douglas, Bathrick and Perry, (2008) suggests that when women and men work in partnership, this is more likely to promote non-violent norms around masculinity and less passive norms around femininity than work that only engages men. In contrast, a study by Piccigallo, Lilley and Miller, (2012:507) found that “when
the men were approached in a non-confrontational, alliance-building fashion by other men, they reported that their knowledge related to sexual assault, their empathy toward sexual assault survivors, and their motivation to actively engage in the prevention of sexual violence all increased.” There remains much debate over the efficacy of engaging with single sex or mixed sex groups for intervention programmes. Both have demonstrated successful outcomes for both mixed sex (Wolfe et al., 2003; Foshee et al., 2004; Hillenbrand-Gunn et al., 2010; Gidycz, Orchowski and Berkowitz, 2011), and single sex (Weisz and Black, 2001; Verma et al., 2008). The choice of grouping will be context, environment and culturally dependent, and based on the design of the intervention programme. In addition, participatory and interactive group education, (Carlson et al., 2017; Funk and Bancroft, 2017), combined with community outreach and community mobilisation with multiple sessions together, have been found to be more effective than group education alone (Carlson et al., 2017). Group learning is helpful in violence prevention as it allows perpetrators to understand they are not unique which can provide relief, provide hope for the future, the sharing of information, a source of altruism for people to find their experience can help others, free expression of emotions (Jukes, 1999), as well as providing support for one another. Furthermore, it is important that the right facilitator for group workshops is selected. Welsh, (2001) looked into gender discussions for men that were facilitated by a woman and found that this resulted in a negative response shown. The men tended toward two reactions; to either ignore the information that was deemed irrelevant to men, or to take a defensive stance, because they felt a sense of being accused and blamed for gender inequalities. In contrast, in the SASA! programme the result was markedly different when each group had a facilitator that was the same gender and around a similar age as the group (Welbourn, 2002). They found that having a skilled male facilitator for male groups who had “managed to shift their gender roles in their own lives and are still respected by their peers, appears to be a particularly strong element in enabling other community members to take these steps for themselves” (Welbourn, 2002:56).

Funk and Bancroft (2017:186) expressed the efficacy of using the socio-ecological model, based on emerging data, working with men across the social ecology is proving to be the most effective in shifting individuals support for gender equality, enhancing social norms that promote gender equality, and changing community values and political support for gender equality.
It is suggested that a focus on gender equality should guide these solutions, right from grassroots to a governmental level (Flood, 2011). Unravelling years of patriarchal views, hegemonic masculinities, and power takes time and an important part of engaging men is the understanding that it is a long-term process and will take years. Understanding the context, environment and social and cultural structures within the setting any violence prevention programme is designed for and implemented in is crucial for success. Most importantly, it is clear from recent work and from common sense that men and boys understand that they have a key role to play as allies, and complacency is no longer an option.

4.7 Conclusion

Although not all men exhibit violent tendencies or behaviours or attitudes, all men do have a role to play in preventing violence, and without their active participation, as a society the road remains an uphill battle. The literature within this chapter demonstrated why and how violence establishes and manifests itself in society. Specifically exploring hegemonic masculinities to discuss male violence but also keeping in mind that hegemonic masculinities are able to be manipulated and changed at an individual level which has the potential to create change at a societal level. Furthermore, despite the discrepancies between definitions of GBV and the challenges in defining this phenomenon, GBV was defined for this research. Conflict and GBV are intertwined and these are widely discussed here because of the history with the crisis in Bougainville. The take home point is that armed conflict escalates violence to extreme levels, and the effects of this continues into the post conflict phase. Furthermore, male interventions for GBV are explored in order to support my arguments in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. In the following Chapter, I answer my first research question, what is the prevalence of gender based violence in Bougainville today? In order to answer this I discuss aspects of Bougainvillean culture, trauma and the lingering impacts of the crisis that are still being felt today.
Chapter 5 – What is the prevalence of gender based violence in Bougainville?

One night I experienced the sound of crashing pots and arguing between a man and woman in one of the houses surrounding me in the village. It was terrifying and the fact there was no one to call, and I was not in a position to intervene both led me to question my own morals and ethics. I couldn’t help feeling and knowing I was complicit in my behaviour, but I had to think about myself as a foreigner as well as my own safety. A few weeks later I remember seeing the same woman from the house brought to Chabai to seek treatment for a swollen and cut eye. (Authors recollection from time spent as a volunteer).

According to Jewkes, Fulu and Sikweyiya, (2015) three out of four women have experienced intimate partner violence (IPV) in Bougainville. The origins for this particularly high number has its roots in the crisis and GBV in Bougainville today is highly interwoven with unresolved trauma from the 10-year civil conflict (Jewkes, Jama-Shai and Sikweyiya, 2017; see interviews with Carol, John, Daniel). As discussed in the previous chapter, unresolved trauma tends to result in multiple social problems, such as drug and alcohol abuse, family issues such as child abuse, lack of peace in communities, and interpersonal challenges such as trusting people and maintaining healthy relationships (Ganster-Breidler, 2010; Jewkes et al., 2013; see also interviews with Anthony, John, Kayden). Furthermore, psychological impacts are extremely common, such as Post-traumatic stress disorder and depression (interviews with Sr. Lorraine Garasu, John, Josie). Other prominent impacts from the crisis are the lack of employment and educational opportunities which continue to plague development in the region (interviews with John, Ryan, Anthony, see Table 5.2). Chapter 4 highlighted the connections between conflict, violence and trauma, and suggests that the emergence of widespread gendered violence is not uncommon following armed conflict. However, the situated and complex nature of gendered violence requires an understanding of the specific context and culture in which it occurs. Understanding that reconciliation is an entrenched cultural process necessary to maintain peace and the process of building peace helps to provide an understanding of the environment and culture which supports men to change, and also supports the argument presented in Chapters 6 and 7. This chapter aims to answer the first of my three research questions, ‘what is the prevalence of GBV in Bougainville?’ Building on Chapter 3 and 4, this chapter will look into
the specific context of violence in PNG and Bougainville and then explores the effects of the Bougainville conflict on society today. This chapter establishes that Bougainville was a relatively non-violent region before the crisis, with traditional kastoms and culture regulating a peaceful society. The crisis and in particular unresolved trauma are suggested as contributing factors to the high levels of GBV currently experienced. This section uses evidence from literature, Bougainville specific content, as well as evidence from interviews to support this argument.

5.1 Gender based violence, trauma and culture

As previously mentioned, three out of four Bougainvillean women have experienced intimate partner violence (Jewkes et al., 2015). Throughout the region, similar to many parts of the world, power, control, entitlement and privilege are ingrained in men’s behaviours and attitudes towards women and girls. Violence is normalised and is continuing to widen the gap of inequality between genders. All the MAs acknowledged this in some way, “today you can see men do not respect women” (interview with Ryan), “we see women as something we own” (interview with Alexander). This sentiment is echoed by a women human rights defender (WHRD) who said, “most of the time men think they’re the boss and women are like nothing” (interview with Julia). Whilst a few of the men interviewed had perpetrated physical violence (interviews with, Matthew, Ryan, Alexander), others had done so in other ways, such as through controlling behaviours and attitudes and substance abuse (interview with David). Within this I discuss the impacts of the crisis, and suggest that GBV in Bougainville is widespread, with unresolved trauma being a part of the cause and showing that culture has the ability to enhance or diminish GBV.

Jewkes et al., (2015; 2017) examined gendered violence in post conflict Bougainville. They interviewed 864 men and 879 women and found the relative importance of different factors associated with perpetration of physical or sexual partner violence. The most important factor associated with perpetuating GBV was emotional abuse and neglect in childhood, followed by the enduring impact of the crisis. Table 5.1 below highlights other key findings from this study.
## Table 5.1: Relevant findings from the Family Health and Safety Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mental health issues</th>
<th>Family, Health and Safety Study</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33% women and 26% of men are depressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16% of women and 25% of men have PTSD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>35% of men have a problem with drinking compared with 7% of women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuse in childhood</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical abuse</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual abuse</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimate Partner Violence (IPV)</td>
<td>Three out of four women experienced IPV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70% of women experienced emotional abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50% of women experienced financial abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape of a non-partner</td>
<td>41% of men disclosed they had raped a non-partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16% of women reported being raped by a non-partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>It was found the motivations of men for raping include: 73% sexual entitlement, 74% entertainment seeking, 51% anger and punishment, 26% after drinking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict related</td>
<td>North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men who witnessed someone being beaten during the crisis regionally</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men who witnessed someone killed during the crisis regionally</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jewkes et al. (2015).

Table 5.1 above demonstrates the widespread prevalence of GBV in current society. Of particular concern in the current climate are the incredibly high rates of IPV towards women and psychological health issues affecting both men and women. This report provided six recommendations including to; “change social norms that promote gender inequality and tolerance of violence against women, promote and implement gender based violence prevention interventions to work at a collective level, promote interventions to build more
respective and gender-equitable masculinities” (Jewkes et al., 2013:27). Another report which was released by the Australian National University and the International Women’s Development Agency in 2018, the ‘Do no harm research - Bougainville’ was part of a large body of research undertaken concerning women’s economic empowerment and violence against women in Melanesia (Eves et al., 2018). As previously mentioned, (see Chapter 4), it is not clear whether these recommendations have the potential to reduce violence or enhance it as the cultural and social structures influence the possibility of this occurring. Despite this, the research found that working with men is necessary and there is a need for community-based gender transformative programs (Eves et al., 2018:11). Furthermore, it was identified that; violence erodes women’s agency and power, men’s alcohol consumption is a key trigger for violence, the exchange of bride price does not lead to violence and access to justice is limited (Eves et al., 2018:11). Importantly, the recommendations and findings align with the work The NCfR are currently doing and have been doing for a significant number of years, especially around relieving trauma.

In Bougainville, the enduring impact of the crisis has contributed to poor mental health within the population, evidenced in Table 5.2. Jewkes et al., (2017) found that 87.6 percent of men and 59.5 percent of women experienced trauma during the crisis leading to high post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms in both women and men (Jewkes et al., 2017:9). Trauma has become a part of life in Bougainville, with one MA stating, “the whole population in Bougainville are very traumatised people, now people don’t feel safe, they are living with fear” (interview with John). Furthermore, psychological trauma from the crisis has never been addressed on a nationwide scale. Sadly, in 2016, there was only one mental health nurse for the whole population (Tierney et al., 2016:8).

Table 5.2: Current mental trauma levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High levels of depressive symptoms</td>
<td>37.8%</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicidal thoughts in the last week</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion exposed to trauma that might lead to PTSD</td>
<td>79.5%</td>
<td>78.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of total with high levels of PTSD symptoms</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jewkes et al., (2017) proposes a connection between psychological impacts of the crisis and the risk factors of perpetration of violence. This is not a new suggestion. Local organisations have understood that this unresolved trauma has been causing societal issues in their communities since the crisis ended (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu). Furthermore, social issues such as those stated in Table 5.3 below are a symptom of a traumatised population.

Table 5.3: Enduring consequences of the crisis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unable to complete education due to conflict</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to keep employment due to the crisis</td>
<td>29.8%</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing lack of peace in village or area</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>38.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuing strife in family</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking or using drugs to forget the trauma of conflict</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty having a good relationship with a (wo)man</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty controlling aggression</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficulty in normal social relations in the community</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unable to trust anyone</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled as a result of the crisis</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>13.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jewkes et al., (2017:10).

Social problems similar to these were also described by numerous participants throughout the research. These are set out in Table 5.4 below,

Table 5.4: Social issues present today extracted from research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social issues present today</th>
<th>Quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Substance abuse</td>
<td>• Young people today. It's just a different Bougainville, they are engaged more with homebrew and drugs. But I don’t blame them too, I blame the whole social upheaval we went through [the crisis] (interview with Anna).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Homebrew was never here before the crisis (interview with Paul and Nick).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• See also interviews with; Anthony, Betty, Carol, Kayden.

Aggression
• In Ieta, the community was totally burnt in the crisis, and the parents just shout threats to their children, they don’t use mild words, [they say] I’m going to kill you.’ (interview with Anna).

Mental health
• The conflict [wasn’t] good people lost everything, I always talk to my elders but now their mind is not settled (interview with Andrew).
• People need to be rehabilitated properly from the [trauma] of the crisis, this is why we have problems still arising (interview with Lucy).
• I understand trauma, and we fought for almost 10 years and we did nothing with the traumatic events, and we fight another 20 years in our minds with all sorts of issues again. This is too much for us (interview with Daniel).

Unemployment
• Kids go to school and after school there’s nothing, they go to school thinking there will be jobs for them, but no, there’s no big industry here to absorb them (interview with Anna).
• There’s a really big gap in employment opportunities (interview with Ryan).

Gambling
• Gambling is a real problem, as soon as the sun comes up people start to gamble, they [women] don’t have time to go to the garden, they tend to rely on gambling (interview with Betty see also Anna).

These symptoms of the crisis provide further evidence of the importance of alleviating the trauma in order to prevent further violence. The notion of generational trauma is recognised in the above table within the example of aggression. Participant Anna, described how the trauma from their community being burnt down during the crisis has affected the community today. The children of the crisis era who are now parents still internalise this trauma and it gets displayed in many ways, in this example, as verbal abuse.

It is suggested that women’s experiences of dealing with conflict related trauma differs from men (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu). Women tend to internalise their trauma, one coping mechanism which allows them to be able to carry on is due to various women’s support groups.
which allow them to discuss their experiences. This does not mean that they do not require counselling, it means that they are able to “handle the trauma and get on with [their] work” (Sr. Lorraine Garasu in Howley, 2002:71). Currently in order to get trauma counselling the most beneficial and effective option is to seek it from local organisations such as The NCfR or Leitana Nehan Women’s Development Agency, who have trained up community counsellors to work across Bougainville. They have trained men and women to cater to the gender specific needs of people. The trauma of the population is of considerable distress to the male advocates I interviewed (interview with John, see also; Sr. Lorraine Garasu). The sheer volume of the task at hand is daunting, as John indicates,

We should’ve started in 2002, if we are going to treat trauma in 2018-2019 how many of the population are we going to touch? It's growing bigger every day, they’re passing it on to others…Even the kids, its passed onto kids…If we're training 20,000 of the population we still have 200,000 plus to deal with and they are voting in 2019 so what can we do. How can we ever touch everyone and say they’ll be trauma free? We are always talking about guns free, and referendum ready but are we trauma free? (interview with John).

Mental trauma is not an issue that is widely discussed in the general population. However, I found that for the educated and older generation of Bougainvileans, and the MAs and WHRDs who have undertaken training from The NCfR, it was of the utmost concern (interviews with John, Daniel, Anna, Betty, Sr. Lorraine Garasu). Additionally, because of this trauma, the threat of conflict occurring in the lead up to the referendum to be held in August 2019 is very real for the older generation as David (see also Sr. Lorraine Garasu) identifies,

You have to shape the man, the human being, the physical, the body and the spirit. It’s not good [that] we go like this and another one (conflict) comes up. It’s a very big issue. I was there, I saw it and I don’t want to see it happen again, people dying, cruel murder, I don’t want to see it, honestly. I’ve had enough, I had never seen a man in my history be murdered in my eyes before and I don’t want to see it again, that’s enough. I want to live a happy life in harmony, one people. This is the life I like. I’m afraid, I don’t want to see it again. This is not what life is.
This connection between trauma and violence is strong in Bougainville, and for some the fear of the past has the ability to drive a culture of change, especially within the older generation which can filter into communities and society. However, culture and *kastoms* are also often used as a justification for maintaining gender inequality, as Paul notes, “Culture is one hindrance to gender equality” (interview with Paul). In Bougainville it is clear how important culture and *kastoms* are in communities; a significant amount of money is spent on feasts using money that is not always available, for example, Paul notes, “we could be spending up to $20-40,000 kina on one particular death, man it’s killing us.” These traditions are important to retain, it is an essential part of community and society that has been passed down through generations, but it is starting to take a toll on individuals, families and whole communities. MA’s routinely discussed and described examples of how certain cultural *kastoms* presented barriers to gender equality, these are slowly changing, but in certain communities that have not received any education these do remain strong.

**Table 5.5: Cultural *kastoms* as barriers to gender equality**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A first born boy is not allowed to carry a pail of water or firewood from the bush, anything you put on top of his shoulder will always be taken from him and smashed, that’s one bad thing about our culture, it's training us [men] to be lazy…. It's the reality. But now thank God it's dying out.</td>
<td>Paul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following a death and during the mourning stage, women can’t wash for five days. I think we are doing an injustice to our women for us continuing to impose these cultures…. Women’s health is important, so why do we have to continue with such practices?</td>
<td>Nick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those kastoms were really strong, if I told my son to go fetch water, if an older woman would see this, they would get a saucepan and take it to their homes or bend it.</td>
<td>Cynthia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When women were in the house men were not allowed to walk under the posts</td>
<td>Mathew</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly, MAs suggested that “*kastoms are very strongly gendered*” (interview with Kayden, see also; Paul and Nick), which disempowers women and girls. Nevertheless, they live with the belief that change is possible,
I believe with a lot of these kastoms, if we start to take away the kastoms that actually violate women’s rights, it will be okay (interview with Ryan).

It also became clear that certain kastoms have transformed from their traditional role of strengthening ties between families and communities to being used to control women. One example concerns, bride price. One MA discussed how bride price is traditionally used to strengthen marriage, but Ryan notes “men do not realise this.” Rather, men have more recently used the notion of a men’s exchange of money and gifts for a bride as an excuse to control their wife, participant Rita also echoed this sentiment. It is apparent it will take time with tactful small changes needed in order to change harmful kastoms, but equally important is the fact that culture must not be lost in the process. Kastoms and culture do have a tight hold on people, and it will take significant action to remedy this. However, it is occurring with MAs starting to challenge these entrenched beliefs. The evidence presented in Table 5.6 below, acknowledges this,

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 5.6: Evidence from research demonstrating the challenge culture presents</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We want to nurture the small changes, but we are very mindful about our kastoms and traditions.</td>
<td>John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do understand you can change culture, for me kastoms are not fixed because we are not born with kastoms and cultures and depending on the situation or conditions we can change some of these things.</td>
<td>Daniel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We are very mindful of culture too because we have respect for the culture, but there are certain activities within this culture we really need to do away with.</td>
<td>Phillip and Nick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We can change that, it’s not hard. In the past we just let the women do everything and we just sat there, we sat like a king or what? So, it’s changing, there’s a big change at Patupatuai [South Bougainville]. There has been a big change in Baubake and Kopii since the programme, they have changed. They are saying there’s a change there, especially in the town area [Baubake].</td>
<td>Kayden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe some practices in the culture that is not helping yeah, we do away with those. But the ones that help us to be who we are, we keep them</td>
<td>Josie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From Table 5.6 above it’s clear that culture does present a significant barrier to change, but the beautiful thing about cultures is the fluidity of them and the transformations they can undergo over time, as Sr. Lorraine says, “cultures can change and trauma can heal” (Pers.comm, 2016). These changes are being driven by both MAs and WHRDs. MAs are helping to remove and manipulate certain traditional kastoms that are presenting barriers to attaining gender equality. One participant discussed how before he couldn’t even carry a bucket of water as he was the chief’s son, but now “these tambus [rules] are starting to fade” (interview with Ryan, see also; Paul and Nick).

Table 5.7: Evidence from research demonstrating Kastoms that have changed

| Previously women only entered a haus wind [meeting house] from the backdoor not the main entrance like the men, but today we've changed that, women and men alike can enter from the front….I didn’t want that to continue to suppress women | John |
| In the past, they told the women to wear laplap [cloth worn as a skirt] only, but now we can wear shorts…In the past boys didn’t cook, but now they cook and clean | Julia |
| When this programme came it changed things, [before] we would just sit and watch the women work, now have realised we can help the women cook and cut firewood… | Kayden |
| We [men] are trying to make the women stand out now, if we have a celebration [with the church choir] the men will tell the women to stand up and lead the choir. | Paul |

Despite the challenging role, throughout discussions MAs have shown that the tide is turning on cultural kastoms which can perpetuate harm towards women and girls. Men are taking up the task in promoting women and changing harmful beliefs and practices in communities. Transforming cultures to be more equitable is clearly possible here. Kastoms and traditions in the future have a significant role to play in further pushing more equitable gender roles in communities and subvert harmful masculinities, and MAs in particular have a significant role in helping women to achieve equality in a community setting.
5.2 Prevalence of gender based violence pre and post crisis

Bougainville was just paradise. 1984-1989 Bougainville was a peaceful paradise, you could walk from here to my village for 5 hours in the night, you wouldn’t even look over your shoulder, you would be just marching home, nobody would interfere with you, drunkenness was normal, they will be just singing away on the beach nobody ever thought of punching somebody or violence or raping a woman, there was no such thing. During those days, I think the generation that grew within my time, I don’t know, girls and boys would be swimming naked all of us, it was normal in our community in those days, from 79-1980s you wouldn’t, I don’t know there was no such thing. Marriage was never a priority, we respected girls, they were girls we were boys. We were enjoying life and our times, we would never have to think about anything like somebody raping somebody, none like that, alcohol related nothing, people were minding their business. I can say there was nil violence, maybe domestic violence, but it was very small.

Generally, life was paradise, no violence, nothing like that to worry you. No problems with personal and community security, enough to eat, enough cash to generate (interview with John).

It can be said that violence was there but was infrequent in pre-conflict Bougainville. In Nagovisi of South Bougainville, Nash, (1990:131,132) found that physical and sexual violence and child abuse was uncommon. Over two and a half years, only four cases were recorded (Nash, 1990:127). In addition, arguments usually resulted in verbal assault and destruction of property as opposed to physical abuse. Cultural conditions have a vital role here, as previously mentioned, not only are most Bougainvillean communities matrilineal, they also follow matrilocal residence (Nash, 1990:130). Marriages often occur between two people who live in close proximity with each other. When a marriage occurs, the cultural etiquette is that the man leaves his village to live at the woman’s village. This importantly gives women agency to act in the case of a dispute. The man either leaves back to return to his village or the woman leaves her husband’s possessions outside as a sign (Nash, 1990:131). In instances of a disagreement between husband and wife Nash (1990) describes an exchange of valuables from the wife’s family and the husband returning back to his own village (Nash, 1990). This exchange may seem conflicting and in opposition to the original agency the woman had in living in her own
village, however this traditional structure provided peace through an ongoing exchange between the two parties. Moreover, it reinforces the idea of reciprocity in Bougainvillean culture and society and how it has always been a guiding principle for social harmony. Women traditionally were highly protected and valued members of communities strongly connected to the land. For example, Saovana-Spriggs suggests “the conceptualisation and symbolic significance of land is objectified in the female body. Continuity in things traditional is essential and therefore a woman’s body is crucial” (Saovana-Spriggs, 2010:204). Field observations between discussing gender with younger between 20-40 years and older men who are over 50 years old demonstrated a vast contrast in the way they view women in society. Men over 50 who were interviewed described women as such,

In our culture people looked upon women as people to be respected, they gave life to the community, so they were protected (interview with John).

Traditionally women were the most powerful figures in the village because they were respected for their roles as mothers… But over the years people have turned the equation around…it’s not what it used to be (interview with Fred).

This respect for women helped keep violence to a low level. Evidence suggests that there was variability within the gendered violence levels pre-conflict. Numerous participants reported there were isolated cases of violence, but it was often silenced, and it was nowhere near as prevalent as it is currently (interviews with Alexander, Kayden, Fred, Josie, John Adam). Evidence in Table 5.8 below suggests that GBV was either a private affair pre-conflict and kept to minimal levels or non-existent to participants.
Table 5.8: Evidence showing GBV pre-crisis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>When I was younger, you hardly saw couples fighting in the streets, it was more a secret thing done</td>
<td>Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the bedroom. But today it's there for people to see</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before the crisis, I would say that violence was still there, but it was never revealed.</td>
<td>Josie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>…there was this business of males being dominant over the families and decision making was there,</td>
<td>Fred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but it wasn’t as bad as it is now.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before the crisis Bougainville was a very peaceful place, it wasn’t a violent place</td>
<td>Betty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If you sit with an old person, he would tell you ‘it was not like that in the past, it was safe…</td>
<td>Lucy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was peaceful compared to today.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One MA suggested that “in the past, a lot of things that happened were not defined as violence, but a way of law and order” (interview with Alexander). Two MAs above 50 years old acknowledged that “we grew up at a time where (gender relations) were very unbalanced, we grew up in a male dominant structure where the women were down there, and the men are up there” (interview with Paul and Nick). From this evidence, it can be suggested that gender relations were highly variable from place to place and that ingrained gendered roles existed, but the findings of this research cannot infer how this may or may not have impacted on equality. To conclude, this research can suggest that violence was undoubtedly present before the crisis, but there is a clear suggestion that violence, especially GBV has increased since the crisis.

As a result of the crisis, many traditional regulatory systems were fragmented which consequently had a profound effect on traditional governance within communities. A MA suggested there were traditional ways of addressing violence pre-conflict which don’t seem to exist today (Interview with Adam). Two MAs, both discussed how chiefs held their power and leadership prior to the crisis but that during and following it the leadership skills were eroded (Anthony and Alexander). Another aspect that emerged was that ex-combatants held authority over chiefs and undermined them during and following the crisis (interview with Matthew).
The men were using arms, people were afraid and couldn’t say or do anything, they were the boss. There was no control of the violence, the chiefs were scared and afraid and they just sat there quietly (interview with Linda, safe house counsellor).

This breakdown of leadership during the crisis has left a legacy of resisting authority, as “the youth [today] go their own ways” (interview with Carol). This undermining of chiefs and the inability of some chiefs to control the combatants who held guns, control and power over them would be a considerable driving force behind a breakdown in chieftainship and traditional regulatory mechanisms of governance in the current landscape. In specific regard to violence levels post conflict, participants in Table 5.9 below, made general connections to violence becoming normalised due to the crisis and levels getting worse following the crisis.

Table 5.9: Evidence suggesting the crisis exacerbated GBV

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It wasn’t like today, today if you want to kill a man you can kill a man in front of people, before it wasn’t like this. The kind of violence we experience today, people are not afraid of the violence.</td>
<td>Betty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before it was different, people understood each other. After the crisis people became so violent. Maybe the crisis changed their way of thinking</td>
<td>Carol</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The mine raised the level of violence [to a level] we have never experienced in our lives</td>
<td>John, MA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before the crisis there was violence and then after it got worse, [the crisis] compounded abuses [and] really made it more complex</td>
<td>Adam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before the crisis our life was good, we were living [well], but after the crisis there has been a change. The crisis changed our mindset.</td>
<td>Kayden</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 Conclusion

In order to answer research question one, what is the prevalence of GBV in Bougainville today, it is suggested that the war exacerbated GBV to higher levels, but violence was embedded in culture and society prior to this. Consolidating all the information discussed in this chapter, a key reason for the high prevalence of GBV today, is the violence and trauma experienced in the crisis, which has affected how both men and women interact within their families, communities, and wider social circle. The mental trauma has cycled from the generation that
fought, experienced and survived the crisis into the current generation today. In addition, certain cultural *kastoms* are helping maintain gender inequities in communities with traditional systems of governance and leadership which helped to keep the peace and regulate violence no longer playing this role as effectively as pre-conflict. However, this can be rebuilt and as discussed in the next chapter is happening through trainings and workshops such as the MAP. Furthermore, standard post conflict effects such as a lack of opportunities for youth continue to harm their futures and lead them down the path of things such as substance abuse even if this is not their desire. Additionally, throughout this chapter it is evident MAs do have considerable power to change the status quo in regard to *kastoms* and are starting to speak up for women and stand with women. Moreover, civil society continues to play a significant role in violence prevention, and the next chapter will demonstrate the specifics of how the MAP is addressing GBV in communities in Bougainville, and how perpetrators have turned into MAs that stand for justice, peace, equality and advocate for the rights of women.
Chapter 6 – Addressing gender based violence in Bougainville

Whilst the previous chapter highlighted the cause of GBV today in Bougainville, this chapter argues that civil society in Bougainville has led and will continue to lead the way in addressing gender based violence (GBV). This chapter outlines the role and strengths of civil society and the church in Bougainville, explores the tensions between foreign aid and local organisations. From here, the chapter will provide an overview of the work The NCfR undertakes, with a particular focus on the male advocacy programme (MAP). This MAP is centred on education, and providing an opportunity for men to choose to change. In doing so, this chapter aims to answer research question two, how is the male advocacy programme addressing gender based violence?

6.1 Civil Society, the church and foreign aid

Civil society and the churches work together to alleviate the social issues affecting the lives of Bougainvilleans in the post conflict period. Religion and civil society are intertwined and play a significant role, often working together to provide social justice. Field observations suggest that civil society in Bougainville exists because of resilient women wanting to alleviate the social problems they face. Established local non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as The NCfR, Leitana Nehan Development Agency, Haku Women’s Collective and Bougainville Women’s Federation are all female led and initially established themselves initially after the Crisis with little or no foreign aid or Government funding. Following their establishment, foreign aid was able to further support their work and continues to do so. These organisations initially started out for women due to issues they faced which arose from The Crisis, that directly affect women’s lives. These local NGOs collaborate and complement each other’s work in a variety of ways, focusing on providing education, training workshops, and counselling. One prominent Bougainvillean political leader argued that,

You will find women have taken up the work in trying to restore Bougainville that we used to know, and that restoration is through the human being first, because when the human is not fully restored, they will just go and burn everything down again (interview with Anna).
With the state providing little or no funding for any of these social programmes over the years, grassroots organisations have waded through certain challenges, many pertaining to finance and resource issues which are often emotionally draining. Despite this, a significant strength that has grown from the absence of Government funding, is that these NGOs led by local women, can continue to dictate their own future path, free from the constraining structures of state governance. Since the end of the crisis, foreign aid from a number of countries including, Australia, New Zealand, Japan, the European Union and the United States has stepped in to provide funding for organisations to further support the work they are already implementing. Currently civil society in Bougainville presents a flame of hope for survivors and perpetrators of GBV, as NGOs actively seek to address the considerable shortcomings of the Government in the social sector. The Director of The NCFR commented on the strengths of civil society in Bougainville and in particular the relationship with the churches,

With the Government, it’s always whether you have the money to do it or not, whereas in civil society they will continue, the churches continue to do that, the people in the villages will continue [anyway]. (Interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu)

Since colonisation, the churches have provided education, healthcare, and social welfare to the people (Regan and Griffin, 2005). Furthermore, Hauck (2010:55) suggests that “churches provide about half of the countries health services and in partnership with the Government, co-manage some 40 per cent of the primary and secondary education facilities.” The importance of the church in PNG has been recognised in the development of the Papua New Guinea Church Partnership Program. This aims at “enhancing the capacity of the Churches to contribute to PNG development and social stability,” and is funded by the Australian Government (Hauck, 2010:55). The strong relationship with the church in Bougainville is noted by one participant who states,

The church has done a lot, I would say it has done more than the Government. They’re playing an active role, they’ve always been the ones doing more changes in the community and people tend to listen to the church more than the Government, because some people don’t trust our members in the Government, they see the corruption
clearly, so that’s one of the reasons why the church really has a positive influence (interview with Lucy).

Different church denominations continue to work together in Bougainville and especially within the work The Centre implements,

This Centre, this congregation, one of the things we’ve always promoted is ecumenation and that's working with other churches. This programme [at The Centre] is the one that links us all because we also realise that GBV is not just a problem of Catholics it's everybody….also church is church, but what binds us together is we believe in one God (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu).

Religion and the church community is a significant strength in Bougainville, it enables different churches to work together, creating new relationships and unifying people. In a place where “the church has a hold on the people” (Pers.comm. Sr. Lorraine Garasu, 2018), such as Bougainville, an organisation such as a Catholic Congregation of Sisters leading the way in GBV prevention holds a lot of influence. Furthermore, the lack of support from the ABG, aids in the public’s reliance on church services. People on the ground often struggle to acknowledge the Government as their governing body, which has a lot to do with Government support not reaching most of the population. This has led to people being resilient and adaptive in their own environments, and reliant on their families, communities and clans for support. An ex-Minister (Amy) also felt the disconnect between the people and ABG she stated,

Today it's like the ABG is up in the sky… if we continue to put men up there (as President) even men and women who are disconnected from the rest of the communities we won’t get anywhere, they go to Buka and stay there, disconnected from the people.

Similarly, one MA expressed annoyance with the Government,

I'm not happy with the [ABG] Government, the way they run things, they need to solve this issue (trauma/violence) so people can live a happy life, people are living with fear (interview with Anthony).
One participant just wanted the government to “put in more effort… we’ve been advocating for women’s rights etcetera, but the Government departments that are responsible for doing awareness on that haven’t really played their part…” (interview with Lucy). Additionally, another participant expressed that there have been pushes from local actors to move social policy into law which would benefit all Bougainvilleans, but due to factors beyond the control of these actors these have not yet been achieved.

Despite the lack of Government support, the value of the work local NGOs is doing is recognised. For example, one former ABG minister realised the importance of safe houses once her child required the service, “it was a great relief for me, because she was very fearful, and it wasn’t easy for me to look after her.” (interview with Amy, former minister). Therefore, a space is needed for civil society organisations and the Government to collaborate and ensure social policy is well designed, implemented, and adequately funded. Most importantly however, this space will provide a place to hold the Government accountable.

The relationship between civil society and the church is Bougainville is of paramount importance. It is clear that they provide great support for the people of Bougainville, and it is from within these two sectors that change will be made, as this is where the strength in Bougainville lies. Without civil society and the church adopting this role, the findings of this research suggest that GBV would be significantly worse today. However, the accountability of the Government is also a crucial factor which would lead to further positive action in tackling GBV in Bougainville.

6.2 Local organisations and foreign aid

As previously stated in the section prior to this, many local organisations that are working towards violence prevention in Bougainville are currently supported by foreign aid. The presence of foreign aid allows for these organisations to continue implementing their work in communities, without the added financial burden that they would be faced with otherwise. It is important to note that there are a number of International non-governmental organisations (INGOs) in Bougainville, with most undertaking worthwhile work, that are not causing harm to local NGOs and the local population. However, there have been instances where they have created challenges for local organisations. Bougainvilleans have noted that the power between donors and local organisations is unequal, and some local organisations have had poor
experiences with INGOs in the past (Makuwira, 2006). The resourcefulness, resilience, and a strong desire of Bougainvilleans to control the future, sometimes means there is tension between this, and the agendas of aid agencies. Additionally, the cultural and wealth difference between large international western donors and Bougainvillean organisations can be problematic for both parties, and has caused resentment in past cases (Eagles, 2002). The result of these interactions between INGOs and local NGOs has created an air of mistrust towards INGOs, which can hinder positive action occurring.

Examples of this negative relationship between foreign aid and local NGOs are numerous. The first example is, a political leader spoke about a case where one INGO just “packed up and left without letting their recipients know” (interview with Anna, former minister). Another act described was an instance when an INGO “just walked in” and saw that The NCfR and Leitana Nehan Development Agency had already built up the peacebuilding capacity of local volunteers. According to one participant, the INGO “enticed these people we trained, and pulled them across to their programme because they were paying them a fortnight wage, the way they do these things creates challenges for others on the ground” (interview with Anna, former minister). A further male advocate described how INGO’s have told him to “leave Sr. Lorraine and come work for us” he responded with “no, I was built by The NCfR, I will not leave her” (interview with David). In another instance, another INGO also tried to offer him work in Buka town, “they say why are you wasting your time there, come here, and I responded with, I’m with the people in the village” (David, MA). These types of experiences Bougainvilleans share have created distrust and amplify the divide between them and INGOs.

Although it cannot be denied that there are negative aspects connected with the presence of foreign aid in Bougainville, there are ways in which aid can work effectively in partnerships, as the Director of The NCfR has demonstrated. She acknowledges that the Australian Government understands this and has played a very supportive role for her,

You need to turn aid into something. You don’t swallow it and it disappears…. Us here we've changed the way to deal with aid, you don’t have to deal with it the way most people deal with it. For example, when the intensives [workshops] are on and people come and sleep and eat here and they school here, at least the money goes back into the community. There are lots of people who work here, they get paid and they go and start
something else in the village, they build a house, or they do something worthwhile (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu).

In addition to this, my own observations of the Director of The NCfR is that she is uncompromising in how she manages the money, and she won’t be pushed by partner organisations into anything that she feels won’t work within the Bougainvillean context. The positive results of the programmes at The NCfR speak to this, which will be demonstrated throughout this chapter, and the following chapter.

The lack of governmental funding for local NGOs in Bougainville has resulted in foreign aid being a necessity. However, as outlined in this section, foreign aid has been shown to not always function in a legitimate, positive way. Despite the existence of negative relations between foreign aid and local NGOs however, the positive outcomes spoken of here prove that the presence of foreign aid can be very beneficial. Therefore, it is important that foreign aid continues, but with careful consideration as to the nature of partnerships with local NGOs, how money is spent, and what it is being spent on – to ensure it is working in a positive manner within the Bougainville context. This leads in to the following section, focused upon The NCfR, and how the MAP, led by this organisation, has led to positive change within Bougainville.

6.2.1 The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (The NCfR) or ‘The Centre’

The NCfR has been able to facilitate positive change within Bougainville and has greatly helped society to address GBV. This is due to a multitude of reasons, each which will be explored subsequently in this section.

The NCfR holds a different place within civil society in Bougainville in comparison to other NGOs, yet for simplicity I have referred to it as an NGO. The NCfR is a ministry of The Sisters of Nazareth Congregation, rather than an NGO. This is a defining point, as in contrast to local NGO’s being locked into international donor expectations, and the conditionality of those donors, the imposed structure of The NCfR as a ministry provides a different framework for organisations to work with. The NCfR is accountable to the Congregation first and the future direction lies with what the Congregation as a whole see as the greatest needs to be addressed.
Once every four years the Congregation comes together for their Chapter meeting which is undoubtedly the most important meeting of the Congregation. This is where new initiatives are decided, the future direction of the Congregation is discussed, and new leaders are elected. Part of this process involves evaluating the current ministries, The NCfR being one of them. A significant strength of this is that it ensures that local knowledge is woven into the future planning and decisions of The NCfR, and therefore the direction of The Centre will always lie with the local community and people of Bougainville.

The work of The Centre is diverse and there is a wealth of knowledge held within The Centre. The NCfR is based rurally in Chabai, North Bougainville. It was established in 2001 and aims “to help individuals and communities establish long term sustainable peace and stability by focusing on a human rights approach” (NCfR, n.d). The human rights approach of The NCfR is hugely important to their work, and involves a foundation of human rights principles including, equality, accountability, and participation and inclusion (Broberg and Sano, 2018). The training workshops are underpinned with the understanding that everyone, regardless of citizenship, race, ethnicity, nationality, language, sexual orientation or disabilities, are entitled to rights (NCfR, 2017). The NCfR provides a significant number of services for women, men and youth, including safe houses, counselling, and community development programmes. It runs four safe houses throughout Bougainville, and from April 2015 to March 2017 provided counselling, safe house, and crisis support services to 1,904 women, men, girls, and boys (Cardno, 2017:1).

Counselling is a significant aspect of healing trauma and The NCfR has six professionally trained, and over 70 community counsellors stationed around Bougainville (DFAT, 2017:16). In a significantly different approach to most agencies addressing GBV, The NCfR also has a men’s and boy’s rehabilitation programme, that caters for male adult and children clients by hosting them at Chabai. In 2015 the Men’s Hub was established in Arawa, providing extra support for men such as counselling in an area where the crisis had had a profound effect. Additionally, The NCfR also provides access to justice, counselling, mediation, practical skills education, trauma healing, and rehabilitation programmes. Education is provided through awareness events and training workshops. Further to this, analytical activities and tools are used in training workshops which are able to be replicated and applied back in communities, which is vital to ongoing change to occur. Community development tools are taught to enable
greater food security, support networks, family planning, and community housing planning, in relation to various aspects that are key to sustainable community development. Activities involve, making participants aware of gender roles and responsibilities, gender inequalities in their communities, and learning how to resolve violence and conflict - these are discussed within this chapter.

The success of The NCfR at addressing GBV can be attributed to many factors, yet strong leadership is an obvious factor. The Director of The Centre, Sr. Lorraine Garasu, holds a wealth of invaluable knowledge on a wide range of issues specific to Bougainville and PNG. She is an expert in politics, community development, peacebuilding, conflict resolution, GBV prevention, trauma counselling, and a plethora of other social issues. Her knowledge is evident through the content of training programmes and workshops, that are implemented by The Centre. For Sr. Lorraine Garasu, The NCfR and its programmes are about “helping people build right relationships and becoming responsible citizens... because when people become dysfunctional, they become irresponsible and they start creating dysfunctional relationships and then violence sets in” (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu). Therefore, all the programmes at The NCfR revolve around keeping healthy relationships between partners, family members, community members and unlearning harmful behaviours and relearning new ways of living (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu). The Centre, led by Sr. Lorraine Garasu, does a considerable amount of work in many different areas of society, which are vital to sustaining peace in communities and therefore addressing GBV.

A further factor that has led to the success of The NCfR in addressing GBV, is that The Centre has been recognised for addressing the various different pathways that lead to social instability and their trauma healing services. They interact with a socio-ecological framework as discussed in Chapter 4. It is important to note that although the literature points to the western origins of this framework, the approach was already embedded in Melanesian society. When asked whether this was seen as a good framework to approach the work, Sr. Lorraine Garasu responded with,

Yes, because in Melanesian society it’s always about the single unit, you start with the husband and wife, then the children, it becomes a family and then as a family you belong to a clan, the extended family, and then you belong to a community, and
sometimes that community turns into a church community or a village community, and
then you have Bougainville as a whole. Because Melanesian life is to do with common
life, you are not just an individual, you belong to a family, a clan. So even in the work
we do, while people may have individual rights, they also have the responsibility to
adhere to what society [expects]…. Even in our traditional society we have regulations,
we have rules that regulate, in the church we have rules that regulate, in civil society
etc. the idea of working like this is to help people strengthen those ties and also the
boundaries.

An MA further supported this and discussed working to change the family unit first and then
the flow on effects will happen.

Yes, basically all the good things and changes need to start from the family and then
the community and everywhere else a lot of things people will pick up things from
everywhere in life, the parents, the community, the schools, the workplace, religion,
media all those places [that] contribute to how one thinks and their views. But the
starting point really should be from the family. They can groom the child properly he
will learn to respect and if the community shows positive development within itself the
child is likely to get more positive learning from that too. Even when he goes to school
whatever he picks up from there should be something that recognises this and condemns
discrimination of violence against women and then maybe the boy will learn to respect
and work with women better (interview with Fred, see also; Adam).

In addition to this, positive partnerships have been made with The NCfR that have allowed for
greater levels of interaction within communities, and thus more intensive work against GBV.
In the last few years, The NCfR has partnered with the International Women’s Development
Agency, on behalf of the Australian Government, to help fund their programmes under the
‘From Gender Violence to Gender Justice and Healing’ project. This aims to “reduce family
and sexual violence in Bougainville by addressing the root causes of gender inequality”
(Cardno, 2017:11). The project consists of providing crisis services to survivors of family and
sexual violence, capacity building for trauma counsellors, strengthening the women’s human
rights defenders (WHRDs) to continue their work, and working with MAs and men (Cardno,
2017:11). In the first two years of the project, 498 women and 201 men were trained in
understanding and dealing with GBV, human rights, the roles of WHRDs and in peace and conflict resolution. The NCfR’s proven individual success over the years has led to this partnership and has therefore allowed for better resourcing and access to funding streams. As has been stated in the previous section, partnerships with foreign aid are not always successful, yet this is obviously not the case here. A key reason why the relationship between the donor and The NCfR is so effective, lies in the way that the core values of The NCfR have been upheld throughout the partnership. This has been done through the directors’ constant input, and her uncompromising stance on what she sees as essential in order to allow these programmes to be 100 percent Bougainvillean led and operated.

A significant strength of The NCfR in addressing GBV, is its ability to build local capacity to an incredibly high standard, despite the numerous challenges that they have faced post conflict. Many of the staff first came as clients, either survivors or perpetrators and have been working here for 5-10 years. Despite reports of a lack of capacity within Bougainville, The Centre has shown that if you take the time to train and input resources into the local population, you can build capacity, and this will yield widespread positive results. All the various training workshops have been locally designed and tested using home grown methods. The privileging of local knowledge whilst incorporating aspects of learnings from other regions have led to successful outcomes. The director of The NCfR believes that,

We can learn from outside, but we also need to grow our own knowledge and skills because our skills have to be able to address the skills that are in the local community, otherwise we won’t be able to do that. We can draw from what other people have done and are doing somewhere else, but it has to be based here (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu).

Today, traditional Melanesian customary practices and Christianity have woven themselves together effectively into Bougainvillean society and within the training workshops that The Centre provides. They provide distinct methods which aid in the understanding of issues in communities, whilst providing solutions and education, which participants are very receptive to. This is evident in the gender human rights training workshop provided, which firstly educates on human rights, both the Biblical understanding of human rights, and then the Melanesian perspective of human rights (NCfR, 2017). Brought through these foundational
activities in the workshop, is that rights come with responsibilities to your family, community
and wider society. For example, the gender human rights session starts off with the biblical
perspective of gender human rights (see example of a workshop in Appendix F). Participants
are asked to bring their bibles if they wish and find texts from the bible to demonstrate the
message of equality. One male voiced his gratitude in how this was taught,

We have not gone through such training, thanks to the Gods story of creation, I can see
more clearly how equal we are and have always been. For me Human Rights have
always been something too hard for me to grasp, but now it’s like someone has walked
into the room where I was in the dark and switched on the light for me (NCfR, 2016: no
number).

Whilst educating about the Melanesian perspectives of human rights, there is a focus on the
basic needs of ones ancestors, basic needs and the relationships between tribes, and how both
men and women supported, protected and empowered each other in a complementary manner
(N Cf R, 2017). Moreover, feminism is embedded within these trainings, although it is discussed
subtly and indirectly due to cultural considerations (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu). This
mindfulness is critical. One staff member at The NCfR recalled a training workshop
implemented in a community where another organisation had already undertaken a training
workshop and this caused tensions,

Members of the community stated, “We don’t want to know about these rights, we
already know about those things, we don’t need you to come and repeat these things to
us.” I think it was because the UN or someone who went to give the rights [training],
they were talking at a level where people could not understand so when The Nazareth
Centre went there, there were a lot of critics at the time. So, we started off with the
biblical perspective of human rights and that’s what pulled everybody together and they
said “oh, we didn’t go through this type of training, they just came and gave us the
rights and told us these rights, women’s rights, human rights, children’s rights, but they
didn’t go more into telling us The Bible and the Melanesian perspective and all this
other stuff, but we are very happy that you’ve come to give us training on human rights”
(interview with Rita).
The NCfR staff have undergone a significant amount of education and training. This has given them the ability to work in complex situations and diffuse situations like the one described above, and therefore enable them to address GBV in their communities effectively. Their understanding and knowledge of the entire region and cultural differences between villages is a large reason for their success. “If you don’t have your entry point and approach right, these people will spear you. No matter the knowledge you have, how you speak to the people and how you react is very important” (interview with Daniel, MA). Some of the training workshops The NCfR conducts include, Gender and Human Rights, Family Sexual Violence, leadership, peacebuilding, and trauma counselling. The most important part of the trainings workshops is that they are flexible, adaptable and accessible for all education levels. The training materials and tools are all designed for those who may be very remote and therefore lack access to education. In addition, all the training workshops are facilitated by Bougainvilleans who have already completed them and often helped to design them. One MA stated, “all The NCfR staff are gender sensitised and undergo all the major trainings. She [Sr. Lorraine Garasu] got me into all the trainings before she gave me this position” (interview with Matthew, MA). The staff at the NCfR are immensely passionate and dedicated to this work, and it is suggested that this is one reason for the successful outcomes of these programmes.

A further aspect of the workshops that have led to their success of addressing GBV, is their voluntary nature. Importantly, these trainings workshops run by The NCfR are not forced onto communities, project officers go into new communities and increase awareness about the training workshops. Sometimes with this comes with the community’s disappointment, a MA facilitator explains,

Sometimes when we give the MA trainings, there are so many questions being raised, ‘where were you? You should be here earlier with this knowledge in our place so we can have this already, because we’re getting older now.’ If we were there earlier of course, but it depends on the situation and the condition. You cannot just go to those locations and facilitate (Interview with Daniel).

When training workshops are presented to a new community, the chiefs, elders, churches and, depending on the location, factional leaders, must support the initiative before The NCfR can engage, and these leaders must first request the training workshops. This method means that a community will take responsibility and ownership of the programme and in its implementation
and consequently this results in the whole community being educated and provides for improved outcomes of violence prevention. The effectiveness is further improved when the leaders of the community have previously participated in The NCfR training workshops and continue to participate. This is evident in Bana, South Bougainville, where the support of two members of the community with high status, respect and leadership abilities, have undergone the training through these programmes, and this has meant that they were able to engage the whole community into the programmes. This not only helps the facilitators engage with other community members but ensures a greater success rate and less resistance to the training (interviews with David and Alexander, MAs).

As with many aid programmes around the world, The NCfR recognises that there is no one blanket workshop that will fit with every community in Bougainville. Therefore, every training course that goes into each community is tailor-made to fit that community’s history and context (interviews with Daniel and Sr. Lorraine Garasu). This is one of the most important aspects of the programmes The NCfR implements, and one of the most important aspects leading to the success of The NCfR in addressing GBV. Tailor making each community’s training workshops is vital to gaining acceptance of ideas and fostering an environment of active participatory education, as the Director of The NCfR explains,

This is the Melanesian society but even in a Melanesian society the contexts are different from one place to another place to another place, so we have to tailor make most of the things we do and how we do them, otherwise the people will not like what we are doing, they will not accept what we are doing. That’s why go slowly, until the men accept and understand, until they are with us (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu).

This tailor-made approach is accomplished using tools to analyse the social, economic, religious, political and environmental situation of each community.

You have to prepare well to walk into a community. Every community we go to we always use the tool for analysing the social, economic, religious, political and environmental situation…. Because who knows, something may have changed overnight in the environment. So, we have to do that, it is the main tool we use to find out who this community is, the type of people they are (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu).
This is significant, as not many organisations have the knowledge to be able to do this, and even less understand the importance of such an approach, and thus fail to implement these approaches.

In addition to these factors, it's also important to ensure the correct participants are chosen for training workshops. Resources are limited, and consequently participants that will best influence the community and want to learn need to be engaged. Chiefs can play a critical part in creating and facilitating community wide change and mobilising their people to attend training workshops, and resultantly implement what they have learnt (interview with David, see also; Alexander, MAs). This is in part due to their customary roles in communities, status and leadership, “they are the custodians of the people” (interview with Glenn, see also; Alexander, MAs). Additionally, community government ward members are increasingly being targeted to ensure this occurs. They have the power to effect change at a local government level, and also ask the ABG government to help finance further training workshops in their communities (interviews with Adam, David, Sr. Lorraine Garasu). Furthermore, this is seen as a way “we can step into the ABG space” and “strengthen our ABG because the ABG goes right down to the communities through the ward members” (interview with Glenn, MA). As Adam says, “develop the man before you develop the material, if we don’t develop a person, that person will destroy the material.” By strengthening the capacities of these members, effectively the whole ABG and wider society is being strengthened top, and thus creating an environment in which GBV can be addressed successfully.

The complex nature of how gendered violence operates requires an understanding of this specific context, and in particular an appreciation of Bougainvillean culture in which it is situated in. Understanding that reconciliation is an entrenched cultural process necessary to maintain peace, and the process behind this, helps to inform the reader of the environment and culture which address GBV and supports men to change, and support this argument in Chapter 7.

15 Community Government ward members make up the local level government and represent a geographical area from which they were elected. They are often a first point of contact for citizens to voice their concerns to the ABG, especially in rural areas.
6.3 Traditional reconciliation

The traditional reconciliation processes in Bougainville are an important cultural aspect in addressing GBV. It is these processes, which are so engrained within Bougainville society, that enable programmes such as the MAP to work so successfully. Therefore, before the MAP can be addressed, and the successes of this understood, traditional reconciliation must be explored.

The conditions of the crisis presented new challenges for society and cultural practices in Bougainville. Leadership was tested, traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution weakened, and communities suffered from disruption of their livelihoods. In particular, the crisis led to a number of men and boys leaving their villages, support systems, and kastoms behind in order to fight and be commanded by warlords. This resulted in a transformation of livelihoods, mentality, values, attitudes and behaviours (Braithwaite, 2006; see also interview Matthew). The negative attitudes, “warrior mentality” (interview with Matthew), and behaviours which the crisis brought into society have also been connected to violence today by Male Advocates (MAs),

Bougainvillean men and women really complemented each other in the past, it’s just that the crisis came and changed a lot of men, we started to have this we are the boss, we hold the gun mentality and we have the muscles, it’s very hard to see (interview with Ryan, see also; Fred, Matthew).

The boys and men who fought and lived through The Crisis experienced trauma to various degrees. Young boys around “nine and ten years old…seeing their parents being murdered, raped and tortured are some of the most seriously stressed. They still feel guilt that they did not help them” (Howley, 2010:246). Throughout the crisis mothers would reach out to their sons to bring them home and out of the fighting in order to restore peace (Sirivi and Havini, 2004). This provided considerable challenges, by asking men and boys to leave their weapons and return to their village this directly placed them in a lower position of power than when they were fighting. Consequently, following this loss of power and returning to their communities’ unresolved trauma was common and a result was that substance abuse and violence became a coping mechanism for this. Howley (2002:70) states that “when they go home to the village, they drink heavily, they burn down houses, cut down gardens, act in a violent manner and engage in violent sexual activity.” Furthermore, it can be suggested that the regular behaviour
traumatised male youths go through (see Howley, 2010), still applies to males today. These men act normally for weeks and then get triggered by something, which causes them to act out and can cause serious harm to others. This is followed by blaming their victims because they are unable to deal with the shame of the hurt caused (Howley, 2010:246). In conjunction with this, if the village fails to fully accept and forgive these men back into the village this causes further harm to the community (see Howley, 2002), as “the acceptance by the village and community of these young men is an essential part of healing” (Howley, 2002:70). In addition, the peer groups young men associate with can negatively affect their trauma. They exist for “drinking and boasting and supporting the wrong things. They talk about violence, rape and killing. These things instil greater and continuing trauma... there is at present no healing for the” (Sr. Lorraine in Howley (2002:71)). It can be suggested the same goes for the next generation of traumatised men and male youth struggling to cope in today’s society. A lack of pathways for ex-combatants to pursue after the crisis and the unresolved trauma still present has flowed into the current generation. Without structures in place post conflict for individuals to choose peace, the risk of persistent violence remains (Kent and Barnett, 2011). Reintegration of individuals is integral to the welfare and safety of the whole community.

This mentality is further witnessed in youths today through their military dress which is associated with The Crisis. Elder Bougainvilleans feel that although this is a façade there is considerable concern of this behaviour as the large uneducated youth cohort has the possibility to create instability on the island should ex combatants call for it (personal communication, Sr. Lorraine Garasu; see also Lucy). Today, male perpetrated violence and the trauma from the crisis, remains a key issue of this post conflict society. It is integral that reintegration into communities is met with care and understanding by other members. In Bougainville, this is an entrenched cultural aspect and it is suggested that this is a fundamental reason that peace has prevailed on a societal scale for so many years. However, if healing doesn’t occur on an individual and community level, it presents a significant risk factor for violence to erupt on a societal level. Therefore, within the role of reconciliation, forgiveness held an important place in the past and continues to in the present especially in allowing men to transform and be reintegrated into communities.

Traditional Bougainvillean culture fosters an environment which has the ability to support positive change in individuals. Bougainville society is layered upon a system of justice and
maintaining peace. Chiefs have always had the authority to regulate law and order through traditional systems of governance based on reciprocity and respect (Braithwaite, 2006). In certain instances where the process of reconciliation needs to occur, this involves the whole community. Reconciliation in Bougainville is not simple, and explaining this is beyond the scope of this research and requires an Indigenous voice. However, I aim to underpin key aspects of reconciliation to support my argument that reconciliation is one necessary part in supporting men in becoming less violent and changing their ways.

The community represents security, shared values and principles, and one person’s actions do not just reflect on them as an individual, it is shared by the whole community. Consequently, it is the whole community’s responsibility to restore balance and re-establish social harmony following conflict through reconciliation (Braithwaite. 2006). Therefore, when addressing conflict, it must always be discussed with, and in relation to, the community. It is the community’s concern to help an individual should the need arise, because the community is more important than a personal need for retaliation (Howley, 2010). This is why communities hold such a vital role in Bougainville in maintaining peace and security, the collectiveness of Bougainvillean society and its culture is a significant strength. Strong communities exhibiting strong leadership and strong customary practices resolve conflicts without creating long term disharmony within community members.

Bougainvillean customary processes are not individually punitive, in contrast to western judicial systems, where it is believed a just punishment will stop repeat offence (Howley, 2010). The focus in Bougainville is on forgiveness within the reconciliation process as Peter Mekea the Chairman of the North Nasioi (Central Bougainville) council of chiefs explains in excerpts taken from Howley (2010:237) and Howley (2002:103) explains,

It is difficult for people who are not Bougainvilleans to understand our way of reconciliation. Reconciliation is a part of our culture and it has been there for thousands of years. This is our traditional way which we used before the white man came. We had to do it this way for the sake of peace because, if we did not have peace in our villages, we would be open to attack from our enemies. We have developed this method of reconciliation so that we can bring the people back into the community and make the community strong again. There is no advantage from hatred when it is possible to
forgive. There is no profit to anybody in making a big thing out of courts and judgement and punishment. In its simplest form, it is just a question of two people saying ‘I did you wrong and you did me wrong. I forgive you and you forgive me.’ Of course, there will be an exchange of goods, money and pigs and shell money. People in other cultures do not really understand this. They prefer punishment and putting people in jail. There is no profit to anybody in making a big thing out of courts and judgement and punishment.

This focus on forgiveness is important, because as (Fisher, 2018:155) states,

While forgiveness cannot be coerced, the moment a victim renounces the desire for revenge and the hatred, which accompanies it, it often signals a breakthrough moment in the process of interpersonal reconciliation. The healing, which comes from forgiveness, often sets the stage for the emergence of new relationships.

Due to the considerable importance placed on relationships in Bougainville and the various ways in which relationships were broken due to the crisis, reconciliation needs to occur. This is accomplished in various different ways using community mediators, through the exchange and sharing of items, rituals such as the breaking of weapons such as traditional spears or bows and arrows and met with care and forgiveness. These are binding commitments and offer finality to a situation in a manner which provides support to the victims and the perpetrators. Men and in particular ex perpetrators require this support and Bougainvillean culture has the ability to grant this. In the next section the MAP is explained, following this in Chapter 7 the links between culture and how it permits men to transform is discussed.

6.4 The male advocacy programme (MAP)

It is not possible to address, reduce, and prevent GBV, without including men into training workshops and resultantly educating them. The male advocacy programme (MAP) addresses the various root causes of GBV. The MAP is a ‘home grown’ programme, ‘developed by Bougainvilleans for Bougainvilleans,’ created by NCfR (NCfR and VSA, 2016:1). It is locally designed and implemented, follows a holistic perspective, and is reflective of the cultural understanding and reflects the gender specific needs of the population (NCfR and VSA, 2016). This programme is facilitated by men who are mostly ex-perpetrators, which is a necessary
factor in the transformation of other men going through the programme. The involved men facilitate open transparent discussions based on factual information. The programme engages with both men and women to ensure that education flows from individuals, to families, and eventually spreads across the whole community. It is designed for the specific local context, and therefore reflects the post conflict situation and specific cultural needs and desires of the people. Open participatory conversations are central to the programme, which are adaptable and flexible, and are therefore able to follow the direction of the discussions presented in the training workshops. Furthermore, Bougainville specific analysis tools and activities are used which aids understanding. Most importantly though, is that men understand that Male Advocacy is ultimately about preventing and reducing violence against women and girls. As one MA identified (Interview with Fred, see also; Adam and Glenn),

(Male advocacy) is really about somebody really changing himself first then going out and doing it with others. If men fail to connect the violence against women with male advocacy, then they don’t know what they’re talking about. Male advocacy is really about that, not getting men to be more powerful and whatever. Things can be changed if we are willing to understand and see things in another perspective rather than sticking with how we were brought up. Men perpetrate but they never put themselves in women’s shoes to think how they would feel if they were hurt. There’s so much work still to be done with men, it's not just a physical thing, but rather changing the whole mind set and seeing things in a different perspective from where people used to think and do things, I think that’s where the big challenge is.

The MA concept was born out of the PNG family sexual violence action committee. “The whole idea for starting the MAP is having men who work for women’s rights, who raise their voices to defend women’s rights and advocating against violations on women and girls” (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu). An integral part of this programme is that men advocate

16 It is important to note here that the MAP does not work in isolation, it works in conjunction with the WHRDs, The Centre, and a recently commenced school-based programme to reduce violence in communities. Unfortunately explaining these two programmes is beyond the scope of this research. But all these three programmes complement each other with the programmes interweaving to create opportunities for people to engage in and be educated about human rights and GBV plus much more.
to other men to change their behaviours and attitudes due to dominating masculinities embedded in society. As Sr. Lorraine Garasu explains,

Yes, it is acknowledged that women can change men and men can change women but sometimes male to male advocacy is needed. Especially in a society such as PNG where it’s rigid, and paternalism is very high so if you are dealing with masculinity you need masculine people to change, a man to change a masculine man.

The overall idea that only men can change men is reflected in the MAP training workshops through the facilitation of training workshops by men. This is used in the hope that this will encourage men to engage in this programme. With women equally encouraged to participate. Across the board it seems that women and men acknowledge the suggestion that ‘only men can change men.’ This is discussed by various participants below in Table 6.1,

Table 6.1: Evidence pointing towards the notion of male to male change.

| Men can only change men…. I believe so. We’ve [women] tried our best and still I’m trying to figure out why men just don’t want to listen. Why do we still have the level of violence against women?... Say for an instance if I go and do an awareness on violence against women and human rights I don’t think the males in my community would really want to listen or try to understand and practice it. But if somebody like Ryan [a MA] went, then without a doubt, definitely, they would switch their thinking cap and they’ll be like ‘oh yeah let’s do that.’ | Lucy |
| … then they [men] have no way to make excuses, I am the man talking and I have the same perspective as a man, so when they challenge [me] I can challenge back as a man | Adam |
| Yes, it’s [masculinity] still a very strong issue to tackle and that is why I will say, only the men can talk to these men about it. | Anna |

Adam suggests that men advocating to men as opposed to women advocating to men reduces the ability of men to excuse their behaviour. Lucy’s suggestion that the men would reject a woman facilitating is not limited to Bougainville. Previously mentioned (see Chapter 4) research by Welsh (2001) demonstrated that men in Nicaragua rejected the proposal to engage
with a female expert on gender and masculinity. Men’s previous experiences with talks facilitated by women left them feeling alienated and even angry and feeling like they had been personally blamed for the suffering of women (Welsh, 2001).

This programme aims to demonstrate to men that no one is born violent, it is learnt behaviour which can be changed through education. Although it will take a lot of time and patience, the transformations of the men to provide evidence that change is possible in an encouraging environment. One of the conditions that make it possible for men, or anyone to change here, is undergoing the healing needed. This is done predominantly through counselling, whether it be individual, relationship, trauma, etc, and gaining the skills and training to cope with this on a daily basis. Some of this unresolved trauma comes from childhood trauma, and growing up in a ‘dysfunctional family,’ or it's learnt from peers in their community. However, the majority of this trauma is derived from the crisis (interview with Sr. Lorraine Garasu). This trauma has been consistently discussed as a barrier in effecting changes in men to prevent violence,

Yeah, some men they came out of a violent home, really abusive so that’s why they internalise all those things. Wife beating", they normalise it. Oh, wife beating is normal so I can beat the women. But it’s not right, because there was nobody to talk about it. So, changing the man is not that easy, it takes time and it’s a process (interview with Adam, MA).

The MAP currently consists of a number of participatory training workshops that are gender transformative. The main two training workshops for men are the Male advocacy and Men’s Health module. From these, there are ‘learning pathways,’ which are other training workshops, which continue to build on participants knowledge. Both men and women participate in these training workshops. The workshops are Gender Human Rights, Family Sexual Violence, and Peacebuilding, which is split into three parts, Peacebuilding; Conflict Resolution; and Trauma Healing. Each workshop works under the understanding that, firstly, peace education in post conflict states provides the tools and skills to respond to violence in alternative ways (Harris, 2004). Secondly, that Bougainvillean women are traditional peacemakers, and therefore

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17 Wife beating is a commonly used term in Bougainville to describe abuse male to female intimate partner violence
reclaiming this traditional conflict resolution knowledge, is an important part of the education a participant receives.

There is no set path for the participants to follow, when attending these training workshops. For example, a person may attend a Gender Human Rights workshop because it was offered in their community, and then perhaps a Men’s Health, or vice versa. However, it's important to note that they all have a solid foundation of Human Rights, with an education about anti-violence prevention, from the start. This means that participants will not feel lost, or that they can’t understand the concepts, and are gender sensitised to the issues covered. These training workshops are all gender transformative, they discuss and create dialogue around the issues in communities, and then devise ways, using Bougainville centred analytical tools and group activities, to change entrenched behaviours and attitudes within participants and communities. Bougainvillean centred tools include the hibiscus flower (seen in Table 6.2 below), Bougainville life clock, daily duties and many more (NCfR and VSA, 2016:7). For example, the Men’s Health workshop is a key part of the MAP. The content of all training workshops reflects and caters to the gender specific needs of men and women. For example, the Men’s health workshop targets a topic that less widely discussed but of significant importance. The implications of ‘men not [being] sensitised and made aware of the issues or assisted with culturally appropriate strategies to make changes then it creates conflict’ and including men broadens their understanding of their own wellbeing and as a by-product of careful design the delivery of this workshop they understand the importance of health for women too NCfR and VSA (2016:5). In Table 6.2 below, shows an example of certain activities this workshop implements and the activities which educate men and enables critical thinking. Only a small handful of activities are outlined here.
Table 6.2: Example of activities and tools used in a training workshop

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Who am I?</strong></td>
<td>To create understanding about who you are and where you belong. This aims to reinforce Bougainvillean identity, belonging and similarities between each other, and the distinct identity they all share.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Introductions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Symbols of Bougainville</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Personal reflections</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wellness</strong></td>
<td>Understanding oneself, self-care, and to understand the responsibility as an individual toward a safe, healthy community. This aims to show that wellness is holistic and is about the whole body, mind body and spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) A symbol (hibiscus flower)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>was used to represent well being</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender relationships</strong></td>
<td>Participants will identify and name the different roles and responsibilities of males and females in their community. This activity prompts thinking about gender issues and kastoms. It opens the door for discussions into equality and a share in workload between genders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) The activity involves identifying the daily duties women and men routinely carry out.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Building healthy gender relationships</strong></td>
<td>Participants explore and identify ways to build healthy relationships at work, home and in daily life. They will be made aware of the environment which may perpetuate inequality and the links between gender roles and violence. This enables them to reflect on their own lifestyles, ask for forgiveness and how they can improve gender relations and change their own attitudes and behaviours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Ask participants to brainstorm in groups, and reflect on what they saw in their communities: were females shouted at? Who was helping with tasks/who wasn’t? Was communication respectful?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Ask males to put themselves in female’s shoes, and view life from their perspective</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Health, and GBV</strong></td>
<td>Participants are sensitised to GBV, and the causes and ideas about how to resolve this. Participants will understand that violence affects men, women, children, the family, community and the future of Bougainville. They will understand that change comes from themselves and to speak up and report to police.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Role play which involves two acts of assault, followed by a group discussion on what violence is and the various types of violence and the Cycle of Violence tool.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The activities begin at a basic level, and each new activity aims to build upon the former, in order to develop knowledge on GBV and how to prevent this occurring. The specifically designed activities, and the tools adopted throughout them, have been created and used by the NCfR, to reinforce educational awareness messages surrounding GBV. An example of this is the gender relationships activity above, which enables the group to see that women routinely undertake more roles and responsibilities than men, within households and communities. This is an important aspect within the workshops, as it was often eye-opening for men to see the extent of this extra work done by women (field observations). As a community policeman said, “I really love giving awareness workshops on the daily duties to men, I tell them to make a list for [daily duties on] a Friday, because Friday is known as golden Friday [a day of drinking], whilst the mother will kill herself at home, washing and cleaning, and cooking. When I explain the difference, I have come across men having tears, just by looking at [the difference in] the daily duties [between men and women]” (interview with Ronald). Activities like these taught at workshops are key tools that help to shift embedded gendered beliefs and attitudes in communities and can be easily delivered back into communities by participants. Men become sensitised to the issue of GBV throughout these workshops, as they integrate the perspectives of women and girls whilst also focusing on men’s health and wellbeing and holistically tie these together. The positive outcomes that this aspect of the training had on men, is evident further on in this section. In addition, MA Andrew discussed how he and his wife use the Cycle of Violence tool, that is shown above, in his community to resolve issues and educate couples, when violence arises. He further recalled how the couples he counselled were very receptive to the information he provided them and worked on using other methods instead of violence to resolve problems. Furthermore, The NCfR (2016:4) notes that,

adults frequently attend training workshops [in Bougainville, separate from those run by NCfR] however rarely is it interactive, participatory and activity based, or delivered entirely by local Bougainvilleans. Rarely is there follow-up to identify if the new knowledge is being shared with others or changes in attitude or behaviours.

The exclusion of interactivity, participation and deliverance by locals, in these other workshops is important, as participatory community conversations have been proven to work effectively in Bougainville, because of the cultural context.
Additionally, men’s ownership of the programme is a key aspect in the determination of the success of it and interestingly, the name of the programme is one way which aids in this ownership process. MAs discussed this; “male advocates are essentially human rights defenders, the name male advocate is used to give ownership for men to work with men” (interview with Alexander, see also; Daniel, Fred). In addition, men need to want to change and attend the programme, “we can’t be forcing people to, they’ve got to willingly come out of their shells” (interview with Paul and Nick). Human change needs support, encouragement, empathy, and time most of all, and idea which Adam so perfectly encapsulates in the statement, “development isn’t 2minute noodles.” Once again Bougainvillean culture, and much of the wider Pacific culture, enables time to be a permitting characteristic for change. Time is a western construct and in a western sense is founded on finality, whereas in Melanesian culture, time is merely a unit of measurement that exists without finality. Therefore, in not rushing change, change is permitted to occur without the constraint of time, meaning that changes can be absorbed and embedded into daily life and roles and responsibilities.

Evidence suggests that men are showing signs of individual change, through the MAP. Below are a few examples of the type of actions men are now undertaking, as opposed to before, where few men helped their partners with household responsibilities and roles. Below David (MA) describes a situation during a workshop he was facilitating (see also Adam and Daniel),

Change is there, but it’s not a miracle. One of my participants [was] back home after the 3 days training of human rights. [Before] he never ever even carried a bag of kaukau [sweet potato] from the garden. The comment he throws is ‘wok blo meri’ [womens work] after three days when travelling back home he saw his wife with a loaded bag of kaukau and kumu [leafy greens] and the baby up there. He stopped the vehicle and told his wife, give me the bag, the first time in their history. He changed a lot this man. Before, never, he wouldn’t even fetch water.

Such examples of changes that occur at a household level are common, such as helping carry food, sweeping and cleaning, and taking care of their child. These are often the first visible signs that show the men are trying to change which suggests that the education through these programmes has started to have a positive effect. In another example, MA Anthony brought
I brought nine youth boys. They really understood, it was true everything [about GBV, trauma and other social issues] they had heard from here (The male advocate forum) isn’t good. It’s making the communities no good. They gained an understanding and now they’re improving their lives, most of them have gone back to attend their schools. Out of the 9 boys, 4 have chosen to continue their education, 2 have gone to vocational school. I’ve told them life is going to be very hard for us and you must continue your education, don’t waste time with this drugs and alcohol and all sorts of rubbish in the community.

In a further example, Anthony and the male youth group he mentors in his community created a play for their community, in which they educated the community about the roles and responsibilities of men and women, how women carry a higher burden of workload and how these can be changed. He fosters creativity in his youth and highlights how this simple act has fostered a reorganisation of roles in his community between men and women. He shares his success here (see also Ryan, MA),

The boys made a presentation and the whole community laughed and laughed. Now they’re helping out more. Men and women in the community are doing things together. Before it’s never been like this, some of the family saying, ‘aye its really true, we are always abusing our wives doing many things, we men just sit and watch. Now we’ve heard from you that the mother may be tired.’ So yeah, there’s change in the village in my community, they understand and see what they must do (interview with Anthony).

The MAP is one way that GBV is being addressed in Bougainville. Evidence has shown that many interventions that have been successful in violence prevention, targeted both men and women, often in mixed sex groups and are participatory (see section 4.6). These characteristics are evident in the MAP. The difference in this programme compared to most violence prevention programmes is the approach used. It's homegrown approach, the design and delivery of the training workshops, and importantly how certain tools and activities have been designed to be Bougainvillean centred, and therefore participants easily relate to them and these
can be easily replicated back into the community are leading to outcomes which support the prevention of GBV. This section has shown that men and often ex-perpetrators play a commanding and influencing role in this programme. And that when they are involved, they do take on the initiative to implement further community changes. The idea that only men can change men is evident here.

6.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, this discussion has given an overview of the role of the civil society, foreign aid in Bougainville, The NCfR, traditional reconciliation and its importance today and the background of the MAP with a few examples of individual changes, in addressing GBV in Bougainville. The key point is that this programme is 100% Bougainvillean designed, implemented, and is culturally appropriate. This programme does not work in isolation, it works with the school-based programme and WHRDs, which is a further reason for successful outcomes shown. Furthermore, the design of the framework, tailor making the programme to each community, accessibility to different educational levels and flexibility with the way it is taught, enables a higher chance of success. In addition, a community’s buy in to the programme subsequently fosters a culture of ownership of it and in a way makes people uphold what they have learnt. The practical tools that are used in the MAP training workshops help to address GBV. The use of Bougainvillean centred symbols, tools and information that provide familiarity to participants fosters critical analysis of oneself and participants own communities. They are able to be used in communities when required. Lastly this chapter discussed traditional reconciliation and the place this holds in society in Bougainville. Ultimately the value in this, is that the structure supports men as they start to transform. They are able to show remorse, apologise, be forgiven and reconcile with their pasts and people around them.

Looking towards the last discussion chapter, it was mentioned that most of the facilitators of this programme have been ex perpetrators, the following section focuses on the personal changes undergone by male advocates due to various trainings and education they all received. The stories of these men are powerful, they show remorse for their actions and demonstrate just how much Bougainvillean culture and forgiveness has helped them to heal their trauma and see beyond their violent pasts and take ownership to change. I don’t excuse their behaviour and attitudes, but I aim to shed light on just how difficult and challenging it is to change, and
demonstrate how certain aspects make this is possible in the specific context of post conflict Bougainville
Chapter 7 – Stories of change

The previous two chapters highlighted the current causes of GBV today in Bougainville and outlined the specific ways in which the MAP works to alleviate this. This chapter aims to answer the last research question, how effective is the MAP at preventing GBV? This is demonstrated through qualitative evidence to demonstrate that education and training received through the MAP is creating community conversations, which is challenging gender norms, changing the behaviours and attitudes of the members in communities, and consequently helping to reduce GBV in communities. This chapter begins by introducing and privileging the voices of the twelve MAs interviewed. These biographies all show various degrees of self-reflection, remorse, personal change, and acknowledge the importance of the work they do and of this programme in preventing violence towards women. I detail specifics and analyse how men have changed, what has allowed them to change, the resistance they are met with and their response to this, and why male to male advocacy and partnering with women is necessary and helping to change the narrative on violence and alleviate it.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with an appreciation of the work the MAs undertake in very challenging environments, and the significant personal transformations undergone by the men. Nine of the twelve men expressed their own stories of prior perpetration of violence, be it towards women, or exhibiting violent beliefs and attitudes, and their subsequent transformations after attending training workshops; and some of them are now staff at The NCfR. They expressed gratitude for the knowledge gained, and how it has helped them in their own relationships and has led to creating change and starting conversations around gender equality and GBV in their own communities. The significance of this in an environment where violence is routinely normalised is not taken lightly and is quite remarkable. The chapter presents a story of hope, and one that demonstrates the possibility of change despite the numerous barriers and challenges, such as resistance and humiliation from their peers. Forgiveness and acceptance from their spouses, family and community is found to be a fundamental aspect as to why these men have been given permission to change and therefore have shown positive signs of change. Importantly, throughout this, the men all discussed how much they enjoyed being MAs in their communities, educating others, and continually learning, growing and working towards the common goal of preventing violence against women and girls. Throughout this discussion it is shown how men choose to gain an education.
and rise above the resistance they receive from other male peers in the community and continue to partner with women in order to prevent violence. Here are 12 short biographies of the men interviewed.

7.1 Biographies of the male advocates

These short biographies provide some context to the lives of these men. The personal transformations outlined below highlight the challenges faced by these men, as well as how valuable the training workshops provided by The NCfR are. The personal transformations surrounding the attitudes and behaviours of the men in this programme are quite frankly astounding. The three participants and MAs who didn’t explicitly provide stories of their transition to working for The Centre are John, Adam and Daniel. John is over 50 years old and, at the time of interviewing, was the administration secretary and planner of his village in Selau, North Bougainville. He was educated at the mine training college with Bougainville Copper Limited in the 1980’s. He works as a facilitator for The NCfR and is also involved in various other peacebuilding roles. Adam also represents the pre-conflict population as he was a primary school teacher until the crisis. Now in his late 50s, he is currently the Men’s Hub coordinator and project coordinator of the MAP for the NCfR and is based in Arawa town. Daniel is in his 40’s, he represents the minority of his age group. He grew up in the village in North Bougainville and was already a teenager when the Crisis broke out. He managed to stay clear of much of the social destruction that occurred to others his age who often went into combat. Over the years he has engaged in various programmes and peacebuilding roles including the Carteret’s Resettlement programme with the ABG Government and is currently a facilitator for The NCfR.

Fred

Fred is one of the older MAs, and grew up in Selau, North Bougainville. He is over 50 years old. His knowledge reflects his age in being able to give a narrative that speaks to the pre-conflict situation and the present. He grew up with his father cooking his own food as he travelled a lot, and with “a lot of girls, which at the time probably influenced my thinking.” Fred has been working for The NCfR since 2008 and currently works with male youth at the Mabiri Juvenile Centre as a counsellor, mentor, and project coordinator. In the following quote he refers to the value of the training programme he went through at The Centre before
becoming an advocate, and how this shifted his expectations of gender roles and his understanding of MAs as role models:

The training really changed my behaviour and attitudes and changed a lot of my perceptions about things. Before I was mostly expecting women to do everything for me. Later on, when the MA thing came up I realised there’s a lot of things I hadn’t been doing right, I needed to start changing and when I started exercising all the changes I picked up from the workshops, I realised that women were really carrying a lot of burden. The training really changed my behaviour and attitudes and changed a lot of my perceptions about things. In the village, I’ve tried to model what a male advocate should be. I'm passionate about the work, the next generation will show the results of the work that we do today, the little things people do today will really come up when their children pick up from there.

**David**

David is over 50 years old and a paramount Chief in South Bougainville. He fought during the crisis and as a village court magistrate he now acknowledges he did a poor job in this position before he attended any training workshops in 2014. He is also a peacebuilder with status and leadership in the community. He works alongside a WHRD, Brenda and together they have been very successful in the prevention of violence in their community in recent years. During the interview, it was clear just how much gratitude he has for The Centre and the education he's received, and how much he has changed as a result. The challenges he expresses with his male peers are common among men that undergo the programme. The changes can be so drastic that they result in disbelief by peers. Another key point is how this education has helped to free his wife from the constraints of violence.

I was a very abusive man before entering my training with NCfR… I will not leave The NCfR because it’s through them that I am here, I can see my future in the mirror. Before I was really a very, very bad man, but now, today I have to tell you, I have changed a lot with all these trainings. So that’s why I told you, no matter what I will not go back or leave The Centre, because of them I am here today, if they were not here I don’t know, maybe I could be in jail or what. You know, I actually get challenged a lot, ‘what
is this man doing? This very violent man, did you change?’ But I don’t mind, I will not give up. Those are my challenges, I must try my best, up until now, today, people are telling me, my friends, ‘man you have changed a lot’, even my wife, she’s free now, before she wasn’t free. I could not let her go, now she can go anywhere, to Buka, she went as far as Lae, Rabaul, Port Moresby. You know, we are living in very remote areas, we are not open or seeing the world, all these things huh?

Kayden

Kayden is over 45 years old, he is a counsellor and his village chairperson. He has undergone a number of trainings with NCfR and actively works with the youth in his community, educating them and encouraging them to attend training workshops. He, along with another male advocates are currently trying to fundraise to build another Men’s Hub. In the following quote Kayden reflected on his realisation about how everyday kastoms impacted women and how he’s tried to educate his community to change.

It changed me, I started to realise that everything women do, I can do, even you know kastoms, especially the men you can’t walk through this line when women puts their clothes. This is a very big change, I started to sit and reflect and look at the things that have been an excuse, I think it has helped me, I even started to educate my community and give awareness’s. Sometimes we men make excuses and silly things like that, but it’s very helpful these changes. Because I’m the chairman of the community, this training helped me to see what things are happening in the community and to help my community. The things I’ve been getting through male advocate are things that we men and boys do, we think we are on the mountain or what? I started to see things that women do and we sometimes just sit only and watch women doing things. It’s a very big change for me.

Anthony

Anthony is in his 30s, born and currently residing in North Bougainville, he is the chairman of church workers in his village. He has undergone MA trainings and other NCfR trainings since 2008. Anthony and his wife have undertaken the trauma counselling training workshops. His
wife is the female community government member and has also undergone some of The NCfR trainings. Together they work and support each other in their community, engaging with the youth and advising them and implementing skills and tools they’ve learnt at the NCfR. Below he outlines how overtime the training changed his behaviours and attitudes, in particular about alcohol.

It changed my type of living, before I was a heavy drinker, every weekend. So, when I attended these trainings it showed me I was playing with my body. I didn’t understand what I should do. When I saw what was good and what was bad, I started changing bit by bit. Now I’m sitting here and fully aware. I’m very happy, and maybe I can thank the lord that I’m in the right place now, I’m not involved in the type of activities like drinking with the boys. But when I feel like I want to drink, I only drink a little bit only and stop. That’s one of things I’ve come here and learnt.

Matthew

Matthew is in his 30s and the project officer for the school-based programme and MAP for The NCfR. He is from South Bougainville and was there during The Crisis, but now lives in North Bougainville with his wife and small child. He partook in the training workshops The NCfR provides, and continues to struggle with anger and violence today, about which he is very open and frank. This demonstrates the challenges of slipping into old habits and that this is a reality of the process. Matthew’s internal struggle is evident. Struggles like Matthew’s show how important forgiveness is in these long and often arduous struggles that families have to undergo in order for change to occur.

Through these trainings I have received information and when I try to reflect back to my past life I can see that my past life was not a good life. My life now is my true life, now with all this information it’s hard for me to go back and do what I was doing before. The information changed me and changed my life also…. For me I didn’t attend counselling or go through other organisations to find help or support to help myself. It’s through these trainings and topics that have helped me change…. Working as a MA I find it really hard because some topics I stand in the front and teach the males… I beat my wife down at the beach during Christmas. She refused to have Alexander and Ryan
to come to the house and eat and I wasn’t happy so I beat her. That’s ok now we had a
dialogue with Sr. Lorraine and we solved it. But I’m talking about this type of issues,
it’s still in me, I find it really hard because sometimes when my wife tempers me I find
it hard to manage my anger. But before I was with this behaviour but now I see changes
in me and its really cut down. I think very soon I will completely stop this kind of
behaviour to beat my wife. Nowadays when she makes me angry, I only should, I only
use verbal abuse, not physical violence. Before I found it hard to walk away, I used to
walk away and turn back and physically abuse her. But now it’s easy for me to walk
away, carry my daughter or my son and walk away. Now when we make peace and
come together again, and she used to tell me now you don’t beat me again, this is
through the trainings and I used to tell her I learned all of this and I learnt that these
kinds of attitudes will cause GBV. She tells me now you don’t spend money unwisely
anymore. Also, being a MA I must be a role model for others to see me and follow what
I tell them. I always try to maintain myself as a role model and try my best to control
myself.

Ryan

Ryan grew up in Arawa town as his parents worked for the mining company and moved back
to his village in North Bougainville when The Crisis broke out, he completed grade 10 (to
graduate high school you must finish grade 12). He is a facilitator for The NCfR on
peacebuilding, family sexual violence, gender human rights and other programmes. He uses
his past experience in helping other men to change their ways. In the following quote Ryan
describes the changes that have happened to him, including, attitudes and behaviours
surrounding alcohol, violence and his relationship with his wife, which is still being repaired.
He highlights his love for his role as a MA and how helping others also helps him heal.

Working with men has really helped me to see things positively… how should I put
this… in Tok Pisin… ‘mi spakman stret long before’ (I was a heavy drinker before).
Before every weekend I did not miss an opportunity to drink beer and now a lot of my
friends, my cousins and uncles they say ‘Ryan, you’re not drinking beer like you drunk
before’ and I say ‘yeah there’s this little voice that always tells you to drink beer is not
really in me now.’ Me I’m very happy I don’t drink beer like before…Men they swear
at their wives they call them all sorts of names, it’s very disrespectful. I’ve done that. I had a part of my life not being really happy with my wife, the only answer that I had was to always be angry with my wife and just to throw a hand to confirm that I was a man here and you should really listen to what men have to say. A lot of men just see women and think that you’re just there to move around, to push around, you just do want I want you to do. It’s really sad actually, when we sit down and we are telling stories ‘Ryan you’re not drinking anymore, you’re starting to look after yourself’ and I’m saying ‘yeah because The Centre for Rehabilitation is a place where I’ve gone there and helped Sister with a lot of people to really see who I am and who I can be inside my family but trying to help men see the things that we men do to women has really helped me to rehabilitate myself’. After sharing my life story, they also know I was that type of person in the past, but they have seen a lot of changes happening and some of them come and ask ‘Ryan you look really happy today’ and I’m saying ‘yeah I just don’t want to waste my time being angry all the time, why should we, we only live once’ and the couple of years I’m still alive with my wife and children these are the days I would like to treasure most to know who my wife is. I’ve seen changes happening to me and I’m very happy with it. Today I can give my wife all the time in the world to say what she wants to say. It’s still very difficult to have a conversation where it is open, I feel that my wife is still scared from the past trauma and I’m trying to… I’ve tried my best to encourage her to talk more so that she also helps herself. For two years I went to school and wasn’t really that close with my wife, there was the time when there came a space that I never knew that I had a wife and children and working here attending a lot of trainings, going out to communities to facilitate trainings, really has helped me personally to see things differently now….There was a time that I believed that paying bride price gave me the power, I own you and then educating myself more, standing in front of male participants telling them that wife beating is wrong, I started believing it, and believing it gave me purpose, I saw the logic. It’s very true, beating your wife will never answer anything, all of your questions are there, and it doesn’t matter how many times you beat up your wife it will still be there, some will be answered and some won’t be answered and that is life. The only thing that really made me change is learning that women are not a property to be owned, but women are just as special as men. You have a role to play, just as I have a role to play. And if you can provide for me, I can also provide for you. That makes a happy family. I need to give
my wife, my daughter, my mother, my sisters, the women in my life and my family the
opportunity to really be a friend, to really be there for me. We are all not perfect, and
every time we fall, we need another to pick us up. I’m telling men that working with
you really has helped me see things differently. Today I don’t want to waste my time
being angry with women. Sometimes I find it really hard not to find an argument, but
to just compromise, find a way. That’s what I’m doing in the family, yeah, I’ve really
enjoyed myself working with and being a male advocate.

Alexander

Alexander has worked with The NCfR since 2005 as a facilitator and counsellor. He grew up
and lived in Arawa as his parents worked in the mine. When The Crisis broke out they left to
go back to their village in North Bougainville. He recalls, “I was also a victim of the crisis,
once upon a time I was in Arawa Town, I was born there, we had a big house, we had
everything, my father got promotion after promotion. Shifting from that comfort to
experiencing the crisis really impacted me badly.” Although brief, the below is telling of how
having an opportunity to learn and gain an education has helped Alexander and his wife be safe
from violence.

To be a male champion, you have to undergo a series of trainings and I’ve gone through
all of them, it really helped me a lot, I haven’t beaten my wife for over 10 years, there’s
no need, but I can only make those choices because I was given an opportunity to learn
and learn what not to do, and not only the legal part but the technical part of it.

Glenn

Glenn is in his 30s, and a MA project officer. He is from Buin in South Bougainville. He
expressed the changes he has seen in himself since he started. Helping out around the house
and practicing the chores that his wife usually did, allowed him to see that there is a combined
responsibility from both parents to care for a family.

I was not like this when I joined this project, I was a drunken, a smoker, and I controlled
my wife. Wife beating was my culture because I’m from a patriarchal society in Buin.
When I went and practiced what women do like laundry, and cooking, at long last I realised that I am doing it for my family, because it is not just a women’s task. It is not just for women to look after the kids, it takes two to make a baby and then bring them up and the work must not be just left to women.

**Paul and Nick**

I interviewed both Paul and Nick together. They live in North Bougainville. They are both in their 50s. They both hold various leadership roles in their communities such as chairman of the community government, school board members and secretary of the Parish. They both stated they were violent before the trainings. Spirituality is strong with Paul and making sure he and his wife were ‘at peace’ before attending the training was vital for his own healing. He sees great value in the programme and wants it inserted into the education system. Although Nick did not voice his opinions often, he agreed with what Paul would say. Paul begins with,

I must say I was very violent, I was a violent person before I went to Chabai and I cried at Chabai. Betty was the one that took me out there. The weekend before I went to Chabai I had a nasty fight with my wife. Betty and Cynthia had to sit with me to try and get me to go to Chabai, I really didn’t want to go. We had a dialogue in church and after that my wife came up and we talked things over and eventually I agreed to go, and on Monday morning I took off. At least I was at peace with myself because I had peace with my wife. But when we went to Chabai again we started sharing our experiences and then I had to cry because I was thinking about my past.... What I enjoy about the trainings is that I see my faults and sometimes they are funny, very funny and at the same time sad of course, a lot of regrets. That’s why it is out of regret I’m saying this advocacy thing should be inserted into the education system, that’s my regret. I have missed that in my education life only to get [it] again when I’m old.

These biographies pull out the struggles the men have had to overcome individually, in order to get to where they are now. There are instances of slipping back into violent attitudes and behaviours, and this is the reality of changing a person in a space where violence has been ingrained and normalised in society. Change is not uniform; some men show drastic changes quickly, and others take time to slowly change one thing bit by bit. Yet, these men demonstrate
that change is possible. With this education, it's inevitable that it will occur as long as the men are willing to reflect and accept their past, and be prepared to undertake the difficult task of unlearning toxic behaviours and attitudes and relearn gender equitable ones. One of the key tools in the initial process of educating men is sensitising them to the issue, men don’t realise there is such a perverse problem of GBV. One way this is accomplished is through the gender sensitisation process.

7.2 Gender sensitisation

In the MAP, gender sensitisation starts from the first workshop, and this is often the place where men become aware that violence against women is a problem. This is accomplished through listening to women’s personal experiences of violence, and generally being educated about all aspects of GBV; the forms it manifests in, and the implications of this on individuals, families, communities and wider society. Being gender sensitised is a process that results in a transformation in men’s personal behaviours and attitudes to reflect gender equal views and actively work to prevent GBV throughout society. Casey and Smith (2015:959) found that gender sensitisation was important for men’s involvement in violence prevention, because it “raised their level of consciousness regarding issues of violence or gender inequity and seemed to lay the groundwork for being open to involvement when an opportunity [for violence prevention] arose.” A common motivating factor that can lead to men engaging in this work is hearing an experience of GBV from a female close friend or family member (Piccigallo et al., 2012). Therefore, throughout the training’s workshops, by having women involved, gender sensitisation is continually occurring, as women voice their concerns. Additionally, hearing stories like this have the ability for deep self-reflection from men, and has led to showing remorse and asking for forgiveness, demonstrating they can shift engrained hegemonies and attitudes. Below Adam retells his own unique sensitisation process. Sister made him attend four women human rights defender workshops continuously, he expresses just how important this process was for him and how it made him aware of issues that women face every day,

I was sensitised here for four weeks. One after the other. First was a WHRDS workshop, maybe Sister purposely called me. The first week the women came and were raising the issues concerning abuses and violence, the first week I thought ‘maybe I’m in the wrong place, I should not be here. It was too much for me. Then after that the second week, the next lot came I was still here and the same issues they raised. Oh my god,
same issues. Only women. Then I start to accept a little bit, maybe this is something that the women experience every day, me as a man I don’t realise there are issues and then the third group of women, same issue. I don’t know how many times they have raised this, you know a hundred times, abuse, violence, all sorts of violence. Finally, the fourth group and I started to realise and understand that, so, there is a problem. That’s how I was sensitised. During the 4 short weeks, I made a comment, ‘you women attend so many workshops, year in, year out for the women, your workshops are unbalanced, we have to involve men, part of the problem is men know the answer, it’s better to take the men on board….’ [I had] No idea, totally no idea [about how bad the violence was]. I thought that everything was normal, in my small box and I didn’t know that there are issues out there.

Adam’s account is a powerful reminder of just how normalised violence is, but it also provides hope, being made aware of the issue induced a shift in his values, resulting in action. Although Adam’s process is not similar to most, in most cases men are first sensitised during the first training workshop they attend, and the process continues as they attend more, not through multiple workshops in a row. The process remains just as influential, participants are exposed to the issue of GBV and therefore finally acknowledge it and understand there is an issue that needs addressing. The above example highlights just how critical sensitising men is as an initial part of the transformation process, as it involves critical reflection of oneself and of surrounding relationships and relies on the understanding that one cannot help others unless they change themselves. If this does not take place, this considerably reduces the chance of men changing their attitudes and behaviours. Casey and Smith (2010) discuss how the impact of a sensitising opportunity influences how men will take up the chance to involve themselves in anti-violence movements and compel them into action. It was found that most men felt a sense of obligation to take action to prevent violence, due to gaining new knowledge and having an awareness of violence, which left them with a sense of responsibility and commitment to act and change their ways (Casey and Smith, 2010).

Despite evidence to suggest that men advocating to men is working, there remains critics. Some suggest this only works to support “the social marginalisation of women’s voices and experiences which feed indirectly into violence against women” (Schwartz and DeKeseredy, 1997 cited in Flood, 2015:169). Although I share the concern that gender sensitisation in itself
will not be enough to challenge ingrained patriarchal practices (Morley, 2005; Lwambo, 2013). However, I believe this to be untrue in this context. The way in which the gender sensitisation process occurs over a prolonged time period, and multiple workshops, and the integration of other factors within the MAP; such as the design, delivery, and content within this programme, and working in alliance with women, enables an environment of sensitisation to occur and resultantly change. Thus, enabling successful action towards the prevention of GBV.

**7.3 Men working in alliance with women**

One of the major reasons behind the success of programmes such as MAP in preventing GBV, is the benefits that come from men working in alliance with women. The MAP involves both men and women working together, to create opportunities for increasing awareness and education in communities, and to encourage people to choose change. Despite the success of such an alliance, some women’s movements have been reluctant to work with men, due to the danger that this can take away from their own agendas. There are a range of reasons for this including; taking funding and resources away from women’s programmes (Cornwell, 2000; Lang, 2002); men taking over campaigns (Win, 2001; Flood, 2015); and diluting the feminist agenda (Cornwall, 2000). These drawbacks are very realistic problems, but have been disputed (Flood, 2015). Flood (2015) emphasises the ‘dangers’ of the language of partnership. He highlights that this language of partnership can; further silence and marginalise women’s voices and leadership (see also Win, 2001); it can also falsely assume equality in the numbers of women and men working together, when in reality men actively involved, make up a small amount of the total; and wrongly risks the assumption of heterosexism (Flood, 2015). In contrast, Connell (2003) prefers the term alliance over partnership, as this preserves the autonomy of women’s groups. For the Bougainville context, I use the term alliance, as this reinforces a collaborative and complementary response between men and women in the MAP. The training workshops explore and build on these ingrained cultural values, of reciprocity, harmony, and peace and the general notion of community and resultantly create a supportive environment for men and women to respond to violence. Therefore, working together in an alliance with men and women as Connell (2003) suggests is necessary in Bougainville, in order to prevent GBV.

Together MAs and WHRDs are supporting one another, to create community conversations and implement community wide actions, which all work in conjunction together to reduce
GBV. WHRDs expressed how they felt supported by the MAs by actively working together and drawing on each other, to find solutions for the social issues and in particular GBV in their communities (interviews with Brenda, Carol, Christina, Mary, Susie, WHRDs). This demonstration of solidarity is helping to encourage communities to support and advocate for further positive changes. One WHRD suggested that working together with the MAs has created an environment more conducive to community change, “they help us, before it was just us WHRDs and it wasn’t too good, now that we work with the MAs, our community is changing” (interview with Christina).

Moreover, WHRDs explained that they often resolved domestic disputes between couples through conflict resolution and peacebuilding methods; these are tools that are taught in the training workshops (interview with Carol). Sometimes this involved stepping in to difficult situations to prevent GBV, with the MAs acting as protection for the WHRDs in high risk situations. As Carol explains “they are like our security” (see also interview with Mary). MAs are further encouraging, supporting and promoting women to take up leadership roles in their communities. Betty shows how the men and in particular the young male chiefs supported and encouraged her,

I was in a fundraising committee for my community and they put me as the chairperson and the men were saying you take that role we will support you, and they did, they really supported me. I led the group but the decisions we made, we all made together (interview with Betty, also interviews with Susie, Brenda, David, Anthony, Ryan, Alexander).

In another particularly telling example, a MA supported three WHRDs who were facilitating a human rights awareness workshop in their community and were challenged by two other men. The WHRD shows this here,

There are still some challenges from men working with the government and people who think they are knowledgeable. They think they know more than us…. Last week we went out to one of the communities to give a WHRDs awareness [workshop] and two men in the community questioned us a lot. They underestimated us. It was really hard. The community really wanted to hear and know what we were saying, but these two,
men, they questioned us a lot. I told the two ladies, it’s okay challenges will help us do better the next time. When we were there, there was a MA that helped us. He stood up and said ‘I am a male advocate I really want to help these 3 ladies, what they are talking about is good for our community, people in our community need to hear this information. It’s not good [that] we challenge them (interview with Carol).

WHRDs identified the need for more MAs because they provide the necessary support as well as have the ability to change men’s attitudes and behaviours, which sometimes the women struggle to do. “We need more MAs, they support us to help change the men” (interview with Mary, see also Cynthia). Cynthia, a safe house counsellor, voiced her experiences of the changes she’s seen since men have been getting this form of education,

The more men get trained maybe that would help, there’s a lot of men who speak one voice with the women now. Some of them even bring their relatives to the safe house for counselling and whatever problems in the villages they take them to the safe house or police station. Men are actually helping us, bringing their relatives over... My son in law, he’s really good after attending a MA workshop, he has really changed. He wakes up in the morning, he cooks, he breaks firewood, he fetches water, sometimes he washes his children’s clothes.

The WHRDs interviews about their experiences with MAs is incredibly encouraging and significant. They provide the evidence that suggests that the MAP is changing the way men interact in their communities. Men are taking up the household roles women have previously dominated and promoting the voices of women, which is having a flow on effect into the wider community gender relations, and thus working to prevent further instances of GBV in these communities. Furthermore, although this research is focused on male to male advocacy as the men are the facilitators of the programme, women also attend the workshop as participants. This is important as the men I interviewed believe that women need to be involved in the MAP because it assists their own education,

For us as MAs we need women so they can give their viewpoints to help men understand because us men, we cannot justify what we are doing. To me it’s very important that maybe half of the population of the participants in the MA training are
women so the men can clearly understand. MA can be effective if we continue with the men and inclusive of female participants. This is how I see it (interview with Daniel, see also, Kayden, Ryan, MAs).

Whilst Ryan (MA) finds that when women attend the workshops it provides a very real voice to the issues being discussed, and presents a time for reflection for the male participants,

When women participate with men, that’s when I see women taking their opportunity to tell us men that what you are doing is really hurting women. And when we sit down and listen to a woman participant saying these things to us men, blaming us for all of the violence that we are doing, it really puts us out there, in the open. Because if only men participate, we are only talking man to man and there’s no time to listen to women. When there are group activities and discussions, women actually help men to really educate men [to see] that we women, we really feel like this. What you are doing to us is wrong, we also have rights and our dignity to uphold, what you are doing to us is really disrespectful. It really hurts us women and when a woman participating, standing up, and says these things you can actually see men staring at them and realising that ‘wow, am I actually doing this to women?’ A lot of men are really ignorant. Anyway, I think a lot of trainings we’ve facilitated here, when there is a mixture of men and women, I think women really help men to understand more.

In addition, Anthony and his wife, who is the female elected member at the community government level, work in alliance together in their community using the skills they’ve learnt and take the time to educate others, especially the youth (see also Nick and Paul, MAs). A key part of training workshops is ensuring participants have a sound understanding of the concepts taught as the tools learnt are often used back in communities, which allows the education to continue into communities and doesn’t end when the workshop finishes. MA never push the agenda on others, they provide the education and it is always up to an individual whether they choose to use it or not, as Anthony discusses,

Me and my wife attended the trauma counselling training last year… My wife deals with the women and I deal with the youth. Sometimes she’s not confident in talking in front of people, I always tell her “you must be brave, you are a [community government]
member now, you stand for the community.”… We work together. Last year we referred two clients here [to the safe house] and now they’re back home. Now they’re living their happy life in the community… I [also] consult with the men and boys in the community and when they have problems, they come to us, me and my wife always turn up for them with our butcher papers, drafting the cycle of violence, and trauma counselling tools. Some of them listen and practice it and are happy, they always come back to us saying, “both of you give us good information that we can practice on our own.” It’s up to them, both of us, we just help. Everything else is up to them, whether they want it or not.

In another example below, John (MA) discussed the positive changes that have occurred in his community. Both the MA and WHRDs programme are becoming embedded in this community and this has led to extremely positive outcomes, especially in reducing alcohol consumption and creating a safe space for women and girls in the community. This community has introduced village policies, which everyone must abide by, and one has been that no alcohol is allowed into the community, it must be finished on the road and thrown away before coming back home. Importantly, this MA believes that policies like this don’t end at his community, they have the ability to reach out to others and help implement such things in the surrounding villages.

In the following extract, it emerges that sometimes violent behaviour is the outcome when there is annoyance that rules aren’t adhered to, and once again, it shows that the learning process that men undergo is not uniform. There remains this very real risk of slipping back into old behavioural patterns, and it does occur. In this instance, this is also met with understanding and care, and a reiteration of other avenues in which to resolve conflict,

With both the MA and WHRDs programmes in place, it has changed. We talk to the men directly and confront them on issues that violates women’s human rights. We carry out a Monday male advocate programme every week, we have a conversation that talks about human rights and dialoguing through issues. Because we are doing it every week, the people are reminded that you cannot violate human rights. That’s why we don’t have a problem with law and order, drunkards have almost ceased to operate you can’t even see a person coming in intoxicated. It's taken almost 3 years, and this is the change.
We had a few (drunken people) in 2017, and my committee went to the extreme of bashing up two of them, and I said “no, this is not the approach we use, I’m a peace builder we cannot do that,” and so I confronted them and I said “you don’t do that, you don’t bash somebody and change somebody’s face”, and so they stopped. And I said “ok, so the approach is this. Somebody is drunk you go approach them nicely, speak to them nicely [tell them] that we have a policy and rule in place, can you just finish your stuff and go straight to your house and maybe have a shower and food and eat and just sleep.“ We were trying to teach people the best way to manage their drunken life. And so, it took us about 9 months, from 2017 from the beginning of the year, and by the end of 2017 we came up with a ‘no go zone’, and we will have a signboard [at the start of the village] and that means this is the point where you can throw your last bottle and maybe you say your last prayer and then maybe you can enter. In 2017, we had a very peaceful year. So now we’ll have this signboard, have a blessing by Sister Lorraine and the police and we can launch this and launch with other communities as part of the peace building initiatives. I think they’ll have a mentality that we don’t need this in our lives anyway. And so, we’ve achieved a lot but by 2018, we need to do more (interview wit John).

In another community, two MAs discussed how they worked with their community ward members to also remove gas cylinders used for home brew (see also interviews with Carol, Ida, Anthony). They approached the situation in a respectful, non-punitive manner, which helped in their successful outcome. The following excerpt demonstrates that when there is education surrounding effective conflict resolution, there is enough capacity in the community to deal with social problems in a constructive manner. This tells of a community led initiative called “Rausim homebrew,”

I called all the ward [local level government], members, females and males and we came up with a resolution called “Rausim homebrew.” What we [the WHRDs and MAs] did is that we wrote letters to those concerned [people brewing homebrew] and they came [to us] because we did not want to publicise everything. We talked to them, it was some form of counselling. We told them, homebrew was never here before The

18 Tok Pisin which translates to ‘remove’
Crisis, but it was the situation that brought this thing into existence… they asked us, if we release our gas bottles, what will you give us in return? So, we said, ok the constituency member has a cocoa nursery (you can work in). In order for them to continue to sustain their livelihood (which was previously from homebrew sales) we had to give them an alternative to earn money. And they willingly gave their things away…. Previously, with Rausim homebrew, the approach was not right. They were using police, but this time around we didn’t use the police, we brought out the gas bottles and then we contacted the police to just come and collect them. Now on Sundays you won’t see any drunken people, but previously it was full.

In another example in Bana, South Bougainville, Brenda and David are fundraising to start their own safe house in their community. At the moment, they house clients in their own homes, which is risky for all parties involved. They are mobilising their whole community in this operation; because their community has been educated about Human Rights, GBV and other social issues, and how to prevent them, they all want to help and see the value in having a safe house. However, the process behind this is not easy, as financial and resource constraints create difficulties and challenges to overcome. However, as David suggests “through the support within our community, we will not stop, it’s a struggle but we will push on.” There is much resilience in the face of tremendous challenges here. These are just a couple of examples that were shared, as Glenn an MA sums up the importance of women and men working together here, “you can’t just paddle a canoe on one side and you reach your destination. You must paddle on both sides.”

The alliances created between men and women during these workshops is an important aspect within preventing GBV. They support each other to facilitate an environment conducive to community wide change. Although the presence of such alliances have been met with some resistance, and there are challenges to them, in the Bougainville context, they are necessary and have demonstrated to work well. Men working in alliance with women is fostering gender equality in communities as this will enable violence to be reduced. The inclusion of women within the processes of addressing and preventing GBV enables men to become sensitised to the roles and views of women, and therefore facilitate real and positive change.
7.4 Resistance

Resistance to any type of programme that suggests challenging gendered norms and in particular masculine supremacy is common (Connell, 2005). Pease (2008) suggests that male resistance to change may be attributed to the flawed perception that gender equality results in a loss of power for men, and although there may be long term benefits for everyone, there are short-term costs. Resultantly, underestimating the lengths men may go to maintain this power cannot be taken lightly (Pease, 2008). Furthermore, Connell (in Pease 2008:11) has suggested that “we have not yet created the conditions that will enable us to move the majority of men from a conscious based on privilege to a consciousness based on reciprocity.”

As noted in the previous section, there are regular instances in which men challenge the work of The Centre, the MAP and the men and women who are undertaking this effort. The privilege and embeddedness of masculine hegemonies, as well as the very personal challenges involved in changing, means resistance is inevitable. However, it was evident that the very fact the MAs were perpetrators of GBV provided a means to tackle this resistance. MAs understand the struggles from their male peers’ perspectives, and consequently they met men with empathy, understanding and compassion (interview with Ryan). The initial stages of implementation are typically where more resistance occurs, especially when entering communities who have never heard of the concepts being discussed which is often compounded by low literacy levels (see also interviews with Paul and Nick, Matthew, David, Adam, MAs; Rita, WHRD). Below, two MAs Paul and Nick highlighted their experience of these challenges. In the following excerpt, they discuss how their peers tried to humiliate them, but they stood their ground and continued with educating their community because they understood the intrinsic value in this.

Yes, I get challenged especially from my male counterparts, [I get] these sort of questions, “wonem yu meri na yu wok dispela kain wok?” [are you a woman doing this work?] It's a challenge to be a MA, you’ve got to stand on your two feet and face the consequences, but that's exactly what I did. When I first gave out my awareness they said ah “em meri ya, em meri halvim ol meri, look at him” [he's a woman helping all these women] “yu man ya yu no meri,” [why are you supporting the women?] These are the sort of challenges first encountered. They will laugh at you and they will make a mockery out of you, but it takes a real man to stand up. With the help of Nick when these types of comments came in we stood, and we talked, that’s what you think, that’s
how you were brought up into a culture, but we've got to change somehow. It's hard work. It's enjoyable. Sometimes the challenges will make you feel bad or feel down but I think with the challenges that’s where your strengths come in. With the challenges I faced I was happy I got these because they made me stand my ground, whatever message I had to drive in, I drove through (interviews with Paul and Nick).

Hegemonic masculinities in Bougainville that promote such characteristics as toughness and restricted emotionality (Levant, et al., 1992) are clearly strong. However, the two MAs above are challenging these ideals at a societal level which Jewkes et al., (2015) believes is needed in order to transforms hegemonic masculinities. Their confidence comes with a solid understanding and belief that what is being taught will bring benefit to the entire community. In addition, with other men supporting their peers to champion the messages relayed, and they are therefore able to counteract the resistance received. A common critique expressed of the MAP is that it is a “foreign concept.” MAs have continued to explain that it is not a foreign concept, and they are using theology to supplement their discussions. Understanding the biblical view has allowed one MA to understand equality, and how this relates to peace,

Yes, although it’s [male advocacy] a new concept in Bougainville, when we were introducing it in Buin those people were trying to chase us out, they just wanted to stop the project saying it’s a foreign concept. It is not a foreign concept. If we call it a foreign concept then we seem to think it is harmful, we seem to attribute the foreign to being harmful. But it is not harmful, it is from the biblical view, this is what God made man to be, equal. Men should not suppress women but work with women as a helper. And women should not dominate men and men cannot do that too. They have to be partners. There is no harm in this, if we take it as a threat to this cultural belief of patriarchy and all this then it becomes harmful, if we see it as a means to a peaceful home then it is not harmful. Because it is not harmful to fetch water while women are working in the garden. If a woman is a breadwinner there’s no harm in it because everyone is contributing towards the welfare of the family. I used to think it was harmful (interview with Glenn, see also Josie).

Encouragingly, as the training workshops have continued, many men have responded positively to the education,
Yeah, it’s a very big challenge, especially when you go for the MA trainings, especially the men, when they listen to what we are telling them, they don’t want to hear it. But we tell them and then they start to realise that “ahhhh…” (Kayden).

Significantly, one facilitator of the MAP expressed how these challenges are healthy for them as facilitators and help them to improve their delivery of trainings and themselves,

Yeah, there is a lot of challenges, it’s not easy telling men they are the ones perpetuating violence, because for them it’s a normal thing. They have all the power and authority to do whatever they want. Yes, there are a lot of challenges, but I believe for me as a facilitator its always healthy to have those challenges, we have to be smart also when these challenges come we have to really know how to respond and what to do to help them. With my experience in facilitating MA training and a lot of other trainings I facilitate, it just needs time and patience for this to happen. We’re doing our part and the rest is for them (interview with Alexander).

Resistance to this programme is met with love, kindness, patience, compassion, understanding and education. MAs have shown that they do not shy away from resistance, they will embrace it, and continue to educate their peers with the belief that the men they are training will slowly engage in the process. Exercising their past experiences as ex perpetrators of violence has proven to be a key reason why there have been signs of effectiveness in this programme as men are able to relate to their educators. However, it is equally important that when these men understand and decide to change their behaviours and attitudes, that this is met with forgiveness. This is a cultural trait embedded in traditional reconciliation as discussed in chapter 6. Therefore, in order to reconcile with the damage men may have inflicted on others, asking for forgiveness and this being granted is a necessary step in the path to healing.

I believe this is slowly changing with the men who have undertaken training with the MAP. I suggest that the entrenched role that reciprocity has in Bougainvillean culture will support men to change, and because this aspect is already in their lives, will make it easier for them to do so. In saying this, resistance to the MAP is common from individuals, and is expected by the staff implementing this because of the perceived loss of power and control and it will be up to
the MAs to combat and stand up to this as they have shown to do in order to subvert harmful masculinities and create broader change that prevents GBV.

### 7.5 Forgiveness

Aspects such as forgiveness within Bougainvillean culture can be viewed as part of the solution to the problem of GBV, and therefore it’s role here is highly crucial. There is significant value for everyone in the act of forgiveness (see Chapter 5). As Howley (2010:238) explains “Bougainvilleans have, for thousands of years, lived with the reconciliation solution and have internalised it as the best solution, so that even though the anger still exits, the good of the community outweighs the personal need for vengeance.” For individuals, feeling the shame of past wrongdoings and being met with forgiveness is a vital first step in a person’s recovery. Stories, for example from Ryan and Matthew, (discussed in the biographies at the beginning of this chapter), highlight the challenges faced by men that are trying to change, such as slipping back to violent tendencies. Furthermore, without the support of those around them and in particular, the services available through The NCfR, change is likely to be much more difficult. Women play a vital role in the recovery of these men, especially their partners. The women undergo abuse and many challenges, and although they weren’t interviewed the stories of these men are telling of the type of abuse women are subjected to. With this in mind, forgiveness like gender sensitisation is a key step in the road to recovery for men and women, and is a contributing factor in whether men are able to contribute to violence prevention work, as Alexander (MA) explains below,

> I think when it comes to forgiveness, women are the ones that really give their whole being to forgive. And they are doing it so much. For men because of the patriarchy upbringing and environment its quite challenging for them, but it’s not impossible, in the past men do say “sorry.” But just after the crisis this thing about “sorry,” “goodnight” it’s kind of lost. So yes, I think men should really stand up and start saying they are sorry. Just by admitting that you have done something wrong, those are the first steps of recovery.

Adam further elaborates on how forgiveness is a significant strength in Bougainvillean culture and is a key factor in rebuilding and maintaining relationships,
Yes, it’s [forgiveness] very strong, it’s one of the strengths we have and from there we build and start a new journey again rather than dwell on past experiences. Forgiveness is one of the things that is used Bougainville wide. Firstly, we have to own the problem, if we dig down [to] the problems right at the root of the problem as a man, it’s a manmade problem. It is part of the culture, the person has to own that problem, then they will forgive each other because of our relationship with the people, it’s interrelated. I think forgiveness is one of the ways forward to rebuild that relationship again. I think forgiveness is a must but we have to own it, there’s ways and means we can really forgive each other. We are doing it but we need to promote and encourage it more.

The underlying harmful masculine hegemonies in society, as well as the very personal challenges involved in changing, means in certain instances it can be easy to forgive, but in others it can cause a lot of disruption to the community and relationships. However, it was evident that culture provided a means and pathway to a potential solution to address this,

If it’s just a small problem then it’s really easy to forgive, it’s part of our culture. Because we have clans and tribes and whenever there’s a little conflict within, we have chiefs or traditional mediators and systems, we always believe in this forgiveness. If you and I are in the same tribe or clan, it’s like blood, so whenever something happens and they are trying to create peace using traditional mediation. If the problem isn’t that heavy, then there’s no problem, you just come and shake hands and have a little feast and exchange. Then the forgiveness comes which is when we talk about seeing that person as yourself. But really if you’re talking about murder or rape or whatsoever, it’s really hard to forgive (interview with Lucy).

Ryan discusses the importance of forgiveness and how at the male advocate forum it was a powerful mechanism on the road to healing for many men. Ryan explains how men accepted the hurt they caused women, and were then able to share their experiences together, experience the shame together, and then ask for support and forgiveness from women,

We actually had one MA training last December and that was the first of its kind, we never had a MA forum… They’ve already learnt and been through a lot of trainings, a lot of men stood up and were asking for forgiveness openly, women who were here
heard what the men said. Every training men have attended has helped to see clearly, because of our masculinity men really do not want to be like women to be soft hearted. But this forum, if a lot of women really heard what the men said, they would realise that we’ve learnt our mistakes, we are also working within our families trying to put back the pieces. We, ourselves are to be blamed. What men wanted, was for women to see that we cannot change the behaviours we have on our own, we need women to help, to work with us, to really help us change…Men stood up and we’ve had enough. We’ve seen how men mistreat women and I think it’s about time men should work with men to really help women come out.

Forgiveness is necessary to heal the trauma for both women and men, it provides a pathway for peace for both parties involved, it ultimately leads to a restoration of relationships and helps to restore social harmony. Forgiveness is what permits these men to change themselves first and be at peace with their past behaviours in order to move forward and foster change in their community. Forgiving is not easy or simple,

Forgiveness in Bougainville is very high, we tend to always forgive even though we’re tired and angry and disappointed, we will always forgive. Maybe it’s because we have that very big heart [joking/laughing] (interview with Ryan).

Forgiveness is a contributing factor to the efficacy of the MAP. Reconciliation and a peaceful community are parts of the entrenched Bougainvillean beliefs that the good of the community always comes before an individual’s desires or wants. The shared values and principles and the need to restore balance to the community, helps to create an environment in which men are able to change. Although as previously noted, there may be resistance to this by other men, which is where the alliance with women and other MAs is important. Therefore, when admission of past wrongdoings occurs, and forgiveness is asked and granted, this gives permission for these men to actively continue to rebuild their relationships between themselves and others in a new way that privileges equality. This is part of the rehabilitation of a person and reintegration into society and helps in strengthening the community.
7.6 Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on the lived experiences of predominantly men, with the inclusion of stories from some Bougainvillean women, as they aim to address and subsequently prevent GBV in Bougainville. The chapter outlines how processes such as gender sensitisation, alliances between men and women, resistance, and forgiveness, work interdependently to foster and environment where GBV can be prevented. Each of these are aspects applied within the MAP, in order to create an environment where GBV can best be addressed, and thus prevented. The lived experiences of the men, shown at the beginning of the chapter, prove that through the adoption of these processes and tools, men can change. The transformation of men’s behaviours is evident throughout this chapter, and it therefore proves that programmes such as MAP challenge the normative stance that men usually take on GBV, and help create real positive change, towards the prevention of GBV.
Chapter 8 - Conclusion

I set out to answer the overall question, how is gender based violence being addressed in post conflict Bougainville? Which was followed by three supplementary questions,

1. What is the prevalence of gender based violence in Bougainville today?
2. How is the male advocacy programme addressing gender based violence?
3. How effective is the male advocacy programme in addressing gender based violence?

In doing so, I established three findings,

1. The homegrown and culturally appropriate design and delivery of the MAP is central to the efficacy of it.
2. Only men can change men (with the support of women and communities).
3. Bougainvillean communities, and their cultural values and beliefs enables an environment which permits and supports change in men.

The discussions from Chapters 1 to 4 underpinned this research. In Chapter 2, I examined and reflected on why I had chosen to pursue this topic as a western researcher. By grounding this in a strong decolonising and feminist theoretical approach I aimed to reduce the harm caused to the Bougainvilleans. I believe this approach, further informed by Kaupapa Māori, and Talanoa principles were the most appropriate because it privileged and prioritised Indigenous epistemologies and voices and allowed for the constant reflexivity that is required to achieve this. Chapter 3 discussed and provided the historical context for research. Colonialism, indigenous land and resilience were key themes that highlighted the complex challenges that have arisen in Bougainville today. Chapter 4 provided an in-depth review of literature and situated this research in the wider context of GBV and hegemonic masculinities. The widespread implications of conflict on populations were discussed and I draw links between unresolved trauma and post conflict gendered violence. This is concluded by exploring solutions to the problem of GBV and in particular global male advocacy research.
Chapter 5 addressed research question one and explored the prevalence and source of the rise of GBV seen and experienced today. This concluded with the finding that a limited amount of GBV was evident prior to the crisis but traditional mechanisms allowed this to be controlled and restricted to isolated incidents. It is suggested that the source of the GBV in Bougainville is the crisis. It established that although there were clear gender roles and perhaps same violence prior to the crisis, the ten-year civil war was instrumental in causing a range of factors that are likely to have resulted in increased GBV, there are a shift in social power dynamics and the adoption of violent values, beliefs and attitudes and the subsequent unresolved trauma. This has bred a generation of people who have not been given the resources to seek help leading to violent tendencies and antisocial behaviours such as substance abuse and violence. Traditional cultural mechanisms of conflict resolution that guarded peace were overruled by violence during this time leading to a power shift in the community structures being more male dominated. This inevitably changed community gender relations which I suggest has led to the current rates of GBV.

Chapter 6 addresses research question two and set out how the MAP seeks to address GBV. In seeking the answers to these questions stated above, I found that civil society plays an important role in enabling change to occur and in this particular MAP, is a fundamental part of a multipronged solution to addressing GBV in Bougainville. The MAP counteracts the negative gendered attitudes and beliefs that have been ingrained since the crisis through training workshops. The Bougainville centred activities and methods used in training workshops are a key reason for the success of this programmes, as they are easy to understand and provide analytical tools which support the reduction of violence and can easily be replicated into community and taught to communities by participants. Moreover, unresolved trauma that has been embedded since the crisis has meant that a holistic focused approach on the human being is necessary to facilitate a transformation of misogynistic and patriarchal attitudes and behaviours in men. Key reasons for the successful implementation of the MAP include the design and framework of the MAP; tailor making the workshops for each specific community, and the interweaving of Melanesian culture, theology, and human rights principles and using a participatory community approach. The MAP training workshops are flexible, they are accessible for any education level and they are facilitated by men who have had their own experiences with dealing with their trauma and violent pasts, therefore men find they can easily
relate to these educators. These conditions all create the ability to reach and capture a very wide audience of men.

Finally, Chapter 7 addresses research question three. This began with the biographies of the men interviewed and discussed their individual stories of change and why and how the MAP made this possible. Fundamental aspects such as gender sensitisation, working in alliance with women, resistance and forgiveness were all discussed as these helped support the men to transform. Working in alliance with women is crucial to challenging the gender unequal norms in communities and in the prevention of GBV. Similarly, to the pre conflict era, cases where women and men complemented and supported each other to prevent GBV were provided. Men demonstrated that individual change and the healing of individual trauma has the ability to flow into fostering community wide and societal change. And whilst resistance is common, MAs are prepared to challenge this and have flipped the narrative by using compassion, empathy, patience and education to carry on their work in their respective communities. Lastly, Bougainvillean culture has played a considerable role in permitting changes in men. Specific culturally entrenched beliefs and ideas surrounding traditional reconciliation, conflict resolution and in particular forgiveness have demonstrated success in sanctioning change.

Alleviating GBV in Bougainville requires a significant societal ideological shift in order to unlearn entrenched patriarchal values and beliefs. The findings of this research have provided glimpses of how this is occurring and that it is possible with the MAP to subvert harmful masculinities. Ex-perpetrators are able to facilitate, enable and support change with their male counterparts in their communities in ways that are more difficult for women. Additionally, a programme that is contextual, home grown and caters to the needs and desires of the population, whilst privileging and preserving important cultural values, beliefs and religion has the ability to yield positive results. Furthermore, change does not occur in isolation, it requires a community to initialise, support, encourage and maintain it. Therefore, although meaningful change must start from an individual, the relationships and people around the person play a significant role in enabling a supportive environment from which a person feels they are able to change without judgement. Mobilising entire communities for a purpose is something inherently Bougainvillean and is a reason why the MAP has demonstrated such success. When leaders, chiefs and communities take ownership and replicate this education into their daily lives to reinforce gender equitable practices, men support women to take up leaderships
positions and men show a willingness to transform themselves and help their male peers and youth societal change is possible. Furthermore, the exploration of the transformative and hopeful narratives presented throughout this thesis has demonstrated a switch in narrative from one of violence to one of hope and transformation. For other places and regions, particularly areas that have undergone conflict, this research provides lessons on how a MAP may help in alleviating post conflict effects such as GBV particularly in places where violent masculinities are common.

8.1 Limitations and future research recommendations

While I was initially hoping to gain a representative number of men from each of the three districts, I was unable to interview many men from South and Central Bougainville. This was mainly due to financial and time constraints, the remoteness and accessibility of these regions. Future research may look into men attending the MAP from a wider area than that carried out in this study. Due to the cultural differences and the varying degree of impact the crisis had on these three districts, the results of this would help to better understand the needs and resources required in these areas in order to provide services to the communities.

A second limitation was that I did not interview the partners of the MAs as this was not part of my original intentions. Relying only on the experiences of men may result in recall bias. In retrospect, interviewing the partners of these men would have provided verification of the can be conducted. Research may look into how men and women have changed over time after attending training workshops and the impact this has had on their families and communities.

This research has shown that WHRDs and MAs are working together to prevent GBV and that WHRDs value the support and safety of the MAs in undertaking violence prevention. A third recommendation for future research lies in a more comprehensive look into how the WHRD and MAs are creating safe spaces for their communities and the specifics of this relationship will be beneficial for specific ways in which they are preventing violence together and figuring out how we can foster this on a larger scale. Questions such as, what are the strengths and challenges of MA and WHRDs working together? How can these challenges be mitigated and what further resources are needed for both these groups to continue working together?
Another recommendation could involve a longitudinal study that follows one particular community. From the implementation of the first MAP training workshop until three or four years later by using qualitative interviews of community members. By analysing living standards and individual attitudes and behaviours prior to the training and after each training workshops and in the interim time between each would provide a quality evidence base to further research into the efficacy of the MAP. This would provide rich evidence which the Bougainville government could use in order to facilitate meaningful collaboration between local NGOs to finance this programme and consequently reach more communities.

Moreover, there is a significant amount of research that can be implemented surrounding the government and civil society relationship. The current fragile political environment in Bougainville compounds the challenges between civil society and the state. As this programme is fully established and implemented by civil society, how can the government provide meaningful support for programmes that aim to prevent and reduce GBV? What are the barriers to their support and how can this relationship between civil society and the government be strengthened?

8.2 Closing statement

‘Only men can change men.’

I set out on this journey to explore this statement, to find out if this was true, what enabled men with violent tendencies to change and in a deeper sense, how we can create spaces out of conflict which promote gender equality in which women feel safe and can live free from violence. Throughout this thesis, I aimed to answer the overarching question of ‘How is gender based violence being addressed in post-conflict Bougainville?’ In doing so, this research has demonstrated that to a degree, this particular MAP has the ability to address GBV. This programme values support over persecution, and forgiveness over condemnation with Bougainvillean culture being a key factor in permitting this. Bougainvillean culture enables a variety of essential values integral to enabling an ethos of transformation to occur including, acceptance, shame, remorse, forgiveness and reconciliation. In this specific context, I believe that no matter the level of violence and trauma experienced and perpetuated in the past, men have the ability to change if given the opportunity, education and resources to do so. With the healing of trauma, support, guidance, empathy, love and kindness of their partners, peers and
communities change is inevitable. After all, as Sr. Lorraine Garasu so eloquently expressed ‘cultures can change, and trauma can heal.’
References


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Appendices

Appendix A – Information Sheet in Tok Pisin

Wok adresim Genda Based Vilense thru long male advocacy program insait long Post- Conflict Bougainville Bougainville.

Toksave pepa long pipel.


Tenk yu turu long showim interest long dispela wok painim out. Plis ridim dispela toksave gut. Bikpela tenku igo pas sapos yu agri long take part long dipela bikpela wok painom out. Sapos u no laik tek pat, mipla laik tok tenkyu tu long time blong u.

Wanem dispela wok?

Displa program I laik painim out wanem kain senis I bin kamap bihain long ol male advocacy program I bin ron inasit long ol post-conflict community insait long Bougainville. Em I laik painim out tu, how ol dispela program I bin dounim hevi blong Gender Based Vilence insait long Bouainville, na wanem ol challenge I bin kamap long taim ol dispela program I bin ron. Dispela save bai I ken halivim ol narapla community we I woklong pilim yet bikpela hevi blong gender based violence.

Neelum Petal, usat I woklong studi long Otago Univesity, I woklong go pas long dispela studi long inapim wok painim out bilong em long kism Masters of Arts.Dr. Sophie Bond bai supervisim em.

Dispela wok painim out em I no kam aninit long NCfR, tasol bai mipela I sharim ol results blong displea wok painim out wantem ol.

Husat ol participant I ken take part long dispela wok painim out?

Dispela program I laik kism tingting blong ol man meri husat I bin save wok insait long ol male advocacy programs, o trainings insait Bougainville. Mipla bai usim ol lain husat mipela
I gat strongpela network wantem, olsen Director bilong NCFR, long connect wantem ol na interviewim.

Bai mipela I mas sindoun na stori wantem 10 – 15 key man na tu, conductim 20-30 interview wantem ol man na meri usat I stat long twentyfivepla (25) christmas I go nap long sixty-five (65) insait long ol district blong Buka, Arawa na Selau.

Taim wok painim out I pinis, bai mipela I sharim ol results wantem NCFR, na tu wantem ol participant usat I bin take pat long ol interveu.

**Wei long take part long dispela wok painim out.**

Intaviu bai kisim time olsem 30 – 60 pla minit, insait long community bilong u. Insait long dispela inteaviu bai u can sharim wanem tingting yu gat long ol male advocacy program we I woklong kamap insait long Bougainville. Ol questen bai askim long how pasin tumbuna/culture na social issue I woklong contribut e long GBV, na sapos ol male advocacy program I woklong halivim long daunim GBV.

Sapos yu tok orait, bai mipla I recordim intaviu blong yu, na tu bai gat interpreter I stap long halivim long tanim tok, bai man meri usat I no kilia long tok ples bai can understandim toktok blong yu.

Long consent form yu can raitim nem blong u. Sapos u no laik bai yu makim (o tikim) box we I tok “anonymous”. I nogat hevi bai painim yu sapos yu laik less long putim nem blong yu.

Ol askim bai toktok planti long GBV, ol hevi I kamap insait long ol community becos long GBV, how em I woklong bagarapim community na how ol trainig I woklong daunim GBV insait long peles.

Sapos u pilim olsem yu need long seekim kounseling, noken poret long askim mipela bai mipela I refereim yu go long NCFR.

Sapos yu no pilim gut long bekim wanpla askim, yu can tok olsem yu no laik givim bekim na yu can stopim intaveu blong yu anytime yu laik.

Sapos bihain yu laik withdrawim toktok we yu bin givim long dispela intaveu, yu ken toksave na ba mipela I wokim bipo long April 2018.

**Wanem samting bai kamap long ol data o ol bekim we I kamap long dispela wok painim out?**

Taim yu givim tok orait bai mipela I recordim intaveu blong yu, long mek sure olsem miepla I gat trupela recot blong ol bekim yu bin givim. Data we bai mipela I collectim em, nem, contact numba blong yu, genda na nem blong wok blong yu insait long ples.
Dispela ol infomesen I bai halivim mipela long luksave mo long wanem kain rol na responsibility blong ol man I woklong halivim long daunim hevi blong GBV.

Dispela infomesen bai stap long lukaut blong Neelum Peatal na Dr Sophie Bond, na bihain long fivepela christmas bai ol I distroyim dispela infomesen. Long ol wok we I bai usim dispela infomesen bai mipela I traib best long maintainim confideliti bilong ol man meri usat I tek part long inaveu.

Ol results blong dispela projek bai mipela I publishim na displayim long Otago University Library na tu long NCFR Library long Bougainville.

Sapos yu gat askim?

Sapos yu laikim mo klia totok long dispela projek yu can contactim ol numbo I stap tamblo;

Neelum Patel
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Email: Neelum.patel94@gmail.com

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Department of Geography
Phon: +0064 34793068
Email: sophie.bond@otago.ac.nz

Displea wok painim aut I gat tok orait I kam long Univesity blong Otago Human Ethics committee. Sapos yu laikim mo klia totok long pasin blong karim aut dispela project, yu can contactim Committee thru long Human Ethics Committee Administrator ( phon: +643 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Bai ol I can skelim wari blong yu na givim yu gutepla mo totok.
Addressing gender based violence through male advocacy programmes in post-conflict Bougainville.

Information Sheet for Participants

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this Information Sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the Aim of the Project?

This project aims to look at the effectiveness of male advocacy programmes in post-conflict communities in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea and the outcome this has on addressing gender based violence (GBV). We will look at the effectiveness of having a male advocacy programme, how successful this has been and any challenges that have occurred. We hope we can use this knowledge to benefit other post-conflict communities to combat gender based violence.

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements for Neelum Patel’s Master of Arts undertaken at the University of Otago in Aotearoa New Zealand. Dr Sophie Bond will be the supervisor.

This research is impartial and independent of the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCFR), however results will be made available to them.

What Type of Participants are being sought?

This project seeks participants who have had previous engagement in male advocacy training in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea. We will use existing contacts, including the Director, for NCFR’s knowledge of the communities throughout Bougainville to interview participants and community leaders who are currently engaging in male advocacy work. This will include 10-15 key informant interviews and a total of approximately 25-30 individual interviews with women and men between the ages of 20-65 across the study areas (Buka, Selau or Arawa). A copy of the research findings will be sent to NCFR and will be available to all once completed.

What will Participants be Asked to Do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to attend a 30-60 minute interview at a quiet haus wind (meeting place) close to the village where you are from in the Buka, Selau or Arawa area. These meetings will be informal dialogues where you can safely share and discuss your thoughts and ideas about the male advocacy programmes. The types of questions asked will cover the social and cultural challenges faced post conflict, how this has contributed to high GBV rates, and the effectiveness of the male advocacy programme in addressing GBV. With the permission of the participants, the conversation will be recorded. The interview will be verbal and will also have an interpreter present, to help where a language barrier exists.
You have the option to remain anonymous or print your name on the consent form. Please tick the box should you choose to remain anonymous. There is no disadvantage to you should you choose anonymity.

The questions will be broadly associated with the role that GBV has in communities, its impacts, and how the training courses under the male advocacy programme has reduced these impacts. There will be counselling available through NCfR should you need it following this interview.

Should you feel uncomfortable answering any questions, you are able to say that you do not want to answer that question and can stop the interview at any time. Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind. You may also withdraw the information you have provided at any time before the end of April 2018.

**What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be made of it?**

With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded to ensure an accurate transcription of the dialogue. The data collected will include names, contact details, gender and position within the village. This will help in identifying the roles and influences within communities in addressing GBV through male advocacy. You may request access to the findings – please indicate at the bottom of the attached consent form.

The researcher (Neelum Patel) and their Supervisor (Dr Sophie Bond) will have access to the raw data. This will be held on a password protected hard drive and be kept for 5 years, after which it will be destroyed. We will attempt to keep the total anonymity of participants at all times, although we cannot guarantee this.

The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only those mentioned below will be able to gain access to it. Data obtained as a result of the research will be retained for at least 5 years in secure storage. Any personal information held on the participants such as contact details, audio, after they have been transcribed may be destroyed at the completion of the research, even though the data derived from the research will, in most cases, be kept for much longer or possibly indefinitely.

The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand), but every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity. A copy of the research will be made available at the NCfR library in Bougainville.

This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning will explore the role communities play in addressing GBV through male advocacy programmes. The nature of the questions has been determined in advance, but will also be heavily shaped by the way in which the interview develops.

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time from the time of the interview until the 30th April 2018, and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind. You have the right to access and correct any personal information until the 1st June 2018.

**What if Participants have any Questions?**

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Neelum Patel
Department of Geography
Email: Neelum.patel94@gmail.com

and

Dr. Sophie Bond
Department of Geography
Phone: +64 3 4793068
Email: sophie.bond@otago.ac.nz

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph
+643 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
Appendix C - Consent Form in Tok Pisin

Daunim Genda Base Vilense insait long Post-Konflict Bougenvil, thru long Male Advocasy Program.

Consent Form

Mi bin readim pinis na mi kilia long ol toktok I stap insait long Infomesen Pepa. Mi kilia long dispela projek na mi save long wanem ol askim I stap insait long dispela wok painim aut. Mi hamamas olsem olgeta askim mi bin gat, ol go pas man I tok kilia pinis. Me save tu olsem sapos mi laikim mo kla toktok mi ken apim han na askim.

Mi save olsem;

1. Mi yet mi ken take pat sapos mi laik- nogat man I bossim mi.
2. Me ken lusim dispela wok painim aut sapos mi pilim hevi
3. Ol infomesen ol I recordim long ol audio devise bai ol is distroyim/rausim bhain long pinis blong dispela projek. Na ol raw data ol I kisim I ken stap long stronpela lukaut (storage) I go nap long fivepla year.
5. Mi save olsem ol kounsella blong NCfR I stap sapos me nidim kounselling.
6. Mi save tu olsem ol results blong dispela wok painim out bai ol i publishim na puttim long University blong Otago, na sapos mi laikim bai mi stap anonymous, bai o lino nap long tokaut long nem blong me.
7. Me save olsem meri I go pas long displea wok painim aut bai includim tu ol tingting blong em insait long dispela studi.

Mi olsem participant I agree olsem;

a. Nem blong mi I ken stap insait long dispela wok painim aut ☐️
b. Noken usim nem blong mi insait long dispela wok painim aut.

☐

c. Mi laikim copi blong repot bihain long dispela projek.

☐

Sapose yu tikim “yes” pulmapim contact detail blong yu tamblo;

Mi agri long participate long dispela projek:

______________________________  ______________________

Sainim nem long hia               Det

______________________________

Raitim nem long hia

Displea wok painim aut I gat tok orait I kam long Univesity blong Otago Human Ethics committee. Sapos yu laikim mo klia toktok long pasin blong karim aut dispela project, yu can contactim Committee thru long Human Ethics Committee Administrator ( phon: +643 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Bai ol I can skelim wari blong yu na givim yu gutepla mo toktok.
Appendix D – Consent form

Addressing gender based violence through male advocacy programmes in post-conflict Bougainville.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage. I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information such as audio recordings may be destroyed at the conclusion of the project, but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for at least five years;
4. This project involves an open-questioning technique. The general line of questioning includes the role Male advocacy training has in addressing GBV. The precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the interview develops and, in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable, I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.
5. I know that I am able to receive counselling through The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCfR) at any time if I require it.
6. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand), but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity, should I choose to remain anonymous.
7. I understand that observations taken in a field journal by the researcher may be used in this study.

I, as the participant:  
a) agree to being named in the research, __________ OR;
b) would rather remain anonymous __________
c) would like access to the findings from this study __________

If yes: Please leave your contact details (email or postal address) here:
I agree to take part in this project.

.................................................................
(Signature of participant)

................................................................. .............................................
(Printed Name) (Date)

.................................................................
Name of person taking consent

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph +643 479 8256 or email gary.witte@otago.ac.nz). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.
Appendix E – Ethics Approval

Dr S Bond
Department of Geography
Division of Humanities

7 February 2018

Dear Dr Bond,

I am again writing to you concerning your proposal entitled “Addressing gender based violence through male advocacy programmes in post-conflict Bougainville.”, Ethics Committee reference number 18/008.

Thank you for your email of 5th February 2018 responding to the issues raised by the Committee.

On the basis of this response, I am pleased to confirm that the proposal now has full ethical approval to proceed.

Approval is for up to three years from the date of this letter. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing.

Upon approval, it is expected that all members of the research team are made aware of what the standard conditions of ethical approval covers. This includes the date ethical approval expires, as well as the process regarding applying for amendments to the research.

The Human Ethics Committee asks for a Final Report to be provided upon completion of the study. The Final Report template can be found on the Human Ethics Web Page http://www.otago.ac.nz/council/committees/committees/HumanEthicsCommittees.html

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Mr Gary Witte
Manager, Academic Committees
Tel: 479 8256
Email: gary.witte@otago.ac.nz

c.c. Assoc. Prof. M Thompson-Fawcett Department of Geography
Appendix F – Example of a workshop

Session 1.1: Biblical Understanding of Human rights
- Gender and Human Rights pre-training Survey
- List of Services provided by The NCfR
- Who am I? tool
- Human rights as a God-Defined Justice Chart
- Bible and the Story of Creation
- Ten theological pillars of gender equality
- Participant handbook

Session 1.2: Melanesian Perspective of Human Rights
- Discusses the linkages between their ancestors and how they catered to human rights, their needs and responsibilities and that this was has always been the case. This is accomplished through a range of group participatory activities and discussions.

Session 1.3: History of Human Rights
- Presentation on the history of Human Rights
- Links Human Rights as a spiritual decision
- Human Rights language arrived with the missionaries
- The consequences of denial of rights

Session 1.4: The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)
- Introduces this and links the articles back to the Melanesian and Biblical Perspective.
- Key principles of Human Rights

Session 1.5: The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)
- Defines CEDAW
- Discuss realities Bougainville women face today
- Discuss and clarify what the CEDAW articles mean
- CEDAW pillars
- CEDAW and the UDHR

Session 1.6: The Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)
- CRC Articles
- Looking and discussing a case study
- Life Clock tool Activity
- Children’s rights and responsibility handouts
- Lukautim Pikinini Act copy handouts
Session 1.7: Human Rights – Roles and Responsibilities

- Roles and responsibilities handouts
- Equality Wheel
- Cycle of Violence tool
- Do No Harm tool

Part 2: Gender Justice

Session 2.1: Gender Justice – Where do we stand?

- Assess the level of knowledge of participants about gender equality, human rights and violence against women

Session 2.2: Standing alone, sitting together

- Participants identify how similarities and differences in humans can lead to discrimination

Session 2.3: Defining Sex and Gender

- Define and explore differences between sex and gender

Session 2.4: Discrimination against women, gender stereotypes, violence against women

- Discussions around the term’s discrimination, stereotypes and violence
- Sharing experiences of discrimination

Session 2.5: Equal Opportunities and Gender Justice

- Explores factors which determine life choices and opportunities in connection to equal opportunities, human rights, gender equality and gender justice.
- Handout of the status of Women