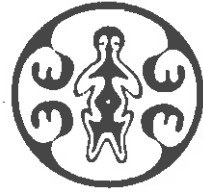


NRI Discussion Paper

Number 92



WOMEN AND SECURITY IN PORT MORESBY



NRI
The National Research Institute

**NRI Discussion Paper
Number 92**



WOMEN AND SECURITY IN PORT MORESBY

**by
Fiona Hukula**

**NRI
The National Research Institute**

First published April 1999

Copyright © 1999 — The National Research Institute

Discussion Paper No.92

Published by NRI — The National Research Institute

The National Research Institute (NRI) is an independent statutory authority established by an Act of Parliament in 1988, and confirmed by the Papua New Guinea IASER (Amendment) Act 1993. NRI's main aims are to undertake research into the social, political, legal, economic, educational, environmental, and cultural issues and problems of Papua New Guinea and to formulate practical solutions to these problems. Research findings, results, and recommendations are published in the following NRI publications series.

Monographs	<i>TaimLain</i>
Discussion Papers	<i>Current Issues</i>
Special Publications	PNG Post-Courier Index
Educational Reports	PNG Times Index
Seminar Series	Research in Melanesia
Bibliographies	Additional Publications
Working Papers	

Direct any inquiries regarding these publications to:

The Publications Sales Coordinator
The National Research Institute
P.O. Box 5854
Boroko. NCD. 111
Papua New Guinea

Tel: (675) 326 0300
Fax: (675) 326 0213
e-mail: nri@global.net.pg

ISBN 9980 75 100 2
National Library Service of Papua New Guinea

ABCDE 19200099

Printed by the NRI Printery

The opinions expressed herein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Methodology	4
Women's Interviews	4
Literature Survey of Serious Crimes Committed against Women	5
Case Studies	8
<i>Case One — Linda</i>	8
<i>Case Two — Lucy</i>	8
<i>Case Three — Madeline</i>	8
<i>Case Four — Mavis</i>	9
<i>Case Five — Anna, Nancy, and Julie</i>	10
Summary	10
Female University Students' Responses	11
Hostel Residents' Responses	13
Employed Women's Responses	15
Unemployed Women's Responses	15
Personal Observations	15
Data Analysis	17
Conclusion	18
Recommendations	20
Bibliography	21

We declare our second goal to be for all citizens to have equal opportunity to participate in, and benefit from the development of our country...an equal opportunity for every citizen to take part in the political, economic, social, religious and cultural life of the country, and equal participation by women citizens in all political, economic, social and religious activities (National Constitution, Second Goal, 1975: 2-3).

Introduction

The Constitution of Papua New Guinea states that all people are equal — male and female. However, in reality, the majority of the population does not realise the importance of the equal participation of women in nation building. Violence and crimes against women are major social problems, not only in Port Moresby, but in Papua New Guinea as a whole. The 1990 National Census recorded a total population in the National Capital District of 193 242. Out of this total, 85 760 were females.

Women in the National Capital District, like elsewhere in Papua New Guinea, are frequently subjected to sexual harassment, domestic violence, violent crimes, and inequality in the workplace. The daily newspapers frequently carry accounts of women in Port Moresby being assaulted, raped, or harassed in the streets, in shopping centres, or in their homes. It seems that all women — including school-age girls — in Port Moresby are potential victims, from politicians' wives to ordinary grassroots women. Many women have been attacked in the privacy of their own homes as well as in public places.

The United Nations Survey on Crime Trends and the Operation of the Criminal Justice System, and police statistics indicate that, in 1990, some 270 rapes occurred in Port Moresby. The rate of 135 victims per 100 000 population was highlighted in the report. The survey highlights the security risks of women in urban areas such as Port Moresby, Lae, and Mount Hagen (Zvekic *et al.* 1995: 204). The rate of reporting assaults or threats, especially those of a sexual nature, was higher than the average reporting rate for the developing world. This is an indication that sexual harassment of women, including its most severe form — rape — is very frequent in the urban areas of Papua New Guinea. For example, in the recent rape case at Okapa High School in Eastern Highlands Province, 18 schoolgirls were raped by a gang when they broke into the girls' dormitory (Palme 1998b: 1).

Violence against women, including domestic violence and gang rape, is a major social concern in Papua New Guinea. Serious sexual assaults and incidents of harassment are regularly reported throughout the country. Sexual offences seem to be among the most underreported of all crimes in Papua New Guinea. Factors such as shame, fear of the perpetrators, apprehension for police questioning, and scepticism about the effectiveness of police investigations contribute to this underreporting of crimes against women, in most parts of the country. In 1986, police statistics showed that 45 percent of rape offences occurred in the victims' own homes, were abducted from their houses, or were attacked in the company of others (Davies 1994: 22).

Serious sexual assaults seem to occur as crimes of opportunity, during the committal of other offences such as breaking and entering or armed hold-ups, and are mainly in residential areas. Despite the existence of constitutional rights and proscriptions of the criminal law, many Papua New Guinean women will continue to experience high levels of personal insecurity because of the current trend of violent crimes against them, on a daily basis. This insecurity translates into intolerable restrictions on their freedom of movement and expression in everyday life (Dinnen 1997: 15).

Marilyn Strathern (1975) prepared a report which reviewed legislation on sexual offences in Papua New Guinea. The report revealed that rape was defined as consisting of two elements, as far as most Papua New Guinean societies were concerned. These are:

- infringement of rights; and
- assault.

'Infringement of rights' refers to the problems caused when rights in regard to the sexuality of a woman are infringed. In this case, there is a perceived injury to the woman's husband, parents, or other family members.

Strathern's survey (*ibid.*) indicates that social circumstances define the nature and the seriousness of the offence, not the question of whether or not the woman consented to sexual intercourse. Strathern (*ibid.*) concluded in her paper that the attitude was 'no moral and physical damage held to result from the simple act of intercourse, even if the act is done against her will', and this view was reinforced by Morauta (1985: 20). This is a different view from the one underlying the law, where the element of consent is critical to the definition of the offence.

In urban areas of Papua New Guinea, people do not always live amongst kin and friends, unlike the rural populace who live in an environment in which they feel safe. When they move to towns and cities — especially Port Moresby — they are closer than ever to people with whom they have no social ties, unlike back in their villages. The structure of neighbourhoods might make people less secure in the urban areas where the wantok system is no longer recognised. People who live in villages mainly live in an environment where they feel free of criminal activities, and are physically safe. This may be a contributing factor as to why crimes are taking place in the urban neighbourhoods rather than in the villages, where the bulk of the population live in Papua New Guinea.

Domestic violence is also an issue that needs to be dealt with more openly in Papua New Guinea, by the community, particularly the Government and non-government organisations. Some Papua New Guineans have adopted the 'Western' view of domestic violence, as being a private matter, rather than that of the law because they do not understand the trauma and suffering that women face as a result of this criminal act. Under Papua New Guinean law, hitting people is a criminal offence under s. 243 of the PNG Criminal Code. Anthropologists have extensively documented the extent to which

males dominate Papua New Guinea's traditional culture, but there are exceptions. However, it is true that, by and large, men control women, particularly within marriage. Women are taught to be obedient to their husbands, with the justification being brideprice, and the concept that the husband is the head of the house (Law Reform Commission 1986: 22).

A survey that was conducted by the Law Reform Commission in 1986, in various parts of Port Moresby, revealed that there were high rates of domestic violence occurring frequently in the urban low-income and urban elite environments as well as in the two squatter settlements where the survey was conducted. Institutions such as Lifeline Port Moresby, the Port Moresby City Mission, and the YWCA have been established to assist women who experience domestic violence and other social welfare problems.

The National Women's Council and other similar organisations, over the years, have organised self-defence and self-assertiveness classes to provide women with better skills to deal with the confrontational situations that are encountered regularly with their male counterparts (*Post-Courier* 1990: 13). There are many reports of women being assaulted by people whom they are supposed to trust, with the police being the prime suspects in some cases. In May 1990, Dame Josephine Abaijah called on the police to protect women from harassment (*Post-Courier* 1990: 13). The *Post-Courier* published a series of articles pertaining to domestic violence and the harassment of women, and these articles highlighted serious domestic violence problems that had occurred in Papua New Guinea (Yalu 1993).

Women in the work force are still considerably disadvantaged in comparison to their male counterparts. In the National Capital District, the labour force participation rate for both genders is 57.8 percent, of which females make up 35.7 percent (Zvekic *et al.* 1995: 199). Although this indicates that over half the labour force in the National Capital comprises females, the majority of women are still not in highly paid positions. The employment ratio of men to women in both the public and private sectors shows a clear bias towards men. Only a few women occupy top administrative and managerial positions (UNICEF 1996: 49).

The public service continues to be the largest employer of women, yet few women have been able to attain high-level positions. Family commitments, and problems such as the husband's opposition to the wife's career advancement, or domestic violence are the usual reasons given to explain women's inability to assume leadership positions in the formal sector (*ibid.*: 53).

During the 1980s, more specific attention was paid to removing barriers to women's participation in socioeconomic development activities, and providing women with greater protection from domestic and other forms of violence and discrimination. The Law Reform Commission, the Women and Law Committee, the Women's Division of the former Department of Home Affairs and Youth, the National Council of Women, church women's groups, and non-governmental organisations have all contributed to women's equality, status, and liberation, but a more consistent and integrated effort is

required if women are to become equal partners in development (Hinawalola 1987: 230).

In 1985, the then Director of the National Planning Office stated that 'real improvement' in the position of women in Papua New Guinea will not come through an expansion of traditional female activities, but through the equal participation of women, with men, in what traditionally have been defined as 'male activities' (ibid.:234).

Since Papua New Guinea became independent in 1975, the particular needs of women and youth have been the subject of attention by policy makers, planners, communities, and the wider society. However, many of these efforts have not resulted in real involvement by women in the design or implementation of national or subnational development planning (ibid.: 231). Papers presented in the 'Women in Development' section of the 17th Waigani Seminar (1986) emphasised that women continued to be unequal partners in national and provincial development activities. Rural women who worked with their own community groups described the barriers which prevented women's voices from being heard by developmental planners and managers. They highlighted the lack of financial and political support for education and extension programs that were aimed at increasing women's participation in Papua New Guinea.

Although many women were already involved in development, their contributions were not recognised by urban-based developmental 'experts'. Many women have stated that government project planners at all levels frequently ignore or even deny the value of rural women's organisational and management skills. Other speakers at the Waigani Seminar discussed the need for women to have equal access to information about business opportunities and to credit facilities, so that they can venture into business activities. This has been a major constraint for Pacific women, in general, and reflects the concentration of many women's programs on the social or 'welfare' type activities (ibid.: 235). Women need greater access to technical and management training if they are to have any hope of participating in development on a more equal footing with their male counterparts.

Methodology

In order to develop a 'street ethnography' of women in all walks of life in Port Moresby, 53 women were approached during the study in the National Capital District. The women who completed the questionnaires were unemployed, employed, university students, hostel residents, and those out on the street or in shopping centres (see Table 1). The research method relied on open-ended questions and personal conversations, as shown in the data.

Women's Interviews

The women who were interviewed in many suburbs and squatter settlements in and around Port Moresby, were from married, single, unemployed, and employed groups. The purpose of the study was to obtain information concerning the women's different

cultural, economic, and social backgrounds in order to ascertain their views on personal security during their leisure time, employment, and at home. A structured questionnaire was used to obtain information on the women's experiences regarding violent crimes against them.

Table 1: Categories and Number of Women Interviewed

Category	Number Interviewed
Employed women	21
Unemployed women	16
Hostel residents	12
Female university students	3
Total	52

Fifty-two women were interviewed during this study. These women were interviewed and/or completed the questionnaires. The information that was obtained by personal interviews was based on a structured questionnaire and was distributed to various organisations and institutions where women work and live. It was difficult to interview the women who lived in the hostels because they were at work during the week, and during the weekends they were mostly out doing their own things. Questionnaires were left at the hostel for the women to fill out, but this attempt to get responses was unsuccessful. The personal interviews, which were conducted at the Tokarara Market, were conversation-type interviews. It was easier to talk to the women informally, and then pose the relevant structured questions. The interviews were conducted in Tok Pisin and the answers recorded in English. The women were more confident talking in a group rather than being asked questions individually. However, it was difficult to collate the data because some of the questions were not answered, and in some cases there were too many answers all at once.

Literature Survey of Serious Crimes Committed against Women

The National Court in Madang recently convicted and sentenced a high school teacher to ten years in prison for the rape of a schoolgirl. The teacher, who is 22 years of age and the youngest on the staff, admitted that he was often sexually tempted when he saw the young girls at the school and this was why he committed the offence (Taumai 1998:4). The *Post-Courier* recently reported that the highlands region has an average of four to five rape cases each week, mostly involving the pack-rape of women. The offence is so common in the highlands region that the police believe the situation needs to be urgently addressed, otherwise rape may become accepted as normal behaviour in the community. The senior police officers in the highlands region, in expressing their concern over the frequent occurrence of rape, argued that the Village Courts, compensation payments, and attitudes of men towards women have all

contributed to the high incidence of this crime. Women have to be very cautious, as their behaviour and attitude are very important in keeping themselves away from any situation that may make them potential victims of rape (Kumugl 1998: 4).

Recently, in a high school in Eastern Highlands Province, 18 schoolgirls were allegedly raped in their dormitory by armed men. Thirteen masked men armed with a rifle and knives went into the girls' dormitory between 1:30 a.m. and 2 a.m. on Saturday, 8 August 1998 and raped the girls. The gunmen threatened to kill the girls if the girl with the dormitory key did not open the door. When the student with the key opened the door, the rapists entered the dormitory. It was reported that some 100 female students were sleeping in the dormitory when the rape incident took place. The suspects included male students from the school who knew of the girls' dormitory exits. They and the others went into the dormitory, pointed the guns at the girls, threatened them, and raped them (Palme 1998b: 1).

Women are able to move around freely, but they must consider their own safety in light of the high incidence of rape which occurs in their communities every day. The involvement of the Village Courts has further complicated the situation because they are not supposed to adjudicate on rape cases as it is a serious offence and has to be dealt with by the higher courts. However, they are sometimes forced to deal with rape cases because a situation might lead to violence in the community. The police understand that, when the Village Courts deal with rape cases, this often leads to compensation demands by the relatives of the victim, and compensation payments rather than prosecution of the offender in formal court proceedings (Sikani 1996: 41). In most cases, the rapists go free when such demands are met. However, this form of redress contributes to the prevalence of the escalating incidence of rape, particularly in the highlands communities where compensation demands are made to meet the end. One of the negative aspects of compensation demands is that a victim's relatives often prevent a woman from giving evidence against the perpetrator in the court of law, preferring instead to have compensation paid to them (Kumugl 1998: 6).

From available evidence, males have no respect for females when committing crimes against them in the community. In April 1998, in a Port Moresby suburb, a 25-year old woman was gunned down at 11:30 p.m. by five armed gunmen. Her father tried to fight off the gunmen but they retaliated and shot his daughter. She was rushed to the hospital but the doctors could not save her life (Terry 1998a: 4).

In another incident, a female student from a Mount Hagen high school was allegedly raped by two male schoolmates — one of whom is believed to be her boyfriend. The incident is said to have occurred after a drinking session at a country club in Banz, in Western Highlands Province (Palme 1998a:4). The boys who attend high school have learned bad habits and do not show any respect for their fellow schoolgirls when they commit such a serious offence as rape. In the highlands communities, rape cases have led to tribal fights and even in Port Moresby tribal fights erupt among clans for similar offences. On another occasion, there was conflict between two clans from Okapa in Eastern Highlands Province, when two youths were accused of verbally harassing a girl from another clan. Police sources reported that tribesmen from the two warring factions

were armed with bows and arrows and corrugated iron sheets during the conflict (Terry 1998b:4).

Another problem which females have to face is polygamy. The number of deaths arising from polygamous affairs is on the increase in Papua New Guinea and there is much debate amongst leaders, the churches, and the general public concerning the regulation of such marriages. In one such case, a young woman murdered another woman and was convicted and sentenced in the Goroka District Court. The woman has two children and has had an unhappy marriage because of continued interference by the deceased, while she was away in Port Moresby. A fight ensued in which the young woman stabbed and killed her rival (Supa 1998: 4).

Since the beginning of 1998, some seven women aged between 15 and 18 have allegedly been killed as a result of polygamous relationships (personal communication, member of the Community, Peace and Good Order Committee, Western Highlands Province). He said that these deaths occurred because there is no faith and truth in polygamous marriages in certain communities. There was also an alarming increase in the number of injuries received by women in these situations, when fights erupted among them (Palme 1998c: 4). In one instance, a woman who was six months pregnant was stabbed to death by another woman who is married to the same man, during the Enga Provincial Cultural Show (*Post-Courier* 1998b: 6).

In another case, a Koiari man was arrested and charged with the murder of his wife after a domestic argument. An officer from Sogeri Police Station pointed out that the couple from Tapini, in Central Province, had an argument and the husband allegedly kicked her on the side and she died instantly (*Post-Courier* 1998a: 4).

In another case, a villager from Morobe Province was sentenced to twelve years by the National Court in Lae, for murdering his wife. The husband had an argument with his wife and chased her along the Situm River and punched and kicked her to death. The woman died from a ruptured spleen. The court heard that the man pursued his wife with considerable effort and did not show any mercy as she stood helpless, with only her hands over her head for protection (Agai 1998: 8).

In another disrespectful act towards a female, a man was sentenced to eighteen years jail with hard labour for killing his 13-year old cousin, while attempting to rape her. The accused, from Northern Province, had strangled the girl in the struggle to get her down and rape her. Medical reports from the Popondetta General Hospital indicated that the accused tried to have sex with the girl after he had strangled her (Palme 1998d: 4). In another brutal rape case, a 15-year old girl was pack-raped by three men at Kokopo. One of the men is believed to be her boyfriend (Meava 1998:16).

These are some of the many cases that illustrate how men do not treat women with respect and dignity. In many cases, women receive ill-treatment from men, and from reports, most are victims of rape, murder, polygamous marriages, and other arguments in their own households, or in the general community.

Case Studies

Case One — Linda

Linda is 20 years old and lives at Tete Settlement, just outside Gerehu Stage 6. She comes from Morobe Province. Linda said that she does not feel safe when walking in public or staying in her own home in the settlement. She does not have any security in her home, such as dogs or perimeter fencing, and has had criminals break into her home. Linda was pack-raped by 'her own' street boys while living at Morata No.1. After that experience, she moved to Tete Settlement because of the violent sexual crime committed against her. She has also seen other women become victims of rascals and youths at Morata and Tete Settlement. Linda is married. She fears domestic violence, has mental depression, and is suffering from the experience of the pack-rape ordeal while living at Morata. She said that the pack-rape by the street rascal gang left her scared of rascals more than anything else.

Case Two — Lucy

Lucy is 31 years old, married, employed, and resides at the Taurama Army Barracks. She said that she feels safe living in the barracks rather than living in the suburbs or settlements, and is confident enough to walk around in public places in the city. However, sometimes she feels scared of carrying a bag or bilum while walking around in public places such as shopping centres or market places.

The house in which she lives has no fence as it is a standard soldier's house in the military barracks, with flowers as a boundary. However, she has dogs inside the yard and grill doors to prevent criminals from getting into the house. The perimeter of the barracks is fenced, and soldiers provide a twenty-four-hour guard at the main gate to the barracks. Lucy told me that she has heard about women becoming victims of crime, but because she lives in the barracks, she has not encountered any criminals in her home or in the community. She fears rascals the most, and can imagine the dreadful things that such criminals inflict on females. Lucy feels that those women living in the city should take more precautions to ensure their safety. She said that any necessary activities should be done during the day, and that, in the evening, women should be indoors with their families.

Case Three — Madeline

Madeline is a 33-year-old mother who comes from Central Province. She works at Boroko and lives at Tokarara in the National Capital District. She said that she does not feel safe walking around in public places, and does not even feel safe when in her own home. She feels insecure but with many family members in her house, she feels that there is enough security to defend themselves from any criminal aggression. She has been thinking of changing the type of fencing around her house from cyclone wire to corrugated iron. Even though her house is fenced, and she has dogs, she still does not feel safe because the youths in her neighborhood make her feel uneasy. She fears that they might attack her sometime in the future. She said that the young street boys

damaged the streetlights and also threw stones on the roof of her residence after they had installed a night security light to protect their house from break-ins.

Madeline was a victim of street crime when her handbag was snatched at Boroko Shopping Centre and she said that her daughter's bag was snatched at 6-Mile. She said that her daughter was stabbed in the back when she tried to prevent the rascals from snatching her bag. In the workplace, she also has experienced some discrimination from the males with whom she is working. Generally, her male counterparts are good to work with. Madeline has a licence to drive a car and stated that she only drives when necessary, at night-time because she has been harassed by bystanders and male drivers several times on the streets. She does not feel safe when driving to work or shopping centres during the day or at night, and is frightened of being attacked by criminals. She pointed out that, during the day many unemployed people, especially youths, hang out in front of the shops at the shopping centres looking for possible weak victims, particularly females, against whom they can commit a crime. She said that these people had used abusive language and sometimes made her scared to drive confidently. She said that she was afraid that they might follow her in their car and assault her.

At leisure times, she goes to social fundraising events with her social groups. However, she feels good staying at home and avoiding unwanted situations that she might encounter by going out. She stated that this security precaution does not rule out the fact that criminals may come into her house, or may confront her in the workplace, in shopping centres, or on her way home.

Case Four — Mavis

Mavis is a middle-aged nurse who comes from Milne Bay Province and lives at Tokarara. She told me of her ordeal of being a victim of criminal activities. She said that she was assaulted in an armed hold-up, in 1997, when a rascal hit her on the head with a wheel spanner. She said that her children have also been the victims of hold-ups while travelling on PMVs. Even though she knows how to drive, she has not driven for a very long time. However, when she did drive she said that she used to get harassed by bystanders and male drivers. Mavis works shift duties at the Port Moresby General Hospital and does not feel safe travelling to and from work. For her own safety, she often sleeps at her workplace when working in the evening, or when she is rostered for night duty.

Mavis informed me that her house has a fence around it and that she has dogs to provide security and deter intruders from breaking into her house. However, she said that there is no guarantee that fencing the premises and having dogs as guards will provide security. She emphasised that it is quite possible to become a victim of criminal gangs in your own home. For the first ten years that she lived in Tokarara, she has constantly encountered criminals intruding into her home. At nights, she always checks outside when there is a slight noise coming from around her house. Mavis said that she is wary of untidy looking boys who hang around or come within her premises and she pointed out that these days one cannot tell who is a criminal and who is a decent person. She said that too many young people wander up and down near the street where

she lives in Tokarara. She said that the young people get themselves involved in criminal activities because they have nothing else to do to keep them occupied.

Case Five — Anna, Nancy, and Julie

Anna, Nancy, and Julie were interviewed at the Tokarara betel nut market. They all come from Okapa in Eastern Highlands Province. They have been living in Port Moresby for approximately eight years and reside at the Five-Mile Settlement. During the interview, these women were sitting behind the betel nut sellers making bilums and telling stories with other betel nut sellers. Anna told me that, when they come to the market to sell betel nuts, the young boys and men who normally hang around the market area do not harass them. However, she said that she has seen customers who come to buy betel nut get harassed by these young boys and men. She believes that it is the women who go to the market or near-by shops to buy goods who are harassed the most. She has seen bags and bilums being snatched while the women are on their way to the shops or while buying betel nuts.

The three women said that they have not encountered criminals in their own homes or while out in public places in Port Moresby. Julie said that they do not travel unnecessarily around the city during the day or at night. When they are not selling their betel nuts, they stay at home in the settlement. Nancy said that they do not encounter problems of harassment in their settlement because they live among their own tribe, kin, and wantoks. However, they all said that they are aware of what happens in the city and one day they may be attacked or hurt by criminals. They all said that it is just fortunate that they have not had any encounters with criminals.

Summary

Since independence, women have participated in the economic development of Papua New Guinea as producers and consumers, but planners and decision makers tend not to recognise them (Hinawalola 1987: 231). While traditional and cultural factors are important considerations, it is also true that the colonial education system reinforced the perception that women did not have equal access to education, employment, government extension services, and all levels of public and political leadership (ibid.: 229).

In 1993, Meg Taylor expressed her concern at what she regarded as a decline in the status of women in Papua New Guinea. She stated that there is an increase in physical violence against women, through assault and rape, as men take out their frustrations which flow from unemployment, or because of the dislocation of traditional social values (Turner 1993: 60).

There was a wide range of replies given by the women who answered the questions concerning safety issues. Ursula is 35 and comes from Bougainville. She suggested that the authorities in the National Capital District should do a clean-up campaign, where unplanned settlements are removed and youths allocated certain areas of the city to clean. The abolished *Vagrancy Act* should be reintroduced by the Government to

clean up the city's current law and order problem. Mavis, who is 50, and comes from Milne Bay Province recommends that public servants who do shift work should work twelve-hour shifts, instead of routine seven-hour shifts.

Female University Students' Responses

Depi is a 20-year-old first-year student from Milne Bay Province and believes that you have to be in the right place at the right time to avoid becoming a victim of crime. As part of her own safety precautions at the university, she avoids trouble with other people and only mixes with those people whom she trusts. Depi said that if she was to encounter criminals while on campus, she would kick and scream the hardest and loudest in order to get help.

Carolyn is a 20-year-old first-year student from East New Britain Province. She said that, while on campus, she avoids unwanted situations by not walking in the dark by herself. She also avoids walking alone and said that it is a good idea to get to know as many people as possible on campus. Another female student, Patricia, who is a 19-year-old first-year student from Manus Province, feels that women should not put themselves in vulnerable situations such as walking late in the afternoon or wearing 'sexy' clothes. Then they will mostly safeguard themselves from harassment. However, women should still work hard to achieve their goals in a proper and acceptable manner in society. Carrying themselves properly will help them gain respect in the general community, as well as from the males in society, but women should always be aware of what is happening around them.

Maria, an unemployed mother from Central Province, believes that women's organisations such as the National Council of Women or NCD Women's Council should run an educational workshop to educate women about the dangers which they may face in the community. These organisations should give out pamphlets or booklets on how a woman can avoid being attacked by criminals. She believes that women should not do things that will attract the attention of criminals.

Another woman, Lucy, who is 31 years of age, is a public servant from Sandaun Province. She feels that women should take more precautions in the communities in which they live. For example, daily activities should be done during the day, and when evening comes, the women should be indoors.

Rebecca is 40 years of age and comes from Gulf Province. She said that education awareness for women at the grassroots level, at all possible contact points, is important. By education, she means talking to women about their responsibilities towards their children. As children do not come into the world by their own choice, parents are responsible for the upbringing of their children. Marsie is 35 years old and comes from Oro Province. She said that public relations with the settlement communities should be improved. People should try to get to know as many settlement people as possible and support them in whatever way they can.

Lady Hilan Los, who is the coordinator of the women's desk at the non-government organisation, Individual and Community Rights Advocacy Forum (ICRAF), said that

women must always be alert, especially in crowded places. If young men say rude words to women, her advice is just to ignore them and walk away. She said that women should dress sensibly and not open wallets or purses in public places. Another woman, Evelyn, who is 21 years of age and comes from Oro Province, said that she avoids most 'unwanted' situations by dressing 'appropriately', and wearing clothes that are deemed to be acceptable in the community.

Lina is 21 years of age and comes from Western Highlands Province. She said that she is always frightened when she leaves the hostel area. She said that she knows that these rascals have mothers and sisters and that they should think about this before raping and assaulting girls. She said that she wonders how they would feel if their own sisters and mothers became victims one day.

According to Osborne (1964), the definition of 'assault' is the 'unlawful laying of hands or an attempt or offer to do a corporal hurt to another, coupled with an apparent present ability and intention to do the act'. Of the 16 employed women who were interviewed, 10 of them admitted that their husbands hit them. Sixty-two percent of unemployed women were subjected to domestic violence. One woman from Central Province said that, on one occasion her husband beat her so badly that she had to be admitted to hospital.

All of the unemployed women said that rascals and criminals were the people they feared the most. One woman said that she was frightened of her husband when he got drunk. Wife-beating is so common that it is 'accepted' as a normal part of married life. As it affects the majority of women, it is seen as the statistical as well as the moral norm. A survey of domestic violence in urban Papua New Guinea found that 55.5 percent of urban low-income men have hit their wives, and 62.5 percent of urban elite men have hit their wives (Law Reform Commission 1996: 24). Wife-beating is a development issue, because men's violence prevents or limits women's participation in development.

Fifteen of the twenty-one employed women who were interviewed have been assaulted in one way or another; that is, 71 percent of the employed female respondents. The assaults ranged from being held up at gunpoint to bag-snatching, domestic violence, and rape. Thirty-three women have children, and five women stated that their children have been victims of various forms of crime. The categories of crimes inflicted on their children included rape, armed hold-up, bag-snatching, and stabbings.

Of the 52 women who participated in the research, 36 have been assaulted. Twenty-nine women are married, two are widowed, and 18 are single and three are divorced. Twenty-six of these married women have been assaulted, and 14 of these assaults occurred as part of domestic violence. Eighteen women encountered crimes in their own homes, while 34 women have seen other women become victims of criminal elements. In answer to the question, "do you feel free and safe to travel to and from work, go shopping, or walk around", 25 women answered 'no', 15 answered 'sometimes', and three answered 'yes'.

Thirty-two women answered that they did not feel safe when walking in public places during the day or at night, 15 women answered that they felt safe 'sometimes', and three women answered 'yes'. Eleven women said that they did not feel safe in their homes, 24 women stated that they felt safe in their homes, and 17 stated that they felt safe only 'sometimes'. Of the eight women who can drive, seven of them said that they have been subjected to harassment. The harassment usually consisted of verbal abuse and shouting, in general, at women on the street. Of the 12 women who are involved in sporting activities, nine said that they have experienced harassment at sporting grounds. All 52 women stated that they take precautions when catching PMVs and walking in public places around the city. Table 2 shows the different types of security measures which the 52 women have implemented around their homes or when walking in public places.

Table 1: Types of Security Measures Used by the Interviewees

Type of Security	No. of Women
Dogs	15
Dogs and fencing	12
Dogs, fencing, and security guards	3
Fencing	3
Fencing and security guards	7
Fencing, guard dogs, and security guards	1
Fencing, dogs, and grill doors	4
Security guards	1
Fencing, security guards, grill doors, and dogs	1
No form of security	5
TOTAL	52

These questions were designed to find out what types of security measures the women have employed in their various homes, on public streets, or when they are attacked. The information that the women provided about their security measures shows that they are very cautious in regard to their safety in their homes, as well as when walking or shopping in the community.

Hostel Residents' Responses

Interviews were also conducted with women who were living in various women's hostels in Port Moresby. The questionnaires were prepared and given to the women in each hostel to complete. An analysis of their responses concerning the security measures that they took in the hostel, in the workplace, in public places, with friends and relatives, and when by themselves was carried out.

Eight women from Loreto Hostel answered the questionnaires. They are from New Ireland, Oro, Central, Gulf, and East New Britain Provinces. All eight residents stated that they felt safe and secure living in the hostel and indicated that they have never encountered criminals while living there. Five of the young women stated that they did not take extra precautions while inside the hostel. Three women said that they take extra precautions while inside the hostel, and that they are aware of possible attacks that

may occur in the hostel grounds. Loreto Hostel is fully fenced, and has guard dogs and grill doors as security measures to prevent intruders from entering the hostel.

Five of the hostel residents stated that they had been discriminated against in the workplace, four stated that they had encountered jealous attitudes from their male counterparts, and one stated that she encountered these attitudes only sometimes. Five of the women said that the males in their offices were supportive, while two women said that the men in their offices were not supportive. In response to the question relating to the reaction of their male counterparts to the women's promotion, five stated that the men in their offices were jealous of their promotion, while one woman stated that her male counterparts were pleased with her achievement. Seven of the women said that the males in their various offices swore in front of them and had no respect for women.

Of the eight women who completed the questionnaires, three stated that their partners were supportive of their careers, while one woman stated that her partner was not supportive of her employment. Of the five women who go to bars, nightclubs, and dances, one stated that she thought security was adequate at these places, while the other four thought that security was inadequate. Only one of the eight women stated that she felt safe travelling home in the early hours of the morning.

In response to the question "why did you choose to live in a hostel", seven of the residents stated that it was because they wanted to be independent. One woman lives at Loreto Hostel because she is from another province and the educational institution where she is currently studying does not provide accommodation for its students.

Four women who are residents at the YWCA Hostel stated that they chose to live there because they had no other accommodation options. This hostel is fully fenced and is manned by security guards. Two of the women stated that they felt safe in the hostel, one stated that she felt safe sometimes, and one stated that she did not feel safe in the hostel. All four women have been assaulted, and three of them take extra precautions while they are in the hostel premises. Three women stated that the hostel has been under attack since they have been living there.

These four women are employed and gave different responses with regard to the attitudes of their male counterparts. One of the respondents stated that she encountered jealous attitudes from her male counterparts, and that their attitudes towards her were 'for sex'. Her partner was supportive of her career, only sometimes. One woman stated that the attitudes of the males in her office were good and respectful, and that she did not encounter any jealousy from them. Another respondent, from Western Highlands Province, stated that the attitudes of the males towards her were good, but she did encounter jealous attitudes from her workmates. She stated that she did not really receive support from her male counterparts at her workplace. The fourth respondent, from Gulf Province, described the attitudes of her male counterparts as friendly and helpful. She stated that she did not encounter jealous attitudes from her male workmates and that their reaction to her promotion had been supportive.

Employed Women's Responses

In response to the question relating to walking and driving late at night, five women stated that they drive late at night, and two stated that they walked or drove late at night, only sometimes. Fourteen of the 21 women have been victims of domestic violence, while four of the employed women had experienced discrimination in the workplace. Two women stated that sometimes they felt discriminated against. The women did not encounter jealous attitudes from their male counterparts and received support from the men who worked alongside them.

Seven women stated that their husbands were supportive of their careers, two stated that their husbands were unsupportive of their careers, and one stated that her husband was only supportive some of the time. Two of the employed women said that they go to nightclubs and bars and felt that there was not adequate security at these places. One woman stated that security was adequate at night times in the hotels and clubs around the city.

Unemployed Women's Responses

In response to the question "do you drive or walk late at night", ten women answered no, three answered yes, and three answered sometimes. The six women who answered yes or sometimes stated that they walked late at night in their neighbourhoods. Four of these women live in Morata, and one lives at Hohola No. 1. Of the 16 women, 14 have been victims of domestic violence. Eleven of the women have encountered criminals in their homes, and 15 stated that they have been assaulted. Another 15 women have seen other women become victims of criminal acts.

Personal Observations

Women tend to board buses which are full and have other women on them. Many women in Port Moresby carry their bags or bilums firmly by their sides or hung around their necks, while some carry small coin purses or put their money in their bras. In busy places such as the Boroko shopping complex or downtown Port Moresby, teenage boys and young men have a habit of walking straight into young girls and women as if they did not see them. This type of behaviour enables these men to deliberately bump or come into physical contact with the opposite sex. Many women and young girls wear knee-length shorts and baggy T-shirts so that they do not look attractive.

Recently at Tokarara Market, on a Friday, at about 6 p.m., I watched a drunken man touching a young woman across the shoulders. The woman said something to the man who reacted by throwing a betel nut skin at her.

Elaine, a 21-year-old woman who attended the recent Maxi Priest concert, said that, although the concert had the heavy presence of police and security personnel, her main fears were that, once she was outside the Sir John Guise Stadium, it would be unsafe and quite scary because there were many young men who could not afford the K20 gate fee. Wills (Papua New Guinea) charged the concertgoers K20 a ticket because of their

past experience in Port Moresby with overseas bands coming to perform. The Ras Kimono concert which was staged in 1997, saw many young men abuse and throw objects at the Nigerian singer's female back-up artists because they thought that their traditionally dancing became provocative. On that occasion, the gate fee was only two kina, so many people could afford to buy a ticket.

The cause of wife-beating is very complex with cultural, social, and psychological factors being involved. The key to understanding wife-beating lies in acknowledging an extreme expression of male dominance that is aggravated by stress. In societies where men are expected to be dominant, men may respond to any perceived threat to their superior 'social' position by using violence. During development or rapid social change, old norms are constantly being challenged by new circumstances, thus creating situations of stress and insecurity. Men react to these stresses with increased violence towards their wives, in an attempt to stay in control (Davies 1994: 18).

Violence is a form of domination. When women in societies such as those in Papua New Guinea are encouraged to take part in the development process, it tends to intimidate men. Men in Papua New Guinea are the dominant gender and any move by women to take an active role in the economy or social sphere of life is often met with apprehension.

At the recently organised church convention of 'Violence against Women', one woman is reported to have broken down twice when she spoke of the pain and torment that she experienced during the years of married life with her husband. She told the participants at the seminar that she had been kicked, and hit with iron bars during her seven-year marriage. She resigned from work because her husband beat her so often that she felt that it was not good to turn up to work in such a state. All the money that she earned was taken from her, by her husband (Kuble 1998: 4). Police Commissioner Peter Aigilo said that wife-bashing is illegal and that those people who perpetrate such acts should be charged accordingly. The commissioner warned that he would not tolerate policemen and policewomen who tell women that wife-bashing is a domestic matter and should be settled at home. The police commissioner was responding to complaints from women at the seminar about the attitude of the police to their complaints of domestic violence.

Women's development may harm them because any improvement in status will reflect on the status of men. This means a change in the balance of power and this may not be in the women's best interests in Papua New Guinea. A change in the balance of power from a predominantly male dominated society towards one where women assume a much more assertive role often causes men to react violently (ibid.: 18-19).

Women in Port Moresby, and Papua New Guinea in general, should be able to feel safe in their homes most, if not all, of the time. The data that were collected in this survey have shown that women feel vulnerable in most places in Port Moresby, whether it is in their homes or in public places. The number of women who have been assaulted and who suffer from domestic violence is quite significant. Media reports — especially those in the print media — have publicised many of the horrific stories concerning the

women who have been the victims of crimes, such as bag-snatching, assault, abduction and rape, which seem to be daily occurrences in the nation's capital.

The reasons for the committal of sexual crimes against women are complex. Certain key factors may be:

- *Modernisation*: Modernisation and development have enormously increased women's mobility and therefore their vulnerability to rape, sexual assault, sexual harassment, and exploitation.
- *Media and Modern Means of Communication*: The media exposes young men to situations such as women being compromised in sexual situations, sexual harassment, sexual assault, and rape. In Papua New Guinea, these types of media reports have an impact on young men because there is virtually no socialising of the two sexes. Males and females are separated at an early age and taught not to enjoy each other's company in a social sense. The Western media portrays a different view of male and female relations.
- Violence against women enables a man to dominate and control a woman by continually degrading her self-esteem through physical and mental abuse.

Data Analysis

Women in Port Moresby should always be aware of the social environment in which they live. It is always best to keep bags and *bilums* close to the body, for safety reasons. Women should always be alert and should avoid taking shortcuts through bushtracks. While in their homes, women should be aware of what is happening outside the home boundaries, especially if they do not have fencing. Extra precautions should always be taken while in public places, regardless of whether the place is crowded or not. Crime reports illustrate that women are vulnerable, and are easy targets for criminals at all times. It is sensible to be in a group when walking in the evening or early morning, and to travel in convoy, when driving late at night.

The study obtained information from women of different cultural, economic and social backgrounds, through interviews that were based on a questionnaire. Questionnaires were distributed to various women's organisations and institutions where women work. It was difficult to interview women in the various hostels because most were at work during the week and it was hard to catch them during the weekends because they were mostly out doing their own things. Questionnaires were left at the various hostels, to be filled out. However, most attempts to get responses was unsuccessful. The interviews, which were conducted at the Tokarara Market were conversation-type interviews. It was easier to talk to the women in a conversation form and then pose the relevant questions verbally. This method was very effective because I was communicating in Tok Pisin. The women were more confident talking as a group, rather than answering questions individually.

The head of the Port Moresby City Mission, Larry George, said that the mission offers a phone counselling service for women. He revealed that usually educated, middle-class women used the phone counselling service. He believes that the churches

should be used in order to convince women to utilise valuable counselling services such as the one which is currently provided by the Port Moresby City Mission.

Cases of violence against women should always be made public, and all social economic, political and cultural spheres should be made aware of the dangers of such crimes. Domestic violence must also be addressed as an important issue by all members of the community because it not only affects wives and mothers, but also the children. Awareness campaigns must stress the importance of the domino affect which violence against women has on the children and other family members. Families must be educated to enable them to break the cycle of violence.

Women who are employed should always report any male counterpart who is harassing them or making gestures which are inappropriate and not part of a healthy work ethic. Women in offices or any other place of employment should not have to be made to feel that they are subordinate to any males in the office. All private companies and government departments should have a sexual harassment policy, and women in Port Moresby and throughout Papua New Guinea should make use of these policies. Businesses and corporate bodies should not just pay lip-service to their sexual harassment policies, but action them when it is necessary.

The safety of women throughout Papua New Guinea is one of grave concern for many women and men, especially those living in the cities such as Port Moresby, Mount Hagen, Lae, and other centres. The problem of women's security is an issue which confronts many women in the country, and this has been brought to the forefront of the law and order debates. In recent years, there have been occasions where women have taken to the streets, demonstrating against violence against women in the city. The daily newspapers often carry disturbing reports of women being assaulted, pack-raped and harassed in public places, shopping centres, nightclubs, educational institutions, workplaces, and even in their own homes. Port Moresby is now a city where females are the subjects of constant sexual harassment from their male counterparts. This problem of women's safety is one of great concern, as offences against women have escalated at alarming rates since the 1980s, and continue to rise.

In major towns and cities, sexual violence has been brought to the forefront of the law and order debates in households, in open fora, and in the communities. In Port Moresby, recent mass demonstrations have made front-page news in the media, and activism by non-government organisations and womens groups has brought sexual violence and attacks against women out into the open for discussions to hopefully develop some preventive and corrective measures.

Conclusion

This paper has highlighted the issues and problems covering women's security, and has specifically focused on the women living and working in the National Capital District. There are many issues which are causes of concern for women living in Port Moresby. Some of these issues are bag-snatching, unwanted touching or grabbing, sexual harassment, verbal harassment, pack-rape, abduction, and rape. These incidents

are daily occurrences to many city dwellers in the nation's capital, and make it unsafe for many women to walk freely to the shops or around the city centres.

The study attempts to identify these problems and to offer avenues and remedies, which may help women in Port Moresby. Security consciousness is an issue, which most women in Port Moresby are aware of in their daily activities. Many women have found themselves the victims of petty crime on a daily basis in Port Moresby. Many women come to realise the importance of verbal communication through communities and neighbourhoods, and that it is a vital information link for people in Port Moresby, especially those who are deemed illiterate.

The general feeling among women and men who live in Port Moresby is that the issues of women's security and sexual assault are of great concern and importance to females while in their houses or in public places. Women in Port Moresby are undoubtedly restricted because of personal security threats from criminals and the general public. Men, as individuals and collectively, must acknowledge the fact that Papua New Guinea is a free country, and that women have equal rights, as citizens.

In recent cases, visits by musicians such as Lucky Dube and Maxi Priest brings about excitement in the community, and apprehension by many of the female population. Reports of rape and harassment of women spectators often make these types of concerts and other forms of entertainment, such as international rugby league matches and other national sporting competitions, events to avoid. During the Ras Kimono concert at the Sir John Guise Stadium in October 1997, a woman was stabbed on her chin (*Post-Courier* 1997: 1). The 1997 independence celebrations at Ela Beach were marred by reports that two women were raped by some males in the middle of a crowd of about 5 000 people, during the pop star concert. One witness said that no-one tried to help the two women because they were 'showing off' too much while viewing the concert (Maribu 1997).

It seems to be the case that, in Port Moresby as well as other parts of Papua New Guinea, women should be aware and responsible in order to ensure that they do not place themselves in a position where they can possibly be harmed. Women are constantly being reminded by authorities such as the police, media, and parents of female children not to walk in places where there are not many people and not to walk alone at night or late in the evening. Particularly in the city, women drivers are cautioned to be careful where they park, and to be aware of the areas where they are driving to or through in the city. Such basic precautions will, in most cases, prevent them from becoming victims of criminals.

Many women in Port Moresby are also victims of domestic violence. Neighbours and communities frequently witness domestic violence where women become victims of jealousy from their husbands, or from the communities in which they live. The Law Reform Commission released a report in the mid-1980s, which identified the causes of domestic violence as being related to issues such as jealousy, sex, and alcohol consumption (Toft 1985; Waram 1992: 25).

In Papua New Guinea, women are slowly beginning to advance in their respective fields of employment, in government and non-government organisations. However, there are still many jobs that females can do, but which are still dominated by men. Likewise, tertiary institutions, high schools and other places of learning are increasingly accepting females, as positive contributors in the learning environment. In Port Moresby, women are mainly employed by the private sector and in government departments. The recent appointment of Mary Karo as the Consul General in Cairns, Australia, is an achievement for women in Papua New Guinea. A handful of women have been appointed to prominent jobs, for example, Aivu Tauvasa, Managing Director of the Investment Promotion Authority, Meg Taylor, Board Member of Oil Search Limited, lawyer and former diplomat, and Anna Solomon, Editor-in-Chief and Acting General Manager of the Independent Group of newspapers, to name a few. Women are now participating in the economic development of Papua New Guinea, because they are producers. In general, women should be seen as partners in development, and their security and personal safety should be guaranteed.

Recommendations

The following issues are some of the findings from the study. They are offered as recommended policy options to recognise women and also to protect them from the violent crimes that are constantly committed against them in contemporary Papua New Guinean society.

1. There needs to be a greater awareness and education of parents and children. Parents need to educate their children about the dangers of drug and alcohol abuse because it seems that many crimes against women are committed while the perpetrators are under the influence of these substances. Parents also need to educate their children about respecting the law of the land and the property of others.
2. Squatter settlements need to be upgraded or demolished. The *Vagrancy Act* should be reintroduced in order to monitor the movements of criminal elements in towns and cities.
3. The police commissioner's press statement regarding police attitudes towards domestic violence should be heeded. The members of the police force need to follow the example of their commissioner and treat domestic violence as a crime.
4. There needs to be a greater awareness in the community about organisations such as the Salvation Army, the Port Moresby City Mission, ICRAF, and so on, as these groups provide women's refuge and crisis centres.
5. Wife-bashers should be arrested and charged by police, and tougher sanctions should be imposed.
6. Tougher sanctions should be imposed by the courts on rapists and other people who commit indecent acts against women.

Bibliography

- Agai, T., 1998. 'Man gets 12 years jail for killing wife', *Post-Courier*, 7 August, p. 8.
- Banks, C., 1993. **Women in Transition: Social Central in Papua New Guinea**. Australian Studies in Law, Crime and Justice, Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- _____, 1997. **Contextualising Sexual Violence: Rape and Carnal Knowledge in Papua New Guinea**. Waigani: The National Research Institute.
- Davies, M., 1994. **Women and Violence**. London: Zed Books.
- Dinnen, S., 1997. **State Governance in Melanesia: Law, Order and State in Papua New Guinea**. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Hinawalola, M., 1987. 'Reconciling Ethical Standards with Practical Difficulties of Power and Decision Making: Women in Development Planning', in S. Stratigos and P.J. Hughes (eds.), **The Ethics of Development: Women as Unequal Partners in Development**. Waigani: University of Papua New Guinea.
- Kuble, E., 1998. 'Battered wife tells of marital hell', Seminar on Violence Against Women, *The National*, 29 June, p. 4.
- Kumugl, K., 1998. 'Mt. Hagen: Attitude change must to curb rape in highlands: cops', *Post-Courier*, 30 September, p. 6.
- Law Reform Commission, 1986. 'Domestic Violence in Urban Papua New Guinea', Occasional Paper No.19, Boroko: Law Reform Commission.
- Maribu, G., 1997. 'Mobs reign at Ela', *Post-Courier*, 17 September, pp. 1-2.
- Meava, J., 1998. 'Increase in sex crimes', *Post-Courier*, 27 April, p.16.
- Morauta, L., 1985: 'Social Aspects of Rape', in I. Riley *et al.* (eds.), **The Management of Rape and Other Sexual Offences in Port Moresby**. Department of Community Medicine, Waigani: University of Papua New Guinea.
- National Statistical Office, 1990. 'Preliminary Figures: Census Division Populations', Waigani: National Statistical Office.
- National, The* 1998. 'Aigilo talks tough on wife-bashing', 30 June, p. 5.
- Osborne, P. G., 1964. **A Concise Law Dictionary**. London: Maxwell Press.

- Palme, W., 1998a. 'Mt. Hagen: Schoolgirl raped by friends', *Post-Courier*, 24 April, p. 4.
- _____, 1998b. 'Goroka: Eighteen schoolgirls raped in Okapa', *Post-Courier*, 11 August, p. 1.
- _____, 1998c. 'Mt. Hagen: Wife jealousy more deadly', *Post-Courier*, 7 July, p. 4.
- _____, 1998. 'Popondetta: Man gets 18 years in jail', *Post-Courier*, 2 October, p. 4.
- Post-Courier, 1990a. 'Abaijah appeals for our women to be protected', 21 May, p. 4.
- _____, 1990b. 'Women to learn self-defence', 31 August, p. 5.
- _____, 1997. 'Reggae fans salute Ras', 27 October, p. 1.
- _____, 1998a. 'Koiari kills wife', 5 August, p. 4.
- _____, 1998b. 'Mt. Hagen: Pregnant woman killed', 28 August, p. 6.
- Sikani, R., 1996. 'Dealing with Deviance in Contemporary Papua New Guinea Societies: The Choice of Sanctions in Village and Local Court Proceedings', M.A. thesis, Australia: University of Melbourne.
- Strathern, M., 1975. 'Report on a Questionnaire Relating to Sexual Offences as Defined in the Criminal Code', Waigani: New Guinea Research Unit.
- Supa, J., 1998. 'Goroka: Love rival knifed: Court told', *Post-Courier*, 13 July, p. 4.
- Taumai, B., 1998. 'Madang: Teacher gets 10 years for rape', *Post-Courier*, 19 August, p. 4.
- Terry, D., 1998. 'Woman shot dead by gang', *Post-Courier*, 2 April, p. 4.
- _____, 1998. 'Tribal violence erupts over harassment of girls', *Post-Courier*, 24 April, p. 4.
- Papua New Guinea, 1975. **The Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea**. Port Moresby: Government Printer.
- Toft, S., 1985. **Domestic Violence in Papua New Guinea**. Monograph No. 3, Port Moresby: Law Reform Commission.
- Turner, A., 1993. **Views from Interviews**. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

- United Nations Childrens Fund, 1996. **Children, Women and Families in Papua New Guinea: A Situation Analysis**. Philippines: APO Production Unit
- Waram, R., 1992. 'Violence, a crime against women', *Post-Courier*, 13 February, pp. 24-25.
- Yalu, K., 1993. 'Series of articles in Women Today', *Post-Courier*, 1993 Series of Articles.
- Zimmer, L., 1990. 'Sexual exploitation and male dominance in Papua New Guinea', in Joel F. Ingebritson (ed.), **Point 14: Human Sexuality in Melanesian Cultures**. Goroka.: Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socioeconomic Service.
- Zvekic, U., *et al.*, 1995. **Criminal Victimisation in the Developing World**. Publication No. 55, Rome: United Nations Inter-Regional Crime and Justice Research Institute.