PNGAus Partnership

Save the Children

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Learning from men in Papua New Guinea about power and relationships: at home and in the community

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2. GLOSSARY AND ACRONYMS

Child: Every human being below the age of eighteen years.[i]

Controlling behaviour: A range of acts designed to make a person subordinate and/or dependent by isolating them from sources of support, exploiting their resources and capacities for personal gain, depriving them of the means needed for independence, resistance and escape and regulating their everyday behaviour. Occurs during a relationship between intimate partners, former partners who still live together, or family members.[ii]

Corporal punishment: Any punishment in which physical force is used and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light.[iii]

Domestic violence (DV): Also known as family violence. A term used to describe violence that takes place within the home or family between intimate partners as well as between other family members, including parents, children, sibling, in-laws.[iv]

Family: Defined in its widest sense to include parents, those acting in loco parentis, siblings, grandparents, and extended family members. It recognises the complexity of contemporary family structures.[v]

Gender: refers to the relationship between women and men based on socially or culturally constructed and defined identities, status, expectations, roles, and responsibilities that are assigned based on biological sex.[vi] Gender attributes and characteristics vary widely among societies and are changeable over time.[vii]

Gender-based violence (GBV): Harmful acts directed at an individual or a group of individuals based on their gender. It is rooted in gender inequality, the abuse of power and harmful norms. The term is primarily used to underscore the fact that structural, gender-based power differentials place women and girls at risk for multiple forms of violence. While women and girls suffer disproportionately from GBV, men and boys can also be targeted. The term is also sometimes used to describe targeted violence against LGBTQI+ populations, when referencing violence related to norms of masculinity/femininity and/or gender norms.[viii]

Gender equality is the absence of discrimination based on a person's sex in opportunities and the equal allocation of resources or benefits or in access to services.

Gender norms are a subset of social norms that relate specifically to gender differences. They are informal, deeply entrenched and widely held beliefs about gender roles, power relations, standards or expectations that govern how girls and boys and women and men are expected to be and to act. Gender norms sustain a hierarchy of power and privilege that typically favours what is considered male or masculine over that which is female or feminine and gender non-conforming.[ix]

Harmful practices: Persistent practices and forms of behaviour that are grounded in discrimination on the basis of, among other things, sex, gender and age, in addition to multiple and/or intersecting forms of discrimination that often involve violence and cause physical and/or psychological harm or suffering.[x] Examples include, but are not limited to: corporal punishment; female genital mutilation; amputations, binding, scarring, burning and branding; violent and degrading initiation rites; force-feeding of girls; fattening; virginity testing; the betrothal and/or marriage of children below the age of 18 years; polygamy; crimes committed in the name of 'honour', retribution acts of violence, dowry-related death and violence; accusations of witchcraft and related harmful practices such as exorcism; uvulectomy and teeth extraction.[xi]

Intimate partner violence (IPV): The physical, sexual, economic, or emotional abuse by a current or former spouse or partner, including physical aggression, sexual coercion, psychological abuse and controlling behaviours. It can occur within heterosexual or homosexual relationships and does not require sexual relations. This type of violence may also include the denial of resources, opportunities, or services.[xii]

Masculinities: The narratives of any given society that relate to how to be a man (what society tells us about men and how to be one) and the ways these stories are practised, acted out and embodied by individuals through relationships and in institutions.[xiii]

Parents: Persons with parental roles authority or responsibility. Parenting refers to all roles undertaken by parents or others acting in loco parentis to bring up children.[xiv]

Physical violence: Within the context of VAC and VAW, the intentional use of physical force with the potential for causing death, injury, or harm. Includes but is not limited to: scratching, pushing, shoving, throwing, grabbing, biting, choking, shaking, poking, hair pulling, slapping, punching, hitting, burning, the use of restraints or one's body size or strength to detain another person or the use of a weapon (gun, knife or object). [xv]

Reference group: In social norms analysis, the people whose opinions (rewards and sanctions) matter to an actor in relation to a particular behaviour. Within any given reference group, their reciprocal expectations (and actions) hold social norms in place.[xvi]

Social norms: Informal (often unwritten) rules shared by people in a given society or group; they define what is considered normal and appropriate behaviour for members of that group.[xvii]

Violence against children (VAC): All forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse as listed in article 19, paragraph 1, of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.[xviii] Encompasses all acts that involve the intentional use of power or verbal or physical force, threatened or actual, against a child or against a group of children that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in actual or potential harm to the child or children's health, survival, development, or dignity.[xix] May be physical, sexual, emotional or psychological or involve witnessing violence against others.

Violence against women and girls (VAWG): 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 in private life, encompassing, *inter alia*:

- Physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring in the family, including battering, sexual abuse of female children in the household, dowry-related violence, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation.
- Physical, sexual, and psychological violence occurring within the general community, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women and forced prostitution.[xx]

2.1 List of Acronyms

ACT	Assess, Consider and Track (UNICEF FGM measurement framework)[1]
ANCP	Australian NGO Cooperation Programme
AUD	Australian Dollar
DHS	Demographic and Health Surveys
DV	Domestic Violence
ERIC	International Charter for Ethical Research Involving Children
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender-based Violence
IDI	In-depth Interview
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
KII	Key informant interview
PGK	Papua New Guinea Kina (PNG national currency)
PNG	Papua New Guinea
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
SC	Save the Children
VAC	Violence against Children
VAW	Violence against Women
VAWG	Violence against Women and Girls
UN	United Nations

1 For more details, see UNICEF https://www.unicef.org/media/65576/file/ACT-Framework-FGM-(Summary)-2020.pdf.pdf, page 3.

3. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Research conducted with girls, boys, women, and men in Papua New Guinea has consistently revealed high levels of violence against women and children – in the home and in the community. Research has also identified a range of drivers of this violence across all four domains of an adapted socio-ecological model (individual, social, material, and institutional), along with deeply ingrained structural inequality and negative attitudes and beliefs related to women's rights and gender equality (held by both Papuan women and men). However, it has not been clear to what extent these gender inequitable attitudes and beliefs represent broader social norms.

This study explicitly adopted a social norms approach to understand (a) how masculinities are constructed in Papua New Guinea and (b) the social pressures exerted on Papuan men to conform to expected patterns of masculinity in their intimate and parenting relationships. It found that gender socialisation begins at a young age, with "real men" being those who are engaged in productive activity, financially secure, providing for their families and seen as being tough. Importantly, becoming a man is seen as a process that needs to be endorsed by both the immediate family and the community. As they transition through adolescence and into adulthood, there is also an expectation that young men will conform to their peer groups, which may involve engaging in unhealthy, criminal and/or risk-taking behaviours.

The myriad pressures that young Papuan men face is exacerbated by the vulnerability and limited decision-making power they experienced as children (and, in many cases, continue to experience as young men) in the community and in their families of origin. Many respondents' childhoods were characterised by poverty, family violence, instability, and parental abandonment. Some recounted having positive relationships with at least one parent, while others found support from extended family members, who acted in loco parentis. Yet two common themes persisted. First, the significant role played by Christianity and the church in shaping men's gender inequitable views and behaviours, along with their moral aspirations. Second, the strong deference to family (in particular, paternal) authority and assent in relation to major life decisions – including choice of marital partner. It is not until men marry and becomes patriarchs – heads of their own families – that they begin to assume and assert their own power.

Respondents indicated that household authority is vested in men by virtue of their gender, their superior earning, and the bride price tradition. Men rely on their families to pay the high cost of bride price, which is determined by reference to the bride's perceived value (based on her family background, her fertility, and her suitability as a housewife). Yet, once bride price has been paid, this signifies to most men that the wife has become her husband's property – with the further implication that she will fulfil his expectations and treat his desires as entitlements. Should a man perceive his wife to have failed in her duties, a majority of respondents considered it the husband's right to beat his wife.

A similar power dynamic was observed in household decision-making, with many respondents asserting that the man, as the 'natural' head of the family (supposedly prescribed in the Bible), the primary income-earner and the payer of the bride price, had the final say on all matters. However, where the wife had a more dominant financial role – either by contributing regularly to the household income or because the man had not paid the bride price in full – she was both less likely to experience intimate partner violence and more likely to have an equal voice in household decision-making.

Respondents also expressed strong beliefs about fatherhood, viewing their responsibilities in terms of supporting the child's education, instilling good Christian values, countering negative influences, shaping the child's character and discipline. For many men, physical punishment is an essential component of child discipline – critical to ensuring his or her best future.

Importantly, a high proportion of respondents denied using violence toward their intimate partners and/or their children, expressing a preference for peaceful communication. Nonetheless, the evidence strongly suggests that men's violence against both their intimate partners and their children is driven by social norms.

Although respondents did not unanimously endorse intimate partner violence, it emerged clearly as a social norm: the majority of respondents believed both that other men in the community beat their wives (descriptive norm) and that they too were expected to do so (injunctive norm). Moreover, men spoke of being shunned, ridiculed, and denigrated – their masculinity called into question (socially sanctioned) if they did not. Corporal punishment appeared even more decisively as social norm, enjoying widespread support among respondents. The social sanctions (being excluded, being gossiped about) that attach to failing to comply with this norm, however, were more related to falling short as a parent.

Despite the extensive use and acceptance of violence against intimate partners and children, respondents aspire to healthy, loving, caring, and nurturing family relationships: they want to be good husbands and fathers. Concurrently, respondents recognised the distance between these envisioned ideals and their current realities, which are characterised by financial hardship, concerns around family survival, drug and alcohol dependency and struggles to control anger and frustration. A further source of stress for many respondents is the pressure they feel to conform with family and social expectations – to marry and have children, to be a good (financial) provider, to ensure the obedience and proper behaviour of dependents (including wife) and to have a good reputation in the community.

The positive aspirations that men aspire to in their intimate and parenting relationships, along with related pressures and barriers, provide a solid foundation for engaging men in positive behaviour change to combat violence against women and children in the home and in the community. The research shows that Papuan men have a deep sense of their moral and spiritual obligations towards their family and are concerned with their social standing. Thus, prevention of violence against women and children must be informed by an understanding of how social norms drive men's attitudes and behaviours.

Evidence-based messaging developed by and for men should be used in advocacy and behaviour change communications to engage men effectively and successfully in positive behaviour change. Messages should be developed *by the target audiences* in their local languages and draw on religion, tradition and culturally sound stories, proverbs and idioms that resonate with men's realities and lived experiences (incl. different age groups, life stages and urban / rural localities). The process should engage religious leaders and institutions as key allies and influencers.

Promoting positive masculinities does not only reduce violence against women and children; it also results in benefits to men's health and wellbeing. However, social norms around masculinity and male violence are so deeply rooted and entrenched that transformation will likely take several years or decades to occur. Hence, long term programming and funding commitments with local partners and communities are required. Finally, intentional efforts need to be made to target the regions with the highest violence prevalence rates and to target men who are 'at risk' of perpetrating violence. This, however, needs to be complemented by national or region-wide communications strategies to support social and behaviour change, as violent child discipline has been showed to be a stronger social norm than intimate partner violence (evidencing high social rewards and sanctions) and will therefore be better addressed through collective action.

4. INTRODUCTION

4.1 Background and rationale

Violence against women and children is a global public health and human rights issue that has longstanding and devastating consequences for the lives of millions of women, young women, girls, and boys. Current estimates indicate that 1 billion children experience some form of violence every year – physical, sexual, emotional – and almost 1 in 3 women have experienced either physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence or non-partner sexual violence in their lifetime.

In Papua New Guinea (PNG), according to the latest DHS data (2016-2018), 58% women reported experiencing **sexual violence, physical violence or both** by a partner during their lifetime and 48% in the previous 12 months.[xxi] Just under one-third (29%) reported sexual violence by a partner/husband.[xxii] A contemporaneous study by the United Nations: Why Do Some Men Use Violence Against Women and How Can We Prevent It? (2013) conducted in Bougainville revealed **high rates of perpetration by men**, with 80% reporting having committed physical violence, sexual violence or both against an intimate partner and 41% reporting having raped a non-partner.[xxiii]

According to the UN report on Ending Violence against Women and Children in Papua New Guinea (2020), Papuan children witness and experience high levels of domestic violence, intimate partner violence and child abuse and neglect in their homes and communities, although recent estimates are lacking for PNG.[xxiv]

There is also growing global interest in examining the **intersections between Violence against Children (VAC) and Violence against Women and Girls (VAW/G)** and how policy makers and practitioners can support more synergy between the sectors that work to prevent and respond to such violence. VAC and VAW/G are often perpetrated in the same spaces and relationships, "co-occurring" against different members of the same household. Even where children are not directly targeted, witnessing violence against their mother has a significant impact. VAC and VAW/G are also often compounded and cumulative, with survivors who are victimised in the family setting often experiencing violence in other settings (such as schools) throughout the course of their lives ("poly-victimisation"). Adolescence is another critical nexus – a high-risk period during which girls may experience, and boys may begin perpetrating, both VAC and VAW/G. Finally, violence is frequently intergenerational: the perpetration or experience of **intimate partner violence (IPV)** as an adult is strongly associated with having experienced or witnessed violence as a child.

A common set of risk factors to VAC and VAW/G are **social norms** that condone violence and a patriarchal social order that presumes women's inferiority to men. A gender inequitable society in which prevalent masculinity is associated with women's and children's subordination is likely to maintain and perpetuate this intergenerational cycle of abuse and violence.[xxv] *(See Literature Review on Violence Against Children and Violence Against Women and Girls in Papua New Guinea – DRAFT for review, 25 March 2022 – for full set of references).*

In 2021, Papua New Guinea became a Pathfinding country of the Global Partnership to End Violence Against Children. This means the country has committed to taking action and using the INSPIRE Seven strategies for ending violence against children to (a) understand the drivers of violence and (b) build integrated responses that improve the lives of children and young people. The commitment includes creating a national plan to end such violence. This adds impetus to Papua New Guinea's efforts to address the high levels of violence against girls, boys and young women.

With the above in mind, Save the Children commissioned this formative research study to learn from men aged 18 years and older about power and relationships in the home and in the community and to examine

both the extent to which men's experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and knowledge internalise violence and how gendered social norms can impede social change in some cases or facilitate gender equality in others.

The study used social norms analysis to understand how power and masculinities are constructed in PNG and what prevailing gendered social expectations sustain or mitigate patterns of violence by men and boys. In doing so, the study taps into the growing international attention on engaging men and boys as allies in the fight against patriarchy, misogyny, violence, and deeply ingrained gender inequality. With its focus on how masculinity is constructed and conceptualised, and on how violence is learned and understood in relation to harmful behaviours, it is also seen as contributing to the generation of evidence about what works to engage Papuan men and boys in preventing violence against women and children – both in the home and in the community.

4.2 Overview of data collection timeframe, research sites and study participants

During May—June 2022, **105 Papuan men** and **4 service providers** participated in this study, which was conducted in two Save the Children intervention areas: one urban and one rural. In each location, the study involved men from two age groups: 18 to 25 years (youth) and 26 to 49 years (more likely to be fathers), to enable comparisons across life trajectories and urban / rural settings.

This was a qualitative exploratory research study using focus group discussions (FGDs) and in-depth interviews (IDIs) with: Young men (18—25); Fathers (26—49); Young men outliers (positive and negative); Father outliers (positive and negative) and Service providers.

Positive outliers were men that were considered as holding positive gender attitudes in the community, while negative outliers were men considered to hold negative gender views and behaviours. Each study group brought a different perspective on men, masculinities, and violence in PNG.

The methodology selected was qualitative by design, being most suited to the exploration of norms and in-depth research about how different types of masculinities are constructed and how violent norms are sustained by specific groups of people.

The study was conducted in the following sites:

- Port Moresby south: Sabama, Kaugere, Joys Bay, and Bautama
- Rural area: Hula Village 1 and 2.

Key areas of interest explored through individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussions included: attitudes, behaviours and social norms related to masculinity, gender and gender norms, parenting, intimate relationships, and violence; how norms are diffused in communities; and what works in violence prevention programming.

4.3 Report structure

The rest of the report is divided into the following 12 chapters:

Chapter 5: Literature Review a brief presentation of some of the key findings of the desk review undertaken by Proteknôn in March 2022.

Chapter 6: Methodology outlines key findings from the literature review which informed the research protocol, data collection tools and sampling framework. The local research team, their training and the contextualisation of the data collection tools as well as data coding and analysis are presented, along with limitations of the study.

Chapter 7: Research ethics presents the ethics of conducting research on violence, how the issues of informed consent and confidentiality were handled during the study and how the research team was supported to deal with the sensitive issues they were researching.

Chapter 8: Men and their families of origins explores the childhoods and family backgrounds of the Papuan men who participated in the study, as well as the concept of reference groups – who men look to and consult with when making key decisions.

Chapter 9: Becoming men looks at how masculinity is learned and the models that boys grow up with, how religion shapes beliefs in Papuan society about becoming men, gender stereotypes and what it means to be a man today in Papua New Guinea.

Chapter 10: Men and masculinities explores the social expectations of men and women, how religion shapes beliefs about manhood and the traditional roles assigned to men in the family in Papuan society and how the men participating in the study view their roles as fathers.

Chapter 11: Entering and sustaining intimate relationships considers marriage formation and bride price and how they happen in Papuan society and what men consider to be the key ingredients for a successful relationship.

Chapter 12: Men as partners and fathers looks at decision-making and task-sharing in intimate relationships and men's views on fatherhood.

Chapter 13: Conflict and violence discusses violence against children and women in homes and communities by presenting what was said in the study about intimate partner violence, what is considered violence in Papuan society and the justifications for it, the protective and risk factors leading to violence and considers whether violence is driven by social norms.

Chapter 14: Men's aspirations as husbands and fathers looks at the types of fathers and husbands that men participating in the study want to be and what they would need to change to reach these aspirations.

Chapter 15: Preventing violence against women and children looks at how the following can shape positive messages about masculinity: religion, sport, peer influence, personal stories, community elders/leaders.

Chapter 16: Conclusions and recommendations presents the study's conclusions and recommendations aimed at policy makers in national government departments in Papua New Guinea, communities and service providers in the support of attitudes that prevent violence against women and children in the home.

5. LITERATURE REVIEW

In March 2022, Proteknôn undertook a literature review which set out to situate the research study within a child and women's rights lens as well as positioning it for the subsequent campaigning and messaging for engaging men and boys as allies in efforts to reduce violence against children and women. It also situated the research study at the intersection of violence against children (VAC) and violence against women and girls (VAW/G) in Papua New Guinea.

The literature review involved a secondary analysis of the existing data, policy and legal environment on violence against women and children in PNG. It explored:

- Current data on VAC and VAW in PNG and the intersection between the two.
- The legal and policy frameworks that aim to protect women, girls and children from violence (both in the home and in the community).
- What works to prevent violence in the home and in the community; and
- The social norms related to men and masculinities, including how to measure them.

Some key findings include:

Good prevalence data on VAW/G and VAC from previous studies (DHS, 2016-2018 and UN Bougainville study, 2013):

- 63% of ever-married women have experienced physical, sexual, or emotional violence by a partner.
- 80% of men reported committing physical violence, sexual violence, or both against a partner.
- About four in ten men disclosed having raped a non-partner (41%).
- Nearly one in seven men had participated in gang rape (14%).
- 82% of parents supported violence as a means of disciplining children.
- 76% of children aged 1—14 experience physical and/or emotional violence in the home.

VAW/G and VAC intersections:

- Patriarchal norms and family structures result in co-occurrence of different forms of violence within the same household, e.g., 60% of children arriving at a shelter in Port Moresby with an abused mother had also been abused.
- Childhood experience / witnessing of domestic and family violence is strongly associated with later life (male) perpetration and (female) victimisation. Among adult male perpetrators in PNG, experience of childhood abuse was 86% emotional, 67% physical, 32% sexual and 56% witnessing their mother being abused.

Legal protections against VAW and VAC:

- Law reform can provoke social norms change. However, there are high levels of impunity stemming from:
    - Chronic under-reporting (due to family pressure, safety concerns, financial impacts); and
    - An exceptionally low arrest rate and even lower conviction rate for reported cases (due to human and resource constraints and limited technical capacity).

Information gaps:

- While there is an abundance of quantitative data on violence against women, there is a dearth of qualitative data that could provide insights into the reasons behind violence against women and children (including attitudes and practices).
- There is limited qualitative data around social norms related to violence in the home and in the community and the social construction of masculinities in PNG – that is, what it means to be a man in PNG; what is expected of men and boys; how boys learn to be men, husbands and fathers; and the positive or negative influences that have the most impact on men and boys as they grow up.

6. METHODOLOGY

6.1 Study objectives and research questions

Based on the literature review and the gaps identified, the research study aimed to develop a deeper understanding of both the positive masculinities that men aspire to in their parenting and intimate relationships, and the drivers and cultural, social and gender norms that embed violence as a norm and perpetuate harmful behaviours and beliefs around power, gender, and patriarchy.

In brief, therefore, the study set out to learn from men in Papua New Guinea:

- How do men understand the concepts of manhood and masculinity?
- How do men learn violence?
- How do men understand and practice harmful behaviours against women and children?

The key research questions were:

- How do men and boys define violence, and how does this align with/deviate from standardised accepted definitions of what constitutes violence against women and/or children?
- What are the key drivers of violence against women and children?
- How is violence against women and children learned and embedded in the lives of men and boys?
- How do men and boys think violence affects society in PNG?
- Is violence against women and children learned in consistent ways across different groups of men and boys?
- What are the positive behaviours that men and boys aspire to in their parenting and intimate relationships?
- What are the barriers to men and boys practising the positive behaviours that they aspire to in their parenting and intimate relationships.
- What will motivate behaviour change in men and boys in this context?

The study looked at the issues and questions through the lens of **social norms** – that is, the informal rules shared by people in a given society or group that define what is considered normal and appropriate behaviour for members of that society or group. It asked what men believe others in their "reference group" think, do, and expect with the aim of gathering data to develop advocacy and communication strategies to promote **behaviour change**.

6.2 Research conceptual framework

The research study was framed using a variant of the well-known **socio-ecological model**, enabling exploration of patterns and drivers of violence against women and children in four domains:[xxvi]

- **Individual**, e.g.: factual beliefs, aspirations, skills, attitudes, self-efficacy.
- **Social**, e.g.: social networks and support, availability of models, positive deviants.
- **Material**, e.g.: availability of services, transport / infrastructure, available assets (property, land, jobs, livestock).
- **Institutional**, e.g.: laws, governance structures, economic policy, criminal justice systems.

The study also sought to understand how **social norms** contribute to violent behaviours by men, while recognising that social norms do not operate in isolation but instead intersect with other drivers.

Social norms have been studied and conceptualised in the fields of sociology and psychology using various approaches and definitions. However, the common understanding is that they are a set of unwritten rules that guide human behaviour shared among a given group or society. Social norms are linked with personal beliefs and attitudes but differ in that they are collectively held and promote collective action.

Within social norms, current literature distinguishes two different types:[xxvii]

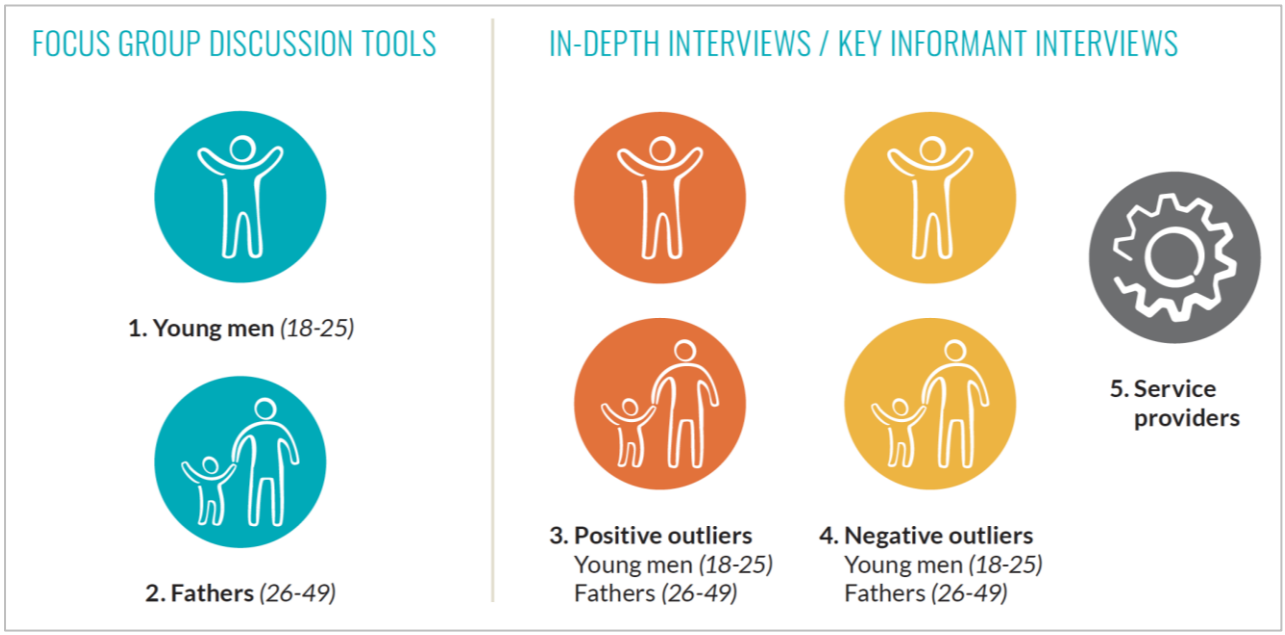
- **Descriptive norms** (or empirical expectations), which are what I think others do
- **Injunctive norms** (or normative expectations), which are what I think others expect me to do

Social norms are usually framed within a **reference group** (people that matter to an individual) and are maintained through **sanctions and rewards** (which are the consequences of adhering to or breaching the norm):

- **Sanctions**, which are what happens if I don't do what others expect of me
- **Rewards**, which are what happens if I do what others expect of me

The study placed emphasis on both negative/harmful and positive masculinities, how they are constructed, how they are sustained and how they relate to violent behaviours against women and children in particular.

Data collection tools



6.3 Study participants

Study participants

The study involved conducting focus group discussions (FGD), key informant interviews (KII) and in-depth interviews (IDI) with a total of approximatively **109 participants** from Port Moresby (urban) and Hula (rural). The research design purposefully involved adult respondents to minimise harm that can result when discussing violence issues. Young adult respondents were asked about violence in childhood, group behaviours and social norms about masculinities in PNG.

Table 1. Study participants

STUDY PARTICIPANTS			
Research participant	Rationale for inclusion	Info sought / Main topics covered	FGD / KII / IDI
Young men (18-25 years)	Can tell us about gender norms within younger age groups	Experiences of violence in the home and in the community (current and retrospective) Gender attitudes, gender norms related to violence Current thinking about male youth masculinity	4 focus groups (2 urban / 2 rural). 7 IDI 31 participants
Fathers aged 25-49 years	Can tell us about gender norms among the age group of men most likely to perpetrate DFV[xxviii] Can tell us about parenting practices Can tell us about spousal roles Can tell us about experiences of children with disabilities.	Experiences of violence in the home and in the community Gender attitudes, gender norms related to violence Current thinking about masculinity Parenting attitudes / behaviours	4 focus groups (2 urban / 2 rural) 5 IDI 35 participants
Men "outliers" & reference group (men who display positive / negative attitudes/ behaviours & men whose opinions matter)	Can tell us about positive/ negative gender norms that they support Can tell us about violent/ non-violent attitudes/ behaviours among specific groups of men	Gender attitudes, gender norms, norms related to violence, experiences of violence in the home and in the community Current thinking about masculinity	Individual in-depth interviews 9 positive outliers 13 negative outliers 8 leaders In both rural and urban areas
NGO representatives of violence prevention programmes	Can tell us about lessons learnt in providing family support programmes, positive parenting programmes, violence reduction programs, gender equitable programs, programs engaging men and boys, sensitisation campaigns etc.	Gender attitudes, gender norms, norms related to violence, experiences of violence in the home and in the community Current thinking about masculinity Parenting attitudes / behaviours How a norm is diffused among the community	4 KII

6.4 Recruitment of local researchers

Save the Children in Papua New Guinea recruited 11 researchers (eight male and three female) based on a profile for local researchers and an outline of some of the proposed research tools provided by Proteknôn, both of which indicated the skill set required by the local researchers. This was part of the Research Protocol finalised in May 2022.

6.5 Training of local researchers and contextualisation of data collection tools

The local research team was trained remotely by Proteknôn in a 3-day training the week of 9th May. One of the key aspects of the training was to build and strengthen local capacity to undertake qualitative formative research by taking the research team through every aspect of the primary data collection that they would undertake: understanding qualitative research and qualitative research planning, research ethics, risk assessment, the roles of the research team, the data collection process and how to generate quality data. Understanding gender bias was also introduced in a session as critical to the research about to be undertaken. Each of the data collection tools, already translated into the local language, was introduced, and explored further for the purpose of understanding, contextualisation and adaptation. In a further 2-day process, the team then practised using the data collection tools both within the team and externally with a local target community called Boera village in Central Province where two FGDs with fathers' groups, two FGDs with youth groups and three IDIs were conducted. This piloting of the tools was also key to further contextualisation and adaptation of the tools to make sure they were fit for purpose in the field work which immediately followed the training. Ongoing debriefing and feedback sessions were held between Proteknôn and the local research team both during the piloting of the tools and the field research itself as part of reflective supervision, support, and mentoring. As above, this was an essential part of the capacity building process.

6.6 Coding and analysis

Analysis of all transcripts has been carried out by the Proteknôn team using NVivo analysis software band thematic analysis. It has sought to identify recurring themes or patterns that relate to masculinities and violence within the interview and FGD narratives.

The following have been explored:

1. **Attitudes** (What do research participants think about masculinity and violence?).
2. **Behaviours** (How do research participants behave in relation to masculinity and violence?).
3. **Reference groups** (Who are the people whose opinions matter to the research participants?).
4. **Descriptive norms** (How do research participants think reference groups behave in relation to masculinity and violence?).
5. **Injunctive norms** (How do research participants think that reference groups expect them – the research participants – to behave in relation to masculinity and violence?).
6. **Social rewards** (What are the social rewards associated with compliance to the norm?); and
7. **Social sanctions** (What are the social sanctions associated with deviating from the norm?).

The analysis and interpretation of the data is the result of the Proteknôn team's analysis as well as validation and discussion with the local research team based in PNG. Proteknôn has sought to interpret the data and discuss these interpretations with the local research team who conducted the data collection through several validation meetings (remote online meetings) to ensure that analysis is based on a sound and mutual understanding of the complex social dynamics and cultural factors at play.

6.7 Study limitations

This study involves some limitations which should be kept in mind when interpreting the findings:

- This study does not aim to present a representative overview of men, masculinities, and violence in PNG. As the study is qualitative in design, the results need to be interpreted with caution and no generalisations can be made about the population included in the study.
- The study has aimed to bring in different groups of population (rural and urban, young, and more mature men, negative and positive outliers, leaders, and services). However, it didn't seek to reach data saturation for each of these different groups.
- This study did not include all the regions and districts affected by conflict. More qualitative research is needed in areas that have scored high in terms of violent attitudes and behaviours in recent quantitative research. It would also be interesting to conduct more research in regions where matrilineality is in place.
- This study focused on **physical violence** and the **social norms** attached to this. More research is needed to undercover the risk factors and characteristics of psychological and economic violence against women and children, as well as exploitation, abuse, and neglect. Additionally, for ethical reasons, questions around sexual violence were not explored in-depth. Violence against persons with disabilities was only included as far as children were concerned and was only briefly discussed. More research is needed in this area with specialized partner agencies working with persons with disabilities to better understand their exposure to all forms of VAW and VAC.
- This study sample included respondents from both rural **(Central Province)** and urban areas (most urban participants originated from **deprived neighbourhoods** in the city). More research is needed on the drivers and root causes of both IPV and corporal punishment against children in other (less deprived) urban areas as well as in other provinces and districts (especially those showing high tolerance of IPV in the most recent DHS, 2016-2018), recognising the diversity that exists within PNG.
- Some respondents encountered difficulties understanding the research questions, both because the questions had been translated into English rather than Tok Pisin (reportedly, Tok Pisin lacked the vocabulary to convey the concepts) and due to the complex terminology used. Some participants were also too shy or reluctant to share their views. Co-development of data collection tools with the intended users (i.e.: community members), and not only with local researchers, is recommended in future to mitigate such risks.
- This study was a collaborative sharing and learning experience between the Proteknôn team and the Papuan research team. As with all qualitative research, there were – on reflection – additional questions that could have been included in the data collection tools and missed opportunities for further probing during the data collection. Moreover, some questions were misunderstood in the asking or in the answering.
- The results of this study should be read considering other risks inherent in qualitative research, including interview bias (when researchers unintentionally influence the responses of research participants) and response bias, (when participants try to give the responses that they think are "correct" or that they think the interview is looking for).
- The designation "younger man" is used for respondents aged 18—25 and the designation "man" is used for respondents aged 26—49. Where age is known, this is also included. However, researchers did not always record the ages of research participants. Given the broad age ranges covered by each

category – especially the latter – more targeted research is recommended to understand the pressures facing Papuan men in each decade of their lives.

- At data analysis, it was found that there was not a clear boundary between negative and positive outliers. Many positive outliers sometimes held highly gender discriminatory views and, conversely, some negative outliers were actually found to be extremely sympathetic to the topic of non-violence. This selection bias is interesting and shows how difficult it is to locate profiles based on their beliefs or practices. It also suggests that local leaders who helped identify the outliers may not have completely understood the criteria.

7. RESEARCH ETHICS

7.1 Violence research ethics

The involvement of men in research about violence against women and children requires careful preparation and implementation of sound ethical protocols. Proteknôn used and referred to some key international guidelines related to researching VAC and VAW as well as specific guidelines on violence research with perpetrators.

These included:

- Putting Women First: Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on Domestic Violence against Women (2001).
- Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on Perpetration of Sexual Violence. Sexual Violence Research Initiative, Medical Research Council (2012); and
- International Charter for Ethical Research Involving Children (ERIC) and other Save the Children produced guidelines (if participants involved are minors, which is not the case in the Protocol in its current version).

In recognition of the high ethical standard required when researching VAC and VAW/G and in ensuring that the rights of those involved in any research process are upheld, the following measures were taken to ensure an ethical process: risk assessment and risk mitigation; confidentiality and safety of participants; ensuring that the research does not cause further harm to the participant or the researchers, that sources of help and referral pathways are available, that participation is voluntary and there is always the possibility to withdraw, ensuring that confidentiality is understood and that no information is elicited about personal behaviours that could be criminal by law.

Creating a safe space to speak and exchange was also an important factor for research participants who may have endured violence themselves or committed acts of violence towards others. It was paramount for the research team to recognise that men perpetrators can also be victims/survivors.

Information about reporting and referral mechanisms was provided in each study location and given to each research participant so that they could access support services and follow up, as and if needed.

As the research design was qualitative, a particular emphasis was placed on researcher's own reflections and how personal experiences shape individual perceptions about what violence is.

7.2 Informed consent and confidentiality

Informed consent was essential to the research study to ensure full understanding by research participants of the research process its implications and, an express and voluntary permission to participate, with the possibility of withdrawing at any time.

7.3 Supporting the research team

Anyone carrying out research related to violence is likely to be affected by the findings and the narratives of violence from both victims/survivors and perpetrators. This was considered within the organisation of the study itself. Beyond analysing the specific risks related to conducting the study, it was recommended that adequate mechanisms were in place to ensure the well-being and emotional safety of the research team. This included: ensuring sufficient debriefing, limiting the number of interviews per day, talking through vicarious trauma, making psychological support available, if needed. [xxix]

8. MEN AND THEIR FAMILIES OF ORIGIN

8.1 Childhood and family background

Studying childhood and family background can provide significant insight into how culture and family dynamics shape or have a significant impact on how men think about power relations and in what fashion they should treat their peers around them. It must be noted that the data collected from this study did not generate extensive insight into men's childhoods and family background dynamics in Papuan society and would require further investigation to provide a deeper understanding of systems of social norms/thought. Nevertheless, the study did generate some insights into respondents' childhood experiences and their relationships with key family members.

One theme that was identified within the responses was tied to the experience of **poverty during childhood**. One respondent highlighted that life in urban settlements was stricken by "hardships" (Urban leader, IDI), as poverty amongst the community would generate significant challenges to sustain a family. Another respondent summarised his experience growing up and living in urban settlements (slums), observing that *"...life is hard. I see youth drinking and ruining the community. I see them and I think, this is not good. Very negative. All sorts of things happen where I live"*, (Urban young man, IDI). This experience provides an insight into how unstable and "negative" a childhood can be amidst urban settlement communities.

Another theme identified amongst the respondents was the theme of **parental abandonment during childhood**. One respondent believed he is *"...unemployed because I don't have any form of education because my parents abandoned me when I was small, living on stealing to feed my family"*, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years). The respondent explains that his current financial situation and lack of employment are due to the absence of his parents in his childhood. One rural respondent felt that even the absence of one parent could have consequences on the development of a child:

> "Growing up for me was tough. I was 15 or 13 when my dad left us. So, my parents separated. So, I lived with my mum and my two sisters for about six to seven years. And then my dad wanted to come back and join our family to make us whole again. So, he came back. So now we're living as a whole again."
>
> (Rural young man, IDI, 24 years).

One youth respondent felt that he tried *"... to make good decisions about my life but my family never contributed or supported me in any way, therefore, now I roam aimlessly in the village"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 19 years). Nevertheless, one respondent was of the opinion that abandonment by parents did not have to conclude in a negative childhood experience, if there is a family or community support base available:

> "I came from the Christian family background, I got adopted by my grandparents, without knowing, but as I grew up, I came to realise that I was adopted. I see my biological family as my uncle and aunty. I didn't feel anything when I knew the truth, or like I regret, upset or this kind of feeling. So, I grew up with my parents and attended school."
>
> (Rural leader, IDI, 52 years).

A third theme found amongst the responses was the theme of **parental influence on character building**. One respondent outlined his desire to help his community, including the elderly, children, and people with

disabilities. The respondent felt that it *"...was my father's lifestyle and I think I adapted it because I experienced it growing up"*, (Urban young man, IDI). The response indicates that parental figures act as role models to their children and that these children could potentially pursue personality characteristics like their parents. Another respondent praised his mother's devotion to the family as a single mother and perceived her as the most influential person in the respondent's life:

> "...my greatest influencer was my mum. She was the only one that supported me since birth until the date she passed away (...) she did everything for me and I looked up to her. She was the most influential person in my life. In terms of finance and education, she strived through a lot as a single mum to cater for the upbringing. Therefore, I looked up to her and I see her as a most influential person in my life."
>
> (Urban man, FGD, 41 years).

An additional respondent outlined that **family had a pivotal role during childhood**. The respondent felt that *"...family is the most important because they are very close to you and also they are the ones that are going to take care of you. Because they are the ones, when you were small, they are the ones protecting you until your time of marriage or the decisions that you are trying to do"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).

Christian values also played a significant role in some respondents' upbringing. Several respondents were inclined to think that religion was of great importance to them in their everyday business, as it gave them moral guidance and hope. One respondent, who was a pastor, felt that Christian values had a great impact on his beliefs and behaviour, as his family are Christian: *"So I grew up in a Christian home and lived under Christian principles and belief"*, (Rural man, IDI).

8.2 Reference groups (who men look to when making decisions)

In social norms analysis, a reference group is the people whose opinions matter to an actor in relation to a particular behaviour. Reference groups are not necessarily fixed and may vary with age or geographical location or by topic.

In the study, the most common reference group was found to be the family. Usually, men looked to their fathers for permission, advice, and guidance: "*Currently, my father is the one I seek advice before I make any major decisions and* ***he is the one who will give the final say****. And also,* ***my father is my role model****. I mean never became a pastor myself but I admire his leadership and faith"*, (Rural man, IDI). However, for some men, the views of both parents were equally important: *"In my case, it is my mother and father. I make them* ***paramount in my life*** *and how I live. They are the key to my life and* ***I feel that if I don't listen to them something bad may happen to me****"*, (Urban man, IDI).

When the father is absent, the reference group role may pass to another male elder and, in the absence of such, to the mother. One man whose parents are divorced, and who is on poor terms with both his father and his stepfather, recounted his story as follows: *"****Generally, my mother is the person who I consult or who makes decision for me.*** *I am in a complicated situation… I grew up with my mother. My father left us when I was a kid… When my mother got married to my stepfather, I went and stayed with my grandparents… I always see (consult) my grandparent, especially my grandfather, for everything. He makes every decision of my life… And when they both passed on, now I consult my mother.* ***I never consult my stepfather because he never wanted me****… The only person I look up to and admire in life was my grandfather. I was so happy that I have him, but I do not regret (his death) because he taught me many things and how to survive like a man"*, (Rural young man, IDI, 18 years).

Leadership of the family may also pass to the elder brother: *"I follow my elder brother's advice because he is the elder brother and* ***he is regarded as the leader in the family****"*, (Rural young man, IDI, 18 years).

Some men professed shifting reference groups, depending on context – however, ultimately, the father took precedence: *"the most influential person in decision making in my life is my father, and our community leader and leader in my peer group.* ***At home it is my father who disciplines and advises me about things but when I'm out with my peers, it's them who have more influence on me.*** *And with my girlfriend I try to get more control of her. But out of all,* ***it's my father that I look up to****"*, (Urban man, FGD, age 41 years).

9. BECOMING MEN – HOW IS MASCULINITY LEARNED?

9.1 Characteristics of manhood

Dating, marriage, financial autonomy, and the ability to do certain tasks and be useful to the community were highlighted across all research sites as key steps into adulthood for boys:

> "If you want to become a man, you must build a house and go fishing and prove to maybe a girl's family that you are a real man, then they'll tell you to marry her."
>
> (Rural young man, FGD, 21 years).

In coastal areas such as Rigo district where the research took place, the **ability to fish (and dive)** was considered as a key competency, strongly associated with the transition into manhood *"when you become a good fisherman that's the time people will see you as a man"*, (Rural man, IDI, 28 years).

Other tasks typically undertaken by men in rural areas are identified as key attributes of "being a man" such as breaking firewood, building the family house, hunting, and gardening: *"In the community they would label you as a man when you start building your own house and raising your own family"*, (Rural young man, IDI, 19 years). These tasks were considered to be physically harder to perform and therefore the sole responsibility of men.

Men understood their role and duty as being the main **breadwinner of the household**. Being the family breadwinner was considered above all as the cornerstone of manhood: *"If you want to be a man you have to work. The family will see that you are a man you can look after your family"*, (Urban man, IDI).

Getting a stable income was perceived by many as a marker of being a "real" man: "*If I am fit to get money then I will say I am a man"*, (Rural young man, IDI) as well as a key means of vouching for family and relationship stability between husband and wife: "*When there's money you can afford the needs and wants of your family or your wife. But if there is no money then we have problems and issues arising"*, (Rural leader, IDI).

> "Some families break up and the children will go stay with relatives and the wife could go and get [re]married since you cannot look after them and their needs."
>
> (Rural leader, IDI).

Overall, there were extremely **high expectations of men**. Respondents talked about the need for external recognition and validation (community elders, family, other men) as an important step. Becoming a man was seen as a process that needed to be endorsed by both the immediate family and the community. Men who can show to their peers and elders that they accomplish certain tasks are effectively recognised as "real man" through the eyes of the community: *"I needed to do things that I have already learnt to show my family that I am responsible and can provide. But the big things that will prove to my family I am a man is breaking firewood, and fishing"*, (Rural young man, IDI, 18 years).

Some men also mentioned the need to perform **useful tasks for others**, in the community as a sign of manhood: *"I also provide hands on help to assist my neighbours with whatever help they needed so that they also can draw this conclusion of my maturity of being a man in the community"*, (Urban young man, IDI, 25 years).

> "When I do something good, the community will see me as a man."
>
> (Rural man, IDI, 28 years).

It is worth noting that while one participant mentioned changes in the body as a sign of transition to manhood, this was rather an isolated comment: most men identify themselves as such once they can raise an income, enter the labour force, or make things that are recognised by the community (be productive) outside the home. On the contrary, women are clearly associated with their reproductive roles: the ability to bear and rear children within the house.

9.2 Role models

Ideas about manhood are mostly learnt through the immediate family environment with most men respondents identifying **their father as the key reference person**: "*I put in practice what my father has taught me to do*", *(Rural man, IDI)*. Depending on individual circumstances - mostly who they grew up with – they also mentioned other key role models, often a next of kin, who were involved in their upbringing such as a grandfather, elder brother, or uncle:

> "When I was a kid, my mum took care of me alone when my biological father left us. She got married to my step-father, and I went (...) to stay with my grandfather. How I became man is through my grandfather, he taught me everything a man can and should do."
>
> (Rural young man, IDI, 21 years).

In cases where young men grew up and lived independently other reference persons, such as **peers living under the same conditions**, became the role models. This was often the case for men who grew up in an environment with weakened social/family bonds. For example, men who had lost relatives or were estranged from their community/family of origin because of family breakdown and who ended up in the city, fending for themselves. Young men shared stories of their own attempts to survive in the city and grow up in an urban environment where "big brothers" and sometimes gang members or criminals acted as a replacement or surrogate family:

> P. "I grew up on the streets (Sabama) so these thoughts (of being a man) were built up from information that I got from all kinds of men (...) we collected our information from both good and bad men. Rascals, killers, murderers, rapists, you name it, we sit down and talk with them and the advice they give, some listen and let it go but some of us we listen and (...) store in our heads. We store it in our heads and one day we will face a situation and when we face that situation the information that those experienced people gave us will be used. Whether good or bad you know."
>
> I. "So there wasn't any sort of filter to separate the good from the bad?"
>
> P. "No."
>
> I. "So that means you had to do certain things that were not right in order to prove yourself to be a man?"
>
> P: "Yes." (Urban man, IDI).

P: Participant I: Interviewer

9.3 Initiation and risk-taking

When asked about rites of initiation or passage into adulthood, respondents provided mixed responses. Some participants referred to it as something in the past or not specific to Hula culture (in rural areas); others had heard stories of boys going through **some rituals, mostly involving alcohol, substance abuse and sometimes violence**: "*I have seen some men, in our community, especially in our section, going through this situation. They usually go out drinking, coming back and then they'll be destroying the house and swearing here and there and saying 'no one is going to hit me, I am the boss of this place'.*", (Rural young man, IDI).

Participants in focus group discussions in Central province (Hula Village) shared stories about group initiation within schools that involved forced smoking and drinking. In case of non-compliance, boys could endure strict and violent retaliation measures: *"The rule is that if you don't drink then you will be beaten up. So, you have no choice"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).

As a student, success in passing through all the required challenges would mark their entry into manhood and acceptance into the group: "*if you joined this type of group you'll be acknowledged as a "boy-man" or a real man. And now you will have respect because you passed all the system requirements"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 18 years).

Within the urban interviews, some respondents told stories about drinking as a ritual to show manhood: "*I grew up in town, so first thing men do is they drink alcohol that's becoming a man, parents won't talk, the son is already a man. When under the influence of alcohol, you'll feel that you are a man"*, (Rural man, IDI, 34 years); others mentioned involvement in urban crime such as house burglary or street robbery. One participant for instance recalled urban youth having to "lead the road" which meant that they needed to organise and lead a group in house burglary or steal cars using women as baits: "*I have an experience I saw it with my eyes there are some big boys they will get some ladies they will drink alcohol with them and like they will send the lady to work in front of the car when the car stops, they will come out and get the car"*, (Urban man, IDI).

10. MEN AND MASCULINITIES

10.1 Social expectations of men

Toughness was a central characteristic associated with manhood. This was taught by men as well as by women when boys didn't have a male role model within their family: "*I learnt a lot from my mother. She always advised me to be strong and live as a man". (Rural young man, IDI, 21 years).*

When asked about what it meant for them to be a man, most participants mentioned leadership and being responsible as main attributes of manhood. The need to "take charge" and make decisions was stressed by many as key masculine traits.

In Papuan society, where the patriarchy is dominant, men are expressly **groomed for leadership positions** within the family and are expected to make decisions on behalf of "subordinate" family members in anticipation of the day when they become "chief":

> "Whenever disagreement arises we sit as a family and that my father would tell me that I am the elder and that I stand up on behalf of my sisters and me and that I have to take lead in all the family affairs because he is growing old and he won't be able to do these routines anymore. So, at the moment I am taking lead in all the affairs within my family."
>
> (Rural young man, IDI, 25 years).

Because of this, many men expressed feeling under pressure to achieve all their responsibilities and live up to the expectations of their male ancestors and family peers.

Many men reported feeling stressed and worried at not being able to gather enough resources and income for their families.

> "I feel a very big pressure on me. At the moment, I have more than ten members in the house, it's like more than ten mouths to feed. And that is my responsibility."
>
> (Rural man, IDI, 28 years).

Providing for the family is strongly associated with a sense of manhood: *"The family will see that you are a man if you can look after your family."* (Urban man, IDI). As men were expected to be the main breadwinner and sole provider sustaining their families, many highlighted the social sanctions associated with not performing these tasks: "*If I don't go fishing and don't do gardening, people will back-bite me and gossip about me. That's why I have to work and sacrifice to earn a living to be a man"*, (Rural young man, IDI, 24 years). Not being able to perform the tasks expected of them as men was associated with the risk of social alienation and shame:

> "Ok since man is the head of the family; we have a lot of responsibility for our family (...) Because we have children, wife to cater for, and we will have to plan for the budget to provide to our family in day by day. If a man doesn't really fulfil his sexual responsibility or to provide his family a responsibility. That means that he is also dishonoring himself to be the head of the family".
>
> (Rural leader, IDI, 52 years).

Some respondents believed that there were social sanctions linked to not conforming with the roles that are assigned to them by culture and society: when men are perceived to **lose this control and power** over women, they thought they could be ridiculed and stigmatised by their peers: "*I'm with my friends and I didn't tell my wife, which I should have. So, when my wife looks for me, she comes to where I am. Then she comes, puts her hands on her hips, and starts yelling at me, which I respond to by following her home. Then the boys will call out 'meriman', or 'coward'.*", (Rural man, IDI).

10.2 How religion shapes beliefs about manhood

Men perceived themselves as **gatekeepers of moral duty as well as religion**: *"We are Christians. So as much as possible we as fathers, must also be involved in our children's lives ensuring that they grow up in a home where Christian values, beliefs, principles and morals are upheld. This is to make sure that they are disciplined and well mannered. Not for my own good, but their own good and life in the future"*, (Rural man, IDI).

Spirituality, faith, and adherence to religion were all stressed as key pillars of what is perceived as "being a good man":

> "Attending church every Sunday makes me feel I am a real man which I have balanced my life spiritually, mentally and physically. And I see myself as a real man like my grandfather said."
>
> (Rural young man, IDI, 18 years).

The majority of men believed and stressed that the man is the "head of the family", and this superior status is clearly associated with male dominance over women. According to a rural leader consulted in this research, this is supported by Biblical references:

> "We can't deny that G-d has created us and given us the power and authority to us men, not women. Woman are created out of our rib."
>
> (Rural leader, IDI, 52 years).

Despite the multiple references to God and the Church as moral pillars in men's everyday life and overwhelming support for traditional and patriarchal views on gender, social norms around male dominance were generally associated with culture and not religion: *"The father is the head of the family, this is the mentality we have from our traditional way of life"*, (Urban man, IDI).

When the Church or G-d was mentioned, it was clearly linked to moral good conduct, spiritual and personal salvation/redemption. A man who went to Church was often cited as a man who was worth respect, had good values and a man of honour. Many respondents referred to churchgoers as "change persons", that is individuals who have broken with "old habits" (mostly addictions). Individual interviews carried out as part of this research revealed some of the hardship and difficulties encountered by many men to "sort themselves out". A lot of men aspired and hoped to get out of what they called "wrong habits" (mostly violence; alcohol and substance abuse) through the Church: *"I see that I can be a good father if I change some of my attitudes and go to church so we both can have a good life. Make some changes in my life so that my wife will not complain. Like I said alcohol and gambling create problems so change and go to church so we can have a good life"*, (Urban young man, IDI).

10.3 Social expectations of women

Just as men were expected to lead in productive roles (namely, securing income through working outside the home), women were seen mainly through the lens of their **reproductive role** (essentially, their capacity to bear and look after children and ability to work within the home). In contrast to men, women were considered **"dependent," with limited maturity and decision-making ability**. To a certain extent, women are placed at the same level as children in that they need to be "taught" correct behaviours. Some men referenced women as if they were minors and needed guidance: one respondent noted that *"I always talk with my parents about it to seek advice how to raise my child and wife"*, (Rural man, IDI, 32 years).

Men tend to feel particularly entitled to control the movement of the women in their lives, especially in terms of "permitting" their wives to work outside the home, but also more generally (with respect to going out to see friends, to smoke or drink, be around men unsupervised, etc.). Many respondents attributed the social expectation that women stay home to this particular culture, and one man concluded that this norm is fairly calcified, suggesting that violence inevitably results after a violation of traditional expectations that women remain inside the home: "*If you break a man's ego you break him down, I would say it bluntly what works for him, it's his ego that drives this bad culture to hit wife…we have cases where the female is working and she can get employment and help support the husband bring an extra income but the man doesn't want to, he feels insecure he feels like ok, I'm already here, my job is to provide, and yes you can work and bore me two or three children but if you go out, men will still be attracted to you, so I think you should stay home and forget about your education and even though your father and mother wasted money on you, just forget about it and come stay home*", (Urban service provider).

10.4 Traditional roles assigned to men in the family / Men as carers

Most men had clear and fairly traditional views on what is expected from men and women respectively: *"man must go to work and provide food on the table and the women will cook and take care of the family"* (Urban man, IDI). Still, a few men had more prominent roles in childcare or other female-coded roles. One man took on this traditionally female role of caretaking and household labour **to facilitate a clean break from his abusive past**:

> "I want to change all the violent attitudes that I have and be happy with my family and my boys. So, whatever decision that I want to make I must discuss it with my new wife and my children and her two children so that I will know their thoughts on what I should do...The important thing is as a father I must show my support to the children and their mother because she is working and she is thinking of supporting me and my children."
>
> (Urban man, IDI).

This attitude was highly unusual, particularly in the deference shown to the children: *"If the children don't want to do any work, I can do it. Like at the moment even though they are big boys I clean the house, wash plates and cook for them. I tell them 'I'm doing your work' and I don't want to argue with the children"*, (Urban man, IDI). It is notable that this progressive attitude resulted from a change in direction after the negative consequences of violent, toxic masculinity.

Sometimes men served as **caretakers** out of need. One respondent noted: *"Only when the mother is busy then the father assists. If the child is still very young and cannot do his/her own laundry or cannot walk to school, then the father will assist. But mostly the mother does all the work"*, (Urban man, IDI). In other words, men will take on women's traditional roles within the home, but only if absolutely necessary. Such a caretaking role (performed out of necessity) is not cause for celebration about egalitarian attitudes.

11. ENTERING AND SUSTAINING INTIMATE RELATIONSHIPS

11.1 Men's power in marriage formation

The data indicated that marriage formation involves a contestation of power between men and their parents (and extended families). Traditionally, marriages were **arranged by parents**, with no input by the prospective groom as to his choice of wife. This custom seems to be ceding ground to parentally approved marriages, in which the groom introduces his intended wife to his family, who will vet her before giving or denying their permission for the marriage to proceed. Thus, the man is involved in the marriage formation process – in choosing his intended spouse – but will defer to his family (and hers) – if permission to marry is denied. Permission to marry is linked with **certain qualities of the woman** (and of the man). Self-initiated marriages represent the other end of the spectrum, being instigated by the man against his parent's wishes. The way the marriage is formed often has implications for whether a bride price is paid, which in turn affects the dynamics between the husband and wife. Both arranged marriages and parentally approved marriages involved payment of bride price, while self-initiated marriages often do not.

Arranged marriages

Arranged marriages were widely reported to be a **dying tradition**. However, several respondents viewed them positively and lamented that, with Papuans marrying younger than in previous generations – between 14 and 19 years of age – many were rushing into wedlock unprepared. One urban man stated that he had no decision-making power in his marriage choice but eventually came to see the wisdom of arranged marriages, in which parents carefully vetted prospective brides.

> "... My father did everything, he never consulted me or even have time to talk to me about my consent about what he had planned. Without me knowing, he went to the village, got my wife and came back. He paid the bride price all by himself and brought her over to me. He took her home and to my surprise he told me 'this is your new wife'."
>
> (Urban man, IDI, 29 years)

This man recognised the benefits of arranged marriages when he saw how the men he had grown up with and married of their own accord were now suffering: *"Their wives go and gamble roam around on the road, do not know how to do marketing or don't know how to bring income into the family... Seeing those things happen to my friends makes me to be thankful to my father who chose a woman in the village for me who is really supportive and helps me out with marketing and listens and have respect to me"*, (Urban man, IDI, 29 years).

Another form of arranged marriage is the **Levirate (widow) marriage**. Papuan custom dictates that an unwed man must marry his deceased brother's widow and assume care for their children, in order avoid the wife remarrying outside of the family / village and taking the brother's children away: *"If one of your brothers die, you (Blood brother) have to marry his wife (widow), the leaders in the village decide on that, that is so that the wife does not marry out of the village or family and taking your brother's children away, you have to do this to keep the blood relatives in the family. That is our custom and I am a living example. My small brother passed away, so, I was and am married to my small brother's wife and took his children and took care of them as my own"*, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years). The custom is possibly linked with the perception that, upon marriage, a woman – by virtue of the bride price payment – becomes the "property" of her husband – a notion more deeply explored in section 11.2, below.

One man struggled with marriage being forced upon him in this way: *"When my younger brother married, I on the other hand wasn't interested in getting married, I want to enjoy my life… [When he] later passed away, so my family (…) said for my brother's wife and children to be mine to be taken care of, but I wasn't interested in getting married"*, (Urban man, IDI).

Arranged marriages may also be foisted upon a couple following unsanctioned dalliances and **out-of-wedlock pregnancies**, (Urban young man, FGD, 25 years). Unlike carefully thought-through arranged marriages, these marriages take place to avoid social stigma. The young woman's parents, upon discovering that their daughter is pregnant, *"they bring her and her bags to his place and tell his family, 'here take her bags, we will come back later to get back her bride price'. When it happens, there is nothing much the young man can do now. The girlfriend's bags and stuff have now been brought to his house…"*, (Urban young man, FGD, 25 years). For some parents, knowing that their daughter had spent even a night or two out with a man was sufficient to banish her: *"They will get all her belongings and go straight to the boyfriend's parents and leave all of her belongings there. And from there, their marriage begins, even though it is a one-night thing"*, (Rural man, FGD, 35 years).

Parentally approved marriages

Parentally approved marriages involve **men deferring to their parents in the selection of their brides**. In contrast to arranged marriages, parentally approved marriages are characterised by the participation of the groom in the selection procedure. Nonetheless, *"the family has the final say, regardless of the feelings two people may have for each other"*, (Urban young man, IDI). Typically, the man will communicate his interest in a woman to his family and consult with them, as the decision will *"also affect them in one way or another"* through the payment of bride price, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).

Hence, prospective partners will be carefully vetted for **favourable qualities**: *"Our families will look at the young woman's ways, if she is a good person, open to his family. His family will also be watching her and if she is a hardworking young woman or if her family also sees that I am a good person then they will approve of us getting married if we want to get married"*, (Urban young man, FGD). Importantly, only one respondent recognised that the man, too, is being vetted by the woman's family: *"Both families will look for good values and attitudes… This goes for both men and women. Especially on the girl's side, they will not agree if the man does not have a job"*, (Urban young man, IDI).

Many respondents, both urban and rural men, viewed the involvement of parents and extended family members in spouse selection positively, and linked the high rate of failed marriages with young people rejecting parental advice: *"In the past, it is the parent that took lead in decision making in terms of marriage between two young people… But now this culture of marriage has gone extinct. We don't have that anymore. That's why we have a lot of marriage problems. I think we should revive back the old ways of marriage"*, (Rural man, IDI). One man recounted his own experience:

> "Getting married was based on my lone view without even consulting my parents about it. My first marriage wasn't stable because I didn't listen to my parents... I wasn't obedient to them, that's why I ended up with a broken marriage and a broken life."
>
> (Rural young man, IDI, 25 years)

Concurrently, respondents reported a high degree of **compliance with parental approval**: *"When my parents agree on something I don't have a choice I must obey because I respect them. Like, for my wife, my parents sat down and agreed for me to marry her and made all the necessary arrangements for marriage, as well as bride price"*, (Rural man, IDI).

Self-initiated marriages

Self-initiated marriages are characterised by the individuals having considerable choice and agency in their pursuit of a partner. However, the couple risks being **left without the counsel and financial support of their families**: *"nowadays we see young men and women getting married, according to themselves and how they feel and now they are facing the hardships alone"*, (Rural man, FGD, 35 years).

Hence, love marriages appear to be extremely rare, with very few respondents indicting that they would marry a woman without parental blessing, since this typically means foregoing both the bride price: *"Then they will not pay the bride price"* (Urban man, IDI) and familial support: "*They will tell me to leave the house and build my own house to live with her"*, (Rural man, IDI, 28 years).

There was a clear split in opinion between older and younger respondents. In both rural and urban locations, older research participants felt that self-initiated marriages resulted from young people **disrespecting their elders**: *"...in most cases these days [young people] don't respect their parents and when it comes to marriage, they just marry anyone they want"*, (Rural leader, IDI) and a failure on the part of parents: "*…Some parents gave up and just watch them doing things at their own will*", (Urban man, FGD, 46 years). However, younger respondents viewed **urban migration** as playing a critical role. Whereas back in the village, parents would choose for their son a wife from a family they knew well, urban life had disrupted these traditions: *"A city girl is different from the one in the village… Now we're brought up in settlements in the city, so we just do whatever we want. It's hard to control"*, (Urban young man, IDI). Urban migration also increased young men's possibilities for clandestine affairs: *"It's like, sometimes we do not let our parents know or get approval from them, and we go and get married and create our own families in secret. When that happens, we've broken so many rules"*, (Urban young man, FGD, 25 years).

11.2 How bride price influences marital dynamics

Following an agreement to marry by the party's respective families, bride price negotiations commence. Payment of bride price would *"...indicate that the marriage is permanent and official"*, (Rural leader, IDI, 62 years). According to most research participants, payment of bride price also has implications for marital dynamics, making the wife a subordinate member of her new family and the husband a dominant member of his new family (bestowing on him more power than he had as a son in his family of origin).

The data reveals that bride price customs vary between regions and ethnic groups. These variations relate to the prevalence of bride price, the currency in which it is performed (for example: money, household commodities, livestock, etc.), the amount that is to be paid and even what the bride price signifies. Hence, the data collected should be understood in the context of the locations that were selected for the study.

Calculating the bride price

Among all research participants, bride price was highly correlated with arranged or parentally approved marriages and had greater prevalence amongst **older generations of men**. While many men reported being in favour of the custom, they also reported that bride price was becoming less common: *"In my community, we don't really practice traditional marriage anymore and bride price occurs only once in a while"*, (Rural man, IDI). Nonetheless, men of all ages and in all locations spoke at length about bride price and associated payment of bride price with "higher quality" wives:

> "Women, some of them are good, some of them are bad. The good ones, for example... if they pay your bride price you need to get up (wake up early), start the fire, wash clothes, do all the house jobs. If they don't pay your bride price, they'll be lazy, going out (partying), gambling outside, go out drinking... That is why the man is upset, so he belts the wife."
>
> (Rural transgender woman, IDI).

A majority of participants maintained that bride price is determined by the perceived **value of the proposed bride**, based on certain key qualities, namely: her family background, her fertility and her suitability as a housewife. The groom's family will study the woman based on these criteria before engaging in bride price negotiations. The man's father would then *"...go to the girl's family and negotiate for his son"*, (Rural man, FGD, 29 years), proposing a mode and an amount of bride price.

The high cost of the bride price – *"PGK 50,000 [AUD 20,650]"*, (Urban young man, FGD) or *"around 14—20 years of savings"*, (Rural leader, IDI), depending on the perceived value of the woman — represents a significant investment by the groom. Hence, the sum is reportedly paid by both the groom and his immediate and extended family. It is for this reason that his family has such a large say in who he marries.

Research participants indicated that bride price is not paid in one sum but is instead paid in a series of instalments (or "steps"). These steps seem to correlate with: (a) the pre-marriage payment, (b) the marriage ceremony payment, and (c) the consolidation payment.

The third and final "step" of bride price is paid several years after the wedding and is commonly determined by the **wife's fertility and good conduct**. The more children the wife produced, the higher the final instalment, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years). Should the wife not produce any children, the bride price would fall accordingly or be delayed until she did give birth, (Rural leader, IDI, 52 years). Some participants reported that if the wife was unable to produce children within a certain time frame, there would be pressure to leave her in favour of a more fertile partner: *"When the women cannot bear the husband children, most times the husband may pull out from the marriage and re-marry someone who can bear him children"*, (Rural leader, IDI). Often, this pressure comes from the man's family and peers:

> "Yeah, yeah, yeah. Because sometimes between a married couple they can be together maybe for one year, but they cannot conceive. **That's when the community, family and peers will come in** to say 'oh, this child [wife] may be barren so you may need to leave him for another'. That's when they affect the relationship. It can also be said that 'oh, how come you're married longer than me and you can't conceive?' **That's when they'll ask to get rid of your current wife and look for another. That's when the peers will affect your relations with your wife.**"
>
> (Urban man, IDI).

Implications of bride price

Some respondents considered bride price to be a form of appreciation for the wife's family: *"Just to say thank you for looking after the woman. Like to pay for their 'labour' of looking after their daughter"*, (Urban man, IDI). For others, bride price was more akin to compensation for the hardship the wife's family had endured in raising her: *"We have wasted our time to take care of her, wasted money. It is our custom that if we wasted or spend on*

you, when you get married all our hard work will be redeemed by receiving your bride price", (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).

For the majority of participants, however, bride price denotes the wife becoming her **husband's property**, with the further implication that she will fulfil his expectations and treat his desires as entitlements. Indeed, the popular conception was that the man, having paid the bride price, naturally becomes the *"the boss"* (Urban man, FGD, 49 years) of the household and assumes total control over his wife:

> "When we pay bride price, the power and authority of the female ceases off the very instant and the male will dominate every decision making"
>
> (Rural man, FGD, 27 years).

The bride price custom signifies a **clear break between the bride and her family of origin** as well as her complete **subordination to her husband**: *"the wife must stay home and fulfil all her daily chores, she is not meant to stay with [her] family, she is meant to stay at my house and become part of my family"*, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years). Moreover, some participants reported that the bride's family, upon receiving the bride price, surrendered any protective role in her life. The bride price had effectively bought their silence and non-interference, allowing the man every right to do with his wife what he wished – including beating her and denying her the right to visit her family – with absolute impunity, (Rural man, IDI):

> "Sometimes he'll hit her because he has the right to because he paid for it already."
>
> (Rural young man, FGD, 21 years).
>
> "Once the groom pays bride [price], the wife becomes the property of the husband. I can do anything to her, I can hit her or do whatever. She is my property. Her side of the family will not do anything 'cause I spent money on her."
>
> (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).

The urban man indicated he would be willing to allow his wife to leave him if her family repaid the bride price. However, another respondent stated that once a man paid his wife's bride price, *"she won't be allowed to go back to her family and the husband can do whatever he pleases to her. He can break her bones and do whatever he wants. That is one of the effects of having paid bride price"*, (Urban young man, FGD).

The only two reported examples of bride price not affecting the power dynamics between a man and his wife involved couples who married out of true love, in which case, *"even though the man was asked to pay bride price and he paid, the marriage will be full of love (…) and having paid bride price won't make a difference"*, (Urban young man, FGD).

11.3 Key ingredients for a successful intimate relationship

Above all, respondents emphasised that men must enter marriage carefully. One focus for successful partnership was the ability to co-create a stable home—financially as well as morally. One man observed that, "*when we are deciding to get married, we are very considerate before we get married*", (Rural man, FGD, 29 years). When a couple is already of the same mind with respect to financial and moral matters, it is easier for men to engage in shared decision-making with their wives. In cases of conflict, the couple can seek external guidance from a place of mutual respect and shared values.

Respondents consistently stressed that for an intimate relationship to succeed, **men must have the correct behaviours and attitudes**. Certain behavioural patterns—such as foregoing bad habits, respecting one's spouse, and committing to fidelity, clear communication, and obedience—help maintain a healthy relationship on a day-to-day basis. Additionally, certain underlying attitudes or values set men up for success in their personal relationships, including honesty, humour, love, trust, and a commitment of time and effort.

Enter into marriage carefully

Men felt that marriage was supposed to be a **lifetime commitment**, and as a result, they should select a spouse carefully. A major element of this was labour: while men may have diverse comfort levels with respect to women working outside the home, men near-universally expected their wives to be competent workers within the home. One man described his long-term thinking thus: "*I didn't look at her beauty but her ability to work* ***whether she is a house girl*** *(girl that works or does house chores and takes care of her children or the ability to be a supportive wife) or not a house girl (girl who does not have the ability to take care of her family), because if she is then because I go out fishing and gardening then we complement each other or help each other, this is what I experienced*", (Rural man, FGD, 35 years).

Other desirable features for a wife are **maturity and trust**, as running a joint household would be a challenge. One man noted that, "*you must marry a mature woman so your life will be balanced on both ends, otherwise, you'll both have disputes*", (Urban man, FGD, 27 years). Other men echoed this sentiment–a wife must have good values and must be able to work: "*make sure she is a woman that works (this would normally pertain to house chores and not entirely with having formal employment) and* ***for her to have good qualities that I can marry****. She has qualities and she must be one that works and as I said, she has to trust me*", (Urban man, IDI).

Employment and financial stability

Men were acutely aware that without **financial stability**, their relationships were likely to suffer. Men were conscious of the difficulty of consistent income, while there was a strong understanding that being free from financial troubles made for a better life and more stable relationships. One man noted that, "*Some people come from good family background like their family own business and are wealthy. They tend to inherit that wealth and business that their family owns, some women or even men are easily attracted to such people to have a better life"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 20 years). While men implicitly understood that wealth led to a better life, they showed across interviews that long-term financial stability was a challenge and would require constant effort. Often men suffered stress at this prospect.

The obligation as breadwinners was one that men took seriously, knowing the importance it had for their relationships. Several men linked **money explicitly to familial happiness**, saying that, "*you must have a permanent or consistent work so you will have money to buy the things your family needs as well as making them happy…once income stops coming and you don't have money, that's when you will have arguments and fights in relationships"*, (Rural leader, IDI). Without financial stability, there is stress, and limited ability to have functional relationships.

Men stressed the importance of **steady employment** to provide that stable income to sustain a household. One man observed that at least one family member must be working to avoid consequent trouble in the relationship, saying that "*if a member in a family is working, the family will be happy. They'll feed well, like they get paid and buy necessity for the family and the family will be happy. And meet other expenses like school fees and such*", (Urban man, FGD, 41). And yet, if one member of the family is working, men felt that that earner ought to be the man. If the man was not the earner, there would be problems in his marriage. One man noted, "*It's having a job that counts most. The man must work. If he does not, how does he expect to feed his woman? Work is a big thing*", (Urban man, IDI).

Respondents did not suggest that money is sufficient for happiness, but certainly felt it was necessary. As one respondent put it, "*The family will see that you are a man you can look after your* ***family if you don't work that's when you'll have a problem in your marriage***", (Urban man, IDI). Another man noted that "*I don't stay at one place I move around so I can find opportunity to make some money for my family. This is because my wife always nags me about money*", (Rural leader, IDI). Respondents felt that without the means to provide for their household materially (generally, through steady employment), men could not enjoy happy relationships.

Shared Christian values and practices

Men consistently identified **shared Christian values** and principles as key to successful intimate relationships. Put succinctly, Christianity is a useful tool for a healthy marriage: "*Christianity background, be a church goer will greatly help you gain good thoughts and are the tool to build a good marriage*", (Rural man, FGD, 27 years). Many men felt that there is "*only one ingredient to add or give for a happy marriage and that is 'Put G-d first in your marriage'*", (Rural man, FGD, 29 years). Men saw religious values as foundational to relationship success. One man noted that if couples "*put G-d first in your marriage or relationship, and you will see grow in something very beautiful*", (Rural man, IDI).

Many men felt that observing Christianity as a couple not only provided peace and nurtured a positive mindset within the couple, but also allowed the couple to set a good example for their children: "*husband and wife start going to church and children will follow them to church. In that manner, home will be a peaceful place to stay. Church is a good thing that directs families, clear the unnecessary mindset of husband and wife. If they come to church and listen to gospel and learn to live in Christian principles*", (Urban man, IDI, 29 years). For long-lasting relationship happiness, respondents said that "*there must be Christian marriage and a Christian family*", (Urban man, IDI). Whether men had positive or negative views of their relationships, they consistently noted that their relationships would improve with greater attention to religion.

Shared decision-making

In addition to sharing the work of household tasks, men considered it important to make decisions as a team. One man observed that, "*in terms of house chores you must help her also and if she alone does all the work then you all are going to have an unstable relationship, so yeah…a happy working together family*", (Rural man, FGD, 34 years). Men considered the ability to work together important for overall satisfaction, and the ability to share decision-making as critical to a happy relationship.

Men were generally aware about the downsides to unilateral decision-making within the household. One man noted that, "*If you do things on your own and your partner does things on his/her own ways, the relationship will not work out well. Both partners must make decision and work together as one to do anything in life so that you both will avoid problems and live well together*", (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).

Instead, men felt that better and **more sustainable decisions are made jointly**: "*Inside the family you cannot make decision alone, you have to support the family and always consult them before making any important decisions…you all have to come together and agree on what to do and what not to do so that everyone is happy at*

the end of the day", (Rural leader, IDI, 62 years). Men observed that, "*in order to have a happy relationship… think and act together as one. Whatever things that you both thinking of doing, there has to be agreement among yourselves*", (Rural young man, FGD, 18 years).

External wisdom and guidance

Even after entering a marriage carefully, and making decisions jointly through shared values and practices, conflicts can arise. Men were very aware of this and pointed to various outside sources of wisdom. Sometimes the source of guidance is a respected person close to the couple, particularly useful if the person can observe the day-to-day interactions of the couple in question: "*my late uncle…for the sake of my marriage he always encouraged me not to argue and fight with my wife. Because he was our neighbour and every time he always saw us fight or swearing my wife"*, (Urban man, FGD, 52 years).

Guidance about successful intimate relationships is often channelled presented through the prism of religious values. One man reflected on how his behaviour with his wife transformed: "*So, one day sat me down and talked to me about the Christian values and ethics, until then I never did the same mistakes again. I always help my wife to take care of our kids until they are grown up. So, it was through him that now I have peace and show love to my family and that will attract everyone*", (Urban man, FGD, 52 years).

In other cases, it was useful to observe the patterns of well-functioning couples who appeared to have a happy married life. One man remarked that, "*we have to look outside for guidance towards enabling us in making some good choices that will affect our marriage in a positive way.* ***We look at couple that are married and display good interactions with each other, that is the sort of people we must look up to gain their styles so that we can build a better one for both of us****. We gain positive things that are seen from others that are married and lived a happy life. Then we discuss it within our marriage that we also have to be happy and that what are some ways that we can resort to help us build a similar happy relationship*", (Rural man, FGD, 41 years).

Correct behaviours

One key strategy for a happy relationship is for men to **avoid habits** that already have a reputation for being unhealthy. One man observed, "*I shouldn't be involved in negative habits like drinking alcohol and causing problems*", (Rural man, IDI). Another man noted that certain behaviours would cloud one's ability to make good decisions: "*man should not drink alcohol or taking drugs; such things used to disturb minds and good thinking*", (Urban man, IDI, 29 years).

Men also felt that a successful relationship is more likely when a man **respects his wife and treats her well**. One man noted that, "*Respect for your partner … same respect you expect from your partner you must give her the same respect. Not respect only in words but actions as well*" (Rural man, FGD, 27 years). Men emphasised that in a happy relationship, the good treatment required to have positive relations is inevitably reciprocal: "*I will be a hard worker, I will respect partner and treat her right. I will also try to help the family and community to do any activities so that she will have confidence and trust in me*", (Rural man, IDI, 28 years).

Respondents talked at length about the **importance of fidelity** for a successful intimate relationship. Sometimes men framed this in terms of loyalty: "*You must trust each other and be loyal so that the relationship will be perfect. When there's no loyalty then the relationship will be imperfect*", (Rural young man, FGD, 21 years). For many men, trust and fidelity (or lack thereof) went hand in hand: "*my advice to young couples is the only thing that destroys their relationship is* ***jealousy****. This is the main killer of relationship these days as it couples with causing* ***adultery, disrespect***", (Rural man, IDI, 32 years). Faithfulness is a necessary component of an intimate relationship that can last for many years. Without fidelity, men saw the relationships around them sour: "*generally commit yourself to your loved ones, also understand your partners and be faithful to one another and do*

not cheat if married or having a steady girlfriend. That's what my parents go through so I don't want such to happen to me", (Rural young man, IDI, 21 years).

Men stressed the importance of **clear communication**. When a couple has a well-articulated set of rules and preferences for their relationship, it is more likely to succeed: "*I would advise them to have rules or common understanding between them on what to do, example what are the man's dislikes and likes and what can they do to avoid the dislike and accept the likes and is that okay for the women about the thing man like or not and the same goes to the wife, just to build trust and common understanding between the two*", (Rural young man, IDI, 19 years). Without the vulnerability and hard work of open communication, couples cannot make good decisions when challenges arise: "*We have to figure out and control ourselves by way of getting insights of both parties and know so that one way or the other, we can manage to overcome those challenges in lives*", (Rural man, IDI, 32 years).

Often connected to this, men felt that **obedience** was necessary for a successful intimate relationship. As one respondent put it, "*I think that communication and obedience is vital to have a long-lasting relationship*", (Rural young man, FGD, 19 years). While obedience was sometimes framed as reciprocal, for the most part, men mentioned that they wanted their wives to be obedient to them. One man observed that for him, obedience comes down to respect: "*Obedience. If I tell my wife not to do a certain thing she must not do it because she must respect me, and if she asked me not to do a certain thing I must not do it, because I must respect her*", (Rural man, IDI).

Correct attitudes

In addition to engaging in positive behaviour and avoiding negative habits, certain underlying values set men up for success. These values or attitudes include honesty, humour, love, trust, and a commitment of time and effort.

Trust and honesty were often linked. Men found that honesty would beget trust, and that in successful relationships, a family showed honesty: "*there must be honesty between mother and the kids for things to work out, there will be love. There must be trust in the family, love and caring*", (Urban man, IDI, 46 years). Another essential attitude or value is humour. Men found a good sense of humour to be key. One man observed that humour is a useful tool to diffuse tension in his relationship: "*me and my partner (wife) usually have a sort of humorous relationship where we make jokes to each other. It usually prevents us from being jealous of each other… so yeah, the main thing is to have a humorous family and a happy working together family*", (Rural man, FGD, 34 years).

Another key attitude was **love**. Even while selecting for various other qualifications, respondents remained committed to love as the essential requirement for success in a relationship. One man put it simply, when asked "*what kind of things would make the relationship happy and long lasting? [saying] True love*", (Rural man, IDI). Another man said that for him, "*My ingredients would be number one love*", (Rural man, IDI).

Men also felt that trust was a key ingredient for relationship success and felt that **trust** goes hand in hand with fidelity. Many men felt trust was reciprocal. One man noted that, "*if I want her to trust me, I think I will give her my trust first. So, she can repay that trust to me. It is in my nature. I will treat her how…I will respect her and treat her right. I will be there when she needs me*", (Rural man, IDI).

Finally, men felt that there was hard and consistent work involved in relationships—namely, a strong **commitment of time and effort**. One man observed that, "*building up relationship takes a lot of time, efforts and resource put into it. That is where you find the true relation between individuals or community. It is not an overnight thing*", (Rural leader, IDI, 52 years). Another man stressed a similar sentiment. Successful relationships involve significant effort: "*It involved time and commitment, resources, and basically you as a whole. Family needs us more than other and we should be there for them at any time and everything*", (Rural young man, IDI, 18 years).

12. MEN AS PARTNERS AND AS FATHERS

12.1 Decision making in intimate relationships

Many men responded that they saw considerable gender equality in their communities and found that household decisions were increasingly being made **jointly by men and women**. This descriptive observation was linked to contribution to household income in particular: "*All the decisions making and hard work are done by man, but now is gender equality and woman rights is taken into consideration, and in terms of decision making and working are done by both*", (Urban man, IDI, 29 years). Essentially, as women's earning role expands, so does their power within the household.

Normatively, two sometimes-conflicting threads ran through respondents' conceptions of decision-making in the home and gender. First, many men felt that, **as men, the household decision-making ought to lie with them**: "*Women must respect men and must not raise their voice at us when arguing. They must be obedient to us men to make us happy*", (Rural leader, IDI, 62 years). However, many men noted that in situations where women had a more dominant financial role – either by contributing regularly to the household income or because the man had not fully paid the bride price – household decisions were made jointly. Most respondents observed a fairly quid pro quo arrangement with respect to power and money between men and women in a household: "*In my case, my wife sells baked goods down at the market, so most of the time she bosses me around. But recently, I have started doing some random work around the community where I get paid and from that money I give her some and she buys her dough or flour and bakes and goes and sells them at the market. So now I tell her that I'm the boss of the house*", (Rural man, FGD, 40 years).

This first line of thought came up often. Respondents concluded, sometimes regretfully, that the person with the job tends to make the decisions. In other words, **power lies with economic autonomy**: "*If she has a job and he has a job then there is equal power in the relationship…If you're the one employed then you're also the boss. That is how it works, it's life. You will see some men live like that. It is not only the men who are the boss and have power in the relationship*", (Urban young man, FGD).

Many expressed frustrations, linking women's growing role in household decision-making to their growing role in family finances, classifying it as unnatural. One respondent contrasted the modern trend toward greater gender equality with a perceived religious preference for men as the sole family decision-makers: "*The bible said the men is the head of the family. And wife or lady must submit to her husbands. But nowadays this is slowly dying away. In the eyes of G-d, man is the rightful person to make decision. To be honest, most decisions in my village are made by women and not men. Even money too, women have control over finance, therefore, they have power to make decision*", (Rural leader, IDI).

In some cases, men noted that the norms around the use of violence within the home were adjusted to reflect **women's greater contribution to the household income**. The level of violence that is acceptable when the man is the breadwinner ceases to be acceptable when women are the major household earners: "*Sometimes, when the wife is working (employed) and the man is just there at home doing nothing, you have no reason at all to lay a finger on her because she is the bread winner of the family*", (Urban young man, FGD). Power in the household, and also greater bodily autonomy and freedom from violence, is closely linked with contribution to household income.

In some cases, men's desire for traditional gender roles in the face of these new norms created feelings of emasculation, and still led to violence. Often, even when men were not the chief breadwinners, they still felt **entitled to the dominant role in family decisions**. This caused tension, as typically, women objected: "*men you know they are the boss of the family…when the story changes, I mean the topic changes, when the woman is working and the man is not working, and you'll see that. I'll say that they both are the boss of the family because the*

lady is feeding the family. The lady is feeding the family and the man is the boss of the family", (Rural young man, IDI).

Ambiguity over who is the 'boss' in the household was further compounded by the presence of **bride price**. Men felt that paying the bride price should secure household authority indefinitely; women often pointed out in response that securing household authority requires consistent financial contributions. One respondent observed this tension: *"The husband will be saying, 'I am the boss of this house and I paid for your bride price' and what not and the woman will be saying, 'I am the one who is looking after the family and looking after your mother and father', so they are like, equal, yeah*", (Rural young man, IDI). However, another respondent noted that if the man pays the bride price, he is in charge of the household: "*if you do pay the bride price and the wife is working and you do not, then the husband is [still] the boss of the wife*", (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years). How long exactly does a man buy household authority by paying the bride price? On this question respondents were largely silent.

And yet increased **gender equality** was not solely perceived as a negative, but as a necessary **requirement of difficult financial times**. One respondent noted that his wife was better at managing money than he was and, as a result, had greater control over day-to-day family decisions: "*Most of the decision on how to spend the money she makes or we rely upon her, cause she is better at managing money in the house and I respect her for that and she makes sure that there is food in the house and in my line of responsibility when I make money, I give a portion to her because I know that she keeps a good housekeeping so I ensure that she has money to buy our children food… Maybe 75% of the decision is made by my wife in the house, but we share decision together for our family's survival*", (Urban man, FGD, 58 years).

Some respondents framed shared household decision-making between men and women as fair, but also clarified that the **wife's input** was nevertheless a concession granted by her husband. Generally, respondents felt that the man would be well advised to seek the input of his wife, and not that the two parties were on equal footing: "*So husband and wife, together they come up with good ideas and make decisions… So, husbands should listen to their wives sometimes and likewise both of them must come [to] common understanding of an issue. Or sometime let the wives make a decision*", (Urban man, IDI, 29 years). Many men suggested that including wives in basic discussions of household matters was wise, and that "*The head of the family is always the father…Mostly, the father should take lead and make decisions in the family but the mother should be included, like they discuss together and make decisions*", (Urban young man, IDI).

Several respondents noted that, ultimately, even when power is *more* equally shared, men generally **still have ultimate power in the household**, as has been the case in PNG historically. One respondent confirmed that after a joint discussion between man and woman regarding their child, the final decision is still the man's: "*Nobody makes the decision between us, it's only me... I am the father of the child, I make the decision, everything is in my hands, I have to make that decision because if a woman makes that decision, I as a man would disagree*", (Urban young man, IDI). All are equal, but some are more equal than others. As another man noted, "*For me, from what I see, regarding decision making, the wife must have power and the husband must have power, but the husband must have more power than the wife, just like how we always see it happening*", (Urban young man, FGD, 24 years).

In the realm of non-household matters, there was a strong sense that women need **permission from their husbands** – whether to smoke or drink, to gamble or to go somewhere. One man noted his wife generally gets his permission: "*My wife normally gets permission from me. For instance, last time I went to my grandparent's burial and told her not to get drunk. She can get drunk whenever I am with her, **not without my presence***", (Urban man, IDI). Another man noted that acting without his permission was discouraged: "*If she had done it without my permission then I'd tell her to come and sit down and I will advise her and tell her not to do those things without my permission*", (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years). If women deviate from their submissive role, men see it is

just to pursue consequences. One respondent noted that he was within his rights to engage in violence: "*If my wife is not abiding to my principles, is going gambling or [not] doing things in line to my expectation* ***it would leave me in a genuine position to hit her*** *because I think that's the right thing to do*", (Urban young man, IDI, 25 years).

12.2 Task sharing in intimate relationships

Beyond the question of household decision-making, there are still strong norms related to **division of labour**. These fall along traditional gender roles, in which men's sphere of work is outside the home, and women's sphere of work is the home itself. While women's role is to bear and raise children, "*men must go to work and provide food on the table and the women will cook and take care of the family*", (Urban young man, IDI). Men's work, for instance, cutting grasses, clearing brush, gardening, fishing and hunting, are viewed as "big things men do," which women and girls avoid, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).

Women, on the other hand, are supposed to be at home. This obligation starts during girlhood, so that in observing their own mothers, girls will learn to be good mothers themselves. Though this is traditionally the case, one respondent despaired that with the younger generation this is increasingly less frequent: "*Normally, girls should be in the house helping around; but when it is afternoon the market is full of young girls… Why do their parents, especially the father or mother, do not discipline or advise them?*", (Rural man, FGD, 35 years).

Sometimes, women encroach upon **men's traditional sphere by working outside the home**, but this is restricted to certain professions. One respondent noted that "*father will go fishing or make garden and women will sometimes take care of the children and most of the time will do the marketing*", (Rural leader, IDI, 62 years). When women's earnings were mentioned, it was almost always in relation to selling items at the market. Another respondent clarified that the role of labour in women's lives must be minimal: "*yes you can get educated, get your little job, get your salary, do a little side business but at the end of the day you must come back and get married and it's expected*", (Service provider, Equal Playing Field).

There are exceptions. If a woman is unable to fulfil her traditional obligations (e.g.: household work, child-rearing), men will assist. Generally, "*the father doesn't…assist the child. Only when the mother is busy then the father assists. If the child is still very young and cannot do his/her own laundry or cannot walk to school, then the father will assist. But mostly the mother does all the work*", (Urban man, IDI).

One noted that this **clear division of labour created balance within the family**. Men and women had their separate spheres: *"In our society, male and female have roles and responsibility, like households and kitchen works are the roles of women and chopping firewood, building house or looking for food are for men. Women have role to play while men also have role to play. If both of them play their respective roles, I think the family will be balanced"*, (Urban man, IDI, 29 years). Overall, respondents were able to clearly identify women's traditional work relative to men's work and spoke of both categories of work with respect.

12.3 Men's views on fatherhood

Men expressed complicated and sometimes contradictory conceptions of fatherhood, but overall, the primary focal points with respect to fatherhood were remarkably like the focus men had on their relationships with their wives: men must show financial responsibility and provide moral guidance. As one respondent explained, the father-child relationship is underpinned by an understanding of the father's role as provider and protector: "*The father must respect the children and then the children will show you the same respect*", (Rural leader, IDI, 62 years).

In terms of men's parenting roles and responsibilities, there is a basic expectation that men perform the "heavy duty" parenting chores. Many men suggested that *"being a father, it is your responsibility to carry out your duties such as breaking firewoods, making house and other hard labour work, whereas your wife also will do her female part"*, (Urban man, IDI).

Provide for the child's material well-being

The single greatest obligation men have to their children is the same as the responsibility they owe to their wives: men must be the household provider. Men consistently pointed to the ability to provide for their child's material well-being as the foundation of their role as a father. **This obligation was linked to the overarching expectation that the man should be the primary breadwinner**. One man noted that "*it all comes back to you as a father. Their education- we have to provide quality education and send them to schools, also raise money to pay for his/her school fee and his/her necessities at school. Their livelihood entirely depends on the parents, so I think men should be responsible as they are the bread winners*", (Rural leader, IDI, 72 years).

A father's inability to provide for his family threatened to expose him to **ridicule from his peers**: *"I see that when men become fathers, they must look for jobs to help their family. [Otherwise] Men will have negative things to say about you and hurt your feelings."* (Urban man, IDI). For some men, it was equally important that their children know they are the family's principal income earner: *"I want to make sure my children are well disciplined and must know that I am the bread winner for the family"*, (Urban man, IDI). In other words, to provide is not enough; **his dominance must be asserted and seen**.

Provide a safe, nurturing environment

Several men focused on how fatherhood compelled them to create a home where their children felt comfortable. Interestingly, many men considered **nurturing their children** to be a key element of fatherhood and did not simply relegate this role to mothers. Men saw a link between family stability and happiness for their children. One man hoped his children would feel "*accommodate in a house where the environment is friendly for them to live so that they won't find themselves outside of both. They'll be comforted, cared for and live a happy life every day*", (Rural man, IDI, 32 years).

One father observed the importance of being a source of comfort, not by buying his children anything, but by **teaching his children how to regulate their emotions.** He noted that, "*when children are crying and when I don't have what they want, I know how to control myself and I see that its under control so I will take the kids out to a place away from everyone and show them places like the sea, birds, trees just to calm the child down*", (Urban young man, IDI). Men often put their interest in providing a safe home in stark contrast with other men's behaviour. Sometimes, men suffered negative experiences with their own fathers. One man reflected that "*I am not like another father… I am trying my best to be a good father*", (Rural man, IDI, 31 years).

For many men, ensuring the **physical comfort** to their children was a critical component of fatherhood, and would strengthen their bonds with their children. When asked about helping with day-to-day childcare

duties, one respondent noted, "*Oh yes, like I washed them and dressed them up with clean clothes and sometimes I look after them because of fast moving vehicles*", (Rural man, IDI, 34 years).

Another area of focus to provide a **comforting home environment** was **avoiding marital strife**. Multiple men described their desire to maintain a safe home environment to produce emotionally stable children: "*For the sake of children, parents should not argue in front of their children, they can be hurt. Try to be patients or be good in front of them and talk in a better way when in front of them*", (Urban man, FGD, 45 years). In many cases, men stressed non-violent conflict resolution as a critical component in healthy child-rearing.

Support the child's education

Many men noted that supporting their children's education was another key element of fatherhood. One younger father noted that to raise his children well, "*education is one of the biggest things, necessary needs… So, as family, it is a priority need among all your children's needs and wants and educate them*", (Urban man, IDI, 29 years). Another man noted that "*I normally used to tell my four children to do well in school because I went through the hard way. My parents made me to struggle and I don't like this kind of way for my children to go though so I normally encourage them to take education seriously so they can work and have a better life*", (Urban man, IDI). **Men saw education as a way out of poverty for their children** and encouraged their children's commitment to school accordingly.

Men sought to help their children with their education largely by providing financially for their school fees. Several men put it succinctly: as a man you should "*educate your children properly, pay their school fees, provide for them and must be a responsible man*", (Rural leader, IDI, 62 years).

Even men with limited income, men found ways to promote their children's education. One man expressed his commitment to furthering his children's education, even in cases when he could not afford their bus fare, saying he would get his children to school no matter what it took: "*I was concerned for their education, even when they're late for school, and don't want to go to school I always force them to go to school, or even if they don't have bus fare. Like I've said, I am not working, I will walk them to school. I always ask them to force on education because education is the only way they will understand how this world is working*", (Urban man, FGD, 34 years).

Shape the child's character

Beyond traditional schooling, men almost universally linked fatherhood with an obligation to provide essential education for their children. Shaping the child's character was necessary in many ways: showing positive moral guidance, correcting bad influences when they came up, imbuing children with Christian values and disciplining the child.

For many men, the roles of mother and father are differentiated by men's perceived natural **moral authority** in the family unit. Traditionally, mothers and fathers both have important roles, but father's roles are, if less hands-on, weightier. One respondent noted that "*the mother is also loved by the children but the father is the provider, he always provides by playing his part, but he must also educate his children in the right way to live. You have to discipline your children and show him the difference between right and wrong because they are learning. So as the father this is your purpose*", (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).

Men were committed to showing **moral guidance positively**. In other words, men were committed to defining and particularly illustrating good moral character for their children. Many men were concerned with teaching their sons what it takes to be a man.

Being a good **role model** was often tied to avoiding certain behaviours and being able to provide for one's own children in time. Among behaviours to be avoided: drinking, gambling, and swearing. One man asserted: "*Man is the head of the family therefore set good example to your family and children. Don't roam around aimlessly,*

don't spend too much time drinking alcohol, gambling and do all those bad habits", (Rural leader, IDI, 62 years). Another man observed that "*for instance, I avoided swearing in front of my kids because I don't want them to see me as the root cause of them ending up swearing*", (Rural man, FGD, 29 years). For most respondents, men have a positive role to play in setting certain behavioural standards for their children.

The two priorities men consistently emphasised were **education and religion**. One man summarised his own values as a father by saying men should: "*Encourage him firstly that going to church is the greatest thing and also going to school is also a good thing that will direct and build your life in a proper way*", (Rural man, FGD, 29 years).

Men showed a strong commitment to conveying **Christian values** to their children. On one level, this moral rearing was seen as an obligation of men's own: "*We are Christians. So as much as possible we as fathers, must also be involved in our children's lives ensuring that they grow up in a home where Christian values, beliefs, principles and morals are upheld. This is to make sure that they are disciplined and well mannered*", (Rural man, IDI). Another man shared a similar view, reflecting that "*as for me to be a good role model to my family to show and teach my children/wife the right pathway to success in life. Teach them more about Christianity and belief system*", (Rural man, IDI, 32 years). Many men saw Christianity as a corrective tool.

Some men saw Christianity as a value-set that would assist children with the obstacles they would face later in life: "*my personal view is that we must teach our children about Christianity, Christian values and principles. So, when they grow big they will know the Christian ethics and with know how to take care of themselves in a good life out of problems*", (Urban man, FGD, 37 years). In some cases, men felt that religious values were sure to have a positive ripple effect, making children more likely to commit to their own education: "*So the more you encourage them and take them to church, the more it will help them to be good. In that manner, they will complete their studies and become someone successful in future*", (Urban man, IDI, 29 years).

Counter negative influences

Men saw themselves as a critical corrective force against **negative influences** or temptations for the next generation. The risks are great, with one father noting that: "*we have lots of sons… the males in the community have been through a lot of bad influence from outside community… They are more influenced by outside communities, like drinking, smoking and stealing and many more. I as a father tried my very best to talk to them*", (Urban man, FGD, 41 years).

Many fathers saw puberty as a foundational stage for the moral development of their children, and especially their sons. One father noted that his guidance during this period was crucial: "*When the child grows to a stage where, like their teenage life where like he is man enough. Like when the child is like 10, 11 or 12 there is no excuse you must be there for them because you wouldn't want your life to go down a wrong path in life. Like his friends may be of influence on him, so* ***you need to be close to him until he is man enough then you start giving him his privacy***", (Urban man, IDI).

Discipline the child

For many men, disciplining their children was inextricably linked to their own **reputation** in the community. One man noted that, "*Lack of discipline is to spoil children, and leads to the practice of unwanted activities. This will all come back to you father and mother and will spoil your reputation*", (Urban man, IDI, 29 years).

Fairly often, men expressed the idea that **violent discipline was for children's own good**. Some men gave a religious justification for corporal punishment, observing that it makes children listen and that later in life this severe upbringing would give children the discipline they need to succeed. One man noted that fear of physical punishment might provide a child with professional drive: "*I think on this [Bible] verse, and I tell the parents on my street, "A good father will hit his child.' Why does he hit his child? Because he is concerned about his*

child becoming a good man. Simple understanding. Ok and I relate it back to the big shots. And I explain to them, 'You see this money man, he wouldn't be this kind of man if it wasn't for the belting he got as a child. Breaking his legs with a coffee stick or cane or walk miles and miles to go to school. Now you see them driving flashy cars around and you think that their parents simply talked to them?' …That is my viewpoint. It is good to hit a child to ***discipline him in a way where he will listen***", (Urban young man, IDI). In short, corporal punishment forces children to remember the imparted value system.

In other cases, men were concerned that any use of violence against their children would be revisited on them later in life. One respondent was quite pragmatic about the cycle of violence: "*I would say that if you hit your kids when they are wrong, this will never cease of their mind and that* ***one day they will return this favour and beat you up****. There are [more] effective ways I think all fathers should apply to discipline their kids. Firstly, tell their kids to sit down with them and have a father to son conversation. Tell them that what they do is wrong and will bring problems and troubles to themselves so they have to stop doing it again. If you treat them otherwise* ***they will one day do the repetition on you in the same manner***", (Rural young man, IDI, 25 years). Another observed simply that he found that providing non-violent care and moral guidance for his children went hand in hand, saying that, "*If they do something that is not right, you have to sit down and talk with them not to do that (…)* ***talk to children, not hit them*** *and point out their mistakes*", (Rural man, IDI, 34 years).

Still, men's views on child discipline differed. Most men favoured corporal punishment to correct bad behaviour, though there were notable exceptions, and a significant subset of men expressed strong commitment to avoiding excessive or extreme violence. Overall, the general sentiment was that fathers must discipline their children in some capacity to encourage their children to abide by the desired norms. One man noted that "*disciplining a child is a key to successful life. If you don't discipline your children they will get out of your hand and that will result in a bad future. Every one of us want our child to be prosperous therefore, we have to talk, encourage, mould and shape to put them in a better position to be accepted by all members of the community*", (Rural man, IDI, 32 years).

13. CONFLICT AND VIOLENCE

13.1 Sources of stress, tension, and conflict in men's lives

Respondents were asked about how men generally handled stress as well as conflict and disagreement in the home. For ethical reasons (explained in research ethics, section 7.1), researchers paid attention to not discuss individual situations but instead facilitated the conversation in a broad way (about men in general) to avoid individual disclosure of violence.

Living up to the roles and responsibilities assigned to them by society – or trying to – caused tension and high levels of **stress** amongst many men interviewed in this research: men from both rural and urban areas overall felt the burden of making ends meet on behalf of their families and as the gatekeepers of traditions and culture: *"I sometimes feel pressure because people will gossip about me for not paying bride price to my wife as yet but I am working on it (…) When I get told off by my wife's family for not paying bride price, I come home heavy hearted and want to send my wife back to her family. But then I look at her and I just find peace. She always brings peace into my heart"*, (Rural man, IDI, 28 years).

These pressures are related to the **high economic expectations** placed on men as providers for their families:

> "I do feel pressure at most of the times (...) because I am not working to cater for my needs and family. Sometimes I work, I do feel good but other times I don't feel good when I don't meet my expectations. The advice from my parents is really good because it will help me reduce these pressures. I can say that most of the pressure will come from my family members so that's why I have to get a job. If I don't work, they will criticize me and gossiping that's why I have to work hard to reduce these pressures."
>
> (Rural young man, IDI, 24 years).

Material deprivation (poverty) was found to be a central source of tension that was stressed by many participants: In urban areas, extreme poverty was linked to extremely high levels of exploitation, use and experience of violence as well as a deep sense of helplessness. Men's experiences of life in the cities were often associated with a greater sense of social isolation, loneliness and lack of general support. One participant shared a vivid comment about how he felt hopeless when experiencing extreme deprivation and how he felt unable to ask for help:

> "When I have enough in my pocket, I give and share with my family and friends. But when I need something or when I don't have money and I am so stressed and pressured about it, I will never ask for help. It's just me. I don't like asking people about things because I don't like looking weak. (...) There are times in life where I am left alone and no one bothers to check up on me. I feel neglected. I feel like I'm invisible and no one notices that you are hungry, sad, angry, etc."
>
> (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).

One other participant explained how money (or the lack of money) was a source of tension between partners or husbands and wives: "*Nowadays, some women argue with money. When there's no money the arguments erupt, and when there's money there is no argument. When we have money, she walks around showing off all over the place. So, when there is no money then we men struggle to go out looking for money*", (Rural man, IDI).

Other sources of tension came from one partner **disagreeing with the other's behaviour**. Participants gave examples of men disapproving of their wife's involvement in smoking, drinking or going out, for instance: "*Sometimes when my wife smokes a lot, I get angry I will say 'don't smoke that much', after seconds, hours, twice, thrice and she is still wasting money on smoke but children's needs won't be met, that makes me mad*", (Rural man, IDI, 34 years).

13.2 How men handle conflict and stress

Men provided contrasting stories about ways to handle stress, negative emotions, and conflict within the home.

Drugs and alcohol addictions were described as key means to **release pressure**, especially in households experiencing economic difficulties or partner conflict. Some participants shared a sense of hopelessness: *"I think, most men turn to drug and alcohol to ease their worries and avoid the problem because they cannot deal and solve the problem that's why. But the main thing I see is that, G-d only can fix whatever problem we have"*, (Rural man, IDI). One leader mentioned men resorting to self-harm: *"Some men in Hula, when they undergo stress, they tend to go out drinking to cool off or cut their stress down. Sometimes in very rare occasions, men in Hula (Village) suicide or take their own life because of family problems and stress"*, (Rural leader, IDI).

In one instance, a participant shared his story about how he initially handled stress through alcohol and then changed under the positive influence of his partner. Sharing his concern with his partner was a way of relieving stress:

> "I used to go out drinking when I was stressed. But now, that I have this girl (his girlfriend), she encourages me not to do it but to just share it with her (...). Then I figured that there are more ways for a man to deal with stress. So, once I thought it would be good to get drunk because of that but, then she told me to share it with a friend, a friend that I can trust and that's her. I share what's really stressing me out."
>
> (Rural young man, IDI, 24 years).

One participant shared ambiguous thoughts about how he handled stress, confiding a feeling of loneliness and keeping worries to himself while acknowledging this was not necessarily a good solution: *"Today, I have so many worries and stress that I don't tell anyone. But now I've realised that running away from problems won't solve them. We need to sit as a family and discuss it and solve the issue. Ignoring the issue makes it worse"*, (Urban man, FGD, 27 years).

Other participants resorted to non-harmful or positive strategies to handle stress and conflict such as **pausing or going out for breathing time** – this was mentioned by many participants: "*When I get into an argument with my family, or my wife, I walk away and stay out until I cool down, I come home, and we slowly settle it between us (him and his wife)"*, (Rural man, FGD, 34 years).

It is noteworthy that many examples of positive (non-violent) ways of handling stress or tension came from interviews with men in Central province (rural areas) and many examples of negative (violent) behaviours came from groups originating from urban areas (Port Moresby).

Table 2. Positive and negative strategies to handle stress and conflict

Positive strategies to handles stress/conflict	Negative strategies to handle stress/conflict
• Going out to cool down (to the market, chewing betel nut, seeing friends etc) • Using tradition or religion to bring about forgiveness or reconciliation (meal, betel nut, prayer, family gathering etc) • Using intermediary (councillor, church or community leader, elder) • Talking to wife or friend • Listening to music • Using negotiation and collective problem solving and conflict resolution • Asking wife to leave the house temporarily	• Beating wife and children • Destroying property, house possessions • Addictions (alcohol, drugs, smoking) • Keeping stress for himself • Self-harm / suicide

Across all groups, a high number of references were made to the **use of violence as a way to deal with stress, anger or frustration**: *"…some men can't stop their anger or frustration. That's when they use their fists"*, (Rural young man, IDI). Marital discord was also described by respondents as a cause of violence against women and children: *"When they are angry, some men, for example, when having an argument between two married couple (…) then the husband beats the wife which is the only way of releasing the stress or he could hit the children too"*, (Urban man, IDI). In one case, a man from Port Moresby talked about resorting to violence against his family as well as women and girls in the streets as a way to be freed from anxiety and pressure:

> "Sometimes when I help and get money to buy food and when people come ask me for things, I tend to scream at them, or hit them violently, because of the pressure that is inside me and it's too much for me. (...) In the house, I usually shout at my family members when I am angry, and I get angry over little things. I sometimes come outside the street and harass girls and married women, and to be honest, I don't really care about happens to them or me, the important thing is I get that stress and pressure off. That is my experience."
>
> (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).

13.3 Intimate partner violence

Overall, men tended to subscribe to the idea that violence against women in an intimate partner relationship was acceptable **only when there was a reason**. Most of the justifications highlighted related to the underlying concept of **patriarchy** (women as inferior). Men expressed the need to reclaim their authority by force when their wives' behaviours were not in line with traditional and social expectations of women. As one man from Port Moresby explained, "*if she doesn't do house chores or cook, do laundry, or go to the market and forget to go shopping and gamble until afternoon (laughing) they will get beaten up"*, (Urban man, IDI). Men also resorted to violence when women were seen as unable to perform their duties in the house or failed to take care of children *"If she doesn't take care of the kids or wash them, I will get angry and will come and get on*

her", (Urban man, IDI). Men from urban areas were more inclined to excuse violence or provide examples in which violence should and needed to happen or be tolerated.

Women were generally placed at the **same level as children** or minors, with emphasis being placed on the need to be submissive or obedient to their husbands. They were considered as immature and unable to take important decisions. Most justification or rationalisation of violence stemmed from the need to "correct" or punish them because of what was considered disobedience or inappropriate behaviour for instance, *"if she doesn't listen"*, (Urban man, IDI) or *"didn't follow their instruction"*, (Rural man, IDI).

> "...when women don't obey or submit to their partner and do something that the man does not want them to do, that's when men tend to be violent..."
>
> (Rural man, IDI, 28).

Many justified violence under certain circumstances, usually when women were seen as idle or unoccupied: *"my brother, he is a hard worker (Gardener) and fisherman and his wife is a lazy woman, so when he goes out to the sea or into the forest or bush and returns and sees his wife smoking, chewing betel nut and telling stories (basically lazing and leisure around this usually angers my brother into hitting his wife"*, (Urban man, IDI).

There was a sense that men needed to show they were in control and that failure to comply with men's expectations and gender roles and characteristics traditionally associated with "being a good wife" justified the use of violence:

> "I have the right to hit my wife/partner if she is not complying and do all sort of mistakes. (...) For example, when we have visitors in the house and if my wife misbehaves in the eyes of the visitors, I will beat her after they leave..."
>
> (Rural young man, FGD, 21 years).

Similarly, some men didn't see any other alternative than **when women openly disagree** or argue back and spark a dispute, especially when they are feeling ridiculed in front of the community or their peers: *I think, when there is a problem, the wife should not talk loudly and argue a lot with me, I would rather appreciate if she sat down with me, and we talk it out. No need for the neighbour and the whole community to know about it. I am not wealthy or a working-class man so when she describes me or gets cross at me, I always lose my temper and I'm not going to lie, most times I beat my wife because of that"*, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years). There was a sense that when women were arguing, they were overstepping the mark: *"Some wives are even more aggressive than their husbands, or even the husbands try to handle it in a peaceful way but the wives will provoke the situation that leads to fighting"*, (Urban man, FGD, 52 years). Being assertive or offensive was considered a male trait and not appropriate behaviour for women.

Violence was also considered a normal response as a retaliation against what was considered as **deviant behaviour.** Substance abuse, gambling, cheating or lying were among the behaviours that were considered unacceptable and punishable: *"For example, if she cheats on you or tells lies that will drive me crazy and I will for sure hit my partner"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years) and "*The best way is to warn the woman of the behaviour she commits, if she continues with the behaviour such as playing cards (gambling) or drinking and doesn't change her habit then that's the only way we can teach her a lesson"*, (Urban man, IDI).

Overall, men subscribed to the dominant idea that using violence was "the right thing to do" when there was what was considered as a "valid" reason. Resorting to violence was associated to male privilege and there was no reciprocity, that is, women using violence if their husband did something wrong:

> P: Whenever the wife does wrong, it's good to hit her. Men won't hit their wives unless there is a reason to it.
>
> I: So, I want to ask you what will happen if the man does wrong.
>
> P: The wife will just argue but she won't hit her husband.
>
> (Urban young man, FGD, 24 years).

Paying the **bride price** meant that men had rights over their wife: "*We're talking in regard to bride price, so, the man pays for the woman's bride price, at this point the whole family and the community has heard of it already. The community and the family are witness to that so after the pride price is paid and they go live together, they have rules. Maybe he'll tell the woman not to do this or that. Sometimes he'll hit her because he has the right to because he paid for it already"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years). Paying the bride price meant that women were indebted to their husbands and their families. If a wife deviated from what was expected of her, the husband was entitled to use violence to ensure her compliance.

Amongst men who condoned intimate partner violence, some believed that using physical force was only acceptable to a certain degree and that there was **a limit over which violence was considered as wrong**: "*So as a husband I've come to realise that hitting your wife doesn't solve the problem, but if she still gives you headache then you can hit her but not that hard"*, (Urban man, FGD, 27 years).

Some men clearly recognised that too much violence could be lethal: *"Some men go overboard when hitting their wives. What if you kill your wife?", (Rural man, FGD, 29 years).*

Similarly, others supported the idea that there was an adequate way to hit women so as not to hurt her: "*I hit her in a proper way like belting her using rubber hose (…) not to cause any injuries"*, (Urban man, FGD, 27 years) or *"If the* husband hits *the wife, he must hit her on the bum"*, (Urban man, IDI).

Men who internalised violence as acceptable also often thought that it was the women's fault, which in turn triggered the use of physical force; "*…if she still gives you headache, then you can hit her…*", (Urban man, FGD, 27 years).

Coercive control (another form of Gender-Based Violence) and jealousy were also invoked as reasons for engaging in violence towards partners with some men clearly saying that they could not stand not knowing about their wife's whereabouts or their wife seeing other people without their permission: "*when she stays there for too long and comes back, I usually get jealous, I mean I don't know what she's been doing there and she doesn't know what I'm doing here. So, I will get angry and to the extent of hitting my wife. I think it's better if my wife stays close to me with the children, then there will be peace"*, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).

It is interesting to note that control over wife (and children) movements can happen even in cases where physical violence is not approved of: *"there are some people who discipline their wives and children through talking and ensure that their wives and children do not spend too much time out in the community"*, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).

One interesting comment from a service provider based in Port Moresby highlighted the fact that as much as **culture** is invoked as a justification for Gender-Based Violence, the ongoing practice of violence was sustained by a male sense of superiority and domination: *"we use culture as a form of accuse, to justify their evil ways. There is nothing wrong in maintaining your culture. There's bad and good. So, keep the good but remove the*

bad (…) so I would say culture is one thing and ego, I wouldn't say pride, I'll say ego (…) If you break a man's ego you break him down". The violence stemmed from men's need to assert control: "*So the root would be power and control. So, it's the abuser who would want to assert power and control. He wants to be in control of the relationship"*, (Service provider, Equal Playing Field).

13.4 Corporal punishment against children

The need to resort to corporal punishment of children generated **greater consensus** among men than wife beating. Some men considered it appropriate to hit children but not women: "*In the community, we have rules and regulations in place. One of them is not to hit women or girls. For the case of children, it's okay for us to hit them in order to discipline them"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 19 years).

Parental hopes for a positive outlook for their children warranted the recourse to corporal punishment "*so that they can have a better future"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 19 years) *or "so that they can be a good man"*, (Urban man, IDI). As one man commented, harsh discipline methods allowed children to become successful and even wealthy adults: *"You see this money man, he wouldn't be this kind of man if it wasn't for the belting he got as a child. Breaking his legs with a coffee stick or cane or walk miles and miles to go to school. Now you see them driving flashy cars around and you think that their parents simply talked to them? I give them this story"*, (Urban man, IDI).

Most respondents talked about corporal punishment as a necessary measure to ensure children were **well brought up and well-mannered**. As one father from Central Province noted, child discipline was an important component of a child's upbringing, as important as keeping a child in good health:

> "...me and my wife got married and agreed that we will have a child (...) Now that the baby is born a male, I am very happy that he is going to inherit my rights. I took care of him until he is seven years old today. I beat him up sometimes because he does silly things and that I needed to discipline him. Despite that action, I did all that because I love him so much. When he gets sick, I lift him to the nearest help center so that he gets the medical treatment and get well soon. I have done that because I love my kid..."
>
> (Rural man, FGD, 28 years).

Physical discipline was supposed to correct children's behaviours and prevent their involvement in **negative activities**: "*If we don't discipline the kids, they will hang around in the village aimlessly and do unnecessary things in the street"*, (Rural man, FGD, 28 years). Fathers clearly anticipated that without strict discipline, children could end up participating in delinquency and disruptive or problematic behaviours.

The consequences of not properly disciplining children were considered a risk for some fathers. Softer discipline methods were clearly associated with either the prospect of a child "being spoilt" or losing parental control: "*If you don't discipline your children they will get out of your hand …"*, (Rural man, IDI, 32 years), "*they must be under my control so they have that fear, so they listen once and follow*", (Urban man, IDI).

Community approval/disapproval was an important factor for the continuation of the practice. Being a permissive parent could damage one's reputation in the community: *"We are in the community, and whatever she or they do in the community will affect the reputation of our family in the community"*, (Rural man, FGD, 40 years). Several participants noted that parental decision-making following child misbehaviour always followed what others in the community or in the larger family would say. There was no mention of listening to children as a way of resolving conflict or disputes: "*If my younger siblings did some wrong and our relative talked about it, we always act upon what they say and hit them"*, (Rural man, FGD, 40 years).

There was also a sense of **conformity with previous generations**. In some instances, men remarked that since they had received physical punishment as a child, it made sense for them to replicate the same discipline methods: *"Growing up my parents used to hit me to show me right from wrong, and I believe in that so my children should go through that too for them to be well-disciplined and fall in line instead of being spoiled"*, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years). Conversely, a man who didn't experience harsh discipline as a child observed that he was less inclined to beat his children.

Like wife beating, there were many comments across all groups referencing an "acceptable **threshold**" over which discipline was considered inappropriate (too violent). The idea was that violence shouldn't go over the edge and that good parenting excluded an excessive use of force, (**see table 3, below**).

> *"…what I've seen in the community is that those children whose parents hit them for misbehaving are well disciplined and those ones whose parents don't discipline have no discipline and are usually troublemakers in the community."*
>
> (Urban young man, FGD, 25 years).

There was also a perception that while this violence was wrong it was a necessary evil. To reflect this ambiguity, a man noted that he would apologise after he had beaten his children and explain to them he had good reasons to do so: "*Later I say sorry to them and try to explain to them about how I grew up and want them to become good children in the future so I discipline them"*, (Urban man, IDI).

In interviews from Central province (rural areas), **some participants argued that non-violent methods were preferable**: "*I don't hit them. I will discipline them through words only and only using my words to show them wrong from right"*, (Rural young man, IDI). There was a sense that violence was harmful, and that harsh discipline could lead to adverse consequences for children. Some fathers declared that hitting children could result in loss of confidence and further defiance: *"(…) coming to realising it, if you are going to be strict on your children, they'll be much sneakier. Like, if you don't want them to lie and you belt them, they'll find out ways to lie to you by [not] telling you the truth"*, (Rural young man, IDI, 24 years) and that adolescents could end up resorting to worse behaviours because of violence: "*Before, when parents belt their kids, they had nowhere else to go. Nowadays, there are little gang-bang groups around. If you hit them they will run to these groups to hide"*, (Urban man, IDI).

Table 3. Arguments for and against child hitting

Justifications for child hitting	• Out of concern and love: *"Because I love him."* • To avoid children *"being spoilt"* • *"Because I want their future to be good."* • To avoid children misbehaviour/delinquency • Because non-violent methods don't work • To avoid them repeating the same mistakes • To please other parents: "*They won't bother asking me again to hit my children later on again."* • *"They must be under my control."*
Limits to child hitting (reasons)	• Only when *"they do something wrong like stealing someone's property, bullying and swearing."* • Only when they "*hurt other kids"*

	• Only when they are "*big-headed*" • Only using certain methods (*pinching ears, on the bum*): "*There are proper ways to hit them.*" • Hit them *"not using force"* or *"not in a cruel manner"* • *"When the kids aren't listening to their parents."*
Arguments against child hitting	• Beating could increase children's disobedience: *"They will be sneakier."* • Children could turn to gangs • Child beating is against the law • Someone could report you to the police • Feelings of guilt: *"Later I say sorry."*

13.5 The intersection between VAC and VAW

It was interesting to note that **similar justifications were held for violence against women and children**, or it was resisted for similar reasons. As one participant shared, it was also referred to as occurring at the same time: *"Some men or fathers when the children misbehave, they blame the mother and hit their wives and not their kids. The society sees wife-bashing as a norm, so since she's the one taking care of the children, she is responsible for their actions. That's how some people in my community see this"*, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).

Table 4. Protective and risk factors leading to violence

Risk factors	
Lack of education	*Most people who don't hit their children and wives are the educated ones, because they know violence and child abuse is a crime and there are laws about that, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).*
Drug and/or alcohol abuse	*I see that in some of our families there are some fathers consuming alcohol and hitting their wives or getting angry over small things like gambling [playing cards], (Urban man, IDI).* *(…) most men hit their wives when under influence of alcohol and drugs, (Rural man, IDI).*
Patriarchal attitudes	*Violence occurs because there's a lack of understanding and disobedience in the family. When men ask their wives to do certain things and they do not follow their instruction, this triggers violence to occur, (Rural man, IDI, 28 years).* *(…) when women do not obey or submit to their partners and do something that the men do not want them to do, that is when men tend to be violent, (Rural man, IDI).* *I have the right to hit my wife/partner if she is not complying and do all sort of mistakes, (Rural young man, FGD, 21 years).*

Negative anger management strategies	*Some are short tempered while others are not. From my observation, some people don't think twice before using violence in the home. They just get angry unnecessarily and do things in a split of a second. The main point here is you have to control your temper and feelings, (Rural man, IDI, 32 years).* *I always lose my temper and I'm not going to lie, most times I beat my wife because of that, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).*
Attitudes normalising violence	*Whenever the wife does wrong, it's good to hit her. Men won't hit their wife's unless there is a reason to it, (Urban young man, FGD, 24 years).*
Bride price (gender inequitable beliefs flowing from this traditional practice)	*The man pays for the woman's bride price (…) Sometimes he'll hit her because he has the right to because he paid for it already, (Urban young man, FGD, 21 years).*
Ignorance	*(…) in my opinion I think it happened because of no awareness, and lack of knowledge about violence. That is why he goes and hits his wife or partner, (Rural young man, IDI, 25 years).* *Most of the people out there don't know anything. Like, their behaviour toward women and children are not good, because they never been to [awareness] activities, and they don't know what they are doing is right or wrong, (Urban man, FGD, 29 years).*
Gender stereotypes	*Like, if she doesn't take care of the kids or wash them, I will get angry and will come and get on her things like that, (Urban man, IDI).*
Childhood exposure/ experience of violence (inter-generational cycle of violence)	*Most people imitate from their fathers. If you come from an abusive home where your father normally beats and abuses your mother you would become like your father and beat your wife, (Urban service provider).* *I also saw my father hit my mother, so I too hit my partner, (Rural man, FGD).* *My father was a mechanic by profession. He was a man who beat our mum. He beat her all the time. Any little mistake that he saw, straight on the spot. No mistakes as well, he must hit her. This sort of behaviour was taken on and applied by my big brother, (Rural man, FGD, 27 years).*
Beliefs about the inferior status of children	*Children are generally troublemakers. You can talk all you like but they will still do what they want. Your head will ache, (Urban man, FGD, 45 years).*
Protective factors	
Shared decision-making in the home	*(…) we talked about – woman she wakes up at 5am starts cooking and do all the work until 8 o'clock or 9 o'clock in the night and she'll be the last one to sleep and then when the man comes in and wants to have sex with her and she refuses and that's when violence starts. So, sometimes violence starts from the bedroom and later we can see the signs. I think the shared responsibility, when men understand their role and gender and accept that he is part of the family, that lady was his lover and she's part of him, and both made the decision to come together, it helps a lot, (Urban service provider, IDI).*

Positive masculinity	*Hitting her will not solve the problem but you will instead create another new one. Talk to her politely and she will understand. Real men don't hit their wives, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).*
Knowledge of laws protecting women and children from violence	*I will end up in jail: my wife or my children will report me. So, I always think about consequences, (Urban man, IDI).* *(…) because it is the law of us Papua New Guineans, and the law of our country and the village also has a law against hitting women, (Rural man, FGD, 29 years).* *The more you hit women, the more you will be behind bars. She will report you. Now children have rights and women have rights too, (Urban man, IDI).* *If the fathers beat their kids this is child abuse and that there are laws and penalties involved in such acts, (Rural young man, IDI, 25 years).*
Wife's employment	*Sometimes when the wife is working (employed) and the man is just there at home doing nothing, you have no reason at all to lay a finger on her because she is the bread winner of the family, (Urban young man, FGD).*
Education level	*Most people who don't hit their children and wives are the educated ones, because they know violence and child abuse is a crime and there are laws about that, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).*
Positive anger management strategies	*I am to advise men not to hit their wives and kids. I will briefly give an example of two of the boys I grew up with at the house. Once they encountered a situation that compels them to start violence they would resort to seek my advice regarding their problems. My advice to them would be to walk off and not hitting their wife and kids. I would advise them to find friends or go chewing in order to get their minds off the problems until they encounter peace they can return home, (Urban young man, IDI, 25 years).* *When you're bringing someone to play sports, you're going to clear his mind. Make him busy in playing sports to keep him busy from not doing other violent things, (Urban young man, FGD, 25 years).*
Non-violent childhood / positive role models	*My father used to tell us that hitting women is not good because it will affect the relationship and there will be consequences, (Rural man, IDI, 28 years).* *I want to become exactly like my own father. He never lay a single hand on my mother and he took care of us really well. I want to be a good example to my children and a loving and caring husband to my wife, (Rural man, IDI).*
Spiritual values/religion	*(…) my late uncle was a pastor, and for the sake of my marriage he always encouraged me not to argue and fight with my wife. Because he was our neighbour and every time he saw us fight or me swearing at my wife. So, one day, he sat with me and talked about the Christian values and ethics. Until then, I never did the same mistakes again. I always help my wife to take care of our kids until now they are grown up. So, it was through him that now I have peace and show love to my family and that will attract everyone, (Urban man, FGD, 52 years).* *Then when he (my father) came into the Bible there he started to regret that he should have treated his children well and not to hit them but to sit them down and talk, (Rural man, IDI).*

13.6 Violence and social norms

Looking at the complex social phenomenon of violence through the lens of social norms can help policy makers and implementers adjust and adapt their prevention interventions. Social norms are shared beliefs and behaviours among a given group or society, to which individuals conform because they believe others behave in this way (descriptive norms) and expect them to as well (injunctive norms).

It is interesting to note that what constitutes a norm in a certain context can simply be a prevailing behaviour in some other contexts. When a behaviour is driven by a social norm, it means that what people do is not driven by motives personal to them, but rather than by external factors (beliefs about what other people think, do, or expect). If what sparks a behaviour is driven by individual reasons (i.e.: one's own thoughts and opinions), then interventions should focus on this level. However, if they are driven by social norms, interventions would be best designed at the collective/group level.[xxx]

Topic guides developed for this research use a number of questions to assess and explore the extent to which violence against women and children is informed and sustained by detrimental social norms. In addition to these, the focus group discussion guide included a participatory activity to further explore the different social norms at play from the ACT framework[xxxi] called the "2x2 table", (see annex 1, below).

The 2x2 table explored attitudes and descriptive and injunctive norms related to intimate partner violence (IPV) and corporal punishment against children. It prompts responses related to own and others' approval of IPV and child hitting (both physical violence only) and of social expectations to engage in these practices. The 2x2 table also used probing questions to ask about the social sanctions that men may experience if they do not engage in beating their partners and children and the social rewards that men receive when they do.

Table 5. Definition of key terms (from ACT framework)

Term	Definition	Activity component
Attitudes	Our own thoughts and opinions about a topic or behaviour (which may or may not be influenced by norms)	Approval 2×2 table
Descriptive norms	Beliefs about what others actually do	Behavioural expectation 2×2 table (what others do) and probing questions
Injunctive norms	Beliefs about what others think we should do (and about what others approve of)	· Approval 2×2 table (what others approve of) · Behavioural expectation 2×2 table (what others think you should do)

When looking at the trends in responses after interviewers' probing, the following key features were striking:

- Amongst all respondent groups, there was a **disconnect between attitudes** (what I and others believe) and **norms** (what I think others do or expect me to do). Some participants who condemned IPV at the individual level nonetheless thought that other men: (a) used violence against their partner/wife, and (b) expected them to do it. This suggests that, while individual attitudes may be changing (what some men believe is right), the norm persists: **men think other men continue the practice (IPV) and expect them to do so**.
- Respondents reported strong **social sanctions** and **social rewards** attached to both child beating and wife beating, (see table 6, below). The social sanctions attached to **IPV** are highly correlated with the imperative of masculine domination (over women). Meanwhile, the social sanctions and social

rewards adhering to **violent child discipline** had more to do with recognition as a responsible parent and ensuring a good future for their child. Overall, men believed that failure to conform with others' expectations was a real threat to their reputations and to their place in society.

- **Attitudes (approval of violence):** Overall, men tended to **endorse child beating** more than they did wife-beating. Approval of child beating received more unanimous responses. By contrast, there was greater equivocation on the question of wife-beating, with more men viewing this as wrong (see section 13.3):
  - "(When I) …hit my wife, some will be happy about me and some later they will tell me to go and apologise to her", (Rural young man, FGD, 24 years).
- **Injunctive norms** were slightly stronger for **corporal punishment** than for IPV: men participants thought others expected them to conform with the norm of child beating more than for wife beating. Child corporal discipline was driven by stronger community/family expectations (injunctive norms) than IPV:
  - "Regarding grandparents, if they (children) misbehave, I always listen to their opinion. When they said 'hit him or her' that is when I hit him or her", (Rural man, FGD, 34 years).
  - "Like the neighbours, what they do is they hit the child if the child did anything that is bad, and we started talking and telling the child that this is wrong. They will hear our concern and hit their children. Even for us, too, if my younger siblings did some wrong and our relative talked about it, we always act upon what they say and hit them", (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).
- In **urban areas**, there were slightly more responses favouring violence in general (and IPV in particular) than in rural areas (Central Province). As many urban respondents came from rural settlements or had lived there in the past, many references to violence came from interviews that took place in Port Moresby.

Table 6. Social sanctions and rewards related to the use of violence

Intimate partner violence	Corporal punishment
Social sanctions *In my own experience, when you do not do what they are expecting you to do, like hitting my wife or children, the groups that you are involved in, they tend to be distant and later on leave you. They wouldn't want to be involved in anything or have nothing to do with you. They will see you as weak and someone who always listens to his wife rather than making decision as a man, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).* *If someone comes and tells you that your wife did that and you do not hit her other men will say that you're a gay, (Urban man, IDI).* *(…) If you don't do as you're told you will be ridiculed (…) the boys will call out meriman. Or coward, (Rural man, IDI).* *R: What will happen if you don't listen to them approve you of hitting your wife?*	**Social sanctions** *…we are in the community, and whatever she or they do in the community will affect the reputation of our family in the community. And people will hear about thing (bad news) and will pass [it] out. So yeah, the concern of the community or people I care about and value, it affects my decision making, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).* *R: What if you don't hit your children when they misbehave? What do people who live around you say about that?* *P: They will gossip about me for not hitting my children as a form of discipline when they make mistake. Some will argue with me and tell me that if I don't hit my children they'll continue to misbehave, (Rural man, IDI, 28 years).* *Young children now, when they create trouble, the blame always goes back to the father and mother. If you do not discipline your children, you will be despised, (Urban man, FGD, 42 years).*

P: They will criticise me and say I am not fit to be a man, (Rural young man, FGD, 24 years). *If you don't do it, those people will call you a girly girl. All sorts of gossip will be spread about you. You will not know the type of things people will say about you. Cunt, all sorts of name, the list goes on. You must stand your ground, (Urban man, FGD, 45 years).* *R: Do you think others' opinions matter to you to hit your wife?* *P: Yes, their words have power and if I don't follow they will criticise me, (Urban young man, FGD, 25 years).*	*In my home province, there is a big expectation by the community on parents to physically enforce discipline on their children. And the same goes for a lot of other places, families and cultures throughout PNG. In my village, if you do not conform to the set of norms or mores that are in place, you are shunned and will not be assisted in your time of need or included in community activities or church appointments, (Researcher).* *Now in the settlement, there's a big influence [of others]. So, if a child does something they [community people] already know where he [the child] lives. They'll come and destroy your house, (Urban man, FGD, 45 years).*
Social rewards *R: And if you hit your wife, what will they say about that?* *P: They will say 'you are a man now', (Urban young man, FGD, 25 years).* *(…) The community will see it and praise, give recognition to you for that because you are teaching your wife how to be a good wife or disciplining your kids, and you will have good reputation record, (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).*	**Social rewards** *My point of view about hitting a child publicly: sometimes parents want to sit at public places with family friends, so when we sit down, those family friends as well will bring their kids as well, from which they will play along and then they will end up making a mistake. Then the father of the other kid will get up and beat his kid. When he does that he would expect you to do the same thing. So, his expectations are in your hands – yes or no to hit your kids. So, when you hit your kids, the community will watch your deliberate actions and judge whether your actions are right or wrong. So, this is the rewards of your actions towards hitting your child. We will say good name to you or bad name, (Rural man, FGD, 27 years).*

13.7 Men resisting violence

Many men across regions and age groups also made it clear that **violence against women and children was wrong**, although it was less the case for violence against children. Men had varied reasons for not resorting to violence (**see table 4, above**) ranging from individual preference for non-violent discipline methods, knowledge of the law banning extreme forms of violence, religious principles, and values against harming others.

Some men gave examples of resisting the urge towards violence, despite societal ramifications. In some cases, men shared that **feelings of affection and love** were powerful motivators for non-violent behaviour, especially in the context of intimate relationships: *"I don't hit my wife even if others think otherwise. I love my wife, and I respect her and I trust her because I know I earn the same from her (she reciprocates the love, respect and trust). Like she can go stay late with her relatives or go to marketing and come home late. I never hit her even if others think I am wrong"*, (Rural man, FGD, 40 years).

However, when it came to violence against children, the social pressure was more difficult to resist: *"Once a child makes a mistake you will hear, 'Hit the child and teach him' but as the father it depends on the love you have for the child. If you love him/her, you'll talk to her. But if it gets too extreme and the community pressures you to hit your child just because he/she has done something very wrong, then you will hit the child and tell him/her that I hit you because you keep repeating this particular bad behaviour. So, I'm correcting you to become a good man in the future"*, (Urban man, IDI).

There were also stories shared about **male adults and youth fighting violence and stopping others** when witnessing violence around them, either in the family context or in the community: *"At home, I sometimes can't accept to see my step-father bashing my mother. So, sometimes I stop them, but most of the time I fight with my step-father"*, (Rural young man, IDI, 21 years). Another respondent recounted fighting with his brother to prevent him beating his wife. His rationale, however, was based on gender inequitable views of women being weaker than men:

> "One day my big brother and I fought over this. He had belted his wife and I took to her defence. I did so because it was not right. Because women are the weak and we men are structured differently to them. Even scientific theory says women are weaker than men. So, the way I see it, hitting women is not right. But there is a solution to these kinds of problems. You can talk it over or other ways that are there."
>
> (Rural man, FGD, 27 years)

13.8 Men as victims of family violence

Men can also be victims of violence, often by witnessing it at home as a child. One participant shared that he was rejected by his stepfather when he was a child after his mother re-married and felt guilty about domestic violence happening at home:

> "(...) my mother and my step-father always get into argument and fighting and destroy the household properties. That was the pressure that I feel, when seeing my step-father bashing my mother. It only happened when I was staying with them which I always feel like I am responsible or I am the cause of all that has been happening. So, the only thing I can do is just pray. That's all",
>
> (Rural young man, 18 years).

14. MEN'S ASPIRATIONS AS HUSBANDS AND AS FATHERS

Participants clearly understood the gaps between the **envisioned ideal** (the ideal father/husband I would like to be) and the realities with which they struggled and that potentially affected their initial desires. This disconnect was sometimes attributed to the high stress felt by men in their role as provider (ensuring family survival). However, their aspirations were related to love, care and nurturing, healthy relationships.

It is recommended that future messaging and advocacy involving men is based and grounded on these positive hopes and aspirations.

Table 7. Men's roles, realities and aspirations

What I 'should' do	What is my reality	My aspirations
Marry and have children Take charge of the family (provider/breadwinner) Take the family lead Take leadership roles in the community Have an influence on others Be submissive to G-d Ensure children follow good morals and education Control himself Ensure obedience of dependents (including wife) Serve the community's interests Be in control of emotions	Worried about family survival Cannot afford bride price Anxious to safeguard own reputation Taken by addictions Wanting more peaceful and caring relationships Concerned about children's future and capacity to have a good life Struggles to control anger and frustrations Scared of losing control of children Dependant on parents	To be a good husband and father To find means and ways to support my children To be kind, loving and caring To be looked after later in life by my children To change my "bad habits" (addictions) To serve G-d and be a good Christian To lead by example, to be a good role model To be faithful

15. PREVENTING VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Many themes emerged in the discussion about preventing domestic violence which show that, collectively, men have a great deal of wisdom about *what* messages might work to address these complex issues in their own culture and society and *how* they should be delivered.

Men's acknowledgement that using force is unfair

A recurring reason to avoid violence against women was due to the strength imbalance. In other words, domestic violence is **never a fair fight** because women are weaker: "*If it happens in your family our relatives always let them know that this kind of behaviour is not right. Women don't have strength to fight back therefore men should not take that as an advantage*", (Urban young man, FGD, 25 years).

Some respondents noted that men might not know their own strength, so even if some violence against a wife is warranted, it should not be 'too severe': *"…he has every right to take over the woman. But there's boundaries there. Not to go over and beyond"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).

Although not in line with gender equality principles, this argument is still valid and is a first step towards protecting women's physical and bodily integrity. However, it does not address the root causes of violence, including deeply ingrained gender inequality.

Lowering inequalities between men and women/children

According to one participant, calling for more **equal relationships** is a crucial step to prevent unacceptable violence: *"From experience and opinion, everyone should be treated as equal and not boasting themselves to get themselves well known by hitting wife and child. They are not dogs, and we will not drag them or mistreat them like that"*, (Rural man, FGD, 29 years).

Challenging current masculinities/changing current discourse about masculinities

Some men suggested powerful catch phrases: *"Real men don't hit their wives"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years) to call other men to avoid violence that proposes other models of masculinity. They also suggested that men advise their peers to improve their communication and avoid violence *"I think we men, should have a sit down and have a chat and say that violence against women is not okay and it's always good to sit down with our wives and work out our problems through talking*", (Urban man, FGD, 28 years).

Finding influential spokespersons to deliver messages

Many suggested that messaging could and should go through **respected community sources**. One such source was the church. To avoid violent acts at home, a good man should go to church, and the values will lead him to correct action: *"the only way is to go to church and turn away from sins"*, (Urban young man, FGD).

Still another respondent suggested the use of community leaders to frame violence against women negatively. Since people listen to the guidance from community leaders more generally, one man noted that *"we should target the community leaders and peace makers like the councillors, volunteers of community so that they can extend the message and people will listen to them"*, (Urban young man, FGD).

Another man noted that key messaging about avoiding violence can be communicated through networks of **friends and family**: *"If it happens in your family or relatives always let them know that this kind of behaviour is not*

right", (Urban young man, FGD, 25 years). It was the examples from within their own families as well as from their own environment that prompted men to avoid violence in their own lives.

> "The way you treat your wife and children in a good way will influence others to follow your footsteps."
>
> Rural man, FGD, 26 years)

Using gospel teaching to prevent violence

Many men arguing against the use of violence did so by evoking religious sources: *"I will convince them by telling the good news about Jesus Christ and do away with whatever things which is not right so that they can learn to give good treatments to their family including the children and wives. He is the only source of life. And to remember the ten commandments and follow"*, (Rural leader, IDI).

Man-to-man prevention outreach visits

In a few instances, men suggested that changing men's attitudes needs to happen by directly spotting households where violence is practised: *"I think it's best to go and visit people who practise domestic violence and have a cup of tea and talk to them because can't just go straight to them and talk to them"*, (Rural leader, IDI).

However, a **non-interventionist approach** was favoured, even when the violence was being directly witnessed. Men evidenced a bystander attitude and proposed that discussions take place after the incident, without publicly challenging the perpetrator. At the same time, there was recognition of the need to build connections and to phrase prevention messaging in a way that makes sense to the offender:

"I will say that if you see someone beating a child, you don't have to go and shout or push. Stand on the side and watch him do it first. Once he is done… you invite him to your house (or) place where he can settle and you advise him not to do this again. Sit properly with him and give advice… so that next time he won't do that again. ***Encourage him in a way that he can understand you easily****. After advising him, tell him to pick up a point that will help him"*, (Rural man, IDI, 32 years).

Sensitising about the consequences of violence

There were some reflections on the consequences of violence on women and children and that this knowledge needed to be more widely communicated: *"…hitting a child because they misbehave is not good and should not be practised anymore. What if you hit your child and you accidently killed him or her?"* (Rural man, IDI)

Promoting respect for women

Another potential entry point for violence prevention is promoting respect for women by reference to men's concern for their mothers. Many respondents had grown up in violent homes, witnessing intimate partner violence: *"Looking at the situation our mother had been through, we don't want them [our wives] to be like that, so we respect our women and know that better before marrying them. So, we respect them and they are very important part of our family and community"*, (Rural young man, IDI)

Sensitising about healthy and positive relationships

- **Building intimacy takes time**: "We (…) married and the relationship that we had, it was very good, despite challenges we went through, we all share common idea and interest in which it was very memorable; when she left, it really broke my heart. And it takes time to build in an intimacy or intimate relationship; and to find someone for her to love you or him to love you." (Rural leader, IDI).

- **Taking care of others as you would treat yourself**: "How you take care of yourself, you show that care towards others as well. How you take care of your body, you do the same towards others. I mean, you wouldn't want to cause harm towards yourself, so the same applies to other people. That means do not cause harm to other people such as your wife and children. So, my message is stop violence against women and children." (Rural man, IDI).
- **Promoting love and caring relationships**: "She is your lover, or the love of your life, so don't hit her, just talk to her so both of you can come up with a common agreement. I have experienced it before. I don't want it to happen again. So, I, yeah, I will not hit my wife." (Rural man, IDI).

Informing people about the law

Other considerations involved informing people (men) about the law and its consequences: *"One way to convince people to stop domestic violence is to have effective law and order in the community. Consult community leaders and let everyone know that violence is not acceptable and should not be practised in the community."* (Rural man, IDI).

"I think the law has the power to change a person's life." (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).

Engaging church and sports as change-making activities

Lastly, engaging in positive activities such as sports and Church were promoted: *"Sports too has rules and regulations where they will abide by the rules. So that's how they will change both men and women"*, (Rural young man, FGD, 21 years).

"If you are a church-going man then that's how you will change people like that – by bringing people to church", (Rural young man, FGD, 25 years).

"They should not be violent toward they wives and children, and go to church and willingly involve in rehabilitation programs", (Urban man, IDI, 29 years).

16. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

16.1 Main findings

Violence against women and violence against children in Papua New Guinea is sustained by the **transmission and internalisation of cultural norms of patriarchy** (men as heads of households, male dominance) and the subordination of women and children in family matters.

Despite changing attitudes, men still conform to norms that sustain intimate partner violence (IPV) and child corporal punishment. While not all respondents condoned the use such violence, it still emerged strongly as a social norm – respondents largely thought that other men were beating their intimate partners and their children (descriptive norm) and that they too were expected to do so (injunctive norm). Moreover, respondents spoke of being shunned, ridiculed, and denigrated (socially sanctioned) if they did not comply.

Men tended to **normalise high levels of violence** in relation to **intimate partners**, especially in **urban areas**. Risk factors include drug and alcohol addiction, poor anger management, lack of education, inequitable gender beliefs flowing from bride price, attitudes normalising violence/gender stereotypes and having witnessed or experienced violence during childhood. While financial pressure was a risk factor, the man's economic dependence on his wife (her being employed, him being unemployed) typically acted as a protective factor – shielding the woman from violence.

Injunctive norms played a slightly bigger role in child corporal punishment, as more participants thought that they would receive community disapproval if they didn't chastise their children (more than for beating women). While IPV was driven by **toxic masculinity** (including coercive controlling), violent child discipline was more informed by desires for a **better future for the child** (positive prospective aspiration).

Many men spoke about trying to build a new future away from their histories of violence or addiction – especially in urban areas. However, they lacked **the support, understanding or strategies** to end it altogether.

Men who **shared stories in which they found themselves particularly vulnerable to violence and extreme deprivation** (lacking the support of their respective families and communities) were often found to be **using violence** towards women and girls. That was particularly true of men and young men surviving in the city (sometimes through criminal and gang activity). Conversely, engaging in church and sports activities were thought to yield positive returns for men in terms of (striving for) behavioural change.

The **inter-generational dimensions of violence** were clear, in both the positive and negative aspects. Men who used violence had sometimes previously been victims of violence themselves, as children or as youth. In other cases, male survivors sought to provide for their own children a safer, more protective childhood than they had experienced: "*I am not like other father…I am trying my best to be a good father*", (Rural man, IDI, 31 years).

Positive role models (non-violent fathers, religious figures) have a huge impact, providing men with support and inspiration in their efforts to resist social pressures to engage in violence: "*My parents were a great couple. My father was not a man who got angry. …To look after a family and all that, my father did a great job in taking care of us. So, to take good care of my family and all that, I adapted it from my parents*", (Urban man, IDI).

Religion, too, plays an important part in transforming violent behaviours – although it was also used to reinforce inequitable gender stereotypes. Many men interviewed recalled stories of individual men "converting to" non-violence based on spiritual/religious values. However, others tended to justify men's superiority on religious grounds.

Disaggregation of findings by positive and negative outliers was not possible as, during data analysis, transcripts revealed that respondents did not fit their given profiles (see study limitations, section 6.7). In the follow-up phase, an excellent community footprint and local knowledge will be required before being able to identify positive outliers to work with during the programming component.

16.2 Recommendations

Social norms research:

Prevention interventions need to be informed by **research on favourable and detrimental social norms** related to men's and women's role in society and their attitudes and behaviours. This may change from one community to another. It is recommended that an understanding of the local context and norms are built before starting information or message diffusion.

The present report is based on accounts provided by participants selected for this research. However, it does not aim for exhaustivity. Further research aiming at complementing this dataset would be valuable (either primary or secondary research) from other geographical areas, such as provinces with high violence prevalence rates[xxxii], provinces which have endured conflict, and/or provinces with matrilineal communities.

Evidence-based messaging for men:

Men have provided valuable insights that can be used in future training curricula, advocacy or behaviour change communications. They provide powerful arguments that are more likely to be adhered to because they have been **developed for and by men from PNG**. It is recommended that Save the Children build on this set of arguments against wife (and intimate partner) and child beating to inform its future programming in PNG, using local language and culturally sound stories, proverbs and idioms that resonate with men's realities and lived experiences. These should be tailored to different age groups, life stages and urban / rural localities.

Messages, advocacy, and training should also draw on **men's positive aspirations**. As shown in this research, men aspire to provide for their families as well as to be loved and cared for. The emphasis on health and on building positive, nurturing, loving relationships is likely to resonate with a real and pressing need in men's lives: that of contributing to a thriving family.

Messaging and advocacy initiatives engaging men can also look at **other successful and research driven programs engaging men**. A good resource base in that respect is the Prevention Collaborative: https://prevention-collaborative.org/

Using culture, tradition and religion to harness social change:

The research shows that men have a deep sense of their moral and spiritual obligations towards their families and are concerned with their social standing. It is recommended that future messaging build on this to include women's rights and children's rights. This endeavour should not be seen as coming from an external source and foreign discourse but would instead benefit from being fully integrated in local reflections on men's social and spiritual values. Religious leaders and churches can be powerful allies in the fight against intimate partner violence and child abuse. NGO actors need to harness this potential by either working with allies within churches or tailoring messages using biblical scriptures and parables to inform prevention strategies and messaging.

With this in mind:

- SC could identify progressive or women/child rights friendly religious leaders and traditional authority figures to convey messages about non-violence and engage with men; and
- Men could be engaged in a reflection about how to take care of family members using cultural and spiritual/Christian values.

Reversing harmful social norms around masculinity and male violence:

What the data shows us is that the cost of inequitable gendered social norms is quite significant for men too. Thus, promoting positive masculinities may benefit men – by relieving them of the "burden" of negative or toxic normative masculinities they feel pressured to assume – while also contributing to the prevention of violence against women and children. However, social norms around masculinity and male violence are so deeply rooted and entrenched that it is likely to take several years or decades for such transformation to occur. Every step, however small, is likely to lead to overall progress. SC can contribute to that change through its programming by:

- Ensuring that "small steps" or progress towards gender transformation is **documented** (through impact research, outcome mapping, case studies, etc.).
- Highlighting the negative impact on **men's health and relationships** of gender stereotypes and of the social norms that contribute to violence against women and children.
- Emphasising the negative consequences of violence **on women's and children's health**, using evidence-based examples from countries where it has been documented, including the detrimental impacts of IPV on children (intersectionality of violence against VAW and VAC).
- Emphasising the benefits of **positive parenting** and **men's involvement in parenting** as contributing to positive and healthy child development – both in the immediate and the long term.
- Providing men with non-violent communication/peaceful conflict resolution tools as a means of contributing to violence reduction at the micro/household level.

Targeting:

Reaching out to the regions with highest violence prevalence rates: Available quantitative data from PNG shows that there are regions that have higher violence prevalence rates than others. While it is worthwhile investing in prevention work in SC's own operational areas, interventions that either support local partners in these areas with higher violence prevalence rates or nation-wide dissemination of messages could be considered.

Reaching out to the most deprived: As this research shows, men living and fending for themselves in the urban areas and most deprived neighbourhoods of Port Moresby shared vivid stories of experiencing and using violence. It is recommended that SC engages with men who are 'at risk' of perpetrating violence. Identification of men can be done by reflecting on "risk factors" identified in both quantitative research and qualitative research (such as this study). Indicators of risk that can be considered include engagement in criminal activity, residence in deprived neighbourhoods, drug or alcohol addiction disorders, previous experience of violence and lack of general support (family or community).

There is a lack of data on persons with disabilities. From this dataset, there is no concluding evidence about the specific experiences of persons with disabilities; more research needs to be done in this area.

Targeted versus collective preventive action: As violence against women and children has been showed to be deeply entrenched in societal and patriarchal norms, it is recommended that any targeted intervention

(for example, reaching most at-risk men or families) is complemented by a national or region-wide communications strategy to support social and behaviour change.

To some extent, violence is driven by individual risk factors as well as by collective factors (social norms) and it is important to address both sets of factors in parallel. Interventions to address **IPV** could focus at the individual and collective level (e.g., working with at-risk couples, individuals, and families as well as in collective settings such as churches, sports, media and so on).

Violent child discipline has been showed to be a stronger social norm than IPV (evidencing high social rewards and sanctions) and will therefore be better addressed through **collective action**. Widespread public action challenging norms that support corporal punishment through mass media and other collective channels are likely to be useful in shifting collective behaviour.

As men are taught to socialise outside of home, it will be instrumental to reach out to places and areas where men gather and socialise such as leisure, sports, churches, and workplaces. It is recommended that any interventions aiming at preventing violence are piloted before being developed at full scale and the impacts documented through evaluation research.

Empowering women:

Supporting programme, strategy and advocacy efforts aimed at empowering women to engage in the economic sphere is likely to bring more equality and reduce violence at the intimate partner level. However, this could potentially lead to a backlash against women due to the change of power dynamics that it involves. Any economic strengthening initiatives aimed at supporting women's autonomy should be carefully planned to avoid detrimental consequences for women and complemented by awareness/dialogue with men as a support measure – in particular, social norms change that reduces the likelihood of intrahousehold tension (see RESPECT framework about promising interventions packages that have been tested through impact evaluations).

Identifying positive role models:

Identifying **positive male role models** as influencers and spokespersons is an essential component of promoting social norms change. Gender-equitable men have been defined as those who, *inter alia*:

1. Seek intimate relationships based on equality, respect, and intimacy rather than on sexual conquest.
2. Are, or seek to be, involved in household chores and child-care (i.e.: they take both financial *and* care-giving responsibility for their children and household).
3. Assume some responsibility for sexually transmitted infection prevention and reproductive health in their relationships.
4. Oppose violence against women under *all* circumstances, even those that are commonly used to justify it; and
5. Oppose homophobia and violence against homosexuals.[xxxiii]

During this research, it was found that some men have a wealth of experience and the potential to teach their peers about gender equality and non-violence in intimate and parenting relationships. Positive role models can give birth to new positive norms and ensure that families benefit from more loving and caring relationships. As noted above (in main findings), the identification of positive outliers may require extensive community-grounded work and experience before they can "emerge". It is recommended that SC works with local partners who have a proven history of engaging with communities and can commit to the long-term programming that is required to nurture positive role models and diffuse new social norms.

17. ANNEXES

17.1 Annex 1: 2x2 Tables for Social Norms[2]

Purpose: To learn what the research participants:

(a) Think members of their reference group do (descriptive norms),

(b) Think reference group members expect them to do (injunctive norms), and

(c) Think will happen if they comply with or deviate from these expectations (rewards and sanctions).

Why this is important: There is already a wealth of prevalence data along with data on drivers of VAW and, to some extent, VAC. The 2x2 allows for social norms to be compared with attitudes and behaviours – to measure consistency across these domains and hence develop more accurate social and behavioural change campaigns.

How it works:

- Participants are asked a series of "twin" questions concerning a behaviour, and their responses are plotted in a 2x2 table.
- The first table measures attitudes by asking participants if they approve or disapprove of the behaviour, and whether they think others approve or disapprove of the behaviour.
- The second table measures injunctive and descriptive norms by asking whether others in their community practice the behaviour and expect them to do so as well.
- Participants are also asked follow up questions to gauge the associated rewards and punishments.

		Others' approval	
		No	Yes
Self-Approval	No	Quadrant 1	Quadrant 2
	Yes	Quadrant 3	Quadrant 4

		Others' expectation	
		No	Yes
Others Behaviour	No	Quadrant 1	Quadrant 2
	Yes	Quadrant 3	Quadrant 4

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