Pacific Masculinities

Exploring Men's Perspectives and Experiences of Masculinity, and Efforts to Engage Men and Boys in Preventing Violence in Papua New Guinea and Fiji

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

I certify that except where due acknowledgement has been made, the work is that of the author alone; the work has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, to qualify for any other academic award; the content of the thesis is the result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research program; any editorial work, paid or unpaid, carried out by a third party is acknowledged; and, ethics procedures and guidelines have been followed.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to the men and boys in our beautiful islands of the Pacific. May we keep searching those paths that constantly make you a better human so that your richest potential can be reached in whatever you do and wherever you go in life.

And to the memory of my dearest brother, Constantine Keith Masta (*Cosy*), your wings were ready, but our hearts were not. We miss you on this side of eternity!

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABG	Autonomous Bougainville Government
ARB	Autonomous Region of Bougainville
BCL	Bougainville Copper Limited
BPA	Bougainville Peace Agreement
BRA	Bougainville Revolutionary Army
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CSMM	Critical Studies on Men and Masculinity
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DHERST	Department for Higher Education Research Science and Technology
EPF	Equal Playing Field
FWCC	Fiji Women's Crisis Centre
FWRM	Fiji Women Rights Movement
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
IMAGES	International Men and Gender Equality Survey
IWDA	International Women's Development Agency
NCfR	Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation
NGO	Non-government organisation
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PNGPSMAN	Papua New Guinea Public Service Male Advocacy Network
PWNAVAW	Pacific Women Network Against Violence Against Women
USP	University of the South Pacific
VAM	Violence Against Men
VAW	Violence Against Women
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
WHRD	Women Human Rights Defender

Abstract

The dominant discourse on masculinity in the Pacific is that it is a problem which must be fixed. As a social problem, Pacific masculinity manifests in high rates of anti-social behaviour, including high rates of violence against women and children. Consequently, masculinity and men and boys have become objects of policy concern for government and non-government agencies. Notably, while masculinity and the behaviour of men and boys have attracted policy attention, the views and voices of men have not always been included in this conversation.

This thesis addresses this absence. It explores voices of men in Papua New Guinea and Fiji to paint a picture of lived experiences of Pacific men and the factors that shape and influence their notions of masculinity and manhood. It also explores men's responses to gender-related initiatives that support men and boys to promote gender equality and anti-violence. The research addresses the lack of Pacific Island men's voices in gender and masculinity research and aims to contribute insights to strengthen and improve policies and programs addressing gender and gender-based violence in the region.

Key words: Pacific Island men, masculinities, hybrid masculinities, precarity, gender equality, development

Chapter 1: Introduction

'Women's well-being cannot be improved without addressing men because gender is relational' (Silberschmidt, 2011: 108).

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce the research and discuss the original contribution that it will make to an important and evolving area of scholarship in the region and the world. I begin by introducing the focus of the research and research questions followed by the research problem and background. This is followed by the rationale and significance of the research and definitions of key concepts and terminologies that are emphasised in this research. Finally, I provide an overview of the structure and organisation of the thesis.

In 2017 I was invited, along with other people from various local and international organisations working on gender equality initiatives in Papua New Guinea (PNG), to a 16 Days of Activism against gender-based violence (GBV) campaign event hosted at the Australian High Commission office in Port Moresby. The theme of the campaign was linked to the sustainable development goals mantra, 'Leave No One Behind: End Violence Against Women and Girls'. The campaign message was focused on reinforcing a commitment to reaching the most underserved and marginalised, including migrants, refugees, indigenous peoples, minorities and people affected by natural disasters and conflict (UN Women, 2017). At this event, three female guest speakers spoke on the contribution of their organisations in ending violence against women and girls, and the relevance of the theme of the campaign. Women outnumbered men, and more women than men were vocal on issues at this gathering. After the speeches and presentations, people were asked to respond or ask questions. While a number of women in the audience reflected on their experiences and saw this event as a platform to advocate for more donor, government, and NGO support, it was a question from another woman in the audience that captivated the audience and left an imprint on me that day. Her question related to the lack of men's interest and involvement in violence against women campaigns, which she felt was one of the main reasons for the increased violence in homes and communities. This comment provoked a range of responses, from frustrated expressions of the view that men are not committed to change as they benefit too much from the status quo, to the view that

men are not prepared to relinquish any power or authority and hence do not commit to the goal of gender equity.

The woman's question sparked a concern that prompted my journey of enquiry and conversation with the men with whom I worked in the development program space. I began asking men about how they viewed men and boy's involvement in GBV prevention and, most importantly, what is needed to help men transform positively in order to eliminate violence in PNG society. The responses varied among men, based on their experiences. For instance, some men noted that boys needed to be taught to respect women and girls and to learn at an early age how to express their emotions without resorting to violence. Others viewed donor agencies and NGOs as only interested in women and women's issues and felt that men were only seen as the problem, not as contributing to the solution.

Therefore, in this thesis, I explore the experiences and views of Pacific Island men to understand how men embody notions of manhood and masculinity. I examine key factors that influence or shape notions of masculinity in PNG and Fiji, and men's lived experiences of navigating gender and cultural roles in society. The data presented in this study were sourced from 54 interviews comprising 46 individual men and eight representatives from six local NGOs, three in Port Moresby (PNG), one in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville (ARB) and two Suva (Fiji). Drawing on the analysis of men's experiences and views on gender roles and identities, it is evident that notions of contemporary masculinity in the Pacific are continuously shaped by values and beliefs that endorse models of traditional and religious models of manhood, such as provider, protector, and leader. At the same time, these roles are being affected by rapidly shifting socio-cultural and economic pressures, all compounded by the impacts of globalisation and modernisation that place pressure on men. As such, Pacific Island masculinities are often hybrid and tend to be fluid, based on the social, cultural, political, or economic positions in which men find themselves.

In this thesis, I demonstrate that masculinity is constantly in a state of flux due to it being continually challenged in rapidly changing conditions. Masculinity is understood as being in a perpetual state of becoming, because it is elusive and tenuous, in that being a man requires continuous social proof (Vandello et al, 2008). While transitions in masculinity are ongoing and different in each study context, particular masculinities, or ways of being a man are based on dominant discourses and embodiment practices which often contest and conflict with each other. For example, aggression, which is viewed culturally as men's strength, in the light of Christianity or religion is viewed as 'evil'. In addition, while there are commonalities across the research sites, there are also emerging

phenomena that are unique to individual sites. The study found that men tend to move between traditional and modern ideas through constant negotiation of their status and roles in private and public settings. In doing so, men are taking on hybrid masculine roles (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). They do this as a way of dealing with social and cultural pressures and expectations. Thus, some display hybrid masculinity to model alternative ways of being a man. Nevertheless, this has not been much documented elsewhere and represents one of the contributions made in this research.

In this thesis, I also explore and attempt to throw light on men's perceptions of and responses to gender equality and violence against gender equity programs in the region. I examine the engagement of men and boys in some gender equality and anti-violence initiatives in the region from the perspectives of individual men as well as from representatives of organisations that engage men and boys in violence prevention. Through their responses, I seek to understand how some of these programs work and the degree to which they engage men and boys. Findings from this study support existing evidence that there is still limited meaningful engagement of men and boys in gender transformative work. There is also a demand for men's groups and movements; however, these men's spaces need to be accountable to women and supported to achieve gender equality goals. These men's groups and movements, as argued, provide an opportunity for men to acquire therapeutic support to address a combination of issues such as abuse, violence, and trauma. I argue that there is a need to rethink and redesign approaches within gender equality and anti-violence programs that engage men and boys. These programs should take local cultural sensitivities into account, especially relational structures and hierarchies that exist within the Pacific context.

1.2 Research Focus and Questions

Focusing on Pacific Island men reveals the importance of expanding our understanding of the broad range of masculinities that are negotiated and constructed within a cultural and social setting. Masculinity is inflected through place and local culture with local appropriations and configurations of modernity and traditional elements. Hence, this study employs a place-based approach. The focus of the research evolved over its course, which necessitated changes in the research aims and questions. The initial focus of the research was on gathering a range of views of what constituted a 'good man' among Pacific Island men who were exposed to ideas of human rights or involved in projects that promoted gender equality. However, findings from a brief online survey conducted in the initial stages of the research demonstrated that ideas of a good man were not fixed; rather, they varied broadly.

A decision was then made to shift the focus of the research to exploring 'ideas of change'. After the data collection phase, I realised that it was problematic to validate or measure ideas of 'change' or 'good', which then led to a decision to shift the research focus once again to exploring more broadly the plural and fluid notions of masculinities that the data was showing. Thus, the process of the research entailed some shifts in research focus but I am confident that the research focus on which I finally settled is supported by the data, which shows men in various locations and at different life stages and levels of education negotiating complex, fluid and in some cases plural ideas of what it is to be a man in the contemporary Pacific. I explain this in more detail in Chapter 3.

The research has three core aims: to focus on men's experiences, and their views about factors that shape or influence masculinities in the Pacific and how these vary across the three locations of the research; to understand how current gender-related programs engage men and boys to end gender-based violence and inequality; and to draw on research to contribute to policy and programs in the region. Overall, the research sheds light on the experiences of Pacific men as they negotiate and embody contemporary masculinities, and offers insight into men's experiences in their own words. To this end, it poses four research questions:

- What are the main factors that shape or influence notions of masculinity among Pacific Island men?
- How do men's experiences of navigating cultural and gender norms and relationships shape their perspectives on constructions of masculinity?
- How do Pacific Island men view violence against women and gender equality work in the region?
- How do NGOs implementing gender-related programs in the region view work in the areas of violence against women and gender equality?

1.3 Research Problem and Background

Masculinity as a 'problem' to be fixed has emerged as a dominant theme in public policy and the agendas of development agencies and NGOs across the Pacific, but notably these often exclude the voices and experiences of the men themselves. The public discourses around men in the Pacific have generally concentrated on criticisms of disenfranchised men and boys, commonly responding with negative and destructive expressions when certain ideals are not fulfilled (Eves, 2017; Macintyre, 2008). There are many factors placing pressure on men and masculine identity, including fundamental societal transformations, such as population growth and economic, social, political, and cultural pressures, all compounded by the impact of rapid globalisation and modernisation. As

noted earlier, a primary aim of this research is to make the voices and experiences of men the centre of attention: to hear from men themselves about the challenges they face and ways in which they negotiate and conform to being men in the contemporary Pacific.

In this research, I investigate the experiences and perspectives of men from various socio-cultural and economic backgrounds in PNG (Port Moresby and Bougainville) and Fiji (Suva) to understand key factors that influence notions of masculinity. I explore how men navigate cultural and gender norms and relationships to construct and negotiate notions of masculinity. Other factors critical to the history and context of the respective country or society are also analysed. The research also engaged men and women from six local organisations, three in Port Moresby, one in the Bougainville and two Suva, working with men and boys in violence. Findings from interviews with NGO representatives as well as individual men provide an understanding of the efforts in which various gender equality or anti-violence initiatives engage men and boys. This research recognises the limited voices of Pacific Island men on discourses of masculinity and gender development; therefore, through engaging the views and experiences of men in this research, we are able to examine masculinities. At the same time, this research recognises that it is difficult simply to state that men's voices have not been heard as there are many societies where men dominate public services and the development sector, most arguably in leadership roles. However, not all men are in leadership roles that influence gender and development outcomes and not all men benefit for the patriarchal order (Connell, 1995). There are also inequalities that exist among men due to historical, political cultural and socio-economic factors, which is what this thesis is set out to examine. The outcome of this research contributes to the growing body of knowledge on contemporary Pacific masculinities.

While the sites in this study are all in Melanesian societies, meaning that people generally share similar cultural beliefs and practices and even physical appearances, their colonial and post-colonial histories have influenced these societies very differently. The term Melanesia is not just a descriptor of geographical and cultural likeness, it also carries both positive and negative undertones (Lawson, 2013). Kabutaulaka (2015) notes that colonial and Western discourses, influenced by 'racialist, essentialist and socially evolutionary elements', have negatively represented Melanesian peoples and societies over two centuries (193). The negative notions of race are fundamental in categorising racial hierarchies in the Pacific with Melanesians accorded the inferior place (Kabutaulaka, 2015). Nonetheless, Kabutaulaka (2015) further argues that counter to the history of denigration, Melanesians are beginning to embrace their identity (or identities) and appropriating the description in a more positive and empowering way. There is a contemporary movement within the region to

embrace the Melanesian identity as the basis for a political and cultural reinvigoration that is redefining, re-presenting, and mobilising and in the process celebrating the 'sub-regional's ethnolinguistic and cultural diversities' (194). Concepts such as 'Pacific way', '*Wantokism*', 'Melanesian way' or 'Fijian way' are some manifestations of the ways in which Melanesians are altering and re-presenting themselves contemporarily.

The influence of colonialism through the infiltration of Christianity in the 19th and 20th centuries played a major role shaping the world views of the Pacific people (Lange, 2005). Also, during this period territories and states began to acquire independence, self-government status or ongoing territorial status (Overton, 1993). Nevertheless, a country's history of political and civilian unrest or conflict, as well as peace building and feminist movements such as that experienced in Bougainville and Fiji, have the ability to shape the trajectory of these societies and their notions of manhood or womanhood. In fact, studies have demonstrated that it is often problematic to draw a line between civilian and military violence because '[m]ilitarisation shapes not just the masculinity of soldiers but also civilian men' through violence, trauma, and migration, which changes their notions of manhood (Lwambo, 2013: 59). This holds true for gender-based and sexual violence. Rape during war or conflict is regarded as both a weapon and an outcome of social disruption that continues after the war (Hernawan, 2015; Lwambo 2013). Both Fiji and Bougainville have recorded high rates of sexual and physical violence that is associated with their history of civilian and military unrest or conflict (Fulu et al, 2013; Fiji Women's Crisis Centre, 2013; Eves et al, 2018).

The last three decades has seen a growth in literature on men and masculinity in the Pacific region. Much of the earlier scholarship focused on traditional rituals and practices to demonstrate singular models of masculinity (Allen, 1984; Elliston, 1995; Herdt, 1994, 1997; 1993; 1982a, 1982b, 1984, 1987; Herdt & Poole, 1982; Silverman, 2001; Layard, 1942: Turner, 1992). While these scholarly works provide a rich understanding of historical and cultural occurrences and conduct, a more contemporary understanding of masculinity is needed to deal with the present-day challenges that men and women face. Scholars have noted that there is limited research on diverse and emerging forms of masculinity, or on the theoretical underpinnings of masculinity, gender, and sexuality in the Pacific (Biersack, 2016; Eves 2006).

My research is anchored extensively in literature from anthropology, sociology, gender studies and development studies, and draws from these fields and disciplines to make its argument. This research includes literature that critiques the impact of colonialism, post-colonialism, missionisation and modernisation on the transformation of gender identities and power relations in Melanesian and

other Pacific societies (Bainton, 2008; Brison 1995; Eves 2016; Fife, 1995; George, 2008; Knauft, 2011, 1997, 1999; Munro, 2019, 2013; 2017; Presterudstuen 2019; Presterudstuen and Schieder, 2016; Sai, 2007; Teaiwa, 2008; 2005; Wilde, 2004). Moreover, some of the literature on issues of gender-based violence and inequality has provided useful considerations for development efforts (Biersack, 2016; Eves 2006, 2010, 2012, 2018; Gibbs, 2016a; Lepani, 2008; Lusby, 2014; 2018; Macintryre 2008; Taylor, 2016; Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012; 2016). In particular, I draw from the emergent work within feminist literature that problematises notions of precarity and precariousness, and also problematises working with men and boys in violence prevention.

Among the literature listed above are two doctoral studies that have investigated the tensions and ambivalences within contemporary Papua New Guinean masculinity. In her research framed on transnational campaigns on 'good masculinity' and its influence on social norms and practices, Stephanie Lusby (2018) explores ways in which men in the East New Britain province of PNG embody aspirational masculinity. She considers that the way men navigate aspirational masculinity impacts their relationship and position with women and argues for a more a 'nuanced and politicised conceptualisation of masculinity in gender rights campaigns' (Lusby, 2018: vi). The second and earlier study was conducted by Anastacia Sai (2007), who investigates the perspectives of men in senior roles in various institutions and organisations in PNG. Drawing on feminist perspectives, Sai asks 'how do contemporary "big men" conceptualise their own and others' masculinity?' (Sai, 2007: 10). Similar to my research, these studies have focused on men's experiences and perspectives through in-depth qualitative inquiries. Lusby's research shares specific findings with my research on social and economic precarity and demonstrates ways in which precarity intersects with power over and oppression of women. On the other hand, my research goes further to examine ways in which men are adapting to non-traditional or hybrid ways of dealing with precarity and other challenges. While both studies provide valuable insights into men's notions or models of desirable masculinity, my research differs from the two by asking men how they navigate gender and cultural norms and relationships, including challenges that men experience and how they cope with them. In addition, while their research provides implications for policy, programming, and research in gender inequality work in PNG, my research provides specific considerations for engaging men and boys in the gender and development space. Notably, I argue that there is a need for careful consideration of the diverse and competing factors that shape men's notions of masculinities, and culturally sensitive approaches when developing or framing gender equality and anti-violence programs in the region.

It is important to note that masculinities in the Pacific and elsewhere in the world are not homogenous. This is because men in different social groups accept and adopt various points of orientation. This study shows that vocation and social class seem to predominantly present men various ways in which they achieve and conceptualise masculinity. Factors such as men's participation in education and employment, exposure beyond their immediate community, and access to economic resources, can also have an impact. However, some general trends have emerged and are discussed in this thesis, including hybrid and precarious masculinities, male dependency and peer bonding, men transforming or challenging traditional gender structures and strategies to deal with challenges.

1.4 Rationale and Significance of the Research

The motivations for conducting this research include academic, development and personal motivations, which I now discuss further.

1.4.1 Academic and development rationales

Global and local efforts towards gender equality are not achieving the desired outcomes of transformation for men (Flood 2015; Macintyre, 2012; Ricardo, 2014) and there is very little known in the region about the extent of changes in masculinity (Eves 2012). Pacific men and masculinities are under-researched; hence, there is a need for deeper understanding of the complex, plural, and dynamic types of masculinities in the Pacific (Eves, 2006: 2009: 2012; Biersack, 2016; Macintyre, 2012; Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2016). Although there is a growing recognition of the importance of engaging with men and boys, the current efforts towards reducing gender-based violence and inequality is significantly focused on women and girls (Ricardo, 2014). Men in the region are beginning to be positioned as enlightened, gender-sensitive leaders of the community who are making a stand against gender inequality and violence (Eves, 2016; Gibbs, 2016a: Patel, 2019). However, there is limited academic literature in the Pacific that documents the voice of men on these matters.

This research contributes to the limited pool of knowledge on masculine relations and roles that are located in specific geographies, temporalities, and ethnographies in the Pacific, particularly on understanding what is shaping masculinities and men's responses to gender-related initiatives in the Pacific. It is my hope that findings from the research will provide enhanced paths to better understand dimensions of masculinity in order to deal with the issue of gender violence and inequality in Pacific Island societies. Further, gender-related policies, programs and initiatives can be developed or enhanced to achieve better outcomes for men and boys and women and girls in the

Pacific. I am one of few Pacific Islanders who have looked very closely at men and masculinity, but predominantly at men's conceptualisation and interpretations of masculinity and manhood. The lack of scholarship on men's experiences or perceptions on the issues surrounding masculinity, and the potentially greater involvement of men and boys in the gender space are the main rationales for my undertaking this study.

During my efforts to develop research questions for this research, I consulted literature devoted to theories of masculinities, including the need for changing men's and boys' behaviour and beliefs. But these works – while influential in paving the way for the rationale of involving men in initiatives to end violence against women – were not concerned with the contexts of aid programs and international development (Connell,1995; Greig, 2011; Hearn, 1999; Pease, 1997). Globally, anthropological studies have been conducted on masculinities and men's attitudes and behaviours in relation to gender (Cornwall, Edström, and Greig, 2011; Kimmel, 2005; Ruspini et al., 2011), and these have been useful in showing commonalities and differences in how patriarchy is practised or resisted. But again, anthropological studies are often not focused on addressing the issue of aid and development that involves men in violence against women campaigns or activism. Organisations such as UN Women, Oxfam, the International Centre for Research on Women, the Institute of Development Studies and so on have become prolific in generating reports, policy briefs, and other publications that explore the need to work with men in violence against women programs, but these documents are often prepared for the benefit of donors, policymakers, NGOs, and the general public, and are separate from academic research.

While NGOs themselves have been active in documenting programs, these reports are generally produced for donors and the general public, as well as to advocate for the NGOs' own work. As such, they cannot be considered as objective and neutral research findings. Noting the shortage of academic research and publications, as well as the gendered myths surrounding men's involvement in violence against women programs within the development context, I attempt in this thesis to explain the complexities and challenges of involving men in violence against women programs. Given the diverse masculine identities and values in every society, there is a need to understand how these programs translate into practice, and to explore men's roles in them.

1.4.2 Personal motivation for this research

I became interested in exploring the power dynamics which inform masculinity, and their consequences for men, when I began engaging professionally in the gender and development sector in Papua New Guinea. I started paying close attention to these dynamics and discussions through

my work with organisations implementing gender-related projects. Through my own personal inquiry, I found two key concerns raised by men. First, men felt that there is a lot of work supporting women to take steps towards achieving gender equality but not enough being done with men and boys. Second, the men participating in gender-related programs were frustrated because they felt that programs or activities targeting men were not created to support and maintain positive transformation of behaviour among men.

Men working in the gender-related projects and programs felt that they were overlooked, but they could not speak up because they felt that they would be accused of re-directing the agenda. They also struggled with introducing ideas of change to other men and so they felt alone in their journey of transformation. I decided to take up this research because I want this research to help people appreciate the experiences and perspectives of men as they navigate rapid societal changes and challenges in Pacific Island societies. Ultimately my hope is that, through this research, organisations and individuals working in the development sector will be able to consider ways to meaningfully engage with men and boys to challenge structures and norms that promote gender inequality, that in the end, both men and women can create positive and lasting change in our Pacific communities.

1.5 Defining Key Concepts and Terms: Masculinity Theory, Hegemonic Masculinity Theory and Engaging Men and Boys in Violence Prevention

In the general sense of the word, masculinity can be understood as a collection of socially established meanings and values that are associated with the social category of men. Masculinity is not fixed or innate; rather it is culturally and socially constructed and constantly shifting with time and location (Connell, 2005). Kimmel (2001) contends that the recognition that masculinity is transforming gives men agency and acknowledges their capacity to embrace change. The theory of masculinity which is recognised as the most authoritative theory in the fields of men and masculinity studies (Messerschmidt, 2000) was made famous by Australian sociologist Raewyn Connell in her book *Masculinities* (1995). Connell's theory of masculinity has had significant influence in the field of gender studies and appeals to a wide range of disciplines due to the critical feminist analysis it provides. In describing its enduring influence, Wedgwood (2009) notes that Connell's masculinity theory considers 'historically specific masculinities whilst at the same time acknowledging the varying degrees to which individual men play in the reproduction of dominant forms of masculinity' (330). This understanding of masculinity challenged and overthrown the social determinism of sex-role theory, which since the 1950s had influenced sociological studies on men (Connell, 1979:

Edwards, 1983; Wedgwood and Connell, 2004). Therefore, instead of studying men as a homogenous group, Connell's work advocated for historically and culturally specific men. Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) support this by arguing that the domination of man is a 'dynamic system that is constantly reproduced and re-constituted through gender relations under changing conditions, including resistance by subordination groups' (p 598). This conceptual analysis of masculinity came to be known as hegemonic masculinity.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity was first introduced in an article co-authored by Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985). Connell further developed the concept in two major publications: *Masculinities* (1995) and *Gender and Power* (1987). Capitalising on Antonio Gramsci's work on cultural hegemony, Connell (1995, 1987) argues that there are many forms of cultural masculinities that exist but there is always one which is dominant over the rest and marginalises others in the gender system. She calls this hegemonic masculinity, noting that it is a 'pattern of practices that allows men's dominance over women' and other men, and is commonly expressed and idealised differently within different cultural contexts (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005: 832). In other words, depending on the extent to which men embody hegemonic masculinity, some men benefit while some are construed as 'problematic'.

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) insist that most men are 'complicit' with the ideals regardless of whether they have strong versions of masculine dominance themselves; the ideals and behaviours of hegemonic masculinity are upheld in societies throughout the world (832). In turn, this means people who hold values which oppose the cultural ideals of hegemonic masculinity are considered subordinate. Other social divisions that exist in society, such as class, race, and ethnicity, intersect with this gender hierarchy, which then produces marginalised forms of masculinity. In North America, Europe, and other Western countries, 'gay, working class, and minority masculinities often become marginalised or subordinated as a result (Chen, 2014). Examining hegemonic masculinities, uncovers possibilities to understand subordinate masculinities and the ways in which men experience marginalisation and stigmatisation (Shilbersmidt, 2015).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity, formulated over three decades ago, has substantially influenced the thinking of scholars on men, masculinity, gender, and hierarchy. Scholars regard Connell's concept as pioneering because it offers a single theoretical principle which encapsulates plural masculinities and gender ordering (Demetriou, 2001; Johansson and Ottemo, 2015; Lusher & Robins ,2009; Schippers, 2007). The concept has given the opportunity for scholars to account for questions relating to patriarchal power and social change, which was left largely untheorised by sex

role theory. It has also provided 'models of relations with women and solutions to problems of gender relations' (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 833). The hegemonic masculinity theory has become a key bench mark in interdisciplinary discussions on masculinity. For instance, in referencing the work of Connell, Demetriou (2001) acknowledges that 'Connell's contribution to the study of gender relations is a more fundamental one' (343), and Gutmann (2003) notes that 'what it means to be a man in Latin America can often best be appreciated in relationship to hegemonic masculinities' (3).

However, hegemonic masculinity has drawn a fair share of criticism. In their detailed account of the concept, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) discuss its formulation, impact and major criticisms, proposing a reformulation of the concept in four main areas: (1) a more multifaceted model of gender hierarchy, focused more on women's agency; (2) an emphasis on geography of masculinities and its interaction with local, regional and global levels; (3) an increased focus on embodied expressions of power and privilege; and (4) a greater importance placed on undercurrents of hegemonic masculinity, acknowledging the internal contradictions and opportunities that may derive from it (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). The hegemonic masculinity theory is useful in understanding men's legitimation of maintaining dominant social roles over women and other men. In this study, it provides a lens into which problematic masculinities that lead to violence can be examined, including ways of accounting for the newly emerging hybridised masculinities, particularly in urban settings.

Another key concept discussed in this thesis is the engagement of men and boys in violence prevention programs. Engaging men and boys means involving men and boys across the general population and supporting them to invest in ending gender violence, abuse, and inequality (Flood, 2011). Academics and anti-violence activists suggest that prevention entails dealing with inequitable gender norms that influence interaction with partners, children, families, or communities (Flood, 2015; Ricardo, 2014).

The engagement of men and boys in gender equality remains a controversial topic despite being established as an important step in the right direction among some activists and stakeholders. While some feminist and anti-violence activists highlight the risks that involving men might have on the women's movement for gender equality and violence prevention, others argue that the lack of men's engagement continues to worsen the problem (Pease, 2008; Ricardo 2014). At the same time, there is an abundance of evidence showing that women are marginalised, or their concerns are sidelined, when men become involved in gender equality or anti-violence initiatives (Morrell, Jewkes and

Lindegger, 2012). For instance, Ricardo (2014) notes two major areas that are a challenge for women's movements: (i) an expanding backlash of organised men's movements or anti-feminist men who actively undermine the agenda of gender equality; and (ii) the lack of alignment of men and boys work vis-à-vis women's leadership and the ongoing work of gender equality (43).

To deal with these challenges there must be a consistent assessment and interrogation of the relational power and dynamics involving men and among women (Ricardo, 2014). Men who choose to live gender positive and transformed lives will need to actively commit to 'redistributing power in their personal lives and in the larger spheres' (Ricardo, 2014: 9). Morrell and Morrell (2011) support Ricardo's point by claiming that men live a fuller and more equitable life by 'giving up power, or at least negotiating its exercise' (112). The question is then, 'how then should men be involved in the politics of gender equality?' As I will demonstrate in this thesis, whilst it is important to engage men and boys in ending violence against women, the pathway to accomplishing this is imbued with difficulties and challenges (Pease, 2008).

Gender-based violence is a pandemic that affects one in three women globally (World Bank, 2019), yet there are relatively few studies that examine men who have perpetrated violence as important contributors to the solution to this major concern (Barker et al., 2007). In the Pacific, an overwhelming amount of attention is given to supporting women and women's movements while there continues to be very limited engagement of men and boys in research and prevention activities (Eves, 2006). Nevertheless, this study establishes that there are men who are concerned about issues of violence in their homes and communities and are willing to work with women and women's organisation towards developing and delivering programs to reduce violence and create positive change in society.

1.6 Overview of the Thesis

This thesis comprises eight chapters. In the next chapter I consider what can be learnt from scholarly literature regarding global and regional studies on men and masculinities, the influence of colonialism and Christianity, and violence and violence prevention in the Pacific, and I examine the theoretical underpinnings of this research by delving into post-colonial theory and other related concepts.

In Chapter 3, I consider the rationale for the methodological approach undertaken in this research, including the epistemological assumptions on which it is built. I also explain how the online survey, in-depth interviews and thematic analyses were conducted and reflect on my experiences from my fieldwork in Suva, Port Moresby, and Bougainville.

The following four chapters then explore the findings of the study. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 are place-based chapters while Chapter 7 is a theme-based chapter. In each chapter, a range of quotations from the research participants are used to explicate the various themes that were generated through the analysis of the data. Therefore, Chapter 4 presents findings from in-depth interviews with men in Suva, Chapter 5 presents findings from in-depth interviews with men in Port Moresby and Chapter 6 presents findings from in-depth interviews with men in Bougainville. These place-based chapters respond to the lived experiences of men and factors that shape and influence their notions of masculinity and manhood. Chapter 7 then brings together the views of research participants from the three study sites. In doing so, it addresses one of the primary aims of this research, which is to understand how men think programs focused on gender equality and violence prevention may be better framed to include them in these efforts. I provide a discussion of men's reflections of violence against women and gender equality work in the Pacific. Finally, Chapter 8 completes the thesis, providing a summation of its main arguments and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Post-colonial Masculinities, Pacific Men's Voices, Violence, Prevention Involving Men and Boys

'Oceanic masculinities are best studied relationally and historically, between pasts, present and futures' (Jolly, 2008: 3)

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review the literature that discusses men and masculinities in the Pacific, problematic masculinities that lead to violence, men's limited voice in research and policy, and men's involvement in violence prevention. I locate this research in the larger landscape of studies on men and masculinities more broadly as well as specific to the region. In this review, I position the argument of this thesis by emphasising how important it is for men's perspectives and experiences to be at the centre of gender and violence research, and arguing for a deeper, more critical understanding of masculinities and gender-related programs and policies in the Pacific.

This review is presented in three broad sections. First, I present a brief history of the evolution of literature in global studies on men and masculinities and the rise of critical studies on men arising from the second wave of feminism. Also in the first section, I discuss post-colonial theory as well as other concepts that have evolved from post-colonial thought to expound on the complex colonial and imperialist discourses on gender relations and the 'colonial man'. Second, I examine the scope of men and masculinities studies in the Pacific by positioning gender and sexuality within the context of the influence of colonialism and religion. This will give an understanding of the context in which this study was carried out, and how men in the Pacific have been represented. Third, I discuss the problem of men's violence, particularly gender-based violence, and men's involvement in research and initiatives dealing with violence. This will give an understanding of the gaps, and the contribution that this research makes to gender and development in the Pacific region. The issue of violence is a grave concern for Pacific Island communities, where the level of violence, particularly intimate partner violence, in most countries in the region is higher than the global average of 31 percent (World Health Organisation, 2021).

2.2 A brief history of the evolution of men and masculinity studies

As indicated, a key objective of this research is to bring to the centre the views and experiences of Pacific men in order to understand factors that influence the construction of masculinity and how

men may be more productively engaged in programs to address violence. Understanding the importance of this objective requires acknowledging the progression and development of studies on men and masculinities. Accordingly, in this section, I discuss how studies on men and masculinity have evolved regionally. I begin with a historical overview of masculinity studies in the last three decades as a result of the second wave of feminism, between the 1960s and 1980s.

The field of gender studies in the twenty-first century is dominated by studies of women and feminism. The diverse and numerous literatures find their roots in feminist schools of thought such as black feminism, postmodern feminism, radical feminism, lesbian feminism, among others (Lorber, 2012). The historical waves of feminism have also brought different and distinct approaches to feminism, with the second wave of feminism, between the 1960s and 1980s, turning its focus on the 'theorisation of men's violence against women and women reclaiming femininity from the distortions of patriarchy' (Eagleton, 2003: 116). The field of men and masculinities studies began to emerge slowly, first with the proliferation of feminist research on sex and gender roles at the advent of the women's liberation movement, and second with the advent of gay liberation, and the critiques of heterosexuality (Connell, 2011; Hearn 2004: Kimmel, 1987d). The shift to focus largely on pro-feminist approaches in men's studies began with the shifting of social and intellectual contexts in gender studies with the influence of feminist theory, and the social awareness brought on by women's movements (Hern and Howson, 2019).

During the period of the second wave of feminism, men and masculinities began to be problematised by feminist scholars. Studies of men began to focus on the 'male sex role' and the problem of 'how men and boys were socialized into this role' (Connell, 2018: 3; also, Pleck, 2018). Nevertheless, studies relying on the concept of unitary male sex roles were criticised for their oversimplification and inability to address issues of power (Kimmel, 1987; Connell, 1987). Criticism of the theorisation of a singular or unitary masculinity which failed to include different cultural perspectives began to grow and, as a result, studies on men and masculinity began to consider other foci (Connell, 2018). The focus of these studies ranged from structural and societal analyses to psychological analyses, and from detailed ethnographic accounts of men's behaviours and activities to production of specific masculinity discourses (Connell, 2009, 1987).

However, the concern with these approaches was that they are limited in terms of their Western focus and heteronormative assumptions. In her article *Masculinities and Globalisation*, Connell (2009) contends that the limitation in masculinity discourses is that they are constructed out of the experience of (at most) five per cent of the 'world's population of men, in one cultural area at one

moment in history' (5). Although there have been some attempts to include diverse cultural experiences of men from different backgrounds, there have still not been enough studies undertaken to appreciate the complexities and multiplicities of masculinities throughout the world (Connell, 2008; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

The influence of feminist theories, in the late 1980s, led to the addition of critical studies on men and masculinities, or CSMM, within gender studies (Kimmel, Hearn and Connell, 2004). As a distinct research genre, CSMM emerged with book series, special issues of journals, conferences, networks, and research projects. CSMM provided insight on the various understandings of manhood and masculinity and promoted the development of a range of policies, and practical interventions and approaches, that attempt to improve forms of masculinity that offer more value to members of society (Kimmel, Hearn, and Connell, 2004). Most of these developments are taking place as a reaction to 'contemporary gendered and other social challenges, many of which are related to the globalizing processes' of colonialism, imperialism, post-colonialism, geopolitical and indigenous struggles (Ruspini et al., 2011: 3).

Scholars hold that Western views of masculinity are incomplete and partial, and that it is imperative to undertake a global and comparative approach to masculinities and men studies so that worldwide gender reforms can be promoted and achieved (Kimmel, 2013; Connell & Pearse, 2009; Hearn, 1994). As a field, CSMM has significantly expanded and now has a range of different epistemological and theoretical perspectives that influence scholarship in other areas, including post-colonialism or feminist post-colonialism. Although the masculinity scholarships are dominated by Western normative notions of masculinities, they do not and should not shape the understanding of masculinity in the non-Western parts of the world (Connell, 2007). I now discuss the importance of post-colonialism or post-colonial feminism in framing this research, and how it can be useful in critically analysing local and diverse forms of masculinity that have been influenced by colonialism and imperialism.

2.2.1 Post-colonialism and post-colonial feminism

Post-colonialism and post-colonial feminism provide valuable lenses in this research to study the origins, structures, and dynamics of masculinities. Post-colonialism theory is not a theory in the strict sense of the term. Rather it 'refers to a heterogeneous set of theories and discursive practices aimed at explicating the texts, cultures, and politics arising out of Third World contexts after their hard-won independence from colonial rule' (Stanovsky, 2007: 493). This school of thought did not emerge in a vacuum but is rather the consequence of a series of interventions made by writers and

scholars who often had personal experiences of marginalisation within their respective establishments and the wider communities (Young 2016). It is recognised as an 'innovative body of thinking' and marked as a 'new phase' by the emergence of cultural voices of immigrants living in Western societies (Young, 2016: x). As a non-Western researcher, post-colonialism challenges the way I think about local identities and histories and the way they have been represented in literature, or the way colonialism or post-colonialism is imbued in the narratives of my participants. Therefore, this theorisation of post-colonial subjects can be useful in studying men and masculinity in the region.

In keeping with post-colonial theorising, post-colonial feminism is concerned with challenging 'universal claims and homogenizing tendencies' in Western feminist scholarship (Beasley, 2005: 79). As a school of thought, post-colonial feminism is mainly an initiative of activists and academics to bring to light the issues faced by women in post-colonial societies, which were overlooked by colonial histories and biographies (Salem, 2005). By extending a post-colonial feminist standpoint to the accounts of men in this study, this research will contribute to a more self-reflective and critical study of gender in the Pacific. In her famous 1988 essay titled *Can the subaltern speak?* Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak argues that the voices and representation of subaltern or colonial peoples, especially women, are excluded due to the limitations imposed, framed, and sustained by Western discourse (Spivak, 1988). Spivak's question remains critical in masculinity studies as it signals to scholars or observers to deploy a mindfulness on the experiences and perspectives of post-colonial men. Can the subaltern speak? is addressing silences and has continuous relevance and applicability to broader studies on gender, race, and other subaltern categories.

As a Pacific Island or Melanesian researcher, the post-colonial and post-colonial feminism standpoint provide possibilities to re-analyse, question and critique popular contemporary culture, language, text, and politics that arise from the context in which I was born and raised. These conceptual frameworks help to represent and re-present men's plural and diverse views and experiences. They offer not only theoretical and practical explanations to historical events of colonialism; they also provide a theoretical framework to question current global processes, such as globalisation and capitalism, that are the legacies of colonialism and imperialism by Europeans and Americans (Connell, 1998). In addition, these conceptual frameworks provide the opportunity for a researcher to examine other concepts that explain the diverse cultural masculinities in post-colonial societies, such as hybrid masculinity and precarious manhood, which I now discuss.

2.2.2 Hybrid Masculinity

As a conceptual tool, hybridity has been 'studied in a range of disciplines including biological sciences, social sciences and even literatures and literary criticism' (Wallis, et al. 2018: 1). Hybridity in the literal sense of the word originated within the field of biology to refer to the outcome of mixing or combing two or more elements (Wallis, et al. 2018). The concept has extensively covered multiple issues from 'rights, identity, indigeneity, materiality, local governance, justice, reconciliation, sustainability, the dynamics of the state and international system, globalisation and the commons' (Richmond, 2018: viii). It is an extremely complex and controversial concept, yet many policy makers and academics are interested in it because of its relevance to the rapidly globalising and fluid world that we live in (Richmond, 2018). Hybridity as a theoretical framework also provides light on injustices and power inequalities that exist in society. The hybrid process usually 'arises from resistance to hegemony and tends to manifest itself in outright violence, active reform of introduced practices or co-option' (Wallis, et al: 2008: 4).

While there is growing interest in the concept, there is also emerging critique. The concept has been criticised for often re-establishing problematic binaries which it seeks to solve. Often the discussion of hybridity focuses on the interaction between binaries such as modern vs tradition, international vs local, state vs non-state, Western vs non-Western and so on. Such binaries are not helpful as they downplay complex context and homogenise or essentialise categories (Peterson, 2012). At the same time, the concept of hybridity prompts us to consider various categories to be locations of contestation and negotiation, and signals fluidity that occurs within and between categories (Wallis, et al. 2018). Thus, the importance of moving away from binaries as argued by Peterson (2012), represents the core interest of hybridity. The sites for contestation and negotiation demonstrated by men in this study include, but not limited to, traditional vs modern, rural vs urban or private vs public. Terms like 'bluffing', 'blending', 'selective performances', 'combining', 'adapting', 'creating', and 'becoming' were used by men in this study as signposts of the existence of hybridity.

In this thesis, 'traditional' or 'tradition' refers to the cultural ideas, beliefs or *kastoms* (customs) of both past and present transmitted from one generation to another generation. Traditional masculinity in Papua New Guinea and other parts of the Pacific, includes a considerable range of ideal roles for men. Some of these roles are typically known to be 'glossed as political leader, peace-maker, feast giver, warrior, ritual expert, master artisan, trader or influential man' (Fife, 1995: 279). The continual recognition of a man is reliant on the continuous effectiveness in his role(s). It is seldom that a man is considered effective by just occupying a social space, rather his continuous efforts to

be effective authorises his occupation in a social space (Fife, 1995). On the other hand, 'modernism' or 'modern' is associated with the rapid change of global culture providing alternative ways of being a man. This tends to be linked to foreign influence such as 'transnational flow of goods, capital and ideology inevitably incorporated within the gender space of Pacific modernities' (Taylor, 2008a: 127). Thus, Pacific masculinities (and femininities), are an embodiment of the dialectical relationship between traditionalism and modernity, in which Christian or *kastom* values and modern values tend to act through opposing each other (Bainton, 2008; Macintyre, 2000; Taylor, 2008a; Wardlow 2006).

The literature on hybrid masculine identities in the Pacific tend to focus on colonial and post-colonial discourses. Scholars such as Presterudstuen (2016, 2019), Walker (2008), Hokowhitu (2004) and Tengan (2002) view the process of colonialism and post-colonialism, particularly through the colonial disciplines of sports like rugby or American football, militarialism and education created a hybrid that represents the hyper-masculine or hegemonic model of Hawaiian, Fijian and Māori man. As such, Pacific masculinity is seen as a blend of traditional patriarchy which existed prior to Western contact and European or American masculine cultures (Biersack, 2016; Chen, 2014; Hokowhitu, 2004; Jolly, 2008: Taylor 2008; Tengan, 2002; Presterudstuen, 2016, 2019; Walker 2008). Often the Western-centric view is that traditional ideologies of the notion of man raptures dramatically when they blend or connect with Western influence. Presterudstuen (2016, 2019) contends that this view is flawed because the ways in which the dialectic relationship is experienced among Fijian (or Pacific men) is that traditional values are not replaced by modern values, but are advanced and invested with new meanings. These new meanings are highly contested and negotiated, producing fluid and plural notions of masculinity. It is in the contestation and negotiation of these values that men adopt hybrid masculine roles and identities as a strategy to deal with the pressures from expectations of hegemonic masculinities, and challenges of precarious social environments. In analysing hybrid masculinity as a strategy, I am contributing a highly nuanced and critical discussion to the emerging literature on hybrid masculinity in the Pacific.

The concept of hybrid masculinity is a recent concept, developed during the twentieth century through the writings of various scholars (Arxer, 2011; Demetriou, 2001; Messner, 2007, 1993; Messerschmidt, 2010). Hybrid masculinity is described as 'the selective incorporation of masculinities and – at times – femininities into privileged men's gender performance and identities' (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014: 246). Work on hybrid masculinity initially focused on young, upper-class, heterosexual-identified, and White men (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). However, there is an emerging interest in investigating hybrid masculinities in various contexts and categories due to the

range of disciplines that have incorporated the conceptual framework of hybridity in understanding gender identities (Wallis et al, 2018). Scholars are critically theorising gender meanings due to the recognition that men are increasingly producing hybrid masculinities that are created through a cultural fusion of global, historical, and geographical influences (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). Hybrid masculinity is demonstrated when men are choosing to identify with different or subordinate masculinities, and even femininities, especially when their male power and privilege is challenged (Umamasheswar, 2020).

Demetriou (2001) referred to hybrid masculinities as integration of 'bits and pieces' of the gender identity project (350). It is noted that men who construct hybrid masculinity alter and expand traditional definitions of masculinity; however, 'they do not fundamentally change it' (Greenebaum and Dexter, 2017: 9). Umamasheswar (2002) supports this by noting that hybrid masculinity turns to take on softer versions of masculinity that challenge and reject stereotypical thinking of masculinity and femininity, but at the same time it does not remove or change the gender order (also see Messer, 1993). The values associated with femininity or subordinated masculinities are redefined by men so that they can 'align to many of the prevailing notions of masculinity' (Greenebaum and Dexter, 2017: 9). For example, men who participated in this research select household chores that are feminine-coded and rationalise that it is about maintaining a 'good' or 'respectable' status for themselves, as opposed to the benefit of sharing the workload that women typically endure alone.

In more recent years, a study exploring subordinated men revealed that, in response to coping with precarious social environments, men are adopting a hybridised masculinity (Umamasheswar 2020). Maintaining both hybrid masculinities and hegemonic masculinities in precarious circumstances requires 'moving between' in ways that are fluid but require a copious amount of psychological effort (Umamasheswar, 2020). Furthermore, hybrid masculinities may be problematic because they are mostly enacted privately rather than publicly, whereas hegemonic masculinities are publicly displayed for approval (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). Men who participated in this study displayed similar tendencies whereby they selectively adopt aspects of feminine or less traditional masculine behaviours or traits when they are challenged by expectations of hegemony or when they experience social and economic precarity, and in discrete ways. Therefore, I contend that the concept of hybrid masculinity is not only applicable to young, upper-class, heterosexual, and White privileged men. As this study illustrates, the concept can also be applied to men from various age, class, and sexuality backgrounds, even marginalised or subordinated men. Studies on hybrid masculinities have also shown another possibility – men's experiences of justifying the selection of hybrid masculinities are

leading to a host of new identity projects of different groups of men who are negotiating change in different ways, some even challenging systems of power and inequality (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). As a conceptual framework, hybrid masculinity can be useful in explaining the selected performances of diverse masculinities among men, as well as helping to interpret the lived experiences of men who chose to display or model alternative masculinities.

2.2.3 Precarious Manhood

Another key concept employed in this research is precarious manhood, which views manhood not as a developmental certainty, but rather as an elusive and tenuous status in need of social validation and proof (Bosson et al., 2008; Bosson et al., 2009; Vandello and Bosson, 2013; Vandello et al., 2008). The understanding of manhood in this concept is that 'once achieved it can also be easily lost' (Bosson et al., 2009: 623). The view that manhood is a troubled and problematic status is not a new one and researchers of men and masculinity have held longstanding theoretical assumptions of this view (Eisler and Skidmore, 1987; Gilmore, 1990; Hearn and Kimmel, 2006; O'Neil, 2008; Pleck, 1981, 1995). In many societies, precarious manhood develops from adaptations of social environments in which manhood is gained through competition, demonstrated through public displays of physical prowess and dominance (Buss and Schmitt, 1993; Geary, 1998). Relative to womanhood, manhood requires enduring active validation to prove itself and, when challenged, men are often compelled to use and even benefit from physical aggression as a means to restore or maintain their precarious gender status in society (Bosson et al., 2009). For this research, this concept provides a critical lens to analyse men's constant need to validate masculinity by constructing or negotiating various ways of becoming a man or maintaining their gender-based status and authority. Still, the concept of precarious manhood has limitations.

Joseph Vandello and Jennifer Bosson, who have done a great deal of work on understanding precarious manhood, have identified two main concerns regarding this concept (Vandello and Bosson, 2013). First, it is possible that precariousness is a social status rather than a threat to manhood specifically. If precariousness status was not related to gender, men and women would have similar experiences of threat. Second, the concept of manhood as precarious 'represents an overly stereotypical and caricatured view of manhood' (Vandello and Bosson, 2013: 12). Some men who are aware of the cultural definitions of manhood nonetheless question and deconstruct traditional or hegemonic ideologies, creating more diverse versions of manhood than this theorisation allows. This being said, societal gender roles are shifting, and traditional beliefs of manhood are being replaced by new, more complex, and nuanced representations of manhood. As

such, the precarious manhood concept provides a distinct way of analysing men's experiences of precarity and offers one way to explain a range of male behaviours and phenomena related to their gender roles.

This research uses the theories discussed above to critically analyse the meaning and production of local masculinities. The aim of this research is not to make grand claims about the changes in masculinity from traditional to non-traditional, or hegemonic to subordinated masculinities. Rather I insist on the importance of local, place-based, and culturally specific variations at all times. However, it does emphasise that masculinities change over time, in various cultures and contexts, and have various meanings among diverse populations. Which brings me to discuss the extent to which ideas of masculinity have been explored in the region.

2.3 Studies on Masculinity in the Pacific

To appreciate the scope of men's and masculinity studies in the Pacific, it is important to first look at the ways in which the Pacific as a cultural, political, and geographical entity has been viewed by scholars. The construct of the Pacific is one that is part imposed on the geography and peoples of this region by powers from outside (Overton, 1993). The geo-politics of the region bear the traces of early colonial interventions as well as colonialist views of the Pacific and its people, and these persist in several forms into the present (Overton, 1993). The racial mapping of the Pacific by European colonisers, as discussed earlier, resulted in a hierarchical order with Melanesians taking the bottom place (Kabutaulaka, 2015). Many historians and anthropologists who study the Pacific have long observed and documented that 'colonial invasion and pacification is responsible for the dramatic social and political changes that have occurred' in the region (Jolly and Macintyre, 1989: 1). It is noted that while indigenous political systems, economic activities and social or cultural life were destroyed or disrupted, certain core institutions and essential characteristics or values of the colonisers continue to be maintained by Pacific Island people (Jolly and Macintyre, 1989). Hence, examining transformations of gender and gender relations in the region requires acknowledging the immense effects of colonialism, which are multifaceted and often contradictory.

Major themes of early anthropological and ethnological research in the region often involve perceptions of 'smallness, isolation and distinctiveness' (Overton, 1993: 265). indigenous Pacific Island scholar Epeli Hau'ofa (1994) contests that this is an 'economistic and geographically deterministic view' of the existence of Pacific Islanders and their homelands, which tends to overlook cultural and traditional history (151). In Our Sea of Islands (1994), Hau'ofa opposes 'outsiders'' perception of fragmentation, smallness, and vulnerability, arguing that these views are

integral to most relationships of dominance and subordination. He warns that if these views are not challenged with opposing and more constructive visions of the Pacific, it could impose lasting damage on the image of people and their ability to continue to exist relatively autonomously within a global system that is imposed on them (Hau'ofa, 1994).

A key element in understanding the region is its diversity in terms of population, culture, language, history, climate, mineral wealth, and political dependence (Overton, 1993). Past scholars have often assumed that the region was much the same as other Third World regions, being subject to similar broad processes of transformation and connected progressively to the wider global economy (Overton, 1993; Hau'ofa, 1994). However, as scholars have argued, the transformation of islands in the Pacific is different from the rest of the world due to their unique history and diverse cultures (Eves, 2006; Jolly, 2008; Jolly and Macintyre, 1989). Focusing on diversity gives opportunities to expand understanding of the past and current realities of individuals and communities within and among the islands of the Pacific. Historical and cultural diversity among Pacific Island people is one of the main reasons constructions of masculinity vary from one cultural setting to another.

A considerable amount of early anthropological literature in the region was 'androcentric' (Biersack, et. al 2016: p 197), with interrogation focused on the 'sorts of men' that existed using supposedly universal psychoanalytical models (Jolly, 2008). Jolly (2008) notes that the focus of scholars in the past was based on approaches that produced singular forms of masculinity within different cultures and regions. As discussed in Chapter 1, examples of these studies are popular in Melanesian societies where discomforting traditional rituals and practices were construed to produce singular masculinities (Allen 1967; Elliston 1995; Herdt 1994; 1997; 1984a, 1984b; 1982; 1986; Layard 1942; Silverman 2001). Although these studies provided a variety of rich knowledge of men, both past and present, they were not sufficiently probing into the diverse and changing masculinities that were emerging as a result of outside influences (Connell, 1993, 1998).

Indigenous and non-indigenous scholars alike have written about masculinity in the Pacific, yet indigenous scholars (Cariou et al., 2015; Teaiwa, 2005, 2008; Tengan, 2002, 2008; Tengan and Markham, 2009; Hokowhitu, 2004, 2007, 2008; Sai, 2001) tend to place more emphasis on the effects of colonialism in the construction of indigenous masculinities (Jolly, 2008). Much of the literature on Pacific masculinities by indigenous scholars arises from de-colonising and post-colonial schools of thought. Theoretically, the work of these scholars is aligned in its insistence that gender and other analyses must first be contextualised within the power relations of colonialism and

neo-colonial geo-politics. Through their work they promote the re-articulation, re-thinking and re-narrating of Pacific masculine identities and challenge the outside world's views of these men.

A growing body of literature on men and masculinities in the Pacific, particularly the Melanesian context, has emerged in the last three decades. These studies provide analysis of the dynamic complexities of masculinities that are grounded in the historical processes of colonialism, post-colonialism, Christian conversion, geopolitical and indigenous struggles, and urbanisation and market penetration. They include a range of subjects, such as tourism and sports (Presterudstuen, 2010: Presterudstuen and Schider, 2016), religion and Christianity (Eves, 2012; Gibbs, 2016a; Presterudstuen, 2016), law and order issues, gender-based violence (Eves, 2010, 2012; Jolly, 2016; Haley, 2005; Macintyre, 2008; Munro, 2019; Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012; 2008), HIV and AIDS (Lepani, 2008; Lusby, 2018), education, employment, income, mining (Bainton, 2008; Munro, 2017; Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2016:), militarisation (Teaiwa, 2005, 2008) and mobility and migration (Alexeyeff, 2008). Other studies critique gender development and aid within the region while assessing how particular instances are transforming the lives of Pacific Island men (Eves, 2006; Macintyre, 2012; Taylor, 2008a, 2008b). These scholarly works bring a much-needed contribution to debates around men and masculinity in the region, correcting some of the simplified views of gender relations. Nevertheless, it has always been recognised that some issues go beyond the local (Connell, 1998; Jolly, 2008). Understanding masculinity within the Pacific therefore entails connecting local with global ideals and realities.

In her paper Re-thinking Gender from the South, based on her influential work in Southern Theory (2007), Connell (2014) argues for more recognition of literature on feminism and masculinity from the global south. Connell (2014) maintains that 'the goal is not to write a unified theory of gender but to create mutual learning and interactive thinking' (539). The studies referenced above demonstrate increased understanding of the diverse forms of masculinities that exist in the Pacific; however, very few have closely examined men's conceptualisation and interpretations of masculine behaviour (Lusby, 2018; Gibbs, 2016a; Sai, 2007). For instance, Gibbs (2016a) investigated men's views of human rights discourse within the framework of faith; Lusby (2018) explored men's views and experiences of aspirational masculinity in HIV prevention campaigns; and Sai (2007) examined senior male bureaucrats' understanding of 'Big man'. Big man is a prestigious title given to traditional elites or Chiefs who are wealthy and generous among members of their clan in most traditional settings (see Sahlins, 1983). As discussed in Chapter 1, like my research, Sai's (2007) and Lusby's (2018) doctoral theses reported on in-depth qualitative inquiries with men in Papua New Guinea with regard to their perspectives and experiences of masculine behaviour and practices.

Engaging in masculinity research with men provides an opportunity to understand at a deeper level men's complex, plural, and dynamic gendered experiences which, as discussed above, are constantly being shaped and reshaped through history and culture (Connell, 2012). Eves (2009) contends that 'development practitioners and academics have rarely bridged the gender divide to consider men and masculinity' in research and therefore there is a responsibility to engage with men on these fundamental concerns (2). It is now recognised as vitally important to examine and analyse how the masculine gender is constructed in particular cultures or contexts, especially those forms of masculinity that generate behaviour that propels violence (Macintyre, 2008).

As mentioned earlier, my research is concerned with men's limited voices within discourses of gender and development in the Pacific. Current efforts in the Pacific aimed at reducing gender-based violence and inequality are significantly focused on women; however, a growing number of gender programs are engaging men and boys. These programs recognise the need for men and boys to participate in the questioning of prevailing inequitable gender norms. Working with men is often stated as part of the agenda of development practitioners, donors, and academics, yet men's voices tend to be left out or sidelined from these processes.

There are men who dominate public services and development sector, and mostly in leadership positions; however, there are also men who do not. Furthermore, while men often benefit from the existence of gender disparities, they do not all benefit to the same extent (Silberschmidt, 2011). The theories of patriarchy tend to subscribe men to stereotypical gender roles as exploiters or victimizers of women. These analytical tools can be insensitive and inappropriate to men and ignore men as gendered and relational subjects. This research acknowledges that not all men have access to what Connell terms as the 'patriarchal dividend' – the choose to exercise power over women or other men just by being a man (Silberschmidt, 2011: 102). This is mainly because of the inequalities that exist in society and between genders. As discussed in the thesis, inequalities vary from one context to another and is attributed to the influence of colonialism and contemporary socio-economic and cultural conditions shifts.

2.3.1 Situating Gender and Sexuality in the Pacific

Situating gender and sexuality within the Pacific can be a perplexing and daunting challenge, given the region's diversity of histories, boundaries, geographies, and cultures (Overton, 1993). Regardless of these challenges, literature about the Pacific recognises that identities, discourses and the social constructions of gender and sexuality are entangled with and influenced by a long colonial history, and indigenous practices and identities (Biersack, 2016). Despite limited historical records

of practices and identities pre-contact, research in the Pacific has established that heteronormative relationships existed in almost all Pacific Island societies (Chen, 2014; Besnier and Alexeyeff, 2014). In the social arrangement of most societies, sexual behaviour and attraction are seen as being between persons of the opposite sex or gender. Heteronormative relations remain the rule but there exist other categories of gender which complicates this construction in some Pacific societies. The 'third gender' (or the feminine man) among Polynesians, referred to as *fa'afafine* (Samoa), *fakaleitī/fakafafine* (Tonga), māhū (Tahiti), *akava'ine* (Cook Islands) *whakawahine (*Aotearoa/New Zealand), addresses transgender as well as homosexual nuances (Besnier and Alexeyeff, 2014; Chen, 2014). Non-heteronormative minorities in the Pacific often struggle to gain recognition for their culturally specific gender and sexual identities. There is now a growing body of work that voices the experiences and views of non-heteronormative minorities (Presterudstuen, 2019; Besniar and Alexeyeff, 2014).

Women in the Pacific have predominantly played a sub-ordinated or submissive role to men. Although there are distinctive differences between each society, similar traits are found in the organisation of society, marriage rules, and family or societal structures (Caldwell, Swan and Woodbrown, 2012). Many Pacific societies are predominantly patriarchal, with a few matriarchal societies[1]; thus, men determine the way society is governed and organised, and how men and women, and boys and girls, behave and interact with each other (Tengan 2002; Macintyre and Jolly, 1984). Women and girls continue to this day to play a secondary role in society, including in intimate-partner relationships (Macintyre and Jolly, 1984). These gender dynamics and regulations, which are shaped by colonialism and Christianity, play a significant role in influencing the outcomes of family and societal life, including the use of violence.

2.3.2 Influence of Christianity on gender norms and practices

Christianity was brought into the region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Protestant and Catholic missionaries (Lange, 2005). To this day, the faith and the church play significant roles in the lives of people in the Pacific and exert influence on social and political structures. Established leaders and emerging elites in the community, who are mostly men, are often also church leaders (Smith, 2021; White, 1991). About 95 per cent of people in Papua New Guinea (PNG) and Solomon Islands (Jolly and Choi, 2014), 66 per cent in Fiji (Presterudstuen, 2016) and almost 80 per cent in

[1] Countries that have matriarchal societies include PNG, Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands, Kiribati, Fiji and the Federated States of Micronesia.

Samoa (Thornton, Kerslake, and Binns, 2010) claim that they are Christians. Since the early part of the twentieth century, the Pacific has been overwhelmingly Christian in allegiance (Lange, 2005). The physical evidence of this commitment can be seen in the presence of church buildings in proximity to people's dwellings throughout the Pacific. While it continues to be a dominant expression of cultural production both for islanders living in the Pacific and abroad (Bellwood, Fox, and Tyron, 2013), it is argued that Christianisation in the Pacific is being adapted, remade by blending with local world views, and integrated into the lives of Islanders (Douglas, 2002).

Compared to other formerly colonised regions of the world in modern times, the Pacific region universally accepted and integrated Christianity (Lange, 2005). According to Bellwood, Fox, and Tyron (2013) the widespread acceptance of and conversion to Christianity was due to the breakdown of local cultures and traditions throughout the nineteenth century as a result of colonialism. The aim of Christian conversion by colonisers in the region was not only to convert heathens and pagans, then the world's view of the inhabitants of the region; they also saw this as a 'civilising influence' to break down and dissolve societal institutions to make small-scale societies or institutions easier to administer and rule (Bellwood, Fox, and Tyron, 2013). In this way, Christianisation became the process by which colonial powers transformed traditional practices (viewed as primitive) to civility, thus imposing on the Pacific a cultural view that normalised the white, middle-class patriarchy (Tegan, 2002). As supported by Cox and McIntyre (2014), the missionisation process made modernity acceptable and accessible to people. Furthermore, in considering this Western influence, the influence of the then prevalent imperial and Christian conceptualisation of gender and sexuality need also to be borne in mind (Eves, 2008; 2012). Therefore, it is impossible to talk about masculinity or patriarchy without talking about the influence of colonialism and Christianity and the impact it has on the way communities view men's identities and roles.

In some Melanesian societies it has been observed that significant changes or reorientations occurred in the local understandings of the personalities and behaviour of men since Christian conversion. Various studies in Melanesian societies have discussed colonialism and missionisation in terms of emasculation, and men have cited a range of adverse experiences including feelings of subordination, inferiority, and dependency (see Brison, 1995; Herdt, 1981, 1987; Knauft, 2002; Kulick, 1993; White, 1980, 1991). When men converted to Christianity, aggression, once seen as a male strength, began to be seen in a negative light. White (1980, 1991) observed that in the Solomon Islands, aggressive strength among men protected family or clan members from enemies and helped maintain communal harmony. However, due to the influence of Christian messages contrasting the evils of 'savage violence' with the benefits of civilised peace and cooperation, Melanesians now

view aggression in a less positive light than they previously did (White, 1991). Harrison (1982) and Read (1959) in their research on various PNG societies, made similar assumptions about personality-shaped gender relations and leadership patterns. For these scholars, missionisation transformed the way Melanesians perceived aggression as evil and sinful, and therefore choices of leadership started to be based on who presented as a non-aggressive leader (Harrison, 1982; Read, 1959).

What's more, there are studies that demonstrate Melanesians' view of colonialism and missionisation as strengthening men's performance of labour and leadership qualities (Wilde, 2004; Lange, 2005). The Christianity imposed on Pacific Islanders was heavily driven by Western patriarchal ideals aiming to establish a strict gender order, with a particular focus on governing sexuality (Connell, 2006; Boyd, 1993). As explained by Togarasei (2013), these beliefs entail the role of men as the provider, decision-maker or authoriser which do not question men's decisions and dealings. The society as a whole, therefore, maintains patriarchy in political, social, and cultural life because of the strong influence of patriarchal ideals from the church (Wilde, 2004).

Moreover, a strand of criticism of Christianity has come from feminists throughout the world who hold that Christianity has developed dangerous masculinities and reinforced patriarchal ideologies that maintain hegemony. In doing so, it has marginalised women and other men (Chen, 2014; Gentry, 2016). However, some feminists also hold a view that both feminism and Christianity, mainly Christian realism, 'a political theology in the Christian tradition that promotes balance of power and political responsibility' ('Christian realism', n.d), share common interests in navigating and empowering those who are disempowered in the cause of addressing injustice and human vulnerability (Gentry, 2016). This can be seen in the work of faith-run NGOs, which I will discuss in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Others have suggested that the teachings of Christianity have helped transform dangerous or toxic masculinity and helped men to understand their role in supporting women using a human rights framework (Gibbs, 2016a; Eves, 2016; Togarasei, 2013). I further discuss this view in Chapter 7. Christian beliefs and traditions that reinforce patriarchy also legitimise men's violence when certain ideals are not fulfilled, which I now discuss.

2.4 Making Sense of Men's Violence in the Pacific

Masculinity continues to be represented as 'in crisis' in the media and in public discourses concerning disenfranchised men who commonly respond with negative and destructive expressions when certain ideals are not fulfilled. These representations often posit the post-colonial Pacific man as a threat or menace signalling actual or potential violence, including sexual violence (Eves, 2006).

Among masculinity scholars, it is argued that masculinity has become 'problematic' due to the growing 'cultural turbulence among themes of masculinity' in various regions of the world (Connell, 2005: 598). It is therefore important that, when problematising masculinity, scholars should consider the underlying political and cultural history of the problem and not just its surface manifestation. For some scholars, the nature of violence and hostility by men is seen as resistance to the ideals of governments in the Pacific (Macintyre, 2008; Pangerl, 2007; Kent and Barnett, 2011). Men behaving negatively in society may be an expression of frustration against the state's lack of attention towards the problems faced in societies (Macintyre, 2008). The negative expressions towards property and people are described by some vulnerable members of society as the 'real weapons of the weak' (Macintyre, 2008: 182). In some societies in the region, 'aggressive masculine behaviour is valued as an expression' of resistance against globalisation and modernity; however, it is 'often harmful, illegal and disruptive of social harmony' (Macintyre, 2008: 180).

Moreover, studies in the region show that young men are usually the target group for organising resistance, hostility and civil disobedience (Pangerl, 2007; Kent and Barnett, 2011; Jun, 2000). In Fiji, gangs of young indigenous men were recruited by Speight's coup in 2000 to threaten Indo-Fijian families who owned farms and businesses during the coup (Pangerl, 2007). In Bougainville, Noah Musinginku hired local men to form the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (he also hired Fijian mercenaries as his bodyguards) to fight against the PNG Defence Force, in a conflict over disparity in the distribution of resources between villages and clans, environmental degradation, land alienation and negative reaction undertaking of migrant labour (Regan, 1998). The Solomon Islands civil war was led by young men from the Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army, who terrorised Malaitan inhabitants in the Guadalcanal province due to decades of resentment felt by Guadalcanal locals for being treated as second-class and landless citizens (Jun, 2000). Regrettably, in these conflicts and unrests, women, children and other, subordinate men experience suffering, and properties and assets are destroyed.

2.4.1 Gender-based violence in the Pacific region

According to the World Bank (2019), gender-based violence is a global pandemic that affects one in every three women. It is reported that the rates of physical and sexual violence in most Pacific Island countries is higher that the global average of 31 percent (World Health Organisation, 2021). Figure 1, below, demonstrates the high prevalence rates of intimate partner violence experienced by women in the region between 2000 and 2019. According to this chart, women in PNG, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji, Samoa, and Kiribati have higher prevalence rates of violence than larger

population states like Cambodia, Myanmar and Sri Lanka. As a global phenomenon, gender-based violence takes different forms in different social contexts and is often positioned within local meanings of gender, power structures and social relationships (Merry, 2009).

The term 'gender violence' as defined by Sally Engle Merry (2009) 'is violence whose meaning depends on the gendered identities of the parties … an interpretation of violence through gender' (3-4). Throughout the Pacific, the term gender violence is used synonymously with gender-based violence or violence against women (VAW). The concept of gender violence emerges in the Pacific through aid and development and 'encompass[es] violence against children, including the girl child, as well as violence against males' (Biersack, Jolly and Macintyre, 2016: 4). Forms of gender violence are experienced physically, psychologically/emotionally, and sexually, and range from name-calling in marriage to stalking, beating, rape and sorcery-related killings (Merry, 2009). These forms of violence are seen as being rooted in unequal power relationships between genders. The victims of gender violence are overwhelmingly women and girls; perpetrators are overwhelmingly men (Merry, 2009).

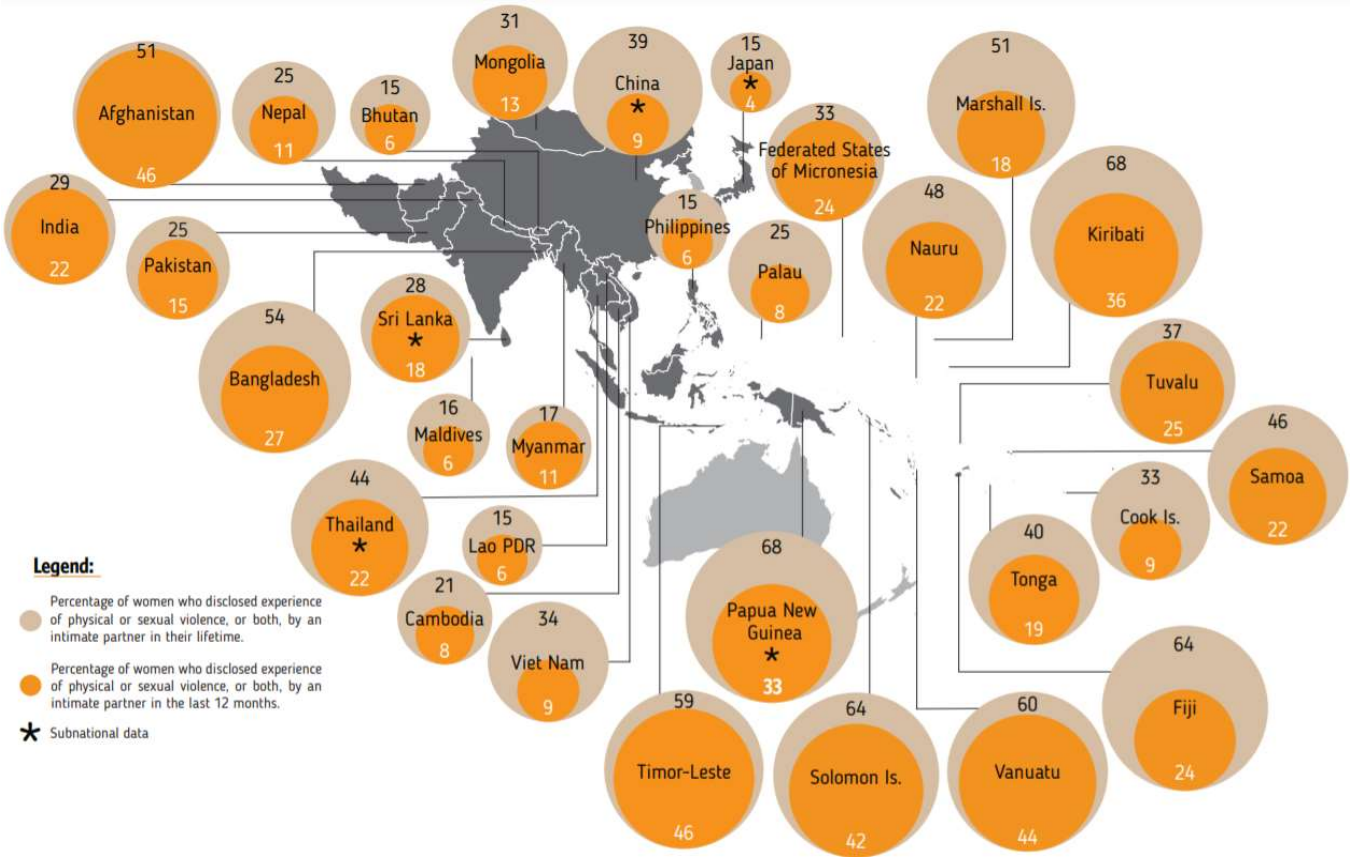

Figure 1: Regional snapshot showing the prevalence of violence against women in the Asia-Pacific region (Source: UNFPA website, 2019)

Across several of her papers, Laura Zimmer-Tamakoshi highlights that gender violence patterns in Melanesian societies such as rape during warfare, and torture of disobedient wives or women accused of sorcery, continue to be practiced (1993, 1997, 2003, 2012 and, writing as Zimmer, 1990). It is also maintained that gender violence, or what some call engendered violence, in the region is 'situated in the context of massive global and social transformations, and these are provoking new forms of conflict and novel understanding of such violence' (Jolly, 2012; 7). In the introductory chapter to the co-edited book *Engendering Violence in Papua New Guinea* by Margaret Jolly, Christine Stewart, and Carolyn Brewer (2012), Jolly emphasises the need to include the voices of men as perpetrators and not just women as victims in framing our understanding of gender violence.

It is difficult to know the extent of the problem of violence and whether the rates are increasing or decreasing in PNG and Fiji. In PNG, the only national survey was conducted in the early 1980s (Toft, 1985, 1986; Toft and Bonnell, 1985), while Fiji's national survey was conducted in 2011 (FWCC, 2013). There has not been a population-wide survey conducted since then. Until now, there is an undeniable public rhetoric in local media about the 'alleged rise' in gender violence (Jolly, 2016: 10). Reports of violence on local television, radio and newspaper are a regular occurrence. The two large pioneering surveys conducted in PNG by the Law Reform Commission (LRC) identified the magnitude of the incidence of domestic violence and the acceptability of it by both men and women (Toft, 1985, 1986; Toft and Bonnell, 1985). The reports found that two-thirds of women across PNG had experienced physical violence perpetrated by their husbands.

The results exposed broad acceptance of men's control over women. It found that about 66 per cent of men reported that they hit their wives, which correlated with 67 per cent of women who reported being hit by their husbands (Toft and Bonnell, 1985). Further, 67 per cent of male respondents and 57 per cent of female respondents reported in the survey that it was acceptable for a husband to beat his wife (Toft and Bonnell, 1985). Other forms of gender inequality were reported, including women's lack of access to education, health, and land. Given that it has been 30 years since a study of a similar scale has been done in PNG, the figures above can no longer be deemed accurate.

Decades later, some argue that the problem is worsening (Eves, 2008). In Fiji, a national survey on the prevalence, incidence and attitudes to intimate partner violence was undertaken by the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (FWCC) in 2010-2011 using the World Health Organisation's (WHO) methodology (FWCC, 2013). The Fiji survey found that of 1575 women among 3538 households,

66 per cent were physically abused by their partners (Biersack, 2016). As in PNG, gender violence remains a serious problem in Fijian society. A UNFPA report (2008: 19) on the state of violence against women in Fiji noted that violence was used by men to 'keep women in their place', especially where women do not conform to traditional gender roles accorded to them by society.

Despite public rhetoric about gender violence, such as gang rape or violent punishments of unfaithful or jealous wives, some reports have downplayed these acts of violence (Jolly, 2016). Intimate partner or gender violence is downplayed in many societies because it is considered a 'private or domestic' matter, which officials then are reluctant to treat with urgency. The lack of interference by police officials, even when the domestic or intimate partner violence is experienced first-hand by family or community members, is a concern (Dinnen, 1999). In PNG, as in other Pacific Island societies, intimate partner or gender violence is treated discreetly because it is seen as concerning people's private and sex lives, which are considered private and shameful (Strathern, 1985; Toft and Bonnell, 1985; Eves, 2006). The lack of involvement by state agencies and community members is a concern that organisations working on gender violence programs attempt to address through awareness and training interventions.

Studies conducted in Melanesian states and territories – PNG, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia (overseas territory of France) and West Papua (province of Indonesia) – show that there is growing concern about violence that ranges from criminal violence, tribal or ethnic violence, security force or military violence, and secessionist rebel violence to gender violence (Biderman and Munro, 2018; Dinnen, 1999; Dinnen and Ley, 2000; Munro, 2013, 2017; Macintyre, 2000, 2012). Gender violence or violence against women is widespread in Melanesian societies, mainly in interpersonal contexts in the form of intimate partner violence, and women are repeatedly victims (Macintyre, 2000).

There is a growing body of scholarly work in the region recounting and analysing the experiences of women who have been abused and violated by men as a consequence of globalisation and modernisation (Biersack et al., 2016; Dinnen, 1999, Dinnen and Ley, 2000; Jolly et al., 2013; Macintyre, 2008; Macintyre and Spark 2017; McNamara and Westoby, 2014). Studies have also shown that women and children who experience violence from their male partners or male family members tolerate gender violence and view it as culturally acceptable (Eves, 2012; McPherson, 2012; Rauchholz, 2016). One major concern is that domestic violence is often justified by both men and women as reflecting men's traditional authority (Macintyre, 2000). Considering this, the

involvement of men and boys in violence prevention work is crucial in dealing with the way both men and women tolerate violence.

The elimination of violence against women is a serious concern for the international community. As explored in Chapter 7, in the international development context, aid programs that address violence against women have traditionally focused on prevention (including community education and awareness) and intervention (through the introduction of laws which criminalise violence against women) (Merry, 2006). Men's roles in preventing violence against women (Flood, 2008, 2012, 2015; Pease, 2010) are increasingly being studied globally since the late 1990s, and large-scale research on men's reasons for using violence is taking place (Fulu et al., 2013). However, as yet there is little known about men's engagement in violence-prevention work in the Pacific region (Eves, 2009, 2018). I discuss in more detail the current efforts in engaging men and boys in violence prevention in the region in Chapter 7. In this thesis I seek to address gaps regarding men's opinions of the violence-prevention and gender-quality work implemented in the Pacific, and the engagement of men in these gender-related initiatives.

2.5 Conclusion

Masculinities are complex categories that are constantly being shaped and reshaped through historical and current global forces. The post-colonial man in the Pacific is a biproduct of local cultures and traditions, and western ideologies, and is constantly changing to deal with the pressures of globalisation and desires of modernisation. The gender order that currently exists in the Pacific is heavily influenced by Western Christian ideals that have, to this day, maintained patriarchy as the dominant system of society in which gender roles are defined.

Studies that influence thinking around men and masculinity are growing but typically based on experiences in the Western world. These studies have shaped notions of masculinity based on ethnocentric constructions of white, middle class and heterosexual men these do not represent the diverse cultural experience of men from the global south. In an attempt to address this concern, a body of literature is slowly emerging from an interdisciplinary branch known as critical studies of men and masculinities. Scholars from this branch of knowledge are taking on cultural, historical, materialist, anti-essentialist, and deconstructive approaches in research. Most of these studies are a reaction to the challenges faced as a result of globalised processes of colonialism, post-colonialism, and geo-political and indigenous struggles.

Literature on men and masculinities in the Pacific has begun to emerge over the last three decades, interrogating masculinity using psychoanalytical models as well as more recently reflecting on the

historical and global processes that impact masculinity. While contributions to this body of literature are recognised, there is a need for more research on Pacific masculinities, and for qualitative inquiries into men's conceptualisation of the changes and challenges they are experiencing. As an indigenous Pacific Island scholar, my research will contribute to the growing body of indigenous scholarship on studies of men and masculinity.

Masculinity is represented as a problem in the Pacific, a result of unmet desires and needs within a gender order that is culturally unstable due to historical and globalised processes. This has resulted in resistance and expressions of negative masculine behaviour. In almost all situations of resistance, women, children, and other men in society turn out to be victims. The lack of voice, views, and participation from men in the Pacific in dealing with issues of violence and negative masculine behaviour is a gap that needs to be addressed.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

'Research is not just something out there; it is something that you build for yourself and your community' (Wilson, 2001: 179).

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I focus on how this research project has been carried out, and provide a rationale for the research design and methodology used throughout the thesis. I also examine the most appropriate method used in this research to identify, generate, and produce data to answer the research questions and to explain the theoretical framework elucidated in Chapter 2. I begin with a brief explanation of the theoretical approaches of this research, which are the lenses I used to design and implement the research. This is followed by reflections on my positionality and reflexivity in the research. I then discuss data collection methods executed in this study and provide a reflection of my fieldwork experience in Fiji (Suva) and Papua New Guinea (Port Moresby and Bougainville). This discussion contributes to the literature about insider-outsider positionality in research specifically by examining my own perspective, which is that of a female Pacific Island researcher undertaking research on men and masculinity.

3.2 Theoretical considerations

This study uses feminist and post-colonial theoretical approaches to understand the formation of gender and deconstruct gender discourses on masculinity, particularly the identification of masculinity as 'problematic'. 'Post-colonial' as a term refers to the period after colonialism, or a space that was once colonised and is at present technically independent (Vanner, 2015). It may also be applied to 'a nation-state or an area, group of people, text, or ideas within a nation-state that may or may not be post-colonial itself' (Vanner, 2015: 1). While these nation states may be decolonised they are characterised by 'new imperialism' within the context of globalisation, which is influenced by the political, social, economic and military hegemony of the West (Tikly and Bond, 2013; Harvey, 2005).

Representation is fundamental to studies on post-colonial masculinities and pro-feminist studies (Stanovsky, 2007). The way in which 'post-colonial men are positioned has become central to the ways in which people think about men in a post-colonial context' therefore, it can no longer be taken for granted as neutral (Morrell and Swartz, 2005: 109). According to Ousmane and Coleman (1998: 1) the quest to challenge this status quo begins with 'being discontented' with the representation of

masculinities by engaging in complex and critical analysis of hybrid cultural forms that have grown out of colonial displacement and neo-liberal social order. With respect to representation, one of the key aims of this research is to bring to the centre the voices of Pacific Island men. In doing so, I aim to critically analyse narratives of men based on shifting gender and class identities that are challenged by the processes of colonialism and post-colonialism.

Feminist theoretical approaches in research are also concerned with power and representation within the research field, rooted in exploring power relations that characterise social understandings of gender (Vanner, 2015). Feminist researchers 'insist on the adoption of research principles and practices' that are intellectually attentive and sensitive to the experiences and needs of 'disadvantaged groups' (Sang et al., 2012: 572). For feminist theorists, the daily lived experiences of women and girls is the basis of knowledge regarding the structures and practices through which they experience oppression and empowerment (Harding, 2007). The starting point of this knowledge is where feminists can critique the influences, ideologies and practices of dominant institutions and structures (Vanner, 2015). Employing feminist approaches to studying men provides a lens to help understand the embodiment of power and dominance by men (Yin, 2015). In this study, this means considering men's notions of power and dominance in relation to the roles and responsibilities that are influenced by culture, religion, and other socio-economic forces.

At the intersection of feminism and post-colonialism is post-colonial feminism, which has its origins in concerns with Western feminists' attempt to speak for and about 'Third world women' (Sang et al., 2012). These concerns have been voiced by post-colonial feminist scholars who criticise the epistemological assumptions made by women in the West, and the way in which women from post-colonial locations are represented in Western academic discourses (Mohanty, 1991; Spivak, 1999; Spivak, 1990a; Trinh and Trinh, 1989). Post-colonial feminist studies provide analysis on the needs, concerns, and representations of non-Western women, yet men and masculinity in the Third World are not given much scrutiny within post-colonial feminism (Morrell and Swartz, 2005). This represents a further gap which this research attempts to fill by bringing a post-colonial feminist lens to the experiences of Pacific men. This is a further reason for making Pacific men the centre of this research. While the focus of this thesis is on men's voices, women participated through an online survey and were further interviewed as members of organisations that engage men in the effort to end VAW. In these ways, their voices are also present in the chapters in this thesis. Participants in this study identify in different categories of social class, ethnicity, religion, and gender identities.

The use of post-colonial and feminist approaches in research allows for a critical analysis and questioning, and '[demands] a greater reflection by the researcher with the aim of producing more inclusive methods sensitive to the power relations in the field' (England, 1994: 80). Post-colonialism and feminism are concerned about 'other voices and opinions than those of white, Western, middle-class heterosexual men'. They thus represent a range of voices that allows a complete analysis of the social world (England, 1994: 81). As a non-Western scholar, post-colonial feminism also provides me a lens through which I question my own power and views as being influenced through post-colonialism and the globalisation process. This brings me to talk about positionality in the context of this research.

3.3 Positionality

No research is apolitical or neutral (Mohanty, 1988). I bring my values, opinions, beliefs as well as my social background into the research process, shaping the methodology and analytical judgments that I make. I am a Papua New Guinean woman, with a background in international aid and development. I believe that if men and boys value women and girls, violence will decrease, and society will flourish economically, socially, politically, and culturally. I am particularly interested in the lack of men's voices in academic research and their low participation in gender programs in the region. While I have lived and worked in PNG most of my life, my postgraduate education was attained abroad which exposed me to global debates and conversations about development and gender. My own personal goals have been progressively shaped by a mixture of local and Western values. I consider myself a hybrid. As such, I was particularly alert to the accounts of the men in this study who describe the ways in which they move within and between traditional and modern cultures when navigating contemporary versions of masculinity, with some providing accounts of their construction of hybrid identities, as discussed later in this thesis.

My dealings with men in the course of my research made me feel increasingly uncomfortable with the way gender programs in the region have paid so little attention to the experiences and views of Pacific Island men. I worked with men who kept saying the overwhelming focus of programs was on supporting women and not men, and that while they engage men, they do not deal with challenges that men face daily. This study attempts to explore these issues by taking a closer look at the perspectives and experiences of men, and to foreground their accounts of the challenges entailed in being a man and ways in which men cope with challenges and pressure. While my social position as a woman researcher may be a hinderance to participants in this research, I can use my position to

leverage voices that are not heard and speak back to powerful discourses about including men's voices in academia and development programs.

In addition, epistemology, and ontology in the study of men and masculinities are to be questioned as a researcher designs and implements the research. While there are various epistemological approaches, both broadly and in regard to studying men – postmodernist, empiricist, rationalist, and so on – my research approach is informed by feminist and post-colonial perspectives. My positions as female researcher, Melanesian, Pacific Islander and as a development practitioner influence the research project. Hearn (2013) states that the researcher's 'personal, gendered, epistemological and geopolitical relation to some extent shapes the object of research and the topic of men and masculinities' (32). This entails my critical relationship to the topic, and my self-reflexivity and awareness of the social location of the topic – where and how it fits, and my own social location and consideration of my duty to the political emancipation of men and women.

I come to this research influenced by ideas from my pre-doctoral professional and personal life. These ideas shaped the way I approached the selection of participants and the networks I engaged with, my interaction with participants and other people in community, and the way in which the overall study was designed and carried out. I discovered that in order to address or even challenge the idea of masculinity as a problem, I needed to inquire about masculinity itself – that is, as a differentiated, nuanced and locally determined phenomenon. The research process challenged my own assumptions about 'men' being the problem and I am seeking to establish an evidence base through my research to argue that men need to be reframed not as problems but as a part of any future solution. Next, I reflect on the literature on reflexivity and representation, and my experiences of these, to demonstrate the complexity and nuances of doing research in the Pacific.

3.4 Reflexivity and Representation the 'Pacific Way'

The production of knowledge in the social sciences involves navigation and negotiation of complex social relations, interests, positions, spaces, logistics and costs. The complexity of these relations, arguably, is heightened when the research involves fieldwork. Fieldwork involves a 'process of interacting directly with people to learn something about the way they live' (Richards and Schwartz, 2002). Since this research is conducted predominantly in a Melanesian[2] context, it is important to

[2] The Melanesian cultural groupings include Papua New Guinea, Fiji, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia and West Papua.

draw attention to the values and rules of the cultural and social settings of the field that influence the research process, the researcher, and the participants.

As a Pacific Island middle-class woman in her mid-30s, I am mindful of the cultural and social values and rules that influence the researched communities with whom I engaged in the Pacific. Although I was educated in a Western way, my Pacific/Melanesian social and cultural positions and identities are very much alive in the way I perceive, influence, or relate to the world. I am familiar with contemporary social and cultural values and rules through growing up and living in Port Moresby.[3] I also have strong connections to my paternal and maternal Melanesian lineage. Some of these values and rules became useful in my negotiation and navigation of the complex relations in the field. Growing up, I was taught to be considerate of my image and conduct as a girl and, later, a woman in public. This meant that I had to be conscious of my body language and dress code. I was advised by my parents and elders not to be dominating when I approach elders, especially men, and always to be respectful, humble, and considerate of others. Every situation and relation demanded a culturally sensitive and nuanced behavioural response and gesture.

The dress code worn in the field is seen by people in the community as a sign of respect. Vaioleti (2006: 30) noted that being respectful and considerate of the social and cultural rules in the field are the 'basis of relationships that will enable credible exchanges'. While conducting my research in Bougainville, for example, I wore *haus kolos* (Tok Pisin[4] term for house clothes, meaning casual clothing) during my interviews with men in Chabai village, while in Arawa and Buka towns I wore a *meri blaus* (Tok Pisin term for women's blouse). A *meri blaus* is described as the 'most quintessential' and conservative clothing worn by women in PNG (see Spark, 2014, 2015). I observed that by dressing this way, research participants tended to focus on the interview and not on what I wore. This assisted in making me and the participants comfortable and relaxed during the interview.

In Port Moresby and Suva, I wore smart casual clothing, which consisted of jeans, a formal blouse and simple jewellery to avoid any kind of labelling by my research participants. When women in Port Moresby are dressed in modern clothing with jewellery they are frequently labelled as *'2 Kina meri'* (Tok Pisin term for sex worker) (Spark, 2015: 68). To someone who is not a Pacific Islander,

[3] Port Moresby is the capital city of Papua New Guinea.

[4] Tok Pisin is a creole language spoken throughout Papua New Guinea. It is an official language of Papua New Guinea and the most widely used language in the country.

adhering to such rules and values in fieldwork may be viewed as oppressive or worse, an outsider may not be aware of these dress codes and unintentionally give offence. However, by showing due respect for local cultural rules and values, I was able to build rapport with the research participants, organisations, and communities, and gain further insight into the lived experiences of the participants in order to enrich my experience and knowledge in the field that was being studied.

Scholars from the Pacific and elsewhere have proposed culturally specific research methodologies and approaches when conducting social research in the region. Most have done this with the goal of 'decolonizing Pacific research, building Pacific island communities and developing research tools' that are appropriate to the communities being researched (Suaalii-Sauni and Fulu-Aiolupotea, 2014: 331). These culturally based methodologies are described as 'belonging with qualitative research, grounded theory, naturalistic enquiry and ethnography' (Vaioleti, 2006: 25). A Melanesian research methodology applies to social research in Melanesian societies and to social research domains including: 'education, community development and cultural studies' (Vallance, 2007: 10). Similarly, the *Talanoa* and *Faafaletui* research methodologies have been considered for the Polynesian context in the Pacific (Faamanatu-Eteuati, 2011; Otunuku, 2011; Thaman, 2003; Vaioleti, 2006).

These methodologies embrace social and cultural values that embody Pacific cultural perspectives and reinforce Pacific world views (Vallance, 2007). Melanesians value the 'land, clan, reciprocity, food, ancestors, ritual, leadership, education, compensation and work' and therefore these values determine their distinct world views (Vallance, 2007: 7). These values are seen as 'cognitive perceptual and effective maps' that are used to make sense of the social and cultural landscape in which people live and are embedded within culture (Hart, 2010: 2). Rationalisation of these values cannot be achieved outside of culture (Gegeo and Gegeo-Watson, 2002: 381-382). Furthermore, to understand the social life of people in the Pacific, their lives must be seen through a cultural framework and the various strategies developed through it (Smith, 2021).

Nevertheless, at times the values of the researched community may clash with the values of the researcher or the goal of the research. In instances where values and views clash, it is particularly important for the researcher to apply reflexivity in research (Smith, 2021). A continuous process of self-conscious scrutiny and analysis of my own values, thoughts and experiences prepared me to respond appropriately when values, thoughts and experiences of the participants conflicted with mine. I share more on the challenges of navigating through conflicting views experienced in the field later in this chapter.

Among other cultural and social values, I considered relationships and reciprocity as highly valuable and useful during my field research. Recognising the power dynamic embedded in each relationship is integral to the methodological approach of the research. The focus of Melanesian epistemology is on the life of the community and 'shared cultural values grounded in reinforcing and growing relationships' (Vallance, 2007: 8). Navigating the local knowledge of those that held the most or least power was important for the field work. The quality of the research depends on the quality of the relationship and therefore 'the researcher will not want to let down participants with whom he or she has developed relationships' (Vaioleti, 2006: 26). Participants involved in the study varied in terms of their social, cultural, economic, and religious backgrounds. I lived for three weeks in Chabai village and participated in communal activities with members of the community. I went to a church and visited nearby villages to meet people and deliver food with members of the local community or went to the gardens with the local women. The participatory elements in the fieldwork helped to strengthen trust and bonds with the researched community. Participants felt more open and honest during the interview when they saw or heard that I had been involved in some of their local activities.

My prior professional and personal connections with organisations and individuals also helped to facilitate the selection and recruitment of research participants in each of the study sites. Recruiting research participants in some locations was done with ease, while in other locations it took more effort to connect with participants and build trust. Organisations that assisted in recruiting male research participants were those that I have built networks with over the past eight years while employed in the social development sector in PNG. Before leaving PNG to take up PhD studies, I informed a few key individuals in these organisations about the possibility of my engaging them in this research. This saved me time in setting up my field work and meant my engagement with these individuals in the field was not rushed.

I learnt quickly that leaders in communities and organisations in PNG, and elsewhere in the Pacific, prefer prior and constant information so that they are ready and not caught by surprise when a researcher enters the community. Furthermore, indigenous communities are especially sceptical of their knowledge and culture being used or misinterpreted, which can be detrimental to their identity, beliefs, and values (Smith, 2021). Therefore, being prepared and informing participants in advance shows that the researcher values participants' time, and that thought had been given to the process of engagement and their opinions valued prior to engaging in the field. These are important signs of respect for participants and their communities.

Relationship with 'gatekeepers' in the field can be the key to accessing research participants for the research and shaping the knowledge produced. Gatekeepers are defined typically as 'those individuals or institutions who have power to either grant or deny access to people or situations for the purpose of research' (De Laine, 2000: 123). Despite the significant role that gatekeepers play in research, there continues to be a gap in the accounts and approaches that exist within literature and the actual experiences in the field (Crowhurst and Kennedy-Macfoy, 2013). Gatekeepers in the context of my research included feminist organisations, non-government organisations, government agencies, faith-based organisations, and community and church leaders. Prior to conducting interviews in the field, courtesy emails were sent to such gatekeepers informing them of the nature of the research and requesting permission and support to identify and recruit research participants for the research.

I was able to gain access to participants in Bougainville and Port Moresby more easily than in Suva because of trusted relationships with key individuals developed over the years through work in PNG. In Bougainville, I worked with the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCfR) to recruit men in Chabai and Buka. Men in Arawa were recruited with the assistance of Equal Playing Field (EPF), an NGO based in Moresby. My relationship with Sr Lorraine Garasu at the NCfR was established when I worked with Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development and strengthened over time through visits to her community on program-evaluation-related missions. At EPF, I have strong ties with the co-chief executive officers because of my position on the executive of the organisation's board. Recruitment of participants was easily arranged over the phone and via word of mouth. Within days I had interviews lined up. In Port Moresby, I accessed research participants with assistance from EPF and Digicel PNG Foundation. The co-CEO of EPF was also interviewed in this study. Her insight helped me better understand the research population and the research topic.

Engaging with gatekeepers in Suva proved challenging. Prior to travelling to Suva, I contacted an organisation that I was informed was an important voice in the gender space in Fiji and the region. However, after making contact in December 2018, I had not received a response as late as December 2019. Connections with colleagues in Suva become the informal method through which research participants were identified. Social networking in the initial weeks in Suva led to introductions to people I interviewed. Through these, new connections were made. This is sometimes referred to as the 'chain referral' or 'snowball effect', enabling an organic network of participants to grow from personal recommendations through the researcher's existing contacts (Emerson, 2015). In the two remaining weeks in Suva, I was able to complete at least two interviews a day. There was easy self-selection of men through these connections to whom I was introduced. While snowball or chain

referral sampling is an efficient and effective method in helping to locate research participants who would otherwise be difficult to identify in a short period of time and with minimum effort, it often results in 'selection bias' because the referrals are based on the respondents' social networks and those that are accessed conveniently (Cohen and Areili, 2011: 428). Relying on respondent's links resulted in a selection of participants of relatively homogenous affiliations and who do not appropriately represent the entire population. In Suva, urban, educated or *i-taukei* (indigenous Fijian) men were mostly referred for interviews than rural, uneducated, or indo-Fijian men. Therefore, the thesis should be read with consideration of these biases and limitations in mind.

Reciprocity, closely linked to relationships and respect, is also highly valued in Pacific Island societies. It is embedded in Pacific culture and raises expectations between researcher and participants, 'promoting mutual accountability, which adds trustworthiness and quality of research' (Vaioleti, 2006: 26). Investigating people's lived experiences is not simply a process of taking or collecting data; it is also a process of giving back to the research participants or community and 'building ideas and relationships' (Wilson, 2001: 179). I recognised the importance of participants giving their time and knowledge, and knew I was expected to be honourable and respectful of their contributions to my research. Indigenous communities are often suspicious at first because of the potential loss of cultural knowledge and experiences by people who take and never give back to communities (Smith, 2021; Wilson, 2001). As part of giving back, I plan to return to the researched communities after completing my PhD program to discuss the findings of the research. I also plan to provide pro bono support to local organisations working with men and boys, and to provide guidance and support in programs associated with reducing gender-based violence and positive role modelling for men and boys. As noted in the introduction of this thesis, I would like to see the research findings contribute effectively to shape gender-related policies and programs that support both men and women to achieve gender equality.

Research is shaped by a researcher's 'situatedness' across several social categories, such as ethnicity, religion, gender, race and social class (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). It was essential for me to apply self-reflection throughout the research process in order to identify, critique, construct and articulate my position. It was also important that I acknowledged and made allowances for my views, beliefs, and values in relation to the research process and outputs. Through continuous critical reflexivity, I was able to seek similarities and differences between me, as the researcher, and the participants, while 'affirming my authority and expertise' in the research process (Ryan, 2015: 3).

To ensure that I got the best out of the interviews with research participants, I immediately shifted or negotiated my position when I saw that my identity as a researcher from an Australian institution would be intimidating for the interviewee. I did this by giving a brief introduction to my research along with an overview of my personal commitment to the research before the interview commenced. This made the interview process more engaging because participants realised that they also wanted to contribute to meaningful knowledge. Razon and Ross (2012) describe this process of navigating differential status as a 'power dance' (501). During the interview, participants would use phases like 'you know this is how we live and do things in the islands' or 'you understand that this is our Melanesian way or Pacific way of life'. In these responses, participants were identifying me as an insider and associated me with their narratives. On many occasions I responded with a nod to show that I agreed with them or at least acknowledged their position. In doing this, I saw that participants became comfortable with my position as an insider and were more open about their responses, because they trusted that I would not judge them if they viewed things in a different way. I observed that men felt comfortable in the interview when I took this approach, which allowed them to be more open about the challenges and realities of being Pacific Islander or Melanesian men. However, being an insider means that the research participant may simply assume shared understanding and knowledge without explaining it; therefore, it is important as an insider to probe for more insights (Chavez, 2008).

3.5 Research Approach, Focus and Questions

This research takes a qualitative approach in seeking to understand the lives of Pacific Island men and their notions of masculinity and gender inequality work. Qualitative research seeks to study the everyday lives of different groups of individuals and communities in their ordinary settings, and attempts to make sense of or interpret phenomena through the various meanings that people bring to these settings (Lincoln, Lynham and Guba, 2011). Qualitative research methods, such as the in-depth interviews used in this research, focus on finding deeper understanding of truths and realities (Creswell and Clark, 2018). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2003: 3), researchers who take on qualitative approaches study things in their usual locales, with the aim of 'making sense of meanings and phenomena and the meaning people bring to them'.

As with other research methods, qualitative research methods also have their limitations. The qualitative research method is an approach that recognises the researcher's 'subjectivity' and therefore requires that the 'biases' found in the interests, perspectives and motivations of the researcher are acknowledged (Lincoln and Denzin, 2003). As a researcher, it was important that I

make clear any personal biases in all areas of the research process. I made explicit any personal biases through regular critical conversations with my supervisors, and reviewed the research stages with them, from design to execution. For example, the process of recruiting participants was discussed with my supervisors to ensure that both the NGO representatives and individual participants of the research were not chosen based on my own personal biases and preferences. This was also communicated to the NGOs who helped with recruitment.

3.5.1 Constructive-interpretive methodological approach

This study adopted a constructive-interpretive methodological approach in designing the research, and collecting and analysing data, through qualitative exploratory research. The constructive-interpretive approach is concerned with the subjective meaning of the world from the point of view of an individual (Reeves and Hedberg, 2003). As argued by Rey, Martinez and Goulart (2019: 39) the diversity of social and cultural conditions of experiences of participants are generated from the simultaneous interactions between 'different activities, relationships, performance, and other possible human experiences', and therefore are not isolated acts. According to these authors, people individually and socially create subjective senses of their world through 'social symbolic constructions' such as race, gender, age, physical appearance, social status and other social constructions' (Rey and Martinez 2019: 39).

In designing this research, I found Rey, Martinez and Goulart's (2019; also see Rey, 2017) constructive-interpretive methodological device of 'dialogue' suitable to conduct my interviews. It is understood as a 'conversational flux organised progressively' between researcher and participant, and not always relational but subjective (Rey, Martinez and Goulart, 2019: 41). The flexibility of semi-structured interview questions allowed sub-questions that prompted further responses, and the face-to-face style of interviews allowed me, as the researcher, to record the participants' emotional and conversational expressions. In this approach, the role of the researcher is to 'elucidate the process of meaning construction and clarify what and how meanings are embodied in the language and action' of the research participants (Schwandt, 1998: 22).

As a research device, dialogue is an effective way of advancing constructive processes as it 'implies provocations, reflections and even criticism … and advance[s] in depth the subjective engagement of the participants in research' (Rey, Martinez and Goulart, 2019: 42). The process of dialogue and the application of methodological tools such as complementary phrases or questions (Rey, Martinez and Goulart, 2019) were means to provoke subjective experiences. For instance, certain phrases, such as 'the work of NGOs in the region is helping men and boys' or 'feminist movements are

creating positive change among men and women', were used by participants when discussing their experiences and observations of gender-initiatives in the region. This would then be followed with provocations or reflections by participants, which were useful insights for analysis.

A key requirement of the process of dialogue is that the fieldwork should take as much time as possible (Rey, Martinez and Goulart, 2019). The interaction with participants in more formal (interviewing) and informal (having coffee or lunch with them) moments emerged spontaneously during the research. This provided the opportunity for dialogue between researcher and participants to take place, and allowed the research to become 'a social interactive space, within which many subjective processes that characterise the social space emerge, such as envy, competitiveness or conflict' (Rey, Martinez and Goulart, 2019: 49). For this purpose, the researcher's 'submersion' in fieldwork is highly preferred, as the presence of the researcher is fundamental in advancing 'the research as a continuous dialogical plot' (Rey, Martinez and Goulart, 2019: 49). While I spent an average of three weeks in each study site, which may not provide sufficient time for the dialogue to flourish, my time in the field builds on my earlier knowledge and familiarity of the field.

3.5.2 Research focus

The focus of this research has evolved over its course. Initially, I was primarily concerned with gathering a range of views on what constitutes a 'good man' from men in the Pacific who had been exposed to ideas of human rights, or gender equality or violence prevention projects. The aim of the study at that time was to understand factors that determine and maintain positive transformation among men. It was also to provide a counter-perspective on men and masculinity in the Pacific from the point of view of the men themselves. The accounts of this cohort of men are missing from literature in the Pacific and elsewhere.

Prior to engaging in fieldwork, I conducted a brief online survey in June 2018 asking men and women in the Pacific about what they thought was a good or ideal man, and whether they thought these ideas were changing. The aim of the online survey was to gain an understanding of general views around ideas of good men in the region. Results from the survey demonstrated that the ideas of good men were not fixed; instead, there were a broad range of notions around what is 'good'. A decision was then made to shift the focus of the research to focusing on ideas of change. This then led to refining the focus of the research and research questions. Reconfiguring these led to the second stage of the research, which was the in-depth interviews with men. With the help of local organisations working on gender equality initiatives in Papua New Guinea (Port Moresby and Bougainville) and Fiji (Suva), 46 individual men and eight representatives (men and women) from

organisations were interviewed between March and May 2019. Most of the participants were recruited through local NGOs working on gender-equality or violence-prevention efforts. The rationale for selecting Fiji and Papua New Guinea, is because both countries have well established efforts that engage men and boys in preventing violence, and that I have professional connections with individuals and organisations in both contexts that permitted access to participants.

After collecting data with this focus, I realised that the focus was problematic because as a label or identity, 'change' and 'good' were difficult to measure and validate among groups or individuals, especially within the timeframe of my research. It also became apparent that focusing on these specific ideas of men limited the research from gaining a deeper understanding of the fluid and plural ideas of masculinities that the data was demonstrating. After much discussion and planning with my supervisory team, a decision was once more made to shift the focus of the research to investigating men and their experiences of masculinity more broadly, without limiting it to categories or labels of men. I then returned to the field from December 2019 to January 2020 with a much wider scope for the research, and collected a second set of data based on questions that explored plural and diverse notions of masculinity. Widening the focus of the research allowed more flexibility to explore the distinctive and nuanced notions of masculinity, and the various discourses surrounding masculinity. As stated in Chapter 1, I am convinced that the research focus on which I have settled is reinforced by the data, which demonstrates that men in various locations and with different levels of education and employment are navigating and negotiating complex, fluid and in some cases plural ideas of masculinity.

Figure 2, below, shows the three stages in which the focus of the research shifted over the course of the research. Semi-structured interview questions were also redesigned at the different stages of the evolution of the research focus. Appendices D and E in the Appendices exhibit interview questions from the second stage, and Appendix F exhibits interview questions from the third stage of the research focus evolution (refer to Appendices).

A final and important point to make about the evolution of the research focus is the impact on the research of the shift from specific to broad masculine identities. Initially, the data collection focused on the idea of 'what a good man should be', which meant that findings in this study would demonstrate moral underpinnings even when describing and analysing various types of masculine identities. So, many of the explanations of various male gender identities at various points of the thesis are presented within a moral framework either informed by traditional values, Christian morality, or some combination of these.

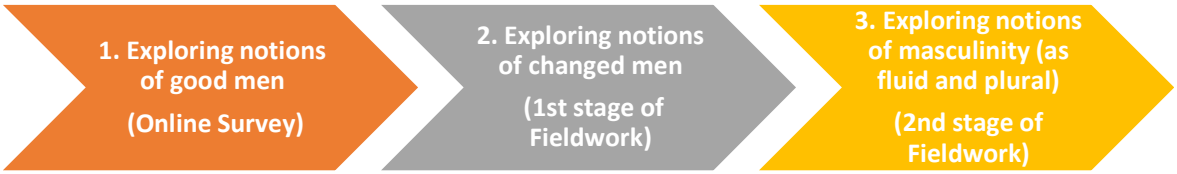

Figure 2: Stages in the focus of the research

3.5.3 Research questions

There are four research questions underpinning this research:

1) What are the main factors that shape or influence notions of masculinity among Pacific Island men?
2) How do men's experiences of navigating cultural and gender norms and relationships shape their perspectives on constructions of masculinity?
3) How do Pacific Island men view violence and gender-equality work in the region?
4) How do NGO representatives currently implementing gender related programs in the region view violence against women and gender-equality work?

By addressing the research questions, the thesis contributes to a deeper theoretical and pragmatic understanding of notions of masculinities that are being constructed and negotiated among men in the Pacific. While there are many factors placing pressure on men and masculine identity, including fundamental societal transformations such as population, economic, social, and political pressures, the research questions explore the experiences and views of men from various backgrounds in Papua New Guinea (Port Moresby and Bougainville) and Fiji (Suva) on contemporary masculine identities, behaviours and practices, as well as their ideas on violence against women, and gender-equality work in the region.

3.6 Research Methods and Design

Prior to designing the research, I developed and conducted a preliminary online survey to gain some high-level insights into the views of men and women in the Pacific on what makes a good man and whether these views have changed over time. Online interviews or surveys are considered culturally appropriate as they provide privacy and anonymity that other research methods do not offer (Creswell and Clark, 2018). The main advantage of using the internet for social research is that it is easy, fast and inexpensive; the disadvantage is that there is no quality control over what can be put on the internet (Neuman, 2013). While the Pacific region is noted to be one of the 'last parts of the world to have widespread mobile phone access and uptake' (Watson, 2012: 30), it has witnessed a

proliferation of mobile telecommunication as a result of the 'liberalisation within telecommunications sectors' over the past decade (Foster and Horst, 2018: 1). The decision to use an online survey was made because it provided swift and inexpensive access to a wider audience, both urban and rural, as a result of its widespread coverage and application (ABC International, 2013; Cave, 2012). Through my professional and personal networks on social media, I was able to gain participants from 16 Pacific Island countries including diaspora populations in Australia and New Zealand.

The online survey was conducted from the 14 June to the 13 July 2018. Surveys are useful tools in obtaining reliable, accurate and valid data (Neuman, 2013). A recruitment advertisement and link to the survey was emailed to my professional and personal networks in the Pacific and advertised on my personal Facebook and LinkedIn website accounts. Information regarding confidentiality and voluntary participation were included in the recruitment advertisement and an online consent form was completed prior to answering the survey questions. The following questions were asked in the online survey: What is a good man from your perspective as a Pacific Islander? Think of a good man you know; can you describe his character? and, Do you think ideas of what makes a good man are changing in the Pacific? The survey was completed by 181 participants (132 women, 44 men, 2 others), between the ages of 18 and 70, with the majority of respondents being women from PNG and Fiji. The data from the online survey gave a preview of the general assumptions of the research, which then led to the design of the research questions and scope of the second stage of the research. In this way, the survey proved a valuable exercise in preparing for the fieldwork. Throughout the thesis, I draw occasionally from the survey data, but the survey results are not reported at length. Their value lies primarily in their usefulness to me in gauging the range of views on men and masculinity across the Pacific, which was of great assistance in the iterative process of settling on the research focus.

This research was designed to investigate men's notions of masculinity and understanding of gender equality work in the region through conducting in-depth semi-structured interviews with men in Fiji (Suva) and PNG (Port Moresby and Bougainville). The rationale for conducting research in the three study sites was to undertake analysis of men from different social, economic, political, and cultural backgrounds. A total of 46 men from Suva (17), Bougainville (14), and Port Moresby (15) from the three study sites, and eight representatives from six organisations, were interviewed for this study. Table 1, below, provides key characteristics of the sample size of the men that were selected for this research. A total of 11 semi-structured interview questions were asked through a face-to-face, interview-style discussion with men. In addition, a total of five semi-structured interview questions

were discussed with representatives from six service providers or organisations in the countries of study. Semi-structured interviews give researchers an opportunity to gain insights into how people make sense of their world (Creswell, 2009). They allow the researcher to be flexible and responsive when posing questions and, at the same time, allow flexibility in the way research participants respond to the question, which are usually open ended in nature. Semi-structured interviews capture themes and issues that are unanticipated (Creswell, 2009). Interviews were conducted in the field between February and May of 2019.

The interviews with men and representatives of organisations lasted between 45 and 120 minutes. Interviews were conducted in offices, restaurants/cafes, or other public and socially appropriate settings. This ensures that more personal and interactive modes of data gathering can take place, the researcher is actively participating, collaborating and engaging in the individual's social and physical space (Henning, Van Rensburg, and Smit, 2004). After the interview research, participants were given a small gift as a token of my appreciation for their participation in the research. This is a common practice in most societies in the Pacific as a way of thanking people for their time and knowledge (Vaioleti, 2006). Gift-giving or receiving is part of a larger phenomenon of reciprocity in Pacific island cultures that 'encompasses the art of sharing regardless of [societal] status' (Faamanatu-Eteuati, 2011: 59).

English was the main language of communication during the interviews and conversations in Port Moresby and Suva, while Tok Pisin was used mostly in Bougainville. The data from this research was collected through audio digital recording with permission, and later transcribed, coded, and analysed. While audio digital recorders are useful in recording verbal responses from the interviews, they are unable to capture non-verbal communication (Sutton and Austin, 2015). To deal with this issue, a field journal was kept for the purpose of recording non-verbal or behavioural communication during the interviews or conversations and maintained on a daily basis to document all observations during the field research. The journal provided useful information and reflections that enriched data collected in the field and the discussions in the chapters of the thesis.

Study Site	**Port Moresby** (n = 15)	**Bougainville** (n = 14)	**Fiji** (n = 15)
Ethnicity			
Melanesian PNG	15	14	N/A
Melanesian Fijian	N/A	N/A	13
Polynesian Fijian	N/A	N/A	2
Fijian Indian	N/A	N/A	2

Age			
Youngest age		21	
Oldest age		63	
Mean age		32	
Education Qualification			
Primary School Certificate	3	3	0
High School Certificate	0	6	1
Technical Training Certificate	4	1	3
Diploma	2	1	4
Graduate Degree	5	2	5
Post-Graduate Degree	1	1	4
Categories of employment			
Government	2	0	2
NGOs or Civil society organisation, Faith-based organisations	2	11	5
Academic or Education institution	0	0	2
Private sector company	1	0	2
Multilateral or bilateral organisation	2	1	4
Unemployed/Self-employed/Market vendor	4	2	2
Student	2	0	0
Number of Children			
No children	7	4	10
One child	3	0	3
Two children	1	2	1
Three children	2	3	1
Four children	1	2	0
Five children	1	1	0
Six children	0	0	0
Seven children	0	2	0
Relationship status at time of interview			
Never married	7	1	9
Married	8	13	7
Defacto relationship	0	0	1
Divorced	0	0	0

Separated	0	0	0
Religious Affiliation			
Catholic	3	10	6
Pentecostal	2	0	2
Methodist	0	0	6
Evangelical	3	0	0
Uniting Church	1	2	1
Adventist	4	2	0
Lutheran	1	0	0
Anglican	1	0	1
Atheist	0	0	1
Received gender and human rights trainings			
No training	6	0	1
Training undertaken	9	14	16
Means through which training was acquired	NGO, FBO, CSO, UN offices	NCFR, EPF; other NGOs/CSOs	NGO, FBO, CSO, UN offices

Table 1: Characteristics of research sample (n = 46 men)

This table shows key characteristics of the sample of 46 men interviewed, including educational qualifications, categories of employment, number of children, relationship status, religious affiliation, and human rights training they had received. A more detailed description of these characteristics is provided in each of the data chapters of this thesis. Appendix A contains the biodata of each of the male participants, with pseudonyms.

3.6.1 Reflections on the in-depth interview process

Prior to commencing the interviews, a brief introduction about the research was provided to the participants. In this introduction, I told the research participants that men's voices in the Pacific are sometimes missing from debates, and this is one of the reasons why I am interested in doing this research. I found that this way of framing the research had positive effects in opening participants to the research and being more accepting of me. It was important for them to feel that they were contributing to knowledge generation. Two participants asked me what my intentions were with this research, why I was interested in studying men and what I planned to do with the findings. At first, I was taken aback because I had just explained to them the aim and significance of the research. However, I realised momentarily that they wanted to know why I valued men's voices and opinions

and why I thought talking to men was important. I responded by telling participants a personal anecdote of my relationship with my brothers and father, and what I experienced growing up. As noted earlier, showing commitment to and concern for men was an important step to building trust in the interview process, which led to them sharing deep insights. At the end of the interview, most of the participants thanked me for making time to listen to them and giving them the space to express themselves freely. In Bougainville, some told me that this was the first time they had reflected on their journey, and they found this process very refreshing. I felt very grateful for this feedback and assured them that I was equally thankful for their time and contribution to the research.

As the researcher, I understood my role as setting the direction of the interview. Semi-structured interviews gave room for respondents to shape the course of the exchange of views, bearing in mind that the research question at large defines the broader parameters of the interview. Interviews unsettled the male respondents by probing the meanings they ascribe to masculinity; they simultaneously present interviewees an opportunity to engage in the work of signification, in which a gendered sense of self is affirmed (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2001). This played out in my interaction with the interviewees when I asked if they faced pressure or struggle in terms of being or becoming a good man. Most men said 'yes' with great sighs or repeated 'yes', several times as if to express an overwhelming feeling. I could not help but to sympathise with them. Other men, who said 'no', explained that it was their role and responsibility and that they had it under control. Some men seemed to interpret this question as a threat to their manhood and their ability to handle pressure. While this may be taken as a defensive response, I saw this as important data on masculinity. I was also careful not to challenge or intimidate men by probing further when they responded in such a manner out of respect for their wishes and feelings.

3.6.2 Data analysis

I employed thematic analysis to examine my data in order to answer my research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This 'works both to reflect and unravel the surface reality' (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 9). As noted by Joffe (2012), the thematic analysis approach is among the most systematic and transparent methods as it 'holds the prevalence of themes to be so important, without sacrificing depth of analysis' (210). This method captures important themes and meanings in relation to the overall research question. Specifically, I used an inductive thematic analysis approach, which means that the themes identified were firmly connected to the data (Patton, 1990). Inductive thematic analysis examines patterns or trends found within the data itself, as opposed to basing the analysis on existing theory (Braun and Clarke, 2013).

Once the audio recordings of the participant interviews had been transcribed, the transcriptions were analysed using inductive thematic analysis methods (Braun and Clarke, 2013). The thematic categories, or nodes, were developed using NVivo initially, to find broad patterns of meaning in relation to the research question across a piece of data. Once broad patterns were identified I then placed them in a coding table (refer to Table 2 below) for further coding and analysis. During the analysis stage, I constantly moved back and forth between the coded themes to analyse the data.

For this study, open, axial, and selective coding techniques were used in stages to develop and interpret data in the hope of developing useful themes. Through these coding techniques, the interview data is examined very closely, and compared for relationships, similarities and dissimilarities (Mills, Durepos, and Wiebe, 2010). The open coding technique was used to interpret raw research data, where the data was initially questioned and reflected on, and actions were categorised based on perspectives, words, events, phrases, or actions from participants in the study (Khandkar, 2009; Strauss and Corbin, 2010). Once general themes were identified, the axial coding technique was applied. In coding using the axial technique, data analysis was categorised into subcategories. Strauss and Corbin (1990) note that axial coding reassembles or disaggregates data in a way that draws attention to relations between and within categories. Both the open and axial coding occurred in the NVivo software. Once the data categories and subcategories were developed, the selective coding technique was used as the final stage of data analysis. In this process of data analysis, previously identified concepts and categories were further developed, defined, and refined to collectively produce narratives from which grounded theories then developed (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

Research question	**Key factors that shape or influence notions of masculinity**		
Open coding (using NVivo software)	Religion or Christianity		
Axial coding (using NVivo software)	Christianity strengthens men's views of their roles and identities	Contradictory views of religion	Organisations support the use of religious messages

Selective coding	Men listen to religious leaders more than leaders in other areas (F/Seru/35, F/Masi/32, P/Gregory/42, B/Jonah/43) Involvement in religious activities changes outlook (P/Collin/42) Christian values sustain change in men (B/Carlos/54)	Religious leaders are no longer good role models (F/Eremasi/41, P/Rex/36)	Churches to deliver gender messaging to challenge negative effects of culture and religion (OrgS1, OrgP1, OrgB1)
Example of participant quote	To sustain the change, as Christians we have to go back to faith. Only God can really help you sustain the change we need in our lives (Carlos, 54, Bougainville)		

Table 2: An example of identifying themes from the interview data using open, axial, and selective coding

Data analysis always carries the risk of misinterpretation by the researcher and can lead to confusion about the participants' intention, especially if statements are taken out of context or read with a biased view. For novice researchers, working in isolation is likely to lead to misinterpretation of data (Richards and Schwartz, 2002). To minimise this risk, I worked closely with my supervisors and a mentor, all of whom are experienced researchers and academics in gender and Pacific studies. With my supervisors, we worked collaboratively to test my analysis through a process that either confirmed or questioned my analysis, hence strengthening my findings. On some occasions prior to a deeper analysis of the data, my supervisors and I read selected statements from participants and then broadly analysed their relevance to the research questions. During this process my supervisors were able to provoke debate and test the strength of my interpretations or arguments. I was also mindful of my own biases as a Pacific Islander, woman, development practitioner and researcher at every step of the research process, including data analysis. The findings reported in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 were all tested in this way.

The interview notes were written and recorded on a digital audio recorder. Notes and audio recordings were transferred on to my personal laptop, which was maintained and protected by a password. Research participants were given a verbal explanation of the research project and what would be required of them should they decide to participate in the research. Participants were asked for their consent to be recorded on a voice recorder before interviews commenced.

3.6.3 Interview ethics

Regarding the issue of informed consent, participants and organisations involved in recruiting participants were informed of the broad aims of the research before the interview took place (see Appendix C). The explanation of the nature of the research and what was expected of them was written and explained verbally in plain English and Tok Pisin. Participation in this study was voluntary, with the objective of guaranteeing that the participants would not face any negative consequences or missed opportunities from the research if they chose not to participate.

All research participants were provided the option of confidentiality during the interview. Demographic information such as age, marital status, country of origin, employment status, religious status, and educational level are used in in the thesis, and actual names are replaced by pseudonyms (for example, Jackson, 30, public servant, Port Moresby, interview date). Information about confidentiality was communicated clearly with participants prior to their engagement in the study.

The study is bound by RMIT University's Human Research Ethics procedures and standards to ensure that research is carried out in an ethical, trustworthy, and responsible manner and consistent with relevant legislations, policies and guidelines. Approval for this research was obtained from College Human Research Ethics Advisory Network (CHEAN) of the College of Design and Social Context RMIT University (CHEAN A 21775-10/18) on the 9 of November 2018 (refer to Appendix G).

3.6.4 Opportunities and limitations

There are two main opportunities and limitations, being a woman engaged in gender-related research and the awareness of some participants on issues of gender and human rights through training, in the design and methods of this study.

Firstly, as a female researcher engaged in gender-related research, I was mindful of the ways in which my own gender influenced the interactions with, and responses from, male research participants. Researching men requires an alertness to signposts in their conversation, interpretations

or gestures that may 'signify possession in their masculine self that desires to be dominant or signify threat to their masculinity' (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2001: 90). An advantage of female researchers interviewing male research participants is that male research participants may be more thoughtful in their reflections about masculinities. When interviewed by a woman, men who have some thoughtful insights about masculinity are able to express themselves freely and not live up to masculine expectations, as they might feel judged if a male researcher was to probe them about these insights (Williams and Heikes, 1993). During the fieldwork, I also often pondered how different or similar the responses would be if the interviews were conducted by a male or white researcher. To agree to sit for an interview, no matter how friendly and conversational, is to 'give up some control and to risk having one's public persona stripped away' (Schwalbe and Wolkomir, 2001: 91). The option to conducting interview at a café or restaurant, therefore, aimed to allow men to feel relaxed and let their 'masculine guard down' during the interview. Most of the participants who were interviewed were employed in organisations that implement gender-equality or anti-violence programs and, therefore, I am also aware that there is a potential for their narratives to be rehearsed or what they thought I wanted to hear. In addition, I am conscious that participants may not express themselves genuinely because of the fear of offending the researcher. To assuage this fear, I shared personal stories and the goals of the research project. I found that by sharing in this way, men saw the importance of contributing to this research as they felt it would help them and other men in their communities.

There were times when I wanted to stop the recorder and let my inner voice speak up against certain patriarchal views to help participants recognise why women continue to be treated unequally. For example, a Bougainville participant in his late 50s talked about why he valued the *hausman* (Tok Pisin for men's house) rituals as it taught him to view women's bodies and bodily fluids as unclean. Another example is from a Fijian man in his mid-30s who claimed that women were becoming more empowered and because of that they no longer lived in villages. In those moments, I had to remind myself that I was a researcher, and was in the field to listen and not to interrupt the interview with my feminist views. I nodded my head and kept my personal views to myself even when I disagreed with certain opinions. Instead, I took mental notes and nodded in agreement because I didn't want participants to feel that I was judging them based on what they said. I told myself to keep an open mind and allow the research participants to explore their perspectives about these issues without me interrupting them with my own views. Men also talked about their experience of rejection and neglect when they were associated with certain toxic behaviours. At those moments it was important

for me to empathise with participants, to respect their experiences and views and to remain objective.

Secondly, the exposure to human or women's rights discourses can be an opportunity as well as a limitation. As noted above, the majority of the men in this study have a certain level of understanding of and exposure to human or women's rights through training in which they had participated. These men were recruited with the aim of understanding notions of good or changed men, as this was the initial direction of my research. As an opportunity, this research benefited from the critical reflections on gender equality work and insightful suggestions on how to work better with men and boys. However, this could also be a limitation if the participants' views are biased towards notions of egalitarianism and ideas of what should be a good man based on moral economy. This is seen particularly among Fijian men (Chapter 4).

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the study design and methodology for the research. With qualitative research methods of data collection, such as the online survey and semi-structured interviews, the researcher was able to gain the personal insights and responses required to develop understanding of the participants' views and experiences. Reflections on the researcher's experience and perspective on the fieldwork drew out important considerations for conducting research in the Pacific. The limitations, issues and ethical considerations of the research have been discussed, and the solutions used to counter issues have been outlined.

Chapter 4: Navigating Hybrid Masculinities in Suva

4.1 Introduction

As I made my way through the main food court on Laucala campus of the University of South Pacific (USP) in Suva, during my fieldwork in April 2019, I noticed that students and staff were intensely viewing a television screen mounted on the wall while they were eating, meeting, or queuing up at the food stalls. They were watching the Coca-Cola Athletic Games, which is the biggest secondary school sporting competition in Fiji, if not the South Pacific. There was so much buzz in the conversations about this event, as some students cheered for their former schools and others discussed their familiarity with the various sports being played. Masi, who is an academic at USP, met me in a quieter section of the food court area that day. After introducing myself and before the actual interview began, I asked him what the hype was about. In a heavy Fijian accent, he said, 'Mercy, you should know one thing about us Fijians, our lives revolve around sports, *lotu* [translated as religion or faith] and our *yaqona or kava* [local bitter grog]' (Masi, 31, interview, April 2019). Though this may seem like a simple introductory remark, it forms a key argument in this chapter, which is that Fijian masculinity represents a blend of cultures and combines elements of traditional Fijian life with modern or introduced elements. While religion and indigenous traditional values are seemingly intertwined in contemporary masculine performances, they often conflict with the values of modernity. These values essentially shape the Fijian man today. In this chapter, I discuss the various forms of masculine identities and roles that are constructed and negotiated in Fiji.

In this chapter, I present findings from in-depth interviews conducted with 17 men residing in Suva, the capital city of Fiji, on how they navigate cultural and gender norms that shape notions of the construction and performance of masculinity. I also examine the challenges and ambivalences experienced by men living in an urban and metropolitan area, and how they negotiate and navigate masculinity within a constantly changing and modernising context. I argue that Fijian men are adopting hybrid masculinities as a strategy to deal with traditional masculine expectations. By discussing the experiences of Fijian men in the context of their constantly evolving metropolitan culture, and the ways they navigate gender and cultural relationships and norms, I provide insight on the difficulties that men experience in navigating the dialectical relationship between traditional and modern values. In so doing, I highlight the ways men are developing coping mechanisms to deal with the daily challenges they experience in their role as men. This chapter is the first of three chapters that provide a place- or context-based discussion of this research in one of two urban sites. The other urban site is Port Moresby, which is the capital of Papua New Guinea.

This chapter is divided into three main sections based upon the different themes generated from the analysis of the interview data. In the first section, I explore men's conformity to models of traditional masculinity and manhood. Here I discuss the sources that produce traditional masculinities and examine the challenges and nuances of performing traditional masculinities. In the second section, I examine the acceptance of less traditional models of masculinity and hybrid forms of masculinity by some men in Suva. I argue that some men divert from or dismiss certain aspects of traditional and hegemonic forms of masculinity by accepting alternative and 'modern' practices and ideals, and developing new masculine identities. I also argue that acceptance of hybrid masculinity is more widespread among urban educated men as well as men experiencing urban precarities in Suva and Port Moresby, than it is among men living in a rural context like Bougainville. The challenges and ambivalences within hybrid masculine identities and constructs will also be discussed in this section. In the final section of this chapter, I discuss the views of men in Suva on violence and inequality due to what men describe as endeavouring to balance conflicting demands. I now provide a brief background on the research participants from Suva.

4.2 About the Research Participants

The 17 Fijian men who took part in this study were aged between 30 and 55. They originate from various provinces in Fiji, but currently live in or close to Suva city. Fifteen men identified as *i-taukei* (indigenous Fijians), while two men identified as Indo-Fijian (or Fijian Indian). In urban areas such as Suva, most recent demographic data indicate the median age of the population is 27.9 and that there is a growing youth population (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2018). It is estimated that almost 60 per cent of Fijians live in urban areas and this has increased by 5.1 per cent since 2007 (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Fiji's urbanisation rates are said to be 'comparatively modest' in comparison to other Pacific Island nations; however, the peri-urban areas of the city are experiencing high growth rates resulting in the rapid increase of informal settlements in Lautoka and Suva (Storey, 2006: 8).

Suva's urban pull is due to better infrastructure, health and education services, and its rural push results from the lack of employment and other economic opportunities in rural areas, shortage of land, overcrowding, and food insecurity (Naidu, Chand and Pandaram, 2017). For those living in urban settlements much of their struggle consists of land tenure and the settler's ability to deal with the vicissitudes of living in an urban setting 'when their very existence is precarious' (Bryant-Tokalau, 2012: 201). The tensions between the traditional and modern aspects of life emerge as more people move from rural or village settings to cities and towns. As this study shows, when people migrate to town, there is some level of departure from a traditional to a modern lifestyle and

entailed in this are choices that impact upon gender roles and responsibilities. This shift is complicated further by ethnic divisions, as I discuss in more detail below. In comparison to the other two study sites, more men in Suva have attained advanced education than men in Port Moresby and Bougainville, and almost all are employed. Nine out of the 17 men have achieved university degrees and five of the nine hold post-graduate degrees. Five of the 17 have diplomas, three have technical training certificates and one has a secondary school certificate. With one exception, all participants are engaged in salaried employment working in various sectors, including non-government and international development organisations, academia, media and communication, health and wellbeing, and entrepreneurship. The participant who was unemployed at the time of interview left his job to take care of his ill mother and is maintaining himself by living on his family farm. The men with relatively high levels of education and salaried employment represent a very rich sample of 'modern' Pacific men and provide an ideal site for investigating how modernity and tradition are combined in contemporary masculinity.

Seven of the 17 men were married, and nine were not married at the time of interview. One participant identified as gay and is in a de facto same-sex relationship with his partner. Like the men in Port Moresby, men in Fiji had very few children. According to national data, on average Fijian households have two children, while larger households have more than two children (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2019). As in Papua New Guinea, Christianity is the dominant religion in Fiji. Of the 17 men, four identify as Methodists, five as Catholics, three as Pentecostals, one as Uniting Church, one as Anglican, one as a Seventh Day Adventist and one participant identified as an atheist, but he grew up as a Hindu.

The religious mix in Fiji is a hybrid of major religions of the world and runs largely along ethnic lines. The majority of indigenous Fijians (*i-taukei*) are Christians and belong to the Methodist church, while the majority of Indian Fijians (Indo-Fijians) are Hindus (Close-Barry, 2015). The spread of Christianity in Fiji was part of the British colonising project which was to advance the interests of indigenous Fijians and the colonisers in relation to safeguarding the land tenure system (Close-Barry, 2015). In addition, the mission was a colonial tool used to racially segregate the indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians, many of whom came to Fiji from India under the British indentured labour system in Fiji from 1879-1916 (Manalac-Scheuerman and Tarabe, 2021). The influence of religion and culture is central to understanding masculine roles and identities, as well as tensions among men in Fiji, which I now discuss.

4.3 Conforming to Traditional and Christian models of masculinity

Traditional and religious ideologies and practices shape and reshape men's roles and identities. They are also locations in which men demonstrate, contest, and deconstruct masculinity (Presterudstuen, 2019). A key finding in this study is that Fijian men tend to negotiate their identities rigorously and intricately in order to perform and maintain versions of traditional masculinities within the gendered power structure. While there are benefits of belonging to a traditional and religious structure or community, such as receiving guidance and resources, men saw that their obligation (*itavi*) to uphold or support these structures or community was as important as receiving from it. Moreover, men are usually the gatekeepers and authorities in traditional and religious structures in Melanesian societies (Gibbs, 2016a). Masi (aged 31), a university academic in Suva, for example, felt that, as a man, drawing on culture[5] and religion to deal with pressure was important and this made him feel enshrined to religion and culture.

> At the end of the day, while we are men, we also answer within the structures that we come from. We answer to our culture and to religion. There is pressure there and therefore you need a support system to cope with those pressures. While you are providing support within that system at the same time you need that support to mediate pressure, or else you'll be left on the edge, and everything falls apart. If you are not considered a man in that structure, then your social capital or currency is gone. You have nothing to stand on and that is why I am very conscious when people question me, 'Are you still a Fijian man?' I go out of my way to re-explain and re-emphasise because if I lose that [system] than I'm nothing on this side. (Masi, 31, interview, April 2019)

Like Masi, many of the men in this study discussed their customary obligations to their family, clan, or community. These obligations, as I discuss in this chapter, relate to their traditional masculine identities as providers, protectors, and leaders (being in authority). Men in Suva believe that by maintaining these obligations, they gain recognition and *vakarokotaki* (respect) within their various social and traditional networks and structures. In this social 'support system', men who perform or maintain customary obligations tend to expect that they will obtain 'social capital' from community and family members in return. Through participation in this social support system men gain a sense

[5] Culture was commonly used by men in this study to refer to traditional culture or social life. Participants referred to non-traditional culture as Western or foreign culture.

of belonging, experience reciprocity, and share values and trust or develop kinship bonding, which in turn informs constructions of masculine identities and roles (Presterudstuen, 2019). The social actions of Fijians, as with Melanesians and Polynesians, within this system are guided by 'tight affiliation of individuals to their communities…devoted to developing and reinforcing social relations and promoting collective interests' (Becker 1995: 16). The interwoven relationship between religion and culture influences men's ideas of social and gender roles as well expectations from society. As I discuss in more detail below, managing these expectations or demands can be challenging for Fijian men living in the city.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Christianity was introduced to the Pacific region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries from Europe and the United States. The number of Christians continues to grow (Barker, 2007; Lange, 2005). While there is substantial academic research on religion in Fiji and the South Pacific (Brison, 2001; Close-Barry, 2015; Larson, 1997; Lange, 2005; Ernst and Anisi, 2016), there are few studies that link religion with discourses of Fijian social and traditional life, and still fewer concerning the relationship between Christian devotion and gender performance (Presterudstuen, 2016a).

Geir H. Presterudstuen is one of very few academics who looks closely at Christianity, culture, and contemporary masculinity performances in Fiji (2019, 2016a, 2016b with Dominik Schieder). His work focuses on social and ideological structures that promote male domination, as well as very specific kinds of ideals surrounding masculinity. He argues that Christianity as understood by Fijians is 'the merging between Christian beliefs, Fijian social protocol, and the consequent development of culturally specific articulations of Christian devotions' (Presterudstuen, 2016a: 107). Religion itself is a kind of hybrid, showing dynamics at work in Fijian society and combining elements from different traditions, which can be embodied and played out in masculinities. This understanding of Christianity, he further observes, is considerably modified from theological teachings and practices introduced by the West. The ideals of gender are being constructed and reconstructed through religion and culture that are/is part of larger projects, including colonialism, modernisation, and Westernisation (Presterudstuen, 2019).

Importantly, the conversion to Christianity among Fijians meant that certain traditional or local practices and institutions that were essential in displaying and supporting men's power and status were forbidden, leaving men 'lacking in ways to socially constitute their masculinities' (Clark, 1989: 19). Some argued that the breakdown of local traditions due to the agenda of modernisation aided the process of religious conversion (Yengoyan, 2006). Also, various comments from men in

Suva show the acceptance of certain modern and Westernised ideologies and practices which, in their accounts, often clash with traditional and religious beliefs and practices. I discuss this in more detail below.

Men in Suva described masculinity in terms of social roles, such as breadwinners, providers, and protectors, and as leaders in the family and community settings. This is consistent with men in Port Moresby (Chapter 5) and Bougainville (Chapter 6). The most commonly talked about role was their financial and social role as breadwinners who confer authority over a household, clan, and community by reason of their capacity to provide. Most men unanimously indicated that providing for financial, social and safety needs was seen as a positive quality in men. They associated these roles with cultural and religious beliefs and practices, embedded during their childhood and maintained by family or clan members and religious leaders in the community. As noted in the introductory chapter of this thesis, in most Melanesian societies the roles of men and women are hierarchical and gender differentiated and are absorbed through the process of socialisation from an early age. These roles are usually demonstrated in the public life of men, where they are taught to dominate (Gibbs, 2016b). While men in this study described the interwoven relationship between religion and culture in complex ways, one participant used the figurative national ideology of a three-legged stool to describe the inseparable relations between these elements. Many Fijians have accepted the ideology of the three-legged stool as representing inseparable components in their daily lives (McCarthy, 2011; Presterudstuen, 2019).

The 'three-legged stool' metaphor is widely attributed to indigenous Fijian leader Ratu Sir Lala Sukuna in the 1930s (Trnka, 2005). This has become the national ethos for Fijians to describe the Fijian identity and the Fijian way of life. According to Ratu Sukuna's metaphor, Fiji is held up on three legs of a stool, which represents the indigenous Fijian land, Indo-Fijian labour, and British resources (Trnka, 2005; Presterudstuen, 2019). This Fijian ethos was born out of a combination of the Methodist church, colonial administrators, and negotiations by Fijian chiefs to prevent Fijian land from being appropriated by Indo-Fijians and Europeans for capitalism (Presterudstuen, 2019). The deep-rooted belief in this ethos over the years has resulted in racial tensions between Indo-Fijians and indigenous Fijians, resulting in several coups (Trnka, 2005; Presterudstuen, 2019; also, Halapua, 2003a, 2003b). The three legs of the stool are positioned to bear weight equally; in other words, all three components have equal value.

While the three-legged stool metaphor was developed originally to represent the *i-taukei* land, indentured labour and colonial resources, the current representation of the metaphor is the *vanua*

(land), *lotu* (church) and *matanitu* (government or chiefly authority) (See Narube, 2018). Research participant Peninia, an entrepreneur and youth advocate, explained that the three main components that cultivate Fijian identity in a traditional setting are the land, the chiefly authority (also government) and the church. Peninia (aged 32), who is self-employed and lives outside of Suva, also explained his role in upholding the three-legged stool ideology.

> It is said that the three-legged stool of the traditional setting in which I come from is l*otu* (church), *vanua* (land) and *matanitu* (government or chiefly authority). For me, when looking at the complete man, he is someone who contributes socially to the *vanua* and contributes to looking after the family. He also contributes to *lotu* (church) and he also knows his civic responsibility to the *matanitu* (chiefly authority). (Peninia, 32, interview, April 2019)

Although Peninia's interpretation of the metaphor within a traditional context differs slightly from Ratu Sukuna's image of the Fijian national identity, it seems to show an understanding of the inseparable nature of religion and culture, and how an ideal notion of Fijian masculinity is viewed by people in traditional settings. According to Peninia's explanation, men who uphold these tripartite principles are looked upon as ideal men in society. At the same time, men in this study discussed the conflicting demands of their own identity and social practices influenced by modernity, and the enticement of city life, which contradicts traditional ideals of Fijian manhood.

Just like Peninia, many men saw the importance of their role and identity as men being tied to the beliefs, values and norms held by culture and religion. Many followed examples of these roles demonstrated by other men, as noted by Rafaele, who works for an international organisation, '[For] a lot of men their role models are their fathers, church leaders, traditional leaders, these are their compasses' (Rafaele, 39, interview, April 2019). Rafaele's statement also signifies that religion and tradition are usually the main sources of influence. In both traditional and modern contexts, men imitate the authority and social protocols that are conveyed through these avenues.

In his article Performing masculinity through Christian devotion, Presterudstuen (2016a), provides a thorough discussion of the origins and locus of the 'Fijian way' of life. Here, he demonstrates that the Fijian way of life, which is a 'rhetoric of pride' for many Fijians, came about largely as a result of negotiations between elite Fijian chiefs and European colonial discourses that were filtered 'through their own orders of meaning' (31). This was seen especially in the way that Fijian chiefs were able to negotiate European-Christian narratives and appropriate them to 'suit their cultural logic' (Larson 1997: 970-971). Eventually, Fijians claimed ownership of this new cultural way of

defining their traditions, a way that represents colonial reconstructions of Fijian social systems (Presterudstuen, 2019). The Fijian way of life is, therefore, a life that is based on devotion to God through serving their *vanua* and *matanitu*, which implies meeting the demands of culture and religion.

Similarly, Fijian men today are negotiating their identities by combining different elements of traditional life with new Christian values. I argue that this is the blending of different elements of dominant discourses, practices, and ways of being. However, for men living in the city, this has become an increasingly difficult balancing act as the economic influence of the market economy grows and, along with it, the high cost of urban living. While men are keen to maintain traditional models of masculinity, they speak about the various pressures of doing so, especially in the urban context. These pressures create internal conflict and ambivalences for men as they negotiate their identities in a changing context, which I now discuss.

4.3.1 Tensions in maintaining expectations and gaining respect

As the research conversations progressed on men's roles and the centrality of culture and religion to ideas of masculinity, young men in particular began to discuss problematic aspects of obligations and expectations by family and community members for men to participate in ceremonial events and activities. While many of the young men saw the importance of respect and gaining status in society, the economic burden of meeting constant requests and the moral judgement they experience when they are not able to meet these demands are at times overwhelming. Waqu (aged 31), a Program Officer with an NGO in Suva, observes that when attempting to balance religion and cultural expectations, family obligations constantly take up his resources and time.

> In my understanding the typical or conventional Fijian man is really a man who can commit to a lot of the cultural pressures, commit to the extended family obligations that typically take over as the priority and the religious obligations and ultimately you have to draw on your worldly capabilities in the sense that you have to have a good job, you have to have a lot of money to commit these things. If you can financially support all of these things, you are the ideal man and people look at you with respect. (Waqu, 31, interview, April 2019)

Many of the young men in this study are second-generation residents of Suva, meaning that their parents moved to the city from rural villages and so they were raised in the city. Despite most of them not having experienced a traditional village upbringing, many noted that they are deeply connected with traditional ceremonies, locally known as *veiqaravi vakavanua*. These ceremonies

are connected to life cycle events, such as births, weddings, and deaths, but they also involve church-related fundraising meetings, or simply *yaqona* or *kava* parties (Willikesen-Bakker, 1995).

These ceremonies are not merely celebratory occasions. In a Fijian context, ceremonies are seen as 'work' (*cakacaka)* and '[t]hey establish connections between persons and things and provide areas where the past and present may meet and they be one of the reasons why this type of "work" continues to be so actively performed' (Wiliksen-Bakker, 1995: 223). Partaking in ceremonies is therefore associated with obligation or duty. Fijian culture is known for its rich ceremonial events, particularly ceremonies related to establishing and maintaining kinship relationships. Fijian ceremonies have been explored by a number of anthropologists, with an ethnographic emphasis and from various theoretical positions (e.g., Hocart 1929, 1952; Toren 1989, 1990; Ravuvu 1983, 1987; Sahlins 1962, 1976; Williksen-Bakker 1986, 1995).

Participation in ceremonies relies heavily on monetary contributions or purchased goods; therefore, those living in the city who earn an income are constantly obliged to provide goods and gifts for these events to family members in villages. Despite living in the city, men remain connected to their kin still living in the village and, as noted earlier, these connections are strengthened through participation in ceremonials. One such example is Mikaele (aged 33), a journalist living in Suva, who notes that participating in ceremonies in the village means considering the financial demands of others, despite having his own dreams in life.

> It's the whole traditional thing. You can't go home [referring to his village] empty-handed. When you go home you have to do shopping and go. Oil, fuel are important things, you have to think about these things in advance. Financially for most families it is a burden when they are in urban areas. Taking part in activities of the clan and church is always demanding especially when I have my own dreams. When you talk about monetary value, it's not easy. It becomes really bad to a point where families end up losing money. (Mikaele, 33, interview, April 2019)

While many of the young men in this study protested against the financial burdens placed on them, they continued to adhere to these expectations because of the respect they gain from fulfilling these duties. This suggests that having access to employment and financial resources enables young men in particular to maintain traditional versions of masculinities, yet they face pressure as a result of the conflicting demands of their obligation as traditional men and their individual aspirations and needs as modern men.

A number of scholars have discussed the fundamental dichotomy that lies at the heart of the question of what kind of life a Fijian should live: *bula vala vanua* (the life of the land) and *bula vaka ilavo* (the life of money) (Presterudstuen, 2019; Ravuvu, 1987; Williksen-Bakker, 1995). One is the 'Fijian way' (the life of the land) and the other is the 'European way' (life of money) (Presterudstuen, 2019: 93). The 'life of money' is associated with immorality in Fijian culture (Jolly, 1992: 346). It is viewed traditionally as unclean work (*duka*), or work that is of a lower order than 'life of the land', which is 'work of higher order', or clean work (*savasava*) (Williksen-Bakker, 1995: 222). However, this longstanding way of thinking is now changing as modern-day Fijians are accepting that the 'life of money' may improve aspects and functions within the 'life of the land'. This realisation, although it is very black and white, is forging a new, hybrid sense of how one may live life in Fiji with some interplay between the traditional (land) and the modern (money). To follow the route of money presents a point of contention for the ways of the land (*vanua*) as it poses a threat to the Fijian traditional and cultural values.

Fijian daily life is all about the continuous participation in ceremonial activities as well as in the consumerist modern market economy (Williksen-Bakker, 1995). To maintain this hybrid way of life, one needs to navigate it with dignity and careful consideration by actively seeking ways to live the life of money in Suva while participating in the life of the land and fulfilling customary expectations. While traditionally these two ways of life were viewed as dichotomous, as I have argued, the men in this study talk of ways in which they are attempting to bridge this dichotomy to deal with challenges and pressure that comes from customary obligation and demand. As I will discuss in this chapter, some men are creating strategies that differentiate their masculine roles and allow them to perform less traditional masculine roles in private domains while they maintain more traditional masculine roles in public domains. However, other men who are less invested in maintaining traditional masculinity are willing to reject customary obligations and create new masculine identities based on egalitarian and modern ideals.

This study also found that men who were once criticised or rejected by community members because of sexual preference or risk-taking behaviour, deemed unacceptable by traditional or religious standards, appear to be tolerated because of their participation in or contribution to ceremonial life, as well as their role as breadwinner or provider. Some participants talked about how participation in customary duty was seen as more important for a man than what might be seen by some in the community as immoral behaviour such as being gay, a drunkard or a womaniser. For example, Sefa (aged 30), the director of a local organisation and an openly gay man, noted that his gayness is overlooked because of his financial contribution to his family.

> From my experience, as a man my role is to demonstrate that I am helping the community through my work, contribute to economy and raise our families. It's our reputation and maintaining that in our community. We do this by the values we show and the picture we paint in our community. I am respected in the community even though I am gay because of the volunteer work I do in the community and the monetary contributions I make. (Sefa, 30, interview, April 2019)

As a gay man, Sefa felt that he is given more respect because he fulfills the expectations of his family and community. In Sefa's case, it seems that his customary obligations are given more value in public life than his sexual preference as a gay man, which may be seen as undesirable or deviant in the eyes of some community members. In other words, homosexuals, drunkards, or womanisers may be tolerated as long as the individual sufficiently satisfies their customary obligations, with their individual sexual preference or risk-taking behaviour are kept away from the public gaze or concern. Peninia (aged 32) makes this point clearly:

> Christian principles shape the views of traditional people, and they know that there will be opposition towards gay and lesbians, but the thing is if they are contributing to their family, **whether they are feminine, people won't really care about that because you are contributing. You are well off, you are doing your part** (Emphasis added). (Peninia, 32, interview, April 2019)

The traditional markers of a responsible and respectful man, one who meets his traditional and religious duty, whether this is by participating in ceremonial events or in family life as a breadwinner, are changing as a result of the modern economy and Western lifestyle influences. My findings indicate that men whose expression of masculinity may diverge from the traditional model may nonetheless earn respect in their villages by continuing to fulfil their traditional obligations – irrespective of their lifestyle choices or sexual preference. The burden of meeting these standards is what Presterudstuen (2019) argues lies in the cultural and religious logic of many Fijians' 'engagement with modernisation or Western culture both spatially and culturally', which some may see as the basis for moral decay in Fiji (84). As people migrate to dwell in the city for employment and education, modern and individualistic ways of life become their reality. Yet, for a young Fijian man, commitment to customary obligations may mean that he is nonetheless able to maintain connection to his kin and maintain a worthy status in society. While men may be spatially removed from their traditional villages, they are still committed to customary obligations. For some men,

choosing to overcome economic and moral pressures to meet obligations is a choice they would make continuously to find their place in society.

Some young urban men recognise the pressure of meeting demands yet commit to them because of the importance of maintaining a good status in traditional society. Men who, by religious or traditional standards, were deemed as outcasts because of certain unacceptable or immoral behaviour are accepted as long as they separate their private or personal life choices from their obligation to the collective. Being unmarried, gay, an abuser of alcohol and drugs or having extra marital relationships may be seen as unacceptable by standards of Christianity, yet men seemed to be redeemed of their 'wrongdoings' because of their participation in ceremonial activities. Williksen-Bakker (1995) points out that ceremonial activities are considered to be work of a higher order in the Fijian society. Therefore, a person who sufficiently and regularly participates in work of higher order is considered a 'quality person' and he or she is 'insulated against criticism' for a long time, sometimes forever (Williksen-Bakker, 1995: 229). This demonstrates that traditional and religious ideas continue to have a significant influence over men's choices in life, or over the way in which they may present themselves within traditional settings as distinct from the lives they might live in Suva.

4.3.2 Tensions lead to violence and pressure

Some participants revealed that the pressure to fulfil and be seen to fulfil customary obligations can be a factor leading to domestic violence. They spoke openly about violence and abuse as a behaviour men may resort to as a result of not meeting standards set by family and community members. As Kalivatu (aged 34), a physical fitness trainer, expressed, men experience stress when being derided as less than ideal for not fulfilling their obligations or expectations. This pressure and perhaps shame may lead to violence, as Kalivatu describes:

> As an *i-taukei* man if you lose track of your obligations and responsibilities as a man then you have these issues that come out. People see and mock you as being soft or feminine or not being an ideal man. Domestic violence is the result of this mocking and pressure. (Kalivatu, 34, interview, April 2019)

Kalivatu's response demonstrates that some domestic violence may be a consequence of pressure and tension that men experience when they are not able to meet cultural and religious expectations of males. While it was not widely voiced by men in this study, perhaps because of the fear of being viewed critically by the researcher, studies in the region have noted that men take out violence on

women because they feel unable to cope with the pressure of cultural and social expectations placed on them (Macintyre, 2012, 2008; Eves, 2006; Eves et al., 2019). Kalivatu's view that men are losing track of their obligations and responsibilities demonstrates that these expectations may feel unending for men, which may result in men experiencing stress.

For some men in this study, dealing with stress implies compartmentalising those aspects of their lives life that fulfill expectations and obligations from those elements which do not. For instance, Arkash (aged 34), an academic at a university in Suva, also one of the only two Indo-Fijians interviewed in this research, was concerned that men who face a lot of stress due to expectations placed on them tend to live a 'double life'.

> Men face certain mental issues with the pressure and eventually it shows in men engaging in violent or aggressive behaviour. There is a sense of 'I failed' … and for a lot of men if you show weakness than suddenly you are less of a man. In Fiji, this is quite in your face. I think the pressure is trying to live up to that ideal and what a man is supposed to do. A lot has to do with acceptance. I think a lot of men want to be accepted and so they will perform certain roles within a certain space to get validity and attention but outside that space they can be very toxic emotionally and manipulatively and when they get drunk; they get violent and make sexist jokes at girls. Masculinity becomes performance in different spaces. (Arkash, 34, interview, April 2019)

Here Arkash suggests that men in Suva are displaying certain attributes before community and family members in order to satisfy their demands but then they display different attributes when they are with their friends. In other words, this dual performance appears to be the way in which men deal with the pressure. Men's toxic behaviour towards women, therefore, is due to the pressure from others to be accepted. Tomasi, who works for an international NGO in Suva, also saw this dual performance being displayed by men, in an online and offline performance.

> Yes, I felt pressure, so if you want to be seen as good you have to do all these things. It works in one way but then it puts expectations on the good person, which is than harder. The expectations that were placed on me, I felt that there was no way for mistakes. I think a lot of men are fine tuning their bluff [are pretending or being deceitful], in a sense that they are fine tuning themselves in the public eye and then they are totally something else at home. They are fine tuning their bluff through social media where their friends on Facebook, the wider group of

> friends which they interact with online, and they would say 'yes' in the public forums on gender-based violence. But as soon as they go home, they go back to their same behaviour. I found out that one of my good friends beats his wife up. We didn't see any signs at all with him because and we didn't expect him to do it. He realised he was bluffing all this time on social media. (Tomasi, 34, interview, April 2019)

Like Arkash, Tomasi considers that some men demonstrate to others acceptable and ideal behaviours and attitudes towards women in public spaces, which he describes as a 'bluff', however they are abusive towards women in private spaces. This suggests that when some men experience overwhelming expectations and demands from family and community, or when they feel that they have failed to meet these demands, they may resort to violence and abuse, and some tend to do it in private away from the public gaze. This public and private performance can also be seen as a hybrid performance of masculine behaviour. In Chapter 3, I suggest that community and family members tend to overlook men's violent and abusive behaviour, preferring to acknowledge it as a private affair on which it is not appropriate to comment or take action. As is generally known in Melanesian culture, the acceptance of violence and abuse as a private affair is a common viewpoint, even within the scope of the justice system of states (Biersack, 2016; Dinnen, 1999; McPherson, 2012).

The different engagements of Fijian men with customary obligations and modernity, as well as their social constructions of such practices, are manifestations of what Connell and Messerschmitt (2005) refer to as the layering of 'potential internal contradictions' which are intrinsic to all masculine practices (852). Hence, an important theoretical point which has become clear in this study is that the construction and maintenance of masculinity within a gendered power structure has the potential to involve specific emotional conflicts, internal divisions, and ambiguities among men. As demonstrated in this subsection, respect as a man and the good status gained from maintaining customary obligations and family demands are often valued over the means by which they are achieved. Some men may also be developing strategies to deal with emotional and mental pressure from expectations and demands, which I will discuss in the following subsection of this thesis.

4.4 Less Hegemonic and Hybridised Masculinity

Another key finding in this study is that some men are embracing or accepting alternative forms of masculine identities that are less traditional and at times hybridised. Here, men are reconstructing and negotiating gender identities that do not fit the normal or traditional moulds of manhood. While this is a common finding in the other two study sites, reported in Chapters 5 and 6, it is more

pronounced in Suva. As mentioned in Chapter 3, most of the men recruited for this study have undergone gender or human rights training or are currently involved in work that promotes gender equality.

In this section, I discuss men's accounts of respecting egalitarian values, and participating in feminised employment and feminine domestic chores as a way of breaking away from gender stereotypes and living harmoniously with women. In all of this, the key theme discussed was the egalitarian views of gender relations that came with new ideas of modernity and the influence of human rights values. Ideas of modernity (Presterudstuen, 2019) play a role in the construction of these alternative models of masculinities in Fiji. However, for most men, there is a continuous tension between tradition and modernity, and between the Fijian way of life and the Western way of life. This is because men continue to see the cultural and religious values of masculine privilege as playing a dominant role in certain aspects of relationships with women, other men and within their wider communities. This study shows that for men in Suva it is not about selecting one way of life and disregarding the other; instead, it is about forging a way of life which combines both elements. In doing so, some men are taking on hybrid masculine identities.

'Hybrid masculinity' refers to the selection and performance of certain feminine, and masculine behaviours that are associated with various subordinated groups (e.g., Demetriou, 2001; Messerschmidt, 2010). In other words, men are accepting alternative or non-traditional practices of masculinity and sometimes have an outlook 'characterised by the acceptance of diverse masculinities' (Anderson, 2009: 9). As of result of embracing diverse masculinities, modern meanings of 'masculinity' are expanding and allowing for a broader selection of performances that count as masculine (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). While gender meanings are changing historically and geographically, research and theory into hybrid masculinities are asking whether this is a new and liberating direction in this field (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). I turn now to examine hybridised masculinities, and I argue that some educated men in Suva are adopting or accepting modern and egalitarian values by rejecting hegemonic ways of being, privately and publicly. Moreover, the dominant discourses of human rights through Fiji's history of feminist movements and political coups have resulted in a wider acceptance of human rights and egalitarian values by men than is the case in PNG.

4.4.1 Hybrid masculinities influenced by women, feminists, and egalitarian values

Interview data showed that some men in Suva had firm and supportive opinions of gender equality due to their upbringing around egalitarian values. Seven of the 17 men interviewed in Suva for this

study noted that they grew up with feminist or very strong-willed mothers, and other female relatives who ensured that domestic chores, educational opportunities, and decision-making powers were shared equally between females and males. For example, Manasa (aged 46), a religious leader in his mid-forties, remarked that the influence of both his mother and his sisters played a key role in their family's views of gender equality.

> I come from a family with a very strong feminist background. My late mother was involved with addressing women's issues and interest and was on women's advisory panels in our community and a very strong advocate on women's rights. My older sisters are very strong feminist women. My parents raised me to not see any difference between genders or to see gender stereotypes. So, men and women were expected to take care of the housework to cook to clean and do all this. There is never any conversation at home about anything being different because of gender. So, from a very early age I was able to see that perspective. I was raised to recognise the sense of power in the family must always be shared equally. Responsibility and decision making had to be shared. I never had any issues with having women as my bosses or teachers. (Manasa, age 46, interview, April 2019)

Similarly, Mikaele (aged 33) made this comment about having strong women in his family, who also lead women's movements.

> We live in a patriarchal society, but I never grow up around that system, my parents are progressive. There was no dominance by men. In fact, the women in my family are very outspoken. What the women wanted, would happen. Their decisions were final, in terms of where the child would go to school, what religion they would adopt came down to our mother. My mother's younger sister is a feminist and one of the co-founding members of a local organisation that supports women experiencing violence. (Mikaele, 33, interview, April 2019)

For Manasa (aged 46), Mikaele (aged 33) and other men in this study, the women in their families helped shape egalitarian values and practices that impacted their relationships with other women and men. While some men did not have mothers or female relatives who were involved in feminist movements, they believed that their mothers were very strong willed and ensured that their sons and daughters were raised with these egalitarian values.

Rafele (aged 39), who was raised by a single mother, noted that his views on the role of men were influenced by his mother.

> My mother took the lead. She was the house manager. She is a strong woman. She raised us on her own and never remarried after dad left. Sometimes I think how she managed with seven kids who were really young. She managed the money. I'm very close to my mother and she's a big influence on how I think and perceive men's roles which is in fact not different from women. In our household my mother taught us to support and help each other. Men are not above women. (Rafaele, 39, interview, April 2019)

These men saw that their families were modern, and progressive compared to other Fijian families because they did not conform to many of the traditional Fijian customs. Five of the 17 men interviewed in this study mentioned that they were raised by single mothers and all these men appreciated the role that their mothers played in their lives. This points to high levels of fathers being absent from homes and the failure of men to be breadwinners, leaving women with the responsibility to provide for their families.

In the earlier sections of this chapter, I discuss the ways in which men answered to traditional and religious structures to prove their manhood or status as providers, even if they faced overwhelming stress to meet these expectations. While these men may perform traditional forms of masculinity, they are also actively selecting less hegemonic ways of thinking and being as a man by accepting egalitarian values that are influenced by women.

Men's appreciation of the role of women earlier on in their lives also meant that they appreciate the role of their spouses and other women who are present in their lives. Some men in this study also saw the value of having women involved in decision-making and accountability. Men acknowledged that they deferred to women for advice and guidance as they felt that women gave them a balanced view of life. For Manasa (aged 46), raised in a household of feminist and strong women, now with two children and married to an academic scholar, being accountable and a good role model for his daughter and son is important.

> My wife won't let me get away with any of that behavior and I have a responsibility to model this behavior for my children because that's what I want them to understand. I want my son to know that all women deserve respect and to be treated with equality as his equals if not his betters and I want my daughter to

> be a strong independent woman who will not be a doormat who will allow herself to be treated in any way that I would not treat her mother. We must model that at home. (Manasa, 46, interview, April 2019)

Masi (aged 31) also noted that his partner was a feminist, and his aunts keep him accountable.

> From my partner ('my boss'), she's very insightful and that's why we have a lot of discussions. She challenges me and that's why I feel it's always good to get this perspective from this side of the world and on the other end it's usually my aunts. (Masi, 31, interview, April 2019)

It is possible that men's supportive views and actions regarding women's roles and gender equality causes can be attributed to these sensitising experiences, particularly the connection that men have to specific women – a partner, a friend, a mother, a sister (Stoltenberg, 1990). It is also likely that the high levels of education among men in Suva is associated with high satisfaction with gender-equitable relationships and practices (Backer, 2011). Yet, there is no denying that that the decades of women's activism in Fiji is a major factor in the wide acceptance of human rights values among men.

Fiji's colonial history was based on violence and social oppression and played out in diverse ways within its ethnic landscape; however, it was the Indo-Fijians who were the primary victims of institutionalised and structural violence from the late 1890s to the 1960s (Naidu, 1980). In 1879, the British colonial government, under the Governorship of Sir Author Hamilton Gordon, introduced a system of Indian labor recruitment, supposedly to safeguard the way of life indigenous Fijians in their villages (Mishra, 2008). Since Fiji's independence in 1970, a Fijian Chiefly establishment, which dominated the government, reinforced a political position among indigenous Fijians that offered a general sense of unity in opposition to Indo-Fijians (Lawson, 1989). At that time, Indo-Fijians had a population almost comparable to the indigenous Fijians (Laweson, 1999). Historically, the four coups (1987, 2000, 2006, 2009) that have occurred in Fiji over the past two decades were backed by the military, and were justified as being for the protection of the privileges and rights of Fijians, particularly rights over the ownership of land (Lawson, 1989). However, at the centre of each coup lies the tension between indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians (McCarthy, 2011).

Indigenous Fijians and indentured Indians were deeply segregated due to the social separation enforced by the colonial state (Mishra, 2012, 2016). During this time, Indian women formed committees to fight against the oppression and repression that they experienced throughout the

indenture period (1879-1920) (Mishra, 2012). Despite the establishment of separate women's groups in Fiji, based on their different ethnic, religious, and class backgrounds tied in with their historical colonial position, collaboration between indigenous Fijian and Indo-Fijian women was intensified through their 'connections in resistance' (Mishra, 2012: 137). Mishra (2012) argues that the transformative nature of the women's movement over the years is the recognition of their connectedness in their struggles, whether it's the oppression and violence experienced during colonialism or the coups. Women's movements in Fiji since the colonial period have actively taken part in Fiji's social, cultural, and political reformations, despite doing so in a setting that is controlled and bound by state authoritarianism, militarism, and communal division (George, 2016; Mishra, 2008, 2012).

From a gender and development perspective, the historical influence of the women's movement in Fiji is perhaps one of the main reasons men in Suva, more so than in Port Moresby or Bougainville, are more likely to be influenced by feminist and human rights discourses. The efforts of key feminist organisations, such as the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre, Fiji Women's Rights Movement, and other women's movements in Fiji over the years have led to a number of successes; for example, lobbying for progressive bills to protect the rights of women and girls in Fiji's 1997 Constitution, and the establishment of women's department within the government in 1987 to respond to women's concerns, as well as Sexual Offence Units within police departments (Biersack, 2016). At the community and institutional levels, these women's or feminist organisations ran training with police, judiciary, community leaders and even individual men, some of whom later became key male advocates for women's human rights. (The experiences of male advocates will be discussed in detail in Chapters 6 and 7.) While there continues to be human rights concerns in Fiji and elsewhere in the region, there is recognition among feminist organisations that people's attitudes are changing. This is reported in the National Research on Women's Health and Life Experiences Survey Report titled *Somebody's Life, Everybody's Responsibility*: 'Due to long-term and persistent efforts by FWCC, as well as those of the women's movement in general and other organizations, there is now considerable support within the community in favor of women's rights and opposition to the use of violence' (FWCC, 2013: 146).

Interview data in this study demonstrates that some young men who accept egalitarian values negotiate with their partners ways of conducting themselves publicly according to the traditional standards of society, which is that men are authoritative and dominant. Yet, in the privacy of their homes, they practiced more equal roles and responsibilities. In this way, these men are developing less negative or harmful strategies to deal with pressure by engaging in a differentiated performance

of masculinity. They perform manhood one way in the home and in private with their partners but have another masculine persona for public show. Men also spoke of how they develop strategies to circumvent certain cultural expectations and yet maintain the gendered power structure. Masi (aged 31) and Seru (aged 32) both demonstrate this.

> Yes, my partner and I do a team talk a lot because when we visit families, certain things that I've said and done are against our personal value system as a couple. So, we both have to consistently try to manage that internally and also realise too that there is a time and place for everything, so you have to pick your moments and battles as well. (Masi, 31, interview, April 2019)

> When I go to my community, I am still laid back, and they may want to look at me as the muscular guy. They want me to order my wife to stand and she stands or order her to do this, and she does it, so it's always a challenge. In fact, I am having a hard time taking my wife back to the village, but we've tried to adopt a behaviour system where we are partners rather than I am the leader and she is the follower. But when you go back to the traditional setting things go back and that's the challenge. (Seru, 32, interview, April 2019)

Strategies whereby men carefully differentiate their masculine performance are developed to avoid men being ridiculed or disrespected by other men, and to navigate the rules set out by patriarchy in public spaces. Messerschmitt (2000) supports this view by arguing that men tend to appropriate different ways of being a man at home than they display in public because they are less judged at home (297). At home, men emphasise a masculinity that entails sharing responsibilities and advocating equality, but in public they emphasise a dominant masculinity by controlling others or using physical violence to solve personal problems. While this approach helps men and their spouses deal with pressure, this practice does not do a great deal to change things.

As demonstrated in these accounts, men's choice of performing less traditional masculine roles in one domain and then shifting to perform traditional masculine roles in another domain proves the point that masculinity is tenuous and elusive when challenged (Bosson et al., 2009; Vandello et al., 2008; Vandello and Bosson, 2013). Thus, when manhood is challenged publicly, it tends to assume traditional masculine identities, such as the leader, protector, and provider, for validation among men. While some men deal with pressure in negative ways, others have developed ways in which they can avoid being ridiculed or avoid negative pressure. The interview data also shows that

younger men are not only facing more pressure compared to senior men, but they are also developing various strategies to deal with the pressure of meeting obligations from family or community.

So far in this chapter, I have shown that men in Suva are accepting of egalitarian values and negotiating these values in their everyday life. Their inclination towards egalitarian values is due the influence of feminist and rights-based discourses present in their personal, social, political, and economic lives. I have also demonstrated that some men are invested in maintaining gendered power structures by creating differentiated strategies or selecting hybrid ways of being a man to deal with internal divisions, contradictions, and emotional conflict as a result of customary obligations and demands. Nevertheless, as I will now discuss, interview data also show that there are men who are interested in challenging or transforming gender structures in society and are doing so because of strong peer-support groups.

4.4.2 It's a very modern circle (Peer support)

Another key finding revealed in this study was that some men in Suva are choosing to reject certain elements of social and customary obligations, but simultaneously they are reconstructing social practices that do not reflect modern egalitarian values. In so doing, they are negotiating and reconfiguring new masculine identities. The interview data shows that men have found negotiating masculinities less troubling when they create bonds with people with whom they share similar values of modernity and egalitarianism, and who would help them to be accountable to these values. For example, Tomasi (aged 34), who works an international organisation in Suva, said this about his peers:

> Within my circle of friends. My circle would be those who have PhDs, Masters, we all work for international organisations and government or our language at home is more English. It's a very modern circle. My friends would not necessarily take part in traditional ceremonies and if they did, then it's because they were forced. (Tomasi, 34, interview, April 2019)

According to Tomasi, embracing English as distinct from speaking local languages at home, having earned higher education degrees, and working for international organisations were indications of modernity. This view is also shared among other participants, who also listed having a house or a car, travelling overseas for leisure, and running a business as being modern. I later learnt that most of Tomasi's peers were his colleagues who have undergone human rights training as part of their organisation's internal training programs. For Tomasi, having a peer group who are not linked to

him through kin relations but rather through shared interests provides a place of security that enables him to explore other ways of being a man. Tomasi's peer group includes both men and women, which shows that peer groups among men are no longer social bonds or homosocial relations between men (Flood in Flood, Gardiner, Pease, and Pringle, 2007). These groups are defined by modern and egalitarian values and approval of men's gender performance is not only given by men (Kimmel, 2001) but also by women.

While some men in Suva are maintaining gendered power structures by carefully navigating their masculine roles in public and private domains, others like Tomasi, are willing to transform or challenge this structure. When I asked Tomasi what reaction he got from his family and friends for refusing to take part in traditional ceremonial practices, such as preparing ceremonial feasts or participating in a yaqona session, he responded by stating that his family accepted his behaviour by letting him do whatever he wanted to do because of his elevated socio-economic status and his financial contributions to the family. He stated that 'because of the socio-economic difference, it is very clear, that's the main thing that gives me freedom to act like this … so from telling me what to do, they now ask me [for advice] what I should do? They are looking up to me, they let me do my own thing without saying anything' (interview, April 2019). This supports the point made earlier that the markers of traditional masculinity are changing to accept values associated with modernity and the modern economy that are being experienced in urban contexts.

Like Tomasi, Arkash (aged 34) also saw that having female or feminist peers helped to deal with his sexist views and strengthen inspirational views of gender equality and human rights.

> When I started doing my undergrad in politics, I started having friends and other powerful (feminist) girls became my friends. All these friends were into human rights and so we started volunteering at NGOs. At that point in time my views were very sexist, progressive to a certain extent but more sexist. So, it started changing from Form Four onward. I'm motivated about human rights to see that there is less discrimination and humanity prevails. We are more than our religion, culture, tradition and if you take it all out we are just human beings so let's strive to be the best we can but at the same time acknowledging that some people are born into privilege and power, and some are not and being aware when we are speaking. (Arkash, 34, interview, April 2019)

The camaraderie of peer groups is creating hybrid versions of masculinity, where alternative masculinities are displayed that are associated with various subordinated groups. This is different

from findings in Port Moresby and Bougainville, whereby men spoke mostly of male peer groups. These emerging masculine identities are shaped by peers who share common modern ideals and are also willing to shift the narrative for Fijian men and women.

Participants indicated that they are gradually and subtly introducing gender equality into the lives of their family and community members by displaying modern, 'Western' gender-equal practices of supporting women. Tomasi (aged 32), for example does this through displaying certain behaviours.

> Sometimes when I go shopping, I take all the heavy bags from the women while the men are sitting there. I also usually help the women with their food menu or help set the table during our family gatherings. I am introducing subtle ways of gender equality without saying anything directly. I do this for the women to see that male members of family can help them but also for the male members of the family to see what I am doing and be challenged. And sometimes it's important to say to men this is the time we are serving the food, whether you want to eat it or not. (Tomasi, 32, interview, April 2019)

Demetriou (2001), in his critical reworking of the notion of hegemonic masculinity, clarifies the process of reciprocity between different masculine performances, and proposes that the process of reconstruction and reinvention of hegemonic notions of masculinity in changing contexts should be understood in terms of Gramsci's notion of a historic bloc. At the core of this proposition is the idea that no dominant hegemonic masculinity is a pure and stable configuration of practice but rather 'a hybrid bloc that unites practices from diverse masculinities in order to ensure the reproduction of patriarchy' (Demetriou, 2001: 337). Perhaps what we are seeing in Fiji is the beginning of new and emerging masculinities that may eventually reform other dominant hegemonic masculinities yet reproduce a kind of patriarchy that is shaped by values of modernity but retains its patriarchal characteristics.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I argue that manhood in Suva is hybridised as being in a constant state of becoming by negotiating and blending elements of modernity influenced by Western cultures and religion, egalitarian values shaped by Fijian feminist and rights-based discourses, and Fijian traditional life. While most of the men in this study have little connection to traditional village life, they are still connected through the various social, cultural, and religious obligations that they are required to

meet in order to be seen as ideal men. Young men tend to maintain cultural and religious obligations to maintain respect and self-worth. However, many discuss the tensions that arise from maintaining these obligations because of unrealistic expectations, the high cost of living, and their personal and modern goals, which often contradict cultural and religious values. Findings in Suva also demonstrate that there are men who are willing to bypass patriarchal systems and, through support from peers, are creating less traditional or even hybridised versions of masculinity. They have found strength in human rights ideals, new domestic violence decrees, feminism and peers who share the same ideals.

The reality for most men in the Pacific is that their patriarchal system is a source of identity and social capital. They depend on it to get by in life. Therefore, in negotiating gender relations, many are careful not to damage the gendered power structure that exists. Instead, they are devising alternative ways to get around it so as to maintain harmonious relationships with women as well as other men. Some are developing subtle strategies as a means to challenge and change traditional gender narratives by displaying particular 'egalitarian' behaviours and practices. While this may be seen as a shift in behaviour and attitude, it is still far from shifting the core norms and values that maintain the gender divide and patriarchal order.

Chapter 5: Navigating Precarity in Port Moresby

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed the different factors influencing the production of masculinity among men who reside in Suva, the capital of Fiji. I highlighted the firm grip of culture and religion on the Fijian way of life, and men's desire for respect and status which are given when men fulfill social and moral obligations imposed by community, family, and even society. On the other hand, the influence of post-colonial feminism in Fiji in the last three decades, and the acceptance of egalitarian values as a result human rights discourses, have brought about the acceptance of other, less traditional, or hybridised ways of being a man. To continue my exploration of the variations and complexities of urban masculinities, I draw on interview data from 15 men living in Port Moresby to examine how they navigate gender and cultural norms along with responsibilities in an urban and precarious setting.

This chapter demonstrates that the uncertain and precarious conditions of a growing city shape men's ideas about masculinity and their practices in urban spaces. As well as cultural factors, this precarity is driven by changing social and political conditions, and the threat of economic marginalisation. I also examine how men perform certain masculine roles to live up to societal and self-imposed expectations of masculinities while attempting to navigate and adjust to socio-economic and cultural realties. Precarity is often referred to as a 'condition marked by vulnerability and marginalisation' in urban centres (Jordon, 2017: 1455). In Papua New Guinea, the realities facing those making a living in urban centres are not satisfactorily documented in official accounts of 'the economy' (Sharp et al., 2015: 1).

Throughout this thesis, I argue that specific ways of being a man are negotiated and constructed, resulting in multiple and adaptable masculinities in a perpetual state of becoming. While the transitions in masculinity are different in each context, particular masculinities are negotiated and (re)constructed based on space and time. In this chapter, I argue that men in Port Moresby are in a continuous state of becoming due to the various ways in which they prove their masculinity in a space (urban) and time which is in itself precarious and uncertain. It highlights key characteristics of urban conditions in Port Moresby to offer an understanding of class, place, and gender in the urban context from men's lived experiences. This chapter is structured differently from the other place-based chapters (Chapters 4 and 6) since most of the Port Moresby data were collected after developing the new focus and questions of this research. I explain this in more detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Several authors have observed that there is a gap in the literature on men and masculinities in PNG (Bainton, 2008; Brison, 1995; Eves, 2006; Haley, 2008; Lepani, 2008; Macintyre, 2008; Peake and Spark, 2021; Sai, 2007; Taylor, 2016; Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012). Moreover, there is not a lot of literature about urban men in the global south (Connell, 2005). The anthropological and historical contributions on Port Moresby over the years tends to focus on 'traditional' notions of masculinity (Goddard, 2005, 2010, 2017; Oram, 1967, 1968; Stuart, 1970) or the portrayal of 'troubled' masculinities as related to urban settings (see Macintyre, 2008). While these accounts provide important details of the impact of the urban environment on residents of and visitors to a rapidly growing city (Goddard, 2010), the anthropological literature on current accounts of the impact on men living in Port Moresby is deficient.

This chapter is organised around the key findings arising from the study from Port Moresby. In addition to this introductory section, this chapter includes two main sections with several subsections. In the first section, I highlight key challenges and hardships that men currently face and discuss the less traditional or hybrid masculine practices and identities that are constructed and negotiated to deal with these challenges. These challenges include the shortage of affordable housing, education, and employment opportunities, as well as security problems. In the second section of this chapter, I discuss men's accounts of conforming to traditional masculine roles as the breadwinner or provider when dealing with precarious conditions, and masculine practices and identities that this produces. Towards the end of this section, I discuss the male peer bonds or homosocial relationships which are, specifically in urban settings, assisting men face the challenges of urban precarity. Homosocial relationships are also observed to some extent by men in Suva and Bougainville for various other reasons including solidarity and validity. This chapter offers ways in which the city is perceived and experienced by men and the politics of representation based on men's lived experiences. I will now provide a brief discussion on class and social mobility in the PNG context to represent its complexities and importance in the discussion on men's identities and belonging.

5.1.1 A note on class and social mobility in Papua New Guinea

As societies change, so too do the perceptions and understanding of class by members of communities and the scholars who study these communities. Interest in the study of class in PNG and the Pacific, particularly the middle class, has been largely confined to studies on anthropology (Besnier, 2009; Cox and Macintyre, 2014; Cox, 2011, 2013, 2014a; Hau'ofa, 1987; Martin, 2013; Gooberman-Hill, 1999; Gewertz and Errington, 1999; Spark, 2020). In PNG, class has always been

divided between ‘grassroots’ and ‘elites’. In broad terms, grassroots are those who dwell in urban settlements and rural villages and live subsistence lifestyles, while elites are those who dwell in towns or cities and have completed secondary education (see Cox, 2013, 2014a).

However, over time and with societal changes, the understanding of class, especially the elite class, has evolved. The elites are recognised now in urban or modern and traditional terms. The loosely popular term ‘urban elite’ refers to people who are ‘wealthy…politically powerful and culturally urbane’ (Cox, 2014a: 1). Traditional elites are referred to as ‘Big Man’ or ‘Chief’ in traditional settings and are characterised by both wealth and generosity, not just with his immediate family and tribe but also with other tribes (see Brown, 1990a, 1990b; Sahlins, 1983; Silitoe, 2000). The characterisation of the Big Man or Chief elite varies with time from one society to another in PNG. In the past, the Chief title was passed down through family or blood line, which is from father to son. Further, the term ‘Big Shot’ has come into use to describe the emerging post-colonial political elite, a group whose members are privileged by position within a global political economy. However, the Big Shot’s moral compass in terms of social responsibilities is usually questioned (Martin, 2010). That is, the Big Shot does not carry the same weight of moral leadership and cultural authority as the Big Man or the Chief.

Our understanding of the elite classes is further complicated with the emergence of a middle class in PNG. While class itself is not a focus of this research, this commentary on class is provided because my findings point to class as an increasingly important factor in identity in Port Moresby. Perhaps future research on the emerging middle class among urban men is needed to deepen our understanding of class so that it can inform policy on the rapid social and economic changes in the country. Some scholars have explored the emerging middle class in PNG. According to these scholars, the middle class has emerged in PNG through exposure to and experiences of overseas education (Spark, 2020), and rapid economic growth driven by the resource boom. It has been formalised by urbanisation (Ezebilo and Thomas, 2019), the transformation of consumerist behaviour, and new forms of self-identification in PNG and other countries in the region (Barbara et al., 2015).

Recent scholarship has also examined to some extent the social, political, economic, and cultural distinctions of emerging middle class in PNG (Barbara et al., 2015; Cox, 2013, 2015, 2014a; Gewertz and Errington, 1999). Those who do not belong to the emerging middle-class are referred to as ‘grassroots’ people. The middle class is important to study because, thanks to the social and economic changes, it is a rapidly growing demographic whose members are playing a key role in

shaping the development of the country. Therefore, exploring the extent and scale of the emerging middle-class is critical in the Melanesian context. In this chapter, I discuss the economic and social precariousness of urban elites who, depending on their income or type of employment, dwelling spaces, ownership of vehicles, or education level, can be described as elite, middle class, grassroots or 'in-between'. I will now provide a brief background on the research participants from Port Moresby.

5.1.2 About the research participants

This chapter draws on data collected from interviews conducted in March and December 2019 and January 2020 in Port Moresby. Interviews were conducted with 15 men from various socio-economic, cultural and class backgrounds. The men who took part were aged between 23 and 50 years old and originate from various provinces in PNG. Ten of the 15 men are first-generation migrants to Port Moresby from provincial towns and villages. Their main reasons for migration were to seek employment or education, and to pursue a higher standard of living.

Five of the 15 men live in informal settlements, while 11 live in middle- to low-income suburbs. Of the 15 men, eight are married, five are in relationships with women and two were single at the time of the interview. Eight of the 15 men have children and the average number of children per household is three. In a recent survey, the mean number of children in a Papua New Guinean family has decreased considerably since 2006, from 3.6 to 3.0 among women and from 4.0 to 3.6 among men (National Statistical Office, 2019). Eight out of the 15 men are employed in formal jobs and are earning income on a regular basis. The men who are employed formally work in the commercial, legal, international development and public service sectors. Six of the 15 are unemployed and four operate informal vendor markets or roadside markets. Of the 15 men, 13 can be categorised as middle class, while three can be categorised as belonging to the grassroots class. I will now discuss challenges that men experience living in Port Moresby and their construction and negotiations of masculinity as a result of these challenges.

5.2 Navigating Urban Precarity in Port Moresby

Interview data have shown that all participants appear to experience hardships and challenges in relation to particular urban precarities, and the extent of their experiences depended on the social and economic resources accessible to them. While the benefits of living in the city include having access to infrastructure services, such as electricity, mobile network services, good road networks, and more education and employment options, many men saw that the uncertainties outweighed these benefits. Interview data also shows the socio-economic status, age and class of a man plays a

significant role in the way he deals with or manages these challenges. In the following sections, I discuss the various accounts of the men who experienced hardships and struggles regarding housing, employment, education, and security, and how they dealt with them. Although these concerns are discussed separately, they are interrelated and, in many cases, a man may experience all these factors at once. I illustrate in this section how, in the face of such constraints, men develop distinct ways of being seen as respectable, helpful, and adaptable, while at the same time remaining loyal to traditional models of being a man.

5.2.1 Navigating housing and household responsibilities

Renting a property or buying land on which to build a house in Port Moresby city is often very difficult to afford, even for those who are working. For many of the participants in this study, living with relatives, or buying land or property in less expensive or informal locations in the city, such as settlements, are more realistic options. In Port Moresby, the expansion of settlements has become the inevitable response to the growing housing shortage. The supply of residential housing in Port Moresby has not matched the demand, resulting in a growing landless class of rural dwellers residing in areas known as informal settlements (see Ezebilo et al., 2017; Ezebilo and Thomas, 2019). Almost half of Port Moresby's population live in 'informal settlements' because of the high cost of housing in the 'formal' areas of the city (Rooney, 2019; Connell, 2011). The shortage of available land for housing and development is a central challenge for urbanisation in PNG and other countries in the Pacific (Connell, 2011; Numbasa and Koczberski, 2012; Rooney, 2017).

During my field work in Port Moresby, I met Levi (aged 23). At the time of the interview, Levi was self-employed in the informal economy and operating a roadside or table market. Roadside or table markets, or as Rooney (2015: 2) refers to them, 'residential market stalls or *haus maket'* play an important role in the economy of the family. They usually work as conduits to earn income and alleviate short-term poverty (Chand and Yala, 2008a). In addition, *haus makets* are also sites where social and economic values intersect where sharing takes place, and moral values and actions are negotiated and shaped (Rooney, 2019). Levi lives with his widowed mother together with his two siblings and cousin in a two-bedroom unit within the housing compound owned by the company she works for. According to Levi, her decision to take this job was because it provided housing. For women in Port Moresby, employer-provided accommodation is a 'sign of independent life' (Damien, 2017: 410; also see Spark, 2020). Levi mentioned that while the current accommodation provided their family a bit more privacy from other relatives, it is only temporary. With his mother planning to retire, the more reasonable option would be to move into his maternal uncle's house,

which is currently overcrowded with other relatives. Levi depends on his mother to provide accommodation, yet he does not want to be dependent on his mother. Despite his lack of employment, Levi views his responsibility as a man as being able to provide for the household, especially for his mother. Levi describes this as follows:

> As a man I will not just sit at home, do nothing, and relying on [my mother] to feed and accommodate me. I see that my mother's role in providing for me has come to an end. It is now my time to provide [for] and protect my mother. It is my responsibility. Even though I have other siblings they have their own ways of supporting mom. For me, I feel that she is my responsibility. Now that I am operating a small market, anything that she wants or if there is anything that has run out in the house, I try my best to acquire these things. I see that my mom depends on me. In whatever ways I can, I want to make my mom happy and provide for her. (Levi, 23, interview, January 2020)

As he is currently unemployed and cannot afford housing, Levi felt that his way of proving that he is a man is through providing income through roadside markets, which he believes will complement his mother's wage and contribute to the household expenses. Many of the participants, like Levi, did not own or rent their own house; instead, they resided with immediate or distant relatives in the city. One key proof of masculinity is a man acquiring status through his ability to provide for, protect and lead his family and community. In many societies in PNG, being a man is about being able to provide for himself and his family through providing a house, making decisions for the family and in traditional societies, making gardens, and hunting and fishing to provide for family or community (Sai, 2017). While men like Levi may not be able to provide housing because of affordability issues and a lack of formal income, he is making up for it by providing food and other household needs through the informal income of the roadside market.

Employer-provided accommodation assists many living in Port Moresby with their accommodation needs. For those who do not have access to this, accessing affordable housing remains a major challenge and a source of financial stress. For Levi, the option of moving into his uncle's home means that he may need to think of ways to contribute and support a bigger household income. Other participants who live with extended families are engaged in informal income-generating activities as a way of contributing to the household economy even though they are not actually paying rent. For instance, Rex (aged 27), who is currently unemployed and living with his older cousin and his family, said this about his contribution:

> When I was living with them, you know I would have to go and check on them after school to help them with their street sales of food and other things. I would carry their market bags and tables back and forth from the house and at times mind the tables while they go and get new stock for the market. I saw this as my way of contributing. Me helping out this way is like me compensating them for providing me a place to stay. (Rex, 27, interview, January 2020)

Like Rex, most men in this study who relied on others to provide accommodation tended to negotiate ways of being helpful and did this by participating in household income-generation activities. Unlike Levi, who owned and managed his roadside market, Rex instead supported his relatives to run their family's informal market sales. By assisting his relatives with their informal market, he is given a place to stay. These findings confirm those of other studies which show that it is common for others living in the household to engage in informal income-generating activities to supplement the formal income for the household, or to undertake household chores (see Ezebilo and Thomas, 2019; Rooney, 2019). Collective strategies such as 'generating income, sharing accommodation, and taking care of children and elderly relatives' are adopted by many urban families to deal with urban economic precarities (Sharp et al, 2015: 11).

The above participant accounts suggest that when the status of manhood is challenged by precarious circumstances, such as the lack of housing or inability to provide financially for a household, men tend to seek various ways to prove their manhood or gain self-worth (Vandello et al., 2008; Vandello and Bosson, 2013). These include contributing to or assisting in household income generation and securing financial means for their families as proof of their manhood. Manhood can be elusive and tenuous when contested and therefore always needs to be proved (Bosson et al., 2009). Yet, in proving manhood, some men are also incorporating less traditional aspects of manhood or hybrid masculine identities to deal with their precarious experiences. As discussed in Chapter 4, the manhood that results from incorporation of selective aspects of non-traditional gender norms is known as hybrid masculinities (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014).

Men who live with extended families feel the need to contribute financially as well as to household duties. The interview data also suggested that some young men in Port Moresby are adapting to new gender responsibilities when residing with extended relatives to provide 'assistance through […] domestic roles' (Ezebilo and Thomas, 2019: 18). The roles played by these men are conventionally constructed as feminine; for instance, tidying the house, washing the dishes, cooking the family meal, or taking care of younger siblings or relatives. All of these tasks are considered inherently

feminine but are increasingly being assumed by men in the urban setting in order to 'compensate' for accommodation.

Milford (aged 26), a final year environmental science student who currently lives with his uncle, his uncle's three wives and 12 children in a low-income suburb, noted that not only did he help his uncle's bus fleet business by 'washing his buses, count his earnings from the bus business and bank them for him', he also did 'a lot of chores like rake the yard, clean the house, water the plants, scrape the coconut, help girls to wash the dishes' (interview, January 2020). While he noted that he did not mind helping with the household chores, he also felt that some days it was unbearable. In expressing the burden of doing household chores, Milford said:

> At times I feel like I do a lot more chores than others in the house. By the time I am done with the chores, I would feel really exhausted and so I would not study or do my assignments. In fear that I would not have money or food if I did not obey them and keep the yard and house clean. I don't know maybe if I had grown up with my parents it would be different. Maybe if I lived with older or younger sisters the experience would be different. I don't know. Living with guardians who take care of your daily needs and knowing that they are not your real parents, you may not have the freedom to do whatever you like. Whether you like it or not you will need to listen and obey them. (Milford, 26, interview, January 2020)

For Milford, and other men in this study, living with extended relatives in an overcrowded household involves participating in household responsibilities even when he was exhausted, as doing so earns him recognition and reward. Most men in this situation saw themselves as 'outsiders', even though they were related to the families with which they stayed. To validate their belonging, men saw the need to perform new gender roles through domestic labour. Cameron (aged 23), who moved to Port Moresby to attend university, also said this about household chores, 'If I were living with my immediate family things would be different but because I am living with my aunt and uncle, out of respect because they provided me a place to stay, I try to go extra to put the house in order, to clean the kitchen or bathroom or prepare the meal' (interview, January 2020). In addition, depending on other people to provide accommodation needs, as in the case of Milford and Cameron, meant that not only do they perform traditionally feminine tasks, but they also laboured harder than the others in the household. The fear of losing housing and other support should they fail to do household chores and other requests makes them vulnerable, and they spoke of their experience of relative powerlessness in this situation.

These accounts of participants suggest that the living conditions and arrangements with the extended branches of their own families may impact on the gender roles that young men feel obligated to perform. This evidence shows that, for some men, survival in the city necessitates accepting jobs or tasks which might be conventionally coded as feminine, as part of negotiating accommodation or other support. This highlights the degree to which conventional understandings of gender and the roles associated with men and women may be thrown into flux by the conditions in Port Moresby. In doing so, these men are demonstrating a kind of subordination in an outsider-insider relationship. At the same time, they demonstrate their understanding of the expectation to contribute, even in non-financial ways. There is a dominance of power held by the host or owner of the home and the owner's children (the insiders) over the guest resident (outsider) and, therefore, a negotiation of power that reproduces a performance of gender that is displayed by a man (Butler, 2009). However, by contributing, even in the form of chores which are conventionally coded as feminine, these men are able to maintain some sense of self-respect as a contributor and not just a freeloader. By reason of these conditions, this gender performance may depart from conventional expectations.

Furthermore, the uncertainty and insecurity of not having a secure home or food to eat justifies the man's performance of the feminine role. This supports the notion of precarious manhood, as discussed above, a concept which shows that masculinity is elusive and tenuous when challenged by social circumstances (Bosson et al., 2009). While men do use and even benefit from physical violence when challenged to prove their manhood, and especially as a means to restore or maintain their precarious gender status in society (Bosson et al., 2009; Vandello et al., 2008), this study shows rather the opposite. This is especially true for the young men in this study. Despite their manhood being challenged, young men who needed housing and other support to survive chose to accept less dominant roles rather than being aggressive and rebellious. While they may not discard hegemonic masculine roles of manhood (such as provider and protector), in case such as Levi they adapted to other, less masculine roles. In doing so, they maintain hybrid masculinities that allow them to negotiate the precariousness of their situation and retain both some security and some self-esteem. While this shows experiences of men who live in external family households, the next discussion is of men who are renters or owners of their property.

The challenges of overcrowding and lack of support were expressed by some men in this study. For Ralph (aged 34), a public servant who is married with two children, being the sole financier of the rental property as well as other household expenses causes a strain on his budget and marital relationship. Ralph currently lives in a one-bedroom flat and pays fortnightly rent to the National

Housing Corporation. Aside from his immediate family, he also accommodates his cousin brother[6] and his daughter, as well as another male cousin who migrated recently from another province. While Ralph's wife works and supports him, other members of the household are unemployed and/or in school. When I asked him how he dealt with living in a small apartment with others who are not supporting him, this was his response:

> Living in Port Moresby is challenging because it is difficult to have savings, everything is money. In the city, we are working and earning money, but everything goes to rent, transport and household expenses. We also depend heavily on store products and food. It's difficult for me and my wife supporting others as well as our kids. I am always arguing with my wife about this. (Ralph, 34, interview, January 2020)

I interpreted his response in taking out the stress on his wife rather than on his relatives as his way of avoiding confrontation with his relatives about his concerns. In a study on men in a human rights training course in the Western Province of PNG, it was identified that arguments and violence mainly 'arise over money, discipline of children, the frequency and demands of relatives, and one partner returning home late, provoking mistrust and jealousy and accusations…and exacerbated in 'a town setting' (Gibbs, 2016a: 136).

It is easier for Ralph to argue with his wife, who is subordinate to him, than to confront his other relatives. Throughout PNG and other Pacific Island communities, relationships with kin are important. The social organisation of kinship relationships is highly valued and includes a sense of 'obligation and reciprocity' pertaining to those whom one regards as kin-related (Goddard, 2005: 137). The relationships are particularly rationalised by 'migrants [who are] obliged to seek socio-economic' support from their relatives living in towns (Goddard, 2005: 138). For many urban families, extended families can be both a safety net in which they can depend on for support and a burden on their constrained earnings (Monsell-Davis, 1993; Rooney, 2017; Storey, 2010). Furthermore, living with other kin can bolster security for families and offer ways to 'navigate challenges of contemporary urban life' (Sharp, et al., 2015: 12). The security and safety challenges and the ways in which Ralph and other men in this study navigate these challenges are discussed later in this chapter.

[6] Cousin brother in the PNG context generally refers to a male cousin in one's own generation, i.e., a male child of a father or mother's sibling. Alternatively it could refer to a male child of a parent's cousin.

House rents in Port Moresby have often been 'beyond the reach of most households' (Ezebilo, et al., 2017: vii). A study conducted by the PNG National Research Institute in 2017 revealed that the average monthly house rent in Port Moresby was PGK 2,246 (AUD 1,153) (Ezebilo and Thomas, 2019). Based on this study, living together with other families in a house, seems to be a 'strategy that most families use to pay rent' so that the house rent is shared between families (Ezebilo and Thomas, 2019: 18). However, this is not the case for Ralph and certainly not other men I interviewed in this study.

This study also found that due to overcrowding and the high cost of rental property, participants, for instance, Trevor (aged 40) and Rex (aged 27) acquired land and built their homes in informal settlement areas. For Trevor, a husband and father of four who works for an international development agency, raising his family in one of the city's new informal settlements was more affordable than renting and living in the formal residential suburbs. When he married he decided to buy a piece of land in one of Port Moresby's settlements and build a house for his family as he said that 'while it may not have all the services, it's easier, convenient and affordable. I moved there to raise my family' (Trevor, 40, interview, January 2020).

Historically, the settlements were regarded transitional zones for new migrants in the city but ultimately moved on. However, today these places have become permanent residential areas with long-term inhabitants (Sharp et al., 2015). Newer settlement residents are dealing with the high cost of living, including housing and social obligations to family, and balancing this with their own social aspirations, marital needs and the 'tenuous housing and land tenure arrangements and the potential insecurity of settlement dwelling' (Sharp et al., 2015: 10). For many Port Moresby residents, living in settlements is a strategy to deal with the increasingly precarious conditions. Despite the challenges of crime and poverty, there is a growing number of Papua New Guinean residents living in settlements who, through diverse formal and informal activities, manage to deal with the debilitating costs of living (Curry and Koczberski, 2013; Rooney, 2019).

This accounts above show that even men with good jobs struggle to save money when they are maintaining a household. Although he is avoiding the high costs associated with renting in a more formal residential area by living in a settlement, Trevor is spending money on accessing basic services for his family. While they provide affordable rental, informal areas such as settlements are often associated with security concerns, poor quality building materials and lack of basic infrastructure such as electricity, running water and good road networks (Ezebilo & Thomas, 2019). While these areas may offer alternative housing, there is no guaranteed provision of services, no

police presence and insecure land tenure (Rooney, 2015). Ralph, on the other hand is able to rent in formal, low-standard housing for his immediate family, but the cost of rent and taking care of other relatives puts a strain on his income. As sole breadwinners, both Trevor, who owns a home, and Ralph, who rents a property, are able to maintain some sense of control in that they are able to provide a vital necessity for their families. Yet this can simultaneously create feelings of disempowerment and precariousness as they juggle their commitments and aspirations against the high cost of living.

As noted above, to prove their manhood, men have to negotiate and create ways of surviving and providing for themselves and others. This flux also suggests a transformation in gender relations whereby people negotiate and embrace changes in their lives with regards to difficulties they currently face and their future aspirations (Macintyre, 2017). Some of these aspirations are related to employment and education. The following section of this chapter discusses the ways in which men in Port Moresby navigate employment and education aspirations and challenges. The importance of acquiring education or employment, just like owning or renting a house, is another element of the traditional masculine norm of being a financial provider.

5.2.2 Navigating employment and education challenges

Participants in this study noted that acquiring high levels of education, such as getting a university or college degree, is a challenge for most people due to the limited educational opportunities available (particularly at the tertiary level) and the high cost of public and private education. In this section, I highlight the accounts of men who are currently unemployed and whose endeavours for both higher education and formal employment have not been successful. The hardships faced by men in securing employment and education are discussed together in this section because men in this study spoke about them interdependently.

Levi (aged 23) completed Year 12, but his grades did not qualify him for government universities or colleges. Instead, Levi pursued technical studies in a private training college to become a mechanic. A year later, after achieving a Level One Trade certificate in Mechanical Studies, he attempted to apply for a job with a company where he previously did job training. However, he was told that his qualification was not recognised due to the non-accrediting status of the training institute where he did his training. Due to the lack of a national qualification framework for technical and vocational education training in PNG, various organisations, local businesses, and companies have established numerous professional training institutions throughout the country (Kombra, n.d). This sector remains poorly regulated, with the consequence that individuals such as Levi may pay

for and undertake studies in good faith and find themselves with a credential which is not recognised in the labour market. Levi mentioned that he still has 'dreams to further his education to support his family' but because of the tight finances in his family's budget, he has decided to put his dreams of becoming a mechanic on hold. For Levi, career and education choices are based on the family's collective financial resources as he and his siblings are dependent on their mother's wage.

Similarly, Nick (aged 31) who works casually as a youth advocate for an international development organisation, is not able to attend university to further his studies due to a lack of finances. Nick notes that he has been 'struggling with school fees for some time and so earning little bit of pocket money helps.' While waiting for formal employment, this is the strategy he is engaging in. As he is living with his girlfriend's family, Nick said this about his role:

> For me the role that I play as a partner and a man, is by providing support to my girlfriend in the little things we do at home. For instance, I help out with my girlfriend's customary and cultural obligations like bride price and *hauskrai.* I support her in everything her and her family does by contributing financially and making time to attend these cultural festivities. (Nick, 31, interview, January 2020)

With hopes of going back to school, Nick and his girlfriend have begun selling cooked lunchbox meals to employees at offices near where he works casually. However, the cost of living and expenses entailed in fulfilling cultural and family obligations means that the wages he earns from his casual employment and food sales may not be adequate to support his education dreams.

The high cost of education and the lack of available places in higher level education institutions make securing education a struggle for many. The limited admission spaces in tertiary education and the high cost of education are a major problem for those who are seeking further education. According to PNG's Department of Higher Education, Research, Science Research and Training, 11,792 students out of 27,743 were offered places in tertiary institutions, and only 5,599 students were offered full and partial government scholarships (DHERST, 2020: 5). This constitutes a serious problem for the majority of Papua New Guineans who have hopes for formal education and ultimately formal employment.

As demonstrated in the interview accounts, career and educational decisions are made collectively, based on the family's social, cultural, and economic circumstances and resources. In their comparative study of migration and remittance in the South Pacific and the Caribbean, Connell and

Conway (2000: 58) note that an individual's decision is always made with 'due consideration of family or household goals'. In contrast, in countries like Australia young people are more likely to make career choices based on 'personal ability and individual choices rather than on traditional determinants such as class and socio-economic status' (Laughland-Booÿ et al., 2014: 2). As I explain further, in order to earn a living in Port Moresby, a man's socio-economic and cultural circumstances may require him to be adaptable in the career choices he makes – or those which circumstances force upon him.

Some men in this study also noted that being 'flexible' in career choices is important for survival in Port Moresby. This means taking up different careers temporarily or engaging in various economic activities to earn a living while pursuing a more permanent solution. Levi told me that he recently paid an enrolment fee of K50 (AUD 19.50) to join the Ginigoada Foundation Mobile Education Program, which may possibly assist him to enter a hospitality management and business career. Ginigoada Foundation is an NGO that provides learning and training assistance to many of the urban villages and squatter settlements (Kidu, 2018). The NGO was established by Dame Carol Kidu, a highly respected Australian-born woman who become a Papua New Guinean citizen after her marriage in the 1960s to a man who became PNG's first indigenous Chief Justice (see Spark, Cox, and Corbett, 2019). Due to the lack of employment opportunities in his field of interest, Levi decided to take up a different career path in the hope of finding other opportunities. When rationalising the choice, he made about changing careers, Levi said:

> *Laif lo siti em hat ya!* (Life in the city is hard), *Sapos yu stap nating bai yu hangere* (If you do nothing you will go hungry). In my opinion, you have to be a man. It doesn't mean that you earn an income, and you have everything. It doesn't mean that because you don't have money you decide to just stay at home. From my experience, in every way possible if you can find means or ways to help you survive. Why don't you just keep doing different things until you find something permanent or better solution? Don't expect a miracle to happen. Be a shop keeper or a security guard or start a small business. Start somewhere earning something until you find a better alternative. (Levi, 23, interview, January 2020)

Similarly, for grassroots men who live in settlements, having low levels of education and literacy and experiencing un- or underemployment, the possibility of achieving a stable livelihood is even more difficult than it is for middle-class men. Jelta (aged 50) is currently unemployed and survives on an income from selling firewood and garden produce. He has had several low-earning jobs, for

example as a driver, street cleaner and janitor. Jelta migrated to Port Moresby from Goroka 30 years ago and lives in an informal settlement with his wife and five children. Jelta mentioned that three of his older children dropped out school because of 'school fee problems' and, like him, they are operating their own roadside markets, while two of his younger children are currently in school. He also mentioned that he left school at grade six to help his father take care of their coffee plantation. In explaining his current uncertainties, Jelta said:

> I always think about how I can support my children so that they can survive in the city. I have to look for any means of making money, whether it's selling at a market, finding a minimum wage job. I can't just sit and do nothing. If I don't do anything, my family's life would be difficult. If I can't find money, then how would I live? I think about this constantly. When it rains, we know that we can live off our gardens or sell the garden produce to make some money, and other times I have to find firewood to sell. If you don't look for means to get money, you won't have money and then you start to worry and worrying is not good because it creates a lot of problems. The only way to live in the city is to find employment. If you don't have employment you have to sell something in order to make some money. (Jelta, 50, interview, January 2020)

Such comments illustrate that regardless of class or age, men in Port Moresby face stress and uncertainty, although it takes different forms. However, depending on their socio-economic status or resources, men deal with hardships and struggles differently. The interview data demonstrates that extreme vulnerability and hardship are associated with men from the lower socio-economic class. Men who live in formal suburbs and have at least one stable source of income in their family potentially have better opportunities to be employed and pursue education than those in informal settlements.

Limited opportunities to earn a steady income and the high cost of living have resulted in the uptake of informal economy options as a short-term solution to surviving in the city. In the Pacific, the informal economy makes up most of the labour force and is the 'key contributor in urban drift' (Connell, 2003: 151). Most of the participants who are not employed in formal jobs, and even those studying, operate informal roadside markets or street vendor businesses. They sell items such as cigarettes, *buai* or betel-nut (scientifically known as Areca Catechu, betel-nut is a palm nut that is chewed with mustard and lime), ice-blocked water or drinks, and other food items. Roadside markets, or as Rooney (2015: 2) refers to them, 'residential market stalls', play an important role in

the economy of many families. They usually work as conduits for income and to appease short-term poverty (Chand and Yala, 2008a).

Men's aspirations to pursue education and employment are often hindered by the country's developmental deficiencies, as well as familial or cultural considerations. The lack of opportunities for formal education and employment, and the needs and goals of their family tend to influence men's choices and responsibilities. Studies show that achieving education and employment is an indication of class and status as a modern, urban Melanesian man (Munro, 2017; Lusby, 2017). However, the situation is more devastating for those who have little or no socio-economic resources. Findings from my study indicate that in precarious circumstances, where socio-economic resources or security are scarce, men are likely to prioritise family wellbeing over their individual aspirations, and sometimes this means setting aside their personal education goals to earn a living for the family. The flexibility that men seek in moving between informal and formal economic activities, and the interconnectedness of both informal and formal activities are strategies that people draw on to sustain the material aspects of life (Sharp et al., 2015; Rooney, 2019).

I now turn to explore men's views and experiences of safety and how men navigate through security concerns in Port Moresby.

5.2.3 High incidences of security concerns and crime

While urbanisation provides possibilities for improved jobs, education and other goods and services for many people in developing countries, it also brings new challenges in terms of crime, violence, and poverty (Muggah, 2012). The phenomenon of urban poverty often leads to the increase of informal settlements, fuelled by the unaffordability of formal housing for renters and buyers; a lack of basic infrastructure and legal, education, health, financial or other services; and a lack of policing of high levels of crime and violence (Tacoli, McGranahan and Stterthwaite, 2015).

The continuous incidence of violence and crime in a society can cause a deep sense of insecurity among its people. This insecurity is further exacerbated by a lack of protection from the state (Osterom, 2017). Victimisation surveys in PNG indicate very high levels of crime and violence (Lakhani and Willman, 2014). Homicides and gang rape are also increasing in number and city residents are restricting their movement after dark due to the high crime rates, with 'certain 'no-go' areas which can only be accessed under heavy security protection' (UN-Habitat, 2010: 30).

The men who participated in the present research talked about security and safety concerns in Port Moresby in relation to the high risk of violence that most women, girls and children experience, and

measures that are put in place to protect them. They reflected on the past in Port Moresby, when crime and violence rates were minimal, and the city was clean. Trevor (aged 41), who came to Port Moresby in the 1990s as a young man, recalled 'a time when Port Moresby was a safer place to live'.

The men I spoke with acknowledge that crime and violence are concerns in many public places. For instance, Nick (aged 31) said that 'the challenges of petty crimes are that it is seen as a norm in the city and occurs every day and everywhere, it's normal, people don't do anything about it'. While this is so, other men in this study believe that crime in the city is also targeted in certain areas and mostly a problem for women. Cameron (aged 23), a university student, said:

> There are places in the city that are more dangerous for women than men […] the petty crimes and things like that are a challenge for women and girls. As a man I can walk through settlements and won't be scared of anything. I don't care about that. But when I move around with my sisters and mom I am more cautious because of the little crimes in the city. Those are some challenges that are still there. I am not sure if they are getting addressed. (Cameron, 23, interview, January 2020)

Some studies in Port Moresby have shown that there are high rates of crime and violence particularly in the settlements (Rooney, 2017, 2019; Haley, 2005: 30; Haley and Muggah, 2006). Also, experiences between men and women differ greatly in terms of security, including the way security issues are dealt with. For instance, in the account above Cameron maintained that he does not notice the issue of security until he is with his sisters and mother in public spaces. As he continued to talk about the challenges of crime in the city, he expressed doubt that things will get better. Cameron realised halfway through the interview that as a young man less attention is paid to his security concerns as the assumption is that females in his household need more protection than men.

> From my observation in terms of security, the girls get a bit more than the boys. Like if I tell my mom that I was coming home late, they wouldn't even call me, they will send me one text to say ok take care. But if one of my sisters did that it would be chaos in the house. When it comes to security the girls to be given higher priority over the boys. (Cameron, 23, interview, January 2020)

Cameron's reflection on the lack of concern for boys or men's security needs is a key problem in the development narrative. Much of the effort by the government, non-government and donor

agencies in combating crime and violence in the Pacific is focused on women and girls. The problem with public discourses on crime and violence is that often men and boys are generally criticised for being the perpetrators and little or no attention is given to their security needs or the possibility that they too might be victims of violence. I discuss the concern of the overwhelming support given to addressing GBV of women and girls and the need to increase attention to men's needs within the gender and development space in the region in Chapter 7.

Violence and crime have gendered impacts on men and women, and they face risks differently. Women in PNG, especially those in towns and cities, are constrained on a daily basis by fear (Spark, 2014). In PNG, about 54.9 per cent of women, compared with 30 per cent of men reported that they were fearful of walking at dark hours of the night (National Statistical Office, 2010). Compared to men, women are twice as likely to refrain from going to shops and markets because of the fear of being robbed or assaulted (National Statistical Office, 2010). A markets survey by UN Women (2014) in PNG reported that 55 per cent of women experience multiple violence at the markets, and 65 per cent of male and female respondents reported witnessing violence perpetrated on women and girls in the market vicinity. Sparks (2014) notes that although 'domestic violence is well document and discussed', violence that occurs in the public domain is often ignored and receives comparatively little attention (16).

While emphasis on the impact of crime and violence has been on women and girls, men and boys are also victims of crime and violence. Men are mostly targets of gang fights, tribal warfare, breaking and entering or police brutality. While growing up, I was cautioned by my parents and relatives to be mindful of where I would go within the city. The men in my family on the other hand, were told to defend themselves and 'fight back' if anything were to happen. The expectation by the family and community is for men and boys to confront fear and fight. In their work on manhood and social status, Vandello and Booson (2013: 1; see also Gilmore, 1990) suggest that manhood, as a 'precarious social status' regardless of culturally specific markers, is often difficult to earn but easily taken away or lost and requires a 'continual public demonstration of proof'. This means others confirm men's status through public displays of manhood. While men's status is earned through public demonstrations, women's status is generally assigned and ascribed (Vandello and Booson, 2013). I recall my brothers being victims as well as participants in street and school fights, but they were never punished, other than being told to be careful because next time someone may possibly use a dangerous weapon and the outcome would be devastating. Men are victims of crime and at times, they are unable to protect themselves. No matter how good they are in providing for and protecting their family, men can become victims, just like women.

5.2.4 Navigating security and safety challenges: Ralph's story

In the following discussion, I focus on Ralph's account of crime and security concerns to demonstrate the deep insecurities that some men experience and the construction of hybridised masculinity to deal with the hegemonic notions that most men are unafraid. I argue that hegemonic masculinity can be too risky and dangers for some men and 'being a man' means having to constantly think about personal safety and the safety of loved ones.

Ralph (aged 34) moved to Port Moresby almost 10 years ago from Bougainville to attend a technical school. After completing his studies, he was offered a job immediately and saw this as an opportunity to build a good future for himself. Ralph spoke about his plans of returning to Bougainville with his family in the near future to start a printing business; however, for now he needed the job to raise funds for his future business plan. Like other men in Port Moresby, Ralph faced the challenges of the high cost of living and endeavoured, again like most men, to deal with it by providing for his family needs. Ralph paused for a moment before telling me about his struggles while living in Port Moresby and the strategies he enforces for himself and his family to protect them from security concerns.

> A huge challenge I currently face is the challenge of security, especially for my family. I am always concerned and fearful of the security and safety of my wife and children in the city. In the past when I had a car, I used to feel safe travelling in the car with my family. Since my car broke down, I am now catching the bus and I am fearful of my safety because of pick-pocketers, and petty criminals are just stabbing people unnecessarily. Because of this I refuse to catch the bus so sometimes even though I don't have enough money, I choose to catch a cab to work instead. And this is costly because I will then have to look for ways to make extra money. Men and women face the same problems. I think of my wife and daughters, and I worry about their safety. I can't move around the city with them because of this. Since my car broke down, I just stay at home with my family on the weekends. I don't take them around. When I have some extra money than I move around the city with them in a cab. I have so much fear living in the city because of the criminal activities. As soon as it becomes dark, then we just stay indoors. (Ralph, 34, interview, January 2020)

Ralph's account of security measures is in some ways similar to measures women in Port Moresby would take, such as staying indoors after dark and preferring to drive a car or catch a taxi instead of

public transport. While owning a car is associated with status and class, it also provides a sense of safety for women (Spark, 2017: 2020), and also for men, as Ralph's account illustrates. Ralph's concerns about security go beyond his personal safety to include the safety of his wife and two daughters. His responses regarding security measures to tackle crime and violence in the city stems from his responsibility as a provider and protector to the females in his life and reflects his deep internalisation of the insecurity in the environment.

While most men are unafraid of moving in and around the city, women are not given the same freedoms. In order to enjoy freedom in the city, women develop and employ various safety measures to avoid crime, violence, or harassment. In examining the experiences of Port Moresby middle-class women in emerging spaces and places and the emerging significance of education and class markers, Spark (2017; also see Spark, 2020) discusses ways in which women are enjoying liberties in moving into and between places in the city, despite being challenged in relation to security and safety. Port Moresby's middle-class women are becoming more comfortable and are 'actively participating in remaking the city on behalf of themselves and others'; however, more has to be done to make it a gender-equitable space (Spark, 2020; 124). Safety measures women are taking include but are not limited to moving around the city with male relatives, limiting movement to certain places at certain times, buying a car, using an employer's vehicle, hiring taxi services, or renting in a safer suburb (see Spark, 2015, 2020).

The typical masculine response from men would be self-defence through aggression or violence and not retreating when faced with criminals or adversaries. In PNG, men are taught from an early age, during initiation rituals to manhood, that being brave and dealing with conflict head on are masculine values (Herdt, 1986). Other scholars in the Pacific have also noted that men are defined by their violent traits (Hokowhitu, 2012; Walker, 2008). However, the increase in media reports of guns being used during criminal activities or violent clashes are worrying, and therefore it is plausible for men to feel anxious about their safety and the safety of others. In PNG, 'thieves, tribal warriors and police have access to guns and money' and at times they exchange these with each other (Macintyre, 2008: 188). In the highlands of PNG, guns have become a part of life, and tribal wars in the highlands have risen dramatically since guns replaced more traditional weapons such as bows and arrows (Macintyre, 2008; see also Harley, 2005; Haley and Muggah, 2006). While the presence of guns is most prominent in the highlands, they are also present in settlements in urban areas among young criminal gang members (Goddard, 1995, 2005). Police officers in PNG have reported 'selling, renting, and lending guns and ammunition to thieves and friends fighting tribal

vendettas' (Alpers, 2005: 26). Being in possession of guns, and affiliation with gangs and crime is also a measure of manhood and prestige among young men in PNG (Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2012).

Ralph's deep sense of insecurity can be viewed as subordinate to hegemonic masculine behaviour. Drawing on Antonio Gramsci's work, Connell (1995, 1987) maintains that there are many forms of cultural masculinities that exist, but there is always one that is dominant to the rest and marginalises others in the gender system, which is theorised as hegemonic masculinity. This is the pattern of practices that allow men's dominance over other men and women and is commonly expressed and idealised differently within different cultural contexts (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). In this form of masculinity, some men profit while some become considerably less masculine. People who hold opposing values to the cultural ideals of hegemonic masculinity are subordinated or marginalised. Other social divisions that exist in society, such as class, race, and ethnicity, intersect with this gender hierarchy, which then produces 'marginalised' forms of masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). As discussed, the dominant response among men when faced with crimes and violence is to be bold, unafraid and charge with violence or threat. Ralph instead chose the option of retreat or withdrawal to keep his family and himself away from danger. In so doing, Ralph is accepting a form of hybrid masculinity, which is the selection of a softer or sensitive masculine identities, as discussed in previous chapters. His decision to embrace a subordinate form of masculinity is in response to managing his precarious social environments and at the same time rejecting hegemonic masculine expectations, as studies elsewhere have also established (Umamasheswar 2020). Ralph experiences of providing for the economic (as a breadwinner) and security needs of his family requires maintaining hegemonic and hybrid masculinities. Umamasheswar (2020) argues that doing this means that men are constantly 'moving in-between' in ways that are complex and fluid and requiring copious amount of psychological effort. I would add that doing this also requires financial and relational effort.

Security concerns can also undermine the ways men provide effectively as breadwinners or providers. Ralph's concern about crime and violence in the city resulted in restricting the movement of his family. Since his personal vehicle no longer functions, Ralph and his family rely on private taxi services. Ralph also limits the movement of his family because of the high cost of taxi fares. In Ralph's case, the restriction of movement and the limited finances spent on private taxi services may lead to the decline of their quality of life. His response to security concerns perhaps also disempowers his masculine role as a protector or defender of his family. Crime and violence, an outcome of social and economic precarity, affects the role of men as the protector and provider.

5.3 Conforming to Traditional Masculinity

The role of the breadwinner in both the traditional and modern sense is not just a responsibility but a source of economic and moral authority. PNG culture confers a provider with authority over the household, clan and even community. In addition, men consider having economic authority as a positive virtue religiously and culturally. The 'Big Men' authority in the Melanesian context has two consequences. Firstly, economic authority develops a sense of responsibility towards self and others; secondly, economic authority can provide the pre-conditions for abuse.

The interview data have shown that men in Port Moresby aspire to perform traditional models of the breadwinner role; however, the cultural resources and familial support needed for this role are no longer accessible to men living in the city. Fulfilling a breadwinner role in an urban setting can be extremely challenging because of the limited economic, social, and political systems and resources that are available to men. Moreover, the data show that men tend to turn to their displays of dominance and control in 'handling' challenges and limitations as a way of endorsing their conformity to the traditional models of a breadwinner or provider. In the previous section, I highlighted and described the hardships and struggles of men's experiences of urban precarity, and discussed the ways in which men tried, within their social and economic capacity, to overcome these hardships. In this section, I focus particularly on the expectations of men and their families on the role of provider to the family, extended family and community, the struggles men face in performing this role, and the ways in which they negotiate and construct versions of masculinity that idealise traditional aspects of a breadwinner in the city.

5.3.1 Control and overcoming of hardship as proof of manhood

The men in this study perceived dominance and control in the role of the breadwinner. For many participants, dealing with the hardships and challenges of life in Port Moresby meant being in control of difficult circumstances while at the same time providing for their family. This is displayed by Levi (aged 23) who considers himself an asset to his family and community because he overcomes the challenges of having limited resources and support to provide for his family.

> I don't want to see my family struggle. I want people to see me as a provider and breadwinner. I want them to see me as starting from scratch and then eventually building a good future. I want them to see that I have done something for myself. I don't want them to see me as a liability. I want to be an asset. (Levi, 23, interview, January 2020)

For Levi and other men in this study, it is important to be seen as a family provider and so, as a man, performing roles or responsibilities that demonstrate this is important. Perception of community and family play a role in shaping masculine identity and roles. The family and community expectations of the ability to perform the role of breadwinner are very demanding and problematic when men have to manage responsibilities and expectations. This is a common thread in the reflections of men across all research sites.

Likewise, Jeremiah (aged 36) a religious minister, perceived the challenges of living in the city as inevitable for every man, irrespective of their status in society. Enduring these hardships and working through them is proof of one's manhood.

> The challenge results in sweat. You cannot achieve anything without first sweating or working hard. In PNG, we have to go through challenges before you achieve anything no matter how if you are rich or poor, educated or not. As a Papua New Guinean man, you can't say you don't have challenges. All Papua New Guineans have one challenge or another. (Jeremiah, 36, interview, January 2020)

The expectations placed on men by family and community to fulfil the role of a breadwinner, regardless of limited resources and support, is seen as a challenge by the men interviewed. However, many of the participants, when speaking about the challenges, quickly shifted the conversation to the need to survive and make life happen. I took this reaction as men trying to be manly and not emotional in front of a female researcher. The high cost and demands of living in the city, the high personal and business security risks, and limited opportunities for longer-term solutions to earn a steady income are some of the concerns that people living in the city face on a daily basis. While these circumstances may be challenging, some men in this study feel strongly that enduring challenges while performing the role of a breadwinner is what men are meant to do. In other words, backing down from life's challenges and obstacles is not being a man.

For men in Port Moresby, the challenges of living in the city and the traditional expectations of men to perform the role of breadwinner have shaped the way men view themselves and other men as needing to be tough, assertive, and hardworking. Researchers on masculinity in PNG have consistently noted that assertiveness and strength are the common gender traits associated with an exemplary and dominant form of masculinity in PNG (Eves, 2006; Gibbs, 2016a, 2016b). Traditionally, men in PNG were seen as 'warriors and orators, aspiring to be the "Big Man" directing and leading a group of men in warfare or ceremony' (Brown, 1989: 128 in Eves, 2006). Sai (2017)

describes PNG men as industrious and productive in their pursuit of being a provider. Therefore, demonstrating assertiveness or control in a context of economic and social challenges proves one's value as a man in society.

Conversely, negative judgement is passed on other men who do not fulfil their role as breadwinners, or those engaging in risk-taking or immoral behaviour such as womanising, drinking alcohol, smoking drugs or gambling. Men who do not comply with the dominant and ideal roles of a breadwinner or provider are looked upon as needing some adjustment to their outlook and behaviour. Collin (aged 41) who was born and raised in Port Moresby, viewed these men to lack the experience gained from life's challenges.

> But many don't understand. They think that having fun is what life should be. I see young men gambling and bashing their wives. Young people are losing that part of that value. I think they would have to go through certain events in their lives to see things differently. (Collin, 41, interview, January 2020)

Like Collin, Milford (aged 26) views alcohol as damaging the reputation of men and argues that men need to be disciplined or rehabilitated to correct their behaviour.

> When a man drinks beer or smokes marijuana the family perceive him to be a bad person. We don't understand this kind of man. Maybe he needs to go to jail, or the police need to discipline him. He needs to be properly rehabilitated in order to be fixed so that his mindset can be readjusted to then return to society to understand his true role as a man. (Milford, 26, interview, January 2020)

This seem to illustrate that the identity of a man is perceived not only as provider, protector, and leader, but is also imbued with moral standards. Concerns of morality, as shown here, seem to be as important as concerns over a man's responsibility to provide, protect or lead. This is contrary to views held by some men in Suva, as discussed in the previous chapter. In Suva, some men noted that their risk-taking behaviour and sexual preference which did not fit the religious or traditional moulds of society, was overlooked because of their role as provider or contributor to customary obligations.

The results from the online survey conducted in the first phase of this study further support the view that the traditional roles that men play must be associated with moral elements to be authentic. When asked what the ideal characteristics of a Pacific Island man were, almost 90 per cent responded that a good man was someone who is responsible for himself in his conduct and manner and is

responsible for others in the way he provides for his family. In another study, men viewed other men who abuse alcohol and drugs as irresponsible and not 'real men' but rather, 'boys walking around in men's bodies' (Gibbs, 2016a: 134). Being responsible, having moral conduct and demonstrating strength seem to be the pre-conditions for assuming the role of provider, protector, and leader.

Physical strength, hard work or the view that real men are forged in sweat and struggle underline the lessons that occurs during manhood rituals or rites of passage in PNG (Eves, 2006). Many of these lessons were transmitted and demonstrated in the '*hausman'* or '*hausboi'*, translated as men's or boy's house. This is basically a place where men and boys spend days and nights 'learning about tradition in an informal way', and this simple gathering may turn into 'highly elaborate rites of passage or initiations for boys to be recognised as a man' (Eves, 2006: 48). While practices of initiation vary in different provinces throughout PNG, the common aspect of these rituals is a period of absence, whereby boys go into the forest or to a sacred place to learn social values such as independence (Eves, 2006). Some men in PNG continue to believe that this type of discipline is valuable in developing gender identity (Gibbs, 2016a, 2016b).

The *hausman* gatherings and manhood initiation rituals were applied in village or rural settings, so when families migrated to urban cities or towns, these practises were abandoned. In some earlier accounts, *hausman* were 'largely abandoned' because of orders given by colonial administrators or missionaries for men and women to build houses and live together (Langness, 1967, in Herdt and Poole, 1982: 19). In addition, young men living in cities are less interested in these practices and beliefs because of the influence of Western culture. Many of the manhood initiation rituals or rite of passage into manhood were not experienced by the younger participants this research.

5.3.2 Self-reliance and financial independence as proof of manhood

In addition to being tough and assertive, self-reliance and financial independence are characteristics that men feel they should achieve as breadwinners. Being a man is proving that you can face challenges without asking others for help. For example, Collin (aged 41) talks about facing financial struggles but refusing to ask for support from others.

> Keeping the household going is hard. There are times when I don't have control over things. It's very hard because my parents don't work anymore. My siblings work but none of them help out. I don't like to see it as a challenge. I just take it as it comes every day. I try my best to keep my parents happy and take care of

> their needs. My kids are in high school, and I also look after my brother's son. It's challenging financially. And I don't expect my brothers and sisters to help me out. I just do it myself. But when I am worn out, I just talk to my wife about it. I also don't expect her to do anything about it. She has her own family members to think about too. (Collin, 41, interview, January 2020)

Self-reliance is a marker of masculinity. To be seen as self-reliant is another way of displaying dominance and control of a household or clan affairs, as a man and in the role of breadwinner. These are traits promoted by traditional models of masculinity in PNG societies. For example, when a boy or young man is initiated into manhood, he is often given a piece of land and taught how to build his own house and live on his own until he gets married.

Some young men saw that being self-reliant was about changing the perception of others towards them. Rex (aged 27), who felt that he was judged by others for his former bad habits, noted that becoming self-reliant helped change people's negative perceptions of him.

> Since growing up in Port Moresby, we have all been a nuisance and we do it together when we were younger but now that we are men, we realised that what we were doing is wrong. Because of these ways our families who observed us since we children, saw us as criminals and drunkards but I left these ways and wanted to make myself a good name. I didn't tell any of my family, but on my own I started this business of rental. I did this with my own strength and because of this people started realising that I wanted to change. Then family members came to stay with me, and I am looking after them. I realised that I have changed, and my situation have changed because of the decision I made to start a business and be self-reliant. (Rex, 27, interview, January 2020)

As demonstrated by Rex, the proof of masculinity is in a man's ability to be responsible, and this is shown through being self-reliant in himself and for his family. This was a common narrative among young men. Despite this being an admirable trait, being responsible for others can be financially and emotionally burdensome on household resources, which can lead to conflict, violence, stress, and poverty in the long term (Lakhani and Willman, 2014). Collin (aged 41) admitted that he felt stressed, but he continues to provide for his kin because his father failed to do it. On the other hand, some men in this study admitted that support from others to perform the breadwinner role was a relief.

5.3.3 Less traditional ways of being a man: peer interdependency

Earlier, I described that self-reliance was an important marker of masculinity as it demonstrates dominance and control. Men felt that it was their responsibility not only to be a breadwinner but also to provide on their own. Nevertheless, several men in this study also felt that interdependency with other men helped them cope with the challenges of performing the role of breadwinner. The support given by other men can be a resource, especially social and financial support. Interdependent relationships among men have the potential of shaping masculine ideals and allowing new relationships to emerge (Tarrant et al., 2019). Men also found that male friends were more reliable than family members when requesting support. Men may not rely on family due to the unrealistic demands from family, the family's resources being depleted or diverted to other priorities, and shame associated with not having formal employment, as mentioned earlier by some participants.

Milford (aged 26) recalls his experience living with extended relatives in an overcrowded household. He noted that getting support from his male friends was more reliable than getting support from family members. For him getting resources from his family to start his business was difficult as there were too many people in the family to consider. Milford noted:

> Lack of support from the family to set up our own business or a start-up makes surviving difficult. Sometimes we depend on our friends on the street. We have to trust each other with whatever little work that is given so in that way we can have money and food. So, we exchange things and labour. This is how we support each other to survive. (Milford, 26, interview January 2020)

The men in this study aspire to the traditional models of breadwinner; however, the conditions and challenges of living have limited their capacity to fully take on traditional roles. While many men hold fast to the view that it is their responsibility to provide for their kin, some men seek support from other men for the resources they need to provide and survive. As a result of the precarious and vulnerable circumstances that men living in the city experience, they are relying on non-traditional sources of support. This source of support is not defined by familial relationships but established through bonds developed with other men who share similar experiences.

The existing social bonds between men, or homosocial relations, are likely to be a key factor in men's ability to not only survive but also in the performance of their gender roles and relations to women (Flood, 2007). It is said that male-to-male relationships not only define 'important kinship and familial connections but also formal and informal peer ties in the military, schools, football field

or the neighbourhood' (Flood in Flood, Gardiner, Pease, and Pringle, 2007: 433). For Milford, the support he receives from his neighbours *'ol boi blo strit'* (translated as boys from the street) is important (interview, January 2020). There is a special bond among these men as they share similar hardships and struggles and therefore, their bond is based on supporting each other to survive.

Scholarship on men and gender has emphasised that masculinity is highly homosocial (Flood in Flood, Gardiner, Pease, and Pringle, 2007). Men's performance of gender is often approved by other men when it is displayed (Kimmel, 1994). One possible reason that Milford was supported or rewarded by his male friends is because supporting him would strengthen his role as a provider or breadwinner for the family he is staying with. Milford mentioned that he would try his best to provide for the house in 'whatever way' he can, with the support given by his peers. Male-to-male bonding of this kind supports men to perform key roles, such as providing financial support for the household or meeting the security and safety needs of their family through 'manpower' provided by peers. In so doing, this reinforces the performance of traditional masculine roles and identities. Male-to-male bonding, especially where there is no kin or familial connection, is an urban phenomenon in Melanesian societies that may need to be investigated further to discover its potential and perils among men of various social classes.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that men in Port Moresby face continual challenges including, the absence of affordable accommodation and employment, lack of educational opportunity, the high cost of living and the threat of security, and also familial and socio-cultural expectations that at times constrain men, but also provide an opportunity for men to prove their manhood. This seems particularly pertinent among young men.

Being a breadwinner in PNG means achieving the economic and financial success that enables men to have autonomy and justify their authority. This can be compromised in various ways by urban phenomena associated with precarity and poverty. Support systems or networks among peers is one non-traditional way that men are gaining support and security from other men. Possessing financial resources affords status, giving men the authority to be responsible but also entitling them to be abusive. Class difference is ambiguous because of the various ways people can get or lose money; therefore, masculinity is often defended through the role of breadwinner or provider and approved by other men in society. Being a provider matters in a Melanesian context. It is a marker of masculinity achieved.

I acknowledge throughout this chapter that the notion that manhood is precarious is not novel. The precarious circumstances that men find themselves in lead to insecurity and vulnerability. Lack of employment, housing and security are the main concerns facing men in Port Moresby, but they have demonstrated ways of dealing with struggles and challenges. They do this by negotiating and reconstructing gender roles, identities, and spaces. The uncertainty and instability of a man's ability to gain and maintain manhood have been consistent themes in relation to gender roles. In this chapter I hope to have brought to our understanding the implications of precariousness on manhood. There is a need for further research to understand the complexities of various classes to inform policy on the rapid economic and social changes in PNG. Although important questions remain, I hope that this research helps build a foundation for future understanding of precarity and masculinity.

Chapter 6: Navigating Post-conflict Masculinities as Male Advocates in Bougainville

6.1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters, Chapters 4 and 5, I provided a discussion of men's experiences and perspectives on masculinities in two different urban contexts in the Pacific. These chapters demonstrate the influence of urban socio-economic conditions (mostly in Port Moresby), and feminist and human rights discourse and norm change (mostly in Fiji) merging with cultural and religious expectations, creating occasions where men manifest both traditional and less traditional or hybrid masculine performances and identities. Nevertheless, managing expectations while dealing with precarious conditions is challenging and therefore, men constantly struggle to prove their manhood. Importantly, this demonstrates that masculinity is fluid and ambivalent, meaning that it is in a perpetual state of becoming as men negotiate and construct relations and roles within specific geographies, ethnographies, and temporalities.

In this chapter I present the findings from data collected during interviews with 10 men from a rural community called Chabai, located in the Northern region[7] of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville. The men interviewed in this research are engaged as male advocates for women's human rights with the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCfR). Male advocate is a term used to describe men who are engaged, in a supportive way, in women's rights activism. As I will discuss in this chapter, women have been at the forefront of, and continue to play a key role in traditional peacebuilding and in other development efforts; however, more recently there is a focus on programs that predominantly work with men.

I begin this chapter by providing a description of the participants involved in the research and a rationale for focusing my research on a specific cohort of men in Bougainville. This is followed by a discussion of literature on Bougainvillean society, the effects of the Bougainville Crisis (1989-1998), the prevalent patterns of matriliny and the central role of women and the Church in the peace process. There were limited occasions during the interviews where men spoke about the Crisis. The few that talked about the crisis spoke about their mobility and migration to nearby villages or Crisis camps for safety.

[7] Bougainville is divided into three regions, North, South, and Central.

The high rates of domestic and criminal violence, persistent problem of alcohol and marijuana abuse, and psychological abuse are major social problems in Bougainville today (Eves, 2010; Eves et al., 2019; Jewkes, Jama-Shai and Skikweyiya, 2017). This emergent social crisis in Bougainville is said to have 'diminished the capacity of young men as agents to pursue independent autonomy and community status' (Kent and Barnett, 2011: 37). The Crisis has left damaging effects on the social, cultural, economic, and political life of people in Bougainville (Böege, 2009; Tankunani, Sirivi and Taleo, 2004). Many of the men interviewed in this study were not of an age to partake directly in combat, yet they possess a considerable living recollection of the Crisis. These men have been referred to as the Crisis generation due to the persistent problems they create in their communities from substance abuse, unaddressed psychological trauma, and criminal and domestic violence as a result of the Crisis (Kent and Barnett, 2012). Most participants did not make direct comments on the Crisis or its effects on their lives.

This leads me into the discussion on men's experiences and perspectives of the values and ideals that were taught to them from childhood to adulthood. For the older men in this study, the training received during their manhood initiation rituals and continual advice from elderly men in their community shape the way they think about gender roles and relations. For younger men in this study, while they receive advice from older men, it is economic strains and stressors that influence the construction of modern ideas of being a man.

I will next analyse the experience of men as male advocates for women's human rights.[8] The reflections on the role of men as male advocates are closely associated with men's traditional identities as leaders, protectors, and providers in the community. This suggests that notions of men who are defenders of women's rights are shaped by traditional gender roles played in society. In their role as male advocates, men experience conflict from the social and financial demands placed on them by family and community members when adapting to new ways of thinking and behaviour. This chapter ends with a conclusion which discusses the findings of this chapter.

In Melanesian societies, people are dependent on community, family, and the intricate web of relationships within a particular locality to construct their identities and perform their role as men. Their intense dependence on community and family members is a source of advantage, yet at the same time it is a source of tension and conflict. In the context of gender transformational work led by civil society organisations (non-government or faith-based organisations), I argue that men who

[8] From this point on when using the term male advocates, I am referring to male advocates for women's human rights.

are NCfR's male advocates for women's rights are developing new values, outlooks and aspirations and are re-defining post-conflict masculinities, despite being challenged by the traditions and perspectives of community members. I demonstrate in this chapter that male advocates in Bougainville are aspiring to create personal and civic change because of their new and elevated role. I argue that through a community based human rights approach, organisations like NCfR are shifting the views of male advocates and the wider community to begin to view men in a positive light. Finally, I contend that the presence and role of civil society organisations like NCfR in the community and their involvement in people's daily lives help men navigate hardships and deal with tensions in productive ways without the need to resort to conflict and violence.

In this chapter, I will be discussing the intergenerational experiences of men in Bougainville and the ways in which they navigate cultural and gender norms and relationships in light of their new role as male advocates. In doing so, I hope to provide insight on the struggles of rural men who have been affected by the Crisis, and the way they survive. I argue that organisations and development agencies that promote gender equality and the engagement of men in violence prevention should consider the economic inequalities, lack of education, unemployment, and other struggles around local traditions. These forces can often counteract or undermine the work with men and boys and the agency of men as male advocates.

6.1.1 About the research participants

In this chapter, I draw on data collected in March 2019 in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville[9] from 10 male advocates in Chabai. The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCfR) is a Catholic-run NGO founded and led by a local progressive nun, Sr Lorraine Garasu, to address the need among men in particular for post-conflict counselling and healing after a decade-long, armed, and bloody war. The organisation works in various communities, including Chabai, to address post-Crisis trauma and violence. I explain further the role of NCfR in section 6.3. I spent three out of the four weeks of data collection residing with the Sisters of the Catholic Diocese and staff of the NCfR in Chabai. I also took part in the community activities, such as attending church services and visiting neighbouring communities with NCfR staff for their project activities. Chabai, the location of NCfR's headquarters, is a Catholic mission station located on the north-western coast of

[9] I will use Bougainville from here on unless I talk about the government, in which I will use the Autonomous Bougainville Government.

Bougainville. Residing at the Centre and taking part in communal activities allowed me to gain further insight into the lived experiences of community members, particularly men.

While interviews were conducted with a total of 14 men in Bougainville, I focus only on the interview data of 10 male advocates in Chabai. This is because of the length of time I spent in the Chabai community. Also, this approach will answer the research question 'how do Pacific Island men view violence against women and gender equality work?'. This is an important inquiry as it provides an understanding of the impact of gender equality work and the role of NGOs and churches in rural areas in influencing men's identity and relations with others, including gender relations. In Chapter 3 of this thesis, I provide a more detailed explanation of the rationale of selecting Chabai as a research site and the process of recruiting participants for the research.

The male advocates from Chabai were aged between 29 and 63. Four out of the 10 men are volunteer facilitators and trainers with NCfR, while the remaining six men work as full-time program staff with the Centre. The participants live in Chabai or neighbouring villages and towns in North Bougainville, and travel to Chabai to participate in the Centre's activities. All participants spent most of their lives growing up in Bougainville, except for three men who migrated briefly to other provinces to pursue higher education and later returned to Bougainville. In terms of education qualifications, one participant has a university degree, another has a diploma certificate, and a third has a technical certificate. Seven participants have primary and high school certificates. At the time of the interview, all participants were married and had children. The average number of children per household of the men interviewed is 3.5; two households had seven children each. The average number of children in Bougainville families is higher than the average household in the other two study sites. Nine out of the 10 men identified as Catholic, and one is a devoted Seventh Day Adventist. The majority of the men interviewed reside with their immediate family in semi-permanent houses in hamlets which consist of immediate and extended family members of the same clan.

While most participants lived through the Bougainville Crisis, none of the participants indicated whether they had been involved in fighting during the Crisis. One participant noted that he played the role of protecting or guarding women and children at the Crisis campsite during that time. Unlike the other two study sites, Bougainville has had almost a decade of war that has disrupted political, economic, social, and cultural life. I will now discuss the Bougainville context and the history of the Crisis to set up the background against which I discuss the experiences and perspectives of Bougainville men.

6.2 The Bougainville Context and 'the Crisis'

The people of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, or 'Bougainvilleans', are unique, not only because of their dark skin complexion, but also because of their history of a secessionist war related to the many negative impacts of vast copper mining and, more recently, the referendum on independence in 2019 and related events. Over the years, Bougainville as a society has been influenced by colonialism, Christianity, mining, modern technology, cash economy and advances in formal education, employment, and health. However, the development of mining development was experienced as the most 'destructive influence', after a decade of operation led to a nine-year war, from 1989 until 1998 (Regan and Griffin, 2015: xxx). The 'Bougainville Crisis', which began in 1989, was the result of the failure of the Bougainville Copper Mine to reach an agreement with landowners concerning compensation claims. This dispute resulted in a lengthy sequence of events (Regan and Griffin, 2015). The many published accounts of the Bougainville Crisis provide ample details on the origins, course, and aftermath of the conflict, and the implications for the social, economic, cultural, and political state of Bougainville (Regan and Griffin, 2015; Regan, 2017; Wolfers, 2007).

The Autonomous Region of Bougainville, known as 'Bougainville', is a group of islands situated in the south-west Pacific. It sits in the same island chain as the Solomon Islands, despite being part of PNG (refer to Map 1). The population reported in 2019 reached an estimation of more than 300,000 people (Autonomous Bougainville Government [ABG], unknown) and it has had human occupation for almost 30,000 years (Regan and Griffin, 2005: xxv). Bougainville had remained isolated from European invasion until the nineteenth Century. Prior to European invasion there was only one record of a significant wave of migration, from south-western islands about 3,000 years ago (Regan and Griffin, 2015: xxv). The people of Bougainville, or Bougainvilleans, share similar language, culture, and appearance with other nearby islands to its south and east. The island of Bougainville became increasingly scrutinised by academics and observers alike since the 1960s, for two main reasons. The first involved the struggles of some locals to resist the imposition of colonial administrator and their dealings in the mining company that had operated the open copper mine, and second, the struggle of Bougainvilleans to seek a 'special autonomous political status from PNG' (Regan and Griffin, 2015: xxv).

Map 1: Location of Bougainville in the south-east sea, near Solomon Islands (Source: Jarrod Fankhauser, 2000)

The Bougainville Crisis, from 1989 to 1998, is described as the 'most acute and complex' conflict in the history of the region (Langmore in Spriggs and Denoon, 2017: 1). Essentially, it was a protest that was started by disgruntled landowner factions against the operations of the majority-CRT[10]-owned Bougainville Copper mine at Panguna district in Central Bougainville. Connell (2020: 375) describes it as 'nationalism resurfaced in violent form', prompting a civil war. The events began with the violent, forced closure of the mine, which was the source of 30 per cent of national revenue.

The PNG government declared a state of emergency and imposed an economic and communication blockade on the province in 1990. The Bougainvilleans formed a revolutionary army (the Bougainville Revolutionary Army, or BRA) and fought a guerrilla-style war against the PNG Defence Forces and later a Bougainvillean Resistance Force throughout the 1990s (Regan and Griffin, 2015; Laracy, 2005). The civil war disrupted Bougainville society for more than a decade. Across Bougainville, mining and state infrastructure were destroyed, and the public service and economy collapsed, mainly due to the ongoing blockade (Thompson, 1991; Regan, 1998). Tens of thousands were internally displaced and social life was in disarray, with half of the population relocated to care centres (Laracy, 2005). Thousands of Bougainvilleans died during the conflict, many due to the lack of health services.

[10] CRT stands for Conzinc Rio Tinto. The CRA and Bougainville Copper Ltd (BCL) commenced operations in 1972.

A key element of the Crisis was that so many men were engaged in armed combat. As indicated in Chapter 5, aggression along with traits such as bravery and combat prowess are masculine values taught to men at an early age during the initiations into manhood (Herdt, 1986). Scholars note that Pacific Island men are defined by their aggressive traits (Hokowhitu, 2012; Walker, 2008). In some societies in the Pacific there are acceptable levels of aggression, which is harnessed for the purpose of protection and defence during warfare, militarism and sports (Teaiwa, 2005; Tengan, 2002). The masculine qualities of a warrior involve being prepared to injure and hurt others, and being able to withstand injuries (Macintyre, 2008). Aggression, the urge to take revenge, and a mistrust of others are necessary attributes during combat and so these qualities were valued by men and women as necessary for the protection of their communities (Herdt, 1986).

The implications as seen in Bougainville include heightened levels of violence perpetrated on women and children by men during and after the Crisis. Women in Bougainville were subjected to high rates of sexual, emotional, and physical violence (Böege, 2009; Eves, 2010; Tankunani Sirivi and Taleo, 2004). The Family, Health and Safety Study conducted by Rachel Jewkes, Emma Fulu and Yandisa Sikweyiya (2015) in Bougainville reported that 'three in four women experience intimate partner violence and one in six women have been raped by a man who was not their partner' (Jewkes, Fulu and Sikweyiya, 2015: 16-17). Other studies in Bougainville showed that alcohol was the number one trigger for violence and aggressive behaviour among men (Eves, 2014, 2016). Many people in Bougainville consume alcohol or drugs to forget the trauma of the conflict (Eves, 2016; Eves, Kouro, Simiha, and Subalik, 2018b). Considerably the most physical violence reported by Bougainvillean women was associated with men's abuse of alcohol (Eves, Kouro, Simiha, and Subalik, 2018b). Masculinity and alcohol have a strong association, 'especially when excessive amounts are consumed' (Eves, Kouro, Simiha, and Subalik, 2018a: 33).

After a formal Bougainville-wide cease fire came into effect in 1998, a Bougainville Peace Agreement (BPA) was then developed, which then led to the establishment of the Autonomous Government of Bougainville in 2005 (Böege, 2009). The 'autonomous region' status was provided with a guarantee for a referendum on complete independence within 15 years (Connell, 2020). Under this status, while the ABG has effective control of its economy, it receives financial assistance, about 80 per cent of the total budget, from the Government of PNG (Connell, 2020). The BPA stipulated that an independence referendum would be held in Bougainville to decide whether they would become an independent nation or given greater autonomy (Böege, 2009). The process and outcome of the BPA was dependent on a weaving of traditional Melanesian diplomacy with modern civil society (Böege and Garasu, 2004). The referendum elections were held from the 23

November to the 7 of December 2019. On the 11 December 2019, the people of Bougainville voted 97.7 per cent in favour of independence and 1.7% in favour of greater autonomy (Connell, 2020).

The Government of PNG and the Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) are currently undergoing consultations as part of the BPA between both governments. Once consultations are completed, a final ratification by the National Parliament of PNG will be made on the political future of Bougainville (Bohane, 2019). Although the final ratification has yet to be reached, political leaders have publicly stated that independence was now the end game. Former ABG President of Bougainville, James Tanis, stated that independence was the appropriate outcome of the referendum, 'We survived the war, ended the war, delivered a successful referendum; what else can stop us from becoming a successful independent state' (quoted in Powles, 2019). Also, in a statement to the media, the newly elected ABG President, Ishmael Toroama, mentioned that he is keen for his people to be 'independence ready' by developing initiatives that will bring about economic and social development in the region (Post Courier, 2020). The aspirations of independence are notable in the daily conversation with participants and members of the community.

A major component in the ending of the Bougainville Crisis was the contribution of women to the peacemaking process (Saovana-Spriggs, 2007, 2003). As Saovana-Spriggs (2007: 1) notes, women's 'significant and highly influential role in peacemaking … ultimately saw an end to the civil war in Bougainville.' Within the broader literature on peace research and activism, feminine behaviours and values often attributed to women, such as caring and nurturing, were associated with peace, while masculine behaviours and values attribute to men were viewed as the 'root causes of war' (Bates, 2000: 77). Many authors have supported women's positive role, both symbolic and practical, during the Crisis (see for example, Garasu, 2002: 28-31; Saovana-Spriggs, 200; Sirivi and Havini, 2004, Sirivi, 1998). Women established and led local organisations, such as the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation, Leitana Nehan Development Agency, Bougainville Women's Federation and Haku Women's Collective, to address issues faced during the Crisis with little or no support from government or donor funding. Organisations such as Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency, together with support from regional networks such as femLinkPacific, played an important role in informing women of their rights and supporting peace-building efforts (femLinkPacific, 2012).

In her extensive research on the role of women in the peace process, Saovana-Spriggs (2003, 2007) acknowledges that women's power and status within Bougainville's matrilineal systems was critical

to their work as peacemakers. In Bougainville, and other provinces in PNG (see Lepani 2005 and Macintyre 1986), women are custodians and owners of land, cultural knowledge and wealth through the 'female line' (Saovana-Spriggs, 2007: 9). They usually have exclusive power to make children's welfare decisions, including health and education, which is partly due to the 'matrilineal descent system in Bougainville' (Eves et al., 2018: x). The cultural value of women as mothers, peacemakers and providers of care and support during and after the Crisis was documented by many local women (Tankunani, Sirivi and Taleo, 2004).

During the Crisis, women's groups began by 'forming family, church, and non-denominational fellowships' for the provision of shelter for the displaced, orphans and widows. These groups also taught basic survival and agrarian skills (Taleo in Tankunani, Sirivi and Taleo, 2004: 70-71). During this time, women also maintained and initiated 'prayer meetings, reconciliation ceremonies, peace marches and petitions' (Garasu in Tankunani, Sirivi and Taleo, 2004: 95). While women's groups in Bougainville received support from international peace activist groups around the world, the most meaningful support came from churches in Bougainville, PNG and elsewhere. This was due to a long history of religious agencies in the area and the devotion of Bougainvilleans to religious movements. In the following section, I discuss the establishment and role of the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation, a faith-based civil society organisation, and its work with men in Bougainville.

6.3 The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCfR)

Civil society and religion are entwined in many societies in the region, and religious organisations play a significant role in providing social justice and care. In Bougainville, the church and civil society worked together to alleviate the social issues that affected the lives of people before, during and after the Crisis era. The role of the church in state and community affairs has a long history in Papua New Guinea. There is a famous saying in PNG that goes 'where the road ends, the churches keep going', which means that while government services go as far as their funding permits, it is the churches that extend their services further to the rural population. They have been the conduit for delivering services and goods to the unreachable, and they also provide a voice and advocacy for the underprivileged. Scholars contend that the faith framework provides a 'stronger emotional and spiritual support mechanism for women … than might otherwise be possible for technical assistance alone' (Tripp, 1999: 66 in Hoffstaedter, 2013). Since colonisation, most education, welfare and health services were provided by missions in Bougainville (Ernst and Anisi, 2016; Regan and Griffin, 2005). The workings of church and civil society can be seen through the involvement of the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCfR, or 'the Centre') in the community.

While NCfR is known as an NGO, it also holds a different place within the community in Bougainville in comparison to other organisations. The NCfR is a ministry of the Congregation of Sisters of Nazareth and therefore the ministry provides the framework in which they work. The NCfR was established in 2001 to support the work of the Sisters,[11] who were helping women and children recover from family and sexual violence and respond to survivors of post-conflict trauma at the Crisis centres in Bougainville. According to Sisters working at the Centre, the main ministries of the Sisters of Nazareth are 'teaching, nursing and socio-pastoral work, with a key focus on the welfare of women and children', especially those impacted by the Crisis (interview, March 2019). Consequently, their level of involvement in service delivery in the community resulted in the Centre achieving an organisation status. As an organisation, the NCfR is accountable to the Congregation of Sisters of Nazareth, donor agencies, the ABG and the people they serve in the community. Over the years they have partnered with local and international organisations and have been supported financially by numerous aid and development organisations.

The NCfR Centre, led by Sister Lorraine Garasu (Sr Lorraine) as the Director of NCfR, was established in Chabai (North Bougainville) to respond to and provide support for the survivors of the Crisis. Sister Lorraine was a key player in the peace negotiation processes after the ceasefire in Bougainville in 1999-2000 and was awarded an Order of Australia and the US State Department's International Woman of Courage Award for this role (Conciliation Resources, 2020). Under her current leadership, NCfR provides access to education, counselling, justice, trauma healing, mediation, rehabilitation, and practical skills programs (interview with NCfR Staff, March 2019). Education is provided through training workshops and awareness-raising on a range of topics, including peace building, gender and human rights, family and sexual violence, child welfare and practical skills education (interview with NCfR staff, March 2019). Additionally, the Centre provides access to shelters or 'safe houses' for survivors of physical and sexual violence, as well as to families affected by sorcery-related accusations and violence.

During the Bougainville Crisis, the burden upon men, women and children grew considerably. People needed shelter, food, guidance and especially trauma counselling. Counselling is an important aspect of healing trauma, and the Centre employs six professionally trained counsellors, and over 70 community counsellors throughout Bougainville (DFAT, 2017: 16). Regardless of their combat status, post-conflict counselling for traumatised individuals is argued to be a significant

[11] 'Sisters' with the capital letter 'S' in this Chapter refers to Congregation of Sisters of Nazareth

aspect of any peace-building programs in the aftermath of violence (Kent and Barnett, 2012). The Crisis generation, who grew up only knowing violence and war, have carried on the violent behaviours and beliefs that followed from the Crisis. According to one NCfR staff member, the significant unresolved trauma from the Crisis is one of the main reasons for the high levels of gender-based violence (GBV) in Bougainville, as well as other social issues such as gambling and substance abuse among young people in the communities (interview, March 2019).

In examining NCfR's nature and values, Patel (2019: 79) notes that a key factor leading to the success of NCfR in addressing GBV and conflict in the community is the 'different pathways' they have taken to deal with social stability and trauma healing. The Human Rights and Gender Justice Toolkit (2016) developed by Sr Lorraine with support from other women's rights activists, underpins their training workshops with the understanding that everyone, regardless of regardless of race, religion, marital status, nationality, ethnicity, language, disabilities, or sexual orientation, is entitled to rights (NCfR, 2017). It is important to note that while the toolkit interacts with a Western socio-ecological framework, the approach undertaken by NCfR is embedded in Melanesian societal values and Christian values (NCfR, 2017: 2). The merit of an approach that incorporates Melanesian, Christian and Western values, according to Sr Lorraine, stems from the idea that 'Melanesian life is a common life', and so 'while people may have individual rights, they also have the responsibility to adhere to what society [expects]' (Patel, 2019: 79-80). Melanesian values or worldviews are anchored in the lived experiences of individuals and communities, which are understood through cultural experiences (Vallance, 2007). While the approach taken by NCfR to include men and boys is so that they are 'accountable for their violent actions' (NCfR, 2017: 62), it is also an essential part of the 'Melanesian way of life' to include all members of society.

When NCfR formed, it aimed to 'help individuals and communities establish long-term, sustainable peace and stability by focusing on a human rights approach' (NCfR, 2017). The use of a human rights approach in their work is supporting individuals and communities to establish a long-term stability and peace (Garasu, 2014). The human rights approach is fundamental to NCfR's work as it involves participation, accountability, and inclusion (Broberg and Sano, 2018).

I now turn to an important project component of NCfR's work in Bougainville, one which engages men to support the initiatives of Women Human Rights Defenders and is an important area of focus for this research.

6.3.1 Male Advocacy Program (From Gender-Based Violence to Gender Justice and Healing Project)

A key component of NCfR's work in addressing gender-based violence, under its From Gender-Based Violence to Gender Justice and Healing Project, is engaging men and boys through its Male Advocacy Program. In a significantly different approach to most organisations addressing GBV, NCfR has included men's and boy's rehabilitation programs, which aim to provide specific counselling and rehabilitation for men and boys who have perpetrated violence (NCfR, 2017). In 2015, NCfR opened its Men's Hub in Arawa (Central Bougainville) to coordinate the work that engages men and boys. In 2017, the Men's Hub hosted the first men's forum in Chabai, which was attended by 111 men from throughout Bougainville (Pacific Women Support Unit, 2020). In total, the From Gender-Based Violence to Gender Justice and Healing Project has reached over 10,000 people in Bougainville (Pacific Women Support Unit, 2020).

Under the project, men are engaged as 'male advocates' to work alongside women human rights defenders in delivering community awareness and training on gender-based violence and women's rights, with the aim of working closely with men in the community (NCfR, 2017). According to NCfR staff, the male advocates program is helping men learn how to respect the rights of women and children, and to avoid violence. NCfR has also established men's hubs in all three regions in Bougainville. When asked why men's hubs were established, a staff member responded:

> We set up the men's hub to help the husbands or partners of the abused women to seek help. We asked ourselves what support is given to men if we are only helping women and children? (Staff member of NCfR, interview, March 2019).

The Men's Hub operates as a drop-in and rehabilitation centre for men and boys and is managed by male staff. The staff members working at the hub help men who seek rehabilitation through a series of counselling sessions and spend time supporting couples and their families (interview with NCfR staff, March 2019). The inclusion of men and boys in addressing GBV came from the need to respond to the recurring violence once the female survivors of violence returned to their families after being treated and counselled by NCfR and other family and sexual violence services. The rationale for such an approach was raised in Fiji by one of the research participants, as discussed in Chapter 4, when he talked about the inevitable tensions which arise from empowered women going back home to traditional men. These views suggest that recurrent violence may be due to limited support given to men to understand and deal with the women's developmental changes, which calls for interventions to change men's attitudes and behaviours. The Centre's work is framed on the view

that individual men need to be accountable for their violent actions (NCfR, 2017). By engaging men and boys, NCfR is taking a pro-feminist approach that hinges on the argument that since men are the primary perpetrators of violence against women, they must be involved in preventing it (Basile et al., 2011). Others make the case that men generally have a responsibility and commitment to working with women to end violence (Douglas, Bathrick and Perry, 2008; Douglas, et al., 2001).

According to NCfR staff members, there is a two-part process involved in recruiting men for the NCfR male advocacy program (interview, March 2019). Firstly, men who are interested in becoming male advocates undergo a series of training sessions run by NCfR staff, addressing leadership, gender and human rights, peace building, family and sexual violence and counselling training. This training encourages men to undertake self-reflection on the power they have over others and the areas in their lives that they need to improve on in order to become good role models to other men and boys in the community. This is in line with the pro-feminist rationale Flood (2011) proposes is necessary if men are to have a positive role to play in preventing gendered violence. This view is also supported by other scholars and activists who promote the importance of including positive messaging and experiences that encourage men to engage in gender transformation programs(s) (Berkowitz, 2004b; Flood, 2006). A pro-feminist framework argues that 'ending gender-based violence is also in the interest of men and boys' as it is for women (Carlson et al., 2015: 1408). In the second part, NCfR staff verify with community and family members, as well as the men's spouses, whether men are putting into practise what they are learning. Based on this process of verification, men are then recruited as advocates to work alongside Women's Human Rights Defenders. Nevertheless, a staff member noted that there are some men who, despite training, continue to maintain harmful gender views:

> Some are good; however, there are others who still have the thinking that they are still above women and so when we recognise this, we try to challenge them through the program. It's easy for us to identify these men. (Staff member of NCfR, interview, March 2019)

From observations in the field, the ability of the NCfR to identify and recruit men suitable for their programs arises from three main factors: their proximity to the community, their involvement in community affairs, and the ability to mediate conflict or solve problems in the community. NCfR operates in rural communities and is involved in the everyday lives of the people. A male advocate said this about NCfR and the Sisters involvement: 'At times we help to clear their [Sisters' and staff] gardens and they help with ours and through this we have grown our relationship and they

understand us really well which makes us interested in their work' (interview, March 2019). The NCfR staff and Sisters make vegetable gardens with the community members and attend community events, such as marriage, and death and birth rituals. The effectiveness of the NCfR approach is confirmed in the findings of a global study conducted with organisations in various parts of the world that engaged men and boys in preventing violence (Carlson et al., 2015). This study found that men were effectively drawn to gender violence programs when there is an 'established relationship with the recruiter, familiarity with the contexts and facilitation of personal connections' with issues of gender-based violence (Carlson et al., 2015: 1420). In addition, NCfR is able to maintain men's involvement or interest in their programs because they create concrete opportunities for men to be engaged in an ongoing manner. For instance, NCfR develops and offers men opportunities to take part in regular education and training programs and men's hubs and convenes men's forums.

A key finding in this study is that the Male Advocacy program seems to be creating new outlook for men. Through this program, men in this study are redefining the status of men more positively within their families and the wider community. Men in this study talked about how recognition of their status as male advocates has led to more community respect and trust, greater self-worth, and other leadership roles. The skills and knowledge developed by participants through the training programs run by the NCfR, in which male advocates play key roles, are being recognised. For instance, Allen (aged 36) said this about his status as a male advocate and the knowledge that he gained from NCfR:

> People in the community that I married into have more respect for me. They see me as a leader because of the way I communicate what I have learnt from NCfR to our community. I've been selected to be a leader at the Youth Centre in my district. I am very happy with this recognition (Allen, 36, male advocate, interview, March 2019).

Another participant, Rodney (aged 41), also recognised that the skills of communicating that he learnt from NCfR have been useful in communicating with his wife and have improved their relationship.

> My wife and I respect each other so much more now because she knows that if she wants to talk to me about anything she knows that I will listen and communicate more peaceably. In the past we never used to talk. Now I really understand her, and she understands me. Our relationship has become better: we

> respect each other more and this in turn shows in the way we support each other and others (Rodney, 41, male advocate, interview, March 2019).

An advocate has a new kind of authority. He is seen as taking a lead on women's issues, mobilising other man to help women, and also sharing domestic work with his partner at home. He is respected among his peers, community and even chiefs. In the words of Jacob (aged 43), '… because of my interest in male advocacy and the awareness I raise in the communities, our village chief told me that I will become the next leader' (interview, March 2019). In previous chapters, I discuss ways in which recognition and respect come from men's monetary contribution to family and community. Within their families and communities, men often play a crucial role as 'gatekeepers' of the current gender order through their responsibility as leaders and decision-makers (Flood, 2007: 10), hence the importance of engaging men in building gender equality.

The value of male advocates working alongside WHRD in Bougainville is, so men are reminded that their role as advocates are checked by their female counterparts. Yet this finding shows that there is another way that men – at least in the Bougainville context, are gaining recognition and respect, and this is through their status as male advocates. While men traditionally hold leadership roles and authority in societies, the male advocacy program is giving men the capacity to lead with consideration and compassion for women and women's rights. The recognition gained from having transformed skills, knowledge and the attitudes and behaviours which suggest men's 'capacity for equality' (Connell, 2003: 6) has become an additional source of status and authority in Bougainville. Therefore, it is important that gender-equality or anti-violence programs recognise and develop the known and unknown capacities of men and boys, which has the potential to bring about not just personal change but change in the community. It is also important that the work of NGOs is grounded in understanding Melanesian traditions, which is made possible through having deep relationships with the community.

The widely held beliefs and stereotypes that men cannot change their ways because 'boys will be boys', and that men are responsible for war, rape, sexism, domestic violence and aggression, are obstacles to transforming gender norms in many societies. A study on the participation of young men in peace and violence conducted in Bougainville by Kent and Barnett (2012: 35) revealed that '[t]here is a widespread stigmatisation of young Bougainville men' as troublesome in relation to law-and-order issues, abuse of alcohol and marijuana, and their lack of interest in participating in the process of peace (also see Eves et al., 2019). These authors also argue that young men's participation in peace develops from an individual's exercise of agency within complex structural

environments, which they believe comes from training that emphasises good social standing and access to income (Kent and Barnett, 2012: 42-43). As with participation in peace, participating in progressing gender equality is an individual exercise of agency which comes from supporting men with the knowledge and skills that help them to exert themselves in society as leaders or respectable men. Later on in this chapter, I discuss the challenges that male advocates face and how they overcome these.

In the following section, I consider the experiences and perspectives of male advocates in Chabai in relation to traditional and modern ideals and values of manhood. While traditional values remain an underpinning for older men, younger men are more open – sometimes through necessity – to the challenges of navigating precarious conditions in order to construct new masculine values and identities, similar to the men in Port Moresby in Chapter 5. For men in rural communities and villages, adhering to traditional masculine roles is heavily influenced by family and community members, which at times can be a source of tension. Also, a strong thread running through the perspectives and experiences of the Bougainville men are the discourses of human rights, changed behaviours and attitudes stemming from their training and experiences as male advocates.

6.4 Traditional *Hausman* and Elders Shape Values and Ideals

When the Bougainville men who participated in this project reflect on the past, they draw from their own experiences and from the ideals that were inculcated during childhood. For many of the senior or older men interviewed, their reflections on the values and ideals of manhood were developed at a time when traditional forms of learning were consistently practised by society. While many of the traditional forms of gender prescription were altered during the colonial period and the Crisis, some of the underlying principles persisted and even continue today. In particular, the separation of men and boys from women and girls, which was a feature of the living arrangements preceding missionisation, ensured that children were socialised into different gender roles (Jolly, 1989). In recalling the initiation into manhood that he participated in when he was a young man, and the importance of keeping to the values and lessons taught to him then, participant Charlie said:

> I lived in a *hausboi* (traditional men's house). This is where I grew up, with my uncles and boys. They told me that I shouldn't sit close to girls or women, especially when they are washing and anything that involves dirt from women. This was a way of protecting men. The education from custom and the initiation ceremonies meant that we had to live in the bush for 6 months, it's called the *Upe*. We no longer practice the *Upe.* This is the difference between my generation and

> my children's generation. You see, my daughter is a grown woman but I'm still housing her and the husband. I am also looking after my son who is 21 years old and is still asking me for money to buy smokes. Children these days are spoilt. I still carry scars from the *Upe* initiation on my chest from where they cut me and the other boys. It gives you memories of why you were taught these things and why it's important. It connects or reminds me of my past 40 years. I will never forget this, it's very hard to forget this. I have stuck to these principles I was taught at an early age these principles. (Charlie, 54, interview, March 2019)

In many Melanesian societies, the traditional *hausboi* or *hausman*, translated as men's houses, were considered sacred spaces (Herdt, 1986; Kempf, 2002). Long before European invasion in the Pacific, the spaces in which men and women dwelt depended on a 'indigenous system of sanctity', which created separate places for men and women, and between living and dead ancestors (Jolly, 1989: 213). The *hausboi* or *hausman* is the 'centrepiece to male social and political life … and the locus of social production, containing ancestors and maintaining current generations and embodying status of the clan' (Bainton, 2008: 198).

In Bougainville, as in other societies in PNG, a male child is initiated into manhood through ceremonial rituals, which usually take place in the *hausman* and in secluded locations in the forest or jungle, away from women and children (Eves, 2006). There are multiple records of manhood initiation cults throughout PNG and the region, and several are done to instil 'profound and lasting' terror (Whitehouse, 1996: 703). For example, penis-bleeding among the Ilahita Araphesh bachelors of East Sepik Province (Tuzin, 1980, 1982) or blindfolded and brutal attacks by older men in the guise of spirits among Orokaivan bachelors of Oro Province (Iteanu, 1990). Whichever way they are conducted, these cults and rituals take place in men's houses or sacred places, isolated from women for a certain period.

In Bougainville, manhood initiation cults and rituals varied in the *hausman* in South, Central and North Bougainville. However, the commonality throughout the three regions was that these practices radically promoted male privilege and 'sexual antagonism', whereby women were segregated from men, and there was status differentiation amongst men (Eves, 2006). Others have written in detail about manhood initiation rituals and beliefs in the highlands of PNG and sexual antagonism (see Herdt and Poole, 1982). Accounts of male initiation rituals and men's houses in Bougainville have been well documented (Blackwood, 1935 and Oliver, 1955 in Eves, 2006).

Charlie's (aged 54) account, quoted above, demonstrates his concern that young people are now less self-reliant, and more dependent on others to provide for them because they lack the foundation of traditional socialisation into male roles and relationships in the *hausman.* I have discussed in the previous chapters that self-reliance and economic independence is a marker of masculinity, and men who fail to meet these markers are deemed problematic in society. Moreover, tensions among generations often arise when values of different generations contradict each other (Bainton, 2008). In the past, when a couple were married, they no longer lived with their parents or in-laws; in fact, it was considered shameful for a couple to live with other people after marriage. The education provided through male initiation taught young men to build their own houses and make their own gardens to demonstrate that they could live independently prior to marriage (Herdt, 1986). The tradition of the *hausman* still exists in some parts of North Bougainville, even though the initiation rituals that accompany them are no longer observed (Eves, 2006). The scars on Charlie's chest are evidence of his 'rites of passage' into manhood, which remind him of the training he received during the *Upe* ritual.

From a gender equality standpoint, the *hausman* can be a two-edged sword. On the one hand, it offers young men a chance to remain connected with their cultural groundings, embrace social and traditional values, and obtain advice on how shape their identity. On the other hand, the ideas of what it means to be a man or woman endorsed in the *hausman* are often hierarchical and dichotomous. In fact, subordination and exclusion of women are primary subject matters in the *hausman* setting and play a fairly significant role amid initiation rites.

The influence of colonialism and Christianity brought about social change that eroded many traditional systems in Melanesian societies. With it came the traditional gendering or socialisation into gendered responsibilities and roles. Many sacred spaces were destroyed and replaced with new ones through the process of conversion by Christian missionaries (Jolly and Macintyre, 1989). *Hausmans* were the seat of spiritual beliefs, and traditional governance (decision-making) was replaced by colonial governments administered through *kiaps* (Tok Pisin for Australian Patrol officers), *luluais* (Tok Pisin for a village head) and *tultul* (Tok Pisin for interpreter) (Schwoerer, 2014). Also, as in most parts of the world, formalised manhood rituals are absent or declining, which might suggest that concern for proving manhood is now irrelevant and out of date (Vandello et al., 2008). For men, passing certain social milestones proves manhood, whereas the social proof of womanhood or their test of femininity is usually via a 'series of inevitable physical and biological changes'; for example, women's ability to have children (Vandello et al., 2008: 1325).

Moreover, the Bougainville Crisis further 'disarmed local authority', in that it resulted in male chiefs and elders being rendered as 'powerless' (Kent and Barnett, 2012: 38). This view of elders, chiefs, or men of *kastam* (custom) as no longer powerful or influential is recorded in other places in PNG (Bainton, 2008). Kent and Barnett (2012) contend that with no solid customary leadership structures to legitimise manhood, it became even more difficult for the young men of the crisis generation to choose how to behave and with whom to associate. For young men, traditional lines of authority that once gave status have become less legitimate and less influential and young men accepted other ways of proving their manhood (Kent and Barnett, 2012). In this study, the young men tend to rely on aspects of the modern economy, which I discuss in the next section, while older men in this study continue to value advice from their elders.

Despite the erosion of traditional practices of the *hausman* and the powerlessness of local authorities, older men in the study continue to seek advice from men who have knowledge of the traditional ways of life. While the courses currently being taught in the NCfR emphasise the ways that peer attitudes influence behaviour, some of the men spoke about the ways that their values and behaviour are strongly moulded by their elders. Andy (aged 63) described his early learning being about responsibilities as a protector and provider.

> Growing up my uncles, grandparents, and parents gave me this advice. One of the advice given is that if you want to get married you must have everything. You must know how to work in the garden, you must know how to make a house and you must know how to hunt for meat. (Andy, 63, a male advocate and staff member with NCfR, interview, 2019)

In a similar way, Greg (aged 53) was given advice on having respect for others in the community and living peacefully.

> There were a lot of people who encouraged me. In the village, elders advised me on life. One of my uncles was a paramount chief, he settled us here. The advice he gave me was I need to respect other people, don't try to destroy their lives. If someone is married into our family, we need to respect that person (Greg, 53, male advocate and volunteer trainer with NCfR, interview, March 2019).

The upheavals during the Crisis caused much dislocation in the community. Former patterns of intergenerational authority and social control were abandoned along with cultural manhood initiations. Yet, for older men in this study, navigating gender and cultural roles and identities, as

described in the above accounts of Charlie, Andy, and Greg, is reinforced through reliance on advice from traditional authorities and the guidance endorsed during manhood initiation rituals. Also, many young men became soldiers in the Crisis and, consequently, older men no longer exerted the same degree of influence on their behaviour. While older men in this study maintain links to values that were taught through cultural practices and people in traditional authority, younger men were taught to value Western or modern ideals as a result of precarious circumstances.

6.5 Precarity Shapes the Values and Ideals of Modernisation

As younger participants reflected on their past experiences, most drew on ideals that inspired their gender roles and responsibilities. They also reflected on their motivation and aspirations for employment and education in today's formal economy. Like the descriptions offered by men in Port Moresby in the previous chapter, the struggles of living in hardship pushed them to work harder. Unlike the older men in this study, whose notions of manhood were based on maintaining harmonious relationships and performing traditional masculine roles in the family and community, for most of the younger men it was their economic and livelihood challenges that were more prevalent in shaping their notions of manhood.

Caleb (age 29), the only participant who had a university degree, noted that his motivation to prioritise education was due to the economic struggle that his mother experienced while supporting his education. Caleb also emphasised the issue of land shortage, a theme shared with men in Port Moresby.

> I grew up in a difficult time. The only way that my mother could pay for our school fees was to take up a loan. My father worked in the copra industry, and he tried his best to help my mother. Because of the struggle that my family went through, I felt that if I failed in any area of my life than I have failed my mother, especially when I was in school. I felt so sorry for her because she struggled. I think of the sacrifices that she had to make. These struggles motivate me to work hard in school. Also, the reason why I worked hard in school is because of land shortage issues. While growing up my mother told me that there are not enough plantations everywhere, the plantation is your head, your knowledge. She told us to work hard in school so that I can make a good living for my family. (Caleb, 29, male advocate and staff member of NCfR – interview, March 2019)

The increased land pressure, the result of a combination of a rising population and the rapid expansion of small-holder cash cropping, is a concern for many Bougainvilleans (Regan, 1998). The plantation economy in Bougainville, whether grown by small holders or through large plantations, was 'encouraged' by the colonial government, initially to ensure that communities participated in paying tax (Regan and Griffin, 2015). In response to land pressures following the Crisis, many individuals or families began to build trade stores, fermenters, and workshops to earn an income to recover (Regan, 1998). Some of these activities led to land disputes between clans and families, which sometimes resulted in violent outbreaks (Regan, 1998; Regan and Griffin, 2015). The plantation economy, which begun in the colonial era, has destabilised Bougainville's traditional cohesive communities and changed the way clan-based land is used and shared, creating tension among clan members. Recognising the issue of land shortage and the potential conflict that may arise from it, Caleb's mother emphasised to him the importance of formal education as a means to escape these issues.

Likewise, Manuel (aged 34) who has a diploma certificate, recalls the importance of his father's advice on the threat of precarity if education was not achieved.

> My father told me to set educational goals. He told me to look at him and my mother's life as an example of two working parents and try to achieve these goals. If we didn't set educational goals later in life we wouldn't be at the level or standard that my parents have provided for us. If we don't do this we will struggle in the future. The very advice my father gave me I now see that a lot of people are going through the hardships and trauma of a life because such advice was not taken. If children are not educated well then parents will face a lot of stress because the children are not employed, especially when they have children and they give their children to the parents to take care of them. (Manuel, 34, male advocate and staff with NCfR – interview, March 2019)

As noted by Manuel, Caleb and younger men in this study, financial security through formal education and employment was viewed as an alternative to hardship and the burden of dependence that one may otherwise be on others. Both men were fortunate that financial support from their family allowed them to pursue tertiary education outside of Bougainville. Formal employment and education may be an option for some men; however, not all men in this study were or are able to pursue them. In their study on the participation of young men in the peace building process in Bougainville, Kent, and Barnett (2012) found that most lived in rural areas and relied on land. In

addition, the majority (70 per cent) of young men preferred a village life rather than a town life, the main reason being that life would be highly insecure 'without access to land for gardening and social security' (Kent and Barnett, 2012: 39). Although participants in my study do not show high levels of dissatisfaction or uncertainty about living in rural areas, there is an indication that young men are losing confidence in the security of customary land for agriculture and livelihood. The dissatisfaction, uncertainty, and insecurity in the use of land in Bougainville have been reported elsewhere (Connell, 2020). It is possible that the more dissatisfied young men are with the tensions and conflict over land issue, the more there will be a shift to a modern economy. This may result in a move from a customary to a modern identity and feeling of self-worth among young men in Bougainville (Connell, 2007: Kent and Barnett, 2012).

For these young men, being independent or self-reliant is an important marker of their masculinity, and it is shaped by precarity. This is also echoed by young men in Port Moresby and Suva. For the older men interviewed, the values of maintaining peaceful relationships in dealings within and among clan members in the society is highly valued and supported by others. Yet, among participants, the role of breadwinner was common. When speaking about the breadwinner role, most men talked about it in terms of its challenges rather than its benefits. In Bougainville, as in Port Moresby and Suva, breadwinners experience ambivalence because on one hand the role is encouraged but, on the other hand, if the role is not fulfilled it becomes a source of tension for men. It also problematises relationships with family members and colleagues. As illustrated by participant Allen (aged 34), financial setbacks over a period of time can challenge his role as a breadwinner, which can make a 'changed' man behave in violent ways.

> Yes, this is true we face some challenges, especially when there is a delay in payment of our salary over a period of time. Many of us have families and so when we don't get paid we become harsh, and we put pressure on the women who work here (at the Centre), and we don't like that because we are changed men and we are seen in a certain way. However, our wives also put pressure on us when it comes to money. They complain that we work so hard, but we don't get paid quickly. Most times we don't mind, and we don't worry about it but then when it's delayed for a long time then we become really concerned and start putting pressure on people at the Centre. (Allen, 34, male advocate and staff with NCfR, interview, March 2019)

Another male advocate also reflected on violence or conflict in marriages as a result of a lack of income.

> Both my sisters are married and not working. They are always fighting with their husbands. I told my sisters that if their husbands are unemployed, they will be depressed. And if they are depressed, they will abuse you because he does not have work. I ask my sisters, where will you get financial support from? (Manuel, 34, male advocate and staff with NCfR, interview, 2019).

Allen's response illustrates that economic pressure can be a driver of violence even for men who have 'changed' or departed from their 'old' or violent ways. While working out the bottlenecks in an organisation's salary system may seem like the immediate solution to the problem that Allen is facing, the issue that is being highlighted is far greater. The responses above suggest that organisations addressing GBV through engaging men should consider dealing with financial challenges and barriers as just as important as dealing with traditionally harmful sexist norms of manhood. Studies in Bougainville (Jewkes, Jama-Shai and Sikweyiya, 2017) and the region have demonstrated a direct link between young men, mental health, and violence due to limited opportunities to participate in a modern lifestyle and economy (Roberts, 2007). The strain on men to be providers in a context where there is a lack of economic opportunities, or where economic systems are unreliable, is known to lead to vulnerability and humiliation for men, and that psycho-social stress is known to provoke violent behaviour (Teasdale et al., 2006). Furthermore, traditional expectations that a man, regardless of his social and economic reality, should be financially able to start a family or provide for a family or clan, as shown thus far in this thesis, often make the provider role impossible to maintain. Therefore, understanding the various root causes of violence in men's challenges is an important step in addressing men's violence. Organisations working with men and boys need to recognise that political, social, and economic shifts in society have dented the traditional rules of manhood, and that men are now faced with contradictory expectations and high demands on their role as a breadwinner.

The loss of men's identity as a breadwinner or provider due to the lack of an income source may lead to marital violence and abuse. A traditional Western perspective favors offering formal employment, as means of provision, to men rather than women, consequently masculinising the breadwinner role (Connell 2000). In their study on the challenges of masculinity and unemployment, Willott and Griffin (1996) note that 'men's position of breadwinner is associated not only with economic independence, but also social status and respect' (85). Yet in Bougainville many men

today lack a secured income or economic asserts. Inevitably, many of them find themselves at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. When this happens, men's performance of masculinity is challenged and, without alternative coping strategies, this may put tension on intimate relationships that ends in violence if there is a lack of understanding between both parties. It is important to note that the stereotypical view that men are the breadwinners may no longer hold because all over PNG, women and girls are earning incomes through the formal and informal economy.

Access to education is therefore important for young men who are seeking options in the modern economy. However, with the slow reconstruction in Bougainville, many of its economic and political structures have not recovered from the consequences of the Crisis, so there is little capacity to absorb even people with education qualifications into formal employment (Connell, 2020). As discussed earlier, the Crisis disrupted and closed schools, health centres and access to other vital infrastructure and services, and the closure of the Panguna mine resulted in a decline in formal employment (Thompson, 1991; Regan, 1998). Like many small island developing states (SIDS), Bougainville is very much dependent on foreign capital, aid and institutions, a small-scale domestic market, few primary products, predicament of complimenting local skills and jobs, and considerable expenditure on political administration (Connell, 2020: 386). In addition, the livelihood of more than half of Bougainville's population is a based on the combined production of cash and food crops; as a result, there is low income and limited ability for the cash crops market to generate national income (Connell, 2020). Therefore, I contend that while organisations and development agencies need to promote gender equality and progressive masculinities, it is also important to consider not only gender but also economic struggles, unemployment, lack of education and other struggles around tradition.

Education is important for strengthening and sustaining post-conflict peace and to reduce violent acts in Bougainville (Kent and Barnett, 2012). In their study, Ken and Barnett (2012: 42) noted that young men with vocational training have 'better access to income and improved social standing relative to those that do not and appear less likely to engage in violent behaviours' (also see Eves et al., 2019). As shown in these studies show, striving for education in order to earn an income to support families tends to influence young men to seek empowerment and employment opportunities. In the following section, I consider the experiences and perspectives of men in their role as male advocates in Chabai in relation to their challenges, and how they overcome these challenges through the support of NCfR.

6.6 Challenges and Ambivalences of the Male Advocate Role

Earlier in this chapter I discussed how the male advocate role is offering a new and positive outlook for men in their family and communities. While this is promising, certain challenges and ambivalences that men experience because of their role as male advocates hinder their agency to live transformed lives and contribute to efforts in their community. When men reflected on their experiences as male advocates, they observed that although their new roles have given them some level of respect and status in their communities, they also experience being held back due to a lack of support from community or family members, and fear of being rejected by peers. Male advocates in Bougainville work and live in communities and therefore their role is shaped through interactions with others in the community. Masculinities are not 'a representation of an individual person's self' but of the community he is a part of (Presterudstuen and Schieder, 2016: 217). Understanding the challenges and ambivalences experienced by male advocates can help organisations engaging men to consider ways of providing support to overcome these challenges.

6.6.1 A lack of confidence and understanding

Communities can be a great source of support and resource system for male advocates as well as Women's Human Right Defenders to carry out their roles in educating and advocating on gender-based violence and women's rights. They can also be a source of encouragement and motivation and provide manpower when mobilised. A NCfR project report provides many examples, one of which was community leaders organising their community for a march to raise awareness on peace building, and the same community raising funds to host a human rights forum in their district (NCfR, 2017). Yet, some of the male advocates still felt a lack of support from community or family members due to the lack of confidence or understanding in the men's change journey. This is a hindrance to further developing their personal agency to transform as well as forge changes in society. These challenges of being held back were expressed by Jacob (aged 43) and Rodney (41):

> I've been in a lot of these trainings and one thing I've learnt is that people in your life need to understand your change in order to support you. If they don't then it's almost like a waste of time and you will face pressure. Sometimes to deal with it I have to go as far away from my family, friends, or people in my community to relive my mind or the pressure I am feeling at that moment. I struggle with community members when they are not on board with the changes that I want to create. (Jacob, 43, male advocate, interview, March 2019)

> The biggest reward and challenge are in the kinds of change that we are forging in our family and society. The challenges that men face is the lack of recognition and support from their partners/spouses because they remind him of his past and doesn't see the steps in change he has made. We can only grow and become better in our role if others believe and support us along this journey. (Rodney, 41, male advocate, interview, March 2019)

Like Jacob, other male advocates expressed feelings of discouragement, despair and at times stress due to the lack of support for, confidence in and recognition of the work that they are forging in the community. Mark (aged 53), Greg (aged 53) and Allen (34) provide examples of this below.

> Discouragement and disturbance from people in your family or community will take your mind off from the processes of change that you are in. Mostly family members can be discouraging. (Mark, 53, male advocate and volunteer trainer with NCfR, interview, March 2019)

> There are a lot of negative things that happen when you are trying to be good in the community. It makes me stressed and sometimes I feel like giving up. I received a lot of stress and problems from the community against my leadership. People argue when they don't get their turn, they say that it's a one-sided system (when helping women) when I give to others before them. (Greg, 53, male advocate and volunteer trainer with NCfR, interview, March 2019)

> Most people in the community do not really think or reflect on the issues needing to be addressed in the community and family, but I do. Sometimes the problems frighten me and at times it makes me want to leave this place and go live somewhere else. People don't have good relationships among each other, and this affects what I want to do. I feel pressured about this. I think they (community) need training to understand what we do. (Allen, 34, male advocate and staff with NCfR, interview, March 2019)

Demonstrating positive or transformed masculinities and challenging certain traditional ways of thinking and doing things can be difficult. Most male advocates felt discouraged when they were not taken seriously or when their ideas or roles in society are resisted or opposed by community members. Being a male advocate with NCfR means that men are personally transformed and able to demonstrate and advocate for the importance of respecting and supporting women as equal

partners in society. Men feel that the learnings from the training and workshops conducted by NCfR encourage them to be transformational leaders.

While there are many reasons for men to be motivated and be involved in preventing violence against women (Casey et al., 2017b; Peretz, 2017), Allen et al. (2019, p 627) found that men engaged in gender-based violence prevention programs are usually motivated by their role as organisers of events, such as training, meetings, and conferences. This has specific implications for community and organisational practice. Allen et al. (2019) notes that program efforts that aim to motivate men to become involved in violence prevention work may well evolve their organisational approach to involve men as organisers, which may boost the organisation's community mobilisation efforts. In Chabai, male advocates are regularly tasked by the Sisters and NCfR staff to organise, mobilise and facilitate community awareness and training programs. Their role in changing gender norms is supported by the continuous guidance and feedback given by staff and Sisters at the Nazareth Centre. Understanding the tensions of and challenges inherent in men's engagement and providing the support they need to overcome these challenges should be an important focus for an organisation's engagement of men and boys to transform gender norms, promote women's rights as human rights and end violence against women. In the following chapter (Chapter 7) of this thesis l explore men's views on ways that organisations can meaningfully engage men and boys in preventing violence against women.

In the case of male advocates in Chabai, as leaders or role models of a new kind of leadership, one that is committed to women or human rights discourses, their manhood is being tested or questioned when they are not supported and recognised by members of the family or community. As discussed in this thesis, traditional masculine roles are demonstrated through men's ability to provide security, economic and social needs as well as authority or leadership in the family and community. Just as traditional masculine roles are validated by community or family, gender work with men and boys is also validated or authorised by community. The leadership that male advocates provide in their community or family through their role as advocates of women's rights, as seen here, is challenged by the lack of recognition and support.

This lack of support or recognition from community or family members can also be seen as a form of resistance towards the engagement of men in gender work or human rights due to fundamental cultural traditions (Ratele, 2015). Studies on the Pacific have noted the pushback on Western human rights or gender work because of its opposing or conflicting perspectives to Pacific or Melanesian values or way of life (Biersack, 2016; Farran, 2009; Macintyre, 2000; Jolly, 2000). In studying the resistance to engaging men and boys in gender work, Ratele (2015) argues that while there is an

urgency for gender justice and creating progressive men, there are 'discursive and material forces', such as traditional fundamental beliefs, that oppose this work (144). Men in the community who have the traditional authority to contest power, to speak and arrive at their interpretation of the world are now having to share these spaces with women, and this is creating tension or opposition. The lack of recognition or support from community or family members for the shift in culture forged by men, as well as women, is discouraging and stressful, as expressed by male advocates in this study.

This signifies the importance of a deeper contextual understanding of the impact of fundamental cultural beliefs on engaging men and boys in gender work. In addition, there is a need for research on the support needed by male advocates or men involved in gender work and the importance of raising awareness on the role of male advocates in the community, institutions and at home. Allen suggested this when he said that there is a need for more training to be done with the community to understand men's role as advocates. The benefits of these roles are experienced in both their public and private lives. These advocates are recognised as leaders and respected in the community, and men in this study reported positive developments within their intimate relationships as well. The role of NCfR in supporting men through training and encouragement, which I discuss in more detail below, is giving men the agency and capacity to think and act constructively. On the other hand, the lack of support and understanding from community members hinders their role and men lose hope along the way.

6.6.2 Rejection by peer groups is creating opportunity for alternative peer groups

In the interviews, men also reflect on the fear of being rejected by other men or 'peers' in their community, and the values they hold that often contradict with those of their peers. The term peer is becoming known through NGOs working in behaviour change programs and is mainly used in the context of utilising peer pressure or influence, through approval or sanctions, to encourage a person to engage in certain activities or behaviours to feel accepted and valued. In training courses, male advocates are taught that peer influence or pressure to conform to traditional gender roles and relations can be part of socialisation into traditional masculinities and might serve to undermine them as male advocates for gender equality. The power to resist the negative influence of peers is what male advocates strive for. The accounts of peer pressure and peer influence are about the challenges male advocates experience in the company of their male friends or relatives, or men of common age, locality, or interests.

Manuel (aged 34) acknowledged that he was not a 'nice person' before he joined NCfR. He was involved in heavy consumption of drugs and alcohol and beat his wife countless times. Since

becoming a male advocate, Manual has chosen to reform his 'past unhealthy habits'. For Manual and other men, the challenge they face is negative community perception of male advocates when they associate with peers of bad influence. However, Manual notes that avoiding peer groups is an impossible task given that they live in the same community.

> I am now more selective. I used to walk to work with some peers, who were related to my wife's family, and people at work started assuming that I was still involved in drugs because of the peers I was hanging with. So, I took it on myself to change their view of me. I told my wife that I can hang out with them in the village, but I will avoid going to work with them or avoid being seen with them. At home, in the village, I can't avoid them. When I hang out with them, I talk to them about the unhealthy habits of drugs and alcohol. The pressure I feel is that of peer groups thinking and talking about my past unhealthy habits. This gives me pressure, but I really value my work (referring to his job with the NCfR). (Manuel, 34, male advocate and staff with NCfR, interview, March 2019)

For Andy (aged 63), becoming a male advocate meant that he and other male advocates experienced a loss of homosocial relations and traditions that they were once a part of and that they rejected.

> The challenges that we men face is the reject from our peers because we want to be good men. They see us as no longer being a man. Also, they will not want to associate with us. They will isolate themselves from us because in the past we were one of them. But now that we've changed, we are no longer part of the group. Also, we will miss out on the group's plans, whatever good plans or stories because they see us as an outsider. (Andy, 63, male advocate and staff with NCfR, interview, March 2019)

These accounts illustrate the significance of social relations among peer groups and the ways in which men find their identity and belonging. Social relations are highly valued in Pacific societies but descriptions of their structures and classification are complex. Anthropologists writing about social relations in Melanesia explain that a person is not a stable and bounded figure; rather, a person exists as a set of relationships (Strathern, 1988; Wagner, 1991). People are constituted through their interactions with others through a process of exchange. In many communities, social relationships are seen as social and cultural capital, and resources that shape people's behaviours and views of the world (Coleman, 1990). In social capital, emphasis is placed on 'strong interpersonal ties, such

as kinship and intimate friendship' (Putnam 1993: 175). The recurrence of social relations or interaction among people over time creates a strong sense of acceptance, belonging or identity.

The comments above illustrate that male advocates are grappling with the tension in terms of social relations among the peer groups they interact with. The friction between male advocates and their peer groups is a consequence of them dissociating from certain 'unhealthy' peer behaviour or practices. Their connection to the peer group is through interaction, which is unavoidable because of their proximity in a village or hamlet. Male advocates expressed that the pressure comes from rejection from men in these homosocial bonds who engage in the 'old ways.' Vanello and Bosson (2012) view manhood as maintained by social proof, or verified publicly, and this motivates a range of maladaptive and risky behaviours, such as aggression, avoidance of femininity or taking financial risks. Hence, the masculinity of male advocates is challenged by their peers when they do not conform to risk-taking and maladaptive behaviour. As mentioned in previous chapters, manhood often requires validation when it is contested, hence it is seen as a precarious social status (Vandello et al., 2008). In their role as male advocates, men are committing to values of respect and peace to promote non-violence and gender-equitable ways of living. While the challenge for male advocates in Bougainville is the rejection from their traditional peer groups due to the alternative choices they are making, they are now creating new homosocial bonds and peer groups with male advocates.

Another important finding is that the male advocates are developing new social groupings or peer bonding among themselves to help them to deal with these challenges. Unlike their previous peer groups, this group consists of men who have undergone training and other programs and are also recognised as male advocates. Most of the men noted they received peer support from other male advocates because they understand each other's journeys, particularly the challenges that they experience. For instance, Rodney (aged 41) spoke about the support he receives from other male advocates, which encourages him to be stronger.

> Here we have the Men's Hub. The boys who work here are very good male advocators. Just being around each other helps to strengthen our work and the change journey that each of us are on. When we are together, we share our stories. We talk about our daily activities in life around fishing, projects, gardening and then we get into the education side of things. We are always together because of our work. When we are together, we are rejuvenated, and so after these meetings we then feel very empowered in our knowledge and understanding of our situations, we come back stronger, and we find strength to continue doing what

> we are doing. (Rodney, 41, male advocate and staff with NCfR, interview, March 2019)

Another example is Andy (aged 63), who noted the moral support he receives from other male advocates.

> Nowadays I share experience with other male advocates I work with, how my life was and how our life is now. We compare and we discuss and share ideas. We know each other's journey and that helps a lot when we face hard times. Sometimes, these men give support during the loss and grieve (death). Especially during this time men in my group support and encourage me and tell me not to do certain things. (Andy, 63 male advocate and staff of NCfR, interview March 2019)

Studies elsewhere have also shown that men who participate in male violence-prevention programs are forming new kinds of social systems that provide supportive networks for men and contend with men's social and expressive needs; and they tend to be different from traditional homosocial networks (Piccigallo et al., 2012). In Brazil, non-traditional homosocial peer groups formed by male advocates are providing supportive environments for young men to self-reflect and support younger men to increasingly question prevailing gender injustices (Barker, 2001). Others have indicated that these new homosocial peer groups or networks for men are creating 'compelling communities' those other men may admire and desire to join (Casey, 2010: 276), which appears to be a significant way to engage men. Additionally, since male advocates in rural areas are in close proximity to their peer groups, initiatives such as the Men's Forum run by the NCfR can be a useful avenue to educate other men in the community understand better the role of male advocate, which can then influence other men to join.

Throughout this study, we have seen that when it comes to roles that men play in providing for family, there is an element of self-reliance and independence that men need to show in order to be seen as a 'real' man (or *trupla man*). For a man to rely on other family members to provide financial or social needs is considered unmanly or weak. This, as we have seen in all three study sites, pushes men to strive and struggle, to become independent breadwinners or someone that others can rely on. Yet, it seems that men in Chabai, particularly male advocates, have found a niche in which they can be transparent and vulnerable, and receive the help they need from other men. While this is similar to the experience of men in Port Moresby who are able to provide financial and expressive support through homosocial networks, the male advocates in Bougainville may use their social network to inspire a community of men who support notions of gender justice. Peer support among men

involved in changing themselves and advocating that change among others is said to be one of the main reasons for men joining and remaining in anti-violence efforts (Casey and Smith, 2010). It provides an avenue for men to meet in an ongoing manner and it creates a safe place for men to express themselves without judgement. I explore the men's reflection on the need for more safe places as well as their criticism further in the following chapter.

6.6.3 NCfR is helping men to deal with challenges and inspiring change

Throughout the interviews with men in Chabai, a reoccurring theme was that men were able to overcome challenges because of the knowledge, skills, guidance, and support received from Sr Lorraine and the Staff and Sisters working at the NCfR. Men talked about ideas that were inspired by the role of a religious and community-based organisation like NCfR. They talked about the influence NCfR and key individuals within the organisation had on shaping their values, relationships, and roles as men.

Allen (aged 34), a male advocate and manager of one of NCfR's Men's Hubs, talked about the transformational impact that NCfR has had on his life. His role within the organisation has helped him to stay focused on his new outlook in life.

> When I was a boy, I was involved in many things. I didn't complete school. I stopped at Year 8 just at the primary level. So, at that point a lot of people advised me … teachers, community members, some educated couples. But I didn't take this advice seriously but when I attend these (Nazareth Centre) trainings, I started realising the importance of these things. At this stage of my life, I now realise who I really am. Sister Lorraine and the other Sisters have given advice to us. Now that I am here full time with the Sisters it's easier (speaking about working at the centre full time). (Allen, 34, male advocate and staff with NCfR, interview, March 2019)

The courses taught by NCfR provided guidance for participants on how to achieve positive relationships. Men reflected on improvements in their marriage and relationships as a result of their involvement with NCFR. For example, Anthony (aged 53) spoke about how the training helped his relationship with his wife.

> The trainings are the only thing that is helping me to have advice on how to become a good man. My wife also helps me. The training that she is involved in she and I discuss it and she also helps me to be better. The training has helped our

> marriage in so many ways. (Anthony, 53, male advocate and volunteer trainer with NCfR, interview, March 2019)

Participants noted that their involvement in gender and human rights training run by the Nazareth sisters helps them to think and perform differently in relation to the division of labour roles in the domestic sphere. For instance, the men I spoke with all now help their wives take care of the children, and perform household chores including cleaning, cooking, and raising children. As illustrated by Caleb (aged 29), men may find it both shameful and at times amusing to carry out female-coded chores. However, like Caleb, most men talked about the importance of sharing household responsibilities.

> We are now taught shared responsibilities through the trainings; men have to work with women. In my village if a man is seen carrying a bag of *kaukau* (Tok Pisin for 'sweet potato') or water, the elders would run towards him and cut his *bilum (*a traditional woven fibre bag) or container as a sign of not allowing him to do women's work. I oppose this, as a husband it is our role to help our wife and children. Roles have to be shared. It is injustice. We should stop the culture that hinders men to not be involved in the chores and responsibilities of women. For example, in my culture, men will not wash women's clothes, men will not carry water containers to fetch or carry water … this is women's role. (Caleb, 29, male advocate and staff member of NCfR, interview, March 2019)

These comments illustrate that men are engaging critically with conceptualisations of cultural masculinities to change gender and relational norms. As seen in Caleb's reflection, men are beginning to realise the harm of cultured norms in society and are choosing to correct this behaviour. Their training has resulted in men respecting their wives and having enjoyable relationships with others. When I asked NCfR staff and Sisters at the centre about the changes that they are seeing in men, they noted various examples of male advocates changing their behaviour over time. A core focus within NCfR's program with male advocates is to see that they are developing healthy and respectful relationships with their spouses, children, and other members of society.

Transformations in men's attitudes and practices as a result of gender-equality and anti-violence initiatives targeted at men have also been recorded in other parts of the world. Data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), a comprehensive global survey on men's attitudes and practices, show that that there is a general shift among men who accept and endorse gender equality or possess more equitable attitudes (Barker, 2011). The male advocates in

this study are experiencing happier and healthier relationships, increasing their share of domestic work, and enjoying a new outlook on life. This demonstrates the importance of engaging with men to promote messages that are directed at other men in domestic work, or more specifically, responsible fatherhood and caregiving, and building on positive relationships between a husband and a wife.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has engaged with the reflections of men as male advocates of human rights with the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation, a faith-based NGO, to examine some of the factors that influence men's notions of masculinity in a rural setting in Bougainville. In the first and second analysis sections of this chapter, I discussed intergenerational differences in terms of guidance given to them and how this has shaped the way they think about their identity and roles as men. The notion of a 'self-reliant and independent man' was idealised among young men, while 'peacemaker' was the role those older men idealised. In the third analysis section of this chapter, I discussed the challenges and ambivalences that male advocates experience. I highlighted the challenges that men experience from unsupportive community members and peers, which create pressure and stress when they become role models and leaders in their communities.

Despite these challenges, men are developing bonds with other male advocates, with whom they share common values, for change and development in their own lives and communities. The male advocate peer groups have helped individuals to become confident and even more determined to live their lives as positive role models and leaders. The Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation has a strong and positive influence on the lives of men, given its intimacy with the daily activities of the community. The work of the Centre through male advocates for human rights is constructing new masculine models that are supported and appreciated by some and challenged by others in the community. I argue in this chapter that, while organisations and development agencies promote gender equality and progressive masculinities, it is also important to acknowledge not just gender but also the diverse factors that affect men's lives, including economic struggles, unemployment, lack of education and other struggles around community traditions and peers. At times, these forces put pressure on men that can counteract or undermine the work with men and boys and how these issues are dealt with.

Chapter 7: Reflections on gender equality and violence prevention initiatives

7.1 Introduction

In the previous three chapters (Chapters 4, 5 and 6), I discussed what men perceive as factors that influence or mediate the production of masculinities in various social, cultural, political, economic, and geographical contexts. In this chapter, I explore some critical reflections about development programs, feminism, women's human rights, men's engagement in gender equality or anti-violence programs, and men's spaces that were expressed by individual men and representatives from NGOs operating in the three study sites of this research. I consider the different ways that these notions have been interpreted by men and local NGOs and discuss them with reference to feminist and development literature. The focus of this chapter is on the position of men vis-à-vis women's rights and development that have emerged within the Melanesian nation-states of PNG and Fiji. Unlike the previous three chapters which analysed and discussed context-specific findings, this chapter brings together findings from all three study sites, illustrating consistencies and variations within both countries. Furthermore, it examines the work of NGOs that engage men and boys in preventing gendered violence in the Pacific with a view to strengthening the engagement of men and boys in the movements to achieve gender equality and reduce gender-based violence.

Throughout this thesis I use the terms 'violence against women and girls (VAWG)' (sometimes referred to as 'ending violence against women and girls)' and 'gender-equality programs' for two reasons. Firstly, the organisations to whom I spoke in the field referred to eliminating violence against women as a program and a specific objective or goal. Secondly, at times when discussing programs or initiatives, I use both terms side by side to highlight that while violence against women is a key concern in the region and deserves its own space, 'gender equality' as an objective and program goal covers women's economic empowerment, women in leadership and sexual and reproductive health.

During my fieldwork, I observed that most men were forthright about their views regarding the need to involve men in gender-related programs. While some men felt included, the majority felt excluded from developments in the GBV space. Most men maintained that there is a lack of safe spaces that are supportive and welcoming for men and boys to learn about gender equality and explore healthy versions of masculinity. In addition, they insisted on the need for men-only groups, or spaces in which men are given the opportunity to express their views without being criticised and receive support to improve their attitudes and behaviour towards women and girls. Significantly, men in

this study shared anti-feminist sentiments, which suggests a backlash within the gender-equality space, because they felt that they were overlooked, ignored, and blamed.

In addition to this introductory section, this chapter contains two main sections. In the first section, I discuss men's views, tensions, and contestations regarding the involvement of men in gender-equality and VAWG programs in the region. I begin this section with a brief overview of current efforts in the Pacific. Then I discuss the importance of men as partners in VAWG and gender-equality efforts and discuss the feminist criticisms on men's engagement. In the second section, I explore men's views on how to address their issues and needs. Here, I discuss participants' views on safe spaces and groups for men and the need to be accountable to the women's groups. I discuss the different ways in which men suggest that groups and safe spaces will cater for their needs and the importance of deep critical reflection. This chapter offers a discussion on several inherent contradictions which can provide obstacles and tension for the field, but which also offer understanding and insight into how possible improvements can be made to the current ways of working. I end this chapter with a conclusion section with potential recommendations to engage men and boys in development efforts.

Based on my research, I contend that many men are willing to be involved in gender-equality and VAWG programs or initiatives and therefore there is a need to re-think the way development agencies and organisations in the region engage men and boys. I further argue the rationale for men having safe places and support groups as avenues in which men can unlearn negative forms of manhood and masculinities and develop transformative or positive ways of being men. For both these main arguments there are fundamental criticisms by feminist and development scholars, and even tensions that this chapter will address. I also recognise that the reflections of my study participants can be highly gender-biased and contextualised given that this research is limited to men in Melanesia and the Pacific.

In developing this chapter, I reviewed interview data containing particular responses on men's concern with women's rights and feminist movements, and men's involvement in gender-equality and VAWG programs. I found that 16 out of 46 men interviewed in this research contributed ideas on this topic. Of these 16 men, seven are from Suva, six are from Bougainville and three are from Port Moresby. All 16 men worked or volunteered for government agencies, international development agencies and local NGOs within the gender and development spaces at the time of their interview. It was therefore obvious that this sub-group of research participants, including representatives from the six local organisations interviewed in this research, were exposed to the

language and principles of human rights and development, and have been involved in or exposed to the delivery of programs designed to address VAWG and promote gender equality.

In addition, I observed that Suva men, compared with men from Port Moresby and Bougainville, are more engaged in donor-development and feminist-development narratives. This is possibly influenced by the virtue of the fact that Fiji is the economic, political, and social hub of the Pacific, hosting most of the regional headquarters of Pacific Islands peak political bodies, international agencies, a regional university, diplomatic missions as well as major corporations in the Pacific region. Moreover, Fiji is the birthplace of renowned Pacific feminist movements and organisations, namely the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (FWCC) and Fiji Women's Rights Movement (FWRM), that paved the way for a broad range of development organisations and approaches in GBV work within the region. These movements were born out of 'embryonic convergences with and divergence from Western feminists' and from a place of multiple resistance of Fijian women within an intricate historical, economic socio-cultural and political milieu (Mishra, 2008: 40). Irrespective of men's increased exposure to human rights and development discourses, male perpetrated violence and abuse of women's rights continues to be an alarming concern in Fiji and Papua New Guinea (World Health Organisation, 2021; Biersack 2016; FWCC, 2013). Thus, it is important to note that men's views on gender and development in this chapter inarguably does not reflect the views of all the men in this study or the entire male population in each study site.

The six organisations involved in this research, who remain unidentified, work with men and boys to varying degrees. Four out of the six organisations have targeted programs for men, including male advocacy for women's human rights training; understanding conflict, trauma, and violence training; and gender and human rights training. The other two organisations work with both men and women and provide human rights, gender violence and respectful relationships training.

7.2 Current Efforts in Engaging Men and Boys: A Brief Overview

From the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development in 1994 to the Beijing Platform for Action, and to the Declaration of Commitment of the 26th UN General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS in 2001, the role of men in gender and development have become increasingly defined and capitalised on in programming and policy discourse alike' (Edström et al., 2015). These efforts range from community-based mobilisation to government-initiated programs, being led by pro-feminists and as well by anti-feminists. While pro-feminist groups are supportive of feminism and feminist goals that are oriented towards gender equality and preventing VAWG (Flood, 2004a: Flood et al., 2007); there is also 'push back' from anti-feminist groups in resistance

towards feminism and feminist goals (Flood, 2011: 2; also, Flood, 2004b). It is recognised that the practice and politics of involving men in anti-violence work is 'fraught with complexities' as working with men as 'allies can create tension as it involves engaging a socially privileged group to work on dismantling the very thing that gave them that privilege' (Casey et al., 2015: 229).

Despite the rising global trend in engaging men and boys, there is still limited engagement of men and boys in the Pacific, and limited programs targeting efforts to transform violent masculine behaviours in the region (Eves, 2009; Macintyre, 2008). The programs that initially began engaging men and boys in the region dealt with sexual and reproductive health to prevent HIV and violence, usually working with both men and women to promote equal and non-violent relationships (Eves, 2009). While the opportunities may be limited, engaging men and boys is taking place in several countries in the region. Furthermore, there is a discrepancy in the availability of male-targeted initiatives in the Pacific region (Malungahu and Nosa, 2018). Whilst my research did not explore the various programs or initiatives in Pacific Island countries other than my study sites, I acknowledge that there has been considerable work by organisations and donor agencies at the regional and country level.

From a series of consultations and meetings from 2016-2019, a regional network called Pacific Women Network Against Violence Against Women (PWNAVAW) developed key principles for working with men and boys in violence prevention. As momentum was building around discussions on engaging men and boys, new actors begun to emerge in the form of donors and implementors with the intention of working with men and boys to reduce VAWG (Regional Pacific Women's Network Against Violence Against Women and UN Women, 2020). In realising this increasing interest, the PWNAVAW together with the UN Women Fiji Multi-Country Office, developed practice guide called 'The Warwick Principles: Best Practices for Engaging Men and Boys in Preventing Violence Against Women and Girls in the Pacific' in 2020 to guide prevention work and engage men and boys in policy and programming. This is promising for future efforts as it provides recommendations for practitioners, donors, and policymakers to support prevention work and engage men and boys in gender-transformative ways.

The need to work with men and boys in the prevention of VAWG and gender equality is well accepted and distilled as one of the best practice principles among policy makers, educators, and advocates. In fact, any effort to further gender equality is likely to fail if men and boys are not engaged as partners (Kimmel, 2002). While huge strides have been made, much work remains in engaging men and boys in gender-equality work and towards promoting important transformational

change in men's gender-related attitudes and practices (Jewkes, Flood and Lang, 2015; Peacock and Backer, 2014). The need to engage men in violence prevention is mainly an initiative of post-colonial feminism academics and activists who saw the importance of theorising men's violence and their contribution to ending it (Salem, 2005). Post-colonial feminists believe that examining men's experiences in gender and development projects addresses silences and considers the relevance and applicability to race, power, and other categories, that may not be obvious when the focus is just one gender. For practitioners, activists, and academics, alike, engaging in post-colonial contexts, we have to ask questions like; How do we account for gendered differences and universalism in the violence entrenched in post-colonial state structures? or Whose voices remain overlooked in post-colonial states and the manifold forms of violence embodied and experienced?

Most of the work with men towards ending violence is undertaken with a broader focus rather than by taking a dedicated men-focused approach (Flood, 2015). In PNG and Fiji for instance, male advocates[12] are trained to work alongside or support the work of women human rights defenders or women in the community to deliver awareness on gender-based violence and sorcery-related violence (Pacific Women, 2018). Men are trained and given tools to support women in carrying out community awareness and training in gender equality, human rights, peace, and conflict resolution and so on (refer to Chapter 6 for more details on the Male Advocacy program in Bougainville).

But do these men's programs and initiatives, or the roles men play in gender-related projects change their behaviour? The answer is they often don't. As Macintyre (2012: 250) argues, these programs will not work in the Pacific because they have not been developed to confront and challenge some of the 'social values and cultural norms that are currently central to power relations.' These are norms that continue to reproduce patterns of privilege among men which threaten the efforts of the women's movement in society (Ricardo, 2014; Flood, 2003; Göransson, 2014). While there are men who have committed and performed to a very high standard of pro-feminist attitudes and behaviour, not all men who go into these programs are confronted and challenged to change their views, practices and behaviours towards gender violence and inequality.

My research identified eight organisations and programs in the Pacific, including those interviewed in this research, that are specifically working with men' and boys' gender-transformational work (refer to Appendix B for a list of organisations and programs). In identifying these organisations, I

[12] In this chapter, where I use 'male advocates' I am referring to male advocates for women human rights defenders. The Male Advocate program was initiated by the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre and taken on by members of the Regional Pacific Women's Network Against Women.

acknowledge that there are many other programs that collectively work with men and boys, and women and girls, in addressing negative gender norms and practices. However, for the purposes of this research, where I am examining specific male spaces and engagements, my focus of enquiry is on programs that engage men and boys. I recognise that this may not be a complete list of programs and organisations that exists in the Pacific. An evaluation of organisations and programs in the Pacific that engage men and boys in prevention of violence against women would be a valuable contribution to masculinity and gender violence research and development work in the region but is beyond the scope of the current research.

One such program is the Male Advocacy program for women's human rights developed by the Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (FWCC), and adopted by organisations in Vanuatu, Tonga, and the Solomon Islands, and elements of it in Papua New Guinea. This program was developed over fifteen years and engages men in various key agencies and levels in society over a period of time. Through education and training, the program uses a human rights framework to increase men's awareness of gender equality, helps men to address their own violence through counselling and the provision of training and support, and encourages men's groups to be accountable to women's organisations. The Men's Hub, which is operated by the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCfR) in Bougainville is another model of Male Advocacy Program. It aims to work with men on increasing their awareness of gender violence and gender-equality issues, on prevention activities, and on rehabilitating male perpetrators of family and sexual violence (Pacific Women Support Unit, 2020). Men meet with other men and critically discuss the harmful elements of culture and society that shape their views as men and their commitment towards challenging or changing them.

I discuss men's perception of NCfR's Men's Hub in Chapter 6 of this thesis. Like FWCC, NCfR male advocates for women's human rights first complete a series of sensitisation training. When they finish the training, they are encouraged to work alongside women human rights defenders[13] in Bougainville to facilitate learning programs based on gender equality and human rights at the community level. In addition, some governments in the region have also taken up broadly similar programs. In PNG, the government, under the leadership of the Department for Personnel Management (DPM), introduced the PNG Public Service Male Advocacy Network (PNGPSMAN) in 2013. The PNGPSMAN operates with similar principles to those that feature in male advocacy

[13] This is a title given to women who have undergone specific human rights training and are certified by NCfR as Women's Human Rights Defenders. Male advocates for women's human rights also go through the same training and certification.

programs in other Pacific countries. The primary objective of the network is 'to support gender equality and human rights, women's access to justice and support services within the workplace and community' (Anere, 2019: 7).

There is very little evaluation of the effectiveness of primary violence prevention programs, including efforts to involve men and boys, and most programs have not been evaluated robustly (Flood, 2019; Wu, 2018). Therefore, the impact of prevention programs in the lives of men and women or boys and girls can be difficult to measure. Yet, as discussed in the previous chapter, some men in this study are convinced that their personal lives have transformed, they have ceased using forms of violence and are enjoying healthier relationships with their spouses and other family and community members. While these programs are producing cohorts of men who are possibly developing healthier models of masculinity and men who are partnering with women to promote gender equality in their communities, there is still much to learn about lessons and impact of this work in the Pacific.

7.3 Reflections from Men

The following sub-section discusses interview data primarily from men who were asked to reflect on gender equality and anti-violence efforts in Papua New Guinea and Fiji.

7.3.1 Overwhelming support for women, men are left out!

Participants interviewed in this study expressed a shared view of the perceived disproportionate focus on women in VAWG initiatives. One of the main concerns discussed was that the feminist-driven approaches by development and donor agencies have resulted in women-centred support and engagement in the Pacific. Meanwhile, men tend to be overlooked or given no assistance to change their abusive behaviours. Expanding on this point, Filimone (aged 32) from Suva observed:

> I think there are too many women's organisations like FWCC, FWRM, and there is nothing for men. It is assumed that we do not need to talk to anyone, we do not need therapy to change from our bad ways. (Filimone, 32, interview, April 2019)

This view is similar to Nalovu (aged 55) from Suva who reflected on the lack of avenues for men to receive support to change their violent behaviour.

> The women have FWCC and many other organisations, but the men have nothing. There are men who are willing to change but there are no platforms or programs that can draw men in to assist them in their change process, to assist them in their

> process from violence to non-violence, which is something that's missing. (Nalovu, 55, interview, April 2019)

The view that both men expressed about the lack of support to transform from negative (toxic) to positive (healthy) masculinities is supported by academics (Eves, 2006, 2009; Macintyre, 2012). While there are some initiatives for men and boys taken up over the years, the point perhaps is that there is a need to increase work on men and masculinities in the Pacific. Also, Nalovu's opinion relating to 'no platforms or programs may show the lack of appropriate mechanisms or responses in existing programs to support men who are ready to change. Comments like this may indicate that the lack of support given to meaningfully engaging men in appropriate ways may result in a lack of interest or motivation to participate and possibly change from their negative violent behaviours. Male advocates return to their community, church, sports club, etc and advocate with other men, creating opportunities for them to engage.

There is a consensus among many participants that the overwhelming support given to empower and support women is leading to women being more empowered and progressive than men, which can be harmful in gender relationships. For example, Kalivatu (aged 34) from Suva commented:

> With all due respect to the great work of feminism and women's movements, I feel that we have been left behind and the reality is, no matter how strong and active women are, when they go back to their family, they go back to the man, and the man is the leader of the home. Until that changes in the Pacific, this remains the same … there is going to be a lot of conflicts and issues coming up if we do not address this gap because at the end of the day the modern women are going home to traditional men. (Kalivatu, 34, interview, April 2019)

In Kalivatu's view, the consequence of the overwhelming support given to women by feminist and women's movements, or groups can lead to further harm for women because it widens the gender divide between men who are disempowered or regressive and women who are empowered or progressive. This is also echoed by Seru (aged 32) from Suva, who felt that men had been left behind for years while women were advancing. He explains that men's frustration and violence against women is due to men not being able to handle women's progress, especially when women move to the cities from the village in search of employment and education.

> At the end of the day, you are having issues of violence and domestic violence because you have women who are more empowered, and you've left us (behind)

> for three decades. Then you are trying to tell us to change, how can we change suddenly when we been left behind. And most of the times, unfortunately it is the women who bear the brunt of that frustration. I see this as a trend. For example, if you go to the communities right now, all villages in Fiji you will see that most women are in Suva. They are studying, they are working, they are well off and men are still there in the village. So, I am not trying to push down on the women's movement, because the work is good, but I think there is a lot done in women's sphere that we are left behind. We are left in a lot of frustration because society sees us as someone who is supposed to be up there in the leadership scale often but in reality, the support system and everything we are still down there. (Seru, 32, interview, April 2019)

These accounts demonstrate a perception among some men that the progress of women, or women's confidence and empowerment, is a threat to men's traditional dominance and authority in society. A woman's advancement and development often leave her marginalised due to sex and gender hierarchies in 'subsumed categories of "culture" and "tradition", while men were presumed to be modern and educated and therefore deserving of advancement (Macintyre, 2000: 150-155). Thus, women face resentment because there's a perception that it's the men who are more worthy of advancement. From a feminist perspective, the view that 'men are left behind' can be troubling as it assumes a level playing field at the start – a misleading assumption, as women are merely closing the gap on sharing power, and not asserting power over men. In their study on improving women's economic agency in PNG, Eves et al. (2018) note that the perception that men have that they are missing out is a common 'backlash' by men who feel that they have been 'excluded from benefits accrued to women as a result of development programming; (60). While there may be some men who embrace changes in women's economic agency, increased community leadership and participation as well as changes in household labour arrangements, other men view this as in contradiction with patriarchy and hegemonic masculinities which guarantee the dominant position of men and subordination of women (Connell, 1995). This backlash from men suggests that power is seen by men 'in terms of a 'zero-sum game', where increases in power for women add up to a loss of power for men' (Eves et al., 2018: 44).

These views held by men may lead to a lack of men's participation and involvement in gender programs and lead to more violence against women if this is not addressed. Therefore, given the overwhelming need to improve men's involvement in violence against women, I agree with Sideris

(2004) that there is a need for a deeper understanding of the 'tensions that men experience when they confront the contradiction between embracing rights in the domestic arena and the widely held view that associate manhood and domination over women and children in the family' (46). The reality is that women continue to experience extreme poverty and continue to be overrepresented among poor. However, over time both men and women are vulnerable due to increasing inequality and structural unemployment, which makes providing for a family even more difficult for men (Dworkin, Hatcher, Covin and Peacock, 2013). Examining the different gendered experiences of vulnerabilities in post-colonial state structures allows for a more diverse and meaningful understanding of violence and inequalities. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, I discussed key socio-economic and cultural hardships and concerns that create tension for Pacific Island men in performing their masculine roles as provider, protector, and leader. These hardships and concerns provide an important context for men's feelings of destabilisation and disempowerment. Therefore, I argue that anti-violence programs in the Pacific should not overlook or discount men's feelings of disempowerment when developing gender programs and initiatives. Besides, it is important to help men and boys to realise that they benefit relationally and personally from promoting progress towards gender equality or non-violence through playing a more positive role (Flood, 2018).

From the 1960 through to the 1970s, as Pacific societies became independent states and developed their own economic and political systems, women gradually became educated, earned an income, made economic decisions, and left their villages to move to the big cities. Pease (2002: 172) argues that 'most men are threatened by women's autonomy and independence as it challenges their assumed domination'. As such, they develop a defensive or abusive reaction towards women. The defensive or abusive reaction from men is deeply rooted in culture and internalised in men's identities. It is a difficult task to work through for men to consider and alter traditional cultures to accommodate women's rights and freedoms. Seidler (1991) suggests that an initial step would be for men to admit the depth at which feminism threatens them. What this may mean for organisations is to include men in critical reflection about masculinity and gender norms, how gender is socially constructed, and how this affects relationships, power, and inequality.

Excluding men from violence and gender interventions can provoke male retaliation and hostility, which then deepens gender inequalities, leaving women with more work to do (Chant and Gutman, 2000). Given that men interact with women daily in domestic or public places, including men in programs that help them realise the benefits of building equitable gender relations can lead to lasting change. Helping men to realise that they will gain from gender equality can address the 'anxieties and fears as traditional, violence-supportive masculinities are undermined' (Flood, 2019: 90). There

is an evident need to improve the position of women in society, given the high levels of violence and poor development outcomes for women. Programs or projects are likely to experience 'dangers if strategies are not in place to mitigate backlash' from men (Eves et al., 2018: 43). It is therefore important to challenge the patriarchy and men's privileges that harm women, but this discussion must be done with both men and women, by helping men to realise that it is rooted deeply in cultural, religious, and biological rationales.

The concern with women-led initiatives is that men may be less likely to relate and therefore less likely to participate when programs are aimed at women. According to Flood (2014: 170), 'men are interested in supporting progress towards ending violence', and the best people to engage and work with men are other men. While there is a general consensus among development and gender theorists about men's involvement in efforts to ending violence (Flood, 2014, 2013, 2010; Ricardo and Barker 2008; Pease 2008), there are a number of issues when men take the reins or lead, such as a fear that men will take over and a lack of accountability to women's organisations. I discuss this point later in this chapter. As noted earlier, men have arguably held most leadership positions in public services and development sectors in many countries and therefore, the fear of men taking over women's spaces is understandable. Yet, men also pay the heavy cost of general supremacy of men in the patriarchal gender order and therefore, including men and understanding their vulnerabilities within the gender and development space can be beneficial for programs.

7.3.2. We cannot all be blamed!

In this study, several men who work in VAWG or gender equality and anti-violence programs were also concerned with the unwillingness of women to engage with them due to women's perception of men as being responsible for past and ongoing gender-based violence. Reflecting on the opposition he and other male advocates for women's rights receive when working with women human rights defender in Bougainville, Rodney (aged 41) noted:

> We cannot always be blamed for what other men do. We've changed and other men can too. Some strong women want to accuse men for what other man did in the past. This atmosphere is not supportive. Time can help men to heal. (Rodney, 41, interview, March 2019)

Similarly, a community youth leader, Filimone (aged 32) from Suva, claimed that it can be difficult to work with feminists because of the way men are viewed in a negative light. In reflecting on this, Filimone said:

> They are making it worse by hardening up the man. Feminists need to push beyond their hurt. They have this condescending look when they deal with men, that all men are evil. Now tell me how can we work with that? (Filimone, 32, interview, April 2019)

These comments illustrate tension that may lead to 'attitude backlash' when working with or engaging men in gender-equality or anti-violence programs (Flood, 2019: 160). Men's rights activists argue that men are unfairly blamed by women and feminism, and this is counterproductive in the war against sexism (Pease, 2002). They suggest that blaming and therefore calling on men to alter their behaviour can result in men's backlash and opposition (Faludi, 1992). This was reflected by the Manager of a faith-based organisation in Fiji, who said: 'I think men feel that we are always blaming them and so they are refusing to participate at the same time, we have not been reaching out to them for them to know that we need them together' (Manager of SV1, interview, April 2019). It is often argued that both men and women suffer from the oppression of hegemonic masculinity, yet men who make this claim fail to recognise their own advantage and privilege over women and the effects of their behaviour over women (Pease, 2002). While the concentration of development programs on women is due to the fact that women are often the victims or potential victims of violence perpetrated by men, it is counterproductive when guilt and shame are directed at men and not at the gendered structures that guide the way people think and work together (MenEngage and UNFPA, 2013).

There is support within the literature on men's violence prevention for the idea that work that involves men and boys should 'begin with the positive and with building on men's strengths' (Flood, 2018: 157). Despite the high levels of male violence perpetrated on women, it is important for women to appreciate and recognise that there are many men who do not perpetrate violence and who deeply care about the women in their lives, which include their partners, relatives, colleagues, and members of the community (Pease, 2002; Berkowitz, 2004). MenEngage and UNFPA have put forward recommendations to 'use positive language of opportunity and responsibility rather than collective guilt and collective blame' (MenEngage and UNFPA, 2013: 11). Using 'strength-based' language or approaches is seen as vital in minimising men's disengagement and defensiveness (Flood, 2018; Lang, 2002; Ruxton, 2004). While it is crucial to engage men and boys in a deeper understanding of women's rights as well as the negative patriarchal norms that harm women, it necessary to point that most men treat women and girls with respect and are willing to be part of a

solution. Therefore, 'positive and healthy aspects of men's experiences should be strengthened in violence prevention' (Berkwotz, 2004: 3).

In discussing the principles for male involvement in the work against men's sexism, Michael Flood (2019) suggests that primarily this work needs to be driven by feminists and that interventions must be committed to enhancing the lives of diverse men and boys. To ensure that this is done appropriately, 'male-positive' principles need to be considered in the way feminist groups work with men and boys. In articulating this, Flood (2019: 97) noted that:

> To be male-positive is to realise that individual men are not responsible for, and can't be blamed for, social structures and values such as the social construction of masculinity or the history of women's oppression. This has to be balanced with the recognition that individual men are responsible for their oppressive behaviour (such as violence) and can choose to change it. If a man displays sexism or homophobia, a male-positive response is to help him in trying to change this, to affirm the man and challenge the behaviour, instead of attacking that man.

Flood (2019) argues that the risk of not using positive approaches in engaging men is a 'failure to engage men at all and prevent any capacity to involve men in change' (160). Participant comments from Filimone and Rodney demonstrate the levels of defensiveness and dissatisfaction that exist among men, which should perhaps warrant women's and feminist groups re-evaluating the language and approaches being used. A study among male US college students showed that viewing men as perpetrators or potential perpetrators is less effective as it invites blame and puts men on the defensive (Stein, 2007); however, portraying men as 'allies' results in men being more willing to engaged in finding solutions (Stein, 2007). In the following section of this chapter, I will analyse men's view as partners in violence prevention work.

7.3.3 Men and women as allies in a united front

As alluded to in the previous sections, perhaps the most commonly held view by men in this study is that current gender equality or anti-violence programs support women more than men, and this is because men perceive them as being or feeling overlooked and blamed for the problem of violence. Consistent with this view, another dominant view among participants, both individual men and representatives from organisations, was that the outlook of gender-equality or anti-violence programs should be one that advocates or demonstrates partnership or cooperation. Participants expressed the view that gender-equality or anti-violence programs delivered by women or women's

organisations without men as partners or allies is damaging to the relational and hierarchical structures that exist in Pacific societies. Participants suggested that men should be seen by the community as partners working alongside women in delivering gender programs. These suggestions are in relation to especially male advocates or pro-feminist men.

As a manager in a small faith-based organisation in Suva that delivers gender training to church leaders demonstrates, programs that are run as partnerships between men and women are valued both culturally and relationally. Emphasising the importance of male and female members of her organisation working alongside each other in communities, the Manager commented that:

> When we go out and do these trainings, we include men and women trainers so that we present this united front and not as doing it on our own like women in some organisations do it. Therefore, it's important to have a [male] advocate who is a transformed person, stand up and say the words that need to be said. When [women] say it, the community will see it and go, 'oh see here they go again'. Whereas when a man stands up who has been transformed, men will relate to him better. They will say, 'he knows the way we think and feel.' (Manager of SV1, interview, April 2019)

The idea of a 'united front' was also echoed by a Bougainvillean male advocate with the NCfR. As I have discussed in the previous chapter, male advocates work alongside women human rights defenders in their communities to raise awareness about human rights as a community and family value. In fact, NCfR noted that doing this has been more impactful than when just women have delivered programs. One of the keys to the success of the Bougainville Male Advocacy program is male advocates working alongside Women Human Rights Defenders (see Patel, 2020). Andy, a male advocate, and trainer with the NCfR, stressed the importance of working with existing relational structures, saying:

> In the past, men and women always worked together to achieve certain family and community goals. Especially when there is a community event, you will see that everyone is working together to achieve it. So, when we [male advocates and Women's Human Rights Defenders] go into communities, we encourage conversations on gender equality and rights through the existing relationships that men have with men and women have with women. If women try to educate men, you will hear uproar from the men. Working together like this in the community helps everyone. (Andy, 63, interview, March 2019)

While there is increasing recognition of the need and effort going in to actively engage men as partners, through the Male Advocacy or similar programs, the reoccurrence of these comments in the interviews signifies the importance of development organisations having a greater understanding of how to navigate complex cultural and gender norms and relationships in the Pacific. In both responses above, the point made about men talking to or educating other men is seen by scholars and development practitioners as an important strategy for deepening the engagement of men in gender programs (Flood, 2005, 2006: Carsey, et al., 2012; Carlson, et al., 2015). According to Flood (2014: 170), 'men are interested in supporting progress towards ending violence', and the best people to engage and work with men are other men. While it is important for development organisations to engage men to work with or support other men in achieving gender equality and anti-violence behaviours and attitudes, equally important is the demonstration of both men and women working on these programs as a team or united front. Men and women working together in the community is in line with Pacific cultural values and sensitivities. Men leading discussions with men and women leading discussions with women in the community is more effective.

In societies where community or institutional members maintain conservative views, gender-equality or anti-violence initiatives that do not embrace local social and cultural understanding of gender, family or even justice may be seen as a threat. George (2012) notes that within the Pacific region, religiously and culturally conservative organisations and individuals opposed certain gender approaches by feminist or women-led organisations because of the belief that they threatened family values and ignored social or cultural ideals. There are scholarly discussions on the tensions in and opposition to the Western imposition of human rights and claims, as well as the new and creative ways in which the language and techniques of human rights have been used in the region (Biersack, 2016; Macintyre, 2000; Gibbs, 2016a; Jolly, 1996, 2000; Taylor, 2008b; Zorn, 2016). Even though human rights discourses and doctrines may 'infiltrate' legislation, policies, and awareness campaigns (Zorn, 2016), reducing gender-based violence in the Pacific continues to be a problem because local ideologies continue to compete with human rights ideologies (Biersack, 2016). Some of these local ideologies are voiced by participants in this study who noted the significance of men and women being perceived as a team when delivering human rights messages. The value of the team speaks to the value of family, community or clan, or a social support system that exits in Pacific communities.

The social support system in the Pacific is described as a complex web of relations and rules that people rely on to live together in a society which legitimises their identity and power (Eves, 2006). In these communities, it is especially important to work with existing social and cultural relational

and hierarchical structures to communicate human rights or gender equality messages because gender-based violence is embedded deeply in structural relationships (Eves, 2006). These structural relationships include marital relationships, kinship links, socio-economic settings, religious connections, and so on (Gibbs, 2016a, 2016b).

The value of carefully navigating relationships is realised when men and women work in harmony and when community members accept or engage in gender programs. When individuals or organisations overlook existing relationship structures and hierarchies and operate on a different system, they face the risk of losing support or interest from the individuals or groups in the community. As witnessed by Andy, women-led trainings can result in men becoming defensive, which may result in an 'uproar'. Recognising the existing cultural and relational structures within the society is particularly important for development agencies and feminist or women's organisations delivering gender-equality or anti-violence programs in communities. While there is now a growing acknowledgement of the need to engage men as partners and allies in addressing gender-inequality or violence (Flood, 2014; 2018), there is also a general fear when men take the reins or lead, that they will take over and redirect the agenda, noted above, and that they have a lack of accountability to women's organisations (Flood, 2014, 2013, 2010; Pease, 2008; Ricardo and Barker, 2008). I discuss this in the next sub-section of this chapter.

Furthermore, while engaging male allies in addressing gender inequality and violence can have valuable outcomes, it does not occur without predicaments. Inherent in much of the activism of male allies is the recurrence of male privilege (Meyer, 2008). Lwambo (2013) writes that the advantages that men gain from inequalities, which includes power and material benefits, may lead to men defending male supremacy on the basis of culture, religion, and biology. Men involved in promoting women or human rights can be the very people that disempower women. Some men have been accused of hypocrisy around sexual concerns during training. For example, a senior male officer in an organisation in PNG said this, 'the problem if we are not careful is when we are building men to have capacity, so some men decided to use that to take advantage of individual woman and were having sexual relations with female participants" (PM 1, interview in January 2020). A price to pay 'in the "men as allies" development is that activists must continue to confront male privilege' (Macomber, 2014: 11). Such tensions serve as constant indication that gendered power differences are prevalent and deeply rooted in society. Considering that the involvement of men in development continues to expand, it is becoming even more fundamental to deal with these issues.

7.3.4 Men's support groups and movements

In line with the argument regarding men's limited engagement in gender work and how this limits the efficacy of this work, one of the biggest challenges described by some participants is the need for safe places and support groups for men to reflect and self-transform before they can become allies and supporters of women. Participants stressed that there is a real emotional healing that needs to be done first before men can be fully engaged and want to support women, which comes from support groups and in-depth critical reflections among men. However, participants discussed that this kind of support or space does not exist for men within gender programs. Current programs that work with men and boys do not provide these spaces for men. For example, Andy (aged 63), a male advocate with NCfR, commented:

> Male advocacy is one part of it, but we should have some trainings on our own on how to deal with pressure that men face. We need to develop ourselves as men first before we get into helping women. We really need help to understand ourselves more than helping other men and women in managing us. Because here women are training men to support them but what are they doing to help support the men who are trying to change? (Andy, 63, interview, March 2019)

When asked about the kind of support men needed, the overwhelming response from participants was that men needed a safe and exclusive space where they can have real and hard conversations with other men about their experiences and struggles, and where they can help each other become better. Epeli (aged 37), a manager in a donor organisation in Suva, explained that men tend to prefer talking to other men, usually through sharing jokes, where they are able to discuss problems and pressures they face without being criticised.

> This is the reason why you will see a lot of men socialising and having that space whereby they sit with other men and tend to share jokes and discuss. It's just a way of them trying to mitigate the pressure for themselves and the external pressure. Unfortunately, if it's not understood well by women, it might also go into that negative mindset. Men are also stigmatised for this. (Epeli, aged 37, interview, April 2019)

Creating environments where men can gather their thoughts and emotions, reflect deeply, discuss openly and honestly with others, explore values, and consider other outlooks crucially depends on guaranteeing that men feel appreciated and safe from judgement or threat. Melanesian men are

taught early in life not to be soft or weak, making light of a hard situation through sharing jokes makes it easier for men to speak about issues. While these groups and safe spaces provide a place for healing and transformation for men, feminist scholars caution that they should be spaces that are shared with women's groups so to avoid men reinforcing negative gender attitudes through conversations (Berkowitz, 2004b).

This touches upon another important point that emerged from the research, a generalised view that men do not experience sadness or emotional pain, or they are not victims of gender-based violence, and therefore they do not need help to overcome trauma. This was summed up by Filimone (aged 32) and information technology manager from Suva, as follows:

> Set up organisations, set up men's support groups. Educate young men to know that it's ok to have emotions and feel. Because of our island culture, the warrior mentality. You are not supposed to hurt, if you cry, you are weak. You are human and humans have emotion. (Filimone, 32, interview, April 2019)

The interview responses demonstrate that men recognise the need to have specific support and assistance from other men in a collective setting. The key issue is how men can be supported to deal with emotional conflict, so they do not feel the need to commit violence. Pease (2002) has said that emotional conflict is the most important issue that men are facing today. This is supported by Middleton (1992) who further writes that masculinities are formed from the suppression of feelings. It is believed that 'when a man heals from his internal emotion conflicts only then will he have healthy relationships with women and other men' (Pease 2002: 39). In a multi-country study on effective ways of working with men and boys, Jewkes et al. (2015) found that interventions that involved long hours with single-sex groups, and then later mixed-sex groups were found to be more effective in achieving a decrease in violence than interventions that were short term and focused on single style of delivery. While it was not disclosed by the research participants, men in general also suffer from trauma and past childhood wounds, whether it is sexual, physical, or verbal, or the absence of intimacy with a parent (Flood, 2003, 2014; Peacock and Baker, 2014). This notion of men as victims is usually disregarded in development and gender spaces because it reinforces a feeling of humiliation from the men's experiences of oppression and abuse (Pease, 2002).

Over the past three decades men's groups have been emerging globally, engaging in a variety of activities including self-help groups, political lobbying, and activism, and seeking to effect change in political structures or cultural transformation (Flood et al., 2007). There has also been a gradual rise of men's groups or movements gaining momentum in the broader Asia-Pacific region, and more

broadly, over the past decade. These groups are set up and run by men as a voice and support system for other men. It is important to pay attention to the growing number of men's groups and movements and groups in the region, as they play a significant role in influencing the way other men think about women's rights. For organisations working in gender equality and anti-violence there are perhaps two categories of men's groups: the first group leads anti-feminist campaigns that try to disarm feminist ideologies. These groups often engage in highly politicised and anti-feminist movements on domestic violence and family law issues (Flood et al., 2007). The second group are pro-women or pro-feminist, and support feminism or feminist goals. These groups can be for social and political change, for example in anti-violence activism (Flood et al., 2007).

Within the region, an example of the first group can be found in Vanuatu. The Violence Against Men or VAM movement was initiated as a male support group responding to social and legal changes as a result of a Western style 'women's rights' agenda led by women activist groups (Taylor, 2008b: 165). Members of this backlash movement in Vanuatu oppose Western-style women's rights approaches and the legal changes that the women's rights groups had forged, which they felt were undermining the traditional customs and Christian patriarchal gender order in Vanuatu (Taylor 2008b; also see Biersack, 2016: 313-314). The main argument of this group is that men are being discriminated against in domestic violence, child abuse and legal cases involving rape because of foreign values that contradict the Pacific or Melanesian values (Taylor, 2008b). In the Pacific, Christianity and *kastoms* (customs) provide significant guidance on values for people. Therefore, groups that can provide rationalisations along the lines of Christianity and *kastom* as to why women's rights are harmful may eventually gain the support of both men and women. Although notions of human rights were founded in Western liberalisation, in the Pacific context they are framed within Christian discourses and shaped by complex engagements of relationality and personhood (cf. Strathern, 1988), and deeply embedded within strategies and structures of power and dominance (Taylor, 2008a; Jolly, 2000).

An example of the second group can be seen in PNG. PNG Man Up is a movement formed in 2020 by men in Port Moresby. It was established as a call for action to seek justice for victims and survivors of domestic violence. The intention of this movement, according to their Facebook page, is to reach out and encourage other men in PNG to collectively seek justice for victims of domestic violence and create real change. This movement was formed in June 2020 after the heinous torture and murder of a young Papua New Guinean woman and mother of two children, 19-year-old Jenelyn Kennedy, by her partner (Harriman, 2020). The movement, described as 'historic', was launched during a candlelight vigil ceremony for the deceased, and a pledge was signed by the Prime Minister

of PNG and other senior politicians and ministers to commit to seeking justice for Kennedy and other victims of domestic violence (Harriman, 2020). This is the first time a men's movement has reached a national stage and gained such enormous support in PNG. It is important for men's groups that are pro-women, like PNG Men Up, to support women's groups to continuously challenge certain societal beliefs because of their influence on other men's ideas and belief about women's rights. Much is still unknown about the undertakings of this new men's anti-violence movement in PNG.

There is another category of men's movement that may not fit neatly into either of the two classifications discussed above, yet it may be seen as an amalgamated version of both groups. A concern with definitions or classifications are that they are not always applicable or adaptable to the realities of the context, which is why it is important to have context-specific interpretations. These particular men's groups, at times given names such as 'papa groups', are usually closely associated with church or faith settings (Eves, 2006). A movement was developed in the Western province of PNG in 2006 by men who attend a Catholic Diocese of Daru-Kuinga because they felt that women who had fellowship groups were benefiting from church projects and support, and also the need to address concerns of violence. Similar movements were attempted elsewhere in PNG by the Catholic church but failed to develop momentum because they were initiated by the hierarchy of the church and not by the male members of their congregation (Eves, 2006). Based on a framework that supports men to understand gender relations and human rights, the movement in Western province aims to challenge traditional concepts of authority and support men develop healthy mutual relationships with their spouse and family (Gibbs, 2016a). This movement is globally recognised where men are calling for reconstruction of masculinity that is healthier, peaceful, and nurturing, and not limited to traditional masculinity and patriarchal arrangements (Messner, 1988: 269). More importantly, this movement did not see feminism or feminist-driven approaches as the only way to accomplish the improvements sought in the lives of men (Messner, 1988).

Like the VAM in Vanuatu, this men's movement values the guidance of Christian principles and *kastom*, yet the difference between this movement and VAM is this group's willingness to consider a human rights framework along with local alternative frameworks. Human rights have become an essential part of NGOs and churches; however, in the community context, men 'prefer to layer a rights framework over kinship and community obligations' (Gibbs, 2016a: 154). This means that men's obligations and role in the cultural and religious context are considered as a way to frame understanding of equality and human dignity. Particularly for this movement, the role of the church is crucial in that it provides a lens through which traditional culture and human rights can co-exist

to serve the purpose of harmony and human dignity. It goes without saying that there are significant challenges in conducting gender-equality and anti-violence work in faith settings, given their strong patriarchal groundings (Holmes, 2012b). The commitment of these men to faith has led self-discovery in their efforts to reconcile their role and duties as men and challenge their masculinities based on a biblical concept of human dignity (Gibbs, 2016a). A similar study in PNG draws links between faith, gender-equitable relationships and men's new masculine agency as a result of self-scrutiny and reflection on their Christian conversion (Eves, 2016). The concept of layering within the human rights framework was primarily discussed by Salley Engle Merry (2009) in which she points out that layering allows for new and distinct ways of understanding problems or situations. In the context of this movement, the frames of religion and the culture of the local context provide distinct ways of seeing the value of equality in gender difference. Despite the challenges in the role of religion to interpret rights discourses, the efforts by men in this movement to reframe new ideals of masculinity and cultural narratives is promising.

7.4 Reflections from Organisational Representatives

The following sub-section discusses interview data primarily from representatives from the six organisations interviewed in this study. The main findings are in relation to the accountability of men's spaces and groups, and the systematic and strategic efforts that can improve working with men and boys and address concerns of violence perpetrated by men.

7.4.1 Accountability to women and gender equality goals

As the earlier sections have alluded, possibly one of the most echoed foundational principles throughout the interviews with representatives from organisations was that work by and with men and boys should be accountable to women and the goals of gender equality. Participants reflected on the value of having safe places and support groups for men to self-reflect and transform; however, they noted the importance of sharing these spaces with women so that they are accountable to a gender-equality agenda. In other words, men's movements should be about supporting women's movements, and that accountability is about women being consulted about efforts by men and feminist comments taken on board by men (Pease, 2017). For instance, a senior male officer and male advocate in an NGO in Port Moresby observed that men's groups or spaces needed to be connected to a women's organisation so that women are constantly consulted to avoid men diverting the agenda.

> There are men thinking of starting groups, maybe a support group. But from my opinion, men's groups should be always within women's organisations. It should

> be a group supported by women's organisations, where women are engaged regularly to talk to men. Men can talk to each other, but women have to be present while they have their conversations or learning. These men as male advocates need to be accountable to women's organisations. If they lead it on their own, they will lose touch with the essence of the problem. The key thing is to be accountable to a women's organisations so that there is monitoring, reporting and accountability of what the men are doing. (Senior male officer with PM2, Port Moresby, interview, March 2019)

This response suggests that, among NGOs working in the gender space, there is an awareness of the growing interest among men to form support groups. However, NGOs are concerned that those groups that lack connection to women's groups or organisations for the purpose of accountability may end up losing the 'essence' or core of the program. As Macomber (2018: 1493) puts it, the concern that women and women's groups have is in relation to the influence men had with the direction of the work that 'women worked so hard to create.' This is a longstanding concern that women and women's groups reignite when different men's groups are created to serve their interests rather than accepting feminist and pro-feminist agendas.

Similarly, a female director of an organisation in Suva that works with male religious leaders saw the need for a women's group to act as a reference group for men's organisations:

> If we were to bring them [men] onboard our organisation, we do not know their energy so there are these separate programs for them like male advocacy, etc that they can be involved in. But we always say that if men were to have their own programs, the women's groups have to be a reference group for them. I have been in rooms where this has been talked about. (Female Director of SV2, Suva, interview, April 2019)

Although most of the reflections on accountability to women were expressed by representatives from organisations, Arkash (aged 34), an academic from a university in Fiji, who is one of the few men who proudly claimed to be a pro-feminist, remarked that the involvement of feminists in the men's space will challenge toxic masculinity and achieve meaningful change.

> We need to create spaces for men who are feminist allies to talk about how to deal with toxic masculinity. To challenge male privilege and power and we need to get feminists into these spaces so that there is not just collaboration but a lot of

> conversation and guidance from women on what needs to happen for meaningful change. The self-enquiry that has been required of man to questioning himself, his power and privilege, that needs to happen with women allies. I've been pretty lucky that my female friends and feminist friends have been ready to call me out. (Arkash, 34, Suva, interview, April 2019)

These responses illustrate concerns that having men's groups or spaces that are not shared with women are likely to lead to a lack of accountability by men on the ideals and principles of gender equality. Flood (2015) notes that there is a widespread acceptance of the principles and ideals of accountability in efforts that involve men and boys (Flood, 2015). Findings from a USA study conducted on men's anti-violence groups found that there are two concerns regarding accountability in men's groups. Firstly, definitions of accountability were often absent, vague, and diverse; secondly, women typically dealt with policing men's sexism issues (Macomber, 2012). Although working with men in violence prevention shares a broadly feminist approach, feminists have been uneasy regarding politics and practices that are developed to engage men, including concerns that progressive efforts to engage men could reduce funding for women programs, women's voices being sidelined or feminist positioning on prevention diluted (Flood, 2015; Macomber, 2012, 2014). These are legitimate concerns that may have undesirable outcomes on violence prevention programs if not dealt with. This is why power relations between men and women should be consistently assessed and interrogated (Ricardo, 2014). When accountability is dealt with appropriately, it is likely to produce more trustworthiness and respect between men's groups and women's groups within the gender space.

While some participants expressed the importance of men's spaces and movements being accountable to women, other participants provided suggestions on how this can be done. Some felt that men's groups and spaces need to be regularly supervised or monitored, with women or feminists providing guidance and advice, or that men's groups need to be formed under or within women's groups or movements. Then, an emphasis on men's accountability to women or gender equality functions to unintended consequences; for instance, men taking up space, men talking over women, or men objectifying women sexually (Macomber, 2012; Macomber and Sniffen, 2011). As demonstrated by a senior male officer in an NGO in Port Moresby, 'I don't think men will be talking about gender equality if they were to have their own separate space. They [men]will end up blaming or even sexualising women.' (Senior male officer with PM2, interview, Port Moresby, March 2019). He then went on to talk about the significance of the NCfR's Men's Hubs approach in Bougainville,

which he described as ‘not a standalone program but running under the NCfR influence, and so Sr Lorraine is able to repeatedly build men’s capacity to such a point that they can be trusted’ (Senior male officer with PM2, interview, Port Moresby, March 2019). This suggests that there is a need for men who intend to create men’s spaces, groups, or movements to develop a sense of trust among women or feminists, which is cultivated over time as capacity is built through training and education on gender-equality orientations. It is important to note that different kinds of men want to be involved, which makes engaging men even more challenging. Therefore, there is a range of ways in which we relate to men who are interested in engaging in violence prevention work.

Flood (2018) notes that there are now promising global initiatives that provide accountability guidelines and standards for engaging men in violence prevention work. MenEngage, a global association comprising of over 700 members ranging from NGOs and country networks to UN partners, developed accountability guidelines and standards for its members (MenEngage, 2014). Another initiative is the Engaging Men through Accountable Practice (EMAP) curriculum developed by the International Rescue Committee. This helps humanitarian practitioners engage men in transformative behaviour change in relation to personal or relational accountability (International Rescue Committee, 2014). Whilst these initiatives are significant developments that provide evidence-based approaches and best practise, challenges on how men are engaged or how they move through men’s movements and groups will persist. Therefore, I support Macomber’s (2014) view that there is a need for continuous dialogue on the importance of accountability if we are serious about increasing the engagement of men in gender justice.

7.4.2 Engaging in long-term, contextual, and systematic gender-transformation efforts

The representatives from the organisations interviewed had a range of opinions about ways to effectively challenge harmful gender and cultural norms and engage men and boys in a meaningful way. A number of participants talked about the importance of having a deeper understanding of the cultural and religious values and beliefs that form harmful norms in order to challenge them. A senior male manager in an organisation that advocates against gender violence in Port Moresby summed it up as follows:

> Challenging culture and religious beliefs about women and where they stand can affect your own personal beliefs. So, I think the focus for men in male advocacy work is about challenging social and cultural norms and practices. Doing this will have a greater impact on men’s views of women. (Senior male Manger, PM1, Port Moresby, interview, March 2019)

Evidence shows that interventions with a gender-transformation approach that create opportunities for men, women, girls, and boys to actively questions and challenge gender and social norms, are more productive in tackling gender-based violence (Fulu, Kerr-Wilson, Lang, 2014; Casey et al., 2018). Addressing the fundamental gender and power relations that propel violence is as important as tackling specific behaviour or attitude. These gender and power relations are mostly rooted in rapidly changing social, cultural, and religious values. Throughout this thesis, I have tried to emphasise the importance of having a deeper cultural, social, and religious understanding of the constructions of masculinities. Moreover, a shift in a man's participation in a particular sphere, for instance in education, migration, the modern economy, political participation, political or civil violence, may lead to shifts in his gender and social norms that reinforce gender violence and inequality (Gibbs, 2016a; Eves, 2006; Munro 2017; Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 2016; Spark, 2011). Other participants from organisations, alluding to the importance of deeper understanding of context, also made the point that the efforts towards challenging and transforming gender norms take time and therefore one round of training cannot address this. A female Director in an NGO that addresses respectful relationships among young men and women in Port Moresby said it this way:

> What the training does for them [men] is that it challenges men to be better. They realise that certain things that they have done, or certain things people have said do not sound right, but I think the issues of toxic masculinity and how to deal with it, is culturally sensitive and therefore there is need for capacity to understand it deeply. It will take time. It can't be a one-off training. But I have seen genuine men change. (Female Director of PM2, Bougainville, interview, April 2019)

Similarly, a male Director in an NGO that works with men and boys commented on the importance of long-term efforts in order to achieve change:

> The light bulb moments happen when they made aware of their own behaviour and attitude through education raised at the consciousness level. But this takes time. It's not a one-off training. Through a longer period of working with men and boys we are able to see who is potentially changing. For change to happen you have to do it strategically by following up and intervening over a period of time. (Director of SV1, Suva, interview, April 2019)

Gender transformative work that is long-term and contextual, with a deep understanding of the underlying roots of violence and inequality, is needed if we want to have a lasting impact. Realistic timelines and program objectives are important, as harmful social and gender norms may take a long

time to transform, hence, greater exposure to effective and coherent messages over time leads to increased impact (Marcus and Harper, 2014). An additional point mentioned here is the need for a strategic or systematic intervention to ensure that change in behaviour and attitude is achieved. Supportive and consistent efforts were therefore stressed to achieve meaningful change in in violence prevention work.

Developing interventions that are strategic and systematic highlight another point made among several interviewees, about the need for interventions that target men and boys to be more sustainable. It was discussed that for initiatives to be sustainable, they need to work with the most appropriate partners in the community, and that they need to work with or within existing structures or programs. Some organisations are already working this way, as a local NGO in Suva expressed: 'The beauty with our project is that we use existing structures within the church and not come up with our own structures.' (Senior Team Leader, SV2, Suva, interview, April 2019). For the NGOs interviewed, working with the most appropriate partners, and using a systematic approach means engaging with and within religious, traditional and government institutions and systems. Several participants discussed that working with these institutions or structures is about making sure that programs are maintained beyond funding constraints. Also, this systematic and institutionalised approach is about local ownership so that beneficiaries do not view interventions as coming from outside. Initiatives that are locally maintained and driven have the potential to nurture a collective sense of camaraderie and a sense of shared responsibility among members of the community, which is crucial for development. An NGO representative in Suva summed it up when he said:

> Institutionalising our projects into churches is an effective way. So that it becomes a program of the institution. We work with Catholic, Anglican and Methodist Church. In other places we work with traditions structures like the Council Elders. Also in other places, we work with the local government bodies. So, we unpack with them how they can support the program. They need to see how this is connected to the work they are already doing in their communities. If we fail to do that then they cannot support it because they see it as a foreign program. Its working strategically along those lines, so that when the funding support is done it won't stop the work you are doing. (Senior Male Director, SV1, Suva, interview, April 2019)

It was also emphasised that working with government systems can effectively create systematic changes by improving or strengthening existing systems or processes. A focus on larger structural

or policy-level interventions through enhanced awareness on gender equality and antiviolence has the potential to create and maintain change, as one NGO representative pointed out.

> Maintaining change is a systematic process. With our schools' program, we are embedding our program into the school curriculum through the work with teachers, and not creating separate programs. This is one way that men and boys can have the opportunity to redefine masculinity through the education system. This is a way to maintain positive change over time through working with existing systems and by improving these systems. Our [formal] education system are encouraging culture that at times may not be helpful and so through our work we can create change through the education system (Female Director, PM2, Bougainville, interview, March 2019)

Organisations in the Pacific are not only working with most appropriate partners, but they are working across multiple sectors as described above. Systemic change can be very challenging to envision because people find it easy to focus on the parts; however, it has the potential to research change in all or most parts of a system.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, two main perspectives dominated the participant accounts in relation to their views about programs working with men and boys, and their involvement in these programs. The first perspective relates to the claim that there is not much done for and with men in the gender-equality and anti-violence work. While this point has been established by scholars in the Pacific (Eves 2006; 2009; Jolly, 2012; Macintyre, 2012), this study particularly engages the perspectives of men on these matters and highlights concerns and contradictions, and some suggestions for improvement. Albeit feminism and women's rights has been highly criticised as the motive that drives the overwhelming support given to women, the reality is that women are usually receivers of violence and therefore more support given to them is logical. However, men continue to be left out of gender work, despite evidence showing the need to involve men as participants and partners in solving the problem of violence against women.

The second key perspective relates to the claim that men need safe spaces or support groups for therapy and self-transformation. There is a need for men to acquire therapeutic interventions to address combinations of factors, including the use of violence, abuse, and traumatic experiences as well as other daily pressures and challenges. Similarly, the argument that both men and women

suffer from the oppression of hegemonic masculinity justifies men's need for therapy and healing. However, it is important that discussions within these safe spaces and groups are facilitated by both men and women to bring about deep critical reflections encouraging the transformation of negative social and gender norms to positive ones. The accountability of men's organisations to women's or feminist organisations will allow men to consult with women on men's efforts and work critically and sympathetically towards addressing concerns that feminists or women might have. It was highlighted that the failure of commitment this not only cast doubt on the pro-feminist ethos of working with men, but can also lead to counterproductive, ineffectual, or even harmful practices.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

Masculinity as a 'problem' to be fixed has emerged as a dominant theme in public policy and in the agendas of development agencies and NGOs across the Pacific. Notably, however, these often exclude the voices of the men themselves. The public discourses around men in the region have largely focused on condemning the problematic behaviours of disenfranchised men and boys (Eves, 2017; Macintyre, 2008). Throughout this thesis, I have shown that there are various societal factors that influence or put pressure on contemporary men and masculine identities. These factors or forces include underlying societal transformations, such as political, social, economic, and cultural pressures, which are reinforced by the impact of rapid globalisation and modernisation. Gender-based violence, which is a major concern in Pacific society, stems from unequal power relationships between men and women and is even more prevalent in the context of rapid global and social transformation (Jolly, 2012). Thus, since men contribute to the problem of gender-based violence they too should be a part of addressing the problem. Still, there is very little research on men who perpetuate violence (Flood, 2014) and the voices of men are missing from policy and program agendas.

I undertook this research to understand the factors that shape or influence notions of Pacific Island masculinity and the ways in which local masculinities are constructed. I did this by conducting semi-structured interviews with men and representatives from selected local NGOs in Suva (Fiji), Port Moresby (PNG) and Bougainville (PNG). To this end, I examined the men's experiences and perspectives on how they navigate cultural and gender norms and relationships and how this shapes their perspectives on negotiations and constructions of manhood. Additionally, I explored the views and experiences of individual men and NGO representatives on engaging with men and boys in violence prevention initiatives in the region and how these initiatives can be improved to better include men and boys. This research matters because Pacific Island men's voices are limited in research, policy, and programming. Therefore, the overall aim of my research is to throw light on Pacific men's perspectives and experiences as they navigate, negotiate, and embody masculinities, offering insight into men's experiences in their own words. Understanding the complexities of contemporary masculinities means gender-related initiatives can be better informed to deal with issues of gender violence and inequality in the region.

The preceding four chapters have laid out key themes and specific findings that were identified within the interviews conducted in this research. This chapter will draw together these findings and

deliberate more broadly on what they mean for the field in relation to how future research on Pacific Island men and masculinities, and practice in engaging men and boys in gender-equality or anti-violence initiatives, can be developed and enhanced in Papua New Guinea, Fiji, or the Pacific. Therefore, this chapter is divided in to three main sections: key findings, implications, and final thoughts. In the first section, I summarise and discuss the key arguments and themes of the research. In the next section, I discuss the possible implications of the research on practice in the field more broadly, in relation to future research on Pacific Island masculinity and in relation to the practice of engaging men and boys in violence-prevention and gender-equality work. In the last section, I offer some final thoughts about the overall research.

8.2 Key Findings

The findings in this thesis demonstrate that masculinities are inflected within local places and cultures, with local appropriations and configurations of modernity. While transitions in masculinity are different in each context, particular masculinities, or ways of being a man are developed or negotiated based on the dominant discourses in society, which may compete and conflict with each other. While men arguably hold dominant positions in public services and development sectors in many countries, there are other man who do not. As exhibited in this research, not all men are dominant and thriving in their manhood, rather many are experiencing vulnerabilities and tension due to socio-economic and cultural pressures which demonstrates. The findings demonstrate that masculinities in the Pacific are ambivalent, hybrid and fluid. While some men construct hybrid masculinities to cope with pressure, others model hybrid masculinities to demonstrate alternative ways of being a man. This research confirms Raewyn Connell's (2008) view that there is no one single model of masculinity, but multiple models that exist in different localities. The findings also support evidence that there is a lack of engagement of men and boys in gender-transformative work, and that there is need for men's spaces that are accountable to women and the goal of gender equality. There are several key findings and arguments presented in this thesis, which I will now review.

Firstly, human rights discourses are re-defining manhood in the Pacific. As I explained in Chapter 3, due to the initial focus of this research, recruitment was limited to men who have had exposure to rights-based training. This meant that the cohort of men from Suva and Bougainville who took part in the research demonstrated they were knowledgeable about human and women's rights messages or have taken part in promoting these messages. In Chapters 4 and 6, I showed that men in Suva and Bougainville were open to and accepting of egalitarian values and spoke about them

more comfortably with family or community members. This was perhaps because of their status as male advocates, pro-feminists, or supporters of women's rights. Findings in these two sites demonstrated that men constructed notions of manhood and performed roles based on egalitarian or and rights-based convictions. Men shared experiences of having respectful relationships based on shared responsibilities and decisions.

In Suva, the influence of post-colonial feminism and rights-based discourses began during the colonial period through women's movements, and significantly grew during the military coups (1987, 2000, 2006), when women were abused. Feminist movements in Fiji have contributed to the reframing of Fiji's social, political, and economic life (Mishra, 2012). In Bougainville, the influence of rights-based discourses began during the Bougainville Crisis (1989-1998). However, for the men in this study, the influence of rights-based knowledge was through the active role of community organisations such as the Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation, and the engagement of men through their male advocates for human rights defender's programs. While there is a need for a systematic review of the gender-based violence programs in the region, this study shows the important work that the feminist movement and rights-based NGOs working in communities are doing to create a growing community of men who are contesting aspects of hegemonic masculinity and taking on less traditional masculine roles.

Secondly, although the social and economic precarities of both urban and rural contexts prove to be challenging, dealing with these challenges was, for some men, a way of proving their manhood. In Chapter 5, I highlighted some of the key hardships that men experience, including the absence of affordable accommodation and employment, the lack of education opportunities, the high cost of living, and the threat to their security. These hardships are linked to men's role as provider and protectors, when men are not able to offer these, they feel that their masculinity is challenged and precarious.

Being a breadwinner in the Pacific means attaining a level of economic and financial success that enables men to have autonomy and justify their authority. Often, this authority legitimatises domestic violence (Macintyre, 2002; 2008). This can be compromised in various ways by urban phenomena associated with precarity and poverty. In this research, precarious manhood is experienced continually by men within social environments that challenge their social and cultural roles and obligations as providers, protectors, and leaders. The precarious conditions within men's social environments are a key factor challenging men to continuously prove their manhood. For men in this study, demonstrating manhood through public displays of masculine roles and duties while

experiencing precariousness demonstrates the achievement of manhood (Vandello et al., 2008; Vandello and Cohen, 2008). Nevertheless, when these roles and obligations are not achieved due to constraints on economic or social resources, manhood is then diminished and further challenged (Bosson et al., 2009). When challenged men feel compelled to prove their manhood by dealing with hardships or performing certain tasks to exhibit that their masculinity is intact. To reinforce their gender status as 'real' men in society, men use and develop various strategies or actions to regain this status. In many instances in this research, the implications of precarious manhood are that men experience anxiety and other emotions that can lead them into physically aggressive behaviours or violence (Bosson and Vandello, 2011).

Thirdly, traditional, and religious ideologies and practices still play a dominant discourse in the Pacific. In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, I demonstrate that while men are changing and taking on new values that are modern and rights-based, they also deal with elements of traditional/patriarchal and religious expectations in their everyday life. In the Pacific, men rely on the patriarchal system as their source of identity, power, and social capital. While it is a source of support for men, men also face overwhelming pressure to meet expectations, especially where monetary contributions are required. This study has shown that when negotiating gender relations, men are careful not to damage the gendered power structure that gives them privilege and authority. Instead, they are creating new ways to maintain relationships with women while at the same time staying connected to the traditional and religious structures and norms that govern the gendered power structure. While this may be seen as a shift in behaviour and attitude, it is still far from shifting the core norms and values that maintain the gender divide and patriarchal order. Since proof of masculinity is enacted publicly (Vandello et al., 2015), most men continued to publicly demonstrate traditional models of masculinity, but privately or domestically with family members and friends they were willing to take on more partnership or power-sharing roles with women. These private vs public performances of masculinities are where hybrid masculinity is constructed.

Fourthly, hybrid masculinity in this study is demonstrated as a strategy and a way of being for men in the Pacific when dealing with conflicting multiple discourses and embodied practices. This is especially prominent with men moving from villages to towns. In the literature, this has been characterised as 'the selective incorporation of masculinities and, at times, femininities or subordinated masculinities into privileged men's gender performance and identities' (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014: 246). Findings in this study show that hybrid masculinity is not only a selection of softer and sensitive styles of masculinity by privileged men. In the Pacific, men who are marginalised or subordinated because of precarious circumstances or men who struggle with

expectations of hegemony also tend to perform hybrid masculinities. I have shown that men are contesting, negotiating, and blending elements of modernity influenced by Western cultures, religion and egalitarian values, and combining these with the traditional expectations and obligations of being a man. Findings in Suva show that there are men who are willing to bypass patriarchal systems and, through support from peers, are creating less traditional versions of masculinity. The willingness of men in Suva to perform hybrid masculine roles is likely due to influence of human rights ideals, new domestic violence decrees, feminism and similar ideals shared among peers and peer groups, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Finally, there is an increased awareness of the need to work with men and boys in the prevention of violence against women and girls in the Pacific region. In this study I examine the views of men and local organisations on the gender equality or anti-violence work in the region and, overwhelmingly, their response was that men are inadequately supported to transform from their negative behaviours and attitudes. On the other hand, the support given to women's empowerment and progress is creating resistance among men, and even producing harmful relationships between men and women. While man tend to dominate the development and public service sectors, discounting men from gender violence interventions can provoke male retaliation and hostility, which then deepens gender inequalities, leaving women with more work to do (Chant and Gutman, 2000). I have demonstrated that men are concerned about the approaches taken by feminists and women advocates that are anti-men; regardless of this, there are men who are willing to be partners and allies in the gender space. Providing a safe place for men and supporting men's movements are important considerations for work in the region; however, these men's spaces and groups need to be accountable to women or women's groups.

8.3 Implications and Limitations: What's Next for Practice and Research?

The findings from this study suggest that we are facing a crucial time to develop and enhance current research and practice efforts in order to address the social issues that we face in our societies. While there may be men and boys in the Pacific who are in discord with gender inequality as well as their own gendered positions in society, the persistent violence against women and existence of patriarchal structures, demonstrate that researching on men and masculinities in particular cultures and contexts is essential and must not lose its critical lens.

The research demonstrated that it is essential to engage meaningfully and extensively with a lot more men and boys on men's violence against women and gender inequalities and norms at its roots. There are men who are vulnerable Critical pro-feminist research on men and masculinities,

particularly in exploring men's perspectives on how patriarchy is maintained and how men can change and bring about change in patriarchal systems (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Meadows, 2007), can make a vital contribution to knowledge and practice in the Pacific. This should include a great deal of consideration of the reflections and developments of both the strategy and theory of efforts involving men and boys to strengthen coherence and effectiveness of practice and transparency in their accountability to feminism. Similarly, it is also important to ensure that critical studies on men and masculinities retain a close relationship with feminist scholarship. Strategies that engage men and boys need to see men as partners and allies. Governments in recent years have taken direct approaches towards policies and programs that call for action, such as 'Now is the time' campaign in PNG. There is now a growing recognition of the need to engage men more as partners and allies than bystanders in addressing violence and gender inequality (Flood, 2014: 2018). Also, programs that attach male advocates to Women Human Rights Defenders work should perhaps create spaces for men to discuss issues and challenges they experience, with guidance and support from women.

The reality is that there are other factors that contribute to violence. Therefore, research recognising the deep economic, political, and social marginalisation as well as cultural factors that shape ideas and practices of masculinity is important in the future. This thesis has demonstrated that there is need to engage in more depth on men's experiences in dealing with challenges or pressure in their everyday lives. There is need for a broader focus on the context of socio-economic inequalities and gender relations with wide-ranging perspectives (Lwambo, 2013). This needs to be researched and documented further. Therefore, programs that focus on gender violence need to take into consideration education and employment opportunities. Young men are constantly expected to make contributions to their community and family through money rather than customary economies, and therefore attaining money becomes an additional stress (Kent and Barnett, 2012). Disenfranchised and marginalised young men may feel disgraced and question their manhood due to repeated disappointment to meet community or individual goals. This in turn may be expressed through violence.

Men often feel excluded from initiatives that empower women and this can lead to backlash or resentment. Therefore, programs that improve women's economic, social, or political empowerment or prevent violence ought to embrace ways of working with men. There is a greater urgency to move beyond the fears and concerns of backlash in the region. It is important to recognise that women are not a separate or disjointed category from men but are interconnected in complex relations. It is important for initiatives to understand the relations between men and women in societies and the

consequences of empowering women. Efforts that concentrate on men and women as separate entities fail to address the need for a community cohesiveness which then 'fails to build and maintain strong constructive and cooperative communities' (Eves et al., 2018: xi).

For NGOs working in the Pacific, approaches should include working in a way that makes careful consideration of men's relationship to women and the society as a whole. Therefore, there may be a reframing and redesigning of gender-equality or VAWG programs to adapt to local cultural sensitivities, particularly in relation to the way in which NGOs approach relationship structures and hierarchies in society. However, care needs to be taken in this process of adaptation so as not to lose the critical edge of human rights discourse. While there has been some progress, there is still more to be done.

Evidence shows that it is possible to enhance and maintain the goals of women's empowerment and rights in the political, economic, and domestic domains, if men were to change and form alliance with women (Jewkes, Flood and Lang, 2015). Therefore, it is critical for NGOs engaging with men to deepen men's understanding of women's rights by encouraging them to contribute directly by supporting women's work at the community level, sharing domestic household chores, or supporting women's participation in political processes. Men need to also realise the gains of gender equality in their own lives (Lwambo, 2013). Findings in this thesis show that men are able to adapt and perform domestic roles within households and appreciate the role of women in making household decisions. While these changes are associated with the adaptation of egalitarian values within household settings, the test would be to demonstrate this in public life. Therefore, the activities or programs of NGOs targeting men should critically reflect on masculinity and gender norms. This includes discussions on understanding how gender is socially determined and how this affects and structures, relationships, power, and inequality (Fulu, Kerr-Wilson and Lang, 2014).

Furthermore, men's groups and movements are common themes in development and feminist literature, and the perception is that most of those men involved in men's groups are those that have encountered various forms of hardships with their manhood, or have reached a breaking point, often in terms of their gender roles (Collier, 1996; Faludi, 1999; Schwalbe, 1996; Singleton, 2003). Other research suggests that men also have pragmatic reasons for becoming involved. There is now growing evidence for the benefits of involving men and men's groups in movements to achieve greater gender equality in the Pacific, and, therefore, a reason to pay attention to them.

The scope of this research is limited in two ways. Firstly, as indicated earlier, this research seeks to gain a much deeper insight into the experiences and perceptions of Pacific Island men regarding

how they navigate cultural and gender norms and relationships. It is the intention of this research to bring to the centre of attention the voices of Pacific men. Consequently, this means it exemplifies a single gender perspective. Nonetheless, although limited, the voices of women are included to some degree throughout this thesis. Women were included during interviews as representatives from NGOs, and they also participated in the online survey. Secondly, the research examines the experiences and views of men from only two countries – Fiji and Papua New Guinea. These two countries are predominantly Melanesian, with Fiji comprised of a significant population of Indians (Indo-Fijians) and a tiny minority of Polynesian descent. Although this makes it convenient to obtain valuable insights and examines a specific cultural grouping in the region, it is not possible to generalise the findings of this research to Melanesian men in other countries. Further, as this thesis demonstrates, there are location- and context-specific factors that shape or influence masculinities; hence, findings from one Melanesian country cannot necessarily be directly applied to another Melanesian setting.

8.4 Final Thoughts

The findings from this research provide a number of key lessons for future research and development efforts in the region. This research has shown that notions of masculinity, and the ways in which men navigate gender and cultural norms and construct particular masculinities is complex and constantly changing. There are two urgent steps needed in regard to positive outcomes for gender-equality or anti-violence initiatives in the region. First, to engage in a robust evaluation of the efficacy of gender programs that engage men and boys. This evaluation should consist of a depth analysis of socio-economic challenges that men experience so that policies and programs can more targeted. Second, to improve meaningful and constructive engagement of men and boys in violence prevention in the region. In giving a voice to men through this research, I hope that this will encourage development organisations, policy makers and researchers to make an effort to be more inclusive of men's experiences and perspectives.

In closing, I would like to quote Raewyn Connell (2016: 315) 'Knowledge is not a substitute for action. But accurate knowledge and theoretical insight are priceless assets for action when action is concerned with contesting power and achieving social justice'. I would add that knowledge not only empowers individuals and institutions, but it also helps right some of these wrongs created by them.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Biodata of participants with pseudonyms

Pseudonym names and age	Country of residence and city	Current Occupation	Religion	Highest Education qualification attained	Marital Status	No. of Children	Gender/Human Rights Training
Charlie, 54	PNG, Bougainville	Trainer/Facilitator with NGO	Christian (Catholic)	Graduate Degree	Married	5	Yes
Mark, 53	PNG, Bougainville	Farmer and Agriculture Extension Trainer	Christian (Catholic)	High School	Married	3	Yes
Rodney, 41	PNG, Bougainville	Trainer/Facilitator with NGO	Christian (Catholic)	High School	Married	2	Yes
Caleb, 29	PNG, Bougainville	Policy and Research Officer with NGO	Christian (Catholic)	Graduate Degree	Married	2	Yes
Andy, 63	PNG, Bougainville	Trainer/Facilitator with NCfR	Christian (Catholic)	Technical Training Certificate	Married	7	Yes
Jacob, 43	PNG, Bougainville	Unemployed	Christian (Adventist)	High School	Married	3	Yes
Allen, 36	PNG, Bougainville	Trainer/Facilitator with NGO	Christian (Catholic)	Primary School	Married	3	Yes
Greg, 53	PNG, Bougainville	Trainer/Facilitator with NGO	Christian (Catholic)	Primary School	Married	5	Yes
Manuel, 34	PNG Bougainville	Program Officer with NGO	Christian (Catholic)	Diploma in Business Studies	Married	2	Yes
Anthony, 53	PNG, Bougainville	Trainer/Facilitator with NGO and PMV Driver	Christian (Catholic)	Primary School	Married	7	Yes

Stanley, 48	PNG, Bougainville	Program Officer with multi-lateral organisations	Christian (Catholic)	Postgraduate	Married	4	Yes
Larry, 43	PNG, Bougainville	Club Manager	Christian (Adventist)	High School	Married	4	Yes
Micah, 32	PNG, Bougainville	President of United Bougainville Youth (UBY) Association	Christian (United Church)	High School	Married	2	Yes
Jonny, 21	PNG, Bougainville	Volunteer with NGO	Christian (United Church)	High School	Not married	-	Yes
Godfrey, 46	PNG, Port Moresby	Lawyer	Christian (Pentecostal)	Post Graduate Degree	Married	-	Yes
Justin, 29	PNG, Port Moresby	Program Manager with NGO	Christian (Evangelical Brotherhood)	Bachelor's Degree	Married	1	Yes
Ronald, 26	PNG, Port Moresby	Project Officer with NGO	Christian (Adventist)	Diploma Certificate	Not married	-	Yes
Duncan, 26	PNG, Port Moresby	Government Advisor	Christian (United Church)	Diploma Certificate	Not married	-	Yes
Jeremiah, 36	PNG, Port Moresby	Pastor	Christian (Evangelical)	Primary School	Married	3	No
Jelta, 50	PNG, Port Moresby	Unemployed	Christian (Evangelical)	Primary School	Married	5	No
Cameron, 23	PNG, Port Moresby	Student and volunteers for youth project	Christian (Pentecostal)	Currently studying Undergraduate degree	Never married	-	Yes
Nick, 31	PNG, Port Moresby	Unemployed and volunteers for youth project	Christian (Anglican)	Diploma Certificate	Never married	-	Yes

Trevor, 40	PNG, Port Moresby	IT manager	Christian (Adventist)	Bachelor's Degree	Married	3	Yes
Rex, 27	PNG, Port Moresby	Unemployed	Christian (Adventist)	Primary School	Never married	0	No
Milford, 26	PNG, Port Moresby	Student	Christian (Lutheran)	Bachelor's Degree	Never married	1	No
Collin, 41	PNG, Port Moresby	Admin Officer/Driver with NGO	Christian (Catholic)	Accounting Certificate	Married	4	Yes
Jackson, 36	PNG, Port Moresby	Project Operation Manager with NGO	Christian (Catholic)	Bachelor's degree	Married	1	Yes
Levi, 23	PNG, Port Moresby	Unemployed	Christian (Adventist)	Mechanic Certificate	Never married	-	No
Ralph, 34	PNG, Port Moresby	Lithographic Printer	Christian (Catholic)	Diploma Certificate	Married	2	NO
Joeli, 30	Fiji, Suva	Nurse	Christian (Pentecostal)	Bachelor's Degree	Not Married	-	Yes
Sefa, 30	Fiji, Suva	NGO Manager	Christian (Catholic)	Diploma Certificate	De facto	1	Yes
Manasa, 46	Fiji, Suva	Church Minister	Christian (Methodist)	PhD Candidate	Married	2	Yes
Nalovu, 55	Fiji, Suva	NGO Director	Christian (Catholic)	Master's Degree	Married	1	Yes
Rafaele, 39	Fiji, Suva	Program Associate with multi-lateral organisation	Christian (United Church)	Bachelor's Degree	Not married	-	Yes
Mikaele, 33	Fiji, Suva	Radio Presenter and Producer	Christian (Catholic)	Diploma Certificate	Not married	-	Yes
Kalivatu, 34	Fiji, Suva	Physical Fitness Trainer	Christian (Catholic)	Diploma Certificate	Married	3	Yes

Tomasi , 34	Fiji, Suva	Program Associate with multi-lateral organisation	Christian (Methodist)	Secondary School Certificate	Not married	-	Yes
Masi, 31	Fiji, Suva	Teaching Assistant at University	Christian (Methodist and Pentecostal)	Master's Degree	Not married	-	No
Epeli, 37	Fiji, Suva	Project Officer with multi-lateral organisation	Christian (Catholic)	Diploma Certificate	Married	2	Yes
Seru, 32	Fiji, Suva	Company Manager and leader of political party	Christian (Methodist)	Officer Military Cadet Training with NZ Army	Married	3	Yes
Peninaia, 32	Fiji, Suva	Self-employed	Christian (Methodist)	Bachelor's Degree	Not married	-	Yes
Arkash, 34	Fiji, Suva	Teaching Assistant at University	Atheist (raised as Hindu)	Master's Degree and Post-graduate Diploma Certificate	Not married	-	Yes
Evasa, 58	Fiji, Suva	Reverend and Volunteer with NGO	Christian (Anglican)	Pastoral Training Certificate	Married	1	Yes
Waqa, 31	Fiji, Suva	Program Officer with NGO	Christian (Pentecostal)	Bachelor's Degree	Married	-	Yes
Filimone, 32	Fiji, Suva	IT Manager	Christian (Methodist)	Bachelor's Degree and Post-Graduate Diploma Certificate	Not married	-	No
Semisi, 43	Fiji, Suva	Program Manager with bi-lateral organisation	Christian (Catholic)	University but did not complete	Not married	-	Yes

Appendix B: Some organisations working with men and boys on GBV or VAWG programs in the region

Country	Organisation and Program name	Background and specific work with men and boys' programs
PNG	Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation (NCfR) Male Human Rights Defenders/Male advocates for women's human rights	Project works to prevent violence against women and girls and developed a network of human rights defenders and male advocates in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville. NCFR's work with male human rights defenders or male advocates for women human rights is to strengthen men's role as advocates and partners in the prevention of violence against women and girls. NCfR's Male advocate forums, run since 2017, aim to challenge negative gender norms, strengthen partnerships and networks among other men and women and learn about the work of Women Human Right Defenders https://iwda.org.au/nazareth-centre-for-rehabilitation/ https://pacificwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/PNG-Performance-Report-2017-2018.pdf
PNG	Family Sexual Violence Action Committee (FSVAC)	The FSVAC was set up as a sectorial committee of the Consultative Implementation & Monitoring Council. The mandate of the FSVAC is to work towards reducing the occurrence of and suffering caused by physical, sexual and psychological violence, especially between family members in the home environment. FSVAC runs male advocates trainings with men in private and public sector organisations. https://www.facebook.com/FSVAC/
PNG	Digicel PNG Foundation Men of Honour (MOH)	Digicel PNG Foundation MOH is a flagship campaign of Digicel PNG Foundation, the community development arm of Digicel PNG (mobile network and telecommunications company), that works in various community projects including education, health, infrastructure and leadership. Under its leadership projects, MOH works with men who are identified by community members as positive role models to strengthen their capacity and knowledge as advocates against violence. http://www.digicelfoundation.org/png/en/home/programs/leadership/addressing-violence.html
PNG	Equal Playing Field (EPF)	Equal Playing Field, launched in 2012, engages with young men and women in PNG to promote healthy, safe and respectful relationships, which it operates through its schools' programs, called EPF4S. www.equalplayingfield.global

PNG	PNG National Public Service Male Advocacy Network (PNGPSMAN)	PNGPSMAN is an initiative of the PNG National Department for Personal Management and an important component of the Whole-of-Government Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Policy of 2013. The initiatives train male public servants on human rights and build their capacity as advocates to support women's human rights, access to justice and support services in community and professional environments. http://devpolicy.org/2019-PNG-Update/Papers/Parallel-4A-Male-Advocate-Roles-and-Male-Advocate-Responsibilities-in-a-Changing-World-Joelson-Anere.pdf
Fiji	Fiji Women's Crisis Centre (FWCC)	The Male Advocacy program for women's human rights was created a decade ago aimed at educating men on the root causes of violence against women. Male advocates, who include traditional leaders, police officers and service providers, use their knowledge to help other men and boys recognise how violence against women is perpetuated and what they can do to change this. After its success in Fiji, the programme has been extended to the Cook Islands, Papua New Guinea, Tonga and Vanuatu. In Fiji, around 100 men have graduated from the programme. http://www.fijiwomen.com/ http://pacificwomenreport.org/
Fiji	Transcend Oceania	Transcend Oceania is an NGO operating in Fiji since 2014 with the mission to advance peace and development through justice and non-violence approaches. Of their three justice and development projects, one focuses on sensitising men and boys through training and workshops on the root causes and impacts of gender inequality between men and women, and actively engages in the prevention of violence against women and girls. https://www.transcendoceania.org/who-we-are/
Fiji	House of Sarah (HOS)	The House of Sarah is a faith-based initiative, launched in 2009 by the Association of Anglican Women (AWW) in Fiji. They support women throughout the Pacific and they promote equal and respectful relationships through their church affiliation and networks. HOS works with women, young people, male clergy and laypersons across Anglican parishes in Fiji. www.houseofsarah.org
Samoa	Samoa Victim Support Group Inc (SVSG)	SVSG is a non-government organisation that began in 2005, supporting victims of crimes and most vulnerable populations though advocacy, casework, shelter for children, awareness and violence prevention programs. They have a specific program that targets men and boys to reduce gender violence through building the capacity of young men in creating advocacy plans and engagement in advocacy activities. They aim to create an

		environment where young men can voice their concerns and have their voices heard by decision makers http://www.samoavictimsupport.org/governing-body.html
Vanuatu	World Vision Vanuatu Men's Behaviour Change Program	World Vision Vanuatu is a Christian humanitarian and development organisation dedicated to working with children, families and communities to overcome poverty and injustice. In 2018, they piloted an innovative Men's Behaviour Change (MBC) program under their gender-based violence prevention program called Relationship Education about Choices and Healing (REACH). This is a 10-session, small-group therapy program for perpetrators of violence (either self-identified or selected by community leaders to attend). The purpose of the program is to assist men in reducing and ceasing family and domestic violence. The program addresses attitudes and behaviours around abuse whilst creating opportunities for men to understand the impact of their violence on their partners and families. It also supports men to recognise they can change and have caring, healthy and equal relationships. https://www.wvi.org/sites/default/files/2020-07/MBC%20Precursory%20Impact%20Study_FIN.pdf
Vanuatu, Fiji, Solomon Islands & PNG	Oxfam Gender Justice	Oxfam Australia is working with men and boys in Pacific Island communities to challenge and transform harmful beliefs that perpetrate gender violence and inequality against women and girls, and create opportunities for women and girls to have access economic resources to improve their lives. https://www.oxfam.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/2019-IP-001-Capacity-statements_Gender-justice_FA_web.pdf

Appendix C: Participant's Informed Consent Form

Participant Information Guide/Consent

Research Topic: Changing Masculinity in the Pacific: Exploring perspectives of what makes a good man in the Pacific

Introduction

I am currently doing a PhD research project looking at the experiences of men in the Pacific on how they relate to change.

Studies have shown that changes in masculinity are giving rise to violence in the Pacific.

Masculinity in the Pacific and elsewhere is seen as a problem, however, the voices of men on this matter have been unclear or limited. This study is significant because it will engage men in trying to understand their experiences of change.

Permission to record and seek consent

- Would you be willing to take part in this research?
- If you are, would you be comfortable with being recorded by an audio/voice recorder?
- Are you okay with me recording the next part where I tell you about the research and ask for your consent?

Research Project and Participant requirements:

- Thank you for your willingness so far. I am going to explain to you the research project and you can ask me questions about anything that you don't understand or want to know more about.
- As mentioned earlier, I am doing this research as part of my PhD studies. The research will explore the views and perceptions of men from the Pacific on changes they are experiencing as men. My research will focus on men from Papua New Guinea and Fiji
- There are two parts to this study. First, it will focus on men and their views of changing masculinity and second, it will focus on the gender related initiatives/programs that attempt to reduce gender inequality with focus on changing the behaviour of men.

- An average of 20 men from Fiji and Papua New Guinea will be engaged in this study, and a total of 6 organizations/service providers who work with men and boys will also be included in this study.
- Your participation will take up to 60-80 minutes to complete (60 minutes with organisations/service providers)
- There are no costs associated or direct benefits with participating in this research project, nor will you be paid. It is our hope that you will see the reward in the knowledge outcomes of this research and contributions it will make in addressing issues that are relevant to men, women and children in the Pacific.
- Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and therefore if you do not wish to take part, or stop the interview at any time, it is completely okay. Also, during the interview, if there are questions you don't want to answer, you can refuse to answer, and if you decide to take part and later change your mind, just let me know and you are free to withdraw from the research project at any stage. There will be no consequences.
- We believe there are no known risks related with this research study, however, as with any research that involves humans, the risk of breach of confidentiality is always perceived. To the best of our ability your answers in this study will remain confidential. We will minimize any risks by not including names (or description of organisation) in the research.
- [Mainly point for organisations and service providers] To protect others from all kinds of harm, I would like to ask that when discussing about Gender Based Violence, that you do not identify people by their names or cases.
- Your responses will be recorded using a voice/audio recorder and will be maintained on a secured device that only I and my supervisors can access. If you would like to access the recording or transcript of the interview, you can contact me or my supervisors at any time for this.
- The research results will be ready after two years. If you would like to receive a copy of a summary of the research when it is completed, please feel free to contact me or my supervisors.

  Do you have any questions?

  Do you freely agree to participate in this research project as described and understand that you are free to withdraw at any time during the project?

  If you want any further information concerning this project, you can contact me (give your business card) or my research supervisors.

  Supervisors Contacts:

Supervisors	Professor Denise Cuthbert	Associate Professor Ceridwen Spark

If you have any concerns or complaints about this research project, which you do not wish to discuss with me, you may contact:

Human Research Ethics Committee at RMIT University:

Reviewing HREC name	RMIT University
HREC Secretary	Peter Burke
Telephone	61 3 9925 2251
Email	human.ethics@rmit.edu.au
Mailing address	Research Ethics Co-ordinator Research Integrity Governance and Systems RMIT University GPO Box 2476 MELBOURNE VIC 3001

Or you can also contact the following people locally:

Country	Papua New Guinea	Fiji
Contact Person	Sr Lorraine Garasu, Director for Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation	Kymberley Kepore, Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development

Appendix D: Semi-structured Interview Questions – for male research participants

Title: Changing Masculinity in the Pacific: Exploring what makes a good man in the Pacific

Participant Bio data:

Tell me about yourself…

Name: (this data is not be used in research publication)

Gender:

Age:

Country:

District/Village:

Marital/Relationship Status:

Number and Gender of Children:

Current or Past Employment:

Highest Level of Education completed:

Do you follow are faith/religion/church?

Participated in gender related programs:

Questions about ideas of good man

1. I'm interested in hearing about your image of a good man…What are your ideas/views of a good man? (use as prompt if you do not get enough response) Please tell me about your thinking about the characteristics, attributes or behaviour of a good man.
2. Do you think men place value on being seen as a good man? Why do you say so? How is this expressed?
3. What were some of the things you were told or taught growing up as a kid that were key to becoming a good man? Who gave you this advice?
4. What about today, what attributes are you told or taught as an adult are key to becoming a good man? Who gave you this advice?

Questions about change

5. I'm interested in your views about men today…do you think ideas or views of a good man have changed or are changing? (if yes/no) Why do you say so?
6. What is your view of change? What are the forces in society that are generating change? How is this change expressed by men in your network/family/community?
7. Are you seeing signs that men in your network/family/community are trying to change? Tell me about this. [if answer to question 7 is yes then ask what he thinks are contributing to or influencing change in the behaviour, attitudes and practices of men. Also ask what the reaction is from people in relation to this change?
8. Do you think men who change face challenges or pressure? If yes, what are they?
9. Are there areas in a man's life where he is being forced or pressured to change? Why do you say so?? [If answer to question 9 is yes then ask how men are dealing with the pressure?]

Questions on maintaining change

10. I'm interested in how positive change is maintained or sustained…what are the factors that have supported you or other men in your community/network/family to continue making choices to be a 'good man'?
11. Do you feel that you are getting the support and guidance you need to continue making choices to be a 'good man'? Who do you think should be providing you support and guidance? What kind of support do you need to help you continue making choices to be a 'good man?
12. What is your motivation to change?

Appendix E: Semi-structured interview Questions - for organisation representatives

Title: Changing Masculinity in the Pacific: Exploring what makes a good man in the Pacific

Date/Time/Place of interview:

Name of Organisation:

Name of Interviewees:

1. Tell me about the work your organisation does and with men and boys in particular

2. Do you think men are changing? Why do you say so?

3. How are you supporting or maintaining the change that men are experiencing?

4. Why do you think there are men in the community who refuse to change? What is influencing this? Why do you say this?

5. Thinking of the examples of good men in the community/target population you work with, how are women or other men responding to the changes seen among men?

Appendix F: Semi-structured Interview Question- for male research participants (after shift of research focus)

Working Title: Ideas of masculinity in the Pacific: Exploring men and masculinity in the Papua New Guinea and Fiji

Participant bio data:

I'm interested to know about your experiences as a man living in Port Moresby, your upbringing and your views on masculinity and being a man today. Would you tell me about this?

Tell me about yourself…

- Name: (this data is not used in research publication)
- Gender:
- Age:
- Country: Papua New Guinea
- Where are you originally from? (Province/District/Village):
- Did you grow up with your family?
- Where did you spend most of your early years?
- Where do you currently live?
- How many people live in your household?
- Are you the main breadwinner of your household?
- What is your marital/relationship status?
- What does your wife/partner do? (if married or in a relationship)
- Where is she from?
- Do you have children? If yes, how many and what is their gender?
- Do you earn an income?
- Did you go to school?
- Do you follow are faith/religion/church?

Questions on early life experience

1. Can you tell me about some of the roles you played growing up as a boy?
2. Who taught you these roles?
3. What roles did your father and mother play in your home?
4. What roles did your other male and female siblings play in your home?
5. Was there anyone who you saw as a role model growing up? Why did you see this person as a role model?
6. When growing up did you see your parents or other people treating you and your brothers differently from your sisters? (see answer above)
7. What did you want to be when you were growing up?

Questions on their present experience

8. What about at present, how is it like living in Port Moresby? Do you enjoy living in Port Moresby?
9. Can you tell me how you see your role as a father/husband/grandfather/leader/son etc?
10. Is there anything in particular as a man do you find challenging?
11. (For those that have children only) Do you feel any difference in the way you treat your children depending on their gender? (Do you treat your son differently from your daughter? If yes, then in what ways and why?
12. Is there anyone in your life your life right now that you see as a role model? Why do you see this person as your role model?

General Questions

13. What are the values that people see or say that men have in society or in their homes? (what is the value of men in the community?)
14. How do you think men in PNG perceive their roles in society?
15. What are the aspects of men or his role that people value? (similar to question 13)
16. What are the aspects of men or his role that people do not value?
17. What does it mean to be seen as a good man in society?
18. Are men in PNG facing any particular challenges? (talked about in 10)
19. We've talked about values. Do you pursue these values? If so, how do you do this?

Appendix G: RMIT University Ethics Approval

College Human Ethics Advisory Network (CHEAN)
College of Design and Social Context
NH&MRC Code: EC00237

Notice of Approval

Date:	**9 November 2018**
Project number:	**CHEAN A 21775-10/18**
Project title:	**'Changing Masculinity in the Pacific: Exploring Perspectives on What Makes a Good Man'**
Risk classification:	**Low risk**
Chief investigator:	**Dr Ceridwen Spark**
Status:	**Approved**
Approval period:	From: **9 November 2018** To: **27 May 2019**

The following documents have been reviewed and approved:

Title	Version	Date
Risk Assessment and Application Form	2	30 October 2018
Attachment 1: Semi-structured Interview Questions (Male Participants)	2	30 October 2018
Attachment 2: Semi-structured Interview Questions (Organisations/Service Providers)	2	30 October 2018
Attachment 3: Interview Schedule	2	30 October 2018
Attachment 4: List of Potential Organisations and Individuals	2	30 October 2018
Attachment 5: Recruitment Emails (Organisations/Service Providers)	2	30 October 2018
Attachment 6: PISCF	2	30 October 2018
Attachment 7: Recruitment Email (Male Participants)	1	30 October 2018

The above application has been approved by the RMIT University CHEAN as it meets the requirements of the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (NH&MRC, 2007).

Terms of approval:

1. **Responsibilities of chief investigator**
   It is the responsibility of the above chief investigator to ensure that all other investigators and staff on a project are aware of the terms of approval and to ensure that the project is conducted as approved by CHEAN. Approval is valid only whilst the chief investigator holds a position at RMIT University.
2. **Amendments**
   Approval must be sought from CHEAN to amend any aspect of a project. To apply for an amendment use the request for amendment form, which is available on the HREC website and submitted to the CHEAN secretary. Amendments must not be implemented without first gaining approval from CHEAN.
3. **Adverse events**
   You should notify the CHEAN immediately (within 24 hours) of any serious or unanticipated adverse effects of their research on participants, and unforeseen events that might affect the ethical acceptability of the project.
4. **Annual reports**
   Continued approval of this project is dependent on the submission of an annual report. Annual reports must be submitted by the anniversary of approval of the project for each full year of the project. If the project is of less than 12 months duration then a final report only is required.
5. **Final report**
   A final report must be provided within six months of the end of the project. CHEAN must be notified if the project is discontinued before the expected date of completion.