INNOVATIVE STRATEGY FOR PROMOTING SAFER COMMUNITIES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA: A CASE STUDY OF PORT MORESBY

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About the Authors

James Laki is a retired military officer, graduated with a BE in Electrical Engineering at the University of Technology, in Lae, PNG, in 1978 and a Masters in Defence Studies at the University of New South Wales, Australia, in 1999. His work experiences include many years as a communications engineer and managed PNG Defence Force Communications Systems before attachment as Acting Head and Senior Research Fellow, Political and Legal Studies Division at the Papua New Guinea National Research Institute (PNG NRI) in 2000. He, later in 2008, became Executive Director of Peace Foundation Melanesia, a people and community empowerment civil society organisation. From 2015, he continued as a Voluntary Coordinator for Peace Foundation Melanesia, working on development issues affecting the country and the region. He is currently, an Executive Committee member for PNG Civil Society Organisation Forum.

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>AusAID</td>
<td>Australian Agency for International Development</td>
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<td>CACC</td>
<td>Central Agencies Coordination Committee</td>
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<td>CBC</td>
<td>Community-Based Correction</td>
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<td>CCVS</td>
<td>Community Crime Victimization Survey</td>
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<td>CS</td>
<td>Correctional Services</td>
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<td>DJAG</td>
<td>Department of Justice and Attorney General</td>
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<td>DNPM</td>
<td>Department of National Planning and Monitoring</td>
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<td>DSIP</td>
<td>District Services Improvement Program</td>
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<td>FSVU</td>
<td>Family and Sexual Violence Unit</td>
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<td>IPO</td>
<td>Interim Protection Order</td>
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<td>JAG</td>
<td>Justice Advisory Group</td>
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<td>JCFADT</td>
<td>Australian Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade</td>
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<td>LJSP</td>
<td>Law and Justice Sector Program</td>
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<td>LJS</td>
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<td>MTDP</td>
<td>Medium Term Development Plan</td>
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<td>NCD</td>
<td>National Capital District</td>
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<td>NCM</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organisation</td>
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<td>PNG</td>
<td>Papua New Guinea</td>
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<td>RPNGC</td>
<td>Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary</td>
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<td>SLOS</td>
<td>Social, Law and Order Sector</td>
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<td>VC</td>
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<td>YLM</td>
<td>Yumi Lukautim Mosbi</td>
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Abstract

The strategy for safer community has been for the security agents to engage better with various community groups. However, policing must change with the demand of the dynamics of the community. This study examines key factors that contribute to insecurity issues in Papua New Guinea (PNG), innovative interventions that can be used to promote safer communities in Port Moresby. Data came from a desktop review of relevant literature on the subject and consultations with key stakeholders on issues relating to urban safety in Port Moresby. The findings revealed that key factors that contribute to insecurity issues in Port Moresby include the pull and push factor, drug smuggling, policing deficiency, youths as perpetrators, gun culture, cultural implosion, gender aspects and governance and bureaucratic failures. The insecurity issues can be addressed by providing appropriate legal framework for security and welfare services, providing policing which is community oriented. Government should continue to invest in establishing justice centres and consider creating food bank as a mean to alleviate poverty. State agencies should step up their efforts to engage with the community through sharing of information, advocacy and awareness packages for peace and harmonious community. Any concept or system to safer communities should be inclusive, outreaching and comprehensive for all groups of people. The findings will assist urban security managers and planners in developing effective strategies for addressing insecurity issues in urban areas.
Introduction

Security and safety concerns for Port Moresby could stem from historical context when reference is made to the colonial administration and the attitude the administrators had. The mindsets were apparent when “it was comforting to think that urban in-migrants to towns, seen as potential problems, were just there there temporarily” (Ward, 1998: 22). A good account of the colonial settings are well presented in Australian women in Papua New Guinea (PNG) and of how the women were treated and dominated just like PNG citizens by the colonial administration (Bulbeck, 1992). Urbanisation or urban growth was never in any of the colonisers’ plans as articulated by various observers (May, 2004: 41). Moreover, questions were raised based on how to incorporate customs that kept propping up for over two decades since the inception of the Papua New Guinea Act 1949 when the colonisers thought they were around for a long haul.

By 1980, urban population in PNG was increasing in three main centres including Port Moresby (Koczberski et al., 2017). In Port Moresby, poverty, crime and social order were increasing with population and having detrimental impact on economic growth and increase in cost for doing business as security companies mushroomed. “By 1990, at 554,751 persons, the urban population share was 15 percent. In 2000… the urban population was 686,301 persons being a 13.2 percent share of national population (underestimated). The 2010 national population is estimated as being 6,609,745 persons. Taking into account under enumeration and importantly, the increasing amount of peri-urban development occurring outside local level government areas (including declared town boundaries), the urban share for 2010 is estimated at around 15 percent or 991,461 persons. In other words, nearly one million Papua New Guineans now live in urban areas” (PNG National Urbanisation Policy, 2010:24).

Urban issues in Port Moresby could amount to a security situation that require comprehensive intervention that need resources. There are three questions on security that are asked regularly (Lipschutz, 1995:1). The first relates to ‘what is being secured. Is it the country, the peoples’ culture, sovereignty or some other vital asset? The next set of question is about what constitutes the condition for security? Where is the insecurity posed? Is the threat emanating from a neighbour? Is it the suppression of a minority group or is it economic opportunity that requires insulating from outsiders? The last set of questions query the methods by which security becomes a problematic issue. Unless the issue is brought to prominence, by some publicity, or made aware, as a ‘speech act’ that is uttered, it is not a security threat. There must be an existential threat to the community and the State to warrant attention. The subject becomes institutionalised, and measures are taken to articulate policies for intervention as well as implementation and restoration.

The research examined some historical perspectives on urbanisation and security implications before looking at what attempts were made to secure or plan urban settlements in Port Moresby. The research identified most of the issues that have been discussed in varying research and data analysis that were documented and noted some gaps in planning urban settlement. The research also identified what has been done to alleviate souring law and order issues, compounded by socio-economic disparities in what has been termed Village Cities. It discussed linkage of past observations and actions to current trends to determine their success and challenges. It discussed the shortfalls a community, which appears to be the foci with its challenges, have not been readily supervised, controlled and given the support.

The research explored mechanisms for developing safer towns and cities throughout PNG, using Port Moresby as a case study. Potential innovative strategies and options to influence policy development and adaptation were also discussed. Port Moresby is a reflective of different life styles and adaptations taking place in rural and urban communities all over the country.

The objective of this research was in two-fold:

i. To identify key factors that contribute to urban insecurity in PNG; and,

ii. To find and discuss innovative interventions and initiatives that can be used to promote safer communities.
Generally, the arguments for urbanisation and the historical conceptions were revisited in this research, which was a Desk Review that highlighted some of the elements contributing to urban insecurity that are part of a larger socio-economic development experienced globally. There are many specifics that will require separate independent research. For example, the impacts on health, education, infrastructure, and the consequences on various cohorts such as women, youths, and people living with impairments, and children.

Further gap analysis that impact on just and proper services that may contribute to safer city could not be made due to time and unavailability of key personnel for consultation. There could have been more observations to draw out some best practices. Many of the efforts to mitigate insecure communities have been ongoing, however, at times their supervision and outcome could be in vain. They could lack the support because of changes in priorities, and these priorities could be for instance, financing for APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Corporation) 2018 Summit or hosting the South Pacific Games, coronavirus pandemic of the latest, as well as commitment to assist with national disasters that occur too frequently.

The intention of the research identified ongoing attempts at mitigating impacts on urban living and discussing on how some of these attempts could be coordinated, build coalitions with all stakeholders and review some of the justice concepts that could be human right centered, fair and just. Many other issues are human security issues that could be food security, shelter, market space and the new norm due to Covid-19.

Further exploration was made to mainstreaming Restorative Justice Concept as a means of not just rehabilitating offenders, but also as a counselling mechanism for victims. It would work in line with the Law and Justice Framework where ownership of community order becomes everyone’s effort. Many of the past strategies could now amalgamate with trending efforts which would not only influence policies, there would be requirements for legislative framework to integrate, breakdown silos and to have some collective approaches. This is noted in areas of an upgrade of current system with Police and Correctional Institute, as well as Department of Justice and Attorney General (DJAG), Community-Based Corrections and others like Juvenile Justice.

This research was a case study commencing 24 August and ending 3 December 2020. It was basically a desk review, supplemented by some consultations. In light of Covid-19 concerns, many partners or stakeholders could not be consulted when they were working from home. There was also quite a lot of commentary and suggestions on social media, print media, web pages, blogs and other group pages. These were accessed and their comments were observed and analysed on crime, law and order in Port Moresby.
Consultations with key stakeholders

Consultations were for qualitative analysis rather than quantitative so very few were done. These were mainly with the Department of Justice and Attorney General (DJAG) and its various divisions, Social, Law and Order Sector (SLOS) Secretariat, Community Police, Correctional Service and the National Capital District Commission (NCDC) which were conducted as conversational. A focal group was also organised and these groups’ contributions were incorporated in the analysis. Questionnaires were prepared, however, they were not used and at times were inappropriate as the conversation began with what they do to draw out their responsibilities and activities. The individuals and group discussions are listed in Annex A of the report. Findings of these consultations have been incorporated in the discussion section of the report. Much of these consultations were to extract that aspect of resilience shown in different communities in the city in both planned and unplanned settlements. A summary of the consultations are included as Annex B. Further annexes, Annexes C and D provide the seminar discussions in two different formats.

Noted in the Civil Society Organisation (CSO) groups consultations such as Magna Carter and Human Rights Defenders in NCD, the ‘wantok’ safety net to relief poverty and dependency (Dinnen, 2019:1 ). Without State assistance or very little if there is any, there have been concerns on the constricted and encroachment on public space with no provisions for people with special needs. New arrivals fitted well into these “village cities” (ADB, 2012: xiii). But they lack the skills of daily life of being properly attired, having respect for other peoples culture as well as the proper use of sanitation and hygienic conditions. New methods of survival are devised to accommodate the extended relationships that are created, hence, contributing to more urbanisation problems. Out of the many available options, illegal and bad behaviour continues. Some of the serious ones include rape, robbery, dealing in stolen property, prostitution and fraud. There was already a concern about the gradual shift in the crime momentum towards payback homicide, extortion and kidnapping, and much more insecurity for every resident in urban areas when there is no deterrence.
Key factors contributing to insecurity issues in Port Moresby

In this section, the research points out factors that have national impacts that were either overlooked or had very little oversight and were contributing to the situation in the city. These factors could be in the form of general policy in politics, governance, the bureaucracy, law enforcement and pressures that include municipal services demand by the increased population in Port Moresby. In these existing general situations, there were communities that adapted various measures to accommodate challenges and live in urban settlements in the National Capital District. Key factors contributing to security issues include the following:

The pull and push. Society has changed in PNG, and so have the living conditions, which have generated various methods of survival for a growing cash economy system. “Growing town markets which act as a magnet for the rural population and flourishing under-serviced low-income settlements on the periphery of urban and rural centres are a visual expression of this change. In this setting, PNG is no exception to this increasingly permanent fixture of the urbanisation process. This all adds pressure which calls for improved urban management and an effective and efficient urban development sector” (PNG National Urbanisation Policy, 2010:17).

The conditions have been just as harsher in the rural environment, compared to that in urban centres when subsistence living is not supported by access to food markets, schools and health services. Former State employees who remain in the urban areas add another dimension to the problems of urbanisation when there is very little movement back to villages or places of origin. Most remain in the city because they have lost the ability to adapt to the rural village environment. This occurs when most people in a nuclear family unit were born in an urban environment, and have adopted different dietary habits. Even if there was some migration back to rural villages, many of the youths would return to urban areas and seek refuge with their peers, other friends, or relatives who have remained.

Port Moresby is populated mainly by migrants from elsewhere in the country; however, the Community Crime Victimisation Surveys (CCVS) found that about 35 percent of the adult population was born in Port Moresby, including many descendants of the original Motu people. (JAG, 2008:8). Growing number of younger people are born in the city (“Moresbyites”, who are often of mixed marriages with parents from different provinces) and are often without strong ties to their parents’ villages or communities. These have been the realities of an urban society that has continued to change over the past 45 years. Opportunities to link with internationally organised criminal and terrorists groups have become real possibilities for the many educated, unemployed young adults who leave schools and colleges as was seen with the rise of rascalism. New methods such as drug use and their distribution has been trending new crimes.

Drug smuggling. Youths have been identified with pushing drugs as well as people in places of authority who may be coopted as beneficiaries, could facilitate the trafficking of drugs. These people see economic gains made simple by globalised information systems, capital and readily available mode of transport. The kinds of drugs that have been interdicted, while being smuggled, are now a big concern as some of these include stimulants, cannabis, and those that could be injected. Others could possibly be heroin, cocaine, opium, and illicit drugs in tablet form.

World figures indicated that the Asia-Pacific Region remains high on the use or abuse of drugs such as cannabis and heroin. The links to feed the markets operated by drug lords lead to PNG where the ingredients for cannabis are readily grown in the wild. They have become a major source of concern for authorities as they attempt to crackdown on their use, transportation and marketing domestically and internationally. PNG recorded only few cases of seizure because there is no effective mechanism to monitor the occurrence of drug smuggling. Drug smuggling has also occurred, involving excessive imports and exports of precursor drugs. One case detected in PNG involved a government minister, who had no jurisdiction to order such drugs. Furthermore, the quantities involved were in excess of annual requirements of the entire country.

In a more recent case, cocaine weighing some 644kg were transported through a yacht into Milne Bay and delivered to Port Moresby (The National, July 29, 2020:1). People involved in these drugs were apprehended when a light
Australian registered plane carrying the drugs crash-landed outside Port Moresby in a hurriedly prepared runway. This particular occasion was said to be part of a bigger international drug cartel that was operating out of Australia and having connections elsewhere. These drugs have been known to be available in these village cities in Port Moresby and youths are known to be involved in the use of drugs as observed from consultative interviews.

**Youths as perpetrators.** Youth population has bulged and many were disadvantaged when formal jobs become less available. In 2018, 54 percent of the PNG population was under 24-years-old (McLachlan, 2019). Youths are marginalised, has created instability and a threat to future development of PNG as a whole. The Government and private formal sector has been challenged with job creation to take advantage of this youth energy as it dwindles down to petty crime and alcohol consumption. Small business start-up could be marred with bribery, corruption and structural processes that could be cumbersome and could not create jobs for youths to be engaged. Doing businesses in PNG is so difficult with associated cost that includes the hidden cost of security. Violence and disturbance to peace has become another normal.

**Policing deficiency.** Internal security responsibilities, a service function of the State are bestowed on the RPNGC, established under the Police Force Act Chapter 65, and revised in 1998. Its main functions are to preserve peace and good order in the country, and to maintain and, as necessary, enforce the law in an impartial and objective manner. The tasks of RPNGC have a long and exiting history when the first Armed Constabulary was formed by Pacific Islanders and landed on Samarai in the British protectorate on 25 August 1890, on board HMS Rapid (Sinclair, 1992:10). The Force comprised of two Fijians and 12 Solomon Islanders who were called privates owing to the paramilitary nature of the Armed Constabulary in the then British Papua. Similar formations of police in the German New Guinea were a lot sketchy, however, when the Imperial Government took over the administration, the Neu Guinea Kompagnie police were absorbed into the new administration.

**Police ill discipline.** The first sign of disobedience and ill discipline was apparent soon enough when a first ever national ‘industrial strike’ occurred in Rabaul, which the colonial masters called it a mutiny in January 1929. It was not just the New Guinea Police. It involved plantation workers and others (Bulbeck, 1992: 154-156). Most noteworthy was the involvement of a ship’s captain, a New Ireland man, known as Sumsuma. He skippered the ‘Edith’ owned by local shipowners, Melanesian Company. It was established that Sumsuma, during his term as the skipper of Edith, came in contact with black Americans and Indians who ‘jeered at New Guinea natives for working for so small remuneration’, and suggested they should cease work until they were paid higher (Sinclair, 1992).

The police had never, at anytime, contemplated the use of violence in their attempt to push for wage increases. It was agreed that on the designated time, all workers were to gather at the Catholic and Methodist stations outside of Rabaul. This happened to be 2 January 1929 when after work, the workers were led by their labour foreman to the mission stations. The policemen too, on this day completed their duties, got out of their uniforms, laid down their arms and donned their civilian clothes to join the rest of the workers. ‘Some 3,000 men were involved, including about 200 of the 217 police stationed in Rabaul’ (Sinclair, 1992).

**Existing structure.** The composition and structure of the constabulary were evolving, beginning with the Armed Constabulary established under the *Constabulary Ordinance of 1908*, followed by the *Royal Papuan Constabulary Act* of 1939; both were of the former territory of Papua. Similarly, in the former territory of New Guinea, there was the New Guinea Police, established under the *Police Force Ordinance 1922*, followed by the *Police Force Act 1930*. These were the forerunners of the *Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary Act 1955* which was superseded by the *Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary Act 1965* prior to Independence. The current *Police Act 1998*, certified on 17 December 1998 is now the Act to amend and consolidate the law relating to the regulation of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary.

Generally, the constabulary is commanded by a Police Commissioner who is supported by two Deputy Commissioners – Operations and Administration. Under the leadership of the Deputy Commissioner Police (DCP), Operations, there are five operational commands, each under the control of an Assistant Commissioner of Police (ACP). These commands are conveniently categorised into geographical locations of the country. These are the NCD and Central, Southern, Highlands, Momase and Islands Commands. The ACP, responsible for Criminal Investigations who is directly responsible to the Deputy Commissioner Operations is also responsible for the directorates that are
responsible for Special Services, Communications, Traffic, Dogs, Prosecutions and Auxiliary Police. In 2019, the number of staff employed in the RPNGC totalled 7,383 (Deloitte, 2020:18).

Police Review. In the years leading up from the National General Elections in 2002 to 2004, some police operational activities amounted to criminal behaviour. In the meantime, the country was facing increased unrest and violence with increased use of firearms. Law and order was breaking down and there were serious morale and discipline problems in the RPNGC. Consequently, in February 2004, the former Minister for Internal Security, Mr Bire Kimisopa commissioned a committee to review the administration and operations of the RPNGC. There were a total of 15 terms of references. The resulting outcome saw a total of 62 recommendations that ranged from morale and discipline, management shortfalls, general conduct while on duty, pay and conditions which were internal to the RPNGC. Additionally, there were external factors which were related to government support and resource availability, while the attitude of the community, especially in urban areas, to the police was a major concern.

Land scarcity. There is much pressure on those who have customary rights within the urban environment or settings. “The increasing population in the urban centers require new areas for housing and essential infrastructure (educational, health, social and recreational facilities, industrial estates and infrastructure essential to the provision of other basic services). In the Pacific Island countries, 80 percent of land is regulated by a system of ‘customary rights’, relying on ownership of land by families or social groupings” (UNICEF, 2010:18).

In PNG, 97 percent of land is customary land, including whatever land that surrounds the NCD environment. And owners have not been organised to prevent encroachment and unwanted settlement. These landowners tend to work individually and have been selling land without due process. This may be a result of lack of proper planning for urbanisation.

“Defining an urban area is problematic in PNG, a function of large distances, colonialism, levels of government, patterns of customary land ownership and underlying economic drivers. In PNG, urbanisation has created seven types of settlement models, all requiring varying infrastructure and service needs” (PNG National Urbanisation Policy, 2010-2030:25).

Cultural implosion. Violence have broken out in urban areas over land in the past. This type of violent conflicts could be difficult, unpredictable and not manageable when different ethnic groups in an urban settlement are involved. These groups would not have that ‘unwritten law’ of conflicts. Destruction to property and harm to women and children could be unprecedented. One group may be dominating and could impose their way of doing things thus resulting in violent behaviour not common within a known community, as was the case for gruesome killing when three faced charges for Bautama killing (Post-Courier, 02 June 11:4.). This type of violence could be seen as payback for one reason or another.

Ethnic tensions are common occurrence in Port Moresby and could be triggered by a drunken brawl. Such conflicts have involved ‘wantok’ groups creating different forms of cultural affiliations, having a common goal to fight off other ethnic groups. Group violence has also strengthened cultural affiliations within areas, districts or provinces of origin.

An example is better described in one of the Port Moresby market situations. “Vendors and customers who are not known are regarded with suspicion. Locals, including children, will combine their efforts to surveil or expel outsider threats, thus co-producing a form of security based on identity. Conversely, outsiders (including police) often use their anonymity to raid the market. Scuffles, fights, and full-scale ethnic battles emerge when outside actors try to muscle into the buai market, but newcomers also have multiple possibilities for making their way in, through multiple urban identities involving family, friendship, broad ethnic group, and/or local street residence” (WBG, 2017: 9).

An individual person in PNG has his or her allegiance and loyalty first to the village or community leader of origin before that individual thinks of being part of a district, served by an open Member of Parliament. The next ascending hierarchical order is the province then followed by the region, as in Islands, Momase or Highlands. Being a Papua New Guinean is the last thing on anyone’s mind.
Being part of a larger community grouping could also provide a wider support base when confronted with personal needs and problems. Such support could come as shelter and food. The social safety net through the ‘wantok’ concept, although not formal, is extended to the modern communities (see Box 1). On the other hand, the system has an ingrained reciprocity aspect that may not be returned when many are deeply rooted in poverty. Many young people in formal employment system do not participate or ignore the concept, thus creating new individualistic concepts just like the western world.

Arresting a cohesive social capital has become one of the many challenges for politicians and bureaucrats while the ‘wantok’ system appears to be the normative cultural phenomenon that requires investigation. Yet it is problematic in urban centres since ethnic violence develops as a direct consequence. “The Tokarara market is dominated by Eastern Highlanders, many of them live at Goroka Lodge [neighborhood]. The market is okay, but young men from the community come and disrupt the market when they are drunk. They come and collect fees when they are not supposed to. They also come and ask for free cigarettes and sometimes get free buai too” – Tokarara resident (WBG 2017: 9).

The urban settlements could also be the sources for privatised violence, criminal activities and recruitment of support for the ‘big men’. It is a place where smaller ethnic groups submit to dominant large ethnic ones. ‘Raskalism’ appeared to be condoned because it was multidimensional, and may be due to social, cultural and most benefited from criminal activities.

“It’s when new people come here, people from outside. They might have relatives here, and they come to sell buai. You know there’s going to be trouble. Someone will get drunk, he’ll walk past their table, you know, and give it a little push - buai on the ground. And then it starts, and sometimes it will involve the whole neighborhood. There was one fight, it involved two groups, both from Goroka [Highlands], one from June Valley, the other from down [toward Waigani]. Hundreds involved, all from a small buai fight. It all comes back to buai.” (WBG 2017: 9)

Culturally, it emulates initiation practices where bravery, and war-like mentality feeds into the social peer group pressures and structures, acceptance and identity, which become the culture of violence. It becomes organised and systemic when the ‘big men’ culture, a paradigm that nurtures ‘raskalism’ by patronising and facilitating the support or social ‘safety net’. Availability of firearms could be accepted as a form of security.

**Gun culture.** The threat of using automatic weapons or fire arms and their home made versions continue to drive fear in many settlements. People living in settlements are not only poor and marginalised, some have a regular job in the formal sector and could rent out a reasonable room. The notion that settlements are breeding ground for criminals is outdated. However, it is a secured community for those who live in it and may know of firearms which could be publicly displayed at times of conflicts.

Evidence of such were observed. According to a confidential national intelligence brief published by the Post-Courier newspaper, the drugs-for-guns trade has become big business and fuels PNG’s law and order problems (Post-Courier, 9–11 August, 1996).

Some of these firearms may have been negotiated with State agents for a price. Rascal groups, though not visible, but could easily form up, seek best types of weapon available in the market. Any word of firearms in the community whether seen or otherwise, has already instilled fear.

Although, the weapons are available in the settlements, they are not used against each other, nor is the availability
made known to the police by the community because of the fear of retribution. The process of acquiring these weapons could have been just as fearful, if not very expensive when people got killed or have been imprisoned. However, the weapons are still available through illegal procurement, smuggled or imported by unobserved or non-monitored schemes or vessels. Some of these vessels could be unlicensed fishing vessels or logging vessels that have direct access to the rural communities.

There is very little if not, no interdictions by many of the occurrences in bringing firearms into the country. There have been suggestions that guns get exchanged for marijuana, which grow unattended in the wild and in some instances, cultivated. Some of these pass through the Torres Strait and the land border with the Republic of Indonesia. The only weapons known to authorities are those that are still at large from the police and the military, hence the general deduction that most weapons available to the public are from the two institutions. Poor regulatory and licensing procedures have encouraged the proliferation of firearms, domestically as well as internationally over the porous boundaries.

**Gender aspects.** Analysis of human development indicators by gender reveals widespread inequality between men and women in PNG. This is evident in many areas such as home, employment, government, access to education and health services, human rights, politics and economic development. The causes of gender inequalities are varied and multiple. However, these are exacerbated by socio-economic and cultural pressures as the society adapts to change, population growth, and urban migration. In rural PNG, women’s status is linked to the political structure of clans, systems of land inheritance, and cultural attitudes and perception of women based on the ‘men culture’.

**Sex workers.** Some women tend to be engaged in sex work when there is no support coming to them. Much talked about with little or no policy for *sex workers* (prostitution) could add more pressure in the health budget. There is no doubt illegal activities that have been ongoing while State officials find it difficult on the basis of it being immoral, impacts on family and cultural values.

Sex workers are known to frequent parts of Boroko in the evening and claim to use this means as a form of survival in the city. “The women and men who participate in the industry often face high levels of discrimination stigma and hate crime. Although many hide their sex work from their families, more than a third reported being shunned by their loved ones. There is a substantial risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, with 13 percent of people in the sex industry testing positive” (Cassey, 2015).

**Education, literacy and awareness.** It became apparent during group consultations that education and preventive health measures amount to lack of education, awareness and literacy. In 2012, the Government at that time decided to introduce Tuition-Fee-Free (TFF) education so that it provides opportunity for all, including those with special needs. The TFF was again seen as a political gimmick done without proper plans that not only added pressure to school infrastructure when student numbers increased, but also had financial management issues for schools. There was a compounded impact on student numbers ratio to a teacher and raised questions of effective learning, adding to the issues of actual literacy rates in the city and elsewhere.

Education experiences and literacy assessments in five provinces were conducted by Asia Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE) and the PNG Education Advocacy Network (PEAN) in 2011, that revealed three common findings:

i. Very low literacy rates;

ii. A crisis in school education equality; and,

iii. Significant gender disparity in education.
More than 70 percent of respondents in all five provinces – New Ireland, NCD, Chimbu, Sandaun and Gulf provinces, self-declared confidence in their ability to read and write in a national language. However, actual literacy rates in four of the five provinces were less than 15 percent, while in another the rate was 25 percent (ASPBAE, 2011: vii).

The most commonly cited reason for not attending or completing primary and secondary schools was lack of school fees. Cost factors, poor access and parental expectations to help at home or to work are other frequently listed barriers to completing primary and secondary school.

Gaps in policies are quite apparent although not stated, could be noted in MTDP III tables and schedules. Many of these gaps are in relations to oversight, implementation, supervision as well as monitoring and evaluation (see Box 2). Some of these are structural when expected outputs are in the high end with less for services that could produce results that are easily measurable by ordinary people. Common in all these are either lack of communications or lack of financial and human resource capacities. Other gaps in capacity and control has led to many other incidents of corruption and bribery.

Governance and bureaucratic failures and lack of capacity. The revelation of a passport scam in the Papua New Guinean Department of Foreign Affairs, and the relative ease with which some work permits can be obtained through the Department of Labour and Industrial Relations were surely evidence that PNG’s bureaucracy had been infiltrated (Post-Courier, 7 April 2003:6). In a report to the PNG National Parliament, the Foreign Affairs Minister at that time claimed that there were rampant and uncontrolled illegal activities in the issuance of passports and other travel documents, and violation of procedures. In 2001, there were 20 cases of irregular issuance of entry permits to facilitate foreigners to enter or to extend their residence in PNG (The National, 13 November, 2003:2).

These foreigners could be infiltrators involved in terrorism using PNG as a staging point when moving to Australia, Canada and the United States. They could be people in international criminal organisations that are involved in the unauthorised immigration of people, drugs and arms which is why countries like Australia are very sensitive to asylum seekers. They could be genuine but are problematic and dangerous when they jump the queue and not screened properly. However, the occurrences in PNG are attributed to the lack of essential management resources, and most of all, political interference at all levels.

Holistic public service reforms have been wanting when many key positions that required comprehensive policy development including monitoring and evaluation had undergone rapid localisation to the 1990s. A Public Service Management Act, 1986 was in operation which effectively politicised the public service and State ministers were in control of who could be employed as senior bureaucrats (Kavanamur and Okole, 2005:32). Midway through the 1990s, there were also pressures from World Bank and multinational donors that recommended structural changes to the way PNG was governed. Much of these advice were foreign compared to Europe where empirical State systems where the order and any centrally decided concepts were very much acceptable. These systems were inappropriate in PNG context given varying degree of social cohesion and development that required different governance mechanisms compared to Structural Reforms.

The Structural Adjustment programs were as follows;

a. Stabilisation; macroeconomic stability through prudent fiscal, and tight credit and monetary policies in order to control inflation and mobilise domestic capital for investment in physical as well as human capital.

b. Efficiency improvement; improve the efficiency of resource allocation in the public sector and the withdrawal of direct government participation in economic activities by deregulation and privatisation.
c. **Liberalisation;** lifting of prices, interest rates, foreign exchange, and foreign trade controls, all aimed at liberating the markets.

d. **A competitive microeconomy;** removal of price distortion, and providing the correct signal and incentives to facilitate the channelling of resources into production and distribution of goods and services such as through the abolition of subsidies.

The program literally prevented service delivery to rural communities and an attempt at creating jobs and growing the economy which had some impact few years down the line. "In 1999, Papua New Guinea recorded a real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth rate of approximately 3.9 percent, despite suffering the effects of economic mismanagement by the Skate Government. The growth resulted from improved commodity prices and increased export volumes" (Boeha, 2001:97). This gains were not sufficient to sustain precarious economy that had an inflation rate of 16 percent after the Kina was depreciated by some 26 percent.
This section highlights the changing nature of crime where some of it has been uttered due to fear than actual occurrences. Many of the occurrences of criminal incidents do not get reported and if they were, these could not be followed through for various reasons. One of the factor could be a withdrawal of a reported case. In another case, an informal resolution of the matter in question has been made. However, there has been an increase in crime statistics nationally where gender-based violence (GBV) and sorcery accusation-related violence (SARV) has taken centre stage followed by abuses of illegal distillation, general violence against women, children and vulnerable groups, as well as rape, adultery, carnal knowledge and many other antisocial behaviour that brings fear, physical insecurity and restrict daily livelihood (DJAG, 2017:viii) The national concerns have transcended into the biggest city, Port Moresby, where authorities have tried to curb the general law and order situation as general settlement in and around the metropolis bulges. This apply pressure on municipal services such as water, sewerage, physical planning, public transport, energy and general wellbeing for all types of people (see Box 4).

Issues contributing to fears and concerns in Port Moresby include the following:

Coronavirus (Covid-19) pandemic. The pandemic, having impact in early March 2020 in PNG, has further introduced extraordinary circumstances that require new methods and systems that are now commonly referred to the ‘new normal’. At the beginning of the lockdown to accommodate and to ‘securitise’ the presence and impact of the pandemic, there was much violence not by community but State enforcing agencies in Port Moresby. The new normal began with a State of Emergency nationwide. When such feature has invoked many rights and privileges are suppressed through a law enacted in parliament for this particular purpose only.

The control measures were harsh, punitive and appeared to be abusive when orders and instructions for both enforcement and public information consumption, dissemination and deliberations were rushed. State authorities thought differently. “Papua New Guinea’s health response to Covid-19 has been quick, decisive and strategic. The National Emergency Operations Center at the National Department of Health (NDOH) was activated as early as 27 January 2020, days before the global declaration of a public health emergency of international concern. Incident Management System was in place, with key staff identified for the critical areas of work”. (PNG Health Sector Response, 2020:2).

Almost everything came to a halt when there was lockdown due to Covid-19 and a state of emergency was declared in early March. Few restrictions were lifted on 28 April 2020. By that time, there were only eight cases of Covid-19 and they had all recovered but proposes of contact tracing and testing continued in the eight weeks of lockdown.
Most affected in the economic sector were the small to medium entrepreneurs (SMEs) and the informal sector. Concerned citizens and CSOs with the assistance of the private sector established a food bank from which those affected were assisted. Domestic flights to most areas were allowed except for eight centres that had links to international borders. Few international flights continued to operate to take in citizens and permanent residents back to the country. Also affected was the informal markets where it has been the engine room for alleviating poor living conditions in the city. This has been heavily boosted with the sales of ‘buai’ (betel nut). When the first lockdown occurred with very little warning, especially preventing mass gathering, it came very hard on women market vendors and those on ‘table markets’. In order to take home an adequate taking for dinner and breakfast for the next day, women vendors spent many hours at these informal markets and it becomes a daily routine. The impact of the long hours a woman sits at the markets has had drastic effects on an urban family, especially small children’s growth. A separate study may be needed to understand effects on families when a mother spends long hours in an informal market. Adding to the family demise could be the meagre wage an earner could bring to the table as a security guard, janitor, unskilled labourer or someone who contributes in one form or another to the formal private and public sector.

In the same trail of thoughts, one could also ask why there is so much SARV and GBV including domestic violence. It is however plausible to assert that poverty strives. There is the struggle to survive in a city where there is no subsistence farming that is having a consequential effect on a struggling family. SARV on the other hand is not so alarming in Port Moresby. There are many traditional groups having different forms of beliefs in sorcery but has been a real concern in isolated tribes and clans. Access to health services could be a major issue when there is a disease outbreak, or lack of understanding on the importance of preventive health care.

GBV and domestic violence. GBV and domestic violence has had a dramatic increase in Port Moresby as evidenced through social media and mainstream daily tabloids. There may be few reasons for such an increase. These could be speculative and may require different survey. Early childhood care and development for children in the past decade or so has retarded adolescent youths who are young parents now to be able to lead a good life (see Box 6). The gruesome torture and killing of a young mother of 19 years of age with two children in a family home is a clear example of a young man who is not mentally stable (Post Courier, 25 June 2020:1). Marriage in PNG, especially in Port Moresby, is not seen as an institution of friendship simply because young people are not prepared for it. Many get married as a result of unplanned pregnancies.

In a research project on family and sexual violence (FSV) in Lae, women told stories of violence and verbal abuse
from their sons if there was no food or money (Kuir-Aiyus et al., 2018). They resorted to drugs, illegal distillation of alcohol, pick–pocketing and other unlawful activities. Similar issues are apparent in Port Moresby. Some women in who experienced this indicated double impact from their husbands as well. Continuation of such behaviour from abusive husband is passed on to young people especially their sons.

Furthermore, GBV is just a wanton criminal act that is committed by young men who harm women and girls simply because of their status, easy target, would not stand to retaliate, and has driven fear in woman folks as well as children and the elderly. This fear is made greater when youths and young men who indulge in binge drinking. These are readily available through illegal distillation (home brew), having much greater effect and mostly cheap. They create an attitude to get maximum intoxication with least cost, and having all night disturbance to good neighbourly living even at organised suburban city settlements.

In another research to draw out how well these GBV cases could be addressed with varying degrees of success, women navigate between formal and informal support mechanisms (Rooney et al., 2018). This informal systems could be found together with village courts (VC) in almost every settlement in Port Moresby (see Box 7). Community leaders and those responsible for order within community are fearful for retaliation if they intervened or reported cases of anti-social behaviour to police when this institution is undermined and is slow to respond. Some village court magistrates have been killed in the country. Police personnel are never present accept at police station, and are open to bribery and corruption.

Police personnel are differentiated by their uniform. They are members of the community where they live with their immediate families, whose children attend the nearest schools, have a family members who frequent the informal markets, and are just as conscious of reprisals. A State-owned entity has personnel who is fearful, not effective and needs to be moulded into the community. The community is willing to work with the police and its role in enforcement is well understood by the urban community.

The increases in crime may have not been of significant variations as shown by the victimisation surveys. However, it is plausible to assert that many more incidents of crime are being reported to the authorities such as the Family and Sexual Violence Units (FSVU). These are available in police stations, noticeable, reacting to incidents and functioning. “Port Moresby has average and stable levels of crime, however, sample sites within NCD show that there can be unpredictable, apparently random localised changes from year to year. Police statistics vastly underestimate the actual levels of crime victimisation because the public reported only a very small percentage to the police” (JAG, 2008:2).

The FSVU has its inherent challenges when the unit is not able to resolve many issues. It is part of a fragmented institution that could galvanise together with others that are allowed for with legal framework for Gender, Domestic Violence, ‘Pikinini’ Act, Juvenile Justice, Community-Based Corrections (CBC), Churches and Civil Society Organisations (CSO) (CSO Framework, 2015). Many of these organisations work in isolation and many complex issues could not be resolved as there are very little to no policies at all. One, for instance, is effective outcome that could have perpetrators imprisoned if the case is followed through with comprehensive process to prosecution. Prosecution in turn is a completely different arm of the police enforcement division and could be difficult if files or investigations are not complete.

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<td>The main informal community mechanism available to women are the ‘blok komitis’ …. an ubiquitous feature of local governance in PNG’s urban settlement communities. ‘Blok komitis’ can be problematic for women seeking to address FSV and IPV for a number of reasons. For instance, they charge ‘table fees’ which many women cannot afford, and the outcomes often involve compensation payments, the terms and prices of which are set at the discretion of the komiti. They are also often based on local ethnic or social groupings, so members of the komiti may be kin to the perpetrator. Moreover, as seen elsewhere in PNG’s urban settlement communities, komitis may privilege collective social harmony over a need for justice for the woman seeking support (Rooney et al., 2018:2).</td>
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Police impartiality. On the other hand, given the types of questionnaires in CCVS, it was discovered that crime occurs in communities and their households (Findlay et al., 2005:6). Police work in communities is relatively new and appears to be preferable for many communities, in crime prevention, control and public safety. There should be a strong partnership between police and the communities.

On the matter of civic engagement and inclusion, the police have often embraced a military or professional ideology about their work that has tended to exclude their clientele from ongoing discussions about crime, justice, and police responses. Such social distancing of the police effectively cuts them off from those whom they are expected to protect and serve. There are many reasons why and how the police have distanced themselves from the public, which has the collective effect of fostering and sustaining distrust of the police by the public and the public by the police. One important reason is associated with their institutional sensitivity about their acceptance within the community, and especially with regard to any real or perceived challenges to their authority (WBG 2020: 22).

Police could not be trusted because of their impartial law enforcement, non-effective crime prevention, could not guarantee community security, or control crime, and could not engage with the community in a meaningful way. ‘There were some disturbing reports by individual respondents of police violence and brutality. Furthermore, police procedures in resolving violent disputes in certain cases were one-sided. Impartiality could be observed by the community at large, hence the general mistrust on the police’ (Findlay, 2005:8).

The CCVS of 2004 and the Justice Service and Stability for Development of 2018 perception of crime indicated that residents in NCD are most fearful of alcohol and drug-related crime followed by sexual assault. Stealing topped in 2004 CCVS as most crime respondents were victimised and other opportunistic crimes were in the time of the day or location the victim was at. Alcohol and drug-related crime has topped the list in 2018 because many perpetrators get away as an excuse, especially in the informal problem solving mechanisms as well as the difficulty enforcement agents have in apprehending and follow through with prosecution.

Similarly, sexual assaults and rape has been committed because of intoxication with drug or alcohol as one factor, studies show (Hukula, 2005:15). Women, especially, are very fearful of sexual assault as this could happen at home or elsewhere as a victim of payback or being at a wrong place at the wrong time because of one or another reason. Rape is traumatic, demeaning, and shameful for a woman to live through and even recount the incident for the purpose of apprehension and prosecution. Some victims, ‘mostly young girls, rarely mentioned the incidents for fear of repercussions from parents, who would probably blame them, or fear of retaliation from perpetrators.

Child welfare and care. Most rape cases have resulted in unwanted pregnancies and issues of child maintenance continues to be dogmatic when the welfare of a child comes into question. Some men are usually caught out and a forced marriage occurs in these village cities. This, however, is not the end as other lifelong and early childhood care, health, education and daily needs come to play. The group discussions continued to assert the importance of raising a mentally-balanced child who could not face the daily grinds of a decent life, value added one that could create a citizen one expects.

Discussions continue to point at the home as the basis of learning, inculcate tradition and norms that have Christianity and humanity. Crime and social misbehaviour has resulted because of the way a child is raised. Proper marriages are not conceived as an agreed partnership or an institution of compromise, rather, it is just a playful act that brings misfortune to many children. Many young mothers and young men have gone through mental illness that are not taken seriously. Addressing trauma through counselling and creating safe environment for victims has been a challenge not only for the public sector but NGO or CSO sector as well.
Challenges to curbing law and order in Port Moresby

The fears and concerns raised have induced challenges to enforcement agencies and demand actions that require investigation and adaptation. Many of these have been recurring and crosscutting hence require robust integrated concepts. The research has observed the efforts of the National Coordination Mechanism (NCM) in the law and justice sector that has a secretariat to coordinate sector agencies who have differing constitutional objectives and responsibilities, many of which are not visible to the community at large. These agencies muster resources separately to meet their high order objectives that are primarily aimed at presence, accessibility and influence through infrastructure availability. The challenges associated with curbing law and order in Port Moresby include the following:

**Impacts of aid.** The notion that high order objectives in infrastructure and institutional capacity-building would ensure State control over crime victimisation had very little impact during PNG-Australia Law and Justice Sector Partnership. “The effect of the LJSP (Law and Justice Sector Program) was that many of the activities under the sectoral approach might have made bureaucratic sense, but they were unsustainable and did not have any apparent outcome reducing household crime victimisation. The failure of the LJSP to achieve significant progress in this direction implies that local or not, the bureaucratic sectoral approach was a diversion from the real community issues” (Guthrie, 2012:32).

**Box 7**

The under-resourcing of FSVUs is translated into inconsistent services to survivors of FSV. Few FSVU cases are investigated because: (i) FSVU staff are overloaded with the number of cases received; (ii) most FSVU cases are not indictable and have limited chances of making it to the prosecution stage; (iii) the survivor withdraws the case or accepts compensation; or (iv) police disinterest and/or lack of FSVU resources cause the matter to falter prior to the prosecution stage. Those cases investigated are due to the strong determination of a survivor to get the offender arrested and prosecuted.

Compensation and mediation are embedded in the FSVU processes. It was found that improvements in infrastructure do not compensate for the limited FSVU opening hours. The 8 am to 5 pm Monday to Friday opening hours are inadequate as they can require the survivor to return to police station several times, delaying the provision of urgent protection services. (GHD 2015: viii)

Despite the lack of sustained outcomes, the Independent Progress Report observed ‘islands of achievements’ in its report in the midterm of the program. ‘These achievements are noteworthy successes. But these successes - which can be described as “islands of achievement”, are predominantly outputs, institutional capacity development initiatives that have contributed to the strengthening of PNG’s law and justice institutions and agencies. Over all, these “islands of achievement” do not appear to join up to offer a strategic pathway to improved law and justice service delivery. This report acknowledges that time is undoubtedly required to attain the program’s goal and objectives and 2.5 years is a very short time period of time’ (Armitage, et al., 2012:iv)

Another initiative as mentioned earlier, has been problematic to be fully functional is the FSVU in police stations (see Box 8). Female police personnel and training provided to staff have been rewarding and resulted in many cases being reported. They were getting referrals from welfare officers in the Department of Community Development and Religion, Magisterial Courts as well as village courts and others. However, there has been lack of feedback from FSVU to referees or referral network and survivors and victims of domestic and sexual violence.

**Community support.** There is much mistrust in police by the community but there are some support and confidence when police is around. Presence of police, whether it is a facility like a station or personal presence, is well appreciated by the community. The problem exists when they are not present as needed and when they are eventually called in to restore peace and harmony, police brutal attitude is then seen. It is the para-military type
display especially by the special forces that create fear and mistrust. These hostile encounters tend to develop their own destructive momentum in practice, whereby lack of local cooperation is used to legitimate the use of aggressive police tactics, which leads to further local antagonism.

Other law enforcement agencies such as Community-Based Correction (CBC), while having the mandate for referrals by the courts, have resource issues. Their service is an essential service just like a FSVU that requires all day and night operation to be truly effective. The CBC has six legal areas of responsibility. CBC does not get referrals from village courts (VC); however, some of the cases the village courts address are beyond their jurisdiction. This is where a large gap exists when the VC, the first access to justice of any form is not supervised from the formal system. The operation of the VC have been questioned in recent times when the officials are wage earners and the quest for having VC sittings have also increased. What is not supported is the logistics of these village courts in a given area of operations.

The VC system has been morally and practically well supported in the community and police who engage with them through the Community Policing structure. However, its operations have been questioned in terms of impartiality and imposition of fines as a means to end or compensate for the dispute resolution. Its role in attending to some of the criminal aspects like homicide, rape and grievous bodily harm has become problematic when such cases are brought to VC to adjudicate. Another problem lies with mediation when this gets passed the VC process and goes straight to police. The VC has been accused of biased towards males which further frustrates women that seek police assistance. Another challenge lies with Interim Protection Order that appears to be abused.

**Private security firms.** The gap in policing has seen the mushrooming of private security firms mostly as static guards in some business houses. In the earlier stage, they were seen as alternate services to the private sector that needed payroll escorts as well as close personal security. Soon after the public sector decided to engage the private security firms that show their growth exponentially. According to PNG’s Security Industries Authority, which issues licences to security companies, the number of licensed companies grew from 173 in 2006 to 462 in 2014, with a workforce of around 30,000 security guards (Dinnen, S, 2020). There are also some illegal firms that have not been registered. These security firms are not included in general law and order upkeep of the city (see Box 9). This is a great asset in the interest of community safety which could be used in a limited capacity. One effective way would be to install police radio channels in a base radio of a private security firm. Details of the operations could be accommodated in a legislative framework or amendments to existing laws.

**Community participation.** Community participation in maintaining some degree of safer urban ‘village cities’ is visible through the CCVS. Instead of reporting the incidents of victimisation to the police, the victims sought help and support from family and community leaders as the first option before seeking police intervention if they ever went there. Lack of hierarchical support and supervision is evident (see Box 9). Community involvement was seen through the works of the village courts, however, just as the village court officials are paid a wage, some volunteer organisations seek the similar to assist with transport cost and others like phone calls. The hard economic situation in a ‘village city’ has also seen the depletion of these volunteer groups or CSOs that empowered and strengthened the grassroots based ‘komitis’ as indicated above.

One such CSO was Peace Foundation Melanesia which had a good programme that produced a workbook with cartoons for participants to easily comprehend. It was based on a win-win concept. Its operations where based on ‘the late Hon. Bernard Narakobi, MP, then Minister for Justice & Attorney General [who],…. believed that the western court system in the period after Independence appeared to be not suitable or just for the diverse societies
cultures and that a different system of justice based on Melanesian ways was needed. With him being one of the founding fathers of the National Constitution that created the village court systems where mediation (custom law) was the first initiative in any conflict and the western court was brought into play only if the traditional processes failed seemed to be the right approach’ (Laki, 2014:85).

**Importance of prosecution.** Most cases, especially the summary offences are never followed through because a victim may have withdrawn the case. The procedures to prosecute a case takes up so much time and energy that overtime victims find this cumbersome very different to what they seek, not an effective and fast resolution of the matter. There are questions on every function and agency having the support of a court prosecutor as a way to address this. Many times people hear and read about a case being thrown out for lack of information or police having not completed a file for the accused.

One factor that gets overlooked has been the amount of stress, trauma and other mental and physical condition a victim encounters. In some other jurisdictions suicide becomes the end result. However, in PNG, any kind of resolution is very good because people move on in time and whatever emotional scar heals off just like a physical injury. The conflict of the Common law with that of the Melanesian way will continue to be problematic. Matters of law which are criminal in nature continue to appear in Village Courts or any other informal mechanisms, because the venues are there to vent frustration.

Policy gaps and framing a paradigm shift. There could be few gaps in legislation for law enforcement, rehabilitation or conflict resolutions; however, much is required in crime prevention and deterrence mechanisms. Crime prevention requires new approach and massive resource mobilisation if it has to be holistic and inclusive of wider community with continuous funding support. Some of the funding support has come from aid donors, however, there has been a lack of true commitment by the Government and its agents. Disappointments by the donors or their agents have always been communicated in diplomatic narratives that are not translated to grassroots based intended benefactors.

With the availability of the social media, some of these agencies are greatly noticed than ever before. In one Facebook post, a close relative of a young lawyer at a public solicitor’s office had this to say. ‘Public Solicitor’s office is responsible for providing legal aid and assistance to the general public who are not able or don’t have the capacity to engage a lawyer. PubSol office has been operating in the province with little or less assistance to administer justice to the general public. I noticed that the biggest need is logistics and funding to move around to attend to the public. It’s a public office for the public and must be supported whether through Department of Attorney General but also, assistance should come from our provincial government. How do we expect to administer Justice in such a manner? I know of a brother taking the time to be in the province to administer justice but how is it done without funding and assistance?’

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1 Facebook post accessed on 21 October 2020.
Approaches for promoting a safer Port Moresby

Before any kind of approaches are framed, many of the policy gaps in planning, implementation and monitoring have to be synthesised. Some of these work has been done with the mid-term review of the MTDP 2018-2022. Here, the internal security considerations should have a strategy for safer urban communities as part of the larger, safe, secure, prosperous and happy country. The foundations for this are seen as building blocks such as the district development authority.

The district development authority was initially thought to be a desire for a particular parliamentarian who has a vested interest in the District Support Improvement Program (DSIP). In the same context, the NCD sub-districts are expected to step up their efforts when some lessons could be drawn from YLM – Yumi Lukautim Moresby program based at the city hall. The success behind this program was attributed to a person who was committed and ensured the YLM objectives were met and was supported well by NCD senior management and political head. The extension of YLM saw the establishment of Youth Employment Program.

The YLM and Youth Employment Program has relied heavily on the community. The flow on impact is complete when there is a job creation in the private sector, public sector and other community-based organisations such as Ginigoada. The employment program provided a character which could meet the requirements of a job created through growth. Moreover, the community with its leaders were well placed to provide advice on what intervention would be suitable. This advice would be based on observations in the area as to whom to address because the community is made up of those active misdemeanours and those that are passive.

Additionally, there is a need to examine the requirements for implementing community grounded programs by the police and the obstacles within and outside of police organisations that impede increased and sustained collaboration for community safety. Implementing planned changes in police organisations has proven to be complicated, as they usually involve the reorientation and re-engineering of many parts of the police system and its work cultures, as well as extensive outreach to the communities the police serve. The police’s ability and willingness to respond to community needs, especially, affects how communities perceive police interactions, and these perceptions ultimately can be tied to the institutional legitimacy of the law and its agents (WBG, 2014).

This observation by the World Bank Group is not a new approach. Similar sentiments were made by the Clifford Report in 1998 as cited by Dinnen that the report recommended that ‘greater use be made of community-based regulatory structures such as local government officials, village moots, churches, voluntary organisations and, in particular, the village courts. These informal mechanisms would be used to supplement the work of formal State agencies.

Port Moresby showed that only high covenant areas, with a high proportion of company apartments, high-level government residences and expatriates, relied primarily on barrier security and private security companies. In the suburbs, community groups primarily revolved around the churches, although with some other efforts to establish activities like neighbourhood watch. The informal settlements appeared to be transplanted and adapted rural villages. Adaptive mechanisms derived from traditional dispute resolution appeared to provide some control over minor crime. Ethnic areas had social structures with acknowledged leaders whose roles included crime prevention and control. Such authority was embedded in extended family, wantok, friendship and church networks.

Legal framework for security and welfare services

All the research and observations point towards the community as the centre for all issues to effectively deal with insecurity or law and order issues in Port Moresby. Like the high order strategies to create visibility by ensuring physical structure, there are ongoing plans to have in each district a CJC, with a building as the significant outcome. Along the same concept, the Village Court Secretariat has plans to establish ward community centres much in the same direction of community halls as another initiative from Department of Community Development and Religion.

In the same momentum, there are police stations in communities for people to access and there would be more when there is support. A typical police station would no doubt include FSVU and specialised person from child welfare and protection, healthcare as well as counsellors with many years of experiences. Within the same structure, there could be community police mediation and conflict resolution teams, while another section obviously would ensure apprehension and temporary holding for further processing. Noted also in close proximity are private paid security set up with no role to play in the public domain. These concepts would not seem new and everyone, in
addressing safer communities, are well acquainted.

Unless these physical structures have an integrated role and inclusive of all people, these structures would follow each one of these public sector agencies’ objectives and aspirations with no benefits to a targeted community as noted from the higher order LJS. Similarly, the surveys show that not many people use the police for reasons already discussed. However, noted also were gaps in various policies, one of which is the National Security Policy and short comings in the implementation of strategies to accommodate people with special needs, or having certain disabilities.

Another important criteria to alleviate marriage problems and domestic violence is to get the community involved in preparing young people for marriage. Again this depends very much on the upbringing of a child. The churches and many faith-based organisations would be gladly willing to assist in this area. Further area of improvement lies with referral partners who tend to drop a victim during the times of leaving a perpetrator and, issuing an Interim Protection Order, especially for women. These women have no choice but return to the violent husband.

The question has been how to integrate these diverse communities so that the majority benefit, and are able to say they were safe, secure and happy to use these facilities. This dilemma could be answered in a few ways especially for Port Moresby. First is to amend the NCD Act to provide these aspect of inclusivity so that the police, private security firms, caregivers and other community groups have a mutual agreement to serve the community. Secondly, create a legal framework that is nationally applicable and would allow for specialised training for all concerned parties that ensure law, order, and harmonious community living. It would also be the instrument for private security companies to take on as part of their ongoing social responsibility to the community. Thirdly, there will be a requirement for changes in other relevant laws. There would be a requirement for the Constitution Law Reform Commission to come into this.

Some interventions

Research has shown and further sounded by the World Bank, the necessity for police to change policing strategies from ‘within’ and ‘outside’, the need for ‘understanding the breadth, scope, and anticipated changes brought about by implementing combined community and problem-oriented policing and restorative justice approaches, and the related important role of police in sustaining community development efforts’ (WBG 2014: 5).

Police institutional legitimacy although questioned, it needs to sustain collaboration for safety. There is a need for strategic plan, and has been complicated, because it will be a paradigm shift addressing ‘reorientation and reengineering of many parts of the police system and its work cultures, as well as extensive outreach to the communities the police serve. The Police Act could also be changed as well and may provide for instance, devolving prosecution powers to other relevant authorities such NCD, CBC, Customs and Immigration. Such changes would not only improve response time it will be seen to be effective.

Some of the programs initiated by the DJAG for crime prevention and community participation would go a long way from just ‘islands of achievements’ if strategised thoroughly. These projects could be done in consultation with CS projects in prisons so that there is integration, cooperation and sustainability for the end product. For example, the rolling out of Chiclet for youths could have first identified the markets for consumptions of chicken at the end state. This could be done through a local supermarket chain while some are sold at the local vendors’ market. Excess in these products that may not be limited to but open to garden produces that could be sold to a ‘food bank’, an innovative concept that requires further deliberations.

As a sustainability mechanism, the food bank should initially be a State function and gradually privatised as it gains momentum in the city. The food bank would provide cheap, but at reasonable State subsidised price that would open for wage earners at suitable times of the day as well. Some of the poverty issues in Port Moresby could be minimised through this. The strategy to observe is to grow locally to keep the cost at uninflated price, hence, feeding into ‘taking back PNG’ motto, as well as introducing a systemic concept of interdependency.

Innovative suggestions from seminar

The seminar discussions very much summed up the key findings of the research. The seminar consultation with representatives from the LJS, Oxfam, Equal Playing Fields, Magna Carta, and Motu-Koita village court officials at the Waigani Anglicare Center discussed succinctly few main issues with possible policy options. These concerns were in unemployment, corruption, cultural differences, safety needs for disabled people, suppression of human rights, unsafe school environments and the issues affecting traditional landowner groups in the Motu Koita area.
Others were to do with the urban pull factor, job opportunities and financial support to alleviate poverty. The push factors to the city, which some call rural-urban drift has been a major factor for crimes to strive in the city. This movement is a democratic right but has to be controlled as this is adding to more unemployment, poverty and crime. The LJS has some innovation for community engagement first. The sector has expanded its role to be called SLOS, and includes, health, education, community development as well as other crosscutting State agencies, with Economic Sector on its own. The SLOS concept would link DSIP projects to take up law and justice issues through various MOUs that are being undertaken. Further, assessment of the pharmacies so they could provide cheaper medicinal drugs through low tax are also being made.

Corruption, however, has been systemic and difficult when there are inflated contracts. Most cases which could be good cases of corruption tend to get thrown out of courts due to lack of information for evidence to be compiled or in other cases, inducements are paid to possible witnesses so they do not give evidence. Most of the old legal frameworks now need to be reviewed as some are outdated. One such case is the labour laws pertaining to who should own and run businesses in the country.

Much has to do with how literate and educated Papua New Guineans are. The problem starts with no proper childhood education and care, lack of schools infrastructure, and lack of general literacy and awareness. Some of the implications are that; not a proper person is selected for parliament. Furthermore, cultural differences are made worse because of these lack of understanding and respect for others. Other factors may be as a result of being dressed inappropriately, jumping the queue, spitting in public and general lack of adaptation to city life.

Illegal and wrong use of technology has been another problem area, especially exposure to bad languages, bad habits, and pornography. Other crosscutting issues of economic development through better education and awareness props up has a much needed concept. Generally, an information system that is educating and understood through better literacy has been the real concern.

The Motu Koita area has specific problems of land sales without consultations with family members and lot of dispute goes to village courts for resolution. Village court, especially in Hanuabada could only assist with mediation but are not able to stop sales by individuals. The demand for land and the need for cash to sustain life contribute greatly towards many family disputes in the big Motuan Village.

Other concerns were raised about living no one behind when there are people with special need that require attention so that an aspect of inclusion is seen. There appears to be very little to provide for this category of people like those vision impaired or others in the key population area whose behaviour is not the same. There are also concerns about people who steal from blind persons. Some people are in the gay and lesbian community while others are regarded as sex workers who exchange sex for cash. This particular issue is a doubled-edged sword type, especially when prostitution is not a recognised economic option.

Possible remedial actions

The group discussions were encouraged to suggest innovative approaches to mitigate crime and create a safe urban community in Port Moresby. There were a lot of good suggestions, some of which may be against humanity, democratic rights and even be discriminatory. Those especially coming to Port Moresby should declare means of survival before a ticket for an airline is issued, for example. This was based on having to control the rural urban drift as there appears to be so much democracy and not enough control.

Education and literacy has been highlighted as the key to change. A person must learn and change and that learning does not come from classroom alone. Having boot camp for youths going through robust life skills, to awareness on GBV workshops, including all other forms of information packages that not many are familiar with. Without proper training on hygiene and sanitation, washing hands, proper use of toilet facilities for new arrivals in the city from pit toilets or anywhere else is just assumed to be okay. With the presence of Covid-19, a whole new normal approach may be timely.

Churches and NGOs/CSOs have a very important role to play as they touch base with community. The community is not engaged well because of lack of support and funding. There are many law and order issues the community could be part of, as in the cases of Diversion for Juvenile. Courts and police referral pathways are limited because there are not enough CSOs for such actions.

Economic activities that create jobs was most talked about. Concerns were expressed about lack of support from government and funding institutions that continue to have stringent measures has been a problem. Doing business
again could be a problem with many processes and cumbersome bureaucratic processes.

The State and its agencies has a responsibility to promote and protect all types of people and very little is in place for signage, sign languages, clear public space for all to use, as well as specific services for people with special needs such as a wheel on access to buses. Meri Seif bus, although a good concept, there are no connections to actual places of residents.

Use of dogs for those vision impaired and a real commitment is needed by the government to implement the Disability Implementation framework. Others still in the pipe line, including the CSO State Partnership Framework, and review of many legal frameworks that are quite old and some have gone past their intended periods.

One of the many important highlights was on dissemination of information for public consumption that is proper, has a source that is authorised under law, reliable and could be a State agent. A State information system is missing and should be reintroduced just like in the 70s and 80s.
Conclusion and recommendations

Historically, there was never plans for urbanisation, as the colonisers from Australia believed that they were here for a long haul. Presence of ‘natives’ in build-up places like Port Moresby then was seen as temporary and these people were returning to their villages. There was much distrust and dominance over the ‘natives’ and harsher restrictions were placed on on people’s movement. Later when it became apparent that the country was to be prepared for self-governing, questions were asked about how prepared the country was with a thousand diverse tribes, hence having no development plan for what is to be PNG.

Growth in urbanisation began as soon as restrictions were lifted when few jobs were available. By the first decade of Independence, a lot more people were living in Port Moresby, with government officials challenged with development and growth of the country as well as having to localise jobs performed by expatriates. There were some planned settlements in Port Moresby, however, increase in crime and rascalism took foothold of the city. After much publicity on law and order, the Clifford Report of 1984 set the bench mark for actions to curb crime in the city.

The report identified the issues of a growing urban population that was no different to many around the world. Pull factors were identified to be socio-economic issues, mostly seeking education, better health care and jobs. There was, however, not enough jobs. Returning to village environment could be shameful and living on whatever means in urban settlements resulted in poverty. There were many desperate situations that created schemes to make a living. These hardships were soon classified as human security issues that required addressing to dissuade fear and having choices in any individuals.

Some of the means of survival were illegal and included armed robbery, stealing with violence, dealing in stolen property and the formations of groups as raskols with similar ordeal to be identified with, associated with, and having ‘macho’ impact as a person. Many of these groups would have some protection of a leading figure, hence, creating a big man syndrome who cared for and provided certain protection through use of violence if necessary. The settlements or village city bulged with many more new arrivals that created traditional enclaves similar to their places of origins and practicing cultures. It also created the wantok social safety net based on a reciprocity arrangements known traditionally nationwide. If there was no reciprocity, one could be left out hence the need to contribute in any way or form.

The wantok system created inducement and nepotism that also crept into public sector of governance and law and order. Corruption and incapacity to have State control over crime increased in many more white-collar crimes and traversing the porous borders. In the meantime, village cities developed informal problem solving mechanisms through the assistance of CSOs, the State and the international donor communities. The informal mechanisms together with the formal system has made living in village city conducive for alternate housing and city dwelling.

Most conflict situations are now resolved promptly, and reasonably but not with satisfaction especially with women folks, children and the old people. These conflict resolutions could also be in conflict with State laws. However, some people are satisfied that they could move on in life. The research shows that the formal mechanisms in resolving conflict situations and building safer communities has to be better managed and integrated. Policing especially needs a culture change to make a meaningful impact in having a safer urban community in Port Moresby.

Recommendations

Community problem solving mechanism, though informal, is well entrenched and should be given the support and supervision through a robust partnership with the formal sector by the following:

1. Change the policing concept that is community orientated and review the RPNGC Act;
2. Make changes to all other enabling and relevant acts in the LJS so they become community centred and the common law is appropriately applied;
3. Ensure private security firms are in partnership if not amend legislation so they are part of an integrated concept to ensure safety in the city;
4. CSOs or institutions of referrals are human orientated and not release victims of abuse without exploring every avenue just because of cost or a matter for law for jurisdiction purposes;

5. The Government continues to invest in and establishing community justice centres in village cities and wards together with each districts as a coordinated integrated concept with other stakeholders;

6. Government should consider to continue to fund 'islands of achievements' in crime prevention and make strategic plans to reduce urban poverty;

7. Government should consider creating 'food bank' as a mean to alleviate poverty and ensuring to absorb excess production;

8. Government should consider ensuring human resources and funding allocations are sustained in support of safer urban communities;

9. Any concept or systems applied to safer communities should be inclusive, outreaching and comprehensive for all groups of people; and,

10. State agencies should consider stepping up their efforts to engage with the communities through information, advocacy and awareness packages for peace and harmonious communities.
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Annex A Points of Discussion at Seminar

Points of Discussions at Seminar

The Seminar discussions very much summed up the key findings of the research. The seminar consultation was with a handful of representatives from the LJS, Oxfam, Equal Playing Fields, Magna Carta and Motu-Koitabu village court officials, at the Waigani Anglicare Center on the 24th of November 2020 and discussed succinctly few main issues with possible policy options.

Table 1. Issues and remedial actions generated from group discussions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues /Concerns</th>
<th>Remedial Action</th>
<th>Institution /Agency</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural-Urban Drift</td>
<td>• Control on movement</td>
<td>• State /NCD</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Must produce valid reason for travel</td>
<td>• Travel service /Airline</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Must have means of support</td>
<td>• Sponsor / Job Recruiter</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Must dress as city dweller</td>
<td>• Sponsor / Recruiter</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Must be indoctrinated to have footwear, how to use toilet, and general hygiene and well being</td>
<td>• State/ CSO/ NCD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• City encroachment on traditional land of original people</td>
<td>• NCD /MKA</td>
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<td>LJS as Implementer</td>
<td>• Community First Initiative</td>
<td>• NCM /SLOS Secretariat</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• SLOS formation breaking down barriers for integration</td>
<td>• All sectors except economy</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Review past legislation in housing, employment, health systems including pharmacies</td>
<td>• Health, labour and employment, physical planning</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• DSIP linkage through MOU</td>
<td>• Local MP</td>
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<tr>
<td>Corruption</td>
<td>• Investigate and prosecute those having unexplained wealth including politicians</td>
<td>• ICAC /OC</td>
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<td>• Toll free numbers made available (1800 –series)</td>
<td>• State Authority /LJS</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Aspects of prosecution be given prominence and support</td>
<td>• State Authority /DJAG</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jobs &amp; Economy (poverty alleviation)</td>
<td>• Pool communities on variety of activities</td>
<td>• State /CSOs</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Improve quality of education</td>
<td>• Education Department of</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Early childhood learning , care, cultural adaptation on work and ethics</td>
<td>• Education /Community Development /Health</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• inculcate value system</td>
<td>• IPA /IRC /SME</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Minimise cumbersome process for doing business in PNG</td>
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<td>Humanity &amp; Inclusivity</td>
<td>• Implementation framework for inclusivity</td>
<td>• Lands and Physical / Urbanisation policy implementation</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Make public space available for people with special needs</td>
<td>• Land and physical department</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Every action must have humanity factor in planning, implementation, services and infrastructure</td>
<td>• Planners at all level</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Allow people living with disability (PWD) to assimilate into communities</td>
<td>• Planners at all level</td>
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<td>• Key population area caught up between two ‘hard rocks’ require attention under human rights</td>
<td>• DNPM / Community Development</td>
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<td>• Sign posting for awareness, deterrence, and warning</td>
<td>• NCD</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Sign language as an instrument of inclusivity</td>
<td>• State Authorities / Education / Community Development</td>
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</tbody>
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