



UNIVERSITY OF
CANBERRA

CENTRE FOR SUSTAINABLE
COMMUNITIES

Centre for Sustainable Communities
Monograph Series No.6

***Developing rural youth as the
farmers of the future using a
strengths-based approach:
the example of Papua New Guinea***

Barbara Pamphilon, Jo Caffery
and Jocelyn Perry | October 2022

© Centre for Sustainable Communities, University of Canberra, 2022.

All rights reserved. Apart from fair dealing for the purposes of research or private study, or criticism or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act 1968, no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored or transmitted in any form or by any means without the prior permission in writing of the publisher.

ISBN : 978-1-74088-531-7

The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Centre for Sustainable Communities, Action Research for Development research group, or the University of Canberra.

Recommended citation:

Pamphilon, B., Caffery, J. & Perry, J. (2022) 'Developing rural youth as the farmers of the future using a strengths-based approach: the example of Papua New Guinea. University of Canberra. Centre for Sustainable Communities Monograph Series No. 6

About the Centre for Sustainable Communities

The Centre for Sustainable Communities (CSC) contributes to healthy and sustainable social, cultural, ecological and economic futures by providing research and professional development services to communities, government and the private sector.

Our strengths, developed over more than fifteen years, are those of collaborative and participatory research in regional and community development in both Australian and international contexts. Working in partnership with communities and related regional and community agencies, we aim to:

- Build sustainable environmental, social, cultural and economic capacity through partnership in research and development
- Work with communities in the recognition of their own strengths, assets and capacities using processes which respect action learning and collaboration
- Develop strategies for change in response to evolving environmental, social, cultural and economic contexts
- Build leadership and professional networks that support sustainable and cooperative endeavours in communities.

The Centre's research highlights learning and development beyond formal education, in community and organisational settings and contexts where informal learning is significant. We are interested in how this perspective can contribute to the adaptation of formal institutions to the contemporary challenges of social and cultural change.

The Action Research for Development research group, within the CSC, uses asset-based community development analysis, appreciative inquiry, participatory action learning and the co-construction of knowledge to work with, and for, marginalised groups and/or those with low literacy. The group's research focuses on how groups can be reached through experiential and informal learning that harnesses and values their local knowledge.

CSC Director: Dr Katharine McKinnon

Monograph Series Editor: Dr Philip Roberts

www.canberra.edu.au/research/faculty-research-centres/csc

Executive Summary

This monograph is written for development practitioners and those interested in understanding, harnessing and developing the strengths of youth living in agricultural settings in low- and middle-income countries. Across the world, there is a growing recognition of the importance of such youth in the farming systems of today and into the future. In low- and middle-income countries, the large youth populations have the potential to contribute significantly to world-wide food and nutrition security, poverty reduction and the generation of new forms of employment. However, in much of the literature, young people are seen in a risk or problem frame rather than for their strengths and as potential partners in development efforts.

We use the Pacific nation of Papua New Guinea (PNG) as an example of the contextual information that can be collected in order to plan strengths-based engagement of youth, their families and communities in agricultural development. Following an overview of PNG's smallholder

agriculture, we present three contextual sections— family and community, demographics and sociocultural—each of which concludes by highlighting the design implications for strengths-based youth program development. We conclude the monograph by emphasising that youth are a diverse group of people with many sub-groups to be considered. The key to successful program design is to talk, listen and learn from young people themselves and build programs with young people that are based on their lived experience, knowledge, strengths and aspirations.

***Strengths-based rural youth
development programs —
with, by and for young people.***

Acknowledgments

We would like to thank the following colleagues for their valuable contributions to the development of this monograph— Dr Veronica Bue (PNG University of Technology), Dr Norah Omot (ACIAR), Professor Lalen Simeon (Pacific Adventist University), Mrs Kiteni Kusunan Kurika, (East New Britain Women and Youth in Agriculture Cooperative Societies Association), and Professor Katharine McKinnon and Associate Professor Deborah Hill (University of Canberra).

We acknowledge the funding provided by the [Australian Centre for International Agricultural Research](#)

Barbara, Jo and Joc, 2022

Photo credits:

Photos 1, 2, 4, 5 - [Gender equitable agricultural extension through institutions and youth engagement in Papua New Guinea project team](#)

Photo 3 - Barbara Pamphilon

Photo 6, 7 – Katja Mikhailovich

Contents

Introduction	1
Strengths-based youth development	2
Papua New Guinea and its smallholder agriculture	3
The Papua New Guinea family and community context	4
Papua New Guinea Youth: the demographic context	5
Papua New Guinea Youth: the socio-cultural context	10
Ways forward for rural youth development	14
Conclusion	15
Endnotes	16

List of Abbreviations

<i>COVID-19</i>	<i>Novel coronavirus 2019</i>
<i>IFAD</i>	<i>International Fund for Agricultural Development</i>
<i>PNG</i>	<i>Papua New Guinea</i>
<i>PYD</i>	<i>Positive youth development</i>
<i>TVET</i>	<i>Technical and Vocational Education and Training</i>

Introduction

The current generation of 1.2 billion youth will be the largest ever cohort in the history of the world with one billion of these living in ‘developing countries’¹. In these countries, most young people will have agricultural futures and play key roles in feeding the world. The contribution of smallholder farmers to food production across the world is paramount as in 2017 these farmers produced over 60% of the world’s food². It is clear that smallholder farm families and their youth are essential to global food and nutritional security³.

Across the world, there is a growing recognition of the place of youth in farming systems. Many will become farmers themselves, and others will work in subsidiary areas, such as in the post-harvest and marketing systems. Although youth are recognised as innovators and change agents, much of the research on youth focuses on the dangers of their risky behaviours (to themselves and others) and their many needs. This deficit-based approach sees young people in a risk or problem frame rather than for their strengths and as potential partners in development efforts. However the large youth population has the potential to contribute significantly to world-wide food and nutrition security, poverty reduction and the generation of new types of employment. The innovative spirit of young people can be fostered and developed, especially as entrepreneurs of tomorrow.

‘Young women and men are key to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030 and indeed, to our planet’s future’⁴.

This monograph is written for development practitioners and others interested in understanding, harnessing and developing the strengths of young people living in agricultural settings in low or middle income countries. Youth are not a homogenous group across the world, or indeed within any country, therefore, to better understand youth and farming futures within specific settings, a country by country analysis is key. This monograph uses Papua New Guinea (PNG) as an example of the contextual information that can be collected in order to plan the strengths-based engagement of youth and their families and communities in agricultural development. We focus on rural youth as their future lives will be linked to agriculture in significant ways. The monograph uses the terms ‘young men/women’, ‘young people’ and ‘youth’, noting that we do not include children under 12 in any of these terms. We use the term ‘youth’ at the policy and cohort level, ‘young people’ when referring to the local and lived experience level and ‘young women or men’ when referring specifically to gender issues. We use binary gender language throughout as at the time of writing there was no PNG literature on non-binary identities.

The monograph first outlines the strengths-based youth development approach. It then provides a short overview of PNG and its smallholder agriculture and presents what is known about PNG youth statistically and socio-culturally. It is important to note that although these are presented as discrete sections they in fact overlap and interact. The acknowledgement of such ‘intersectionality’ is particularly important in understanding ‘youth’ in agricultural settings⁵. Each subsection concludes with a short section that highlights the design implications for strengths-based youth program development. The final section presents PNG examples of effective engagement with young people and proposes ways forward for strengths-based youth program development in low or middle income countries.

Strengths-based youth development

The strengths-based approach to development arose in the mid 1990s as a response to the ineffective and disempowering impact of the focus on individuals' and communities' needs and deficits. Following the seminal work of Kretzmann and McKnight⁶, this approach has been widely applied across the world in diverse communities and for specific groups, including youth. A core facet of the application of strengths-based work for youth is that it aims to build resilience and support young people's learning across this important transition between youth and adulthood⁷.

Positive Youth Development (PYD) is one example of an approach that focuses on the strengths of young people and builds on the protective factors that can mitigate risk and lead to sustained positive impact and outcomes⁸. It draws attention to the four domains that need to be considered in the design of youth development programs: agency, assets, contributions, and an enabling environment.

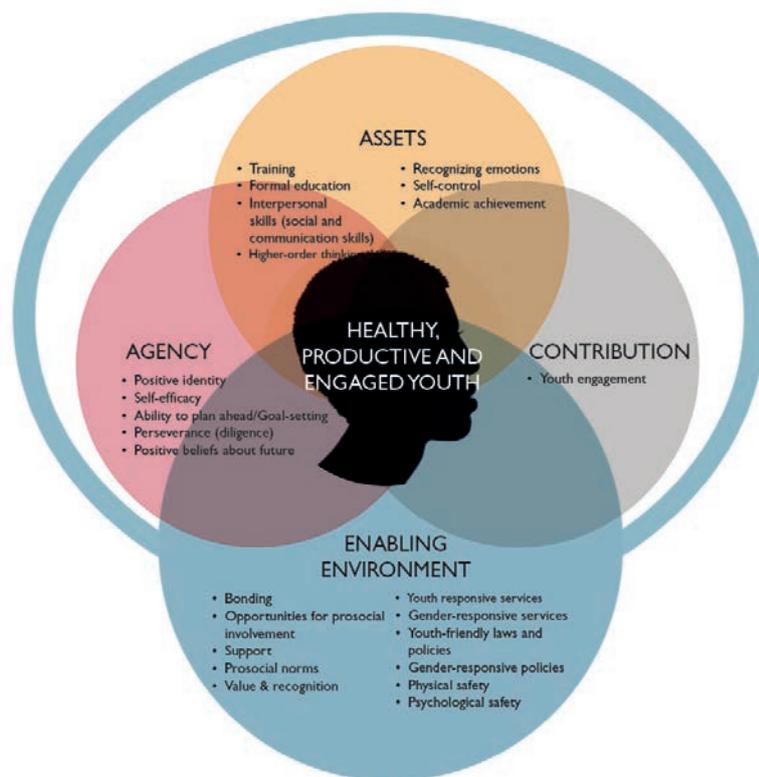


Figure 1: PYD domains and associated constructs ¹⁰

Although primarily applied in high income countries, a 2017 systematic review of PYD work in low/middle income countries found that successful PYD programs¹¹:

- Adopt a systemic approach to youth programming by engaging with multiple stakeholders and working across multiple settings—for example schools, households and community centres
- Teach transferable skills and knowledge to youth to support positive outcomes across sectors—for example socio-emotional and problem-solving skills, self-awareness, self-determination, leadership, and positive behaviours that increase youth agency
- Include innovative, youth-centred and youth-led activities—where youth work alongside mentoring adults, leading community discussion activities and creating safe spaces for youth engagement.

“PYD transitions away from traditional approaches to young people in a risk or problem frame and towards proactively building skills, fostering healthy relationships and supporting youth to be active partners in development efforts. It suggests that if young people have the knowledge, skills and support they need, they will thrive as adults, enjoy good health, succeed economically, and make meaningful contributions to their community” ⁹

Strengths-based program development turns the analysis from a deficit focus to both the demographic and socio-cultural contexts of young people in order to identify what strengths can be built on as well as how to engage the diverse groups of young people. Strengths-based approaches have been found to be effective with young people as they reduce stigma and shame for individuals and are highly compatible with cultural-based programs¹².

The following sections focus on Papua New Guinea, a middle/low income country, to show how a strengths-based analysis with a focus on personal, household, cultural and organisational assets can be harnessed in the design of youth development programs.



Photo 1: East New Britain food crops

Papua New Guinea and its smallholder agriculture

PNG is situated in the southwestern Pacific Ocean, between the Equator and Australia's north east. The mainland comprises mainly rugged terrain with six hundred islands to the north, south and east. PNG is home to 9.59 million¹³ linguistically and culturally diverse people with approximately 839 indigenous languages. English, Tok Pisin, and Hiri Motu are the official languages¹⁴. It is rich in natural resources and strong and resilient people, however, PNG faces significant development challenges ranking 155 of 189 countries on the Human Development Index¹⁵ and 161 out of 162 countries on the Gender Inequality Index¹⁶.



Map 1: Papua New Guinea¹⁷

Over 85% of the PNG population live in rural areas, with smallholder agriculture, including food crops, cash crops, betel nut, livestock, fishing and forestry, as their main source of employment and income. Most rural families still use semi-subsistence agriculture to

produce food for the family and exchange or sell surplus crops. The major cash crops grown by semi-subsistence families are coffee, cocoa, coconut and in some coastal areas, oil palm. In coastal areas, fishing is also used for income and family food¹⁸. Most families are able to produce enough food for basic food security, although nutritional security is variable.

Across the country, smallholder families face physical challenges such as poor roads and infrastructure, land shortage and access, weather events and climate change, social challenges especially endemic violence and gender inequality, and capacity development challenges arising from low education levels. However PNG farming families also have a long history of effective farming that pre-dates the colonial settlement that began in the 1870s¹⁹. Farming families have shown resilience and adaptability in response to challenges such as drought and other climate changes and have readily responded to the introduction of new crop varieties. From childhood, young people learn from their elders the key farming techniques, including advanced skills such as drainage/irrigation, mound planting and crop rotation.

The Papua New Guinea family and community context

In order to understand the issues for youth, it is important to place them in the family and community context. The primary social organisation in PNG is through clans and the kinship system known as 'wantok'. Wantok is a term used across Melanesia to express patterns of relationships and networks that link people in families and regional localities. It has been described as a socioeconomic and political network, and a set of relationships (or obligations) between individuals characterised by common language, kinship group, geographical area of origin, social associations or religious groups²⁰. Traditionally, it was through wantok relationships that the transition from child to adult was guided and directed and where the roles and responsibilities of young people in the family were defined²¹. Today, wantok relationships provide important social protection for families and young people, although some people, especially women and girls do 'fall through the net'²².

Most clans are patrilineal, however there are some matrilineal clans in the Autonomous Region of Bougainville, East New Britain and Milne Bay. Even in matrilineal communities, patriarchal norms dominate. All but 4.5% of PNG people identify as Christian²³ which is the second major form of social organisation.

The average household size in PNG rural areas is 4.9 persons and men head the vast majority of households (83%)²⁴. Polygynous families are found in the highlands region where the practice has been linked to gender-based violence, however it has also been found that for some women a polygynous marriage can give security and greater safety²⁵.

The challenges for PNG families are significant:

- People aged 25 years and older have an average of 3.9 years of schooling with only 6.9% of women and 14.1% of men completing high school or higher (2014)²⁶

- Only one third of rural families have access to clean drinking water and 13% to good sanitation
- 2.4 million people live below the basic needs poverty line however this is masked by subsistence farming
- Less than 50% of people have access to primary health care, with 1:13 children dying before aged 5 and a maternal mortality rate of 215 of 100,000 live births
- Although deaths from malaria are decreasing lifestyle diseases such as diabetes and heart disease are increasing
- Malnutrition is prevalent with 48.3% children assessed as stunted or wasted²⁷.

Most recently the novel coronavirus 2019 (COVID-19) has led to 87% of households reporting reduced income with those earning the lowest incomes experiencing the greatest reduction²⁸. Women and girls have been disproportionately affected due to their roles as carers, the contraction of the informal economy and through increased gender-based violence²⁹.

Strengths-based design: the family and community context

The types of households of PNG rural youth can initially determine their opportunities and aspirations. The low levels of parents' education, poor health status and poverty may mean that young people are not supported in new endeavours. However, strengths-based programs can utilise the wantok system which can provide a wider network of potentially supportive people who can guide and mentor young people in new endeavours. This will include people who can share specific farming skills as well as traditional ways to respond to challenges such as drought and other climate events. Most families will also have some wantoks in paid work and with experience in some forms of business. Therefore the range of people in wantok relationships can be directly engaged in strengths-based programs and open doors for young people with initiative and/or provide wider experience that can help a young person develop skills outside the immediate family.

Papua New Guinea Youth: the demographic context

The PNG National Youth Development Act (2014) defines 'youth' as between 12 to 38 years of age however the current National Youth Policy (2020 – 2030) has narrowed the age range of youth to 12 to 30 years of age in order to focus analysis and programs in a more effective and targeted way. They report that this aligns with most of the PNG's churches' definitions of youth. The National Youth Policy Report (2019)³⁰ notes that 2,622,958 PNG people are youth (1,226,577 F, 1,396, 381 M, 2011 census) and as can be seen in Figure 1 below, there is a considerable 'youth bulge' in PNG. PNG ranks 144 of 181 on the international youth development index³¹.

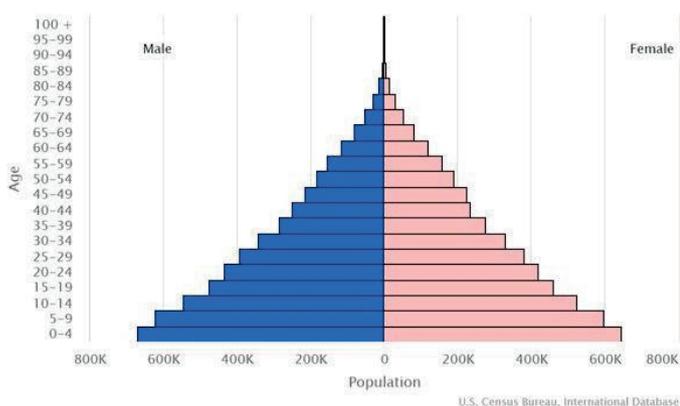


Figure 2 PNG 2022 population pyramid showing 'youth bulge'³²

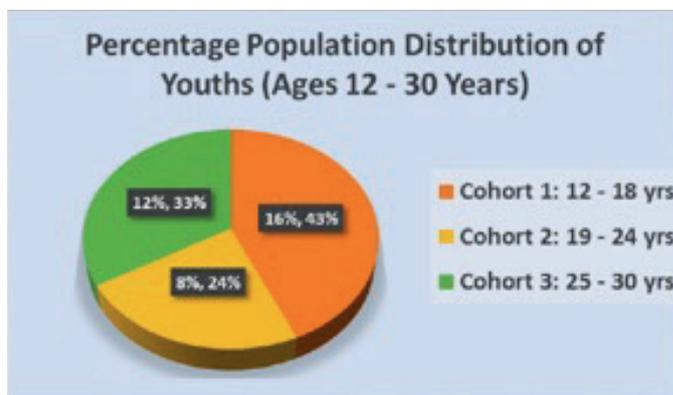


Figure 3 PNG youth cohorts³³

The PNG government has divided the youth population into three cohorts in order to focus future research and development programs.

The youngest cohort (12 —18 yrs) needing sport and fitness development, sex and reproductive as well as general and basic education.

The middle cohort (19— 24 yrs) needing training for employability, skills development, clear career pathways and where possible higher education.

The oldest cohort (25 —30 yrs) needing to become independent, have careers/work, and begin to develop skills for family and community life.

Strengths-based design: demographic context

The large numbers of PNG youth with the energy and innovative spirit of this stage of life provide an important asset in the design of agricultural development projects. The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) names 'rural opportunity spaces' as a foundation for young people to become 'connected' and 'productive'— that is connected to markets, information, ideas and possibilities³⁴.

Youth development programs are essential at this time when PNG is quickly moving from semi-subsistence to more market-oriented agriculture. IFAD notes that in such "high agricultural potential but limited market access³⁵" countries, if access to output and input markets are addressed, there will be a number of opportunities to harness the energy and diverse interest of youth. The challenges for agricultural development are well documented for most areas of PNG and therefore can be taken into account in regional program design.

PNG youth and education

Most young people in PNG only attend primary school, with the UNDP reporting a mean of 4 years of schooling for females and 5.3 years for males in 2019³⁶. Tertiary education enrolment is consequently very low with only 8,515 of the 27,500 graduating Grade 12 students continuing on to tertiary institutions in 2018³⁷. A further consequence of low schooling rates is seen in the low literacy rates of PNG adults which in 2015 was 63.4%³⁸, however some studies have shown rural areas with actual literacy rates as low as 32%³⁹.

The barriers to school completion and the resultant low literacy have particular relevance for youth. These include an insufficient number of schools, long travel distances to attend school, overcrowding with low teacher–student ratios, lack of community and family understanding of the relevance of schooling, tribal fighting, and local natural disasters such as flooding. PNG children can learn in their mother tongue for the first three years and then bridge into English which is an important component of effective early learning for multi-lingual children. However, as elementary teachers only complete a six-week training course and most primary teachers only have a two year diploma, teaching skills are limited and hence children’s learning can be hampered⁴⁰. Other learning environment challenges are due to teacher absenteeism, lack of educational materials, inadequate school infrastructure, and student misbehavior which also contribute to children dropping out of school early⁴¹. Despite the introduction of compulsory free education in 2015, schools still impose other types of fees that many families cannot afford⁴².

Although these barriers are relevant to all youth, for young women there are further significant gender issues.

Families often give preference to boys’ education over that of girls’, especially as once females marry they leave the family and as such the ‘investment’ in their education leaves the birth family⁴³. Some girls have disrupted education as they are expected to stay at home to care for younger siblings and/or contribute to intensive periods of agricultural labour, such as planting or harvesting. Further as females face the risk of violence on the travel to and from school and at school itself⁴⁴, parents can be reluctant to send older girls to school⁴⁵.

Overall education in rural areas is not considered of equal quality to that in urban areas and is generally understood to be due the challenges of remoteness and intersecting factors such as teacher supply, availability of teaching materials, underfunding, poverty and parental attitudes⁴⁶. However, despite the challenges in formal education, PNG’s young people are keen to learn as is evidenced by their engagement in learning opportunities offered by NGOs.



Photo 2: East New Britain female youth caring for her chickens

Strengths-based design: education context

The low levels of school completion and literacy need to be considered in the development of approaches to more effectively engage PNG youth in agriculture. Given that most young people do not attend high school, programs that are community-based and that use experiential learning, arts-based learning and the like are more likely to succeed than those that use written materials. Gender differences are also important to consider, especially as some young women may have less freedom to attend training or programs. Whilst it is ideal for young women and men to learn together in order to develop their collaborative skills, at times it might be necessary to have separate groups to focus on gender specific needs.

PNG youth and work

According to the International Labour Organisation Decent Work Programme, PNG youth aged 25 years and under are 2.5 times more likely to be unemployed than adults and comprise 40% of those registered as unemployed⁴⁷, with 85% of PNG youth providing labour (usually un-paid) in the informal agriculture sector. Child labour is of growing concern, especially on plantations and in the tourist industry where numbers of children work as domestic servants and are involved in illicit activities such as commercial sex services⁴⁸. This has a direct impact on their opportunities when they move into the youth stage of life.

Traditionally and through to today, young people in farming families are expected to participate in making and tending the gardens, work on cash crops and care for livestock as well as contributing to the family through other activities such as fishing and hunting. In this way, young people learn key skills of subsistence farming and living⁴⁹.

The pathways for PNG youth to paid employment are

tenuous, especially as there is not an accessible Technical and Vocational Education and Training sector (TVET). TVET courses require fees which makes them inaccessible to poor families⁵⁰. Although TVET opportunities do exist in rural areas, they are significantly fewer in number than in urban centres and surprisingly they focus on the cash economy and paid employment skills and have little focus on agriculture⁵¹. Vocational Training Colleges, usually situated within secondary schools, offer mainly general education courses combined with a skill such as business, mechanics, cooking and sewing⁵². However, training courses are no guarantee of employment and this can lead to frustration for many young people.

Today, many PNG young people leave rural areas to seek better opportunities and work in towns however most of them remain unemployed due to their lack of education, skills and experience. This has led to significant social instability as youth turn to crime, prostitution and drugs, however in recent years, urban youth employment programs are making an impact⁵³.

Strengths-based design: work context

Rural youth do have many potential ways to earn money through agricultural activities but most understand paid work as only available through a formal job. Youth have many transferable income generating skills and can quickly learn from others therefore programs have the opportunity to help young people identify income generating projects, both individually or as part of a team. Strengths-based youth development programs meet young people where they are and address young people's desire for responsibility and agency whilst working with an understanding of their limited perceived opportunities and barriers to work. It is important that as part of their design process programs explore the aspirations of young people and examine these in light of their social and economic realities⁵⁴.

Although an agriculturally-focused TVET and Vocational Training College system in rural areas would be a major asset for PNG, other pathways for youth development programs do exist. For example, most churches have youth fellowship groups and some have youth leadership, livelihood development and adult literacy programs. The strengths of such programs are that they have credibility with parents and are easily accessible for youth.

PNG youth and health

Malnutrition, infectious diseases such as tuberculosis and other respiratory conditions, vector borne diseases such as malaria and dengue fever, and diarrhoeal diseases from unsafe water and/or poor sanitation impact on youth in similar ways to the whole family. However, certain health issues are notable in this age group. According to the PNG National Youth Health Policy:

- 300,000 youth are addicted to drugs and/or alcohol
- 16% of young women give birth before turning 18
- 12% of youth live with a mental and/or physical disability

Over half of PNG young people are estimated to be sexually active, and 19% of 20– 24 year old married females were married by the age of 19, and 2% by the age of 15⁵⁵. Early sexual activity can lead to sexually transmitted infections, unwanted pregnancy, illegal abortions and maternal mortality and morbidity⁵⁶. However, there are no youth-specific sexual, reproductive and maternal health services or community-based outreach programmes in PNG⁵⁷.

Gender-based and family violence are acknowledged to be prevalent across PNG with violence itself often described as a way of life. As in all of the world, overwhelmingly men

are the perpetrators and women and girls are the victims. Further in PNG, violence is commonly understood as a disciplinary method essential to building character⁵⁸. As such the impact of violence on the development of both young women and young men is of key concern as it impacts on their present and future values and practices as adults.

There are significant intersections for youth that become visible when we look at health issues. These include dominant notions of masculinity, femininity, ableism, binary gender categories, culture and faith. However, as youth is a time of transition to adulthood, it is also a time where major mindset shifts can happen that can positively affect young people and their future families and relationships.

One hallmark of a positive transition from youth is that both genders are able to develop health promoting ways of life that lead to the development of happy and well-rounded adults, however in PNG as most young people have left school by aged 15 and there are few youth services, let alone those focused on health, this can be a difficult transition to navigate⁵⁹.

Strengths-based design: health context

Strengths-based youth development programs are an opportunity to integrate holistic knowledge, skills and understandings of physical, mental, social and spiritual health for young people. Health promotion activities such as active lifestyles, drug and alcohol harm minimisation and protective mental health programs can be integrated into youth programs. Nutrition programs would be especially valuable given the PNG high rates of stunting⁶⁰, as the teenage years are a time where youth can gain lost ground and develop their own healthy eating patterns⁶¹. Specific design will need to be considered in some areas, for example separate gender groups for personal and sexual health.

Young people have great potential to be peer health educators for their communities, see for example UN Women's Sanap Wantain work and Oxfam's Inap Nau youth led gender-based violence campaigns⁶². Here the multi-level involvement of youth has the potential to address some of the central drivers of gender-based violence as youth take on new norms into their adulthood.

PNG youth and farming

Both female and male youth are expected to contribute to the semi-subsistence farming activities in rural areas, with females usually supervised by older females and males by older males. Males prepare garden plots and drains, the whole family engages in planting, females undertake weeding and maintenance and the whole family works at harvest time. Females usually conduct local marketing with males selling cash crops. Although semi-subsistence agriculture is changing towards more planned farming and gender roles are also changing, recent research shows that men may be extending their influence into fresh produce marketing which has previously been the domain of women and girls⁶³.



Photo 3: Western Highlands family marketing

Whether youth receive any income from their labour varies by family and region, however rewards and payment does drive some youth participation. Youth reluctance to participate in family agriculture can be a

source of conflict, especially when youth have limited input and decision-making power⁶⁴. Further, as parents are living longer, gaining access to their own land to farm is difficult for youth, even when they are married and have children. Land shortages in PNG are widespread. As families divide and re-divide their land for the following generations, there is increasingly less land to lease.

Currently, the majority of rural youth have no options but to farm on their parents' land and so may have a delayed transition to independence and their limited experience of decision-making may have hampered their development. However, they have also had ongoing access to intergenerational learning from their elders and an understanding of traditional place-based farming knowledge. It is also important to note that a number of rural youth do aspire to a future as farmers as can be seen from the growing numbers of youth in agriculture groups across PNG⁶⁵.



Photo 4: Central Province intergenerational learning

Strengths-based design: farming context

Rural young people do develop a wide range of agricultural skills through the experience of working alongside family members from a very young age which provides a valuable foundation for other roles in agriculture. As a first step, programs can be designed to make this taken-for-granted place-based knowledge visible to young people. It can then be leveraged to support young people to develop 'different' kinds of farming, especially if they have technology skills that enable them to engage with markets differently⁶⁶. Teams of young people can be mentored to investigate other niche areas that may be appropriate for la such as small-scale post-harvest production (e.g. flour, animal feed), baking, cooking and selling specialist flowers, seedlings or tubers and the like.

Papua New Guinea Youth: the socio-cultural context

As PNG is one of the most heterogenous countries in the world with at least 839 linguistic communities each with their own language, culture, and customs, it not possible to generalise about the socio-cultural context. However due to introduced religion, colonisation, globalisation, urbanisation and inter-marriage, there are a number of issues that are found across the country.

Traditionally, 'youth' was not understood by age but as a transition period between childhood and adulthood. Young people in rural communities were expected to participate in wantok and family activities, and in doing so, they met cultural expectations, showed respect for cultural law, and built relevant knowledge. Through this gradual progression, youth were supported by extended family, provided advice, guidance and given social support that facilitated their capacity for responsibility. Over time and with experience, their knowledge and ideas were gradually considered to have greater value⁶⁷. In this period, youth were expected to be observers and listeners and adhere to strict cultural and gender roles. They could not participate in decision-making forums nor hold any agency⁶⁸.

Today, due to rapid modernisation and its influence, the traditional youth development process has been significantly weakened. This is further impacted by the influence of technology as youth see ways of living that do not match their realities which can influence their aspirations positively but can also create frustration and disappointment. Cultural networks are moving away from extended family communal support systems towards a more westernised nuclear family model⁶⁹. Individualistic priorities are influencing rural community networks, with families fending for themselves, limiting the sharing of

resources, produce and jobs⁷⁰. However, it is clear that rural youth remain more extensively connected to culture, community and support network than their urban peers⁷¹.

PNG cultures are rapidly changing due to the impacts of globalisation and as such gender identities and family roles are in flux. This is particularly challenging for youth as they are in a life-stage where they are developing their own adult identity and determining their roles within a family and community. Maintaining informal support networks and extended family relations is considered a key protective factor for young people transitioning to adulthood therefore as it discussed in this section, youth projects can consider ways to also engage families and communities in youth development projects. This may have the added benefit of supporting the development of adults as well as young people in this rapidly changing culture.

Gender

The strongly delineated gender roles and norms in PNG have differing impacts on young women and young men.

Young women— Being young, rural and female has been described as a triple burden⁷² as gender norms restrict the arenas for female youth development to the home and to farm labour. When considered alongside the low levels of school completion and literacy, this constrains young women's opportunities and aspirations. As female youth are often married early and parenting at a younger age than males, they are transitioning to adulthood with adult responsibilities at an earlier age shortening their experience of youthhood.

Gender norms significantly constrain young women's lives as they are expected to work together with other females in most aspects of agriculture, home duties, childcare, community and church work. Their mobility is limited, and hence their job choices, as it is seen as inappropriate for young women to move about outside their household without the guardianship of an older female or a male relative. Young women also face safety risks on their way to school, work or public and private services due to the prevalence of gender-based violence⁷³.

The commodification of young females can be seen in the expected payment of 'braidprais' (bride price) which today can be a major expenditure of thousands of kina, many pigs, and other costly items. The alternate Tok Pisin term, 'baim meri' (buying a wife) has led to many men and women believing that because a man 'paid' for a wife he is then able to 'bossim' (to control or boss) her in every way⁷⁴. There is evidence of the use of 'bride price' to procure young girls for marriage (exchange marriages) in some provinces⁷⁵.

Young men—PNG young men also have clearly delineated gender roles which primarily focus on family and farm labour that requires physical strength, for example chopping wood, clearing bush and digging new gardens. Young men typically work alongside their fathers and are not expected to contribute to household and family chores. However, father-son relationships are changing as many young men challenge the authority of their fathers and they forge new individualistic masculinities based on consumerism⁷⁶. Young men are of growing public concern in PNG due to their association with antisocial practices. High levels of unemployment and the lack of productive activities for young men are linked to high levels of youth violence⁷⁷. Youth who use marijuana (drug bodies) and who produce home-made alcohol (steam/jungle juice) are primarily young males who are seen to have lost their perspective on life and have little hope for the future⁷⁸. The culture of violent masculinity has been well-documented in PNG and it has been argued that young men need to be supported in the development of more positive masculinities⁷⁹.

Strengths-based design: gender context

Strengths-based youth development programs that engage young women and young men separately can provide a safe environment for each gender to explore their contextual issues and develop skills. Programs can then bring both genders together which will support the development of respectful, reciprocal and equitable relationships that will benefit both genders in later life.

Young women—Strengths-based youth development programs can offer young women another avenue for development and can be a powerful education tool for them to see the options other than early marriage. As young women are enabled to explore their skills, interests and opportunities, they will develop wider horizons that will give them resilience and options later in life.

Young men—Although young men have greater freedom and arenas for development than young women, this can have exposed them to different risks, especially through negative peer influences. Developing a positive masculinity even through farming roles is particularly challenging as most young men are not given responsibility and authority in farm or family roles, and do not have access to community leadership roles, with the exception of some church programs. However, there are male role models in all communities and a growing number of positive masculinity male advocates that can be engaged in strengths-based youth development.

It is important to note that as PNG does not recognise the rights of gay and lesbian people and the visibility of gender and sexuality diversity is low⁸⁰, the design of strengths-based youth development projects in this area will need thorough consultation and design to ensure safe and positive engagement of the diverse range of youth.

Youth and the cash economy

The increasing prominence of the cash economy is deeply impacting young people as cash is becoming highly sought after and prioritised even in traditional semi-subsistence communities. Young people are now largely expected to contribute to the cash income of rural families⁸¹. Young people often work with family members to bring in cash through the sale of fish, firewood, or other commodities⁸² as well as helping with the marketing of farm produce⁸³. This added responsibility with minimal means for achieving it is placing pressure on youth.

Young people also want cash for their personal use, (going out with friends, buying desirable products, phones, internet access, alcohol, cigarettes) but most are reliant on their parents to give them cash. Some young women have described how cash motivates them to adhere to their parents' requests for their help in the garden in order to be rewarded with the freedom to go out with friends or cash which in turn significantly impacts their health and happiness⁸⁴. The financial dependency on parents also has a considerable impact on parent/youth relationships⁸⁵. There is some evidence that the desire for cash can lead to high-risk activities such as crime and prostitution, which although most often associated with urban area is increasing in rural areas⁸⁶. Despite these challenges, youth can be positively motivated by their needs and want for cash and in turn be motivated to develop skills for greater income and money management.

The increasing dependence on cash in PNG reveals the growing influence of the global, capitalist economy and its focus on formal commodity production and monetary exchange. This has led to youth identities and aspirations that focus on the formal sector in which rural youth have few opportunities. However what this focus renders invisible to youth and their families is the opportunities in the many diverse community economies that exist in PNG rural communities. These include for example bartering and exchange of goods, services and labour, collectives and cooperatives, volunteering and gifting.



Photo 5: Western Province family marketing

Strengths-based design: the cash economy

Strengths-based youth development programs can integrate the diverse community economies with the essential financial literacy skills, especially budgeting and saving, which are the building blocks for sustainable agricultural projects and future family sustainability. Young people who develop these skills can provide financial management services for their family and for projects they may develop as well as accessing the many informal opportunities.

Youth and digital technology

The potential for digital technology to be an enabler for rural youth across the world is increasingly being demonstrated. Although the costs of technology cannot be dismissed, a recent IFAD report has shown that even in the poorest communities digital technology can have a leap-frog effect for youth⁸⁷. In PNG, young people are increasingly connecting with each other and the wider world through social media which can be a platform for both progressive and regressive sentiments simultaneously⁸⁸. Although it must be acknowledged that not all young people, especially those in rural areas, will have access to the internet and/or funds for a mobile phone, and that there are always risks for youth on the internet, digital platforms can provide young people with

a wider group of positive peer influences and information. Further, these connections can create communities of practice for young people and feelings of solidarity and strength. This has been noted as especially important for young women who often have limited mobility and available networks beyond the family⁸⁹.



Photo 6: Western Highlands young woman learning to use a digital camera



Photo 7: Western Highlands youth learning group

In PNG, the use of digital technology is an area where the 'youth bulge' is a positive as there are a large number of young people already highly engaged with social media and who will have pre-requisite skills for further digital learning. Youth can therefore be part of the new 'digital dividend' not the 'digital divide'⁹⁰.

Strengths-based design: technology

Strengths-based youth development programs have an opportunity to provide young people with basic through to advanced IT training as well as developing skills to access valid health and wellbeing sites that will stand them in good stead in later life. This youth capacity building is especially important for young women who are disadvantaged by the lack of health services.

Although it will be essential to help youth recognise legitimate information from 'fake news' and learn how to protect themselves from scams, digital communication can connect youth across regions and across the country, as well as providing access to software applications that may help the development of new businesses and initiatives. Agricultural software such as the FARMIS app provided by the *Fresh Produce Development Agency* is one example of the potential for youth to be knowledge brokers for their household and extended family.

Ways forward for rural youth development

As this monograph has demonstrated, a strengths-based analysis of the demographic and socio-cultural context of rural youth supports the design of programs that move away from seeing youth as a 'problem', with 'deficits' and in need of directive programs that put young people on the 'right' track. It is clear that youth development programs need to be place-informed and holistic and build on the individual, household, community and cultural assets.

Lessons from PNG for rural youth development programs

There are two basic approaches to the development of youth programs— integration within mainstream programs and youth specific programs. Given funding drivers, in both cases, programs typically have specific focus areas—for example in health (sexual health, smoking, drug and alcohol use, nutrition, mental health, resilience), rights and citizenship (violence, leadership), economic development (agriculture, work readiness, financial literacy) and education (numeracy, literacy, climate change, environment protection).

PNG provides some good examples of mainstreamed and age-specific youth programs.

Mainstream program examples include:

- Preventing gender-based violence - [UN Women Sanap Wantaim \(the New Normal\) campaign](#)
- Health promotion and family planning - [FHI 360](#)
- Women's leadership development - [Nazareth Centre for Rehabilitation and IWDA](#)

Youth specific program examples include:

- Gender equity and respectful relationships using school sport as an entry point - [Equal Playing Field](#)
- Agricultural development - [Bougainville Youth in Agriculture](#)
- Film production - [Voice in the Wilderness' youth-led production \(director Llana Munua\) on sorcery related violence](#)

The following section draws out the transferable lessons from PNG for the design of strengths-based rural youth development programs relevant to other low or middle income countries.

Agriculture has many opportunities for youth - as smallholder farming moves from semi-subsistence to market-oriented practices, there are many possibilities for youth. The entrepreneurial spirit and interest in innovation of youth coupled with the affordances of technology indicate that the 'youth bulge' can be a national asset. For the young people who want to stay on their family land, there are many opportunities to value-add to their family farm practices.

Existing networks to support youth can be mobilised - intergenerational support, cultural and faith-based networks and credible local agencies can be formally and informally harnessed to provide a supportive and constructive environment for youth development. Local role models, mentors and advocates can play an essential on-going role.

Youth-centred learning processes can support the development of diverse youth cohorts - experiential learning and arts-based processes that use linguistic and culturally appropriate materials where youth can see themselves, rather than materials based on other linguistic or cultural groups, empower youth and gain make up for lost education opportunities. Further, by working in gender specific safe groups and mixed gender interactive groups across the life of a program, young women and young men can develop positive life-long gender attitudes and skills.

Youth development programs can be focused on and address wider youth needs - rural youth development programs can support positive transitions to adulthood by integrating health, literacy, financial and gender awareness and encourage holistic development.

Youth can be knowledge brokers for their family and beyond - programs that are designed to enable young people to recognise the value of traditional knowledge and community processes as well as learning how to access new sources of information can help youth maximise their contributions whilst keeping them connected to the value of their place-based knowledge.

Conclusion

IFAD's model of the required foundations for rural youth development highlights the need for concurrent development in the three areas of connectivity, productivity and agency⁹¹.

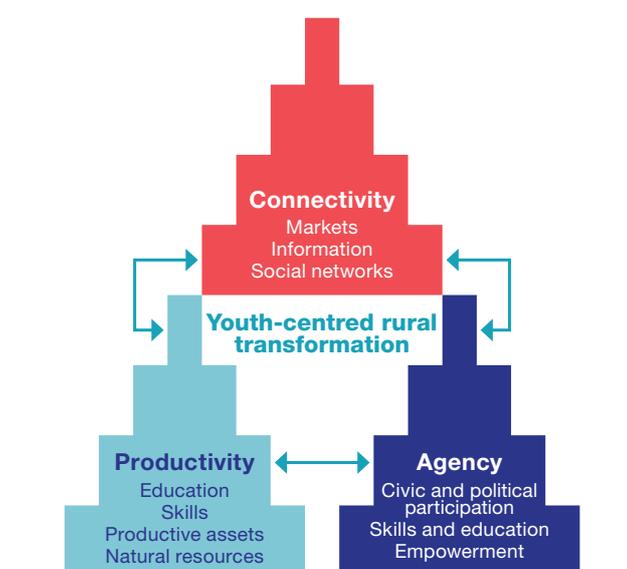


Figure 4: Foundations of rural youth development⁹²

While they note the essential role of government policy and investment agendas, they also emphasise that for effective rural transformation, youth must be included and targeted in all initiatives. They further observe that for sustainable change, local and household transformations must be considered as these are the overlapping sectors in which youth live, learn and work.

Given the rapid pace of change globally and the opportunity presented by the 'youth bulge', there is an imperative to engage youth in meaningful and effective strengths-based youth development.

Further, strengths-based youth development programs will depend on effective partnerships, youth-centred programs and meaningful youth engagement and leadership.

In conclusion, it is important to note that 'youth' are not 'youth'. They are young women or young men or young people who do not identify with binary gender categories. Some may be just entering the ages of youth and others leaving the age of youth as defined in their own culture. Some will live with disability themselves or in a household with family members with a disability. Some will be married and others far from this stage. Even the descriptor of 'rural' youth will cover broad groups, as some will be within good access of towns whereas other may be days walk away. This diversity of youth reminds us that when developing programs or engaging and/or consulting with young people, there will be many sub-groups to be considered. The most important first step is to talk, listen and learn from young people themselves and build programs with young people that are based on their lived experience, knowledge, strengths and aspirations.

Strengths-based rural youth development programs — with, by and for young people.

Endnotes

1. International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (2019), *Creating opportunities for rural youth, 2019 Rural Development Report*, p. 14
2. Poole, N. (2017) *Smallholder agriculture and market participation*. Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations and Practical Action Publishing. Rugby
3. Glover, D. & Sumberg, J (2020) *Youth and food systems transformation*, *Front. Sustain. Food Syst.*, 21 July 2020 | <https://doi.org/10.3389/fsufs.2020.00101>
4. IFAD (2019) op. cit. p. 14
5. Tavenner, K. & Crane, T. (2019), Beyond 'women and youth: Applying intersectionality in agricultural research for development', *Outlook on Agriculture*, 48 (4), pp. 316–325
6. Kretzmann, J., & McKnight, J. (1993). *Building communities from the inside out: A path toward finding and mobilizing a community's assets*. ACTA Publications, Evanston, IL:
7. Wolin, S. (2003) What is a strength?, *Reclaiming children and youth*, 12 (1), pp.18–21
8. Patton, G. Sawyer, S. Santelli, J. Ross, D., Afifi, R. Allen, N., Arora, M., Azzopardi, P., Baldwin, W., Bonell, C. Kakuma, R. Elissa Kennedy, E. Mahon, J. McGovern, T. Mokdad, A., Patel, V. Petroni, S., Reavley, N. Taiwo, K. Waldfogel, J. Wickremarathne, D., Barroso, C., Bhutta, Z. Fatusi, A. Mattoo, A. Diers, J. Fang, J. Ferguson, J. Ssewamala, F. & Viner, R. (2016) Our future: a Lancet commission on adolescent health and wellbeing, *The Lancet*, 387 (10036) pp. 2423–2478
9. Alvarado, G., Skinner, M., Plaut, D., Moss, C., Kapungu, C & Reavley, N. (2017) Systematic review of Positive Youth Development programs in low- and middle-income countries, YouthPower Learning, Making Cents International: Washington DC, p. 1
10. Alvarado et al. (2017) *ibid* p.2
11. Alvarado et al. (2017), *op cit*, p. 4
12. Fogarty, W., Lovell, M., Langenberg, J. & Heron, M. (2018), *Deficit discourses and strengths-based approaches: Changing the narrative of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander health and well-being*, The Lowitja Institute: Melbourne
13. <https://population.un.org/wpp/Download/Standard/Population/>
14. CIA World Factbook, (est July 2021) <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/papua-new-guinea/#people-and-society>
15. <https://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/PNG> 2021
16. <https://hdr.undp.org/en/indicators/68606>
17. <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/papua-new-guinea/> (copyright free)
18. Bourke, R.M. & Harwood, T. (Eds). (2009). *Food and agriculture in Papua New Guinea*. ANU Press, Canberra.
19. Bourke, R.M. & Harwood, T (2009) *op. cit.* p.14
20. Nanau, G. (2011). The wantok system as a socio-economic and political network in Melanesia. *The Journal of Multicultural Society*, 2(1), 31–55.
21. McPhee, L. & McLachlan, S. (2016–17), *The youth bulge in Papua New Guinea: Challenges and Opportunities, An Oaktree Research Report*, p.12
22. Jolly, M., Lee, H., Lepani, K., Naupu, A., & Rooney, M. (2015). Falling through the net? Gender and social protection on the Pacific. Discussion Paper 6.

- United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), Canberra.
23. CIA World Factbook, (population est July 2021) <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/papua-new-guinea/#people-and-society>
24. Papua New Guinea Demographic and Health Survey 2016–2018 (2019), National Statistical Office, Port Moresby, page 12
25. Mek, A., Kelly-Hanku, A., Bell, S., Wilson, L & Vallely, A (2018), 'I Was Attracted to Him Because of His Money': Changing Forms of Polygyny in Contemporary Papua New Guinea, *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 19 (2) pp. 120–137
26. Ryan, S., Koczberski, G., Curry, G. & Germis, E. (2017). 'Intra-household Constraints on Educational Attainment in Rural Households in Papua New Guinea'. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*. 58 (1): 27- 40. pp. 28–29
27. Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) 2019, *Country gender assessment of agriculture and the rural sector in Papua New Guinea*, Port Moresby
28. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2020) *Socio-economic impact assessment of COVID – 19 on Papua New Guinea Advanced Edition*, <https://www.undp.org/coronavirus/socio-economic-impact-covid-19>
29. Hukula, F. (2020). The Potential Impact of COVID-19 on Vulnerable Groups. *Spotlight*, 13(7), National Research Institute of Papua New Guinea
30. *Papua New Guinea National Youth Policy, 2020–2030 (2019, 2nd edition)* National Youth Development Authority of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby
31. https://youth-development-index.thecommonwealth.org/graph/country_view.html?country=PNG
32. CIA World Factbook, (Youth Bulge 2022) <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/papua-new-guinea/#people-and-society>
33. Papua New Guinea National Youth Policy (2019) op.cit. p.12
34. IFAD (2019) op. cit. p. 78
35. IFAD (2019) op. cit.
36. <https://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/PNG>
37. Papua New Guinea National Youth Policy (2019) op.cit. page 16
38. Devette-Chee, K. (2021) Illiteracy: a growing concern in Papua New Guinea, *Spotlight 14 (7)*, PNG National Research Institute, Port Moresby
39. Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE) (2012). *The power of literacy: Women's journeys in India, Indonesia, Philippines and Papua New Guinea*.
40. Simoncini, K, Pamphilon, B & Smith, H (2021) Learning from teachers like us: Using video to move beyond 'secret knowledge' in Papua New Guinea elementary teacher professional development, *Teachers and Teaching*, pp 1–16
41. Edwards, J. (2015) *Gender and Education Assessment, Papua New Guinea: A review of the literature on girls and education*. Report prepared for the Australian High Commission, Papua New Guinea and the Education Capacity Development Facility, p.13
42. Ryan et al. (2017) op.cit.
43. Edwards, J. (2015) op.cit.
44. Goro, J. (2021) Challenges that hinder girls' participation in education in Papua New Guinea, *Spotlight 16 (6)*, PNG National Research Institute, Port Moresby
45. Ryan et al. (2017) op.cit., pp. 28–29
46. Edwards, J. (2015) op.cit.
47. International Labour Organisation (ILO)(2013) Asia Pacific Youth Employment Policy Brief: Papua New

- Guinea, ILO, Bangkok, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_mas/---program/documents/genericdocument/wcms_651154.pdf. p. 3
48. International Labour Organisation (ILO)(2013) *ibid* p.6
49. Mou-Vagi, L. (2013). *Struggles of Rural Youth: Factors that Empower and Disempower Youth in Rural Villages – Central Province, PNG* (Thesis, Master of Social and Community Work). University of Otago
50. Leke, D. (2010). *Vocational Education and Training in Secondary Schools: Investigation into a VET model for Papua New Guinea. PhD thesis*, University of Adelaide.
51. Halim, A. (2013). *Retaining Youth in Agriculture in PNG: Challenges and Opportunities. In 7th Huon Seminar Conference Proceedings*. PNG University of Technology, Lae
52. Horne, R., Ngangan, K., Tavil-Melachon, S., & Brown, J. (2014). *Research into the Financing of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) in the Pacific. Papua New Guinea Country Report*. Australian Council for Educational Research
53. International Labour Organisation (ILO)(2013) *op.cit*.
54. Pyburn, R., Audet-Belanger, G., Dido, S., Quiroga, G. & Flink, I. (2015) *Unleashing Potential: gender and youth inclusive agri-food chains, KIT Working Papers*. Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) and Royal Tropical Institute (KIT)
55. UNFPA, UNESCO, and WHO. (2015) *Sexual and reproductive health of young people in Asia and the Pacific: a review of issues, policies and programmes. UNFPA*, Bangkok
56. Pameh, W. (2016) *Adolescent Health in Papua New Guinea: time for action, PNG Medical Journal*, 59 (1-2), pp. 20 - 22
57. Bell S, Kennedy E, Black K, Vallely A, Vallely L, Mola G, Kaldor J, Bagita M, Ninnes C, Pomat W & Kelly-Hanku A. (2018) *Youth-centred research to help prevent and mitigate the adverse health and social impacts of pregnancy amongst young Papua New Guineans. Reprod Health Matters*. 26 (54):pp. 5-12.
58. Kelly-Hanku A, Aeno H, Wilson L, Eves R, Mek A, Nake Trumb R, Whittaker M, Fitzgerald L, Kaldor JM, & Vallely A. (2016) *Transgressive women don't deserve protection: young men's narratives of sexual violence against women in rural Papua New Guinea. Cult Health Sex*. 18(11):1207-20
59. Pameh, W. (2016) *op.cit*.
60. Hurney, M. (2017) *Short changed: The human and economic cost of childhood malnutrition in Papua New Guinea. Save the Children*. PNG
61. Glover, D. & Sumberg, J (2020) *op.cit*.
62. Inap Nau (Enough Now) <https://www.behance.net/gallery/115567191/Inap-Nau-Campaign>, *UN Women Sanap Wantaim (the New Normal) campaign* <https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/countries/png/sanap-wantaim>
63. Spark, C., Sharp. T. & Koczberski, G. (2021) *Relationality and Economic Empowerment: The Role of Men in Supporting and Undermining Women's Pathways, The Journal of Development Studies*, 57 (7) pp. 1138-1153
64. Halim, A. (2013).*op cit*.
65. See for example <https://www.facebook.com/Bougainville-Youth-in-Agriculture-2243867875825664/>
66. IFAD (2019) *op. cit*
67. McPhee, L. & McLachlan, S. (2016–17), *op. cit* page 10
68. Mou-Vagi, L. (2013). *Op.cit*
69. Luker, V., & Monsell-Davis, M. (2010). *Teasing out the Tangle: Raskols, Young Men, Crime and HIV*. In

- V. Luker & S. Dinnen (Eds.), *Civic Insecurities : law, order and HIV in Papua New Guinea*. ANU Press, Canberra.
70. Mou-Vagi, L. (2013). Op.cit
71. Noble Mafile'o, T., Simeon, L., Api, U., & Thomas, B. (2010). Photovoice in Youth Leadership Research in *Papua New Guinea: Successes, Challenges and Learning*. In 8th World Congress Participatory Action Research and Action Learning.
72. IFAD (2019) op. cit p 102
73. Maulingin-Gumbaketi, E., Larkins, S., Gunnarsson, R. , Rembek, G. Whittaker, M. & Redman-Maclaren, M. (2021)'Making of a Strong Woman': a constructivist grounded theory of the experiences of young women around menarche in Papua New Guinea. *BMC Women's Health* 21(144)
74. Eves, R. (2019) 'Full price, full body': norms, bride price and intimate partner violence in highlands Papua New Guinea. *Culture, Health and Sexuality*. 21 (12): pp. 1367–1380.
75. Pacific Women (2021) What works for gender transformative approaches in Papua New Guinea, Support unit of Pacific Women Shaping Pacific Development , Port Moresby, p. 58
76. Koczberski, G. & Curry, G. (2016). Changing generational values and new masculinities amongst smallholder export cash crop producers in Papua New Guinea. *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 17(3–4), pp. 268–286.
77. Lakhani, S., & Willman, A. (2014). Drivers of crime and violence in Papua New Guinea. *Research and dialogue series: The socioeconomic costs of crime and violence in Papua New Guinea (Research Report No. 2)* p.2
78. Ambelye, A. (2019) Youth's displaced aggression in Rural Papua New Guinea, in *Pacific Youth : Local and Global Futures* (Lee, H ed.) ANU Press, Canberra
79. Kelly-Hanku A et al (2016) op.cit
80. *Report on Papua New Guinea regarding the human rights of LGBTQI persons* (2021) 39th session of the Universal Periodic Review, Kaleidoscope Human Rights Foundation and Sexual Rights Initiative
81. McPhee, L. & McLachlan, S. (2016–17), op.cit.
82. Mafile'o et al. (2010).op.cit
83. Vaughan, C. (2010). "When the road is full of potholes, I wonder why they are bringing condoms?" Social spaces for understanding young Papua New Guineans' health-related knowledge and health promoting action. *AIDS Care*, 22.
84. Hinton, R. L., & Earnest, J. (2010). Stressors, Coping, and Social Support Among Women in Papua New Guinea. *Qualitative Health Research*, 20(2), pp. 224–238.
85. Hinton, R. L., & Earnest, J. (2010). Op.cit.
86. International Labour Organisation (ILO)(2013) op.cit.
87. IFAD (2019) op. cit pp. 211–220
88. Brimacombe, T. (2017) 'Pacific policy pathways: Young women online and offline; in Macintyre, M. & Spark, C. (eds) (2017)*Transformations of gender in Melanesia*, ANU Press, Canberra , p. 148
89. Brimacombe, T (2017) op cit
90. IFAD (2019) op. cit pp. 211–220
91. IFAD (2019) op. cit p. 21
92. IFAD (2019) op. cit p. 21