



Developing a Culture of Disarmament: Building Community Level Support for Small Arms Reduction in Papua New Guinea

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The analysis and recommendations of the study do not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations Development Programme, its Executive Board or its Member States.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Despite being a 'non-conflict context'¹ the proliferation of armed violence and small arms and light weapons (SALW) across Papua New Guinea (PNG) is at crisis levels and growing. Current initiatives by government, civil society and donors in Papua New Guinea are inadequate to stem the supply of and demand for small arms and light weapons. The initiatives that do exist are uncoordinated at the national level, ad-hoc at the local level and contain very few direct efforts to remove weapons from circulation. Additionally, endeavors to address armed violence are largely reactive, with insufficient investment in preventative measures to stop armed violence.

At the national level, the key recommendation of the National Gun Summit of 2005 to establish a central coordination body with a cross sector mandate to address SALW issues has not materialised. As a result the small and positive local level peace building initiatives being undertaken by a myriad of churches and concerned civil society groups have failed to inform or translate into national level policy or action. These community based small arms reduction initiatives remain local, unsupported and often unknown to government or the general public. Failure to inform policy is exacerbated by inadequate systematic national or regional data collection and a shortage of programme based evaluation on armed violence initiatives within government or by civil society organisations.

Sub-nationally the level and success of small arms reduction work varies across and within UNDP programme sites. In the Autonomous Region of Bougainville (ARB), efforts to address the issue of SALW in a systematic manner are again beginning in Buka. After the mixed success of earlier top down disarmament approaches, these new efforts will require in-depth community consultations and engagement in order to build community support for disarmament. However, insecurity and suspicion of disarmament, growing numbers of armed factions, lack of cross sector engagement in the southern region, financial expectations for disarmament and the marginalisation of women in peace building roles on Bougainville all present significant programming challenges.

In the Eastern Highlands Province (ARB) no systematic attempts exist to directly address SALW and current initiatives are small scale and localised in nature. Improving law and justice sector coordination, the outreach and respect for the work of the mainstream churches, together with targeted improvement in police outreach and community policing approaches provides a solid base on which to undertake small arms reduction programming. Challenges to this work will be the increasing levels of insecurity in rural communities, a deep distrust of government agencies, particularly of the Royal Papua New Guinea Police Constabulary (RPNGC) in those communities, a provincial police force that has a limited community policing approach and the significant diversity of SALW issues across the province.

Initiatives to address the broader issue of armed violence within the Oro Province are limited. SALW issues in the province are less visible, meaning programme interventions must address a broader issue of armed violence where all weapon types are addressed. The considerable Anglican Church network in existence and the desire of the Church to address the underlying issues provides a significant programme base on which to develop a broader violence or weapons free programme across the province.

Partnerships with identified non governmental actors prepared to support programmes regionally or nationally should form the basis of small arms reduction programming. With different programme approaches required across and within provinces, a significant challenge will be to develop a programme that recognises differences in community security needs across the country but that is not piecemeal in approach. A recognition that disarmament responses to-date have been largely gender blind with small arms issue often regarded as the sole domain of men, will ensure a programme approach with critical leadership roles in individual and community based dialogue processes on disarmament for women.

¹ WHO, 2002

While motivations to acquire and use SALW are strong and complex and remain the key to addressing the issue of SALW in PNG, the motivation to disarm is equally strong within many sectors of communities. The groundswell of support stimulated by the Gun Summit process was considerable, however equally noticeable has been the general failure by all stakeholders to harness this sentiment post summit. While technical, financial, legislative and capacity support will be required to significantly address SALW in PNG it is this public sentiment for removing guns from society that remains the greatest opportunity for change.

INTRODUCTION

The shortage of institutional capacity and the increasing failure of the State to provide security at the individual and community level are often cited as the major threats to security in Papua New Guinea². Combined with declining livelihood opportunities, the demand for SALW, as a means of providing community or individual security and for the provision of livelihood opportunities in the form of criminal activity, continues to grow. Despite significant investment in national level law and justice sector coordination, security improvements are yet to be felt at the community level.

As the WHO armed violence report states "...safety and security don't just happen; they are the result of collective consensus and public investment"³. The development of systematic community level support for disarmament is the vital ingredient regularly absent from current initiatives. In rural communities, which cannot rely on systematic state support for its community security, translating motivation for acquiring weapons into the motivation to systematically reject armed violence presents a tremendous challenge.

Dealing with violence has traditionally been the domain of the criminal justice system⁴. There is a growing understanding however that if violence, particularly that which involves the use of SALW, is to be adequately addressed in all societies, all sectors of society must be involved in prevention efforts. In Papua New Guinea this not only includes cross sector involvement of government departments and agencies but across broad definitions of civil society which includes formal, informal, church and individual efforts to address armed violence. Within Papua New Guinea it is also important to recognise the limitations restricting armed violence reduction activities to SALW alone. Many stakeholders highlighted how bush knives, machetes, axes, sticks and many other weapons are used in acts of violence and efforts to address armed violence must also address broader weapons use.

Such an approach takes into account contextual issues, asserting that the small arms 'problem' is best understood through a lens of violence prevention in which attention to hardware becomes one of several priorities, not the only goal. "Collecting and destroying guns, for example, will not reduce arms availability in the long-term unless accompanied by measures aimed at reducing people's desire for weapons, as well as their ability to acquire them through controls on supply"⁵. It has been shown that a more comprehensive approach to disarmament, although challenging due to its multiple strands and differing time frames, provides a better chance of addressing factors which influence demand, motivations and behavior.⁶

Whilst women are often influential in building peace and stopping conflict in PNG⁷ they are frequently marginalised in formal disarmament discussions, activities and agreements. Although women and girls are not the majority of direct victims of armed violence, they are affected by gun violence in a variety of ways which are exacerbated by their vulnerability due to the low status of women in PNG. Rather than being 'add-ons' to programme work on small arms reduction, women must be fully and meaningfully involved throughout the entire process. This role is recognised internationally, in particular through United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 that states implicitly the clear need to account for the impact of conflict and violence on women and girls⁸. Critically, utilising the experiences of women and supporting their involvement in peace building and disarmament is most often recognised incorrectly by donors and

2 Dinnen, 2002

3 WHO, 2002

4 WHO, 2002

5 Buchanan, C. and M. Widmer, 2006,

6 Buchanan, C. and M. Widmer, 2006,

7 The role of women in peace building in Bougainville and within Kup Women for Peace is well known

8 UN Security Council Resolution 1325

government as providing support to women's groups. Women have a much broader role to play as affected and influential individuals within communities and support to women's groups while important, is but one aspect of realising an increased role for women.

A broader, more comprehensive approach to addressing SALW issues is to put people at the centre of addressing security issues in communities. There has been a significant shift internationally in policy discussions about security, away from national security and toward greater emphasis on human security. This shift requires governments and other powerful global bodies to recognise the importance of placing human beings and not states, at the centre of security concerns⁹. The UN defines human security as it relates to the safety of people (particularly disadvantaged people) from 'such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression . . . [and] from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities'¹⁰. The human security approach is based on the assumption that all people 'have basic human rights and should enjoy these rights regardless of who and where they are'¹¹. Security refers not only to war and violent conflict, but also to political instability, the rise of fundamentalisms, ethnic or communal divisions and other types of upheavals such as natural disasters, as well as those chronic threats to people's security such as poverty, malnutrition and ill-health. It means therefore that notions of promoting security are broadened to encompass both macro social, political and economic security and micro-level concerns such as ensuring access to food, water, shelter, sanitation and basic education.¹²

This focus places less emphasis on enforcement by law and justice agencies, and a greater demand on supporting communities themselves to collectively and individually address their own security. In PNG where the ability of the police to enforce law and order is declining, engaging and training communities to better 'police' their own lives represents a step towards communities taking back control of the issues of growing insecurity and SALW proliferation.

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9 Naraghi Anderlini and El-Bushra, 2004

10 UNDP 1994, 23

11 UNDP 1994, 23

12 Narayanaswamy and Sever, 2004

METHODOLOGY

The research sought to map small arms reduction activities of government, civil society and donors in the UNDP focus provinces of Autonomous Region of Bougainville, Oro and Eastern Highlands and to identify gaps and challenges to reducing SALW nationally and sub-nationally in Papua New Guinea.

Representatives of government agencies and civil society organisations were asked to discuss issues of community security, armed violence and the core approaches that should inform and underpin programming in small arms reduction. The research used a variety of methods to ensure the findings were valid, reliable and reflected a variety of perspectives. A literature review was initially conducted of small arms reduction, community security and armed violence reduction best practices in the international arena and Papua New Guinea more specifically. One-on-one interviews, together with a series of prearranged and participatory focus groups with members of civil society were also conducted. The research was undertaken in conjunction with a UNDP gender based violence study (See Appendix 1 for a list of participants).

SALW in Papua New Guinea is a significant issue and not all aspects of analysis can be covered within a stakeholder mapping exercise. This document does not represent a comprehensive analysis on the current state of SALW in Papua New Guinea. This has been well documented and analysis can be found within the documents listed within Appendix 4. In line with the Terms of Reference attached in Appendix 2, the focus of the research was action based with the future development by the UNDP of a SALW reduction programme as the focus. One of the key issues in addressing SALW in Papua New Guinea is the locally specific issues that exist of SALW in the country. While some discussions therefore covers regions or national approaches, analysis and discussion is primarily on the provincial areas where the research was undertaken. Due to security reasons the review did not incorporate travel to the southern region of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville.

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

SMALL ARMS REDUCTION INITIATIVES BY GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY AND DONORS

Few direct attempts are being made to systematically remove weapons from individuals or communities within Papua New Guinea. Disarmament attempts that are occurring tend often to be ad-hoc in nature, undertaken retrospectively after an incident or event involving a weapon, undertaken for political reasons by aspiring leaders or big men or target only isolated groups of gun holders rather than engaging with broader community structures. There is insufficient, and an unsystematic approach to the prevention of armed violence, and the focus from formal law and justice agencies through to civil society is on establishing, maintaining and consolidating peace often at the expense of justice or human rights for individuals.

Disarmament attempts driven from the National level have largely failed in their main objectives of removing high-powered weapons or improving the security of affected populations. Recent initiatives at the national level include the provincial wide amnesty during the 2006/07 Southern Highlands state of emergency (SOE) and the Bougainville weapons containment programme of the mid 2000's. Both processes had simultaneous political as well as disarmament objectives and failed to incorporate human security within their broader framework. The emphasis on removing weapons has been at the expense of addressing longer-term motivations for acquiring those weapons and building in longer-term improvements in individual and community security.

Formal government programmatic attempts aimed at addressing community security and small arms exist within the UNDP programme areas. The most recognisable attempt to deal with SALW issues sub nationally are the recently developing Autonomous Bougainville Government (ABG) led attempts at weapons disposal and reconciliation programming on Bougainville. Still in its infancy these new processes will attempt to avoid many of the difficulties inherent within the previous weapons disposal process. These included the financial focus of the Bougainville Ex-combatants Trust Account (BETA) scheme, the focus on individuals and combatants at the expense of developing community pressure for reducing SALW motivation and the focus on voluntary containment at the expense of destruction.

While a positive step, the weapons and reconciliation programme faces challenges vastly different to that of previous attempts. These include deepening insecurity and arms proliferation in the south of the region and dissatisfaction with the lack of services and tangible development resulting from the peace process or from the region's newly established Autonomous Government. Previous initiatives in the region have established an understanding of weapons disposal as a process owned by donors rather than communities themselves. Available donor support for reconstruction is significantly reduced since the beginning of previous containment attempts and outcomes of presidential elections currently underway have also created uncertainties in regard to future commitment toward supporting SALW reduction on the island. A detailed UNDP report titled *Scoping Mission for the Design of a Preparatory Assistance Project for a Small Arms Disposal in Bougainville* by the Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery provides a significant understanding of the SALW issues on Bougainville and a solid platform for future reconciliation and weapons work.

Local level disarmament initiatives within Papua New Guinea have had mixed success. Deeper evaluation is required but discussions show that the less successful initiatives are the various types of peace agreements, ceasefires or memorandum of understandings (MOU's) sponsored by a local Member of Parliament (MP) or undertaken by police. These initiatives often include a weapons surrender component; however often prove limited in their attempts to address the motivation for acquiring SALW or to deal with local level security concerns. As such surrenders can often occur with weapons of little value being relinquished and, the long-term sustainability of the process unclear.

Small slow and locally specific disarmament activities undertaken by civil society and church organisations have more opportunity and thus a greater likelihood of success. Those that prove most successful have regularly managed to combine peace building and armed violence prevention with disarmament, and will generally have a broader community security objective. As the Armed Violence Assessment conducted in 2005 highlighted, in the Papua New Guinea context, alternate small-scale local interventions - focused on violence reduction and restoration and support to customary rule of law - as compared to direct gun collection and destruction have proved the most productive disarmament initiatives to date¹³. By taking a holistic approach, gun holders may still be isolated and targeted directly, but a community based focus in which attempts are made to address underlying motivating factors will often have been adopted with broader integrated components.

Across Papua New Guinea, a key success factor in the small number of disarmament activities has been the collaboration and close partnership with police to provide security and support¹⁴. However this role has been at a local level, not on the scale of international RAMSI style attempts such as in the Solomon Islands. As the Armed Violence Assessment states the "conventional" and much supported large-scale interventions, such as those employed in the Solomon Islands, may not be appropriate in all circumstances at all times, and certainly not on their own. Rather, what are more suitable in the PNG context are smaller scale attempts that focus on building a groundswell of community support for disarmament in conjunction with simultaneous improvements in security of communities as a result of improvements in police action.¹⁵

These community-based initiatives, particularly those of church based organisations in the Highlands region, have traded on a currency of respect developed through long-term engagement with communities. With its slow withdrawal from outreach to rural communities since independence, it is a respect that is unmatched in relationships between rural communities and government agencies. Gibbs and Young document the church based peace building approach in the article: *The Churches and Peace Building in the Papua New Guinea Highlands*. Describing churches involvement in peace building, the authors state that "... most Churches see their [spiritual] mission as including intervention in tribal conflicts as mediators, peace brokers and peace builders...churches work for the reconciliation of warring groups and for a change of heart for those bent on violence."¹⁶ This change of heart - of targeting the motivation for violence and

13 Haley, 2005:9 and also Gibbs, P. and D.W Young, 2007 and stakeholder feedback

14 Again this is based on stakeholder feedback of activities including the Barola project within the EHP programme area as well as other areas including the CJLU project in Wau Bulolo and Kup Women for Peace in Simbu Province

15 Haley, 2005

16 Gibbs, P. and D.W Young, 2007:5

acquisition of SALW - is critical for the control of small arms in communities. Appendix 3 describes comments by Eastern Highlands stakeholders on approaches that are needed to tackle SALW issue in the Highlands region.

Gibbs and Young highlight the level of interaction and in-depth engagement that is required to successfully undertake small arms reduction activities in Papua New Guinea. These are many of the elements that are lacking from the majority of formal government led approaches to creating peace discussed earlier.

Reports from the researchers have indicated that helpful factors in the Churches' response include perseverance and follow-up even in the face of hostility, respecting both sides in a conflict, constructive speechmaking, public demonstrations for peace, training, and the development of agreements that respect traditional conflict resolution methods. Humanitarian concern coupled with transparency in dealing with offenders leads to a just peace.¹⁷

National Level Small Arms Reduction Initiatives

Initiatives underway at the national level seeking to address directly or indirectly the issues related to SALW in Papua New Guinea include the following:

- ▶ The 2005 National Gun Summit and the National Gun Control Committee are the two most significant initiatives undertaken by National government in recent years to address the issue of SALW in Papua New Guinea. While these two initiatives have generated significant levels of public support for addressing armed violence, both processes have fallen short in producing any significant follow-up action.
- ▶ There is significant donor support for government and civil society attendance at international fora, with UNDP, AusAID and several high commissions actively providing sponsorship. Most recently this has seen government and non government sponsored attendance at a United Nations Programme of Action¹⁸ meeting in New York and at the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence and Development meetings in Bangkok and Geneva. The self nomination of Papua New Guinea as a focal country under the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence is itself a positive initiative as it shows Government of PNG's commitment to the integration of armed violence prevention programmes into development frameworks and other initiatives, to work in partnership with civil society and to test these key elements of the Geneva Declaration on the ground.
- ▶ Placement of international experts in key government agencies as well as Law and Justice Advisors based long-term in provinces including Bougainville and the Eastern Highlands.
- ▶ Australian Defence Force (ADF) technical and funding support to the PNGDF, as part of a Pacific wide bilateral support programme, for infrastructure (armory strengthening) and procedural support (accountability, stocktaking).
- ▶ Of the government agencies, national level reform of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary (RPNGC) has been ongoing for several years. As part of this reform, assistance from the Australian Federal Police has begun in the form of the second phase of the Police to Police engagement programme. It is anticipated that a weapons accountability programme could be incorporated into this programme although there are no plans for armory strengthening similar to the ADF support to the PNGDF.
- ▶ Joint maritime patrols between several actors involved in border security have been developed. While limited in scope to-date, improved resource allocation could see significant improvements in their impact in monitoring movements of SALW across national borders.

¹⁷ Gibbs, P. and D.W Young, 2007:5

¹⁸ United Nations Program of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects

- ▶ AusAID continues to provide significant levels funding to the Law and Justice sector.
- ▶ The Coalition to Stop Gun Violence (CSGV PNG) is a burgeoning initiative that grew out of civil society displeasure at the level and speed of action in response to the 2005 Gun Summit process. The Coalition is the only significant collaborative and advocacy based initiative that exists to address the issue of SALW in Papua New Guinea and while it is a civil society initiative, it attempts to work closely with government on the issue of SALW. It is currently seeking to formalise itself as a registered organisation and acquire donor funding and technical support to expand its work.

Sub-National Small Arms Reduction Initiatives

- ▶ The *Yumi Lukautim Mosbi* programme in Port Moresby is successfully integrating programmes with at-risk youth; livelihood and training opportunities through government/business partnerships, high profile awareness and publicity with direct arms surrender programmes. While operating through the National Capital District (NCD) bureaucracy, the programme focuses not on building government structures and capacity as such but on developing community level support for reducing armed violence. The programme has significantly raised the public profile of violence with citywide and national use of media to portray an anti violence message.
- ▶ The Community Justice Liaison Unit (CJLU) is a quasi government civil society agency that is intended to provide the bridge between government and civil society in law and justice programming. The CJLU provides training and financial support to small community based organisations and has supported several weapons surrender projects throughout the country. The surrenders remain small scale however and target criminal hotspots rather than develop community wide support for small arms reduction. The extent to which the CJLU mandate is contributing to improvement of the government/civil society/community interaction is unclear. Often in the absence of functioning agencies or initiatives in both government and non government sectors, the CJLU has often developed a larger implementation role than may have been initially expected. CJLU has offices in UNDP programme sites in Bougainville, NCD and Eastern Highlands and while working relationships between the individual CJLU offices in the programme sites and the respective government initiatives appear good, they often lack depth and engagement.
- ▶ The Law and Justice Division of the Eastern Highlands Provincial Government is a formal provincial government department tasked with coordinating all provincial law and justice sector stakeholders. The Division is one of the better-organized provincial government attempts at addressing Law and Justice Sector issues in Papua New Guinea. The Law and Justice Activity Management Team represents the coordinating mechanism within which this is done and through which future provincial small arms reduction programmes and activities in the province must be undertaken. This body is a well functioning entity with broad support and has developed good working relationships within it. Inclusion of the Provincial Deputy Governor as chairman provides a link to the Provincial Executive Council. The Law and Justice Division is currently establishing district peace management teams (DPMT) in the districts within the Eastern Highlands. The DPMT's will offer a formal base for programming in small arms and include many of the church and civil society representatives in the districts. A new concept, utilizing some of the approaches of the colonial administrations in dealing with tribal fighting, their impact has yet to be evaluated over the long term.

One of the high profile success stories in the Eastern Highlands Province has been the work of the Law and Justice Division, in collaboration with civil society, with criminal elements in the Barola and Kompri valley areas of the Eastern Highlands. This area was notorious for intergenerational criminal activity and armed holdups, particularly along the Highlands Highway. Law and Justice Sector engagement in the area with a focus on developing police involvement, building a police post, developing community ownership of the problems together with skills training and employment for the high-risk youth has seen a significant reduction in armed violence activities.

- ▶ By declaring 2008 as the year of Reconciliation and Weapons Disposal, the Autonomous Bougainville Government has the only significant government led initiative for addressing SALW in Papua New

Guinea. It has formed weapons disposal and reconciliation committees and the process is the natural successor to the two previous initiatives on Bougainville: the voluntary weapons disposal programme led by the United Nations Observation Mission to Bougainville (UNOMB) and the Bougainville Ex-combatants Trust Account (BETA) project funded by AusAID. Both of these processes had some successes but lacked the community-based ownership necessary for long-term change. A positive factor of the current process being government led is that it could incorporate a whole of government approach rather than being restricted solely to the law and justice sector.

- ▶ Peace Foundation Melanesia (PFM), and its regional off-shoot organisation Bougainville Centre for Peace and Reconciliation (BCPR), are the preeminent organisations seeking to support communities to resolve issues through restorative mediation processes. BCPR has ventured beyond the training role of its parent organisation PFM and is actively engaging in the conflict zones in southern Bougainville. PFM offers training packages in restorative justice and the trainings resonate well with communities. Improvements in a community's ability to mediate disputes prior to undertaking legal measures contributes significantly to the reduction of conflict pressure points and could provide a key element of future small arms reduction work by UNDP.
- ▶ Oxfam International PNG, through its Highlands Programme based out of Goroka, is seeking to address SALW across the spectrum of violence and conflict reduction issues in PNG. While supporting community based organisations to develop their holistic approaches to addressing armed violence in Tari and Simbu, the organisation is seeking to carry this work forward to the policy level. Having initiated the Coalition against Gun Violence PNG as an advocacy channel for its community level conflict prevention work, Oxfam has also been active in civil society representation through first supporting the drafting of the PNG submission to the International Arms Trade Treaty and through representation at the recent regional gathering for the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence.
- ▶ Caritas PNG is a founding member of the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence PNG and is active in the majority of provinces across PNG including the three UNDP programme sites. Caritas offers good development linkages into communities and has a range of training programmes targeted at different aspects of peace building. A related organisation, The Catholic Bishops Conference has been a vocal advocate against armed violence and SALW issues in general.
- ▶ Civil society groups such as Osi Tanata, Sipasipa, and BWPF in the central region through to South West Alliance or BCPR in the south of Bougainville are engaging with armed factions. It appears however that these groups are not sufficiently linked to the ABG programme of reconciliation and weapons disposal.
- ▶ A community-based initiative with potential to develop within Bougainville is a possible weapons free area in Kuna/Kunai District. The idea has developed in response to an individual armed incident as well as growing discontent over armed violence in the area. The movement has the backing of a prominent businessman and his road construction company. Attempts will be made to tie the delivery of services in the area to the surrender of weapons and the Nazareth Rehabilitation Centre is also offering community level support. It is unclear whether this initiative will develop long term, but if community pressure is significantly built, community support for disarmament similar to levels experienced in parts of Siwai during the first weapons containment process on the island could develop.
- ▶ The UNDP Peace Fair initiative was well received in Bougainville and brought together groups from across Bougainville in a range of sporting and cultural activities. It is one of the few attempts toward positively engaging with communities south of Arawa. More generally, stakeholders have spoken of the positive work the Bougainville programme of UNDP in supporting the development of new disarmament work on Bougainville.
- ▶ Bougainville neighborhood watch groups have begun under the Bougainville Community Policing project through which one group per month is developed. However they are concentrated predominantly in the north of the island and no significant plans are in place for expanding them across the Autonomous Region. Such groups, in a revised and more deeply engaged format could play a role in future SALW programming.

- ▶ As with Bougainville many of the remaining smaller initiatives occurring within the Eastern Highlands are sporadic, often localised and show no likelihood of having large scale impact. Included in this are the police capture of weapons at roadblocks or after an armed robbery and surrenders of weapons by communities after a peace agreement. The smaller community based surrenders are a regular feature of Highlands based peace building efforts but often show little in the way of sustainable long-term outcomes.
- ▶ Oro Province, the third provincial focus of UNDP, has very little in way of small arms reduction activities despite a recognised issue of SALW and incidences of armed violence. The province has in existence a Law and Justice Committee but it is inactive. The large and often far-reaching church networks with their outreach programmes are the most significant initiatives that are contributing to a reduction in small arms proliferation in the province. Without a SALW focus, these church networks are nonetheless creating the conditions and networks on which future SALW work could be undertaken.
- ▶ There are several examples of business/government/civil society working collaboratively on armed violence in programme sites. Examples include the collaborative efforts of business and the YLM project in Port Moresby or in the growing business/civil society relationship in Goroka.
- ▶ Other initiatives that exist outside of the research focus areas and that could be viewed as part of understanding small locally based approaches are the CJLU surrender programme at Wau Bulolo and the Kup Women for Peace integrated development programme in Simbu. The Catholic Church may also offer smaller church based examples within the Highlands. At the other extreme, less successful but highly visible sponsored gun surrenders have occurred in all provinces within the Highlands and could also be visited with a view to looking at sustainability issues of gun surrenders

EXISTING CHALLENGES AND GAPS FOR SMALL ARMS REDUCTION IN PNG

National Level Challenges and Gaps

The main challenge at the national level is that no effective or adequate focal point exists to coordinate all of government action on SALW within Papua New Guinea. The two key bureaucratic and ministerial responsibilities reside with the Commissioner of Police as the national firearms registrar and the Minister of Internal Security as the Minister responsible for broader security issues but neither role is mandated to command the cross sector government support needed to effectively address SALW in PNG. As the principle recommendation of the Gun Summit highlighted, the establishment of a central focal point or agency with a cross sector mandate would allow for a comprehensive approach that involves the entire government in addressing SALW.

As a result, no consistent cross sector national government policy or programme of action exists to address small arms reduction in PNG. The Gun Summit and its subsequent report provided a basis from which to proceed but the required debate and direction from within parliament as to its merits or its implementation has not been forthcoming. According to recent media reporting and stakeholder interviews,¹⁹ much faith appears to be invested by the National Government in a desire to undertake a national level buyback or amnesty for SALW, a key recommendation within the Gun Summit report. Debate on such approaches is required as national level buybacks or amnesties ignore critical community and human security approaches to reducing weapons in society and are inconsistent with much of stakeholder opinion, which prefers longer-term approaches. They also do not correlate with international literature on the developing trend of international best practice in reducing SALW or with previous disarmament attempts in Papua New Guinea.²⁰ Balancing small arms control in the shorter term with longer term armed violence prevention is therefore both a political and programmatic challenge.

A related challenge highlighted by stakeholders was the lack of direction from government on how to proceed with reducing the number of guns in society. It was evident during the course of the research that stakeholders *generally*, particularly at the national level, are unable to communicate support needs to

¹⁹ Attempts by the researcher, through UNDP, to meet with both the Minister for Internal Security (who was also the acting Minister for Education at the time of research) and the Commissioner of Police were unsuccessful. This point is based on media articles, UNDP staff and government agencies interviews.

²⁰ Relevant examples listed in the bibliography include Haley 2005, Buchanan, C. and M. Widmer, 2006 or UNDP 2005

address SALW²¹. In interviews across programme areas, government and civil society representatives could regularly cite personal experiences of armed violence and understand many of the issues related to the broader armed violence context but as organisations or departments were unable to articulate resource or capacity needs to address these issues.²² This gap is related to the specific skills required in order to integrate armed violence into programming planning rather than an unwillingness of stakeholders and is contributing to insufficient mainstreaming of armed violence prevention into national, provincial and district level planning processes.

Critical national level debate, awareness or development of public consciousness on small arms reduction is absent from the national agenda and the myriad of communities within Papua New Guinea. There has been insufficient community pressure built through public debate and discussion.

A significant gap in current small arms reduction is the widespread exclusion of women from small arms reduction programming, despite suffering disproportionately the effects of gun violence.

Nationally there is insufficient financial investment currently being made in addressing armed violence and it is reasonable to suggest that the declining international financial climate may lead to further restrictions on financial resources available to address SALW.

A review of current policy related to SALW and armed violence is required and includes the following:

- The process of harmonisation of legislation across the Pacific, in line with the Nadi Framework has not occurred.
- Research into the effects of the moratorium on the issuing of new firearm licenses is needed. Many stakeholders highlighted concerns that the moratorium may be targeting the wrong people and driving the issue of SALW underground.
- A law and justice sector wide 'surrender policy' is needed to support the often informal initiatives occurring sub nationally. This policy should be acceptable to the formal agencies, address the surrender of offenders and weapons, and not disregard justice and human rights at the expense of restorative processes in encouraging and accepting surrender.
- National legislation reform and stricter weapons control is needed. Conditions for possessing a license should be reviewed.
- Ammunition controls require review, particularly in regard to matching ammunition types and to annual legal limits.

Whilst addressing policy is important, stakeholders saw the challenges related to the implementation of laws as critical. A common theme in discussion was the lack of capacity and unrealistic demands placed on agencies or organisations with key roles in addressing SALW within government or civil society. In particular, significantly more time and resources are required to improve the functioning of the role of National Firearms Registrar, currently held by the Commissioner of Police. Many stakeholders spoke of the visible commitment being made by the Commissioner to current RPNGC reforms, but that the time demands of such reform mean that it is impossible to adequately oversee the more technical and micro level support required to the role of National Firearms Registrar.

Several challenges related to the implementation of SALW related laws, policies and initiatives were highlighted during the course of the research and include:

- Inadequate numbers of NGO's addressing armed violence, and those who do lack funding, experience and technical support to address SALW issues.
- The lack of a component directly targeting the removal of weapons from society in many programmes.
- Difficulty in adequately monitoring international borders for flows of goods as well as SALW.

21 There are key individuals within National level roles in SALW work who are well versed on the SALW issues and are driving government engagement with SALW. This observation is therefore related back to the broader issue of government and other stakeholders having had the training and coordination in addressing SALW rather than focusing on individuals. It is less of a critique and related to technical shortfalls in armed violence prevention knowledge.

22 Similar issues were highlighted during research for an unrelated study undertaken by UNDISSR at the time of this research, and in which this researcher participated in several Port Moresby based interviews. The report by the Geneva based UNDISSR team is forthcoming in early 2009

- A lack of understanding exists of the trade of SALW within and from outside of Papua New Guinea. Several attempts have been made at documenting this²³ but little hard evidence exists as to the extent of the cross border trade. Almost all stakeholders revealed an awareness of a drug for guns trade within logging or mining industries but little physical evidence can be produced.²⁴ As a result there has been limited success in addressing the external trade issue and a shortage of initiatives to address the trade of SALW. Many agencies spoke of their willingness to support broader attempts to document any cross border trade.
- Avoiding turning disarmament into a financial motivation to disarm at the expense of altruistic motivations.
- Replication of the holistic longer term and small-scale small arms reduction initiatives and approaches while also avoiding a piecemeal approach to small arms reduction programming.
- The lack of linkage to the sub national level for many national level small arms reduction activities and as a result, smaller locally based initiatives often fail to feed into national level small arms reduction activities or policy.
- The underutilisation of the Civil Aviation Authority (CAA) checkpoint at Jackson's airport in Port Moresby as a mechanism for the tracking and monitoring of movements of SALW within Papua New Guinea. Similar checkpoints do not exist in the provinces, and the cargo sections of the various airlines do not have a similar system in place for registering SALW movements by air. No significant monitoring function has been developed for the information collected.

It is also challenging to resist the temptation to adopt a one-size fits all SAR programmatic approach. Stakeholder feedback and academic studies²⁵ reveal that it is no longer possible to speak of 'regional' characteristics of small arms in the PNG context. Within the Armed Violence Assessment of 2005 for example, inter-group fighting is cited as a key source of insecurity in both in the National Capital District and the Southern Highlands Province and tribal and inter-group fighting is a growing risk in NCD and not only confined to people originating from the Highlands.²⁶ More specifically, 'armed violence in PNG is geographically and demographically differentiated: PNG does not present a single law and order environment.'²⁷

Improvement in the rigorous monitoring and evaluation of current small arms reduction initiatives and responses is required. Evaluation should be integral to all government and non government small arms reduction and broader community security based programmes to ensure that lessons of what works in Papua New Guinea in terms of putting armed violence initiatives into practice are shared domestically as well as internationally. This is crucial for understanding the diverse nature of armed violence in Papua New Guinea and the appropriateness and sustainability of a response.

A significant commitment on the part of the RPNGC to build and support community engagement and security in villages, towns and settlements exists only in pockets. A pressing challenge in building a community security approach to disarmament is to develop the expansion of police and community collaboration from these sporadic instances into more systematic approaches.

The RPNGC lacks a culture of accountability in regard to weapons and ammunition control, within the Police²⁸ accountability exacerbated by a lack of civil society monitoring of police actions.

Overall representation by Government in the international arena is inconsistent, ad-hoc and often occurs at the request of a donor at very short notice. Despite the often significant contributions made by the Government of Papua New Guinea to international debate on SALW, a framework or process for intra-

23 See Alpers 2005, Capie 2003

24 The Papua New Guinea Inland Revenue Commission itself has suggested it is yet to unearth any significant examples of systematic cross borders trade but does not deny the probability of its existence

25 Haley, 2005

26 Ibid

27 Ibid

28 This is a common theme in many different publications including Transparency International (year unknown), Law and Justice White Paper, Alpers 2005 as well as comments from SALW stakeholders.

government dialogue and feedback upon return from international discussions is non-existent. A similar lack of opportunity exists for civil society feedback and dialogue with government on SALW.

The benefits of international processes, fora, frameworks and standards are not being realised nationally within Papua New Guinea. Examples include:

- A failure to promote and build on the provisions of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 despite the proven roles of women in peace building in Papua New Guinea.
- The absence of follow-up activity to the Nadi Framework process of 2000 and its principles of Pacific-wide harmonisation of firearms laws. For example, national laws have yet to be harmonised with regional norms on ammunition control.
- The self-nomination of Papua New Guinea as a pilot country under the Geneva Declaration on Armed Violence has not been beneficially built upon in terms of accessing available resources and technical support or actively partnering with civil society.
- Reporting and programmatic activity related to the United Nations Programme of Action on Small Arms and Light Weapons (The Programme of Action) has had little emphasis or encouragement from Government within Papua New Guinea. Papua New Guinea has submitted only one annual report (in 2005) and there has been limited governmental allocation of resources to support reporting and programmatic follow-up.

Accessing reliable data to inform policy and practice remains another major challenge. Where data collection exists it is often retrospective, ad-hoc, or confined to an individual agency, organisation or individual. Reliable data on SALW and violence is critical not only for planning and programmatic support but for advocacy purposes to generate responses and pressure on the issue of SALW. Numerous gaps in research and data collection were highlighted during the course of this research.

Sub-National Challenges and Gaps

Sub-nationally many general cross cutting issues in regard to small arms reduction activities are evident with specific examples noticeable in UNDP's focus areas.

Many of the initiatives that have been successful in bringing an end to armed violence and criminal activity have provided problem individuals or groups with alternatives and have developed and strengthened relationships between police and communities in order to improve security. The difference with less successful initiatives, which may target problem individuals or groups also, is that they often succeed in changing the long term attitudes of the broader community by building enduring community support to address SALW issues. Less successful efforts may target problem elements and have a surrender component, but often broader community engagement and empowerment to deal with issues have not been sufficiently developed. Thus the high profile and tangible surrender aspects of SALW may be addressed in a small way but the underlying attitudes towards violence and SALW acquisition and use are not.

The long term nature of mindset change is a major programme challenge as small arms have become an accepted part of community security and dispute resolution mechanisms particularly in rural highlands communities. Kup Women for Peace (KWP) in Simbu province, the pre-eminent example of community peace building and mindset change towards violence in Papua New Guinea, struggles with this issue on a daily basis. KWP has approached this mindset change from a generational perspective and for almost a decade has educated and engaged with communities on issues of violence, alternative dispute resolution mechanisms and rights. Despite the long-term nature of their programming, resorting to the use of a weapon often remains the automatic first response for many in resolving a dispute.²⁹

Overcoming the motivation to use SALW and the general acceptance of weapons therefore remains an ongoing and pressing challenge. In rural communities, which cannot rely on systematic state support for their community security, translating motivation for acquiring weapons into the motivation to systematically reject armed violence presents a significant challenge.

²⁹ The author has had ongoing programming engagement with Kup Women for Peace since 2004

Within the RPNGC there are significant gaps across the focus provinces in the capacity of firearm registers to physically monitor non-compliance with registration laws. Within provincial armories, there is little accountability processes in place in regard to confiscated court exhibits and these exhibits remain open to potential misuse and recirculation after the completion of the court process. In the Eastern Highlands Provincial armory, up to thirty weapons remain in storage with no programme for destruction in the foreseeable future.³⁰ Almost all provincial Firearm Registrars in programme areas lack the physical resources to conduct follow-up and spot checks on expired or current registered weapons.

Within the Eastern Highlands Province, a considerable challenge is the growing brazenness of armed criminals within Goroka, a result of the ineffectiveness of the provincial police force in responding to violent crime. Armed incidents in urban areas are becoming increasingly bold as criminal elements increasingly recognise that police will fail to attend or provide subsequent follow-up to an armed incident. Police in Bougainville are beginning to face many of the same issues.

The principal challenge facing weapons disposal on Bougainville is the development of broad based community consultation processes. As previously discussed, the initiatives being conducted by the Autonomous Bougainville Government are clearly the most promising within PNG; however there is a significant risk that the proposed community based consultations will not be inclusive across the range of stakeholders. Consultation should not only be broad but must encourage communities to develop their own local solutions to SALW. Should consultations lack depth, not include a significant participatory action orientated engagement approach or involve only community leaders, the broader community support absent within the previous disarmament attempts on Bougainville will again be missing.

Previous top down SALW containment processes on Bougainville failed to instill ownership of disarmament by communities. The underlying political, financial and individual basis of earlier disarmament attempts has created a significant challenge of shifting perceptions of ownership from donors and government back to communities. Current government-led disarmament efforts on Bougainville inevitably face a challenge of being owned and led out of Buka, with little realistic ownership for communities, particularly in the Southern region. Associated with this are the inherent financial expectations of communities and individuals on Bougainville as an incentive to disarm or even to reconcile.

The significant history and investment in peace building on Bougainville has meant that there are many civil society and church based initiatives already engaging with armed violence. A significant gap however is the linkage of many of these initiatives with the ABG led programme of reconciliation and weapons disposal. As is common across PNG, government engagement in peace building with civil society lacks depth and civil society groups are often marginalised. Within Bougainville, the current situation creates another significant challenge in engaging with the growing numbers of different factions responsible for much of the SALW use on the island.

Creating ownership of the SALW problem at provincial level, particularly within the Provincial Executive Council (PEC) is a significant challenge that was recognised by the National Gun Control Committee.³¹ Eastern Highlands Province, through its Law and Justice Division is the best example of developing this provincial ownership and the Law and Justice sector working group is chaired by the Deputy Provincial Governor. In ARB, no such Law and Justice Coordination approach exists within government; however the developing collaboration on weapons and reconciliation between government and other stakeholders does signify improvement in ABG ownership of the SALW issue. Within Oro Province, it appears there is no direction from the PEC to ensure that an active Law and Justice Committee exist.

Within Oro Province there is no government division to lead law and justice coordination as in the Eastern Highlands, no donor sponsored law and justice programme nor a functioning law and justice committee. While superficially the SALW issues in Oro appear insignificant compared with the Eastern Highlands Province or Bougainville, many stakeholders raised concerns about SALW and more broadly about violence with other types of weapons. A considerable challenge is therefore to raise the profile of armed violence as a pressing issue within the province with both government and donors.

30 Interview with Eastern Highlands Provincial Firearms Registrar

31 Personal conversation with Gun Control Committee member Betty Lovai

Financial incentives must not form the basis of small arms reduction programming. Broader community development, as well as small arms reduction, experiences in Papua New Guinea suggest that the introduction of financial gains into a programme will distort the sustainability of longer-term outcomes. Expectation of financial benefits is often a constant constraint to programming, particularly in the Highlands and Bougainville programme sites, and disarmament should be encouraged for disarmament's sake rather than for financial gain.

Cash buybacks, amnesties, weapons in exchange for individually based incentives or even weapons in competition for development (WCD) are not appropriate for long-term programming³². Rather than focusing on delivery of material goods and financial gain, programmes must utilise the willingness of service providers to develop long term support programmes, particularly within the agriculture sector. Weapons for Development (WfD) programmes in Cambodia, Mali and Albania have shown that, in addition to removing weapons from circulation, weapons for development can have an educative impact, shift perceptions of security, and promote the free movement of people.³³

UNDP programme funding and technical support to civil society SALW programming must not create bureaucratic constraints that affect programming and relationships with communities. Several NGOs spoke of experiences of extensive delays and bureaucratic challenges in accessing UNDP Pacific Centre funding for conflict reduction, which greatly affected community level programmes and long-term relationships with communities.

The creation of unrealistic expectations for the UNDP small arms reduction programme is a realistic challenge³⁴. Because of the nature of the issue, individuals, communities, NGO's and government, will expect much of the UNDP programme in particular in the Eastern Highlands Province. The extent and goals of UNDP's small arms reduction programme must be made clear and should this not occur and the programme not be seen to be meeting expectations, the widespread enthusiasm about UNDP's SALW programme entry into the Eastern Highlands could be dramatically reduced.

Sub-nationally replicating and expanding many of the smaller initiatives that have developed in response to local armed violence issues is difficult. Small and localised initiatives are important given the localised nature of SALW within Papua New Guinea but avoiding a piecemeal approach to disarmament is crucial. Bougainville and Oro Province provide regional and provincial-wide programme opportunities but the challenging and varied nature of SALW issues in the Highlands means initially a programme covering several districts would be most appropriate. Development of programme approaches in each area with clearly defined and scheduled progressive rollout to other districts and provinces together with long-term linkages to national level programming would help overcome this challenge.

A shortage of quality data on armed violence in the provinces can mask many of the issues inherent in the province. In all of the three programme sites there is no solid statistical base from which to begin SALW control work. A localised small arms survey is required, using both qualitative and quantitative techniques to ensure appropriate and reliable findings.

In Oro, stakeholders repeatedly commented that despite weapons not being displayed openly as in the Highlands or Southern Bougainville, the use of all forms of weapons is a common occurrence. Similarly, in the Eastern Highlands, officially declared fighting areas such as Henganofi or Kainantu may receive much of the SALW attention at the expense of other parts of the province which may have less visible but equally significant underlying weapons and violence issues.

32 Overwhelming stakeholder feedback across all provinces

33 Mugumya, G. 2004

34 Many stakeholders at the feedback sessions spoke of the excitement at a 'donor' targeting directly the issues of SALW and the hope that significant resources will be directed towards the efforts. Several spoke of initial funding available for the programme as being insufficient

WAYS FORWARD AND PROGRAMME OPPORTUNITIES

PROGRAMME ENTRY POINTS – WHAT CAN BE UTILISED FOR SMALL ARMS REDUCTION PROGRAMMING

The public support that exists for action against armed violence is arguably the most significant entry point available into small arms reduction programming. Armed violence is experienced across all strata of society, and its effects, as witnessed by the groundswell of support for the Gun Control Committee process, has proven to be one of the few unifying issues behind which individuals from all parts of Papua New Guinea can collectively identify. Collective consensus is often utilised for community acquisition of guns, and the power of the collective can be harnessed and reversed to reduce the demand for SALW.

The relationships of women to gun holders and their opportunities for influence at the personal and community level should be utilized. Women's voices and experiences of armed violence and have consistently proven critical in Papua New Guinea as voices of reason and influence in addressing community based issues of armed violence. The increasing focus on women in peace building, the women and governance programme being conducted by UNIFEM in Papua New Guinea or broad based consultations and awareness programmes offer further opportunities for increasing the role of women in SALW activities at the national and regional levels.

A growing enthusiasm to support armed violence reduction is evident within the business community. As general patterns of insecurity increase, the commercial sector is increasingly coming to understand the benefits of reducing small arms proliferation. In the Eastern Highlands Province many of the agriculture related organisations including Fresh Produce Development Agency (FPDA), Coffee Industry Corporation (CIC), National Agricultural Research Institute (NARI) and the many coffee exporters have all displayed a willingness to work collaboratively to support small arms reduction programming in the province.

Existing small-scale initiatives display many locally specific characteristics that make replication fraught. As such, it is the approaches developed and lessons and skills learned in these grassroots initiatives should inform small arms reduction programme development. These approaches include levels of engagement, sensitivity, and trust and respect required for communities to give up their weapons.

Stakeholders spoke of the cultural notion of reciprocity as being a solid base on which to ground relationships between communities and outside agencies in developing disarmament programmes. This could prove important in overcoming notions of handouts by donors.

International agreements and frameworks offer technical and funding opportunities that are not being utilised effectively or systematically.

Improving law and justice coordination nationally and good working relationships between key national government departments involved with SALW provides a solid basis for UNDP SALW programming with national government.

The UNDP's work internationally in working on SALW issues has gained widespread respect within government in PNG and should continue to be developed in PNG through technical support from the wider UN system. Significant UNDP community security experiences internationally could feed into Papua New Guinea based programming efforts.

Budget allocations for law and justice within district support grants provide opportunities for prioritisation of district level funding for SALW activities.

Key civil society actors including Caritas PNG and Oxfam International are extremely willing to support SALW work at regional and national levels.

New recruitment in the RPNGC offers fresh opportunities to change perceptions of the police, to build trust with communities and to support community engagement programmes by police.

The successful community engagement approach undertaken by RPNGC in Barola and Kompri valley offers opportunities for promotion across other RPNGC stations

Significant numbers of court exhibits and confiscated weapons in provincial armories provide opportunities for high profile public destruction that could build momentum for public support.

Within rural communities, particularly in the Highlands, the concept of community security has roots in tradition and is a well-established community focus. This enthusiasm of communities to ensure their own security should be built on through development of positive working relationships between police and those communities.

In discussing community level disarmament within the Eastern Highlands Province, almost all stakeholders spoke of the overwhelming level of respect afforded to the mainstream churches, in contrast to suspicion and a lack of trust of provincial and district government. This trust could provide an important and valuable entry point for community based disarmament programmes.

The strong law and justice sector coordination within Eastern Highlands Province provides a good coordination base and reference point for small arms reduction programming in the Province. The weapons and reconciliation committees provide similar avenues within Bougainville.

Due to the significant history and investment in peace building on Bougainville, a 'culture' of peace building exists on which to build future small arms reduction activities.

In Bougainville, many of the NGO's have contact with and respect of the different factions within their own regional programme areas that government representative or agencies do not have due to fear or suspicion. These links could be developed in conjunction with government led disarmament efforts.

In the Eastern Highlands Province, potential development of a research and peace building focused *Highlands Peace Institute* offers opportunities to fund and support vital research coordination and development on SALW and broader armed violence issues in the Highlands.

In Oro Province an extensive outreach into communities exists with the Anglican Church network. Combined with a strong desire for technical and financial support to develop programming on weapons related issues, the Anglican Church network is an excellent base for development of an armed violence or weapons free programme in the province. The doubling of police staffing numbers in Oro Province, together with the supportive nature of the Provincial Police Commander in the Province is a significant entry point for working with police to improve community interaction and policing approaches.

UNDP AND GOVERNMENT OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA PROGRAMME OPPORTUNITIES

In seeking programme opportunities, under its national building mandate UNDP is tasked to develop a crisis prevention and recovery support programme that strengthens GoPNG's ability to address SALW in the long-term. A focus on support to national level structures must not however be at the expense of investment in community based engagement programmes in which communities are supported to address their own SALW supply and demand issues.

Partnerships must form the basis of small arms reduction programming at both the national and sub national level. Examples include the RPNGC where high level technical support must coexist with provincial community based programmes in which police are encouraged and supported to better implement their mandate. Such examples include engagement with communities through development of improved community policing approaches and registry tracing and follow up support at the provincial level. The community engagement approaches initiated by the RPNGC and undertaken within the Barola and Kompri valley areas of the Eastern Highlands are shining examples of positive engagement by Police with criminal elements and communities that support their criminal activities. The lessons and approaches of this

example should be promoted internally within the RPNGC and investment made in partnership with Police where such approaches are willing to be adopted.

In each of the sub national programme sites, the partnerships must include existing agencies, organisations, departments, communities and individuals that have expressed interest in addressing the SALW issue. Flexibility in programming is required between provinces in recognising the need for different partnership opportunities. Rather than being piecemeal, this flexibility should recognise the geographic and demographically specific situation of armed violence and weapons availability in Papua New Guinea.

National Programme Opportunities

- *Support to a National Gun and Violence Reduction Council under the National Security Advisory Council (NSAC) or National Co-coordinating Mechanism (NCM)*

UNDP should actively encourage the Government of Papua New Guinea to develop a coordinating body or mechanism, with a cross sector mandate, to address SALW issues in PNG. Technical and start-up funding support should be provided by UNDP to develop and coordinate a national action plan on SALW reduction.

- *Support for informed national dialogue on armed violence*

Building on the Gun Control Committee process, support for informed national dialogue on armed violence should be provided in order to generate better understanding of the distribution, causes, nature and impacts of SALW. After reviewing existing data, dialogue could be developed between government agencies, civil society and the international community. Workshops and seminars could bring a variety of stakeholders together to discuss the effectiveness of ongoing initiatives, identify gaps and agree on next steps for policy development and planning. A focus on enhanced data collection and surveillance systems and mechanisms as well as mechanisms for sustaining dialogue and effective coordination between all actors at the national and local level would be most effective. Such a process would support the recommendations of the Papua New Guinea Armed Violence Assessment and is in line with potential entry points cited above including utilizing the experiences of victims of armed violence, civil society groups with a small arms focus, and the need to improve data collection. Such a process would be a sound entry activity for a UNDP supported commission and is a key component globally of the WHO and UNDP Global Armed Violence Prevention Programme (GAVPP).

- *Provision of technical assistance and support to strengthen national and local capacities to address armed violence*

Contributing to the process of national dialogue, attention should be placed on strengthening mortality surveillance systems and ensuring data from these systems is used to drive policy, is shared across government and civil society and assures better links between enhanced surveillance activities and ongoing armed violence prevention initiatives. Technical support to skills development within planning for armed violence reduction.

- *Review and reform of gun laws through a public consultation process and debate*

New norms around weapons possession and use are the subject of intense cultural, economic and political negotiation. Involving civil society and the public in consultations and implementation is particularly useful given the role they can play in raising public awareness and building support for new norms.

- *Support and attendance to an Inland Revenue Commission (IRC) donor support conference scheduled for March 2009*

Partnership and technical support to the IRC will help improve national monitoring and knowledge development on trafficking and trade of SALW.

- *Support to the expansion of the Civil Aviation Authority firearms and ammunition checkpoints in passenger and cargo sections within domestic airports*

Improved monitoring of current information being collected at the checkpoints can also support a better understanding of the movement of legally held weapons within PNG

- *Multi-year support to key NGO's for funding and recruitment of SALW focused positions and development of SALW programmes within their organisations*

The enthusiasm of civil society organisations such as Caritas and Oxfam to actively participate in SALW reduction activities should be encouraged through funding of specialised SALW positions or programmes within these organisations. Such positions could be key linkages to national and international networks could allow for development of SALW programmes within their own programme areas and be linked to technical support from UNDP community security specialists.

- *National awareness campaign in conjunction with UNDP gender based violence programme*

Highlighted within the PNG Armed Violence Assessment, this initiative should focus on urban and rural domestic violence, and particularly on locally-appropriate sensitization, support services, enforcement, and education programmes. Inclusion of awareness of armed violence would also provide programme links with the UNDP gender based violence pillar.

- *Support investment in national surveillance systems and SALW research:*

A National SALW Council with a cross sector mandate could be an ideal coordination point for development of new or improved surveillance systems. Because the resources required for developing accurate public health, crime and related systems are considerable; consideration should be given to instead setting-up incremental and targeted biannual surveys in particular regions³⁵.

Sub-National Programme Opportunities

- *A local small arms survey must be undertaken in all three programme sites using participatory research methods*

A range of actors exist within each province to support development of understandings of the numbers of and localised motivations for acquiring SALW utilising PRA based research methods. In Bougainville such a survey can be conducted through regional NGO's such as Osi Tanata or Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency, and within Eastern Highlands potentially be conducted by trainee teachers from the Province. These trainee teachers could act as insiders as part of their practical research projects and be supported by Oxfam, the PNGIMR, the Melanesian Institute or a newly developed Highlands Peace Institute.

- *Weapons for Development (WfD) opportunities exist within the Eastern Highlands Province*

A Weapons for Development (WfD) programme could be considered for rural communities in EHP targeted at district and ward level and undertaken through church and NGO based partners. Development of a cadre of community based trainers skilled in participatory planning, training and community engagement techniques could see extensive participatory planning activities supporting transformative community development as well as in-depth education on gender and human rights.

A police outreach programme in which police are supported and assisted in building community relations with communities could include developing unarmed, regular and ongoing community visits by police to follow up on concerns and issues with communities.

Partnerships could be developed with service providers such as coffee exporters, Fresh Produce Development Agency and the Coffee Industry Corporation to provide training and agricultural support to programme communities. The European Union Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Project (EURWSSP), rural electrification, labor for roads, or sport for development projects in the Province could be encouraged and incorporated into a WfD programme. Long term planning and budgetary support to programme areas could be developed through simultaneous planning support to target districts law and justice budgets.

- *Development of district level strategies in Eastern Highlands Province*

In conjunction with the gender based violence programme, a broader district level programme could initially be supported targeting two or three districts within Eastern Highlands Province. Goroka, as an urban environment, together with Lufa District present ideal starting points because of the potential church based partnerships in these areas. Extensive awareness and community security planning support to the ward counselors and district administration, and livelihoods support programmes could be incorporated into the district level programme.

³⁵ Haley 2005

- *Provincial level SALW consultations*

Mini 'gun summit' processes could be developed within programme areas in order to develop the groundswell of support for SALW reduction activities. Provincial level discussions could include broad representation from service providers and the Chamber of Commerce as well as civil society, church and government agencies. Such processes could also be taken a stage deeper and developed at the district or even ward level

- *A weapons or violence free communities programme could be developed in Oro Province*

In conjunction with the gender based violence programme, the underlying issue of violence, through the strong leadership and network of the Anglican Church in the Province could be addressed through a violence free programme. Training in participatory training and community engagement techniques to the vast network of church volunteers could be undertaken in conjunction with a public education campaign and improved community interfacing and contact by police.

- *Provincial and district level police support programmes could be assessed and developed*

Potential ongoing programmes of support require in-depth assessment to account for variances between provinces and could include:

- Training to police on community security programme approaches and UNDP programme approaches
- Financial and technical support to provincial RPNGC training units
- Development and expansion of outreach programmes with districts of provincial community policing desks
- Support to provincial firearms registrars for outreach follow-up and tracing support
- Funding of a public destruction process of confiscated weapons being held in RPNGC armories. An ongoing activity, this should be undertaken as a matter of priority in Eastern Highlands Province and should also be conducted across other Highlands Provinces in the same manner as a way of limiting the potential for circulation of unaccountable weapons and for developing relationships with RPNGC for future Highlands based work.

- *Support to the proposed Highlands Peace Institute could be explored*

The Highlands Peace Institute provides a potential central focus point for action research on issues related to conflict, armed violence and peace building within the Highlands region. Ideally the Highlands Peace Institute will lead to better-informed government programmes on armed violence.

Individuals and Organisations Interviewed

Eastern Highlands Province

Don Hurrell, Advisor, Law and Justice Division
John Sari, Coordinator, Eastern Highlands Province Advisory Secretariat
Kevin Poke, Research Assistant, Eastern Highlands Province Advisory Secretariat
Robert, Fresh Produce Development Agency
Sr Maryanne Kolkia, Mercy Works
Sr Gaye Lennin, Mercy Works
Paul Frame, Chairman, EHP Law and Justice Committee
Peter Raynes, Programme Manager, Save the Children in PNG
Carol Nelson, Programme Manager, Save the Children in PNG
Marinta Ove, Small Projects Officer, Save the Children in PNG
Major Zania Kohe, Programme Secretary, Salvation Army
Major Davera Kohe, Community Services, Salvation Army
Rampson Kohe, ACP Coordinator, Salvation Army
Michael Kilau, Diocese Provincial Coordinator, Caritas
Francis Gahuge, Commanding Officer, Correctional Services
Martin Nano, Field Supervisor Operations, Correctional Services
Robin Gideon, Armourer, Correctional Services
Yelly Oiufa, Manager Welfare & Rehabilitation, Correctional Services
Conrad Eske, Advisor, Department of Education
Teddy Soi, Provincial Police Commander, EHP RPNGC
David Seine, Police Station Commander, RPNGC Goroka
John Pondikou, OIC Firearms, RPNGC,
Matthew Kawat, Chief Sergeant Transport, RPNGC
Gary Kella, OIC Criminal Intelligence Unit, RPNGC
Judy Naomi, SOS officer, RPNGC
Yanny Guman, Programme Manager, Oxfam International PNG Highlands Programme
Rachael Hinton, Research Advisor, Oxfam International PNG Highlands Programme
David Glama, Assistant Programme Officer Education, UNICEF
Carlos Baraka Assistant Programme Officer Health and HIV and AIDS, UNICEF
Mel Yap, Child Protection Officer, UNICEF
Charles Barakas, Manager, Law and Justice Division
Dr Jerry Semos, University of Goroka
Henry Braun, CARE International
Moale Vagakapi, Senior Programme Officer, AusAID
Henganofi District Peace Management Committee

Focus Group 1 Youths in Anti Crime (Goroka Town)
Focus Group 2 Lufa Reformed Youth
Focus Group 3 Barola Youth
Focus Group 4 Ungai Bena Community Justice Group

Port Moresby

Rhoda Beldon, Training Director, Peace Foundation Melanesia
James Laki, Director, Peace Foundation Melanesia
Margaret Mangae, Firearms Registry Supervisor, RPNGC
Raphael Huafolo, Assistant Commissioner of Police Crimes Division, RPNGC
Kerry Lamu, Commissioner of Community Policing, RPNGC
Paul Ngabong, Director, Policy Division Prime Ministers Department
Eric Carluo, Prime Ministers Department
Rose, Graduate Officer, Policy Division, Prime Ministers Department

Fred Sarufa, Director, International Organisation Branch, Department of Foreign Affairs
 Karen Haive, First Secretary Policy and Regulatory Service Branch, Department for Community Development
 Willie Kumunga, Aid Coordination and Planning, Department of National Planning
 William Kewa Aid Coordination and Planning, Department of National Planning
 Chris Wall, Deputy Commissioner of Customs, Internal Revenue Commission
 Paul Iramu, Assistant Commissioner Revenue Management/Regional Operations, Inland Revenue Commission
 Wallya Abilo, Assistant Commissioner Enforcement, Inland Revenue Commission
 Bill Dihm, Office for Bougainville Affairs
 John Tanggil, Peace Liaison Officer, Officer for Bougainville Affairs
 Tessa Te Mata, Deputy High Commissioner, New Zealand Aid
 Freda Talao, Senior Programme Officer, AusAID
 Tony Cameron, BCPR, UNDP
 Bernard Choulai, BCPR, UNDP
 Freddy Austli, BCPR, UNDP
 Sarah Garap, Gender Based Violence Researcher, UNDP
 Paul Fruh, International Confederation of Red Cross and Red Crescent (ICRC)
 Colonel Luke Foster, Defence Advisor, Australian Defence Force
 Lieutenant Colonel Gordon Milward, Defence Advisor, New Zealand Defence Force
 James Stokes, Papua New Guinea – Australia Policing Partnership, Australian Federal Police
 Will Jamieson Papua New Guinea – Australia Policing Partnership, Australian Federal Police
 Andy Warton Papua New Guinea – Australia Policing Partnership, Australian Federal Police
 Steven Hulbert, Senior Liaison Officer, Counselor Police Liaison, Australian Federal Police
 Josephine Gena, Gender Advisor, Law and Justice Secretariat
 Kepas Paon, Director, Law and Justice Secretariat
 Rodney Kameata, National Coordinator, Community Justice Liaison Unit
 Steve Sims, Advisor Yumi Lukautim Mosbi Projek
 Major General Jerry Singirok (Rtd), National Gun Control Committee
 Betty Lovai, Member, National Gun Control Committee
 Les Curlewis, General Manager, Protect Security
 Dr Andre Ernst Reiffer, Senior Programme Management Officer, World Health Organisation
 Andriy Storozhuk, World Bank
 Coalition to Stop Gun Violence PNG

Autonomous Region of Bougainville

Superintendent Murray Lewis, Team Leader Bougainville Community Policing Project
 Sister Lorraine Gerhasu, Nazareth Rehabilitation Centre
 Marilyn Haveni, Haku Women's Collective
 David Dundbar, Community Justice Liaison Unit
 Kate Saxton, Advisor, Law and Justice Sector Programme
 Josephine Kauona Bougainville Women for Peace and Freedom and Tunaniya Open Learning Centre
 James Kowie, Provincial Coordinator, Caritas PNG
 Helen Hakena, Executive Director, Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency
 Avin Moses Koliwan Donor Aid Coordinator, Provincial Planning Department
 Clarence Dency, Manager, Bougainville Centre for Peace and Reconciliation
 Jacob Moiyo, Project Officer Siwai, Division of Veterans, Youth and Sports
 Lucy Travertz, Executive Manager, Kieta District
 Steven Simiha, Division of Veterans, Youth and Sports
 Ben Kina, Director, Osi Tanata
 Cosmos Peri, Senior Programme Officer, Osi Tanata
 Sergeant Herman Birenka, Police Station Commander Arawa Police
 Isumius Omi, Businessman and Leader in Selau
 George Manu, Chairman, Bougainville Weapons and Reconciliation Committee
 Howard Wilson, Team Leader, UNDP

Attendance at ABG and NGO partnership workshop in Buka including additional representatives from:

Ako CSO
Nikana Ma'atara
United Church Women's Fellowship
Nasioi Skills Training Centre
Tulele Peisa
SDA Women's Federation
Bougainville Provincial Women's Council
Bougainville Inter-Church Women's Forum
Pautoa
Sohano Inter-church Women's Group
World Vision
Care International
Wakunai District Aids Council
Community Development Division

Focus Group in Arawa at Osi Tanata conference centre included representatives from:

Arawa Children's Centre
Sibasiba ex-combatants group
Red Cross
Nikana Ma'atara
Arawa Police Station
Osi Tanata
Pau Toa community development group
Kieta District Office

Oro Province

Provincial Police Commander, RPNGC
Nelson, Papua New Guinea Electoral Commission
Advisor to Provincial Administrator
Everlyn Pukai, Provincial Women's Officer
Nelly Bunari, Chairperson Oro Provincial Council of Women
Joe Supo, Department of Provincial Affairs
John Pai, Planning Officer, Provincial Planning Department
Teddy Biaga, Superintendent, Correctional Services
Arthur Jawodimvari, Former Provincial Secretary
Name unknown, Anglican Mission Education Secretary
Raymond, Anglican North East Papua Mission Administration; Special Projects Division
Lisa Roberts, Team Leader, UNDP Oro Province

Focus Groups and meeting:

Anglican Provincial Priests Annual Conference; Meeting with 40 Anglican priests from Oro Province
NGO Disaster Planning meeting

Other

Kerry Maze, Project Manager and Researcher, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
Yvette Issar, Assistant Researcher, United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
Dr Phillip Alpers, Adjunct Professor, University of Sydney

Terms of Reference

Situational mapping studies of Crisis Prevention and Recovery in Papua New Guinea (PNG)

Small Arms Reduction Study Consultant

I) BACKGROUND

1. Papua New Guinea is a young country with a heterogeneous society comprising of more than 800 languages and identity groups. Law and order problems in the form of crime, localised violent conflict often aggravated by the use of Small and light weapons (SALW), and gender based violence (GBV) are recurrent threats to human security. Another major threat to human security is natural disaster risk, with Papua New Guinea facing risks from volcano eruptions, tsunamis, floods, hurricanes, and land-slides. Disaster Risk Management (DRM) is an essential area of work to promote enhanced human security.
2. The current United Nations Country Programme (UNCP) has as one of its major outcomes that Government develops and implements effective governance and crisis management policies. A UNDP supported Crisis Prevention programme is currently being designed to assist Government in this process.
3. The upcoming Crisis Prevention programme will be addressing issues of Disaster Risk Reduction, Small Arms Reduction and Gender Based Violence.
4. In order to make the programme properly informed and building on work already ongoing, a study on Small Arms Reduction is to be undertaken to investigate the scope of SALW work already undertaken in PNG. The study will take stock of Small Arms Reduction work ongoing by Government, Civil Society and Development Partners in Papua New Guinea, identify the main SALW challenges at the national and at regional levels in Papua New Guinea, and identify gaps currently not being adequately addressed. The consultant will present the results of the study at a stakeholder workshop towards the end of the assignment.

II) EXPECTED OUTPUTS

1. An expert paper outlining the current status of Small Arms Reduction in Papua New Guinea, providing an analysis on
 - National, sub-national regional challenges
 - Current programmes and initiatives by Government, Civil Society and Development Partners
 - Gaps and opportunities for programming to further develop Small Arms Reduction in Papua New Guinea given the context and within the parameters of the upcoming Crisis Prevention Programme and the UN Country Programme.
2. Study results presented at a workshop involving the main Small Arms Reduction stakeholders (towards end of three months assignment)

III) MAIN TASKS

a. Work in consultation with the UNDP CPR team:

- Liaise closely with the UNDP CPR team, led by the Chief Technical Adviser (CTA), who will provide guidance to the consultant
- Liaise closely with possible concurrent studies (including Peace and Development Analysis (PDA) and Community Conversations) being undertaken by the programme and other stakeholders, and pool resources and information where possible

b. Provide research and technical expertise in the development of a report on small arms reduction:

- Month 1:
 - Conduct a desk review of secondary research / available documentation
 - Undertake a mapping of organisations in PNG (government and non-government) engaged in addressing issues of Small Arms Reduction, including their institutional structures and their respective roles
 - Conduct a review of available and used methodologies in researching Small Arms Reduction in PNG and the Pacific, as well as review and document sources of available data
- Month 2:
 - Conduct review in focus provinces on Small Arms Reduction activities of Government, UN agencies, other major donors and NGOs
 - Identify gaps in current approaches highlighting regional differences (if any)
- Month 3:
 - Synthesise results of desk and field research
 - Propose a methodology for researching Small Arms Reduction in the field and submit to the National Building CTA/CPR team to endorse
 - Formulate recommendations as to where UNDP can add value in addressing Small Arms Reduction
 - Produce final report, and present to a stakeholder workshop

APPROACHES TO REDUCING SMALL ARMS IN EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE

Stakeholder feedback on approaches that can work to reduce small arms in the Highlands

The RPNGC and Law and Justice Divisions work with the Barola and Kompri Valley youth in Eastern Highlands is an example of an initiative that has begun to make inroads into reducing armed violence. Known locally as a 'shopping centre' for criminals, the area of the Highlands Highway that goes through the Barola area has been subjected to armed holdups and armed violence in surrounding communities for decades. Since 2006, in an initiative begun by the RPNGC has seen police and law and justice sector agencies, together with business and civil society, engaging criminals and at-risk youth, together with their communities, to tackle the issues of armed violence by providing alternative options to the communities to armed violence.

A stakeholder focus group of youths from and former criminals who were involved in the successful Law and Justice Programme in Barola was undertaken within this research. The group was unanimous in declaring that motivation to acquire and use weapons was what needed to be addressed, rather than a focus on the weapons alone. A buy back of weapons would take weapons out of communities in the short term but would not change the criminal's attitudes in the area away from armed violence as the motivations to acquire weapons would still be strong. As one of the group stated "amnesties or surrenders won't work as the gun is your life".

Almost all the government, donors and non government agencies interviewed in the Eastern Highlands related the issue of SALW reduction back to community security issues. The motivation (demand) for weapons could not be addressed through a short term 'buyoff' of a individual or community as it would not address the underlying issues of communities being reliant on themselves for their safety and security. One of the strongest arguments against cash buybacks or attempts at voluntary surrender came from Pastor Peter Tate of the Ungai Bena Community Justice Group. In discussing voluntary surrender and buybacks that was a consistent theme of 2005 Gun Summit in Goroka, in which he was a participant, Tate referred to two reasons for holding a gun in tribal communities. The first was the security of the 'haus lain' and the second was income generation where "for the 'papa bilong gun', the gun comes up a save card [ATM bank card] for hire". The point is clear- people will give up guns when their security concerns have been addressed and they have viable long-term livelihood options.

In all conversations with stakeholders, those interviewed were asked how UNDP should approach SALW reduction work in the Eastern Highlands and in particular what approaches should be used. A snapshot of responses from a range of people is listed anonymously below:

- Use churches
- We need to use social reciprocity in our approach; it's based on an understanding not a formal agreement and its how weapons for development can work; it's a Melanesian approach to this issue
- UNDP must not make this about money
- Follow the agriculture cooperative sector [into communities]
- Communities must themselves have responsibility and desire [to get rid of guns]
- Lets build community support for getting rid of guns; bring the gun summit process to the district and community level
- We must use an 'agriculture sector' approach to small arms reduction in Eastern Highlands
- Change attitudes first before removing guns
- Put good thinking into the heads of the youths
- Target the strong ones with mindset change...we must work through the strongest in the villages as they have assumed leadership
- We need to focus on the big people [elites] as well as the small [villagers]
- Peer to peer seems to work best and through backdoor channels

- Need to recognize that community structures have changed [when targeting interventions]
- Leaders are the worst culprits; only the UN can talk to them
- We need weapons free approaches not just gun free
- Large scale awareness would work- and police need to be more involved with our communities in a positive way
- Talking about containment of guns [as occurred in earlier disarmament efforts in Bougainville] is rubbish- we either get rid of them or not
- In PNG one valley is different to another valley therefore you need to determine who are your change agents in each valley and work with them [one size does not fit all]
- After changing thinking [of gun holders] we need to replace the space by putting something in their hands
- Weapons collection can only come after a peace agreement; a cease fire won't work
- Go easily with leaders and counselors; don't go in to hard
- Replace the SAVE card in their hands [the guns] with something else
- Go with church leaders at the time of a peace agreement and target papa bilong pait [the fight leader]
- UNDP needs to approach this with a long-term view and socialize the youth
- We [Papua New Guinea] need to teach people to work without resources
- We believe that mindset change is more important than exchange

Many of the approaches espoused by EHP stakeholders mirror those of approaches highlighted within international best practice on small arms reductions, but with a local and specific understanding of Highlands based SALW issues. In looking at international community security approaches highlighted by Saferworld³⁶, the similarities are clear:

- An approach that measures its success based on improvements in the safety and security of communities, rather than by the number of weapons collected or removed from society is important
- A process that promotes recognition and 'ownership' of the small arms problem by community members and local leaders, that generates ideas about responses to the small arms problem from communities themselves, and that involves communities in the design of security intervention
- Co-operation between community and civic leaders, local and central government officials and security personnel to address the small arms problem, based on mutual trust achieved through confidence-building measures
- A multi-faceted approach that addresses the underlying reasons for gun ownership and the conditions that have caused people to arm themselves, such as inadequate security provision and or minimal livelihood opportunities, and that provides people with something in exchange for weapons based on appropriate highlands based cultural mechanisms such as social reciprocity

³⁶ Adapted from Saferworld 2006 disarmament strategies in Kenya. See fuller discussion in <http://www.saferworld.org.uk/images/pubdocs/Kenya%20Disarmament%20Roundtable%20Mtg%2006.pdf>

Relevant Literature

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