

## **Combating Violence Against Women Through C4D: The “Use Your Voice” Campaign and Its Implications on Audience-Citizens in Papua New Guinea**

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Violence against women (VAW) is universally identified as a barrier to legal, social, political, and economic equality for women, violating their rights and fundamental freedoms. This article brings together existing literature and empirical research on addressing such violence in Papua New Guinea (PNG), providing results that can inform future work in this area. The literature review examines the causes of violence against women and the role that communication for development (C4D) can play in addressing these issues. The Use Your Voice campaign was implemented in PNG in late 2011 in an

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effort to promote speaking out against violence and displace the positive cultural association between violence and masculinity. We assess the campaign's impact using data drawn from a national survey. The discussion examines the survey results in light of the literature, critically reviewing the campaign and outlining learning for future programs.

*Keywords: communication for development, gender, violence against women, media campaigns, social norms*

In recent years, both academic and policy research on communication for development (C4D) have focused on the role that media and communication can play in promoting gender equality and broader development goals. Violence against women (VAW) is universally identified as a barrier to legal, social, political, and economic equality for women, violating their rights and fundamental freedoms (UN, 1993). VAW is described as "severe and pervasive" in Papua New Guinea (PNG) and other Melanesian countries (Egan & Haddad, 2007, p ii). Though there have been anthropological accounts and qualitative research addressing the issue in PNG, there is insufficient empirical evidence on VAW and programs designed to address it. This article provides a brief overview of the Use Your Voice campaign, which was implemented in PNG in late 2011, and uses data drawn from a national survey to assess the campaign's impact.

### **Violence Against Women in Papua New Guinea**

VAW is a complex issue as it is intricately woven into traditions, culture, customs, power structures, social norms, and gender roles. The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women<sup>2</sup> (UN, 1993) recognizes that

Violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men and to the prevention of the full advancement of women, and that violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men. (p. 2)

The declaration also notes that violence against women can manifest itself in multiple forms (e.g., physical, sexual, and psychological) and at different levels (e.g., family, community, and state). Although it is important to examine the forms and levels of such violence, addressing VAW first requires an understanding of its underlying causes.

Broadly, the motivators of VAW can be classified as expressive (emotionally driven) and instrumental (control driven). Anger, conflict, and frustration can motivate expressive violence (Kimmel,

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<sup>2</sup> The focus of this article is on violence against women and not gender-based violence. While the two terms are often used interchangeably, gender-based violence is a broader concept including violence against men, antigay violence, and violence by women against women. This article focuses specifically on violence against women.

2010). Instrumental violence is motivated by the desire to control and is, ironically, indicative of a loss of control (Kimmel, 2010). VAW or its threat is often used "in the maintenance of male domination and feminine submission" (Sideris, 2005, p. 105). There can be an exacerbation in men's insecurities as women progress to make social gains and ambiguities arise around gender roles (Sideris, 2005). Such insecurities may result in heightened anger, conflict, or frustration among men, leading to expressive violence. The conflict between traditional and modern values may seem to warrant a need to reinstate traditions. Instrumental violence may be used in such situations as a tool for reinforcement of traditional values, gender roles, and inequality of women. Both expressive and instrumental motivators can therefore be conflated in the case of VAW, making it a complex issue.

The root cause for VAW is the sustenance of unequal power relations between men and women and continuing male control over women to ensure women's ongoing subordination (Andrews, 2011). Unequal gendered power structures are therefore both a cause and effect of VAW. For example, within PNG, Eves (2006) noted that "though violence is condoned, unprovoked violence is not" (p. 24). Violence is seen as justifiable when its purpose is to remind women of their traditional roles, reprimand them for any digressions, and ensure that gender roles are reinforced (Eves, 2006). When such practices and ideas get coded as "cultural" and become normalized, there is "the need to preserve the *given* terms on which life is to be lived" (Bennett, 2005, p. 33). Practices like polygamy, drug use, and alcohol consumption and such socioeconomic conditions as poverty often exacerbate the violence and add to the complexity of the issue (Eves, 2006). However, it is important to emphasize that while these may trigger violence, they are not the root cause of such violence.

Based on international research, the AusAID Office of Development Effectiveness (ODE) report on VAW in Melanesia and East Timor identified the need to "challenge the underlying social, economic and cultural norms that support violence" (Egan & Haddad, 2007, p. ii). It highlighted strategies to address prevention of VAW, including a need for community mobilization to shift social norms and engage men to redefine gender roles.

### **Social Norms**

The normalization of violence in PNG, and its widespread acceptance, can be attributed to traditions, fear, and shame. Traditionalism (*kastam*), including such practices as bride price, and the shame associated with discussing marital problems have resulted in widespread understanding of VAW as a private/domestic issue (Egan & Haddad, 2007; McLeod, 2005). "Violence within the confines of a household" (Eves, 2006, p. 12) is socially acknowledged as a private matter and an acceptable part of everyday life. Such normalizing of violence implies that it is considered a legitimate instrument for resolving conflicts, expressing anger, and establishing control (Eves, 2006). In PNG, this normalized acceptance of violence against women is so widespread that there is little awareness that VAW is a crime (Eves, 2006).

Traditionally, men's houses provided the locale for initiation into manhood and the construction of masculine identities. These locations reinforced masculine identities where "boys were taught various aspects of traditional culture through songs and stories" (Eves, 2006, p. 48). Such stories are the

fundamentals of culture through which social norms are shared. The initiation of men through the men's houses traditionally instilled in them a sense of pride and discipline and promoted male solidarity for cooperation in times of conflict and war (Eves, 2006). There are both benefits and challenges to such a system being used to reinstate gender equality as part of social norms. Men's houses have wide community support. However, historically the system has been used to "consolidate men's privileges through a radical separation of men and women contributing to sexual antagonism" (Eves, 2006, pp. 51–52). The contribution of these traditional practices to gender identity and to reifying gender roles in PNG must be taken into account.

Overall, there is an absence of theorization regarding the dynamics of heterosexuality and cross-gender violence in such human relationships (Bennett, 2001). In such a context, normalization of violence against women results in a lack of discussion of these issues. The associated stigma, fear, and shame ensures that they are often underreported and seldom discussed, and results in a reliance on informal systems of redress and/or compensation, if any (Egan & Haddad, 2007). In some cases, women may not even be aware of legal redress available to them through courts and the judicial system (Jolly, 1996). Such unawareness about the issues and limited interpersonal communication leads to VAW being an accepted and taken-for-granted part of PNG society.

### **Gender Roles**

Definition of gender roles is a part of socialization that determines what it means to be a woman or man, and it manifests itself in the form of femininity or masculinity, respectively. Our focus is specifically on masculinities for two key reasons: (1) men have been represented as "obstacles to equitable development" (Cornwall, 2000, p. 18) with regard to gender issues, although there is also a growing realization that men are equally part of solution; and (2) women may lack agency to stop violence by themselves in societies where it is normalized. Therefore, it would be detrimental to address violence against women without acknowledging and including men.

Laspansky and Chatterjee (2011) take a social constructionist gender perspective stating that masculinities and manhood are "social constructs perpetuated by institutions like family, religious institutions, communities and media" (p. 97). The dominant "hegemonic masculinity" provides the cultural idea of manhood dominating different forms of cultural representations including those in media. However, the concept of masculinity or femininity is not universal, but specific to varying histories, cultures, societies, and contexts (Laspansky & Chatterjee, 2011). Hegemonic masculinity is a fluid conceptual construction that provides the ideal way of being a man, and is therefore conceptually relational, such that all other men position themselves in relation to this notion (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Since these ideals are fluid, they are open to challenge by alternate masculinities (Laspansky & Chatterjee, 2011). The sustenance of such hegemonic ideals against alternate masculinities therefore "requires the policing of men as well as the exclusion or discrediting of women" and "involves a constant process of negotiation, translation and reconfiguration" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 844) between hegemonic masculinities and subordinate or marginalized masculinities.

The traditional warrior-tribal origins of socialization of men in PNG still instills aggression as part of masculinity and violence as a "natural and appropriate response to insult or challenge" (Eves, 2006, p. 44). Traditional and cultural practices also form a part of this perpetuation of gender identity. However, in PNG there are alternate masculinities that do not accept violence against women.

In some traditions, for a man to strike a woman is considered unmanly. Among the Bena Bena of the Eastern Highlands there is an expression meaning that if a man beats his wife her blood will cover him up, he will not be able to see and will behave like an animal. (Eves, 2006, p. 15)

The church and Christianity are other potential arenas for the construction of alternate masculinities in PNG. More than 95% of people in PNG are Christian (Gibbs, 2006). The church can be a source of narratives for and counter-narratives against traditional gender roles, norms, and VAW. The narrative for maintaining traditional gender roles may focus the problem "on the victim who, if her husband's violence continues, obviously has not been a good enough Christian wife" (Eves, 2012, p. 5) and therefore must fight to protect her marriage irrespective of the violence. Conversely, the counter-narrative against VAW highlights the equality of all before God such that "each person has a responsibility to treat all others fairly, which means being just to others and respectful of their rights" (Eves, 2012, p. 4). The alternate masculinities discussed can provide a competing vision of manhood for young people. Young men in PNG are disenchanted by the lack of opportunities caused by rapidly changing socioeconomic conditions, low literacy rates, and high levels of unemployment (Noble, Pereira, & Saune, 2011). They struggle with the traditional hegemonic notions of masculinity, feel disempowered, and may try to reinforce their loss of control through VAW.

Therefore, the need to address gender roles is urgent. Redefining gender scripts can play a critical role in addressing gender equality. Gender is always relational where "masculinity [is] socially defined in contradistinction to some model of femininity" and therefore it is critical to consider "the interplay of femininities and masculinities," (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848) both historically and currently. In recent times, the sport/business complex has become an important site for defining gender scripts as it promotes a form of hegemonic masculinity that may or may not be different from traditional patriarchy (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). While there are potential risks involved in using sports as a platform to address gender issues, it continues to be an important site for representing and defining gender. But it must be used sensitively to avoid perpetuating unequal gender stereotypes.

On addressing any issues around VAW that focus on men and masculinities, Eves (2006) concluded that

All strategies aiming to reduce male violence should foster a view of men and women as equal human beings and allies, who respect, cooperate with and support each other. Strategies should not, therefore, point to, or reinforce, perceived difference between men and women. (p. 55)

### **Role of Communication for Development**

UNICEF defines communication for development (C4D) as

a systematic, planned and evidence-based strategic process to promote positive and measurable individual behaviour and social change that is an integral part of development programmes, policy advocacy and humanitarian work. . . . It privileges local contexts and relies on a mix of communication tools, channels and approaches. (UNICEF, 2011)

The purpose and practices of C4D-based approaches are diverse and varied, including both interpersonal and mass communication. Mass media is one of the communication platforms that can be used to promote positive individual behavior and social change using C4D. However, Wilkins and Mody (2001) caution against campaigns that reify stereotypical gender roles in an attempt to promote short-term behavior-change goals. Media can either reinforce existing ideologies or model alternative ideologies that redefine both gender roles and social norms around them. Thus, Laspsansky and Chatterjee (2011) recommend a gender transformative approach rather than a gender sensitive approach: Use men as allies and advocates for the representation and mainstreaming of alternative masculinities based on the values of equality and non-violence versus hegemonic masculinity that relies on inequality and violence. We approached the Use Your Voice campaign in this vein.

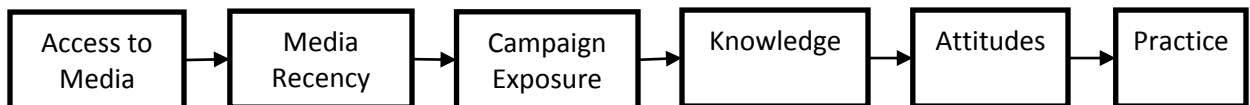
### **“Use Your Voice” Campaign**

The Use Your Voice campaign is a C4D campaign that formed part of the PNG Media Development Initiative, which is a tripartite arrangement between the National Broadcasting Corporation of PNG (NBC) and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC), with technical and financial support from the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID). The Use Your Voice campaign was implemented from September to December 2011 as one of the first national multimedia campaigns on the issue of violence against women. The campaign used radio, television, and mobile phones as platforms to reach audiences. Programming included weekly talk radio shows on national radio, public service announcements (PSAs) featuring Australian rugby players, a press conference, and talk shows on television. The campaign also hosted a national competition for best community-based initiative to end gender-based violence in PNG that culminated with White Ribbon Day on November 25, 2011.

The campaign design was informed by stakeholder consultations and literature on previous campaigns that had engaged men to address VAW. Michael Flood (2002) identifies three key strategies to engage men around VAW. These strategies informed the design of the Use Your Voice campaign in PNG:

- (a) Draw on stereotypically masculine culture, particularly sport, to appeal to men, with a focus on subverting the association between sport, masculinity, and violence.

- (b) Show men speaking out, or standing together, against violence.
- (c) Promote alternative constructions of masculinity that displace the positive cultural association between violence and masculinity.
- (d) The knowledge, attitude, practice (KAP) model was used to design and assess the outcomes of the campaign. This approach has been used as part of behavior change communication campaigns around different health themes (Chatterjee, Bhanot, Frank, Murphy, & Power, 2009). The KAP model has also been applied in other thematic areas; for example, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) youth civic participation study used a KAP model to assess governance issues in Cambodia (Heng, et al., 2010). This cognitive model "argues that individuals first learn about a practice, then develop a positive attitude toward it, and after passing through these stages, engage in the behavior" (Valente, Paredes, & Poppe, 1998, p. 368) has been used as the theoretical model to assess the KAP variable relationship for the campaign. The KAP model has been critiqued for not adequately addressing the discrepancy between knowledge and behaviors (e.g., Rimal, 2000; Valente et al., 1998) and being overly focused on individual level change (e.g., Dutta-Bergman, 2005; Wilkin, Cohen, & Tannenbaum, 2012). However, given its extensive history and continuing use (Wilkin et al., 2012), the KAP model was deemed a useful framework to start assessment of this campaign. The key campaign objectives based on the KAP model were knowledge and awareness raising (including increasing awareness of VAW prevention and community-based prevention initiatives), attitude change (including promoting the role of men in VAW prevention), and behavior change (including highlighting that every individual can be an actor in social change and has a role to play in preventing VAW). The hypothesized model of change based on the KAP model and exposure to the Use Your Voice campaign is provided in Figure 1.



**Figure 1. Use Your Voice campaign hypothesized model.**

### Methods

A nationwide quantitative survey with a sample of 1,308 citizens was undertaken from January to March 2012 across four main regions of PNG: Highlands, Islands, Momase, and Papua. All surveys were administered in person. Participants were citizens over 15 years of age. They were selected through a

random sampling design with stratification by province.<sup>3</sup> Within each selected household, one respondent was chosen at random.

Additionally, qualitative research was included as part of the research design to inform the survey questionnaire. We also draw on the findings from assessment of Use Your Voice outputs including five focus groups (two male groups and three female groups) across three different regions—Western Highlands, East New Britain, and Madang. The participants in the focus groups were local residents aged 25–40 and married. These focus groups were convened so the researchers would understand VAW in different provinces and locations and to assess the efficacy of the Use Your Voice tools in communicating messages to combat VAW. This article triangulates the data from the different research activities to determine the impact of the campaign. We use the quantitative data to assess the campaign impact findings and then use qualitative data to clarify the implications for future campaigns.

### Survey Measures

The “Citizen Access to Information in PNG” survey covered perceptions on key issues faced by the country, media consumption habits including new media (mobile and Internet), and campaign impact assessment. The following questions from the survey were used to evaluate the overall media access; recency of media use; exposure to the campaign; and knowledge, attitudes, and behavioral intentions related to violence against women.

**Media access.** Participants were asked which of the following items they had available in their household in working order: radio, TV, computer, mobile phone, and Internet. The number of items to which participants responded “Yes” was summed and used as a media access index.

**Recency of media use.** Participants were asked when they last listened to the radio, watched television, read newspapers, and used the Internet. Response options were *yesterday, in the last 7 days, in the last 4 weeks, in the last 12 months, more than 12 months ago, and never*. Responses were re-coded such that higher numbers indicated more recent media use. The four different media forms were averaged to create a scale with good reliability (Cronbach’s  $\alpha = .70$ ).

**Campaign exposure.** Following Valente (2002), campaign exposure was measured through both spontaneous recall and prompted recognition. First, participants were asked to identify campaign slogans for any recent campaigns related to violence against women that they had seen. Those who did not identify one of the Use Your Voice slogans were then prompted with the specific campaign slogans (e.g., “Strong men don’t bash women” and “Use your voice to stop violence against women”), and asked if they recalled them. For the campaign exposure score, participants were given 1 point for each slogan that they recognized or recalled.

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<sup>3</sup> One hundred and two respondents were part of an oversample from Torba to allow for subgroup analysis. Within each province, cities and villages were randomly selected, and within each city or village, households were randomly selected.



**Knowledge.** Participants were asked to report how much they knew about domestic violence/violence against women. Response options were *a lot, a fair amount, not much, and nothing at all*. Responses were re-coded such that higher numbers indicated more self-reported knowledge.

**Attitudes.** Attitudes toward the following statements were measured using three 5-point Likert scales from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*: "Violence against women often happens because the woman is asking for it by nagging or criticizing her partner," "It is a woman's duty to submit to her partner," and "Physical violence between couples is a private matter and should be handled within the family." Reliability for these three items was adequate (Cronbach's  $\alpha = .56$ ).

**Behavioral intentions.** Likewise, behavioral intentions were also measured with 5-point Likert scales: "If you witnessed an incident of violence against women, you would call the police," and "If you witnessed an incident of domestic violence at a neighbor's or friend's you would personally intervene." These two items were averaged to create a behavioral intentions index.

### Analysis

The quantitative survey data was analyzed using structural equation models. Because of the gendered nature of the issue, results are provided separately for women and men. Alpha levels for significance tests were set at .05 a priori.

## Results

### Preliminary Analysis

The Use Your Voice campaign reached 42% of survey respondents. VAW is not identified as a key issue by the respondents in the survey. Similarly, awareness of the issue is low, with 41% of respondents stating they know little or nothing about domestic violence and only 4% of respondents seeking information on the issue (mainly women).<sup>4</sup>

The remaining results presented here highlight the 685 participants who reported that they had received information about violence against women in the past six months. Overall, 67% of female and 69% of male respondents who received information on VAW in the past six months stated that VAW in their community has increased over the past five years. The campaign may have contributed to such awareness-raising around VAW. Many participants felt domestic violence was a private matter, with 67% of male and 65% of female respondents agreeing to the statement that "Physical violence between couples is a private matter and should be handled within the family." Moreover, 63% of male and 55% of female respondents agreed that "Violence against women often happens because the woman is asking for it by nagging or criticizing her partner." Correspondingly, 75% of males and 66% of females agreed that "It is a woman's duty to submit to her partner." Despite the attitudes that indicated acceptance of, if not

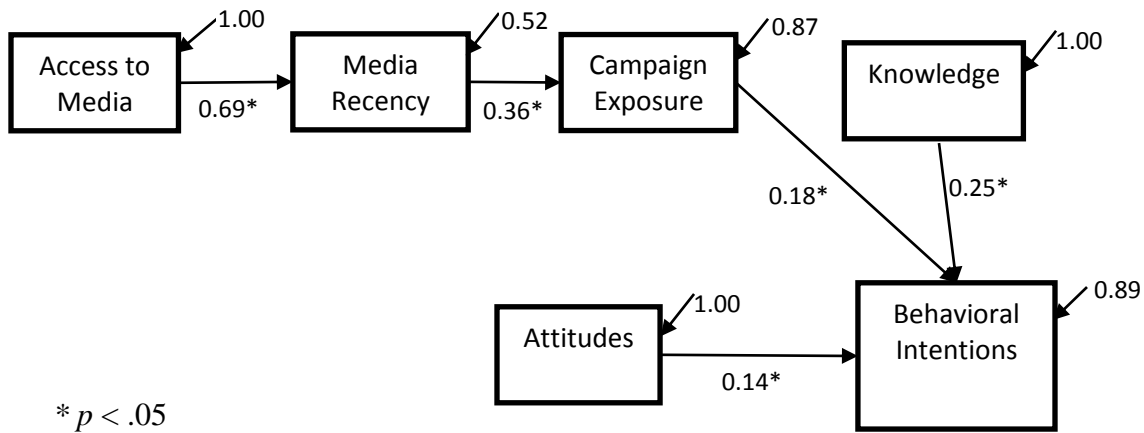
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<sup>4</sup> Respondents were asked to identify three key information priorities. The top three information priorities were sports, news, and politics. These information priorities varied across different demographic variables.

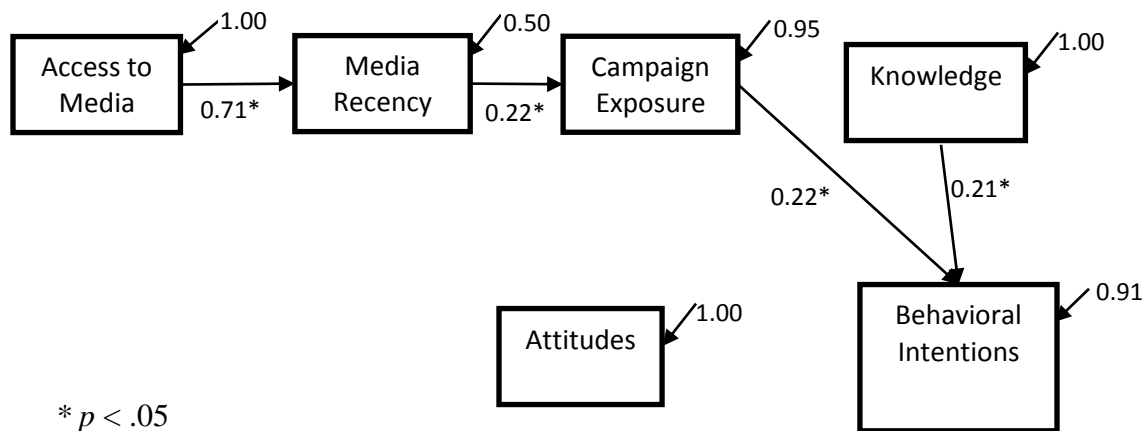
outright support for, domestic violence, many participants reported behavioral intentions to intervene against such violence. Specifically, 89% of males and 87% of females reported that “If [they] witnessed an incident of violence against women, [they] would call the police.” Likewise, 79% of males and 68% of females agreed that “If [they] witnessed an incident of domestic violence at a neighbor’s or friend’s [they] would personally intervene.”

**Structural Equation Models**

An initial model with men and women as separate groups was run to test multiple group equivalence in a hierarchical manner, comparing first form and then fit of parameter matrices (Bollen, 1989). The model confirmed that the two groups differed significantly in their form, so further analyses were conducted for women ( $N = 296$ ) and men ( $N = 307$ ) separately. For both groups, the hypothesized model was run, and non-significant paths were deleted. Because the variables violated assumptions of normality, the structural equation models were run using polychoric correlation matrices. Following modification indices and theory, direct paths from campaign exposure and knowledge to intentions were added. The final structural equation models for women and men are provided in Figure 2 and Figure 3, respectively. Both models are an adequate fit to the data. Specifically, for women,  $\chi^2(11) = 24, p = .01, CFI = 1.00,$  and  $SRMR = .059.$  For men,  $\chi^2(10) = 39, p < .01, CFI = 0.96,$  and  $SRMR = .075.$



**Figure 2. Exposure to Use Your Voice campaign, attitudes, knowledge, and behavioral intentions related to domestic violence among women.**



**Figure 3. Exposure to Use Your Voice campaign, attitudes, knowledge, and behavioral intentions related to domestic violence among men.**

As the models show, ability to access media at home was positively associated with how recently respondents had used the radio, television, newspapers, or Internet for both men and women. Further, recency of media use directly related to recalling the slogans of the Use Your Voice campaign. For both men and women, self-reported knowledge about VAW was also positively associated with intentions to report or intervene in such incidents; in other words, the more men and women knew about domestic violence/VAW, the more likely they were to say they would intervene if they witnessed such an incident. Surprisingly, those who recalled the campaign did not condemn or have a negative attitude toward such violence. In fact, for both men and women, the path from exposure to attitudes was not significant and thus not included in the final models. However, exposure to the campaign was directly associated with behavioral intentions to call the police and/or personally intervene when witnessing an incident of domestic violence; those who had seen or heard any of the campaign slogans were more likely to intervene in such cases. The key difference between the models for women and men is in the path from attitudes to behavioral intentions. Women's attitudes condemning domestic violence are positively associated with their tendency to intervene in such cases; however, such attitudes have no association with behavioral intentions among men.

### Discussion

Violence against women is a nonissue within PNG. The low level of awareness and information-seeking on violence against women is contrary to the international perception of gender issues and VAW in PNG. According to the United Nations 2011 Gender Inequality Index, PNG has a high level of inequality and is rated 140 out of 187 countries (UNDP, 2011). Violence against women was identified as a "pervasive phenomenon" (ABC News, 2012, para. 1) in PNG by a UN Special Rapporteur in her recent visit. However, among survey participants, concern about this issue was not as high. The survey findings indicate that only 18% saw domestic violence as one of their priority information topics and exchange information on this issue with their friends and family, in comparison with an average of 39% for all other

top issues. This may result in limited discussions around addressing gender inequity in general and VAW in particular. There are multiple attitudinal and normative reasons to explain the low awareness of VAW in PNG. We will explore these in detail in light of the survey and focus group findings.

First, VAW is not considered an issue within PNG because it is normalized and accepted. The Use Your Voice campaign focused on engaging men as part of the solution to address VAW and attempted to challenge existing attitudes. Contrary to the messaging in the campaign, the attitudes supporting "acceptance" of VAW were reaffirmed in the survey and in the qualitative research, as they are deep-rooted within social norms and gender roles. VAW is rationalized and justified with varying beliefs and attitudes, some of which were reflected in the survey. More than 50% of both male and female respondents agreed that women were inciting violence by nagging or criticizing their partners. This reaffirms the norm that violence following provocation is condoned in PNG. However, the extent and nature of provocation remains subjective, providing justifiable grounds for VAW and making it socially acceptable if the man is "provoked."

My uncle used to be a very violent man. One day he was so angry with his wife, he put a pot over her head and hit the pot. She ran off with the pot still on her head but she was happy that her husband hit the pot instead of breaking her head. (Male, 25+, Mount Hagen)

Second, VAW is considered a private issue, one that must be resolved within the family. The majority of respondents, both male and female, agreed that violence was acceptable as a means to resolve domestic disputes within a household, describing it as a private matter. Social norms define domestic violence as a "private matter" and offer justifications for violence such as women being perpetrators of violence. This is in line with past research where violence is considered a legitimate instrument to resolve conflict in everyday "private" life (Eves, 2006, p. 12). Interestingly, more than 70% of respondents stated that they would intervene in an incident of VAW by calling the police or personally intervening. While the former intervention was supported by both males and females equally, the personal intervention was more skewed toward males, at 79%, compared to 68% of females. Interestingly, the Use Your Voice campaign also prompted men to intervene personally in such situations, which aligns with the previous finding. It must be noted that the VAW in the survey was not qualified as inside or outside the house, which may have influenced the survey outcomes. It should also be noted that the responses may be influenced by social desirability bias, that is, the desire of respondents to avoid embarrassment and project a favorable image to others (Fisher, 1993).

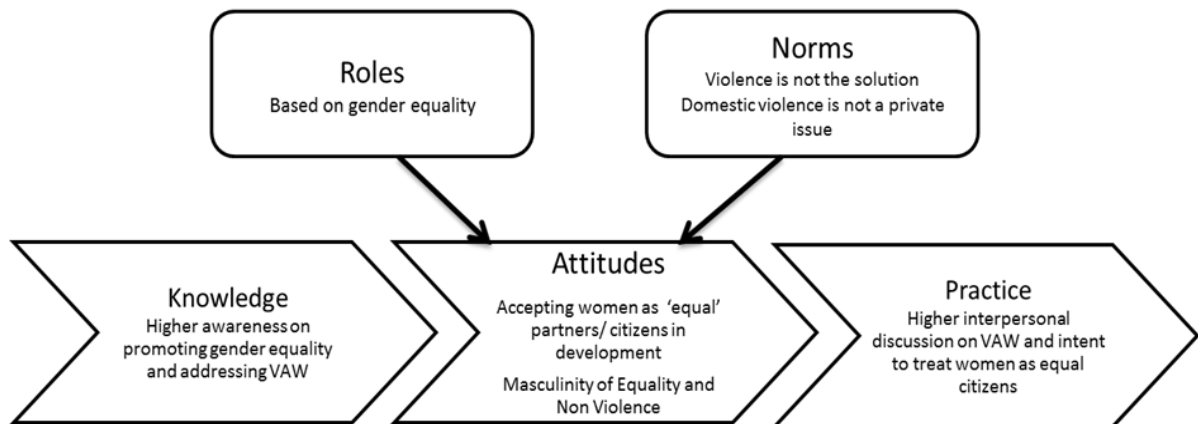
Third, the shame and fear associated with VAW have propagated a culture of silence around the issue, particularly among women. The majority of respondents agreed that it is a woman's duty to submit to her partner. The survey specifically used the word *duty* to indicate an obligation, rather than a choice. Through their strong agreement with this statement, respondents indicated a strong social norm of men's superiority over women. This issue may be further aggravated with cultural practices, such as bride price, a traditional payment in marriages that binds the families of groom and bride through mutual obligations (ABC News, 2011). Furthermore, even when there is awareness about the legal consequences of VAW, this may not be a deterrent to such behavior.

I see that domestic violence is not good for a man to hit a woman. I also experienced that, whenever my girlfriend makes me angry I give her a punch not with the intention to kill her. But then I later realize that it is not good. We now know that Papua New Guinea's got a law for this kind of activity. If a man bashes his wife, he can go to jail for that. (Male, under 25, Port Moresby)

C4D using mass media has a role to play in addressing the issues around knowledge, attitude, and practice related to VAW.

The media is an important tool and therefore the radio should allow people to talk about their real life experience on air and these messages should be used to educate other people. (Male, 25+, Mount Hagen)

However, the KAP framework must embed social norms and gender roles specifically to address attitudes toward VAW. Based on the research findings around the traditional and cultural practices, normalization of violence, significance of gender role, and attitudes toward VAW, we recommend that the model of change for the follow-up campaign take into account social norms and gender roles (see Figure 4). The follow-up campaign could focus on gender equality and promoting positive values, such as respect, and creating alternate masculinities in PNG based on equality and non-violence.



**Figure 4. Model of change—creating "alternate" masculinities.**

### **Limitations**

This study used a post-only, cross-sectional design. Thus, no causal claims can be made about the impact of the campaign. The hypothesized model of effects was based on the KAP model with suggested ordering of knowledge, attitudes, and behavioral intentions. This model was not supported, as attitudes were associated with neither knowledge nor behavioral intentions. Future research should include social influences, such as norms, rather than simply focusing on individual knowledge, attitude, and practice. Additionally, behavioral intentions were measured as the final outcome, rather than actual behaviors. Future research should examine the extent to which people actually change their behavior in responding to VAW.

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) provide valuable insights on geographies of construction of masculinities—local, regional, and global—which may be of particular interest in future work. There is also a growing body of research around universalism and cultural relativism, human rights and women’s rights, gender relations, and the impact of globalization on masculine identities, which may be relevant to addressing VAW. We are indebted to the valuable work of Third World feminists and anthropologists, social theorists, and postcolonial theorists around gender and VAW, which we have not been able to explore in-depth within the scope of this article, but which will be relevant for future research.

### **Conclusion**

This article examined the important role that media and communication can play in addressing VAW, transforming social norms and gender roles, with a specific focus on engaging male audiences. It described the design and assessed the impact of the Use Your Voice campaign and its implications on audience-citizens based on empirical data derived from a national survey in PNG. The data illustrated the high reach of the campaign (42%) and its relationship with knowledge and practices around VAW. More interestingly, it highlighted that attitudes of people are embedded within traditional and cultural practices, gender roles, and social norms. The research was grounded within relevant literature drawn from qualitative and anthropological research on gender issues in PNG.

One of the key outcomes or practices that may need to be addressed in future campaigns is the need to promote interpersonal discussions around this issue. The literature review indicated the normalization and acceptance of violence in daily life and the survey results indicated the lack of interpersonal discussion around domestic violence. However, any intervention designed to promote such dialogue should be sensitive toward the risks to potential participants.

Finally, the article recommended a model based on alternate masculinities embodying positive values of respect, equality, and non-violence. There is a need to explore this idea of using media as an arena for the construction of alternative masculinities informed by local contexts and building on the foundations of the Use Your Voice campaign. Such alternative masculinities and gender ideologies must be based on equality and respect. There is also a need to promote an equitable role for both men and women contributing as partners in the society as highlighted by Eves in his work.

Although this article focuses on traditional and cultural practices, the rationale for such focus is to understand the context in which the campaign occurred, not to use cultural relativism as an impervious barrier to addressing VAW. To the contrary, particular alternate masculinities and femininities do arise in these specific contexts that effectively negotiate the collectivist traditional values and customs with individual freedom and equality. These require further exploration and investigation (Jolly, 1996).

Conceptual, methodological, and programmatic learning may also be taken into account in the design of future research and programs related to VAW. Conceptually, domestic violence, violence against women, and gender-based violence are often conflated. This can be challenging when addressing these issues both in research and in programs designed to address them. Any such program and/or research must be able to define, with specificity, what it intends to address. Methodologically, we would like to highlight the "Gender Equitable Men" scale that may be adapted for use in future research in this area in PNG or in other parts of the world (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Programmatically, the importance of culture, norms, and gender roles remains highly significant and cannot be undermined while addressing VAW if sustainable outcomes around reducing violence and promoting gender equality are to be attained.

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