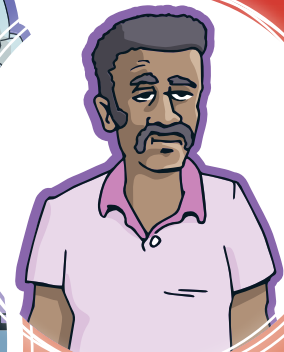




TINGIM LAIP SOCIAL MAPPING REPORT:

TOWNS AFFECTED BY THE
LNG Project (HELA AND
CENTRAL PROVINCES)



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TOWNS AFFECTED BY THE LNG PROJECT (HELA & CENTRAL PROVINCES)

INTRODUCTION

This Tingim Laip Social Mapping gathered information related to HIV risk and impact at either end of the Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) Pipeline. In Central Province, our focus was around the small town of Porebada, just outside Port Moresby. In Hela Province we conducted research in Tari Town, Hides, Komo Station, Angore, Nogoly and Tumalea.

Fieldwork was conducted at and around towns affected by the LNG Project during November 2011 to January 2012.

OVERVIEW OF THE LNG PROJECT

The ExxonMobil-led Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG) Project is the largest resource project in Papua New Guinea's history and will underpin the country's economy for the next forty to fifty years with the potential to generate over USD30 billion in income for the government and landowners once export begins (The National Newspaper, 2008). Investment in the initial phase of project development will be USD19 billion and total output is valued at approximately USD150 billion. The LNG Project is expected to increase the gross domestic product of PNG by 15–20% over its thirty year lifespan (Asian Development Bank, 2010).

Prospects of significant income and revenue from the LNG Project fuels expectations of a rapid economic and social transformation in PNG. The potential for positive social, environmental and health impacts on local people has been documented in various studies conducted by project stakeholders. Some of the benefits reported include improved infrastructure and social services, higher standards of living for the general population and increased local workforce and community development opportunities (PNG LNG, 2009; PNG LNG, 2012; Thomason, 2011).

However, the LNG Project's Social Impact Assessment also recognises that increased mobility and migration coupled with greater disposable income creates pre-conditions for the spread of communicable diseases, establishment of non-communicable disease risk, and drug and alcohol-related problems. Inappropriate design of project accommodation could lead to overcrowding and subsequent transmission of infectious respiratory, vector and water-borne disease. In addition, traditional social systems may be challenged and strained as a result of greater mobility and urban drift (PNG LNG, 2009).

The 2011 AusAID Evaluation Report detailed expected impact of the LNG Project on HIV risk and transmission, accounting for a context where social networking and gender-based violence are common, and there is a high prevalence of untreated sexually transmitted infections (STIs) among the poorest and most under-served in the country (Emily, 2011).

Whilst the LNG Project will generate substantial growth in GDP and government revenue, it is clear that PNG faces major challenges in mitigating negative social and health impacts on local people, and ensuring that benefits generated are not limited to direct beneficiaries but spread across the population in general.

HELA PROVINCE – TOP OF THE PIPELINE

The new Hela Province, established in 2012 from a division of the Southern Highlands, is where most natural gas resources for the LNG Pipeline Project are located (Sydney Morning Herald, 2009). The province was formed under an 'umbrella benefits-sharing agreement' that will see distribution of resource extraction income between the Southern Highlands and the Hela people (SEAAOC, 2009). The major centre is Tari, located on the western side of the province. Tari District registered a population of 83,076 residents in the 2011 PNG Census, with activity related to the LNG Pipeline Project significantly increasing transitional and permanent population levels in recent years. Outlying villages use the town as a source of food, goods and entertainment. Trucks and passenger vehicles constantly pass through Tari onto Hides and, in the other direction, to Mt. Hagen and the coastal towns of Lae and Madang along the Highlands Highway.

During our field visit, there was no town centre in Tari. There were markets with buai, cigarette and gambling stalls (mostly darts) as well as stores and offices on the west side of town, which operated as the business area. An international airport was under construction on the east side of Tari. The area was a major construction site and dust dominated the town as roads were not paved. Large trucks, PMV buses and other commuter vehicles moved constantly through the east side of Tari and people wore eyewear, masks and ear-plugs to avoid the dust of high traffic days. There were no bank branches, and the town's economy relied solely on cash. Four shops provided EFTPOS facilities.

There was no reliable source of electricity during our visit and therefore consistent refrigeration in the town was scarce. Shops and offices had their own battery packs and generators to support electricity for business. Most homes, outside of company enclaves, did not have electrical power supply. Since the introduction of affordable mobile phones in 2004, small stalls have sprung up around Tari charging two Kina to recharge devices. At night, the town was completely dark and there was no street lighting.

We identified four major places of sex exchange, alcohol use, gambling and marijuana smoking in Hela Province and where HIV risk and impact is assumed to be higher. Kikita Village, on the east side of Tari, is a day and night spot with a large market and a disco. Walumali CB Camp is the guesthouse compound of a large transport company. Locals wait at the perimeter of the compound for opportunities to engage with truck drivers inside. This is a day and a night spot. The Market Bus Stop on the west side of town is always crowded and a place where sex is exchanged and marijuana and alcohol sold. Kupa Buai Market is a day and night spot identified as a meeting place for some women who engage in transactional sex.

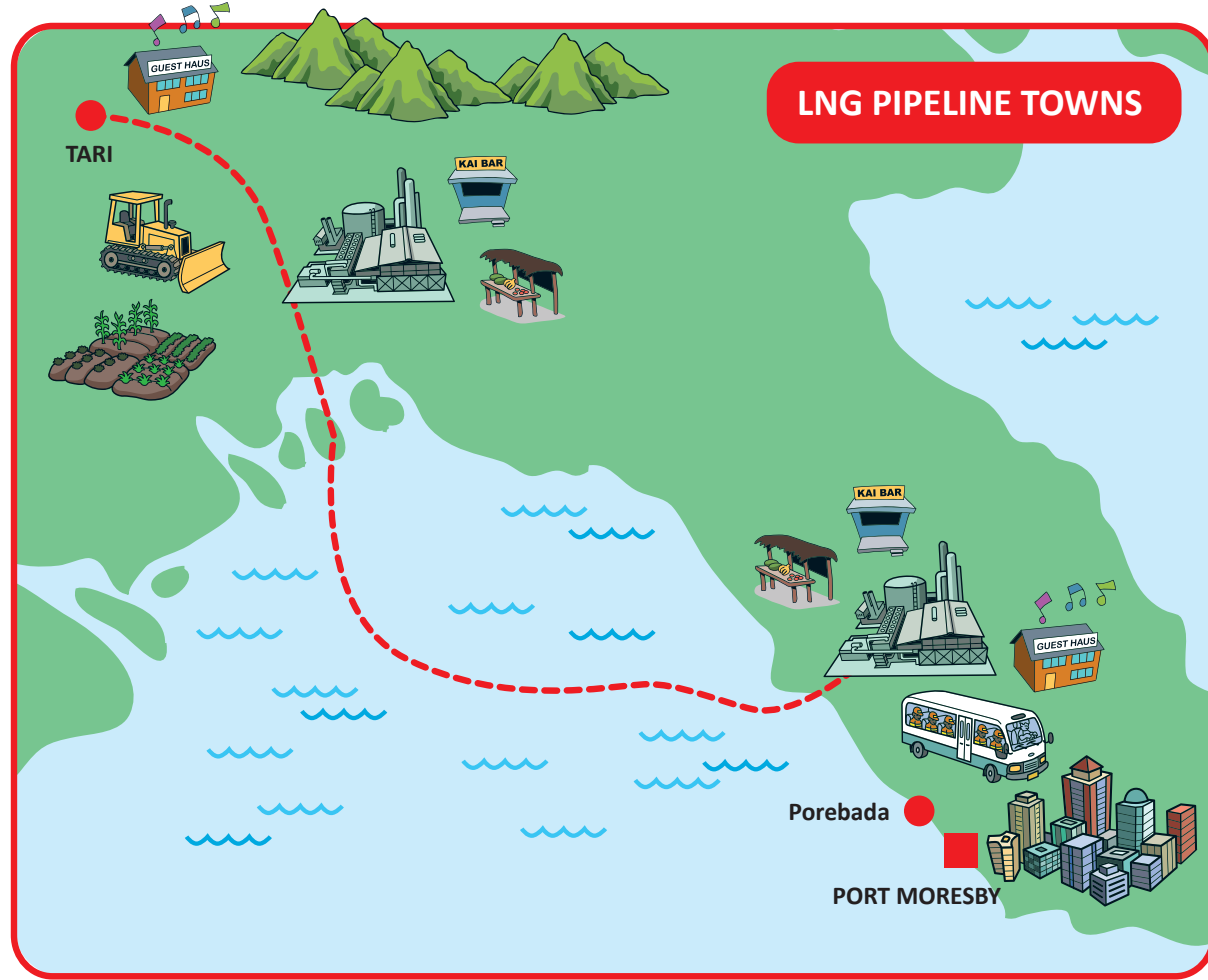
Tari will be the sole starting point for road access to the four main gas extraction taps in the sub-district of Hides. The roads to Hides 1, 2 and 3 were still under construction at the time of our field research and access was only by helicopter. Hides 4 had road access and there were approximately 10,000 workers housed at this site. A major international airport currently operates from Komo Station in Hides, along with a local government health clinic and an LNG residential community for 10,000 workers. The LNG Project produces its own electricity at Nogoly, and this is the only place in Hela to have a consistent power supply. Nogoly also has a Care Centre that can cater for up to ten people living with HIV (PLHIV), and a clinic that provides ART. VCT is available at nearby Juni. Hides is characterised by large LNG Pipeline enclaves for 'company men'. People living in the enclaves are generally more affluent than locals living outside these closed communities.

Large numbers of men from across PNG are migrating to Hela to take advantage of work opportunities. Oil Search Limited, one of the largest employers in the area, has established community liaison teams to work with local chiefs and is investing in the development of local schools and health services (National Research Institute, 2001). Oil Search reports that the majority of their employees come from the Highlands (62.8%) and the rest from the Southern region (16.2%) (National Research Institute, 2001). Hela hosts a mix of LNG workers, sub-contracting workers (such as those with transport and construction companies) and local people, also providing administrative and other support to the project.

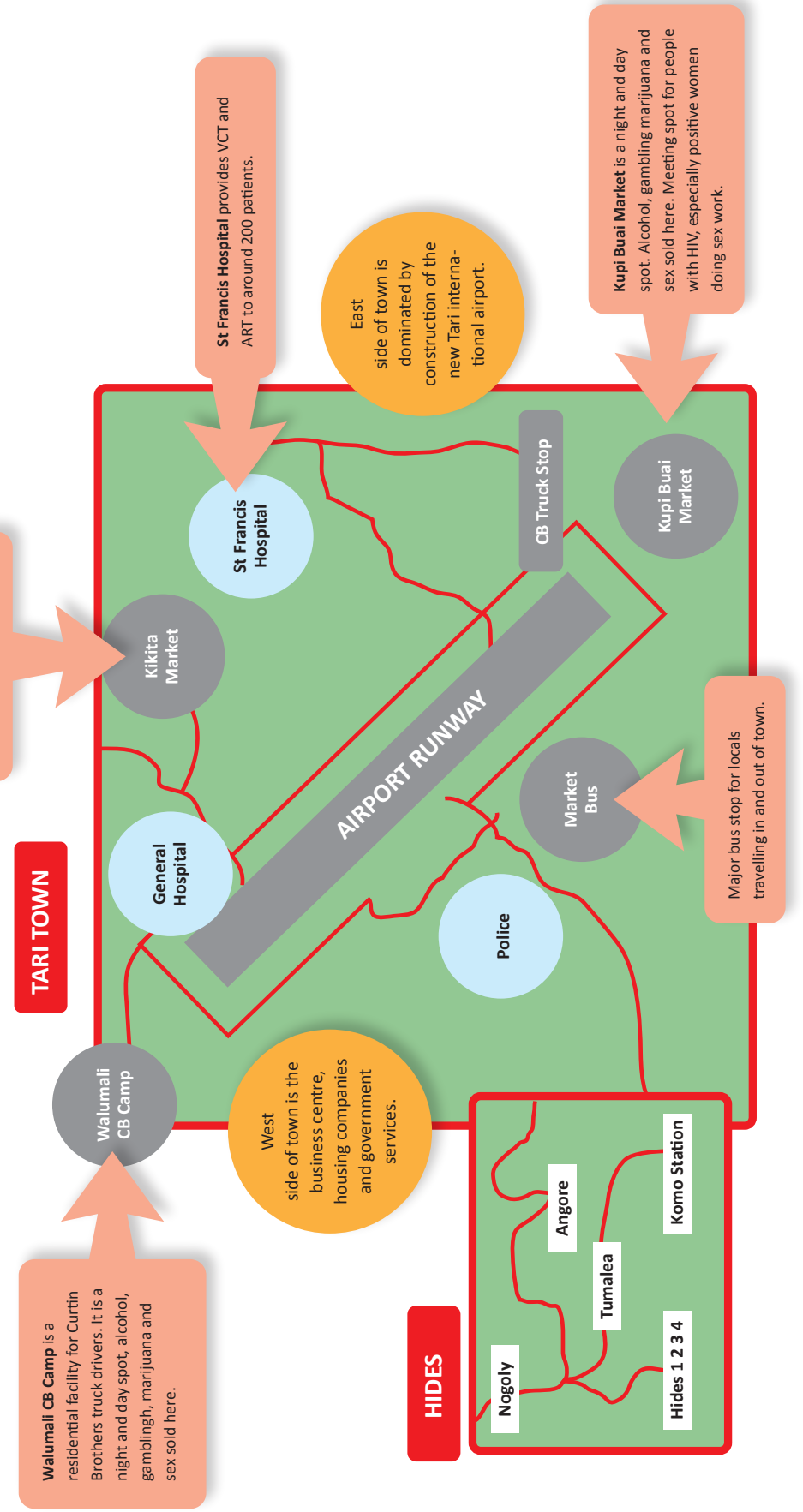
During the infrastructure development stage of the LNG Project, an estimated two hundred trucks (moving in convoys of twenty) have travelled constantly between the port of Lae and Hela, transporting large amounts of materials. This is expected to continue for another three to four years. Landowners hold stake in the pipeline project through a locally formed company and fly to Port Moresby to receive annual royalty and compensation payments (NHST Media Group, 2008).

Hela is expected to see a change in levels of mobility through the province once initial infrastructure is complete. Less transportation of goods and construction will be required and local people and national (as well as international) workers will then support extraction sites with administration, labour, maintenance and support services.

2009 HIV consensus estimate (prevalence) figures for Papua New Guinea are highest in the Highlands (1.02%) and Southern (1.17%) regions (NDoH, 2010). The Highlands Highway and urban centres of Mt Hagen and Port Moresby are also identified as high prevalence, and movement of men and women to Hela for work opportunities from these areas increases risk for, and impact from, HIV in the region.



HELA PROVINCE



HELA PROVINCE SOCIAL CHANGE AND HIV

THE DIMINISHING VALUE OF TRADITIONAL 'PLACES'

Hela province is experiencing dramatic social change brought about by increasing economic activity in and around the province. In 2007, Wardlow investigated the Huli men of the Tari basin and found that labour migration of men to petroleum and other development sites was resulting in long absences from home, increased access to cash, extra-marital sex and multiple, concurrent sexual partners. The research found that growing numbers of Huli women were exchanging sex for money and goods whilst their husbands were away (these women are called "pasindia meri" or passenger women). This changing situation is thought to be resulting in transformed gender dynamics, a loss of the traditional roles of women and increased vulnerability for and violence toward women (Wardlow, 2002, 2007).

This Social Mapping confirms and expands upon Wardlow's key findings related to sex, HIV risk and impact in Hela Province. We found increasing reliance on cash with a subsequent decrease in gardening and farming for survival. People described changing sexual dynamics between men and women and an increase in sexual partners over recent years, with little condom use. They described major tribal tensions and social upheaval amongst local people who 'put themselves in the way of money' to attract LNG royalty and compensation payments. And they reported stark disparity in economics and opportunity between local people and those employed by companies in the area.

Life in Hela is in a state of transformation, with a shift from traditional, subsistence living to a cash-based economy. This is evident in all aspects of local life. Gardening, farming and hunting which are traditional practices of daily living are declining and being replaced by cash seeking activities. The role of family and the social dynamics of clan are eroding as the need for cash to ensure survival takes precedence (FG6 Hela). In the past, men and women had distinct roles and added unique value to clan and family. Men and women were inclined to stay in the places they were born and remained highly sensitive to local social systems. Nowadays, increasing numbers of men are leaving birth places to find work, and some described to us the demands of clan and family as over-burdensome.

'Mobile Men with Money' are moving into Hela province in large numbers. Some locals are establishing small businesses to take advantage of new opportunities. We spoke to people seeking benefits from the new cash economy by developing guesthouses, street stalls, shops and entertainment venues.

Local people with low levels of education and trade skills described feeling powerless to access the opportunities that are emerging for others around them. Men and boys, in particular, reported few options for securing an income and some had resorted to illegal activities to make money. Women, whose traditional role and value was in gardening, raising children and housekeeping, were struggling to find a meaningful position in the new cash economy. Many appeared to be focused on the opportunities provided by the constant flow of men with money through the province.

The stories that local people told us about money suggested new 'places' of increased value such as LNG gated communities, extraction sites and electricity stations. These are places where money is reported to 'flow freely'. Closed, fenced-off communities are generally unable to be accessed by locals. Open sites such as villages, towns and stations, however, that lie directly in the path of LNG infrastructure development also have steady

"We used to know everybody [here]. We used to know who was driving in and out. Now we don't know anyone ... [any of] these cars or the people in them"

Focus Group Participant
(FG Hela)

cash availability with substantial compensation and royalty payments to landowners. As a result, local people from Tari through to the villages of Hides, are taking advantage of any opportunity to 'get themselves into the path of money' (our term for this phenomenon). The Highlands Highway is seen as a conduit for LNG money and clans are reported to be moving houses from the hilltops of Hides sub-district into valleys alongside the Highway and directly in the path of LNG road construction. Many of these 'new villages' require demolition as the pipeline infrastructure develops, resulting in claims for compensation and royalties.

An example of this shift of local communities is Tumalea, touted as the first settlement of its kind in Hides. Between March and November 2011, two villages moved their homes from the mountains on either side of the Highway down to the road's edge. The new settlement lies close to Tumalea Boulder Pit where company men and truck drivers work, deliver materials and stay overnight. The proximity allows the village to take advantage of cash opportunities from mining visitors. Women selling sex are openly observed in this area during the evenings. "This place is really alive at night", reported one respondent at the Tumalea Market (GT Hela).

A river runs through the Tumulea settlement and people from surrounding areas come to bathe as there is no fresh water at Komo Station. Locals state that they expect large numbers of people from outside Hides sub-district to settle in Tumalea whilst attempting to find work with LNG Pipeline partner companies. It is, however, reported that large areas of the new Tumalea will be demolished as it lies in the construction path of a planned highway for LNG vehicles.

Traditionally, some clans in Hela believed that ghosts and spirits lived in the valleys where these new villages and settlements are being erected. Hilltops were regarded as free of evil spirits and as places to keep watch for enemies. Despite these local beliefs, there is social upheaval with villages moving houses to the roadway on a massive scale. Our Tingim Laip team observed that in many places there are no gaps between houses or villages along the Highway between Tari and Hides. One field researcher had visited Hides four months earlier and reflected that where only two houses existed before, there were now twenty or thirty homes constructed along the road (GT Hela).

Clans are abandoning traditional places and farming lands to access the flow of cash compensation. Many do not appear to be planting new gardens at these sites and so are totally reliant on the cash economy for survival (FG6 Hela). Similarly, in Tari locals are moving to the east side of town to avail the construction path of Tari International Airport. Houses and villages are erected directly in the path of construction to attract compensation for imminent demolition.

The social upheaval and increased cash reliance resulting from this mass relocation increases risks for, and impact from, HIV. With limited options, young women and girls are reported to be engaging with multiple male sexual partners to make money for survival. And with continuing migration of men to these resource extraction sites, this is likely to further increase. Concurrently, unskilled local men are leaving Hela province to find work whilst 'men with money' from other provinces transition in and out of the area, creating new social systems and connections. The process of moving houses and villages further increases the vulnerability of local women, as they lose access to gardens and shift to heavier reliance on men and cash for food, shelter, security and other necessities. Coupled with this, our field research discovered poor local knowledge of HIV and STIs, a lack of condom availability and few functioning health services.

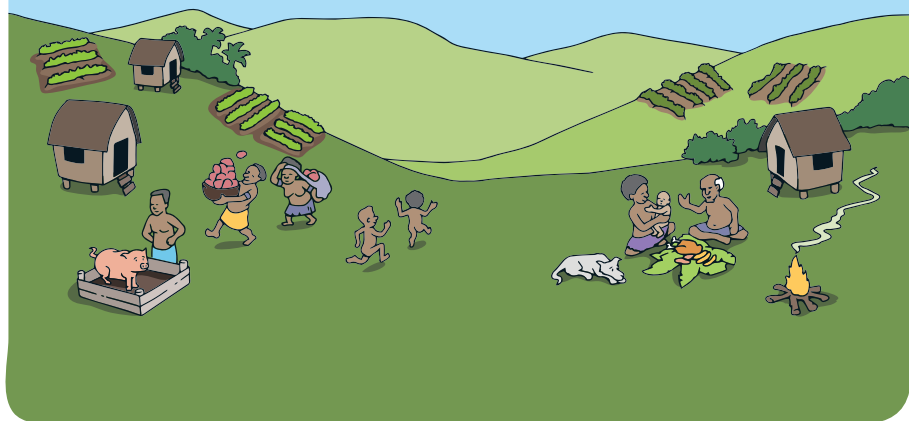
"In the past, we lived according to our traditional ways. There was none of these sorts [of people] here in our area. Today, because of LNG, many companies have come and settled in our area. Many people too have flocked in from all over the world and PNG to work here"

Local Woman
(FG4 Komo)

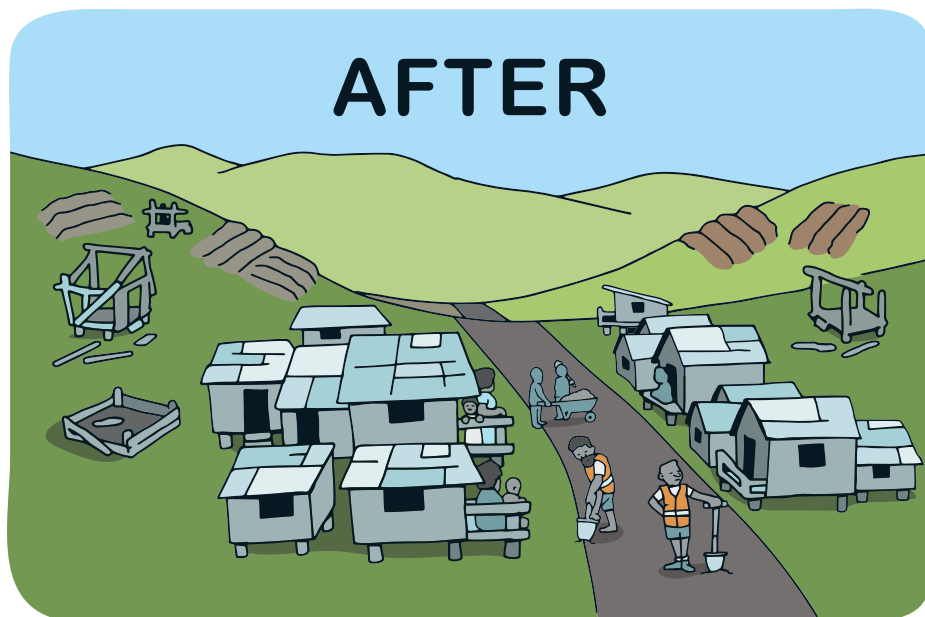
Resource extraction and the development of the LNG Project in Hela have resulted in a shift in the value placed on traditional places. The infrastructure development stage of the project has seen a local drive towards money seeking and increased movement of people through the province. Legal, or illegal, engagement in this new cash economy has resulted in the emergence of small businesses, including entertainment venues and women selling sex. With increasing cash flow as the project evolves, levels of sex work and transactional sex can be expected to further increase, creating greater risk for HIV transmission and impact.

The upending of traditional beliefs and movement of villages to the Highway roadside also increases vulnerability for the women of Hela province. A lack of gardens and subsistence farming in these new settlements creates dependency on money for survival and escalates the likelihood of selling or transacting sex to access the cash economy.

BEFORE



AFTER



MINING, SEX, RELATIONSHIPS AND HIV

Gated compounds provide LNG workers in Hela province with a significantly higher standard of living than the surrounding communities. It has created a strong sense of separation between locals and LNG workers. The compounds provide accommodation as well as entertainment and working spaces for company men, along with their wives, girlfriends, sons and daughters. Whilst mining positions continue to evolve, there is a group of young men without the education or skills to secure employment, and this leads to frustration and perceived exclusion from the economic opportunities growing around them. There was an overwhelming sense of ‘the haves and have nots’ in Hela province during our field visits. The team observed local people surrounding the perimeter of gated LNG communities, waiting for an opportunity to make money from the people within (GT Hela).

The traditional practices of sharing resources within families is also said to be diminishing with the increased cash economy and LNG related opportunities. One respondent told us, “before LNG a working family member would share money with us all but today individualism is becoming a new change in our family way of living ... a kind of greedy and selfish attitude has been accepted” (FG6 Hela).

There were stories from our participants of multiple sexual partners within the gated compounds. Focus group respondents described a system of men arranging sex with wives or girlfriends of other men on shift work. “The other worker will be looking at his friend’s wife and, if he goes to work, he will arrange to have sex with her. He will dial the extension of the house, the women picks it up, confirms everything and they will have sex” (FGD1 Hela). Police were also reported to be connecting sexually with the wives and girlfriends of LNG male workers in this way (FGD1 Hela).

The mobile men with money that travel through and stay in Hela province create further change in the dynamics of social and sexual interactions. Some older local women told stories of men actively seeking out or “luring young girls and virgins [away from their families] for sex” (FG1 23 Nov). These stories described men with money giving gifts, and targeting young girls at rural schools with less security. They are said to take young women to places where “there is life” such as bars, clubs and discos in the area, providing them with mobile phones and credit to enable continued contact. The stories depicted these mobile men with money as ‘predators’, who stalk and abuse inexperienced local girls. We were told of young girls ending up pregnant and unable to return to their home and family because of the shame they would bring to their parents. The stories also described young girls not afraid to abandon tradition and actively seek out men with money (FG1 23 Nov). In Tari and Komo Station, the young women we spoke with described engaging in “eye picking” (flirting with) men that they like on the street as “exciting and fun” (FG2 21 Nov).

Unsurprisingly, the mobile men with money relayed a different story about these encounters, reporting that local women and girls seek them out for excitement, freedom, sex, money and gifts. The men did use words like “lure” to describe their actions, and stopped short of recounting their own behaviour as predator-like (FG1 17 Nov). Instead, they described women and girls making their own decisions about sex and their bodies. They did not suggest coercion and instead said that these women and girls are “choosing men” that they like for sex and partnership. The sex between these men and young women is reported to be innovative and different than sex with their wives (if married) – driven by access to pornography. The men we spoke to reported unprotected sex with their multiple sex partners, and no easy access to condoms. The women confirmed this. One group of respondents told us “people are not scared. Many people always say they want to have sex without using condoms” (FG1 14 Nov).

Sexual norms and behaviours are changing in Hela province. An example of this was the description, by some respondents, of the ‘Haus Krai’ or wake after a funeral, being a place where local young people now meet for sex (KI1 Tari). This was referred to as “Coffee Candy Night” (FG4 21 Nov). The Tingim Laip team attended a Haus Krai to observe the experience and found that young people had been texting each other to arrange meetings. During the event, they drank, smoked cigarettes and marijuana, ate buai and engaged partners for sex. The team observed people having sex in the bushes at the Haus Krai, with no evidence of condom use or availability (GT Tari).

'Haus Tuwanda' is particular to Hela province and was traditionally a place where men gathered to prepare for tribal warfare and to engage in singing, dancing and courtship with widows. Locals now report that Haus Tuwandas have transformed into places for transactions of sex. The custom of singing to women continues, but increasingly "the prize for winning a woman's interest is sex" which was not generally the case in the past (PS17 Tari).



Resource extraction and the introduction of mobile men with money to Hela Province have resulted in the emergence of new social and sexual dynamics. There is economic disparity between gated compounds and surrounding communities that creates tension, and there is a growing trend of sexual transactions for goods or favours between mobile men with money and local young women. Whilst there were marked discrepancies in the recounts we heard of these interactions by each side and the wider community, there was a common link to increased HIV risk and impact - from the lack of condom use reported, and the lack of access to condoms in spaces and places of high sexual transaction.

VIOLENCE AND HIV

Hela province was described by our local respondents as "a place where violence can erupt at any time" (GT Hela). The local Police Commander for the town of Tari described violence as "epidemic here" and "most violence, especially domestic, sexual and other violence toward women, goes unreported" (GT Hela). Tribal, family and domestic violence is common and many respondents we interviewed stated in Tok Ples (local language) that people fight over "pigs, land and women" (FGD1 8 Nov, FGD1 23 Nov, FGD2 22 Nov). The distinction between tribal and family violence is not always clear, with some conflicts emerging between two families and then erupting into a tribal war. Violence is a common, and often expected, response to murder, rape and the destruction of property. Local police are also targeted for retribution if they detain a member of a family or clan group (FGD1 23 Nov).

Many respondents described intimate-partner violence resulting from affairs and jealousy. Women and children are vulnerable when men take a second or third partner, especially if financial support is then ceased. One woman respondent told the story of a wife whose husband had taken a younger girlfriend. When all her seven children became ill one day, she took the children to her husband's fenced off workplace and yelled from outside the fence. "See your children ... you can't feed them ... they are sick and you can't give me money to take them to the health centre". The husband, embarrassed, came out and violently beat the woman (FGD1 23 Nov).

Violence related to sex was reported as common. "What can we do? We are tired of the way our men are treating us. We dump the men. The man beats us up for sex, only for sex" (FGD1 23 Nov). The women report no legislative protection or local police support that safeguards them or provides an avenue for justice in relation to domestic violence.

We observed that local stores in Hela province keep produce behind barriers and customers cannot self-serve because of the high level of violent theft (GT Hela). Alcohol and violent crime were described as closely linked. "Some drunken men come to the market and kick our tables, overturning our produce. What can we do?" (FGD1 23 Nov). 'Panel beating' was a term used to describe police response to crime and drunken behaviour - inferring the use of batons to bash men who are disorderly on the streets (GT Hela). Mobile police squads (who fly in and out at the request of companies) are particularly feared by the community for their heavy-handed response.

Land disputes between local tribes are common and escalate when royalties or compensation claims are being determined by LNG companies. Over the past ten years, tribal violence has dramatically disrupted life in Hela province and resulted in major dislocation to government services as well as lengthy delays to the LNG Project (BBC News, 2006). Arson of crops and houses is commonplace with victims of this violence often found recovering in local hospitals. Children are regularly moved out of the province for education when tribal fighting has resulted in the burning of schools and government services (FGD1 22 Nov). In 2006, the PNG Government declared a state of emergency in the Southern Highlands, including the region now known as Hela province (BBC News, 2006) to enable federal response to local corruption and lawlessness. In 2008, Uniting World's Youth Ambassadors for Peace in Tari brokered the signing of a peace treaty between thirty two tribes, in which all weapons were laid down (Uniting World, 2009). In September

"We fight over pigs, land and women"

Focus Group Participant
(FGD1 Hela)

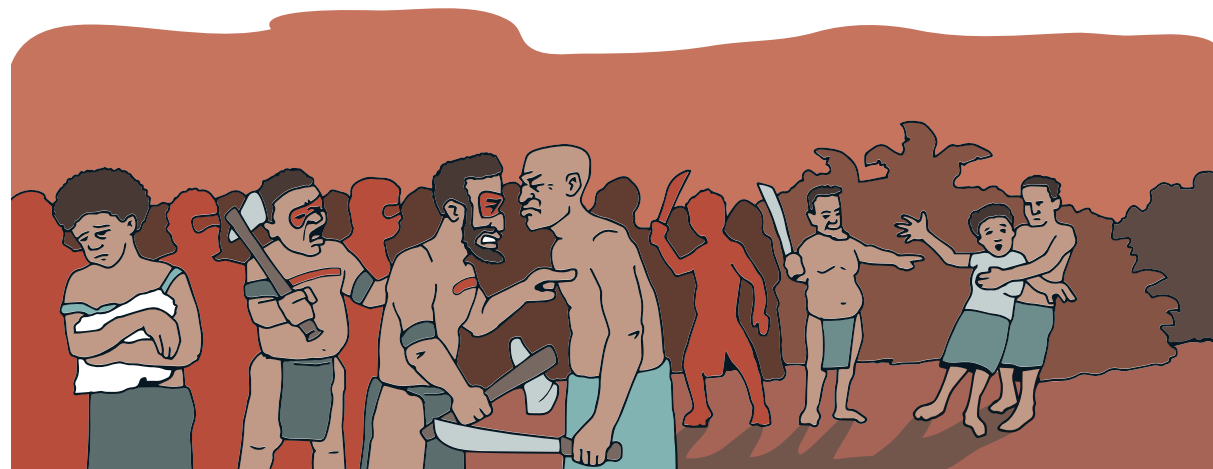
"We don't know any [people with HIV], they are dangerous and they are from outside, other provinces ... prostitutes"

Focus Group Participant
(FGD1 Tari)

2011, the people of Angore violently evicted both LNG Pipeline partner companies and the PNG government because of land disputes and dissatisfaction with pipeline negotiations. One local participant told us that, “cars and other vehicles have still not returned [to Angore]” and the case remains before the Alternate Dispute Resolution Committee (Uniting World, 2011).

Triggers for violence in Hela are complex. The Tingim Laip Social Mapping team arrived in Tari town just after a young man had been killed. Our field researchers witnessed groups of women dressed in traditional tribal wear and with mud-red faces moving around the town. They were dancing and chanting whilst holding umbrellas, sharpened sticks with red and yellow paint on their tips and the big bilums that are said to carry the spirit of the perpetrator or ‘killa’ (in Tok Pisin). The women were said to be provoking the men in their families to retaliate to the murder. They were singing, “Go! Kill him! You are like a lady. Look at what they have done to you, right in front of your face and you do nothing!” Local respondents reported that the women continue this ritual non-stop until the men respond and revenge the killing. The men are said to feel that they are being shamed and are losing face - they are ‘pushed into action’ by these taunts.

At the same time, in the town and surrounding villages, residents were putting up bamboo sticks that indicate they were not part of the conflict. “If they do not do this, then the family would target them,” one of our field team explained (GT Hela). This is a highly ritualistic and ordered approach to violence and retaliation that acts as an alternative to law enforcement. Sexual assault is also reported to be a key part of this violence. Men retaliate by raping females from the other clan, adding significantly to HIV risk and impact for local women.



Young people on the street appear to regard violence with a “fall in, fall out” attitude (FG1 14 Nov). They can be very open and friendly one minute but fall into fury and react with violence the next. Men carry weapons as they walk around Tari town, including long bush knives and concealed firearms. Men and boys who reported smoking marijuana also described being involved in gun running from the West Papuan border. There is a sense of fatalism expressed by these young people about life and death. In response to prompts about HIV, the people we interviewed said “Everybody dies” and “so what about HIV?” and “I will die, you will die, my children will die” (FG1 14 Nov). The extent of local violence described in Hela Province is having an impact on attitudes towards health and HIV, with immediate threats to survival (at individual, family and tribal level) decreasing the importance of HIV risk, and hence prevention, in their daily lives.

Violence in Hela province was reported as high – at individual, family and tribal level. Domestic and intimate-partner violence were described as common and sexual violence was also detailed as a method of retaliation in greater clan disputes and attacks. This places women at increased HIV risk and impact within the revenge system.

Among the respondents we spoke with, HIV prevention and awareness appears to be moderated by the high levels of violence in the area – protection of longer-term health and well-being is overshadowed by immediate threats to survival.

HEALTH SEEKING BEHAVIOURS AND ATTITUDES TO HIV

There were common references to people living with HIV as ‘others’ during our field research in Hela. HIV was described as something affecting the less deserving and sexually irresponsible in the community. One respondent said that “bad men will get HIV” (FG1 21 Nov). Another participant stated, “people are not scared, [they] go around having sex because they know there is medicine and condoms” (FG1 14 Nov). HIV was said to have touched everyone in these local communities (FG2 12 Nov), however, rejection by families of people with HIV was still described as common and seemed to be driven by fear and ignorance (FG3 21 Nov).

Local health services were reported to be poor quality by our respondents, with local people travelling to Lae and Mt Hagen for treatment if able to afford it. Médecins Sans Frontières runs a local Family and Sexual Violence clinic in Tari, and this was held in high regard by participants, especially in regard to providing experienced medical staff and surgeons. However, “the hospital in Tari is worse than it used to be” (FG1 17 Nov). The drug bodies and women selling sex that we spoke with in Hela said they did not access local clinics or hospitals for HIV or STI diagnosis and treatment. Truck drivers appear to also operate outside the health service system and claimed not accessing clinics in Hela province or anywhere along the Highlands Highway (FG1 17 Nov).

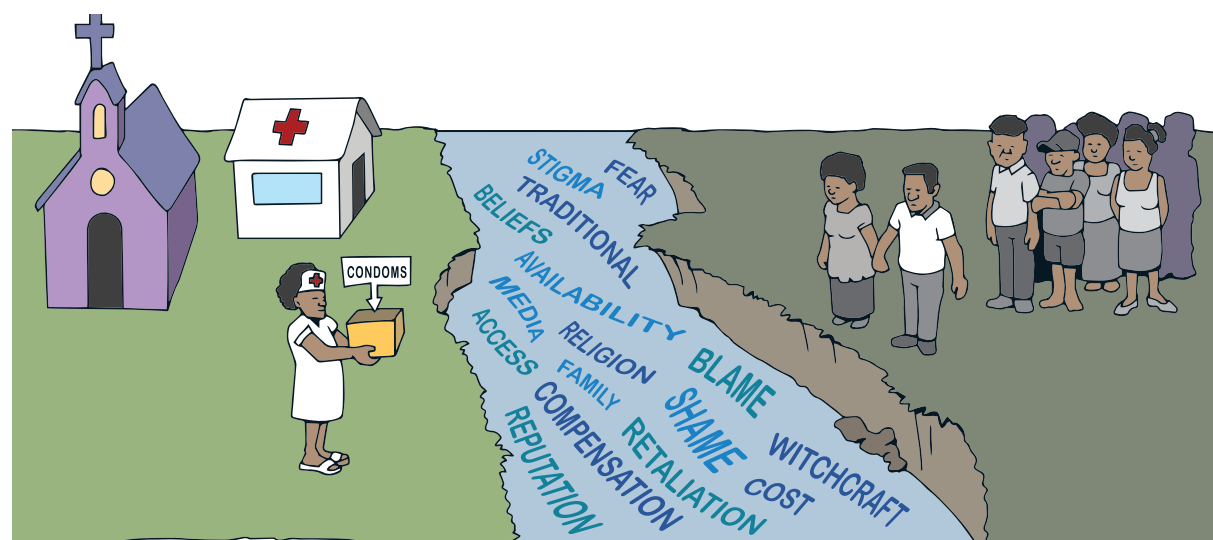
Most participants in our sample knew where to get condoms in Hela, however, there were no reports of use or easy access. Shop owners reported being approached by Population Services International (PSI) to stock condoms but most refused as “they are against our culture” and “condoms promote sex” (FG1 14 Nov, GT Hela). Health workers at a Hides clinic said they only provide family planning advice and condoms to married women and men. One health worker said she refuses to distribute condoms to single people - “if single people come for condoms I say you are not married. Why do you want condoms?” (FGD1 23 Nov). We interviewed a woman who sells sex and she described gynaecological problems resulting from sex with men who had penile modifications. Despite presenting in extreme pain, this woman was not willing to go to the local sexual health clinic because, “I am not welcome there”. Instead, she sought the advice of a nursing friend she met on the street.

During visits to local HIV medical clinics we discovered that caseloads were made up of local married and single women, followed by men who are their husbands (GT Hela). With the primary focus for HIV testing continuing to be antenatal sites, pregnant women are the most common receivers of antiretroviral and other treatment. One woman explained, “I got pregnant with our first child, but I started losing weight and having a chronic [illness]. Through antenatal care I found out that I was positive. They had me on Septrim” (KI3 Tari).

A key issue emerging from our field work in Hela province was the bias of health providers toward patients. Healthcare workers disclosed to our team that they refuse services to “wayward women” (FGD1 23 Nov). If a female patient is married with many children, the healthcare worker stated they will provide family planning, including contraceptive injections. Women and girls who are known to be engaging in sex with multiple men, however, are refused services. “When they come and ask for family planning I will refuse,” one healthcare provider reported (FGD1 23 Nov). There was no evidence that these clinical services are reaching out to key populations for HIV risk and impact, such as young people, women transacting sex or mobile men with money who pass regularly through the province.

Locals reported a significant drain of human resources from local government services, clinics, hospitals and schools to the LNG Project and associated companies. Teachers have resigned from government schools for ‘spotter’ jobs with trucking companies - men standing along the highway between Tari and Hides sub-district to direct truck convoys. A job as a ‘spotter’ earns twice the wage of a government teacher and salaries are paid regularly unlike the delay in public service payroll. PMV drivers along the Highlands Highway are accepting new roles with transport companies, and locals state this has resulted in less skilled PMV drivers and increased danger on the roads. Medical staff have shifted to company health services, police and military personnel are adopting security guard roles, and government administrators are also opting for the better pay and conditions of LNG Project companies.

This major shift of personnel towards the private sector, is said to have decreased the level of community services available to local people, and has had a reported impact on staff availability and morale in provision of health services.



There was evidence of significant stigma and discrimination towards people living with HIV during our field research in Hela province. Amongst individual participants, there was a common theme of HIV as punishment for bad behaviour although this ran alongside basic knowledge of condoms as prevention and availability of antiretroviral treatment. It was of great concern to the Tingim Laip Social Mapping team that prejudice was also expressed by healthcare workers, who stated refusal to review or treat high risk groups of people. The corresponding reluctance by women selling sex to even attend STI and HIV clinics for fear of judgement, adds to the obvious risk for, and impact from, HIV in the presence of such stigma and discrimination.

HELA PROVINCE POPULATIONS, PEOPLE AND HIV

This Social Mapping identifies populations at higher risk for transmission of, and impact from, HIV. The exercise attempted to better understand the developmental or life pathways of particular groups of people, with specific focus on the ways those groups organise, their points of intersection and access to institutions around them.

WOMEN AT RISK

It is within relationships between male LNG employees and local women that the connection between Hela 'insiders' and 'outsiders' can most easily be understood. Our Social Mapping team identified a range of women and female adolescents at particular risk of, and impact from, HIV in Hela province including single women, divorced women and married women engaging in transactional sex, and women who identify as sex workers.

SINGLE, DIVORCED AND MARRIED WOMEN ENGAGING IN TRANSACTIONAL SEX

One key challenge created by social and economic transformation in Hela province is the loss of traditional gender roles, especially as communities move out of villages into temporary settlements along the Highway roadside. This shift changes the value placed on the contribution of women to families and clans. Women continue to be useful to men for sex and to raise children, but struggle to raise income or engage in the formal cash economy emerging in Tari and across Hela province. Older women spoke of changing social dynamics leaving them without money, describing young people in their families as selfish, and not accepting of the responsibility to support elders in the clan (FG6 21 Nov).

We heard of, and spoke to, a handful of women who have established independent businesses in Tari, and are managing to earn a modest income. One of these women said, "if you are a woman and you have money you can live like a man and marry a young man and be free". She described positive family dynamics, with her brothers treating her as an equal - "they treat me like another brother (like a man) because I have money to contribute to the family". This woman is consulted by her clan on important issues such as compensation and when to engage in tribal war. She works with the local Tari Women's Association and Rural Women's Development Foundation to employ women in her business, who then contribute food and money to their households and drive further change in the gender dynamics between husbands and wives.

To support women in business, some small community-based projects in Hela province provide interest-free microcredit loans. These loans are repaid once businesses established by the women begin making a profit. Increased opportunities for women to enter the workforce, the creation of local community networks and earning an adequate income appears, from our field work, to provide options for women during this transformation of gender roles. Engagement in the formal cash economy potentially minimises the risk and impact of HIV by reducing the need for transactional sex for survival (GT Hela).

"His wife came to the market place and was shouting [at me because I had sex with her husband]" ... "you are a prostitute, you have AIDS, you are an AIDS carrier!"

Woman Selling Sex (FGD1 Komo Station)

The stories we heard in Hela suggest a particular developmental pathway for many women and girls. Young women and girls are prized by the mobile men with money who pass through or reside within LNG Project areas. Some men are reported to be actively seeking virgins or very young girls for sex and fun, and the search is reciprocated by young women looking for men with money, although their motivation appears to be love and companionship. The men described sex with young women as a way to relax and let off steam after a hard work day, week or month. They did not speak of marrying any of these girls, although there was recognition that this does occasionally eventuate. We did hear stories of young, local girls marrying men with money who continue to have multiple, concurrent female partners. The end result in most cases described was divorce, leaving young wives with children and no financial income.

“We are not in diapers ... we [can] make our own decisions [about our lives]”

Adolescent Woman
(FG1 Tari)

Fighting between older married women and young girls over husbands and partners was reported by many of the female participants we interviewed. Divorced or separated women appeared extremely vulnerable, with limited means to an income. The women we interviewed in Hela – single, divorced and married - all reported either exchanging sex for money or maintaining multiple, concurrent partners in exchange for food, goods or favours.

The young girls we spoke with described being interested in men with money as they can provide a good time, “going out” to bars, clubs and restaurants. Most also added that they ultimately hope to marry a company man and have children, to ensure a secure future.

The girls interviewed said they were not interested in males of similar age because they have no money. Finding and marrying a man with money appeared to be the only way that young girls in Hela province could foresee a secure and meaningful future (G2 18 Nov).

Young girls travel to Tari town, Komo Station, Tumalea and Nogoly to meet men. One young woman explained that she travelled to Tari because “[I am] away from the eyes of my brothers and father”. In town they meet men on the street or through networks of friends that they maintain using mobile phones. The young girls we interviewed reported being very selective and targeting “men with tinted glasses” and “cars with tinted windows”. The adolescents see a man they like and “eye pick” him by flirting and signalling interest (FG4 18 Nov). The man will then go into a shop and the girl follows. The man will buy something using a one hundred Kina note and offer her the change, starting conversation by saying, “I am a company man” or “I am a landowner”. At Komo Station, young women said that men will write mobile phone numbers on a piece of paper and drop it on the ground near them, giving the girls the option to retrieve the number and call if they are interested.

The mobile phone numbers of local young women are passed freely between men with money, and from other women, brothers and friends to these networks. During our discussions with young women in Hela, many took numerous mobile calls and made arrangements to meet men after the interviews. The girls described the men as “phone friends” (FG4 18 Nov). These adolescent girls told stories of receiving telephone calls in the night and meeting up with men, having sex in cars or trucks and returning home without their parents knowing. They reported often having concurrent sexual relationships with several men with money.

Truck drivers were even reported to be dropping young sexual partners off at school in the morning, although they often park away from the grounds to avoid being found out. Police officers were also reported to be engaging with young women, and our sample expressed interest in meeting police officers, especially new recruits to the area. These young women and girls do not describe this activity as sex work, nor do they identify as sex workers. The young girls we spoke with reported no condom use with their multiple sexual partners, and no easy access to condom supplies (GT Hela).

WOMEN ENGAGED IN SEX WORK

Women and girls engaged in sex work in both Tari and Port Moresby reported having LNG workers and Tari landowners as regular clients, referring to these men with money as ‘Daddy Bosses’. They spoke of having sex on the phone and in hotel rooms. Whilst on short trips to Port Moresby, Hela landowners are said to engage in ‘transit sex’ which involves cruising around places where women sell sex, and taking the women back to guesthouses. There is reported to be active seeking of teenage girls for engagement in group sex, most commonly with one man and two young women, with the women often drunk and “high” on marijuana. One woman interviewed said, “a lot of men from Hides and Tari want to have group sex. They like having sex with two women and they pay well, sometimes 300 or 500 Kina a lady” (KI LNG Landowners).

Most women and girls engaged in sex work reported that their families are unaware of their means of income. Video Houses along the Highlands Highway have become “venues of sex work, especially after watching pornography” (FG1 8 Nov). Women in sex work travel to Tari and Hela with truck drivers, then are stopped and refused entry at company gates. After exiting the trucks, there are groups of men gathered who pay the women for sex in local fields. “She will be passed on from one man to another for at least two to three days”, one participant described (FG1 8 Nov). Once the sex worker feels she has adequate money she will return home.

The trajectory of young women into sex work in Hela appeared to follow a similar pathway to that described in the Highlands Highway report. The main difference lay in the frequency of stories involving mobile men with money seeking virgins and then discarding young girls once they are pregnant or have their children. The young women are often unable to return to family, due to shame, and find themselves without income or hope. The exchange of sex for money provides the opportunity for food, shelter, education and security for themselves and their children.

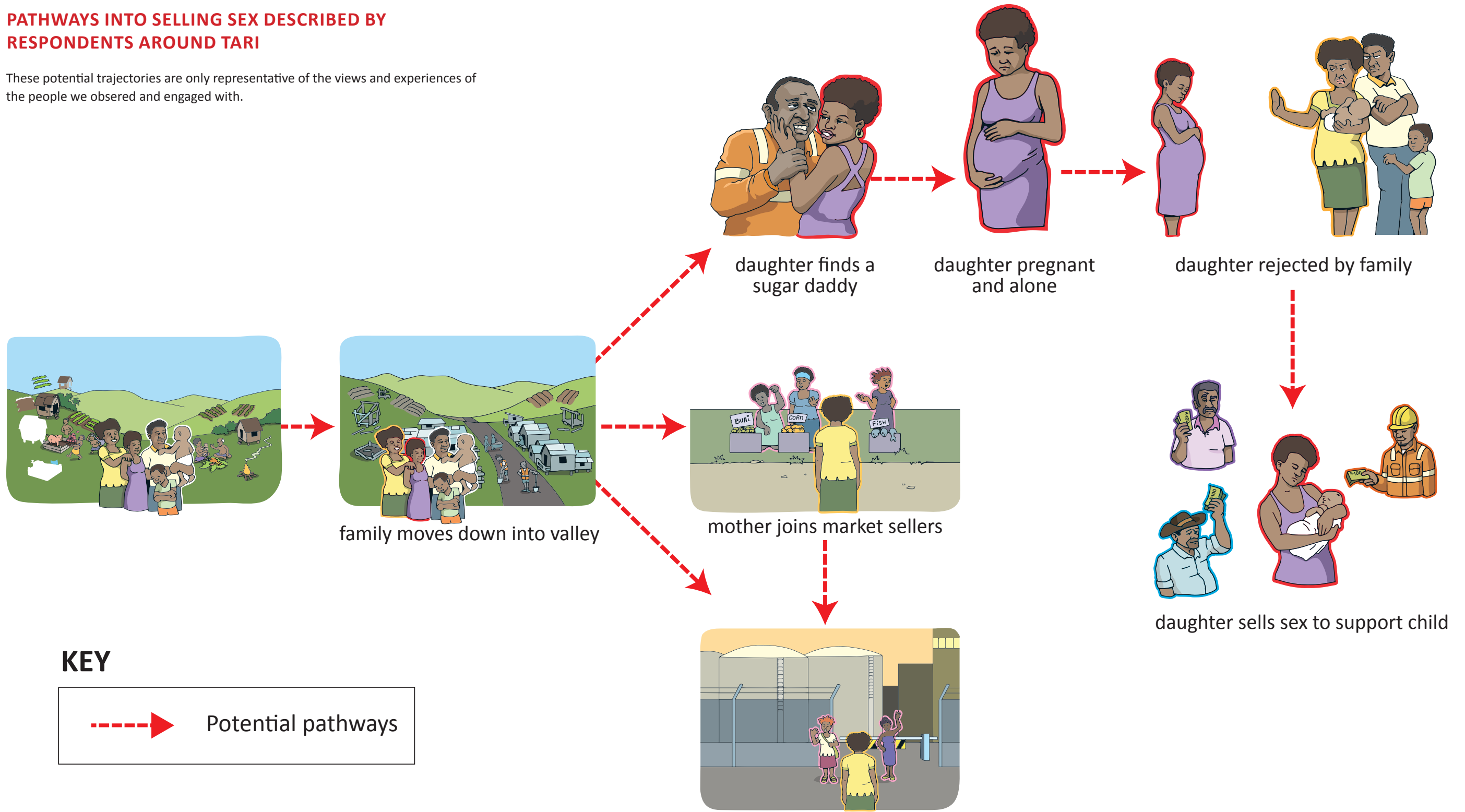
Increasing reliance on a growing cash economy and a shift in traditional gender roles creates increased risk of, and impact from, HIV for particular groups of women in Hela. Single, married and divorced women face the challenge of accessing money for survival as subsistence farming declines, and transactional sex for money, food, goods and favour is common. The movement of husbands and partners away from family homes for work and opportunity also increases the likelihood of multiple partnerships for both women and men in Hela.

Young women are targeted by mobile men with money for sex and fun. There is little to no condom use reported within these interactions. Women transacting sex for goods and favours, as well as young girls meeting with wealthy men, do not identify as sex workers.

The trajectory into formal sex work appears to result from break-ups and divorce from men, resulting in the woman seeking alternative means for income to provide food, shelter, education and security for herself and her children.

PATHWAYS INTO SELLING SEX DESCRIBED BY RESPONDENTS AROUND TARI

These potential trajectories are only representative of the views and experiences of the people we observed and engaged with.



MEN AT RISK

The dominant story in Hela is of men (local, and from other provinces) travelling for work and being separated from traditional place and family for extended periods of time. Mobile men with money ('company men'), young men on the street using marijuana ('drug bodies'), truck drivers and men who have sex with men (MSM) were identified as at particular risk for, and impact from, HIV in Hela.

MOBILE MEN WITH MONEY

The stories from truck and PMV drivers in Hela echoed those heard and reported within the Highlands Highway Social Mapping. We also spoke with mobile company men, administrative staff in head and site construction offices, transport workers and other support company staff for LNG. The stories we heard depicted lives of hardship, long working hours, isolation and loneliness amongst these groups of men. There is separation from their personal history and families whilst they travel for work. There were common references to the formation of new sub-cultures and friendships with work colleagues and local people, who become their new community, family or clan. Many of these men reported taking multiple wives or having multiple partners in the areas that they travel through or reside.

MARIJUANA SMOKERS OR 'DRUG BODIES'

Drug bodies were commonly described in Hela, being a term used to describe young, local men and boys, who hang out together in the Hides villages and regularly smoke marijuana. These young men and adolescent boys reported being involved in criminal activity, selling marijuana and gun running to the West Papuan border. They claimed bringing back pistols, AK47s and M16 rifles along with ammunition for local sale. This was said to have increased considerably in the lead up to the 2012 PNG elections. These men and boys carried bush knives, spoke of concealed firearms and reported that "every house has a gun" (KI1 Hides). The group we interviewed took us behind a closed gate. They were all carrying large knives, serrated on both edges, which they played with continuously. They spoke of being involved in regular theft and violence. The main route of sales was explained to be by foot between Tari and Hides (a three hour journey by vehicle), with drug bodies trekking both ways to buy and sell marijuana.

Consistent with our findings along the Highlands Highway, many of these men believe that marijuana is a tonic against illness, that it makes the blood strong and that it can protect against HIV and related illness. One respondent told us, "someone with AIDS who smokes marijuana will live a long time. Another brother who had HIV smoked marijuana, and the HIV disappeared" (PS10). The men and boys we interviewed stated marijuana makes them brave and able to engage in tribal fights. Young men and boys new to marijuana smoking reported increased libido - "you think about sex a lot" (KI2 Hides), whilst experienced drug bodies described decreased libido. The young men we spoke with described bonding over sharing of marijuana, with fellow drug bodies termed "blood brothers" and "blood sisters". The commonality of smoking appears to create close connections between these groups of marijuana users, assimilating family units, and some said, "I would die for my brothers" (KI3 Hides). We did not hear of any injecting drug use during our field work in Hela.

TRUCK DRIVERS

Truck drivers, working for LNG Project associated companies, travel along the Highlands Highway in convoys of up to twenty trucks with a security escort. We spoke with a group of thirty-two truck drivers from one transport company in Hela (FGD 17 Nov). They reported between 170 and 200 trucks travelling through Tari each day. The trucks are loaded in Lae and the journey along the Highway to Hela takes several days depending on weight of the load and road condition. There are major stops and rest points in Lae, Goroka and Hagen. At these stops, our participants reported that they go to local clubs and gathering places where they chew buai, drink alcohol

"We men have nothing, the women don't want us and the companies don't want us. We have to find a way to get the money"

Local Man (KI Komo Station)

and gamble. In Hela province, the trucks are offloaded at Hides 4, Komo Station and other company camps before the drivers return to Tari for overnight rest and new orders. The return journey to Lae usually takes just one full day, with light trucks, and there is no need to stop overnight during this journey.

Most truck drivers work six weeks on and four weeks off, but some trucking companies demand continuous driving without breaks. These drivers rest when their trucks are being loaded or if their vehicles require maintenance. The truck drivers we spoke with stated high divorce rates amongst colleagues, as their lives become centred around driving. Pay weeks are generally staggered and drivers must work 84 hours before their wages are transferred into bank accounts or pay cheques available for collection.

The truck drivers we interviewed in Tari reported high sex drives, especially when drinking. They seek intimacy and connection in the places they travel through and at stop points. They reported having one or more female partners in a number of places along the Highlands Highway, and described picking up women along the road for company during travel. "We truck drivers have multiple partners along the Highway. At each stop we call them up and have sex with them before travelling on" (FG 17 Nov Tari). They spoke of picking up women at Yang Creek and dropping them off in Mt Hagen, with money to find their way back home (FG2 18 Nov). The truck drivers we interviewed in Hela reported that they do not use condoms with any partners and stated there was limited access to condoms along the Highway, despite the existence of condom distribution systems at some company stop points.

MEN WHO HAVE SEX WITH MEN

The existence of men who have sex with men (MSM) was a difficult issue to discuss with people in Hela. During our interviews, participants often responded with bewilderment when asked about MSM, although one common reference point we identified was men who dress as women. A character named 'Aunty Cecilia' was discussed by a number of respondents. Aunty Cecilia is a biological male living openly as a woman in Hela. One group of respondents told us "when he [Cecilia] goes to a funeral, the old men hide their faces" (FG1 21 Nov). Most participants appeared confused by questions about sex between men and all expressed negative attitudes toward MSM. "They should be killed," one respondent said. Another stated, "They should be chopped [hacked with bush knives]" (FG1 18 Nov). Some participants spoke about male rape in response to prompts about sex between men. A number of participants raised a specific case where a local man raped a fourteen year old boy (FG1 18 Nov). The field team reported that there seemed to be no 'space' for the consideration of sex between men in their conversations with local people in Hela.

Two respondents talked about one young man who had a relationship with an expatriate man in Tari.

The high volume of men

moving in and out of Hela

province for employment and

opportunity creates an environment of

potential increased risk of, and impact from,

HIV. Mobile men with money and truck drivers

were identified as at particular risk due to their

descriptions of multiple concurrent sexual partners, and

their reported lack of condom use. Drug bodies, whilst

engaging in armed theft and crime, did not disclose high

levels of sexual violence and inapts and did not present as

significant drivers of HIV in Hela. Men who have sex with men

remained unaccounted for during our field work, however, this in

itself was a concern, with fear of violence and rejection appearing

to be significant obstacles to community and health engagement for

this population. Amongst all men at risk in Hela there was a common

element of disengagement from health services, lack of condom use

and poor access to STI and HIV prevention services.

The local man was said to be well dressed and possess all the latest gadgets, including mobile phone, laptop and digital camera. He travelled regularly by air between Tari and Port Moresby and was assumed to have been exchanging sex for money and goods.

Our participants stated that this young man would "only accept clients with money", "with high social status ... politicians and company men" (FG1

18 Nov). We also interviewed a woman living with HIV who explained

that she had cared for this young man, and knew him well before

he died earlier in the year. Whilst it is not clear why this man

died, the woman believed he had AIDS. He lived next to St

Francis Catholic Hospital, which provides HIV services

including antiretroviral treatment, but did not access

services there. If this young man did have HIV, this

story represents significant barriers to health services

for men who have sex with men in the area. The

open hostility and vehement responses provided

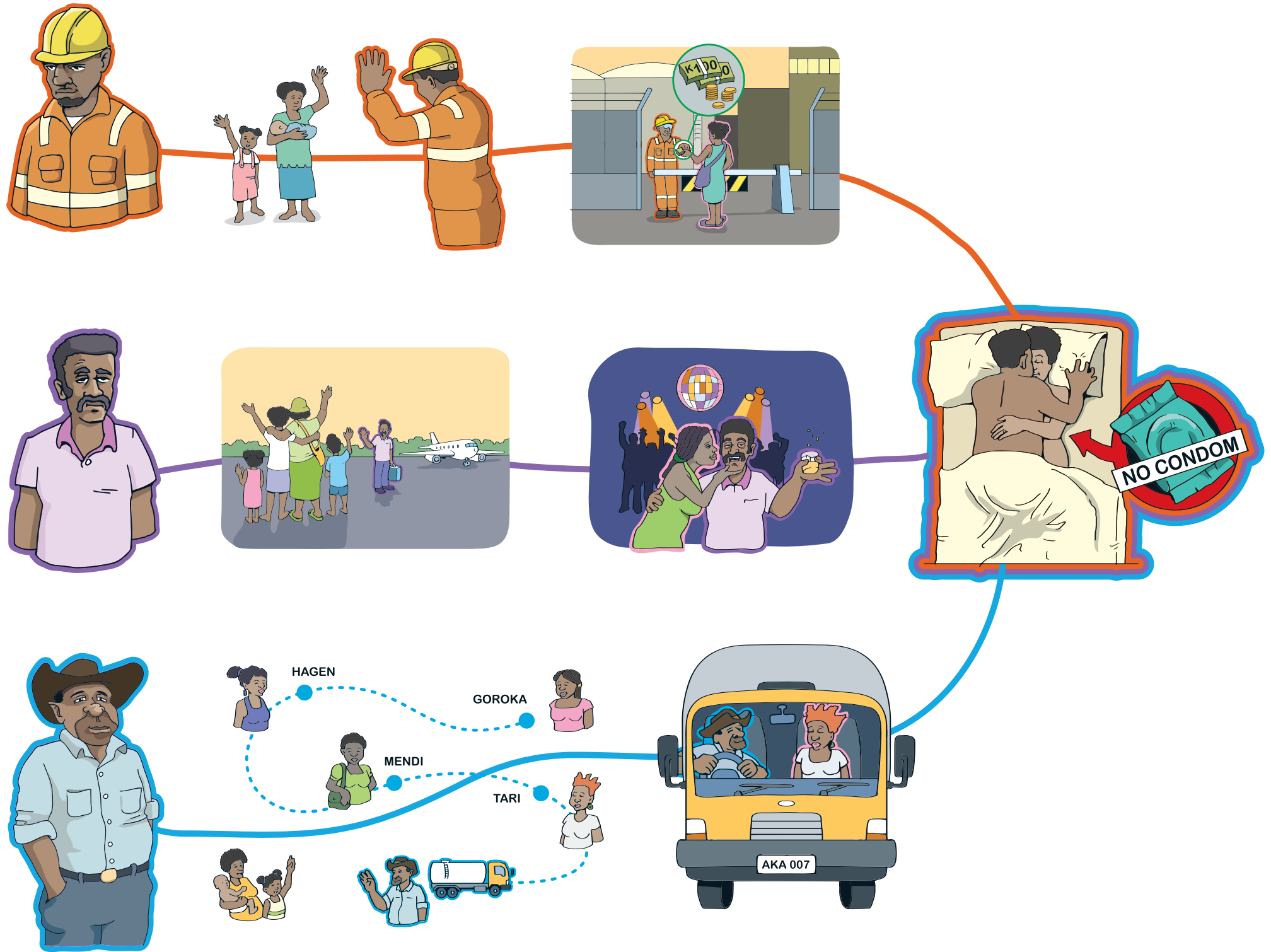
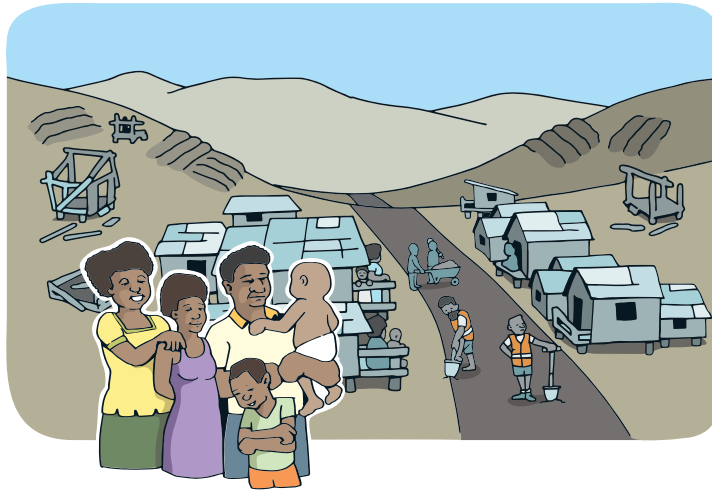
by our sample, suggest that fear of violence and

rejection may be an obstacle to health seeking

by MSM in Hela province.

SOCIAL AND SEXUAL CONNECTIONS OF MEN AROUND TARI

These potential connections are only representative of the views and experiences of the people we observed and engaged with.



POREBADA AND SURROUNDS – THE BOTTOM OF THE PIPELINE

Porebada is a village situated in Central Province, just outside of Port Moresby and close to the largest LNG Plant in the country. It is one of the largest Motu speaking villages, second only to Hanuabada. There are smaller surrounding Motu villages and an estimated 43,749 people, according to the PNG Census 2011, reside in the LLG Area of Hiri Rural which includes Porebada. The total population of Kairuku-Hiri District at the time of Census was 109,404.

Motu houses are traditionally built on stilts over the water and inhabitants primarily move between buildings on wooden walkways. Seven major boardwalks head out over the ocean at Porebada and the resulting housing clusters are clan-controlled. There is a relatively stable electricity supply but other infrastructure (water, sanitation and rubbish management) is generally poor. King tides occur here at least twice per year, bringing both water and rubbish high inland.

A major four lane highway connects Port Moresby to the Porebada turnoff. This road continues on further to the LNG Project site and in the morning and evening, the highway is busy with people travelling to and from LNG sites, local ports and the city. One large port brings LNG Project infrastructure and other goods from Australia and other parts of Papua New Guinea. Trucking companies operate from the port and more land is being reclaimed to extend industry and commerce in this area. Large volumes of logs and steel structures are visible, but there was little activity or movement of people when our research team visited the site.

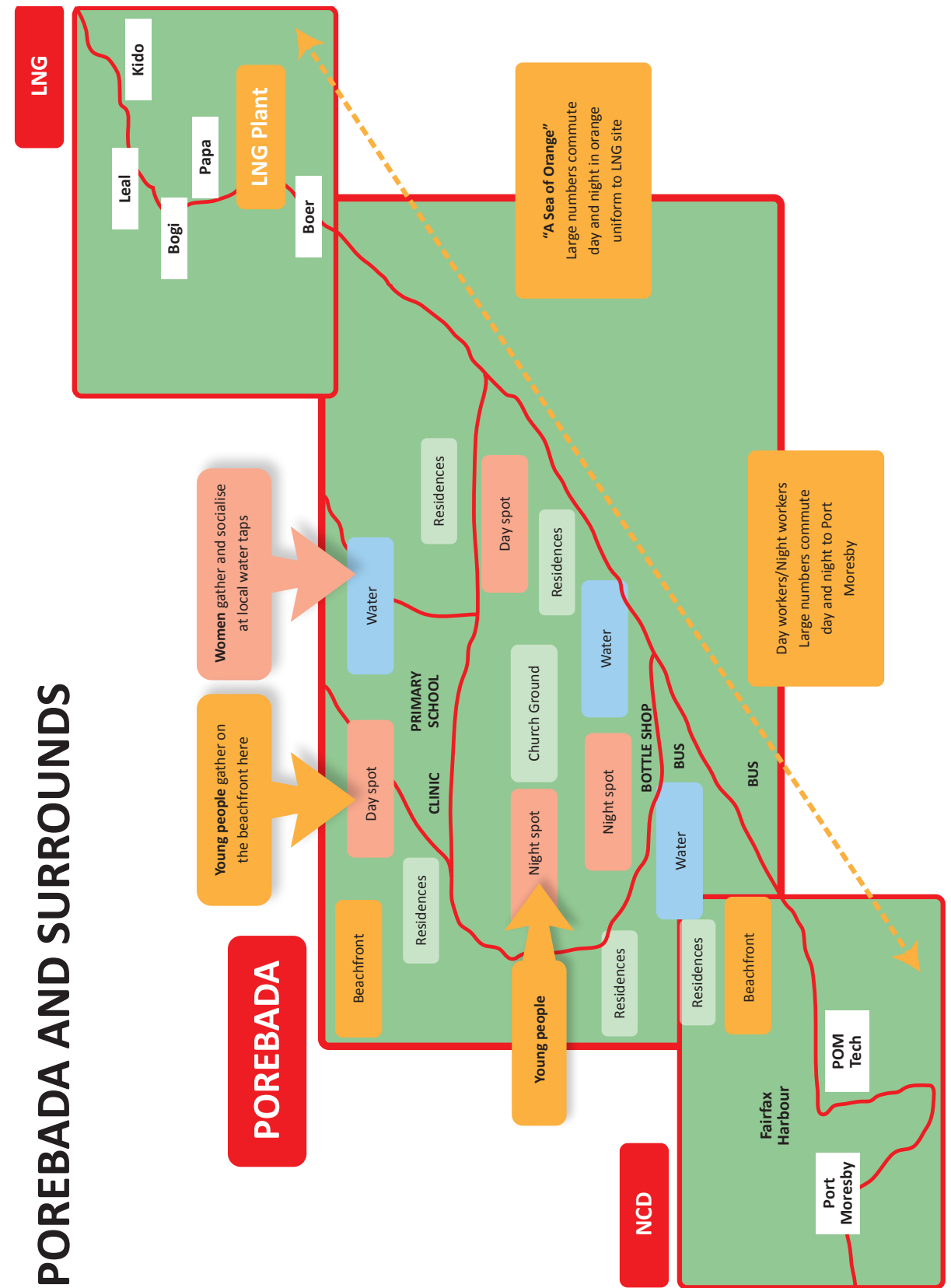
A few settlements and a large market have emerged around the port and the PNG Power Station is close by. Along the highway, the area of Baruni has a reputation for being extremely dangerous. A rubbish dump provides a focus point and houses residents in this village. Locals collect and sell goods found at the rubbish dump, and live amongst the constant burning of surrounding debris.

Porebada is a town ringed by an unsealed dirt road that leads off the major highway. An historic dispute over land and fish led to the breaking up of the Hanuabada clan into a new Porebada clan, which has developed into the nine major clans and twenty-nine minor clans now represented in this area. Royalties and compensation from the LNG Project have reignited some old tensions between clans, and this is played out through the established landowner umbrella company Laba Holdings. Disputes over the true owners of the land are common.

The first building seen on the road into Porebada village is Redscar High School. Opposite this is a cemetery which respondents reported to be a gathering place for women selling sex, as well as where marijuana and homebrew is sold. Young people also use the cemetery as a key meeting point, along with beachfronts that surround the village. There is a small bottle-shop nearby and a mango tree known as a meeting place for drinking and smoking. Buses transport LNG workers to and from the bus stop in this area.

Gardens are traditionally planted further inland by the Porebada clans, but subsistence gardening is declining here rapidly. Most people are said to live on store food because there are fewer gardens producing fresh produce (KI6, FGD8). Cassava and bananas, however, remain staple diet items for the village. Traditional hunting grounds are said to have been disturbed by resource extraction, and the LNG Project was described as “a nail in the coffin of traditional practices”. Respondents reported that the majority of the local population are unable to avail of the opportunities that LNG presents, and are drifting away to seek work elsewhere. Almost every house though has a small table outside selling goods to take advantage of people with money that pass through the village (KI1).

POREBADA AND SURROUNDS



POREBADA AND SURROUNDS SOCIAL CHANGE AND HIV

MONEY AND HIV

Around 500 people from Porebada are employed at the LNG Portion 152 site in Central Province, where gas is liquefied. Surrounding villages also contribute large numbers of workers to the project. Portion 152 was always government owned land, but locals used the area to raise cattle on the open savannah. It is now a gated area, flooded during early morning and evening by a 'sea of orange' employees moving to and from the site. Up to seventeen buses now stop at Porebada to transport workers several times each day. In stark contrast to Hela Province, there are few gated residential communities for LNG workers in Porebada, with most employees recruited from the local area (GT Porebada).

Many respondents told stories about dramatic improvements to quality of life for local people as a result of LNG, with descriptions of historical poverty overcome with employment and other financial opportunities provided by the project. In the past it was common for households to eat only once a day but now there is adequate money for three meals when family members are employed with LNG. A goal verbalised by many LNG workers we spoke with, was to build or complete building of family homes. The research team observed extensive construction underway in Porebada. "Right now there is money flowing and people are building or finishing their houses" (KI3 Porebada). Local businesses are also stimulated by money flowing from the project, as employees spend earnings at local stores. Generally, living standards have improved (IGI2, KI6).

There was genuine concern expressed by respondents, however, that in only a few years the opportunities from LNG will subside. At the time of our field visit, the LNG site was still under construction with claims it would employ up to seven thousand people over the next three years. This will then dramatically reduce to around two hundred and fifty people, according to locals we spoke with (FGD1 Porebada). The LNG Project and its associated companies were found to have popular support and were viewed as a positive part of the community. In Hela province, whilst locals may gain experience in truck driving and grading, they rarely have opportunity to gain qualifications from their experience. In contrast, LNG workers in Porebada are sent for training to Port Moresby Technical College and graduate with a certificate as well as experience in the field (IGI2 Porebada). The LNG Project also supports cashew farming in the area (FGD1).

"Bride-price debts used to remain unpaid ... sometimes for decades" (IG12 Porebada). With increased employment at Porebada, there is now enough money for some families to pay bride-price debts and this brings a great deal of pride to the family, clan and community. A regular system of monthly debt payments for bride-price operates in Porebada and surrounding villages and this represents significant financial exchange between families and across clans (IGI2 Porebada). The ability to pay these debts was presented by respondents as another positive benefit of the LNG Project for local people.

Amidst the money influx and positive benefits of the LNG Project in Porebada, we also heard stories of vulnerability – with some of these created by increasing engagement of the village with a cash economy. Women appeared more likely to continue living in, or be pushed towards, poverty as husbands earning money take on multiple partners. One female respondent explained, "my life is hard. [I] do not have any money. The little I make does not make ends meet. My employer is meant to pay me K200 but only pays me K120 or K130.

"Many young girls are selling sex for money as a result of LNG developments. There are a lot of sex workers in Porebada and money is the main aspect of sex. Poverty is one push factor"

Nurse (PS27 Porebada)

No one can live on this" (PS20 Porebada). Wages from LNG employment are often spent on entertainment that includes drinking alcohol at local venues, making each pay fortnight a potential risk period for violence and disruptive behaviour (KI3 Porebada). Families not directly benefiting from the LNG Project seek employment in entertainment establishments around Porebada or in Port Moresby. Young women reported working as hostesses at local bars in the city to support their families (KI3 Porebada). In Porebada, there is no designated party area, however people were observed to gather for drinking and gambling on weeknights and weekends at the local bottle shop and the B2 bus stop.

Changes in social dynamics taking place in Porebada are having an impact on traditional gender norms and practices. In the past, men controlled the household money and were the providers of food for women and children. Nowadays, it is not uncommon for a woman to be working for the LNG Project, and this creates power in the family – she is said to be in charge because she has the money. Women whose husbands work for LNG Project have increased cash and this brings freedom for them to leave their homes and engage with the larger community. In the past, these women would stay in the home and clan space but now they travel to Port Moresby and to Koki (the city fish market) with other wives, returning home with food and goods for the family.

The interactions and social connections between individuals and clans working together on the LNG Project are also changing the dynamics of traditional disputes and resolutions to conflict. The rules of inter-clan relationships appear to be changing, with history of tribal fighting forgotten as members of opposing clans find themselves working together at the LNG site. Families who have not spoken to each other for many years find themselves having to cooperate, work together in small teams and on particular tasks during work hours. In some cases, they are reported to eat lunch together on company grounds during which friendships form that continue on return to their village after work and on weekends (GT Porebada).

'Insider' and 'outsider' dynamics were evident in Porebada, as in Hela province. Many respondents we interviewed said they missed work opportunities with the LNG Project due to subcontractors employing family members and wantoks over other suitably qualified applicants. Some reported these difficulties in clan discrimination to the local landowner company responsible for recruitment at the beginning of the LNG Project (KI1 Porebada). One woman described how she was sacked for raising the issue of equality in recruitment and selection of new staff. There were clear descriptions of distinction between LNG workers and non-LNG workers in Porebada. Whilst interviewing one man on the street, he pointed to an LNG Project worker and said, "I used to be friends with these guys but now they walk straight past me... because I have no job" (KI1 Porebada).

There was evidence of animosity between young people who work on the LNG Project and those that do not work for LNG and are unemployed (IGI1 Porebada). "Our applications are being used as toilet paper. They select their relatives [over us]," said one respondent (IGI1 Porebada). Another young respondent reported, "they [the employed LNG workers] are too good for us" (IGI1 Porebada). As described in Hela province, there has been a shift in distribution of income amongst clan and wantoks, with workers choosing to increase personal wealth over the traditional system of even distribution amongst the family. This is reported to have resulted in arguments and violence within families in the area.



Overwhelmingly, the stories heard during this Social Mapping field trip to Porebada were of the positive benefits of the LNG Project to individuals, clans and the greater community. Increased employment has challenged and shifted social dynamics, including traditional gender roles and the distribution of wealth amongst wantoks however, many families have been lifted from poverty and the commonality of working together has bonded some rifts between local clans.

There is talk of sex work, transactional sex and crime by the unemployed for access to the cash economy, which brings some level of risk, however, the level of HIV impact does not present as high in Porebada as Hela Province, or the spaces described in the Highlands Highway Report.

There is an obvious distinction between LNG workers and those not engaged by the project, and genuine concern about decreased employment opportunities over the next few years. Most workers engaged with the LNG site in Central Province will gain a formal qualification as a result of their training and experience in the gas field.

RELIGION, SEX AND HIV

The Uniting Church is a focal building in Porebada and the largest gathering point in the village. Local people raised one million Kina to erect the elaborate building and the four clans take turns using the church for services. As a centre point for the village, the large pink building stands in stark contrast to surrounding shacks and houses, and is referred to by locals as “holy ground”. There are reports of families seeing an angel descend down from heaven during the consecration ceremony of the church and this has heightened belief that it is a special place (IGI2 Porebada). The Uniting Church is the pride of the village and the surrounding land is said to have been “given to God for His purpose” (IGI2 Porebada). Directly outside the church, however, is a hotspot for sex work, drinking and marijuana smoking.

Church groups in Porebada do deliver generalised HIV messages, but our respondents reported that they are less willing and able to address sex, gender, sexuality and HIV risk directly. The church plays a prominent role in events such as World AIDS Day (WAD) and the previous year had even posted a billboard outside the building about HIV. The pastors we spoke with said that it was bad to talk openly about sex and sexuality because it promotes sin. When the issue of men having sex with men was discussed,

some women in the focus groups put their heads in their hands and laughed (FGD1 Porebada). Members of the church groups we interviewed denied that there are men having sex with men or transgender people in the village or province. One respondent said categorically, “there is none” (FGD1 Porebada), despite the research team meeting several MSM and transgender people born and raised in Porebada.

One health worker openly expressed her frustration about the limitations the church places on HIV prevention and education, especially in regards to sensitivities around condom use. The young men and women we interviewed described general embarrassment about condoms and said that condoms were largely seen as promoting sex out of marriage (IGI2, FGD3 Porebada). The church was reported to have held an event to raise local HIV awareness, but when a woman known to be engaged in sex work attended the event, the group placed blame on her - “she is spreading HIV” (FGD3 Porebada). This example demonstrated a lack of capacity within the church to address issues of sex, safer sex and sexuality directly within the community. The research team’s experience of church groups in Porebada was that they acted as a barrier to the team connecting with local people from key affected populations in the village and surrounds.

“When we were young, like sixteen, we were afraid to smoke in front of our parents and afraid to go out with a girl to date them. Before we were sixteen we did not have boyfriends and girlfriends. But these days, young people have boyfriends and girlfriends [all the time]”

Focus Group Participant (FGD8 Porebada)

“We do not carry condoms with us. We keep it in our secret hiding places. If one of our friends saw me with a condom, they would make fun of me, really joke, even the people in the community would make fun of me. I am ashamed to carry condoms, because they will make fun of me”

Young Man (FGD8 Porebada)

Focus group discussions with church leaders in Porebada began with descriptions of local people respecting tradition and religion, and functional local families. However, with further questioning the leaders spoke of sex outside of marriage, alcohol use and gambling as common practice. It was not clear to our field team whether the church is actually distributing condoms in the community, but if in fact they are then it was obvious this did not include distribution to key affected populations. All individuals of key affected population groups that we met in Porebada stated they have no contact with Tingim Laip or the church, and would not disclose sexual behaviours with members of either group.

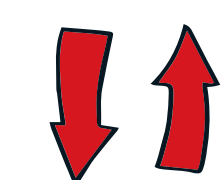
These church groups appeared to consist of a primarily older generation who expressed open frustration and confusion about the behaviours of young people in the area. "The young don't respect us," one respondent said (FGD1 Porebada). Young people, on the other hand, spoke of church leaders being "angry" with youth because they do not follow their instructions (IGI2, FGD3 Porebada). A common theme that emerged was that local leaders lack understanding and control of the ways that people are interacting in communities that they lead and influence. The church groups have structural control but no grasp on the "subterranean life" that is happening all around them (GT Porebada). Even deacons working at the companies do not attend Sunday services anymore (FGD1 Porebada).

There were two opposing stories of village life articulated. The first is the story told by church elders of functional families and preservation of traditional values. The second story lies in the description by younger people of a covert, hidden society of youth engaging in behaviours that their elders do not condone. The contradiction between these stories has a direct impact on sex and HIV, with young people unable to gain easy access to condoms, or talk openly about sex.

"Girls are now drinking, women are now working", the church groups reported. "When women get their salary they will drink, smoke and have sex just like the men do" (FGD3 Porebada). We asked one group of girls what happens when the pastor discovers them smoking and drinking. They responded, "the pastor will come and pray and read the Bible. He will tell our parents or brothers ... if we are caught they beat us up" (PS16 Porebada). Some young people spoke of using the church building land at night to smoke marijuana, drink and have sex. Many reported using Sunday services as a way to connect with each other and to make arrangements to party together and have sex.

When leaders spoke of HIV they lay blame on those outside the church and families in the village. They suggested it was young people, mobile sex workers and pimps of sex workers visiting from Port Moresby who bring HIV to Porebada.

Local church groups offer home visits for the sick in Porebada and surrounding villages. They provide care, support and counselling to people living with HIV. However, the influence of the church does not seem to be reducing stigma and discrimination. We heard a story of a young girl with HIV, beaten by her parents and brothers regularly. She sells goods at local markets and returns to give the money to her family. Home visits by the church are reported not to have addressed this well-known family violence, and instead the blame was pushed to the young woman - "We've tried to talk to them ... but she remains ignorant" (FGD1 Porebada).



The church building plays a pivotal role in Porebada village, and leaders deliver generalised HIV messages. There is, however, significant disconnect between church groups and youth within the area which provides barriers to condom and health service access. The denial of high risk behaviours, and key affected populations in Porebada and surrounding areas increases risk of, and impact from, HIV. There remains significant discrimination embedded in the church towards sex workers, youth engaging in sex out of marriage, men who have sex with men and people living with HIV.

POREBADA AND SURROUNDS POPULATIONS, PEOPLE AND HIV

WOMEN AT RISK

The PNG Water Board has established two public water taps in Porebada. Young women and girls line up at these taps continuously, accessing water for domestic use, and whilst waiting they gossip together about latest events in the village. Our field team spent time observing and speaking with women at these water points. In Porebada, we identified that women most at risk of, and impact from, HIV are young women engaging in transactional sex, the ‘container ladies’ and women who sell sex.

YOUNG WOMEN ENGAGING IN TRANSACTIONAL SEX

Most adolescent girls in Porebada live with family, assist their mothers with chores and meet the traditional daily obligations of clan and community. At night, however, some of these young women sneak out of the house to party with friends. They were observed to gather at the village square, behind the primary school, as well as at entertainment points such as the bottle shop, B2 bus stop and on the beaches. These young women relish the attention of men and boys, with one group saying they enjoyed the notoriety and taunts received from the locals here (PS16).

Some of these adolescent women spoke of regularly tricking men into giving them money for beer, smokes and marijuana. They described ‘playing along’ with the men and being nice to them until they received money, then creating excuses to leave. These women reported speaking brazenly to men if challenged about their behaviour, with remarks such as, “you only gave us money to have sex so you should not get annoyed about being tricked in this way” (PS16 Porebada).

We observed these young women sitting in the village square until one or two in the morning, kissing and cuddling the men that gather there. Some girls reported having sex with multiple men as well as their boyfriends and stated they don’t use condoms during these interactions (IG13 Porebada). All of the girls we interviewed denied knowing how to use condoms or receiving any information on HIV during their school education (PS16 Porebada). One particular group we spoke with at night included a number of young transgender people, and they reported “hanging out together, ironing their hair, grooming and walking around the village for all to see them” (PS16 Porebada).

Focus group participants from the church talked about increasing use of marijuana and alcohol by young women in the village. They go out without their parents knowing and use mobile phones to meet men (IC11, FGD8 Porebada). This was confirmed by the focus groups with young women and girls in Porebada. They reported drinking, smoking and having sex with numerous men. Whilst this was discussed in abstract terms during the focus group, a number of them confirmed they were actually speaking about their own behaviours when followed up individually.

“The first time I came here I was worked as a hostess, I started immediately after school. Another lady picked me up and I started going out with men for money. My parents didn’t know ... my parents still don’t know”

Hostess from Porebada (PS5 Porebada)

CONTAINER LADIES

‘Container Ladies’ is a term used to describe women having affairs with men on the wharves in Port Moresby and around Porebada. The title evolves from a television advertisement featuring a female employee as a ‘Container Lady’ (Social Mapping, Porebada). The term was coined as the women having affairs with men on the wharves emerge out of large shipping containers after sex.

Many mothers we spoke with expressed concerns about the behaviours of their daughters. Although the girls we interviewed believed they were successfully hiding their activities from parents, it was clear that mothers were often aware of the risks their daughters were taking. One mother actually requested that we speak with her daughter, as she feared for her health and safety. Another mother spoke of having confiscated her daughter’s mobile phone, in order to stop her meeting men, drinking and smoking marijuana (PS4, PS16, IC11 Porebada).

The adolescent boys we interviewed in Porebada said that young women “are no good” and that they are just interested in “getting a fuck, drinking, smoking” (FGD3 Porebada). When parents discover their daughter’s adverse behaviours, they are said to hit them and punish them. Long hair is prized in Motuan women, and it was a commonly described punishment to cut the hair of misbehaving young women, who then refuse to go out whilst their hair is short (FGD3 Porebada). Parental concern was reported at much higher levels about their daughters than their sons.

WOMEN ENGAGING IN SEX WORK

We spoke with a number of women who described themselves as sex workers in the Porebada area, some of whom had graduated from high school. Following education, these women had only been able to secure low paying jobs in the hospitality industry. One trajectory described was hospitality work leading to becoming a “hostess” and increased opportunity for sexual liaisons with multiple men who were prepared to pay. Another pathway recounted was birth into polygamous marriages where there was inadequate money to support the family (K13 Porebada). One woman we interviewed said she earns two to three hundred Kina per night for sex with men (K13 Porebada). She reported using condoms intermittently with her customers, however, not with regular boyfriends as “there is trust between us” (K13 Porebada).

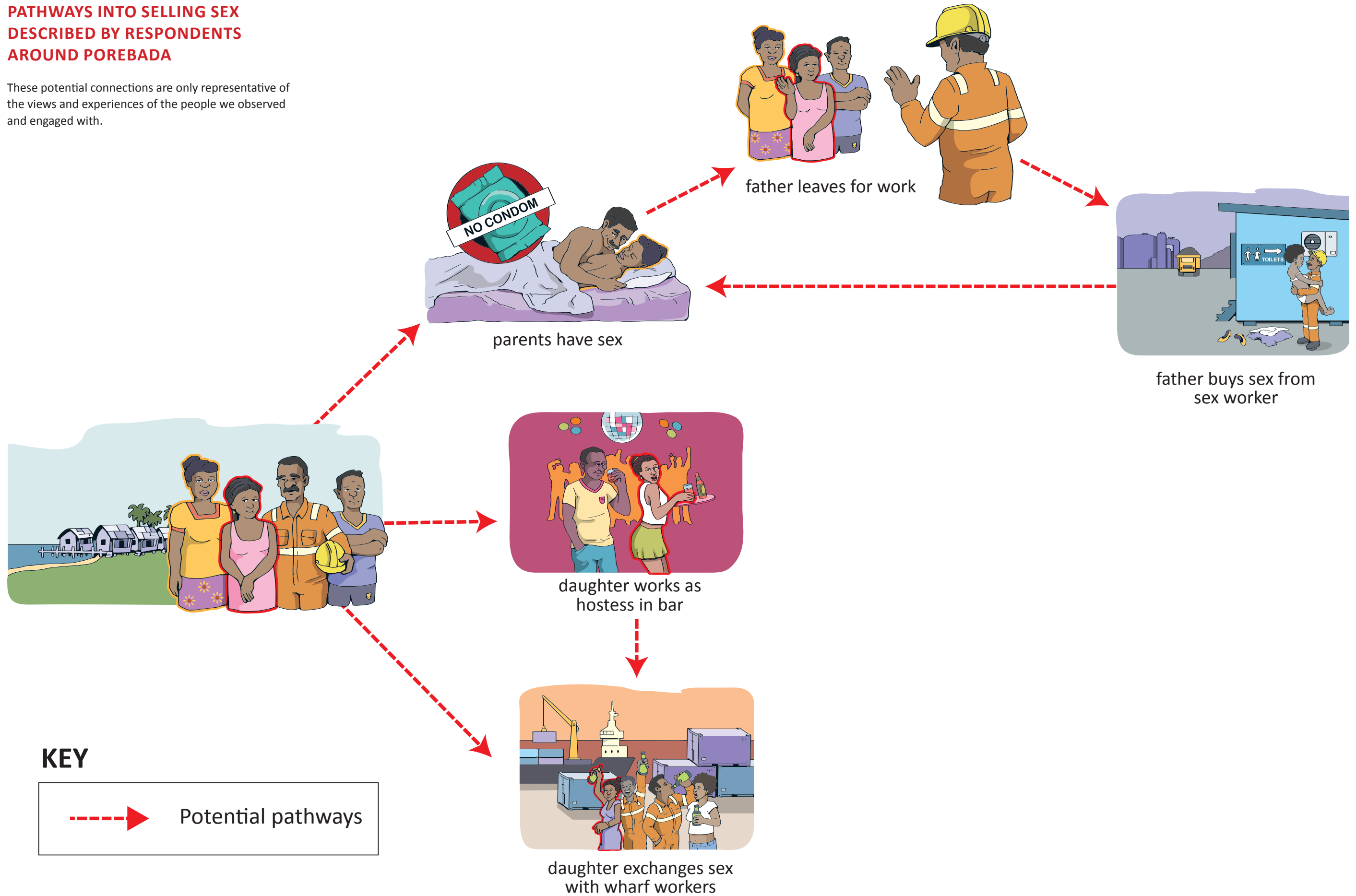
Other women we interviewed spoke of divorce and separation as the catalyst for engaging in sex work. One woman explained that her first husband left her with their daughter, to live with his second wife, and did not provide financial support. This woman found employment but the salary was inadequate for the needs of her family. She started selling sex and was able to send her daughter to a good school with the money she earned (PS4 Porebada). Our sex work participants described taking great caution to avoid violence and rape however, all reported having been beaten or raped at least once (PS4 Porebada).

The drive to access the cash economy has increased the number of young women engaged in transactional sex, ‘container ladies’ and women selling sex in Porebada. Whilst positive to hear some level of condom use amongst sex workers, a lack of consistency in prevention and safer sex increases HIV risk and potential impact amongst these groups of women.

Younger girls in sex work, aged between thirteen and seventeen years, were described as particularly vulnerable to STIs and HIV, as they are inexperienced in negotiating sex with their male clients (K15, FGD6 Porebada). The men have experience and power in negotiations with these young sex workers and asking for the use of condoms sometimes results in violence and rape (FGD6 Porebada). Two weeks before our field visit, a young girl from Goroka was raped and murdered in Porebada (FGD6 Porebada). Going to the police over these matters is not considered a safe option either – “it can lead to more violence and rape by police themselves” (FGD6 Porebada). Violence between sex workers was described, commonly provoked by older sex worker jealousy of new recruits. One peer educator told the story of a family in which the man was selling both his wife and daughter to men for sex. He said that this was happening because of a dramatic reduction in gardening and hunting, leaving families dependent upon cash to feed themselves (FGD6 Porebada).

PATHWAYS INTO SELLING SEX DESCRIBED BY RESPONDENTS AROUND POREBADA

These potential connections are only representative of the views and experiences of the people we observed and engaged with.



MEN AT RISK

Employment of local men and boys from Porebada has increased cash flow to individuals and families however, the emerging group of mobile men with money presents risks of increased multiple concurrent sexual partners and use of women selling sex. We identified three groups of men at increased risk and impact of HIV in Porebada: mobile men with money, unemployed young men and men who have sex with men including transgender people.

MOBILE MEN WITH MONEY

Mobile men with money present with higher HIV risk and impact as a result of the level of multiple, concurrent sexual relationships they maintain. Many respondents that we interviewed spoke of dramatic changes in the dynamics of sex and relationships, which they directly connect to the LNG Project. Workers (many of who are male) spend large proportions of their time at the gas site and may form new sexual relationships with female workers. Extramarital affairs, adultery and promiscuity were said to have increased dramatically since the LNG Project commenced (FGD1, FGD5, FGD6, IGI1, IGI2, KI3 Porebada). Marriage breakups and domestic violence were described as indirect effects related to shifts in social dynamics and gender roles (IGI2, KI5, KI8 Porebada). 'Midnight strollers' is the term used for men and women who walk the streets at night seeking dates, sex and money, and respondents described this as a new phenomenon related to the project (FGD3 Porebada). On weekends and pay fortnights, male LNG workers are said to scour villages looking for young girls (ICI2 Porebada).

UNEMPLOYED YOUNG MEN

Some unemployed young men in Motu villages that we spoke with reported preference for multiple girlfriends and also for sex with other men or transgender people. Mobile phones are used to send pornography between young men and women – “we like to talk about the porn with them on the phone and in person” (PS16 Porebada). One group of transgender people we interviewed in Porebada referred to 'good boys' and 'bad boys'. Good boys referred to those who go to church and “offer themselves as a sacrifice to God” whilst bad boys spend time drinking then having sex with women, transgender people and other boys, including with “force” (rape) when they are drunk (FGD9 Porebada).

MSM AND TRANSGENDER PEOPLE

The phrase “fifty toea” (meaning half a Kina) was heard during our field visit to Porebada to describe transgender people. The phrase plays upon the 'half boy and half girl' idea of a transgender person and has gained popularity in Port Moresby, where nightclubs with drag shows will advertise events as “Fifties Nights” (FGD9 Porebada). Some MSM and transgender people we spoke with stated they are “always afraid of the men in the village” and “do not feel safe walking through the village” (PS11 Porebada). They described being called names such as 'oral' and 'gay' when passing groups of locals and also disclosed being raped by gangs of young men and boys (PS11 Porebada). The young transgender people we interviewed reported being beaten and harassed by their families and made to do all the household chores (PS11 Porebada).

Unlike places in the Highlands visited during this Social Mapping, respondents in Porebada did not say they would kill men who have sex with men however, there was still a strong sense of oppression towards this population. Some transgender people we interviewed said they did not get harassed at all and nobody called them names here (PS18 Porebada). They described significant positive changes in attitudes toward them over recent years, with one respondent recounting that in 2008 she could not walk around the villages without being

“I have a lot of clients - members of parliament, businessmen, LNG men from other provinces”

Woman Selling Sex (PS15 Porebada)

harassed, surrounded and chased by young people. From 2011 this was reported to change and now people call her “sharoni”, meaning 'really beautiful', as she wanders through the village. “I was smiling [at] them, straight boys and girls. They just said 'Hi, how are you?' I feel happy [about this]” (PS3 Porebada).

Most transgender people spoke of exchanging sex for money or goods regularly with “the straight boys in the village” (FGD9 Porebada). These exchanges include sex for money, fish from fishermen, kangaroo legs from hunters or other gifts (PS18 Porebada). The minimum charge for sex is K20 (FGD9 Porebada). Most transgender respondents reported rarely using condoms and that the use of condoms is not requested by sexual partners. One respondent said that the nurse at the local village clinic told them “condoms are useless” (FGD9 Porebada). A few transgender respondents claimed consistent use of condoms - “my decision is my decision [to wear a condom] ... the men will not force me and hit me” (PS18 Porebada). This example suggests that status and treatment of transgender people here varies widely. We travelled with a group of transgender people during our field visit and 'straight male' LNG workers were openly negotiating for sex with individuals during our journey. Most transgender people we interviewed said that men prefer sex with them than with 'real women' because full penetration is easier and more enjoyable than with their wives or girlfriends (PS11, PS18 Porebada).

One transgender respondent in Porebada reported having large numbers of sex partners and a local friendship network made up of other transgender people and MSM. When LNG employed most of her contacts, and decreased communication amongst the network, she began drinking, smoking and living a lifestyle that is “pretty wild” (GT Porebada). We met another MSM who is a local schoolteacher and he expressed deep fear of others finding out the reason we were interviewing him. We also managed to make contact in Porebada with another four men who acknowledged quietly that they were MSM, but became extremely uncomfortable and moved on quickly (GT Porebada).

The emerging group of mobile men with money in Porebada presents risks of increased multiple concurrent sexual partners and use of women selling sex. There was limited reporting of condom use amongst our sample of this population. Unemployed young men are engaging with pornography and this appears to play out in their interactions with young women and sometimes with MSM and transgender people.

Whilst MSM continue to be highly stigmatised in Porebada, there appears to be growing acceptance of transgender people, and the demand for sex between this group and married straight men presents as high. Bargaining power, due to this demand, appears to have resulted in a higher reported level of condom use amongst transgender people.

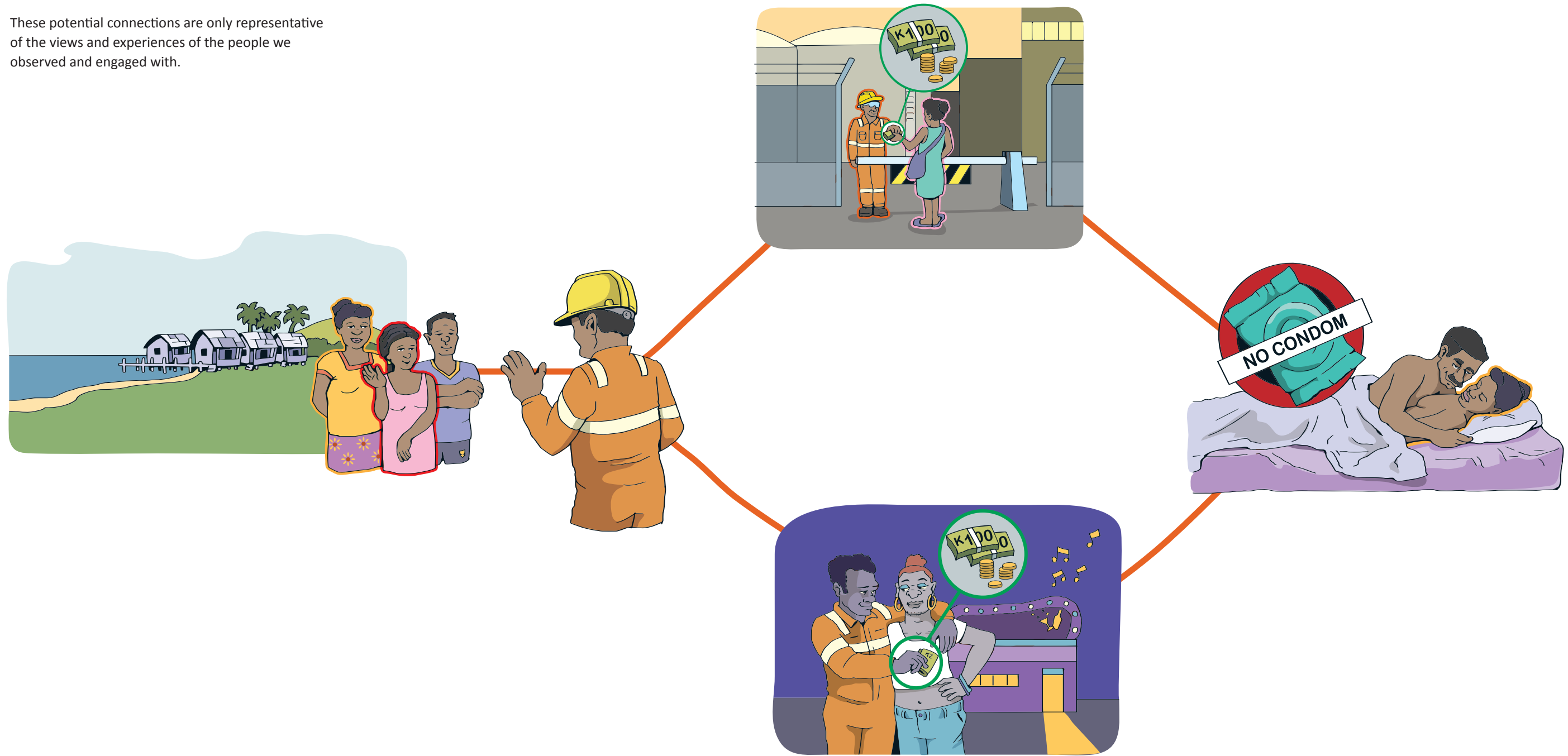
“Straight men, they want me and come to me. Some phone me and we have phone sex. When I tell them to do things with their penis, they do it. They enjoy talking dirty with me and these men are married men. Their wives do not know what they do”

Transgender Participant (TS18 Porebada)

Men seek out transgender people to have sex with in Porebada and surrounding villages late at night, after 11 o'clock (PS18 Porebada). At this time transgender people appear to have a lot of bargaining power - “he gives me K70 or K100 or whatever amount I ask for,” one transgender respondent stated. Perpetrators of violence toward transgender people in Porebada were largely reported to be the wives of their male sex partners, upon discovery of the extra-marital relations (PS18 Porebada).

SOCIAL AND SEXUAL CONNECTIONS OF MEN AROUND POREBADA

These potential connections are only representative of the views and experiences of the people we observed and engaged with.



PEOPLE LIVING WITH HIV

Most respondents in our Porebada focus groups initially reported that they did not know anyone living with HIV in the village. However, with further questioning many respondents could identify someone in their neighbourhood with constant sickness or other HIV symptoms such as wasting disease (IGI1, IGI2, IGI3, KI1, PS16 Porebada). There seemed to be a great level of fear about HIV, which may be preventing people even when they have symptoms, from presenting for HIV testing (KI5 Porebada). We heard of people living with HIV taking great precautions to hide their status in order to avoid negative repercussions from family and local villagers. People living with HIV in Porebada mostly travel to Port Moresby for treatment and care (KI8 Porebada) and there were a couple of stories of poor treatment and discrimination at local health facilities (PS17 Porebada).

It was almost impossible for our field research team to identify private spaces in Porebada to speak with people. Gossip runs quickly through the village, and participants were reluctant to speak openly in fear of being overheard - “everybody is listening,” was a common phrase. This lack of privacy is evident in local church groups advocating for mandatory HIV testing and public posting of results in Motu villages. The reasoning given is to allow everyone to know the HIV status of all villagers and they believe this would stop the spread of HIV.

Discrimination and violence from families toward people living with HIV was commonly reported (PS18 Porebada). One respondent told the story of her sister who has HIV, and was very frail and sick, yet her mother would force her to do housework. If the girl refused, she would be beaten. This respondent said this scenario is common in Porebada and surrounding villages. Eventually this woman assisted her sister to move out of the family home and she took care of her (PS18 Porebada). Even amongst those who provide home visits to people living with HIV, there appeared to be a lack of expressed compassion and understanding (FGD1 Porebada). One respondent said, “[They] are ignorant. They ignore me and the information I am giving” (FGD1 Porebada). These home-based care groups seemed affronted that families did not always appreciate the visits provided.

HIV, for many respondents in Porebada, was still regarded as a result of bad behaviour, such as sex outside marriage, sex work and drug and alcohol use (PS11, FGD1, FGD2 Porebada). Some people living with HIV that we interviewed seemed to have internalised these views. One PLHIV said, “I feel ashamed. I regret doing sex work and getting HIV. I know there is no hope for me” (PS17 Porebada). Peer educators and outreach workers providing support for people living with HIV outlined the need for improved confidentiality. They described PLHIV getting sick and being hospitalised, and the delicate negotiations that occur around disclosure of HIV to families (FGD6 Porebada). Many people knew of people who had died from AIDS, but it was only after the death from HIV related illness that the village were aware of the person’s HIV status (IGI2, FGD8, FGD3 Porebada).

“We will only know that a person is HIV positive when we bury them ... we only know when they die (general laughter)”

Focus Group Participants (FGD3, FGD8 Porebada)

Stigma and discrimination against PLHIV were evident throughout our individual and group interviews in Porebada. Whilst church groups are involved in delivery of home-based support and care visits, HIV remains regarded as a result of bad behaviour, and this impacts on access to testing, treatment and support throughout the community. The proximity of Porebada to Port Moresby determines that most PLHIV seek treatment at the city clinics and hospitals. The timeframe between diagnosis and death is qualitatively described as very short, with reports of status only discovered with presentation of late stage HIV illness.

CONCLUSION

Hela province is located inland at the Highlands top end of the LNG pipeline, whilst Porebada and surrounding villages are located on the Central Province coast at the bottom end of the gas line. These two places represent very different settings and contexts with diverse local cultures and languages yet they now share a commonality in being the two main settings of the PNG LNG Project. Hela province has traditionally been and remains, largely isolated from the rest of the country. The impact of LNG on Hela province is characterised by large numbers of people from outside the province moving into the towns and project sites for work. The gated residential communities of LNG provide a much higher standard of living than that of the surrounding villages. Porebada and surrounds are close to Port Moresby. Unlike Hela, the Portion 152 site in Central province employs local villagers and so there is a flow of commuters through Porebada, from Port Moresby to the LNG site, both day and night.

Across Hela and around Porebada there is distinction between the ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ of the LNG Project. In Hela province, locals feel largely excluded from LNG opportunities. There is resentment of work and money going to people from outside the province and only some local landowners, their families and wantoks. In Porebada, there is also a small group of young people who feel unable to avail local LNG opportunities, however, there is a general sense of appreciation for the overall benefits that the project brings to the community.

There is a high level of social transformation occurring in both places explored in this Social Mapping. The changes include ways of making a living, a growing cash economy, gender-relations and sexual dynamics. In Hela and Porebada there are increased reports of multiple, concurrent sexual relationships facilitated by the movement of people and the flow of money in these areas. Women and girls present as particularly vulnerable when their male partners do not provide financial support. With declining subsistence farming, especially in Hela as villages move from traditional land, these women are driven towards the exchange of sex for goods or money to feed themselves and their families. PLHIV and those at increased risk of HIV were found to be highly stigmatised in both settings, and often blamed for the spread of HIV in the community. Many people living with HIV choose to hide their status from others around them, which provides a further barrier to health seeking and HIV treatment and care. There were also high levels of stigma reported amongst local healthcare providers, and this is evident in selective distribution of condoms and treatment – with key populations often excluded from access. Condoms were an embarrassing subject for most of our participants in Hela and around Porebada and there were common statements about condom ineffectiveness and that condoms promote promiscuity.

In Porebada there was found to be a growing acceptance toward transgender people, largely facilitated by the village proximity to Port Moresby. MSM, however, remain highly vulnerable to stigma and discrimination. Ironically, this transition in attitude to transgender people is increasing the level of sex occurring between men, thus impacting upon HIV risk and vulnerability, although condom use was reported at higher levels amongst this group. In Hela province there is palpable hostility toward MSM and transgender people, providing an obstacle to these individuals and groups living openly and accessing local sexual health service providers.

In Porebada the churches play a significant role in the lives of the local people and community. This is evidenced by the physical presence of the church building, which dominates Porebada village. In spite of its presence, church leaders report that they are losing influence and control over the behaviour of young people, and feel increasingly alienated from new generations. Young people report multiple concurrent sexual relationships, sex work, alcohol and marijuana use. The Tingim Laip Social Mapping team described Porebada as having a ‘subterranean’ or hidden society that engages in these activities away from the eyes of the church and local leaders.

The populations that we identified at greater risk for, or impact from, HIV in Hela and around Porebada are not conclusive, but rather relate to the stories of our respondents during field visits. There was felt to be much higher risk for HIV amongst the greater population in Hela, especially with the movement of villages into the line of LNG development removing women and families from traditional farming land. Reliance on a growing cash economy is already evident in Hela and Porebada, and this is likely to continue to grow with movement into the next stages of the project.

This report on the top and bottom spaces of the LNG Project has identified challenges and gaps in HIV prevention, service access and care. An evident marker lies in the reporting of poor condom use amongst most respondents, with higher levels only described by transgender groups in Porebada. We have attempted to outline trajectories into sex work and some other high risk behaviours and lifestyles for HIV. Application of learning from this Social Mapping is integral to development of the Tingim Laip model of HIV prevention and this report should provide guidance in the project's move towards working with key populations most at risk of, and impact from, HIV at each end of the LNG Pipeline.

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