Exploring the Roles of Women in Indigenous Businesses Based on Customary Land: Case Studies from Papua New Guinea

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my family. A special feeling of gratitude to my humble parents, Steven Fezarime Auso and Amise Aperi whose simple way of life and the values they lived by shaped mine. Their dedication to church and continual prayers have resulted in this achievement. My sister Joki Simon Posou and bestie Busunae Posou whose various support, words of encouragement and push for tenacity still ring in my ears. My elder brother Bataso Steven and younger siblings who have been with me through thick and thin, thank you. To each of you: this dissertation is your success story.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my wonderful daughter Victoria who has been a large part of this journey. You sacrificed a lot of your childhood to support mummy. One day you will look back and understand why mummy stayed up late at night and sometimes did not attend your school programs. Thank you for being patient and being there for me throughout the entire doctorate program. You have been my best cheerleader.

Tenk Yu Tru!
(Thank you very much)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research is to explore how indigenous enterprises based on customary land in Papua New Guinea (PNG) work to empower women. This research is part of the Royal Society of New Zealand Marsden project *"The land has eyes and teeth": customary landowners' entanglements with economic systems in the Pacific* that draws upon the notion of land as 'assemblage' (Li, 2014). The study brought in a gendered dimension to the project to understand how economic engagements on customary land involve and benefit women.

Three examples of small-medium indigenous enterprises from PNG were selected as case studies. Utilising the Pacific *Vanua* and *Tali magimagi* influenced research framework, the involvement of women in these cases was examined to understand how they contributed to and benefited from small business engagements on customary land. From executing a mixture of *tok stori/stori* sessions (storytelling, conversations), semi-structured interviews and participatory observation, the study revealed the significance of indigenous social values and practices that were of critical support to business sustainability on customary land.

Women played an important role as the 'social glue' within the businesses, maintaining the local value of *wanbel* to keep social cohesion and harmony within the businesses, communities and, with associated people. This was seen through their work on the maintenance of wellbeing for workers, relatives and communities; meeting socio-cultural obligations and responsibilities, and allowing spiritual values and beliefs to influence their actions and decisions. The desire to maintain these social values influenced the way they behaved. They also played direct business roles as co-managers, financial managers, workers and producers that helped to support business viability and retain customary land for the benefit of the family, clan and community. Further, women benefited from these businesses in various ways including gaining recognition and status in their households and communities.

The study shows that customary land ownership is not a barrier to economic development, as widely held perceptions would suggest, rather it is an asset that can facilitate different forms of local development for people and communities in PNG and in the wider Pacific. There is a need to understand economic-centred intentions alongside the social-cultural interests of women to drive context-specific development. A culturally appropriate gender-sensitive framework is proposed in this thesis as an alternative development framework that can guide the work of government policymakers, development agencies and donors to formulate inclusive development programmes that also support women's other interests in PNG and the Pacific.

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ABBREVIATION

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AROB	Autonomous Region of Bougainville
CIPE	Centre for International Private Enterprise
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GAD	Gender and development
GoPNG	Government of Papua New Guinea
GWI	Global Women's Issues
IFC	International Finance Corporation
ILG	Incorporated Land Groups
ILO	International Labour Organisation
INA	Institute of National Affairs
LLG	Local Level Government
MSME	Micro small medium enterprises
NARI	National Agricultural Research Institute
NDB	National Development Bank
NRI	National Research Institute
PIE	Pacific Indigenous Entrepreneurship
PNGWCCI	PNG Women's Chamber of Commerce and Industry
SABL	Small Agriculture and Business Lease
SME	Small to medium sized enterprises
SMEC	Small Medium Enterprise Corporation
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNPFII	United Nationals Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development

GLOSSARY OF TOK PISIN TERMS

bos meri	boss lady; boss woman
gutpela sindaun	a good situation or good life
hevi	social burden; crisis
hauslain	village; people from the same village or household
haus krai	house of mourning
kaikai	cooked/uncooked food; to eat; eating
mama	older women; mother; female other than a biological mother who provides basic or supports other needs
meri	female(s); girl(s); woman; women; lady(ies)
bikman	big man; man with wealth and status; male community leader
pasin nogud	bad behaviour/attitude
save	education; Knowledge
samtin natin	not important; trivial; nothing to worry about
stori	sharing of conversations on an informal, relational basis
tambu	in-law; not allowed; sacred
tok stori	conversations or dialogues shared based on relationality
waitman	white person/people referred usually to Caucasians
wanbel	in agreement; social harmony; being happy; one in mind/heart; living well with others in a way that enables peace and harmony
wantok	individuals having a common language, geographical area of origin or common social associations
wokbung	working together

FIGURES

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

In spite of the widely held view that customary land ownership hinders economic growth and development in the Pacific, it has supported life for many generations. About 85% of Papua New Guineans live off customary land through the diverse productive management of it. Due to such a high dependence on customary land and intricate social and cultural relationships built around it, a recent study affirmed that "customary land is a social and cultural resource for indigenous business" (Scheyvens et al., 2017, p. 774). There are various livelihood activities coming out of customary land that support indigenous people, one of which is small business ownership. This thesis focuses on indigenous enterprises based on customary land in Papua New Guinea (PNG) and explores women's involvement in those businesses.

The research brings a gender aspect to the Royal Society of New Zealand's Marsden project *"The land has eyes and teeth": customary landowners' entanglements with economic systems in the Pacific*", which it is a part of. The overall project's use of Pacific indigenous research frameworks guided this exploration of women's participation in male-owned local businesses in PNG.

One of the under-researched aspects of indigenous business on customary land is the role of women in these businesses. This research is undertaken to understand how women's contribution to male-owned, customary land-based businesses influence development in rural PNG. The findings showed that, apart from direct business involvement, women also had important invisible roles, making them the 'social glue', maintaining the local value of *wanbel* to keep social cohesion and harmony within the businesses, communities and with associated people. This was seen through their work on the maintenance of wellbeing for workers, relatives and communities; meeting socio-cultural obligations and responsibilities, and allowing spiritual values and beliefs to influence their actions and decisions. The desire to maintain these social values influenced the way they behaved. They also played direct business roles as co-

managers, financial managers, workers and producers that helped to support business viability and retain customary land for the benefit of the family, clan and community.

Overall, this research showed that customary land is not a barrier to development. As the case study businesses show, land was easily available and was used to establish successful businesses. Customary land supported viable businesses, provided employment for local people, supported family members, the wider community and helped females who are connected to the business cases to gain recognition and important business skills.

1.2. Research Aim, Objectives and Questions

The aim of this research was to critically examine the role of women in successful examples of businesses established on customary land in PNG. It had two main objectives with the first relating to the broader Marsden project: **to explain the components of successful indigenous enterprises based on customary land in PNG**. The research question that guided research into addressing this objective was: **what are the key ingredients for success of businesses based on customary land?**

The second objective that is related specifically to this research is: **to explore women's involvement in successful indigenous businesses based on customary land in PNG and the benefits they gain from this.** The main research question that addressed this objective was: **how are women involved in and benefit from small businesses based on customary land?**

Charting the role of women in customary land-based firms as part of their success factors in this thesis contributes to the recognition of the significant social roles and values that influence women's actions, and which also contribute to the wellbeing and social stability for small, family and village-based businesses in PNG.

1.3. Justification for this Research

The research is framed by the main Marsden Project mentioned above, therefore the overall justification for doing this study is an appreciative enquiry of customary landownership as an enabler of economic development in the Pacific. The study added a gendered dimension to the main project to understand how gender roles influence customary land-based economic engagements in PNG. Studying female contributors in locally-owned businesses broadens our understanding of gender relationships and negotiations around land and business success that also aid in retaining customary land in PNG and the wider the Pacific.

The perception of customary land ownership in PNG and the Pacific has not always been positive especially from western development proponents (Duncan, 2018; Gosarevski et al., 2004). One area that contributes to this negative view of customary forms of tenure is the notion that limited access to land hinders women's ability to engage in business. The constant mention of women's "lack of independent right" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008, p. 81) and input over land, and being "excluded from owning registered land" (Brouwer et al., 1998, p. 21) in institutional reports (Asian Development Bank, 2013) continue to frame customary land ownership as a source of gender inequality and hinderance to women's development. These general observations are valid to the extent that the majority of women lack individual rights to land on which to run businesses. However, women's involvement in economic engagements through small-scale agricultural production and irregular market enterprises supported by land, is well noted (Anderson, 2008; Barnett-Naghshineh, 2019; Benediktsson, 2002; Mikhailovich et al., 2016; Rooney, 2016). Yet, lack of access to land continues to be identified as a major challenge for women, directly endorsing negative perceptions held over customary landownership (Duncan, 2018) from a gender perspective.

Such perceptions put limitations on exploring the nuances that positively link customary land tenure to communty welfare and business benefits to women. There is scarce empirical evidence connecting women's participation in male-owned, customary-land

based indigenous enterprises to business success and wellbeing. This research is done to show that the social and cultural values that underpin customary forms of land tenure actually raise women's status and enable them to be active participants of local development through their association with local firms established on customary land.

1.4. Research Overview

Three examples of small to medium indigenous enterprises (SMEs) from PNG were selected as case studies for this research. Utilising the Pacific *Vanua* and *Tali magimagi* research frameworks – detailed in the methodology chapter (Chapter 6) – women's involvement in these cases was examined to understand how they influence small business engagements on customary land and what benefits they gained. A mixture of *tok stori*[1]*/stori* (storytelling, conversations with an informal approach) sessions, semi-structured interviews and participant observation were executed for data collection. Approximately 2-3 weeks was spent at each business site. There were 17 individual participants – comprising business owners, female relatives and key informants, and three group interviews with workers and community members, one at each case study business. The study used inductive thematic analysis (Caulfield, 2019), a technique used in qualitative ethnographic research in order to identify emerging themes from the material. Concepts of social embeddedness and indigenous entrepreneurship were drawn from Polanyi (1957), Granovetter (1985), and Dana and Anderson (2007). Other alternative approaches to development including diverse economics (Gibson-Graham et al., 2013), hybrid economies (Altman, 2001) and doughnut economics (Raworth, 2017a) were explored to further understand characteristics of indigenous communities. The thesis also draws on various literatures on Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship (Bargh, 2012; Cahn, 2008; Curry, 1999, 2003, 2005; Hailey, 1987; Kawharu et al., 2017), customary land (Anderson, 2006c, 2012, April ; Fingleton, 2005), and women's role in economic development in PNG (Anderson, 2008; Koczberski, 2002, 2007) to investigate

[1] Melanesian Pacific word that generally refers to conversations or dialogues about personal stories and experiences shared based on relationality. (Sanga, Reynolds, Paulsen, Spratt & Maneipuri, 2018)

the role of social and cultural notions that underpin the actions and behaviours of women in indigenous businesses based on customary land.

1.5. Study Context

Papua New Guinea is an independent state located toward the south western part of the Pacific Ocean and just north of Australia (Figure 1). It is part of the Melanesian group of developing island states in the Pacific that also includes Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji and New Caledonia.

The physical geography and tropical climate of PNG both encourages and deters business development. The country lies south of the equator, with latitudes stretching from 2-12 degrees south and longitudes of 141-157 degrees east. The eastern part of the island of New Guinea makes up this country, sharing a land border with the Indonesian province of Papua toward the west. With a total land area of 462,840 square kilometres and 8,300 kilometres of coastline, a central chain of mountains and valleys dominates the mainland. More than 600 islands are scattered along the coastline.

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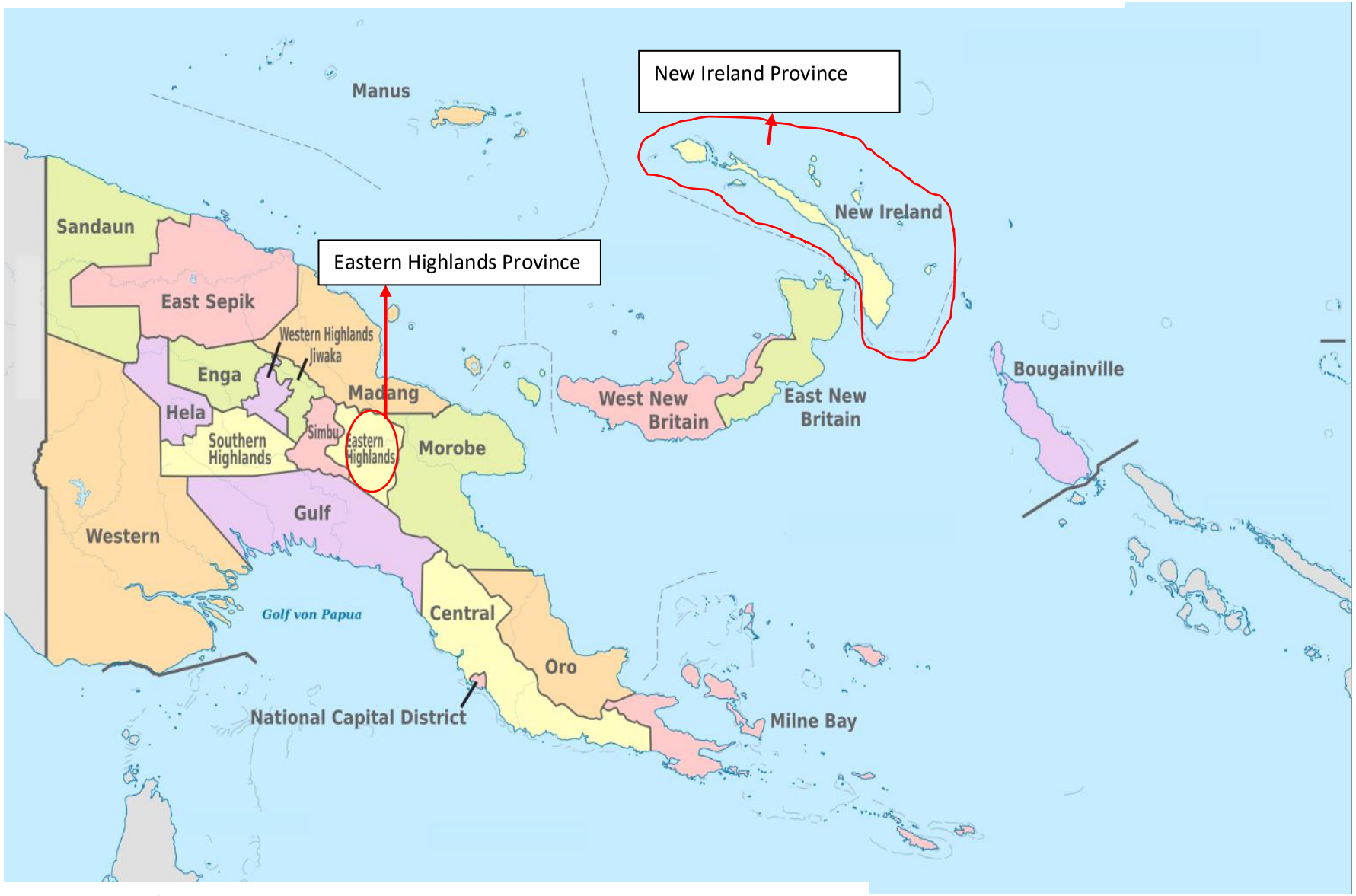
Papua New Guinea is divided into four main regions: Momase, Highlands, Southern and New Guinea Islands. There are 23 provinces, 87 districts (PNG National Statistics Office, 2011) and several towns and cities spread throughout these regions. Port Moresby is the capital city and there are provincial towns such as Goroka and Kavieng.

Figure 1 Map of Papua New Guinea Locating Eastern Highlands Province and New Ireland Province



Source: Derived from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Papua_New_Guinea,_administrative_divisions_-_de_-_colored.svg

With a population growth rate of 3%, the country's population has grown from 7.3 million in 2011 (PNG National Statistics Office, 2011) to over 8.7 million as at 2019 (The World Bank Group, 2020), with the Highlands and New Guinea Islands regions being the most and least populated regions.

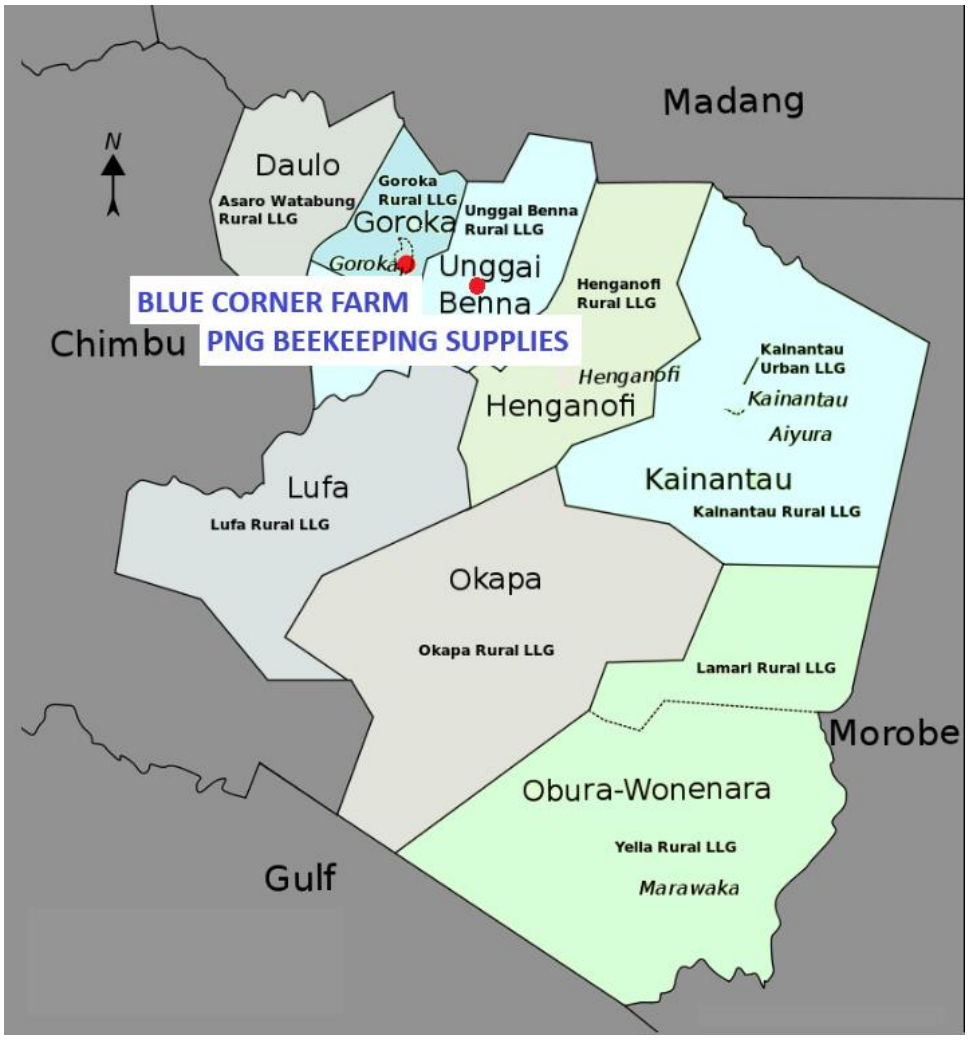
There are a number of cultural factors that set PNG apart from the rest of the South Pacific region. The country's population is dominated by native Papua New Guineans who belong to diverse ethnic groups. The heterogeneity of ethnicity is reflected in the more than 700 languages spoken in the country. In addition, PNG is one of the few countries in the Pacific and the world with 97% of land under customary land tenure, supported by the national constitution. In this sense, and unusually, every Papua New Guinean is a landowner or is connected to a landowning unit (Anderson, 2006c). The majority of the 88% of people who live in rural areas depend on land and sea products, with a wide variety of agricultural systems as the main livelihood activity. The customary land is a source of produce for sale and subsistence.

Given the majority of women and men earning their livelihoods from small scale economic activities, the government passed new Small to Medium Enterprise (SME) legislation in 2015, and in 2016 launched the SME Policy. The purpose of this policy was to promote the growth of local SMEs and encourage more women to participate in business (Ministry of Trade Commerce & Industry, 2016). In this context, the three small business case studies in this research are now introduced.

1.5.1. Case study site: Goroka, Eastern Highland Province

The two agriculture-based case study businesses, Blue Corner Farm Limited and PNG Beekeeping Supplies, are located in the Eastern Highlands Province, one of the seven highlands provinces of PNG. Eastern Highlands is made up of eight districts and the provincial capital is Goroka Town. Blue Corner Farm is located in the Goroka District while PNG Beekeeping Supplies is based in the Bena Bena part of the Unggai-Bena District (Figure 2).

Figure 2 Map of Eastern Highlands Locating Blue Corner Farm and PNG Beekeeping Supplies



Source: Derived from

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/24/Ehpdistricts.svg

Eastern Highlands Province is ethnically diverse, has a population of nearly 600,000 (PNG National Statistics Office, 2011) that speak more than 21 languages, and has a patrilineal system of land ownership where land and property rights are overseen by males. This province covers a land area of 11,200 km^2 and is located in the central part of mainland PNG and is the first province to be reached if one travels along the Highlands Highway from Morobe Province. It has rugged mountain terrain with its highest mountain peak at 3750m (Mt Michael) above sea level, and several main rivers. It has wet and dry seasons with December-April having 203-305mm of rainfall and May-November with minimum of 51-102mm rainfall. The annual maximum temperature is 26^oC (Coffee Industry Corporation, 2016). This climate has endowed the Eastern

Highlands with a potential in agriculture that makes it the second largest coffee producer in the country (Coffee Industry Corporation, 2016), and it is the hub of agricultural production, dominated by informal small-scale business activities (Finney, 1973). In terms of formal, registered SMEs, though dominated by a variety of agricultural activities, Eastern Highlands has just 547 representing 1.1% of the total formal SMEs (49,501) in the country (Ministry of Trade Commerce & Industry, 2016).

Based on my personal experiences growing up in Eastern Highlands, domestic agricultural production and small-scale market and vending spots dominate the province. It is in this context that detailed studies of Blue Corner Farm and PNG Beekeeping Supplies were undertaken.

1.5.2. Case study site: Tunnung Island, New Hanover, New Ireland Province

The third case study, Clem's Place surf getaway, is located on Tunnung Island, a remote atoll island that forms part of the Tigak group of islands. New Hanover is the largest of these small islands, which form part of New Ireland Province (Figure 3). New Ireland has two districts, Kavieng and Namatanai Districts, with ten Local Level Governments. Tunnung Island is part of the Lavongai Rural Local Level Government in Kavieng District and is located a little toward the north-east of New Hanover and generally west of the mainland New Ireland.

New Ireland is part of the New Guinea Islands Region with a land area of 9,560 km^2 largely contained in the main islands with numerous small islands. The provincial capital is Kavieng. The province has a population close to 200,000 as at 2010 (PNG National Statistics Office, 2011). New Ireland contains numerous historical relics of WWII found on land and in the sea. It has some of the most beautiful and interesting landscapes and surf spots and therefore attracts many international visitors. New Ireland's economy is largely based on tourism, fisheries and agriculture. Despite its small population compared to Eastern Highlands, this province has 1,983 formal SMEs representing 4% of the total registered SMEs in the country (Ministry of Trade Commerce & Industry,

2016). Most of the tourism businesses are foreign owned with only a handful of small-scale, locally owned operators, of which Clem's Place is one.

Figure 3 Map of New Ireland Province Locating Clem's Place

Source: Derived from

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matalai_Rural_LLG#/media/File:Nipdistricts.svg

Women remain a significant part of New Ireland society as it is dominated by a matrilineal system. That means land and property rights are overseen by females and their brothers. It is in this context that detailed study of the third case was undertaken.

1.5.3. A glance at the findings

The findings generated from the research in those two provinces strongly pointed to social and collective values and concepts as a catalyst for success. Participation in customary land-based businesses enabled women to be proactive members in their communities, raising their status. Females in the businesses were noted as the 'social

glue' for the businesses, allowing the notion of *wanbel* to keeping positive relationships within the businesses, communities and with associated people. Business benefits were extended through their social associations, connecting the businesses to the wider community. Doing this reinforced the embeddedness of village-based firms and indirectly contributed to retaining land for the benefit of families and clans. The study also identified various business benefits for women including gaining recognition and status in their households and communities. The thesis suggests that people's actions in indigenous businesses are not always driven by economic motives, therefore, there is a need to understand economic-centred intentions alongside the socio-cultural interests of women to drive context-specific development. Proposed in the thesis is a culturally informed alternative development framework that could be useful for informing business development programmes that cater for women's development interest in PNG (Chapter 10).

1.6. Thesis Organisation

This thesis consists of ten chapters. The introductory chapter (Chapter 1) here establishes the research question, aim and objectives and provides the justification for the study. It gives the research overview, provides a summary of the main thesis findings and outlines the thesis organisation.

Chapter 2 is one of the four literature review chapters. Because the study involved indigenous enterprises based on customary land as part of the bigger project, it was necessary to review social embeddedness thinking and indigenous entrepreneurship as part the theoretical framework for this study. The discussion provided an understanding of what influences indigenous peoples' economic behaviour. Alternative development approaches (Altman, 2001; Gibson-Graham, 2006, 2010; Gibson-Graham et al., 2013; Raworth, 2017a, 2017b) are also reviewed to further understand non-economic concepts around indigenous people's participation in the economy. The chapter analysed social-cultural values, norms and practices as significant influencers of economic decisions and actions.

Chapter 3 is an extension of Chapter 2 that discusses Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship. The chapter reviews fundamental values underpinning Pacific societies that influence lifestyle and social behaviours. It also reviews explanations of Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship and explores characteristics of socially embedded business examples from the Pacific including Māori businesses. Then the discussion looks at indigenous business practices in PNG that are influenced by socio-cultural values using specific examples. The chapter ended with identifying characteristics of Pacific indigenous entrepreneurs and factors that aid small business enterprises. This sets the basis for exploring successful components of local firms established on customary land in PNG.

The concepts reviewed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 frame the overall theoretical lens for understanding the behaviour of business owners and their female-counterparts operating small, village-based firms in rural PNG. Importantly, these chapters provide useful concepts to explain women's social, cultural and spiritual roles that contribute to the success of case study firms.

Chapter 4 discusses customary land and the cultural context of PNG. This chapter, although treated as part of the literature review, provides the general context within which this study is situated and makes a connection to gender and access to customary land. It highlights mainstream academic and policy perceptions of customary land in PNG and explains land protection, property and inheritance rules. It also discusses women's access to customary land and highlights the opportunities and challenges that customary landownership poses for women. In doing so, this chapter makes an entry for women to be studied in locally driven businesses on customary land.

Chapter 5 focuses on women's participation in economic development to set the stage for understanding women's position in PNG's economic development. The chapter discusses women's contribution to the economy at different levels including in the formal and informal sectors. As the majority of women exist and create livelihoods in rural PNG, literature on women's involvement in social reproduction, small-scale

agriculture, open-markets and SMEs is included. The chapter also provides a critical analysis of challenges hindering women's engagement in entrepreneurial creation, particularly their involvement in SME and seeks to understand why an emphasis on women's economic empowerment has not increased women's SMEs in local regions. The analysis of the literature across these four chapters resulted in formulating a culturally appropriate, gender-sensitive framework that could be useful for business development programmes in rural locations (Chapter 10).

Chapter 6 explains the Pacific *Vanua* and *Tali magimagi* indigenous methodological frameworks that guided the study. It provides details of case study selection and access to research sites. In a relational economy like PNG, relationship building remains paramount for researchers, hence, this chapter discusses key connections and relationships that led to accessing research locations and participants. The chapter discusses in detail data collection methods. Melanesian *tok stori*, which is similar to *talanoa*, is introduced and explained as a key method for data generation. Because the study took on an ethnographic research approach, this chapter also explains the inductive thematic analysis used for analysing the data collected. This data analysis technique helped to identify key themes for business success and especially women's crucial roles, reported in Chapter 9, that support and sustain family businesses on customary land. The chapter concludes with a discussion of fieldwork challenges and data limitations.

Chapter 7 is one of three findings chapters. As such, it provides the background to each business case study. It introduces the businesses, provides their locations and discusses the land tenure arrangements that enabled each enterprise to develop. The chapter also discusses the motivations that led to business start-up and details the initial economic activities and current status. Female members who co-manage and play vital roles in these male-owned businesses are introduced toward the end of the chapter. This makes reference to women in Chapter 9 easy, as that chapter contains their voices and experiences.

Chapter 8 presents and discusses data on success factors that sustain each enterprise. This chapter brings together findings that addressed the first research question of the study: what are the key ingredients for success of businesses based on customary land? Using the business participant voices and experiences, this chapter explains how access to 'rent-free land', contributions to societal wellbeing and personal entrepreneurial traits helped in the development and sustainability of each business. The findings here reflect many aspects that support indigenous businesses explored in Chapter 2 and 3, pointing to non-economic factors as important for establishing successful local firms. The last section of the chapter highlights ongoing challenges that these small enterprises endure, which also brings to light recommendations for the final chapter (Chapter 10).

Chapter 9 is the main findings chapter for this thesis. The findings presented in this chapter address the second research question of this study: how women are involved in and benefit from small businesses based on customary land? It presents and discusses data on the various forms of women's roles in the cases study enterprises. The chapter demonstrates the triple role of women (Molyneux, 1985; Moser, 1989). Instead of exemplifying these roles as burdensome, the chapter reveals how women feel empowered from their participation in the case study family businesses. It argues that local concepts that keep the wellbeing of businesses, families and communities in PNG should be examined so that translation into appropriate business development policy is informed and inclusive of women's socio-cultural interests rather than focusing solely on economic empowerment. Using the analysis in this chapter and literature reviewed in Chapter 5, a *Culturally Appropriate Gender Sensitive Business Development Framework* is developed and presented.

Chapter 10 is the final chapter. Drawing from Chapters 2 and 3, and findings in Chapter 7, the first part of the chapter briefly discusses key indigenous values and principles that inform, motivate and guide businesses. The discussion here points to customary landownership as an important resource for social and economic wellbeing for Papua New Guineans. The rest of the chapter discusses the importance of women's contribution to local development and presents thesis contribution and

recommendations. The thesis strongly argues that western notions of women's leadership in business, wellbeing and empowerment potentially exclude a majority of women from participating in concrete and meaningful entrepreneurial activities. The need for an alternative development framework is emphasised and supported. The thesis makes several recommendations including improvement in key infrastructures and the use of local concepts to understand women's challenges to engaging in entrepreneurial engagements and development.

1.7. Summary

In a context where customary land remains a significant part of life, it is important to understand the factors that keep most Papua New Guineans connected to their land. One way to do this is to study how local entrepreneurs do business on their customary land while keeping vital links to their culture and people. This introductory chapter has set the basis for this study by providing the research aim, objectives, questions and justification for the research. Studying indigenous entrepreneurs and their women counterparts in the Eastern Highlands and New Ireland provinces will help us to understand the important cultural factors that continue to enable people to retain their land.

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL EMBEDDEDNESS AND INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP CONCEPTS

2.1. Introduction

As noted in Chapter 1, the majority of Papua New Guineans are landowners who live in communal settings with strong connections to their land, culture and families. These socio-cultural connections to the land influence the processes, opportunities, motivations and challenges that affect their economic decisions and actions. The concept of social embeddedness and features of indigenous entrepreneurship are explored in this chapter in order to understand indigenous peoples' economic behaviours, particularly customary landowners' economic entanglements. These concepts form part of the theoretical lens to understand how cultural, social and spiritual values, norms, beliefs and practices influence indigenous enterprises based on customary land. It is doubly important to use these concepts to understand how women's social, cultural and spiritual actions, roles and responsibilities contribute to those enterprises.

This chapter will discuss key ideas behind social embeddedness thinking established by Polanyi (1957) and Granovetter (1985, 2005) and develop a definition of what it is (sub-section 2.2.1). Following this, several contemporary approaches such as diverse economies, hybrid economies and doughnut economics will be reviewed in relation to social embeddedness thinking (sub-section 2.2.2). The concept of social embeddedness and related approaches will be used to frame the overall understanding of how indigenous entrepreneurs and their women counterparts in this research use social and cultural relationships, values and practices to influence their economic motives and behaviours that effect development in their communities.

In section 2.3, the main features entailing indigenous entrepreneurship will be discussed. The factors and practices that contribute to success or failure of indigenous businesses will be explored and definitions and explanations of who indigenous people are and why the World Bank's definition is used to understand indigenous people of the Pacific, will be given. This will be followed by a discussion on key models of indigenous

entrepreneurship and a connection will be made between social embeddedness thinking and indigenous entrepreneurship. This is followed by a summary on indigenous entrepreneurship (sub-section 2.3.4) then the main conclusion of this chapter is presented (section 2.4).

2.2. The Theory of Social Embeddedness of Economic Actions

Social embeddedness thinking is used to understand the relationship that exists between social-cultural relationships and economic actions. Although originally conceptualised in the 1940s, it is still relevant today as it supports related contemporary approaches to understanding how social, cultural and spiritual values, relationships and practices influence economic actions and decisions of indigenous entrepreneurs including those in PNG and the Pacific islands.

2.2.1. Social embeddedness: Polanyi and Granovetter

The concept of social embeddedness has been used to understand how market economics and society relate and influence each other. It began with Karl Paul Polanyi, an economic historian whose anthropological studies centred around the connection between economy and society in the early 1900s (Polanyi et al., 1957). Polanyi's study contains key concepts that provide an understanding of how social and cultural systems, practices and norms influence people's economic actions. To set the basis for further discussion of related concepts, Polanyi's key ideas are explored here.

In his book *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of our Time* (1957, c1944), Polanyi discussed some issues related to capitalist thinking and argued how economy is embedded/situated in the society. The book is detailed with discussions of the political and economic origins of the fall of 19th century civilisation and outlines the impact that a self-regulating market economy had on the society and the environment. The key issues of modern market system centred around the four core institutions on which this modern civilisation rests: the balance-of-power system (peace between the Great Powers); the international gold standard (symbolised organisation of the world economy); the self-regulating market (symbolised material welfare) which created the fourth institution, the liberal state. The key to keeping all these institutions

in order were the laws that governed the market economy, an institution that existed at the expense of "overwhelming the natural and human substance of the society" (Polanyi, 1957, p. 3).

Polanyi noted that the market economy and its laws reduced man to labour and nature to land making the economy look like the only important factor supporting life. Consequently, his argument was that

> to separate human labour from other activities of life and to subject it to the laws of the market was to crush all forms of existence in a society and to replace them by an individualistic one (Polanyi, 1957, p. 3).

Additionally, one of his novel arguments that directly supports the overall project which this study is part of, is that

> …land is an element of nature inextricably interwoven with man's institutions. To isolate it and form a market out of it was perhaps the weirdest of all undertakings of our ancestors. Traditionally, land and labour are not separated; labour forms part of life, land remains part of nature, life and nature form an articulate whole. Land is thus tied up with the organisations of kinship, neighbourhood, craft, and creed – with tribe and temple, village, guild and church. The economic function is but one of many vital functions of land. It invests man's life with stability; it is the landscape and the seasons. We might as well imagine him being born without hands and feet as carrying on his life without land. (Polanyi, 1957, p. 178)

This quote addresses very significant thoughts regarding how nature and society are the overarching basis for the economy and the mention of land as an integral part of a society is particularly important for this study. Polanyi's argument was that when the modern market system was introduced, the economy was treated separately as the only import factor for development at the expense of social institutions and the environment. The holistic value of land was reduced to sellable, economic value that can be owned and transacted by self-seeking, wealth-hoarding individuals. Collective values and activities that supported life in the society were disrupted by the profit-driven market economy as he saw during his time. Thus, this author maintained that the economy did not regulate itself and could not exist on its own without the sacrifices of human and natural substances of society. Using the 1930s Great Depression, he supported this argument that when the economy fell during that 'shock' period, society

took measures to protect itself. And to fix the economic problems created by the market crash, society and nature were used and disturbed (Polanyi, 1957). This interlinkage meant that the economy, society and nature were connected and were not supposed to be treated separately.

To exemplify how society and economy were intimately connected, pre-capitalist societies including Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Aztec and Guinea coast were used (Polanyi et al., 1957). The explanation of the connection came from answering important ethnographic questions: “What social action does the free market entail and where can such forms of social actions be found prior to modern times? Where else, outside the recent western world, would reciprocity, redistribution and exchange exist? And if it did exist, did any parallel connections unite economic behaviour and social arrangements and institutions?” (Polanyi et al., 1957, pp. viii, ix). In order to answer these questions, Polanyi and colleagues, using anthropological evidence and studies of how ancient societies behaved socio-economically, concluded that the market economy did not exist solely on supply, demand and fluctuating prices. In those pre-capitalist economies, there were connections with developed cultural traits and features including “social arrangements, history, functions (roles) of people, society and maintenance of other institutions” (Polanyi et al., 1957, p. viii) more important than the economic, market-driven institution itself.

This meant that goods or services were not produced and supplied in a social vacuum. People who had need of a product or service maintained some form of social relationships with the producers or service providers for the needed product or service to be given. Outside the capitalist western world such as in Japan, Mexico, Melanesia, ancient Greek and in Babylonia, Mesopotamia and Aztec societies, connections that united economic behaviours and social arrangements and institutions existed but they were diverse and not of the kind found in western societies (Polanyi et al., 1957, pp. ix, x). Furthermore, in these societies reciprocity, redistribution and exchange were the guiding principles. These principles were disrupted by modern capitalism where “market was detached from society and nature and treated separately” (ibid. p.vii), trade and formal market policies being the culprit. Hence, the objective to bring out the

social implications of the market economy in the 19th century and Polanyi's lifelong study of pre-capitalist economies led to the conception of social embeddedness thinking, making it an important part of social theory (Polanyi, 1957; Polanyi et al., 1957) that is now used as the basis for understanding social and economic actions and behaviours of entrepreneurs. This thinking was further developed in the 1980s by others including Mark Granovetter, an American sociologist, to understand how social relationships and networks influence economic actions in the modern market systems.

Granovetter (1985) further expanded on Polanyi's embeddedness concept and argued that social embeddedness not only existed in pre-capitalist economies but also exists in today's modern market and is the most important driver for firms and businesses. This author maintained that relationships and associations amongst individuals and small enterprises in contemporary capitalist economies enable them to participate in trade and markets while protecting them from the larger, more dominant businesses. The associations amongst small businesses maintains their operations (Granovetter, 1985) Having made this argument, Granovetter went on to explain what this concept entails in an article in 2005 where he defined what social embeddedness of the economy means in entrepreneurship. According to him,

> When economic and non-economic activities are intermixed, the non-economic activity affects the costs and the available techniques for economic activity. This 'mixing of activities' is called social embeddedness of the economy. (Granovetter, 2005, p. 35)

In this definition, economic behaviours and activities are closely tied to and affected by the non-economic activities and institutions such as culture, social relations, religion and politics. This basically supports the notion that economic actions or behaviours are embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social and cultural associations as Polanyi et al. (1957) established. Since this concept has influenced thinking in the socio-economic spheres for decades and is still relevant today, it is justifiable to use this concept to understand how socio-cultural values, human relationships, norms and practices influence and motivate economic actions and behaviours of indigenous entrepreneurs and women's economic roles in PNG and elsewhere in the Pacific.

The emergence of other contemporary approaches that share similar ideas of social embeddedness makes it more relevant for its inclusion in this thesis as part of the theoretical lens to understand the nuances that support and sustain indigenous enterprises based on customary land.

2.2.2. Alternative approaches aligned with social embeddedness thinking

Theoretical debates about economic alternatives date back to 19th century philosophers such as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, but the discussion regarding alternative economic spaces began more recently, influenced in part by Polanyi's theorisation of the social embeddedness of economy (Polanyi, 1957). Since then, several contemporary approaches to economic development thinking have arisen. Three such approaches that express notions of embeddedness and are usual for guiding this study are the diverse economies approach (Gibson-Graham, 1996; Gibson-Graham et al., 2013), the concept of hybrid economy (Altman, 2001) and doughnut economics (Raworth, 2017a, 2017b). Key ideas contained in each concept are discussed below, which provides a justification for allowing alternative approaches as part of the theoretic lens to inform and explain the obvious and obscure factors that support indigenous enterprises in this research.

Diverse economies

In the field of geography, Gibson-Graham's work has been influential in contributing to the development of diverse economies thinking (Gritzas & Kavoulakos, 2016). *The End of Capitalism (As We Know It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy* (Gibson-Graham, 1996) brought to light various practices, and they further developed diverse economies discourse in *A Post-capitalist Politics* (2006) and *Take Back the Economy: An Ethical Guide to Transforming our Communities* (2013), contributing to ideas about a post-capitalist future.

Gibson-Graham's key argument is that capitalist economies are not tightly organised systems, but rather they consist of many different undertakings. There is diversity of enterprises, labour, property, transactions, and finance which are categorised in capitalist, alternative capitalist and non-capitalist (Table 1) all of which exist together and support people's livelihoods.

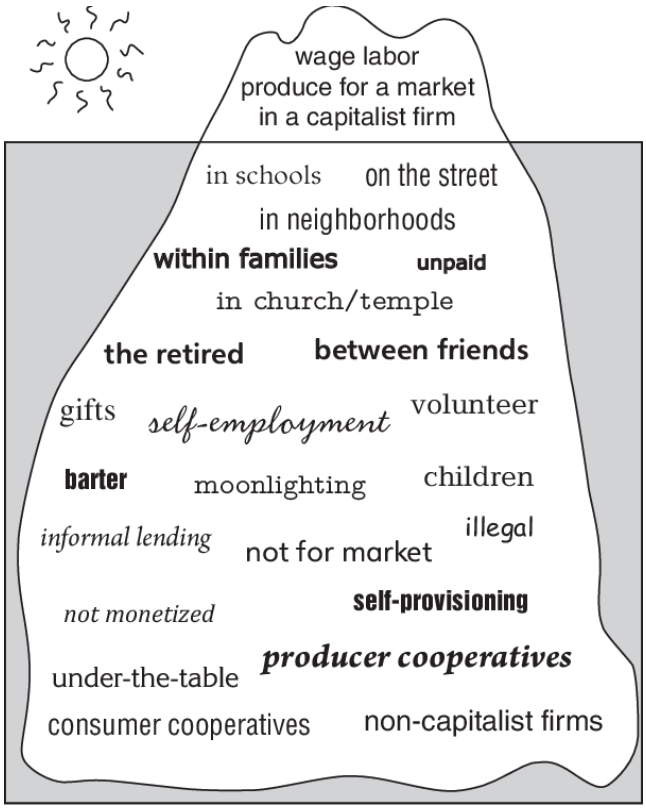
From this, it is obvious that economy driven by market imperative (capitalism) does not exist alone but is supported by various means of alternative, non-capitalistic economic activities. A useful way of explaining this was the iceberg metaphor (Figure 4) that Gibson-Graham used to expand understanding on economy and development.

Table 1 The Diverse Economy Framework

ENTERPRISE	LABOUR	PROPERTY	TRANSACTIONS	FINANCE
Capitalist	**Wage**	**Private**	**Market**	**Mainstream market**
Alternative Capitalist	**Alternative Paid**	**Alternative Private**	**Alternative market**	**Alternative market**
▪ State-owned ▪ Environmentally responsible ▪ Socially responsible ▪ Non-profit	▪ Self-employed ▪ Reciprocal labour ▪ In-kind ▪ Work for welfare	▪ State-managed assets ▪ Customary (clan) land ▪ Community land trust ▪ Indigenous knowledge (intellectual property	▪ Fair trade ▪ Alternative currencies ▪ Underground market ▪ Barter	▪ Cooperative banks ▪ Credit unions ▪ Community-based financial institutions ▪ Micro-finance
Non-Capitalist	**Unpaid**	**Open Access**	**Non-Market**	**Non-Market**
▪ Worker cooperative ▪ Sole proprietorships ▪ Community enterprise ▪ Feudal ▪ Slave	▪ Housework ▪ Volunteer ▪ Self-provisioning ▪ Slave labour	▪ Atmosphere ▪ International waters ▪ Open access IP ▪ Outer space	▪ Household sharing ▪ Gift giving ▪ Hunting, fishing, gathering ▪ Theft, piracy, poaching	▪ Sweat equity ▪ Family lending ▪ Donations ▪ Interest-free loans

Source: Gibson-Graham (2010, p. 228).

Figure 4 The Diverse Economy Iceberg



Source: Gibson-Graham (2006, p. 70).

This diagram is an illustrative version of the diverse economy framework (Table 1) to "dislocate capitalocentrism" (Gibson-Graham, 2006, p. 69) which refers to representation of all economic activities in terms of their relationships to capitalism (Gibson-Graham, 1996). The iceberg metaphor shows that market relations including in private and commercial enterprise, are visible but are a very "small portion of the economic life" (Gritzas & Kavoulakos, 2016, p. 919) supported by a wide range of invisible relationships and activities. Thus, according to these academics, social wealth is produced, transacted and distributed through various non-capitalist means, making non-economic relationships significant, and profit-making imperatives just a small subset of economic life "situated in a vast sea of economic activity" (Gibson-Graham, 2006, p. 70).

To condense the various factors in the diverse economies' iceberg metaphor, Healy (2009) posited that the diverse economy, is a

> theoretical proposition that economies are intrinsically heterogenous spaces composed of multiple class processes, mechanisms of

> exchange, forms of labour and remunerations, finance and ownership. (p. 338)

This quote implies that the diverse economies approach recognises the value of non-economic processes and networks that also support economic pursuits.

Gibson-Graham's contribution to the diverse economies discourse has generated various narratives, models and projects of non-market and alternative development and constructed and strengthened what is 'community economies' (Gibson-Graham, 2006). Additionally, as a concept and in practice, the diverse economies discourse encourages and strengthens alternative spaces. For example, using the diverse economies model, McKinnon et al. (2016) developed a 'floating coconut model' to depict diverse economic activities that support small Pacific island households. By using the information, they gathered from female and male participants, they noted that gender equality and economic empowerment in the Pacific depends on diverse roles by both males and females including in subsistence gardening, gift-giving, sharing and participating in various non-economic activities.

Further, a value of the diverse economies approach is its focus on action research that encourages possible, alternative forms of development (Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham et al., 2013) rather than supporting dominant exploitative economic practices. An increasing number of indigenous economies and entrepreneurship researchers in the Pacific and in New Zealand have revealed various existing alternatives for indigenous enterprises (Bargh, 2012; Curry, 2003; Kawharu et al., 2017; Movono & Becken, 2018; Vunibola & Scheyvens, 2019).

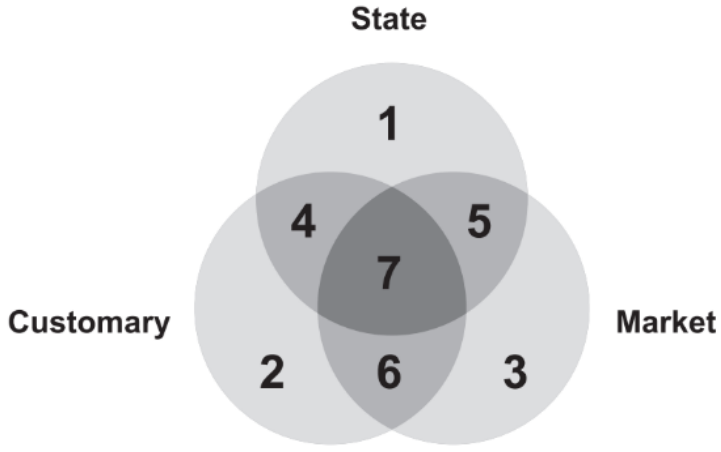
The diverse economies discourse's acknowledgment of various non-economic factors that contribute to economic development and change, helps us to unpack the nuances between land, culture, indigenous businesses and women's participation in these. This approach clearly aligns well with the ideas of social embeddedness thinking and is appropriate, thus its inclusion here.

Hybrid economies

A recent addition to the alternative development discourse that also encompasses social embeddedness notions is the hybrid economy perspective by Altman (2001, 2005). From his extensive study of indigenous communities in remote and regional Australia, Altman noted that the "customary economy" (Altman, 2001, p. 5) supports indigenous livelihoods. The various forms of customary activities included hunting, fishing, foraging, as well as management of habitat, species and biodiversity. These productive activities occur outside of the market and State and are "based on cultural continuities" (ibid. p.5).

Altman acknowledged the existence of customary economy, and employing Yang's (2000) economic hybridity, posited that the real economy of native communities in remote Australia is the hybrid economy that comprises "highly inter-dependent customary, state and market sectors" (Altman, 2005, p. 124). According to this author, a hybrid economy requires a hybrid analytical framework that combines science, social science and indigenous knowledge systems (Russell, 2011). Using a Venn diagram (Figure 5) the hybrid economy framework was developed, which illustrated different intersections of the state economy, customary economy and the market economy.

Figure 5 The Hybrid Economy Framework



Source: Russell (2011).

Detailed explanation of the conceptual framework is provided in Altman (2005, p. 124).

1. State welfare support and public sector employment
2. Customary or nonmarket activities

3. Private sector employment /commercial enterprise
4. Customary and the state – subsisting and getting paid from state funded projects
5. State and market – private sector employment/commercial enterprise and wages from state funded project
6. Customary and market – unmediated and informal transactions
7. State, customary and market – producing art to sell at a state-funded structure

Since its conception, there has been increasing research on hybrid economies. Some have critiqued this framework (Gregory, 2016) and added more explanation to the Venn diagram. Others have used this economic concept to explore the various ways indigenous people engage in the economy calling it 'mixed economies' (Nee & Cao, 1999). Recently, the hybrid economies concept has been used to understand online collaborative networks (Scaraboto, 2015; Sundararajan, 2016) where people sell, share and participate in complex hybrid economic activities.

In essence, the hybrid economy expands our understanding on the different economies that support people's socio-economic endeavours. It has similar concepts with Gibson-Graham's (2006) diverse economy especially where recognition is given to the community economy that needs alternative actions to bring social and economic change.

As a concept, the hybrid economy, in line with the iceberg metaphor in the diverse economy framework, provides a conceptual framework to understand the different economies existing in PNG, a context where land remains inalienable and creates diverse relationships and livelihoods (Anderson, 2015a; Curry, 2005; Fingleton, 2005; Gregory, 2015). To exemplify the hybrid economy concept in practice in PNG, Anderson (2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2012, April 2015a, 2015b) carried out extensive research into exploring various livelihood activities in rural PNG and compared economic gains from the informal activities including subsistence and open market transactions, to the formal sector activities including employment and small businesses. He noted that people who were employed in the formal sector and also have land to grow a variety of vegetables for the market, earned more income than income gained from formal sector

activities alone. Using these findings, he conceptualised that PNG's hybrid economy comprises three elements:

> production for non-monetized family consumption and cultural exchange; production for cash crop marketing, in both domestic and export markets; and other often non-farm informal and formal sector activity. (Anderson, 2015b, p. 9)

Thus, Anderson (2015b) concluded that PNG is a "multi hybrid economy" (p. 7) supported by customary land, and warned against monocultures encroaching on rural locations. Other studies have also explored how social relationships and values influence and shape contemporary socio-economic activities and hybrid business practices (Banks, 2007; Cahn, 2008; Curry & Koczberski, 2009; Imbun, 2000; Thomas, 1991).

In this instance, like the diverse economies concept, the hybrid economy approach challenges universal, western, linear forms of development and recognises diverse, indigenous cultural, social and economic livelihoods that can co-exist and produce a form of development that is culturally relevant and specific in different indigenous contexts. The concept of social embeddedness clearly influences hybrid economy thinking, suggesting that it is a useful concept that can be utilised to understand the economic actions and practices in customary land-based businesses in PNG explored in this research.

Doughnut economics

Kate Raworth's *Doughnut Economics* (2017a) is the third useful approach that highlights social embeddedness thinking. It looks at development from a holistic perspective which gives special acknowledgement to the earth and related natural resources. The earth is recognised as important and its boundaries should be respected. It sustains life and has everything that the economy needs. For example, it provides fossil fuels and metal ores – the basis for early industrialisation – which in turn has enabled growth and development of economies. The economy depends upon the earth as a *source* for resources (gold, silver, timber, water) and a *sink* for its wastes (gas emission, fertilizer run-off, plastics). This approach maintains that economy is "embedded in the biosphere" (Raworth, 2017a, pp. 72-74) therefore, economics should not ignore earth's

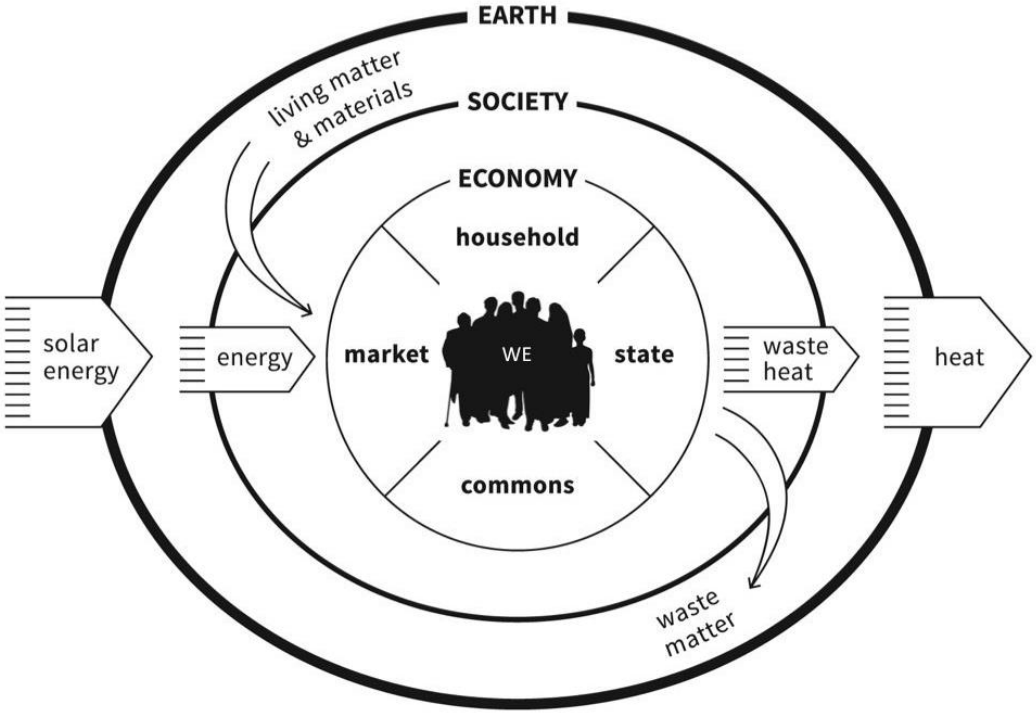
life-sustaining, regenerative power and it should respect its boundaries. As such, this approach resonates with the main Marsden project, which is to understand how indigenous entrepreneurs have utilised their natural, economic, social and spiritual resources to engage in economic development on their customary land in the Pacific, which this research is part of.

The other key social embeddedness concept that doughnut economics highlights is the importance of society. Doughnut economics argues that society is the foundation on which individuals, families, communities and nations exist therefore economics should not ignore the varied and intricate relationships that exists within societies. The wealth of trust and reciprocity that is created within social groups as a result of their networks of relationships is known as "social capital" (Raworth, 2017a, p. 76). People draw from the social capital, which may refer to norms, rules and relations that enable cooperation, dependence and social cohesion that further enables participation, protection, love and a sense of belonging. Thus, a vibrant economy depends on the created norms, trust and reciprocity nurtured within the society (Raworth, 2017a). The notions expressed in this approach re-iterate concepts of social embeddedness thinking: the social embeddedness of economic actions contributes to economic development and as such, businesses are enabled by society and natural environment (Granovetter, 2005; Polanyi, 1957).

However, the doughnut economics approach differs slightly from social embeddedness thinking on two fronts. First, it recognises the two-way relationship between the economy and society. In the same way that economy depends on a vibrant society, the society is strongly influenced by the structure of its economy. Whether relationships are maintained or weakened and whether wealth is distributed equally or not, they largely depend on the structure of the economy. Second, the economy is embedded within the biosphere. Growth and development of a society should not only be seen by the level of economic growth but should also look at how the earth – natural environment – is

taken care of or kept in its original state without limiting its regenerative power, as seen in the doughnut economics model (Figure 6).

Figure 6 The Embedded Economy that Nests the Economy within Society and within the Living World, while Recognising Diverse Ways in which it can Meet People's Needs and Wants



Source: Raworth (2017a, p. 17).

Figure 6 shows solar energy entering the earth, creating and supporting living matter and materials. Within this sits the society that thrives through an intricate web of relationships at all levels. The economy, which consists of the state, the market, the commons and the household, depends on the society (networks, relationships, aspirations) and the biosphere (natural environment). With the explanation of how economy is embedded in the natural environment that includes the biosphere in development thinking, the doughnut economics approach has taken a step forward from social embeddedness thinking.

The recognition of the commons in the diagram is significant especially for this study. The commons or common-pool resources refers to resources that are open and free to a large number of people which may include rainforests, oceanic ecosystem (Ostrom et al., 2002) and open pasture and land in some cases. In the Pacific, land can be seen as a

common but only to the collective unit that owns the land. Although doughnut economics' recognition of commons, in this case land, may have inspired some academics and policy advisors to think that customary land in the Pacific is 'communally owned', it is not so. In PNG, clans and family groups collectively own land and thus, it can be regarded as the commons to members. Only those who have meaningful relationships can use clan or family land, but it is not open to use or misuse by the public or anyone outside of a collective unit. In that sense, customary land is not a common-pool resource

People in rural areas, the location this study is based on, mostly live on their traditional lands. The cultural relationships around land, in the way it is managed and used, has sustained lives for many generations. Basic needs including housing, food, building materials and water are met through traditional lands. In addition, land enables indigenous people to participate in the economy where they grow and sell agricultural products (Bourke & Harwood, 2009), or establish small to medium enterprises (Curry, 1999, 2005; Finney, 1987) to meet socio-economic needs and cultural contributions. In that respect, the doughnut economic model captures these interrelationships and environment concerns, therefore is a holistic development approach that has elements of social embeddedness concepts by fitting the economy back into the society and adding in the biosphere or environment that the main project and this study also explore.

To be discussed in the next section is indigenous entrepreneurship, a useful area of study that provides a practical understanding of social embeddedness thinking. Indigenous entrepreneurship exemplifies how social and cultural systems (values, relationships, norms and practices) motivate economic actions and outcomes.

2.3. Indigenous Entrepreneurship

As a field of study, indigenous entrepreneurship has gained increasing scholarly interest as this entrepreneurship style allows social and cultural factors to influence economic actions. This aspect of indigenous entrepreneurship differs from the conventional profit-driven, wealth accumulating entrepreneurship style. Research continues to

reveal different socio-cultural values and relationships that motivate entrepreneurial behaviours in many indigenous communities throughout PNG and other small indigenous Pacific island states.

The three small–medium family enterprises examined in this research reflect indigenous entrepreneurship aspects because of the non-monetary factors that drive these businesses. So, the indigenous entrepreneurship concept is used alongside social embeddedness thinking to establish key socio-cultural factors that drive small successful family enterprises on customary land. The section below will begin with defining indigenous entrepreneurship.

2.3.1. Indigenous entrepreneurship defined

There are various explanations of this term because of the heterogeneity of indigenous communities across the world. In order to use an appropriate definition that best describes an indigenous enterprise for this study, some common definitions are explored here, beginning with defining who indigenous people are.

Indigenous people

The term indigenous is a contested one with no specific definition (Hughes, 2003). Many definitions of indigenous people come from UN agencies and refer to dominated groups who have become minorities in territories previously occupied by their ancestors (Daes, 2001; Hughes, 2003; ILO, 2013; UNPFII, 2004). This explanation is simplistic and does not apply to indigenous people of PNG and the Pacific.

Another explanation of indigenous people is by the Work Bank. The World Bank's 2013 revised operational directive refers to indigenous peoples in general as

> distinct, vulnerable, social and cultural group possessing the following characteristics in varying degrees: self-identification as members of a distinct indigenous cultural group and recognition of this identity by others; collective attachment to geographically distinct habitats or ancestral territories in the project area and to the natural resources in these habitats and territories; customary cultural, economic, social, or political institutions that are separate from those of the dominant society and culture; and an indigenous language, often different from the official language of the country or region. (World Bank, 2013, pp. 1, 2)

This official explanation of indigenous people somewhat reflects indigenous people of PNG and the Pacific because of the distinct social, cultural and political institutions that are important to them, and each cultural group speaks its own language, for example there are more than 700 dialects spoken in PNG.

Researchers in indigenous entrepreneurship have also provided explanations of indigenous peoples. For example, Hindle and Moroz (2007) referring to Aboriginals or indigenous Americans described them as:

> individuals, groups, communities or nations who reside as disadvantaged minority citizens or non-citizens of a mainstream polity, which, through the success of physical and cultural invasion, has come to dominate them in lands they once controlled or who have been displaced by the dominant hegemony from land they once controlled. (Hindle & Moroz, 2007, pp. 2,3)

This definition is specific and refers to indigenous people who live as minorities in developed countries such as Australia. Similarly, Dana and Anderson (2007, p. 4) provided a broad definition of indigenous nations as "people whose ancestors were living in an area prior to colonisation, or within a nation-state, prior to the formation of nation-state." This very broad definition refers to people whose ancestors had originally existed in a particular area but were colonised and remain dominated or who became decolonised later, such as Pacific nations. The explanation that is inclusive and most relevant for the PNG and Pacific context is the World Bank's explanation of indigenous people given above, thus it will be used to understand what indigenous people means in this study.

Entrepreneur/Entrepreneurship

An entrepreneur is understood differently in different contexts. Nevertheless, a holistic understanding from two major worldviews of an entrepreneur or entrepreneurship are that of individualistic western worldview and that of the collectivist worldview. According to the first worldview, an entrepreneur is an innovator, creator, risk-taker, supplier, manager, exploiter of opportunities, and an agent of change. He or she is in business solely for profit-making and to increase individual wealth (Vesper, 1999). As such, Kent et al. (2009) defined entrepreneurship as

> the creation of new business enterprises by individuals or small groups, with the entrepreneur assuming the role of society's major agent of change, initiating industrial progress that leads to wider cultural shifts (Abstract)

This worldview generally recognises the entrepreneur or entrepreneurship as key to the economic growth and wealth of the individual or the firm, with little social or cultural benefit to the polity within which it exists.

In contrast, the collectivist worldview where society and culture strongly influence daily life, entrepreneurship is understood differently as it is enmeshed in the society it exists in, being socially embedded (Granovetter, 1985, 2005). Those who have studied entrepreneurs and their activities in collectivist, indigenous societies have generally argued that entrepreneurship should be defined from a cultural perspective (Dana & Anderson, 2007; Hailey, 1987). Entrepreneurship from this perspective is generally a collective activity and the economic benefits and outcomes are typically shared with family, kin and the community (Dana, 1995; Dana & Anderson, 2007; Finney, 1973; Hailey, 1987). Even if an individual from a collectivist society like PNG is ambitious, hardworking and successful in business, the "community also benefits from his or her success" (Sengere et al., 2008, p. 86). This means that an individual's economic actions are still influenced in one way or another by the makeup of the social and cultural construct he or she belongs to. Thus, the culture in which entrepreneurs carry out their businesses influences their economic aspirations and can hinder or help progress their economic pursuits. Since this study explores how women's involvement influences indigenous enterprises based on customary land, the understanding of an entrepreneur or entrepreneurship in this study will take on explanation of entrepreneurship from this worldview.

Indigenous entrepreneurship

The above explanations of indigenous people and entrepreneurship makes it easier to understand what indigenous entrepreneurship is. However, there are slight differences to defining indigenous entrepreneurship because the contexts of the various entrepreneurial indigenous groups of people being studied are different. In his 2005 work, Dana broadly defined indigenous entrepreneurship as ''self-employment based

on indigenous knowledge" (Dana, 2005, p. v). This definition stemmed from Dana's research in a remote location in Canada. Indigenous knowledge from this definition refers to cultural knowledge systems – values, practices and skills – of individuals or communities that influence economic activities and decisions. Although Croce (2017) argued that this definition is less reflective of urban indigenous entrepreneurship, it somewhat reflects indigenous people of PNG and the Pacific, especially those in rural locations who use traditional knowledge and skills in subsistence gardening, arts and crafts and herbal medicine for living.

Another widely used definition of indigenous entrepreneurship is by (Hindle & Lansdowne, 2005, p. 132), adapted here as the creation, management or development of new ventures by indigenous people for the benefit of indigenous people. The desired and achieved benefits of such ventures can range from the narrow view of economic profit for a single individual to the broad view of multiple social, economic and environmental advantages for family or the wider community. Although this definition captures indigenous ventures by individuals, groups and communities which benefit entrepreneurs, families and communities, those opposed to this definition (Croce, 2017) maintained that it does not take into consideration those enterprises that do not create, manage or develop 'new ventures' especially those that exist in rural settings. The argument is that this definition may only be fitting for indigenous entrepreneurial activities within the proximity of developed, urbanised locations such as in New Zealand where resilience and innovation also maintain the existence of indigenous enterprises (Henry, 2007; Kawharu et al., 2017). This definition includes ventures that are set up for individual economic gain, which is not reflective of many indigenous businesses in the Pacific where collectivist ideals supersede individualist wealth-accumulation goals (Curry & Koczberski, 2013). Thus, this definition has been critiqued because of its focus on "creation of business as the successful expression of indigenous entrepreneurship" and includes ventures set up for individual economic gain, taking on the western paradigm of entrepreneurship (Croce, 2017).

Varied definitions of indigenous entrepreneurship above show that explaining indigenous entrepreneurship in different locations is difficult because of the cultural

complexities of indigenous peoples. They are heterogeneous with differences in entrepreneurship processes, opportunities, challenges, experiences and outcomes (Croce, 2017, p. 17). Because of these complex differences, Dana and Anderson (2007) suggested that it is better to allow indigenous communities to define what indigenous entrepreneurship is to them. As such, a context-specific definition is employed for this study.

Hailey's definition of Pacific indigenous entrepreneur captures an appropriate understanding of Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship. According to this author,

> A Pacific entrepreneur is one who shows a practical creativity and managerial ability in effectively combining resources and opportunities in new ways to benefit their family and/or the wider community. (Hailey, 1987, p. 28)

From this definition, Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship could refer to practical creativity, effective management and combination of resources and opportunities in ways that socially and economically benefit family and the wider community.

This definition is inclusive of all entrepreneurs whether they perform economic activities in the formal or informal sectors at local community or household levels. It can also refer to those who create, manage or develop new businesses, those who manage old businesses as well as those who are involved in agriculture such as growing cash crops, garden produce or raising animals for income. It paints a picture of Pacific entrepreneurs as resilient as they not only work for their own economic growth and success but for the benefit of their family and community at large. They have the ability to manoeuvre around plethora of social obligations and still engage in business operation as indigenous entrepreneurs elsewhere (Cahn, 2008; Finney, 1973; Hailey, 1987; Horan, 2002; Novaczek & Stuart, 2006). This explanation of Pacific indigenous entrepreneur reflects the characteristics of the case study entrepreneurs in this research. Thus, this context-specific definition of Pacific indigenous entrepreneur/entrepreneurship is used to refer to indigenous entrepreneur/entrepreneurship in this study.

The justification for spending time examining various definitions of terms in this section is that there are varied explanations. These needed to be explored before settling on an

explanation(s) that is relevant for this research. The World Bank's definition of indigenous people, the collectivist worldview of entrepreneurship and Hailey's (1987) adapted definition of Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship are used to understand what each term means in this thesis, which also provides the basis for understanding successful indigenous businesses based on customary land in PNG and how women's economic, social and cultural roles and responsibilities that influence those businesses.

2.3.2. Indigenous entrepreneurship models and characteristics

Studies on indigenous entrepreneurship in different contexts using various processes and methods appear to provide common characteristics, some of which are implied by the definitions. But the challenge lies in differentiating various indigenous entrepreneurship forms given the underlying cultural complexities that influence economic aspirations. To counter this challenge, a suggestion is to group different indigenous enterprises into categories or models using locations of business establishment and forms of economic pursuits. Croce (2017) suggested three locational models to distinguish indigenous enterprises: urban indigenous entrepreneurship, rural indigenous entrepreneurship and remote indigenous entrepreneurship. Urban indigenous entrepreneurship refers to those indigenous enterprises that operate in developed, urban centres such as in New Zealand cities by Māori indigenous entrepreneurs. The forms of economic pursuits can be varied. The strength of enterprises located in urban centres is resilience and innovation, while holding onto important cultural values. These are key to the success and existence of urban indigenous enterprises (Haar & Delaney, 2009; Henry, 2007; Kawharu et al., 2017).

The rural indigenous entrepreneurship model is one that sits between urban indigenous entrepreneurship and remote indigenous entrepreneurship models. The enterprises can be in urban peripheries or in rural locations and economic activities may be varied with primary activities being predominant such as agriculture, farming, rural tourism. In this model, enterprises are influenced both by traditional and modern lifestyles. Social and economic outcomes provide the motivation for entrepreneurship, but social motivations often supersede economic reasons for establishing businesses. Most

indigenous businesses in rural PNG can be categorised in this model (Anderson, 2008; Curry, 2005; Finney, 1973; Gibson, 2012; Hailey, 1987).

Finally, remote indigenous entrepreneurship is one that is found in remote locations, away from the impact and influence of urbanisation and modernisation. This is where environmental sustainability is high as entrepreneurs subsist on what is already in their natural environment (Dana, 2005). In very remote parts of PNG, this form of entrepreneurship supports life, where there is lack of transport connectivity and traditional subsistence agriculture predominantly supports life.

These categories of indigenous entrepreneurship are briefly mentioned here to help identify which model best suits the PNG indigenous business case studies engaged in this research. All the indigenous businesses in this study reflected characteristics of the rural indigenous entrepreneurship model. Social and economic motivations drive these businesses and they are equally impacted by traditional and modern lifestyles (Chapters 6, 7 and 8).

Features of indigenous entrepreneurship

Whether indigenous enterprises are in urban centres, in rural or remote locations, there are key features that set indigenous entrepreneurs apart from the conventional entrepreneurship styles. Each feature is discussed in detail below using examples from different studies on indigenous entrepreneurship.

A common aspect of indigenous entrepreneurship is that indigenous people have a close connection to nature and depend on immediately available resources. Their needs are met daily especially in remote rural settings (Dana, 1995, 2005). They subsist on what is available. Long-term planning and accumulation are less important than in the western form of entrepreneurship. Indigenous entrepreneurship in this case is flexible and has the potential to encourage environmental sustainability (Dana & Anderson, 2007). This aspect reflects Croce's (2017) third indigenous entrepreneurship model, remote indigenous entrepreneurship.

Cultural opportunities influencing economic activities is the other feature of indigenous entrepreneurship. For most indigenous entrepreneurs including those from the Pacific, entrepreneurship is culturally interpreted and thus culturally influenced. Hence, it is important to understand culture in order to support local business venture (Purcell & Scheyvens, 2015). This is another significant commonality in indigenous businesses because culture influences a business opportunity. A business opportunity in one culture or place, may not be an opportunity in another culture (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). For example, the production and usage of Asaro Mudman Masks, which are cultural items from Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province in PNG that are worn during special cultural occasions, is a business opportunity mainly in the Asaro and Goroka areas and not in other parts of the Eastern Highlands. This makes the cultural value of business opportunity another key feature in indigenous entrepreneurship.

There are complex cultural processes and ideals that guide Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship. Different systems of values underly economic activities in different cultural settings (Purcell & Scheyvens, 2015). Some cultures believe in the 'being', others in 'doing' still others in 'sharing' or 'gifting' which influence economic decisions and actions (Curry, 1999, 2005). There are differing approaches to entrepreneurship in indigenous communities across this region, thus one-size-fits-all business approaches have not always been successful in indigenous communities.

The social organisation among indigenous peoples is often based on complex kinship ties not usually created in response to market needs. This is the other feature of indigenous entrepreneurship study and is true in PNG. The success or failure of an indigenous enterprise is sometimes dependent on these ties (Curry, 1999, 2005; Finney, 1973; Hailey, 1987). Because of this, indigenous businesses are complex and can involve more stakeholders – families, relatives, community – who might provide labour, capital and market for the business (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). In spite of the caution to minimise 'over investment in social networks using economic means' especially those starting up business who do not possess proper management skills in balancing economic and socio-cultural responsibilities (Gibson, 2012; Saffu, 2003), the cultural value of keeping close social ties with kin networks is identified as a key aspect of

indigenous entrepreneurship. Thus, in any local business training programmes, the family or the community should be considered (Saffu, 2003).

Other livelihood strategies support economic aspirations of indigenous entrepreneurs, a significant aspect of indigenous enterprises. Most indigenous entrepreneurs in rural locations are usually engaged in subsistence living for food and other necessities. Additionally, wages from formal employment may be used to maintain the operation of an indigenous enterprise in a local or urban setting (Barber, 2003; Curry, 1999; Imbun, 2000). What is produced is usually used for personal needs, saved, or exchanged through non-market cultural mechanisms (Koczberski, 2002). The ability to produce more economic and social wealth is highly possible in indigenous entrepreneurship if indigenous entrepreneurs are skilled managers of their enterprises and their diverse livelihoods (Dana & Anderson, 2007). In addition, the varied economic and non-economic activities may act as fall-back options during shock periods. Thus, diversification is a key aspect of indigenous entrepreneurship unlike most western conventional entrepreneurship that specialises in one form of enterprise.

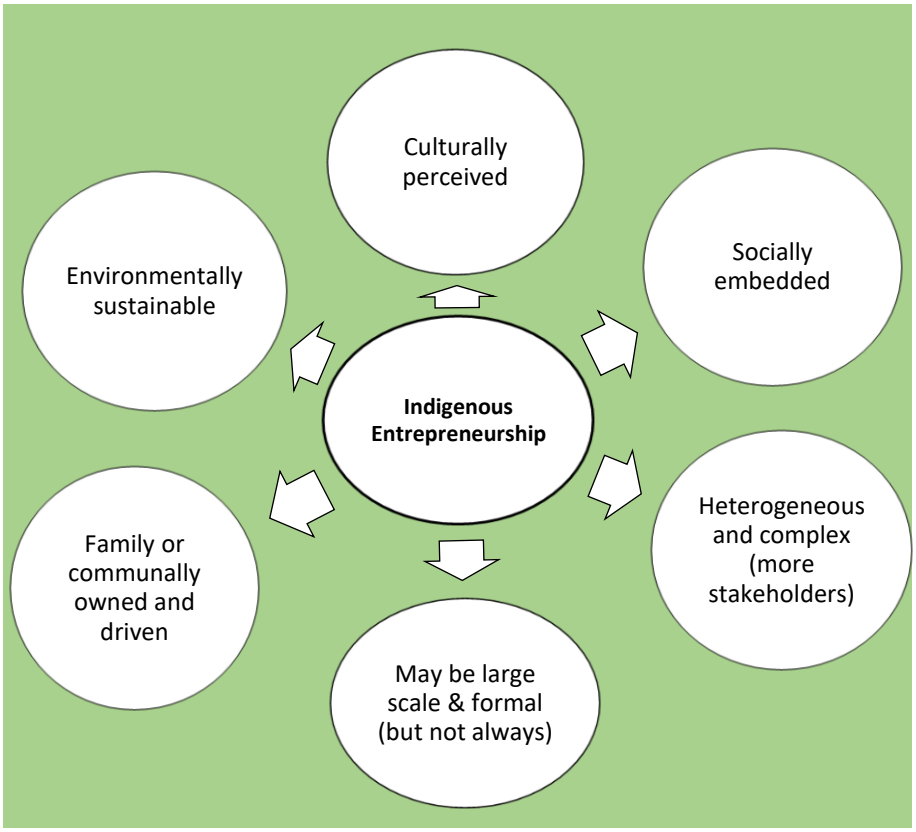
Another aspect of indigenous entrepreneurship is that success is not measured in monetary terms, growth in sales, productivity, profit, share value or market share. Success could be measured in terms of shared benefits and seeing others being happy as well as increasing family or individual status in the community (Curry, 1999; Finney, 1973). Thus, social value can precede monetary value in some instances.

In relation to that, the non-measurable, socio-cultural aspect that encourages sustainability of socio-cultural values like sharing workload and economic benefits is recognised (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006). From a collation of indigenous entrepreneurship studies, Dana and Anderson (2007) concluded that this feature makes indigenous entrepreneurship different from individualistic, profit-focused entrepreneurship forms. It directly conflicts with western business ideals for individual wealth accumulation. This means that financial and socio-cultural motives encourage economic activities and result in both economic and non-economic outcomes (Cahn, 2008; Curry & Koczberski, 2013; Foley, 2000; Haar & Delaney, 2009; Saffu, 2003).

A final commonality in indigenous entrepreneurship is its flexibility to exist in both the formal and informal sectors. In most developing Pacific countries, indigenous enterprise predominantly exists in the informal sector. Many indigenous enterprises are small and usually operate informally although some can be big and operate formally. The informal sector is important for indigenous entrepreneurs. Even though many indigenous enterprises in remote and rural locations may not have qualities of large-scale entrepreneurship with extensive infrastructure for communication, transportation and capital, these things are usually accessible to indigenous enterprises in urban locations (Dana & Anderson, 2007).

The discussion of the common features of indigenous entrepreneurship here provides an understanding of what this entrepreneurship style entails. The key points are summarised in Figure 7.

Figure 7 Common Features of Indigenous Entrepreneurship



Source: Based on Dana and Anderson (2007) & Hindle and Moroz (2007).

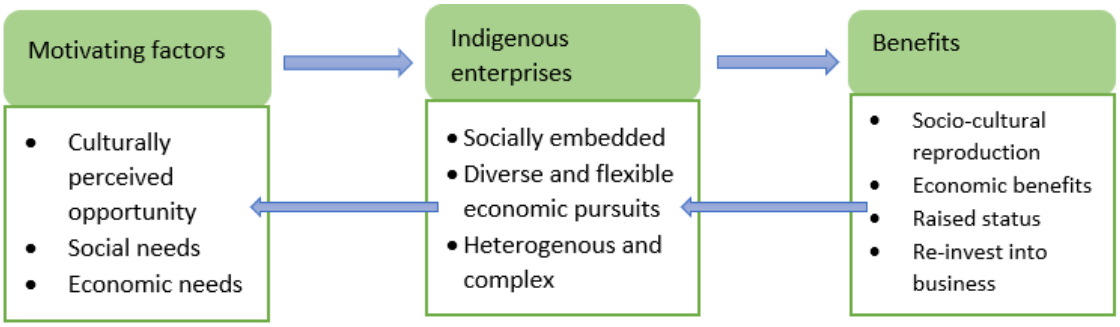
Indigenous entrepreneurship is often culturally perceived and interpreted, so its measurement of success is usually non-monetary. It can be individual, family or

communally owned and driven and is often complex because it usually has many stakeholders especially when it comes to ownership and number of beneficiaries for its size. Indigenous enterprises operate differently within different contexts because their perceived opportunities are different, thus indigenous entrepreneurship is heterogeneous. It often seeks to be environmentally sustainable and is always socially embedded. Although some indigenous enterprises are formal and large-scale, many are small scale and informal. Indigenous enterprises usually depend on other sources for existence such as social networks, subsistence or wages from formal job employment. Thus, indigenous entrepreneurs utilise diverse livelihood options to remain in business. This flexibility for diversification can provide socio-economic security during shock periods. Because of this, there is a potential for wealth accumulation if indigenous entrepreneurs are able to balance social-cultural responsibilities, obligations and economic outcomes. The PNG case study businesses that were involved in this study showed most of these key features rendering them successful (Chapters 6 & 7).

Connecting social embeddedness and indigenous entrepreneurship

Shown in Figure 8 are the connections between social embeddedness thinking and indigneous entrepreneurship.

Figure 8 Socially Embedded Indigenous Entrepreneurship



Source: Derived from Dana and Anderson (2007).

In Figure 8, the motivations for indigenous businesses are not only economic-centred but are also socially and culturally motivated. The outcomes are numerous including economic benefits and socio-cultural reproductions. These social reproductions and economic gains may sometimes be re-invested into the business and community programmes that further enhances local livelihoods. The continuous mixing of social

actions and business motives connects and enhances the social embeddedness of indigenous entrepreneurship. This justifies indigenous entreneruship as a relevant body of knowledge that demonstrates social embeddeness thinking in practice. It provides a relevant framework (Chapter 5, section 5.6) for understanding the factors that drive successful indigenous businesses based on customary land in PNG and how women contribute toward the success of those businesses.

2.4. Summary

This chapter discussed the main concepts and features of social embeddedness thinking and indigenous entrepreneurship. The relationships that people have with each other and toward the natural environment are vital to sustainable economic development. Understanding these layers of relationships as key factors for indigenous enterprises may provide a starting point to understanding the factors that sustain local Papua New Guinean enterprises based on customary land. It seems that social relationships and respect toward important socio-cultural values, when interwoven with economic pursuits, can drive successful indigenous enterprises in PNG. And that is a decent justification for retaining customary forms of land tenure. This discussion provides the theoretical basis for a framework for understanding factors that support local enterprises established on customary land in PNG.

In the next chapter the focus is on the concepts of Pacific entrepreneurship. Examples of different socio-cultural values and practices woven into business will be explored to demonstrate how socially embedded indigenous enterprises, driven by Pacific forms of entrepreneurship, can produce meaningful development in different parts of the Pacific including PNG.

CHAPTER 3: PACIFIC INDIGENOUS ENTREPRENEURSHIP

3.1. Introduction

The description of Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship encompasses a broad range of factors including social practices, cultural values, concepts, and motivations that influence business opportunities and outcomes. Research on indigenous enterprises in the Pacific has revealed some of these features (Banks, 2007; Cahn, 2008; Curry, 1999, 2005; Curry et al., 2012; Hailey, 1987; Horan, 2002; Kawharu et al., 2017; Vunibola & Scheyvens, 2019). To exemplify how Pacific indigenous enterprises are socially embedded, this chapter will discuss some examples of businesses in the Pacific that weave socio-cultural values into economic motivations and behaviours. That will set the scene for understanding how customary land-based businesses in PNG are established and sustained by the social factors and particularly women's involvement that also embed them successfully in society.

In the following sections, factors that socially embed Pacific indigenous enterprises will be discussed. To begin, fundamental cultural principles that guide Pacific societies will be discussed with examples of indigenous notions of working together and kin identification, which also guide the actions and behaviours of those who do business (section 3.2). Examples of socio-cultural factors that enmesh Pacific business will be discussed (sub-section 3.2.1) followed by Papua New Guinean examples of gifting, reciprocity, status-seeking, alternative business practices and relationship building (section 3.2.2). Following that, characteristics of successful Pacific entrepreneurs will be explored (sub-section 3.3.3). The main points will be summarised and followed by the conclusion (section 3.4).

3.2. Fundamental Values Underpinning Pacific Societies

Most Pacific islanders live in village settings with strong connections to their land, cultures, and families that form part of the indigenous social systems that people draw on for support. Some of these socio-cultural factors have been discussed in the literature that focuses on Pacific indigenous communities and their ways of engaging in

community and economic activities (Cahn, 2008; Curry, 1999; Curry & Koczberski, 2012; Horan, 2002; Meo-Sewabu, 2015; Ratuva, 2014).

Ratuva has identified and discussed in detail these socio-cultural resilient mechanisms for Pacific communities including kinship, reciprocity, cultural obligation, communal labour and land as fundamental social protection mechanisms (Ratuva, 2014). Kinship provides a source of collective support for a community's social, economic and psychological needs in times of crisis. Reciprocity encompasses the requirement for the exchange of goods and services to ensure community needs are met. Examples of reciprocity in the Pacific include *kerekere* (Fijian), *totoa* (Samoan), *bubuti* (Kiribati), all of which refer to asking for assistance in times of need, which are then repaid with similar or other types of assistances in the future (Ratuva, 2014).

These socio-cultural elements at times provide social protection against changes and disturbances from socio-economic, political and environmental challenges. These factors have been identified or implied in the literature that focuses on Pacific indigenous communities and their ways of engaging in community and economic engagements (Cahn, 2008; Curry & Koczberski, 2012; Horan, 2002; Meo-Sewabu, 2015; Ratuva, 2014).

Communal labour, which is one aspect of cultural obligation, is a common practice in many Pacific communities and it "involves the entire village taking turns to help build a house or create a new vegetable garden for other families, which is referred to as *solesolevaki* in Fijian, *ala ile pule ole tautua* (the path to leadership is service) in Samoan (Ratuva, 2014) and *wok bung* (Koczberski et al., 2001) in PNG.

Spirituality for indigenous people in most parts of the Pacific is double pronged. Firstly, cultural values are closely bounded with values, kinship and culture for indigenous people and their connections to their lands, mountains, river systems and totems. Secondly, *lotu* which is related to the church and Christian spirituality, has permeated into indigenous communities and has become an important part of life. It encompasses the totality of church practices including individual and group worship services, praying,

paying church offerings or daily recognition of Christian values. These factors influence and are the standards against which members' behaviours, attitudes and actions are measured within their communities.

The above social and spiritual practices, although not always seen as ideal, are vital parts of indigenous peoples' value systems. They make up the social capital that sometimes people draw from in order to adapt to and deal with socio-economic and cultural challenges.

3.2.1. Pacific examples of socio-cultural systems as social capital

Social capital refers to the social resources including networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust, access to wider institutions of society that people draw in pursuit of creating livelihoods (Carney et al., 1999; Chambers & Conway, 1992). In indigenous community contexts, social capital is also composed of reciprocal "relationships, social norms, rules and sanctions" (Diedrich et al., 2019, p. 386), and social institutions such as family, community and the church. Community capital has its functional role as a public good (Kwon et al., 2013). The spill over of social capital is denoted as cohesive networks and as such the Pacific people's concept of collectively is related to social capital (Robinson & Williams, 2001). As such, social capital is the pooling of all forms of resources, material and immaterial, by associated people and assisting members.

For the island communities, the concept of social capital is cultural capital which may include knowledge, values, practical skills, and shared experiences and is a dominant feature of the societies. According to Petzold and Ratter (2015) cultural capital includes collective actions, reciprocity, relational networks, trust and cooperation within kin. These are the same values that Ratuva (2014) identified as essential components of the social protection system for Pacific communities. They are significant as social networks draw on these for support in times of need. There are different local terms that are used to describe key aspects of social capital in the Pacific such as *solesolevaki* (working together for the common good without expecting payment) in Fiji (Ratuva, 2014). In PNG, the *wantok* system and the concept of *wanbel* are examples of key cultural capital that locals maintain for social support.

3.2.2. The wantok system and the concept of wanbel

Examples of Papua New Guinean versions of socio-cultural capital are seen in the concepts of *wanbel* and *wantok*, as shown in Troolin's (2018) empirical study on the Sam people of Madang Province and Manuda's (2007) study of *wantokism* as social capital in Oro Province. They are forms of social capital that enable trust and cooperation among kinship groups that are used as support mechanisms.

Wantok system

The *wantok*[2] system in Melanesia and especially in PNG has attracted both negative and positive perceptions. Those who oppose *wantokism* attribute slow economic advancement to its unsuitability to function in a modern state (Duncan & Nakagawa, 2007; Hughes, 2010). Particularly, its aspects of communal living, kinship and sharing continue to be negatively viewed as unviable for developing an entrepreneurial culture in PNG. The demands of kin relations in the community, and contributions toward social and cultural obligations have been noted as challenging for potential entrepreneurs (Connell, 1997; Yusuf, 1998). For example, when introducing cultural characteristics of Pacific islands before presenting obstacles to economic development, Duncan and Nakagawa (2007) stated that the culture of sharing wealth within these communities "creates problems for the development of enterprise," (p.5). In another example, De Renzio (2000, p. 22) cites the usual story of income-earning individuals in PNG who see the *wantok* system as a problem, placing heavy demand on scarce earnings and inhibiting their ability to save and develop businesses. The *wantok* system allows social networks and relatives to seek informal loans and has been noted as hindering economic progress for small business owners (Monsell-Davis, 1993). Thus, *wantokism* and other descriptive cultural fragments such as big-man and bride-price systems have been perceived as negative for entrepreneurial development and sources of social ills in Melanesian societies and particularly in PNG (Dickson, 1995; Eves, 2019; Shih et al., 2017).

[2] Explained loosely as the system of relationships (or set of obligations) between individuals characterised by some or all of the following: (**a**) common language (*wantok* = "one talk"), (**b**) common kinship group, (**c**) common geographical area of origin, and (**d**) common social associations or religious Groups. (De-Ranzio & Kavanamur, 1999)

From the opposite position, *wantok* relationships expressing trust and cooperation to work together has been noted as important in various studies. For example, Curry and Koczberski (2007, p. 119) noted that *wok bung* (working together) was significant in "cohesive family units" in the oil palm frontier "where interhousehold cooperation and sharing remain important". In this case, utilising *wantok* relationships resulted in working together on oil palm blocks as well as in other areas such as food production and small businesses. In another study that compared success and failure of two community projects in Oro Province, Manuda (2007) noted that a high level of bridging social capital (*wantok* relations) and better cooperation between board members and local community resulted in the successful completion and operation of Kokoda hospital project, while a lack of bridging social capital resulted in the failure of the Buna school project.

The study of *wantok* systems in other Melanesian states has demonstrated that Solomon Island entrepreneurs do not consider "*wantok* pressures as the largest barrier to doing business" (Haque, 2012, p. 7). Similarly, in identifying major problems affecting informal market businesses, only 5% of women roadside sellers listed *wantok* pressure as more of a problem than the high operating costs (13%) and transportation problems (13%) (Anderson, 2008, p. 63). Successful indigenous entrepreneurs have adopted various business strategies including locating businesses away from where pressure is strong (Curry, 1999). In essence, *wantok* relations still remains an important social capital that provides social security and provides a pool of resources useful for doing business.

Wanbel

The concept of *wanbel*[3] generally encompasses positivity in social relationships. *Wanbel* figuratively and metaphorically means one in mind, thought, conviction or feeling. *Wanbel* can be understood from different contexts. *Wanbel* is reconciliation or consensus in dispute resolution. When two people are of *wanbel*, they share one good feeling (Cooper, 2019; Tshudi, 2013). *Wanbel* can also mean being of one belly, one

[3] *Wanbel* is a local PNG concept for agreement, social harmony, wellbeing, being happy - living well with others in a way that enables peace and harmony (Troolin, 2018).

heart, in unity or agreement (Lohmann, 2003; Troolin, 2018) and it can mean in agreement or at peace (Kelly-Hanku et al., 2014; Street, 2014). This is an important notion in the relational PNG context. In order to live in peace and harmony with others and for good situations or *gutpela sindaun,* an indigenous PNG concept for a good situation or good life (Cox, 2006) to result, establishing or maintaining *wanbel* with *wantoks* and others is significant. When one is seen to be performing or doing things that keeps everyone happy, at peace or in agreement, good thoughts are maintained. For example, in situations of '*hevi*' (crisis, social burden), one must be seen to be contributing toward resolving that social burden such as contributing toward funeral activities. Doing this creates *wanbel* with those in *hevi* and in the community. *Gutpela sindaun* occurs if there are situations of *wanbel* and thus it is an important social capital that supports indigenous PNG communities and businesses.

These social values and similar social relationships that make up the cultural capital also influence indigenous business engagements, intermixing socio-cultural notions with economic actions.

3.3. Socio-cultural Factors Influencing Pacific Indigenous Entrepreneurship

As seen in the previous section, cultural values remain central to life in contemporary Pacific island societies including in New Zealand (NZ). These values also influence economic activities especially at the household and community levels, making a Pacific entrepreneur both socially and economically oriented in his or her pursuits.

A successful Pacific entrepreneur can be someone who effectively manages a business and is socially and culturally active as Hailey's (1987) definition implies (Chapter 2, section 2.3.1). Even though it may not be the key motivation for establishing a business, the wellbeing of the family or community may be a Pacific entrepreneur's goal as seen at the Nayarabale Youth Farm in Fiji (Vunibola & Scheyvens, 2019). By using economic gains to fulfil cultural obligations and taking care of relational needs, an island entrepreneur is successful despite some seeing these actions as impediments to economic aspirations (Gibson, 2012; Yusuf, 1998). Thus, using socio-economic

motivations to engage in business, and using economic outcomes to fulfil social needs make Pacific entrepreneurship socially enmeshed. Some examples of key socio-cultural values that influence and embed indigenous economic engagements are discussed in the following section.

3.3.1. Values embedding Pacific indigenous enterprises

Research in Pacific and Māori indigenous businesses have identified fundamental values that have rendered indigenous enterprises to be resilient, innovative and successful (Cahn, 2008; Foley & O'Connor, 2013; Gibson, 2012; Haar & Delaney, 2009; Henry, 2007; Horan, 2002; Kawharu et al., 2017). These are explored as examples in the following subsections.

Māori examples of social values woven into business

In Māori communities, traditional and cultural values remain the basis of wellbeing that also influence business activities. Bargh (2012) has outlined some Māori terms that reflect strong social values. *Whakapapa* refers to genealogical relationships between *hapu* (family) and other tribal groupings. It also refers to relationships between humans and nature. Most indigenous Māori entrepreneurs often seek to observe cultural protocols governing their land and natural environment as well as share their resources and skills with their *whānau, hapu* and *iwi* (family and corporate tribe).

The concept of *utu* refers to balance between people. Whatever is taken away, something must be given back. In an enterprise, this can refer to the contributions toward and what is taken out of it. In addition, *mana* is a Māori concept of authority that is enhanced by behaviours that both respect people and the environment. The concept of *kaitiakitanga* refers to human management or stewardship of the environment and *manaaki* is a concept that requires one to support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect and look out for others' needs (Bargh, 2012). It also encompasses values of respect, generosity and "duty of care and service derive from kinship connections" (Kawharu et al., 2017, p. 21).

These important values guide most indigenous Māori businesses like the geothermal enterprises in Central North Island, NZ. In a study of Taheke 8C & Adjoining Blocks

Incorporation, a Māori geothermal enterprise, Bargh (2012) noted that these important values guide the practices in the enterprise. The ethos that guides this indigenous enterprise is care for the environment and people. This is summarised in the words of the Chairperson of Taheka, Tawhiri Morehu, on announcing the joint venture with Contact Energy Limited in 2010:

> …We are *kaitiaki* (guardians) of this land. So sustainable and careful development of the geothermal resource is essential. We need to be able to look after both land and economic advancement of our people in the long term. (National Business Review, 2010)

These values have guided Taheke to be a successful Māori geothermal enterprise in NZ. Another Māori cultural value that embeds indigenous businesses is the *whanaungatanga*. This refers to "a forum for communication, for sharing outcomes and for constructing common shared understandings and meanings" (Haar & Delaney, 2009, p. 30) usually through kinship and family connection which provides people with a sense of belonging. Through *whanaungatanga*, access to information is made easier through social networks, resources are pulled together and innovation results (Foley & O'Connor, 2013). In a study of two Maori enterprises, Kawharu et al. (2017) noted how each enterprise was resilient and innovative despite internal and external challenges. Ohinemutu village and Ngāti Whātua tribal land group, both in Central North Island successfully weaved *whanaungatanga* and *mana* values to reclaim and establish their ventures.

Ohinemutu venture is a village-based enterprise that provides cultural activities to serve tourist visitors. The lead entrepreneur in this venture sought advice and assistance from the elders and kin members as well as used his overseas experience to get it into operation. Unemployed kin members were employed and duty of care – *manaaki* – toward family and kin community was realised. For the Ngā Whātua tribal land group, recognising the importance of respect and close relationship, seeing land as an asset and legacy for future generations and asserting authority (*mana*) when necessary enabled the land-owning unit to reclaim over 24 hectares of railway land within the Auckland Central Business District into community title. This re-secured land is now valued in excess of NZ$120 million with a 150 year lease (Kawharu et al., 2017). The

earnings from the land are used to support landowners, who are also shareholders, with important social needs including scholarships for their children.

Despite challenges, Māori values of *mana* and *manaaki* guided Ohinemutu venture and Ngā Whātua and other Māori enterprises to adapt, transform and provide an avenue for "self-repair and self-organisation" (Kawharu et al., 2017, p. 21). These examples are only some of the many Māori businesses that see opportunity and necessity to engage in economic activities with wider social outcomes for the *whanāu*, *hapu* and *iwi* (Warriner, 1999). The business examples used here demonstrate how businesses weave traditional cultural values into their economic pursuits, making them not only successful but enmeshed in their cultural context whilst situated in a developed country.

Polynesian examples of cultural exchange that embeds economic activities

Like Māori examples, the economic activities of Tongans are also enmeshed in the *faka*-Tonga or the Tongan Way of life. For example, Horan (2002) study discovered a successful indigenous enterprise that arose from a World Bank project despite it being recorded as a failure. The World Bank's Women in Development program funded rural Togan women to make and sell textile *koloa,* very fine mats woven by women for presentation at important ceremonies. This was funded solely for generating income for their households.

However, tangible economic outcomes did not eventuate so that project was deemed as having failed. A rich indigenous enterprise that emerged was not recognised. The funds from the bank resulted in supporting a successful indigenous exchange enterprise. Tongan women in town and overseas who did not have time to weave these special mats bought from village women who had time to make them. This enabled women, both in and out of town, to participate in Tongan cultural ceremonies such as graduations, burials and weddings. As a form of wealth, textile *koloa* was "given to those who were ritually, politically, or socially higher ranked (*eiki)* than the giver" (Horan, 2002, p. 210) who was usually lower in status (*tu'a*). Among others, these exchanges "constituted Tongan ceremonial economy whereby textile *koloa* effectively operated as the currency of social relations" (ibid. p.210). Thus, the exchange of textile *koloa*

became an important product that had women participate in micro and meso *fakalakalaka*, the Tongan notion of development. This meant that social and political relationships were maintained, supported and created while providing a distinction between commoners and monarchy, making the textile *koloa* enterprise successfully enmeshed in *faka*-Tonga. The World Bank's Women in Development project was not a failure but a success in that it supported a rich social enterprise.

As in Tonga, the *fa'a* Samoa (the Samoan way of life) socio-political system influences community life and relationship with people in authority and embeds indigenous enterprises in Samoa. A study on indigenous coconut and mat weaving enterprises in rural Samoa found that "*fa'a* Samoa is a motivating factor, an important asset, and a support mechanism that enhances entrepreneurial activity" (Cahn, 2008, p. 16) embedding those businesses within *fa'a* Samoa. This case study shows that the Samoan way of life and culture, when blended with western business ideals, can produce a form of local enterprise that not only provides financial benefits but also fulfils cultural and social outcomes.

Melanesian examples of social values that influence indigenous enterprises

Similar social and cultural assets that motivate and support Māori, Samoan and Tongan indigenous enterprises also influence local businesses in the Melanesian states of Fiji, Vanuatu and PNG. In Fiji, the recognition of social organisation influences an indigenous person's economic decisions. The 'church', the '*vanua*' – land and people – and the 'local government' (Gibson, 2012, p. 104) dictate modern indigenous Fiji. Fiji's local government structure is based on hereditary chieftainship as in Polynesian social structure. Recognition of authority and power is given to chiefs or elders. Hence, respect for chiefs and recognition of the social factors produce a value system that dictates business motivations and outcomes.

In his study of two indigenous Fijian tourism enterprises, Wayalailai Ecohaven Resort and Naqalia, in Yasawa Islands, Gibson (2012) noted that Wayalailai Ecohaven Resort was successful while Naqalia Lodge was not. The success factors for Wayalailai Resort included recognising the importance of respect for elders and fulfilling significant social

obligations while having good business management skills. The business contributed to important social needs. It funded housing schemes, built two churches in two villages and built a boarding school for kindergarten and primary school students in the community (Gibson, 2012). However, to sustain its existence certain limits were in place for the business and the manager knew how much to contribute toward social obligations. This reflects Hailey's (1987) definition of a successful Pacific entrepreneur (Chapter 2, section 2.3.1). In contrast, Naqalia Lodge was not successful because "management skills were lacking; income from the enterprise was heavily drawn to use for social obligations and withdrawal of youth labour from participating in communal tasks" (Gibson, 2012, p. 110). For this tourism enterprise, there was imbalance between doing business and taking care of social obligations and responsibilities. Because the aim of Gibson's study was to identify cultural challenges to small-medium indigenous tourism enterprises in indigenous Fijian communities, the conclusion was to put limits on fulfilling social obligations as that can pose risk to the maintenance and success of a business.

In another Fijian example, *solesolevaki* (detailed in section 3.2.1) was identified as an important social value that was revitalised and used to establish a successful farm enterprise. A recent study on indigenous businesses based on customary land in Fiji noted that the practice of *solesolevaki* supported the Nayarabale Youth Farm (Vunibola & Scheyvens, 2019). What keeps this business going is developing a weekly *solesolevaki* work structure. For example, week one is used to do *solesolevaki* on the Nayarabale Youth Farm that earns money to take care of social obligations. Week two is *solesolevaki* for individual farms where small youth groups work together on individual farms. Week three is *solesolevaki* on the clan's food security, planting food crops for the whole clan. Finally, week four is set aside for the *vanua* which includes church and government organisations (Vunibola & Scheyvens, 2019). Any activity that is organised by these institutions, is done during this week. This work structure balanced well their time and resources for social obligations and business making this farm a model, socially embedded successful business at Nayarabale. Other studies have also shown that *solesolevaki* is an important Fijian value that supports the lives and wellbeing of indigenous Fijians (Ratuva, 2010; Richardson et al., 2019). This suggests that not only

business management skills but also prioritising important social obligations can result in a viable business in indigenous Fijian communities.

Similarly, a study of two indigenous entrepreneurs in Fiji and Vanuatu, showed that using traditional knowledge and skills to turn natural resources into useful items also makes indigenous island enterprises culturally connected. Novaczek and Stuart (2006) studied two female entrepreneurs who had traditional knowledge and skills of producing valuable items for their communities. They made and sold sea plant products such as massage oils, therapy soaps, lotions and balms from locally available resources resulting in successful indigenous micro-enterprises. Despite financial, cultural and gender challenges, the authors noted that these women played an important role by producing culturally appropriate products for the wellbeing and health of the people in their churches and communities. While enmeshed within the community the enterprises thrived. Motivated by socio-economic needs to engage in economic activities not only made these economic behaviours culturally relevant but also recognised women entrepreneurs' roles as traditional knowledge keepers.

The examples from the Pacific presented here point to the significance of socio-cultural systems that are in certain circumstances able to render Pacific island enterprises not only resilient but also culturally connected. Fulfilling social obligations, participating in cultural ceremonies, recognising authority figures such as leaders or elders, keeping strong social networks and using traditional knowledge and skills to develop culturally relevant products also supports social embeddedness thinking. Additionally, indigenous entrepreneurship in the Pacific is unique because it blends traditional and socio-cultural ways and values with modern economics, resulting in a hybridised economic system. While making Pacific entrepreneurship culturally embedded, these hybrid economic processes at times supported enterprises to be resilient. Balancing social obligations and economic outcomes makes for a successful indigenous enterprise.

Similar socio-cultural values also influence the economic activities of Papua New Guinean local entrepreneurs and it is to the PNG context we now turn.

3.3.2. Non-economic practices that influence Papua New Guinean businesses

As discussed in the examples above, various social and cultural needs and motives also influence local enterprises in PNG. The need to fulfil family and community obligations, gifting and exchange, pursuit of status and the need to survive dictate social behaviours in general and form justifications for doing business. Although some of these factors may not be evident or relevant today, in many instances they still affect economic behaviours in different ways and subordinate profit-seeking motives. There is an increasing number of studies that continue to reveal significant practices that embed business activities both in rural and urban PNG (Curry, 1999, 2005; Curry & Koczberski, 2009, 2013; Curry et al., 2012; De Renzio, 2000; Finney, 1973; Imbun, 2000). Some of these are explored in the following sections.

Gifting, reciprocity and social status

In a PNG indigenous economy, maintaining social relationships as well as seeking prestige can be important parts of business and can influence economic decisions. Participating in economic activities as wage earners, managers, investors, customers or labourers can reproduce and strengthen social relationships in the communities generally. Finney's (1973) study of entrepreneurs in Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province, showed that providing services to local communities and gaining individual or group status – prestige – were the main motivating factors for doing business. In various studies of local economies that Curry (1999, 2005) did in PNG, he noted that pooling of capital and labour within extended families and communities creates and reproduces reciprocal relationships.

Engaging in economic activities enables one to contribute to forms of traditional exchange. Cultural activities such as contributions to bride price payments and funerals, church activities and other social responsibilities such as assisting relatives with school fees (Curry, 2005; Koczberski, 2002) are opportunities that require future exchanges. When a local businessperson contributes more often to these social needs than his counterparts, he is often referred to as a 'big-man', (Finney, 1973) which means that he has gained community recognition, has a name for himself and often has many

followers. Sometimes, these contributions are recognised as future investments given in the form of gifts.

The act of contributing to these social needs and exchanges not only raises the status of the individual and group in the community but also cements strong ties within kin networks and reinforces the indigenous socio-cultural economy. A successful business in rural PNG does not always have the western characteristics of being profit-driven and wealth accumulating, rather it is one that is able to reproduce social relationships and indigenous exchanges and still survive. Thus, the motive for doing business in PNG is sometimes "entangled with status seeking" (Sharp, 2013, p. 250).

Alternative indigenous business practices

Continual participation in social and cultural practices and trying to meet kin demands can put a strain on some indigenous enterprises. To avoid the demands of kin and community members on the business and to maintain its 'survival', some entrepreneurs seek other forms of business and location options. For example, in a study of Ipili landowner entrepreneurs in Pogera, Enga Province of PNG, Banks (2006) noted that they rented their stores to outsiders. They did not manage the businesses but were able to collect rents. This protected the enterprises from being patronized by kin and in the event of tribal fights, which is common in that part of PNG, the risk of losing 'business' was minimal as destruction of properties are usually aimed at those who are not seen as contributing to individual, clan and community demands.

In another study on village trade stores in Wosera, East Sepik Province, Curry (1999) noted that enterprises established outside of the village next to main transport routes were isolated from direct social influences and the survival of business was more likely than those located within the villages. Many younger generation entrepreneurs seek these business practices and locations; hence, many indigenous enterprises exist in the peripheries of urban centres away from strong social ties. This does not mean that these entrepreneurs are detached from fulfilling socio-cultural obligations. They participate in indigenous exchange activities, for example through remittances, but direct pressure on

the business from family and relatives is minimised and sustainability of the enterprise is more likely.

The store goods transacted in the above examples are usually manufactured, modern goods and do not come directly from the land. In that sense, these businesses do not relate directly to land. Nevertheless, the land upon which the trade store buildings are erected are usually on clan land and thus, the socio-cultural connection to trade stores or other business enterprises can still influence economic outcomes.

Social relationships at transaction points

Relationships at transactions points are important factors that also make economic actions socially embedded and placed-based. With long distance trades such as the betel nut trade, Sharp (2013) noted that Hagen betel nut entrepreneurs in the Western Highlands Province both cooperated and competed in this trade making their economic actions not only economically viable but also socially connected. Males usually dominate this long-distance trade although in some cases, women also travel with their male relatives or partners. Although there may be internal rivalry between big and small buyers at trading points, these betel buyers usually cooperated as 'brothers' looking out for each other when away from home (Sharp, 2013, p. 240). This illustrates the traditional custom of clan members caring for each other.

However, when they return home, they usually compete against each other for better selling prices or use the returns from betel sales to purchase a vehicle or build a trade store to show that they are better off than the others or are at the 'same level' as others. This spirit of competition amongst betel traders as well as other indigenous entrepreneurs reinforces traditional 'big-man' (Finney, 1973) mentality. Thus, "concern for status remains intimately entangled in 'bisnis' in Hagen," (Sharp, 2013, p. 250). This could mean that for Hagen betel traders, wealth accumulation in the form of building trade stores, buying vehicles, building houses and meeting social obligations, both of which raise an individual or group status, remains a major motivation for doing business.

As can be seen in the above examples and discussions, economic actions by Papua New Guinean entrepreneurs are not influenced purely by economic motives. The need to maintain other socio-cultural relationships and practices including the humanitarian concern of providing services to rural communities result in doing business. Additionally, the need for prestige and status in the community continue to be a motivating factor for business activities (Finney, 1973; Sharp, 2013). Consequently, if a local person engages in income-generating activities out of an economic motive, social relationships and cultural obligations continue to influence his or her decision over the use of income. Traditional practices of gifting and reciprocity, keeping close kin ties and pursuit for status are still important aspects of life in PNG. Although their forms may have changed or may be less evident today, these aspects still influence relationships and embed indigenous economic activities in local cultural settings in many parts of rural PNG.

The Pacific and PNG examples of social and cultural concepts that dictate local ways of life as well as social and economic actions point to Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship as strongly embedded. Some of these cultural constructs have resulted in successful businesses not in terms of profit-making but in how social reproductions are maintained and support businesses to thrive. These and other factors characterise Pacific entrepreneurs as successful social and economic actors.

3.3.3. Characteristics of successful Pacific SMEs and entrepreneurs

Before discussing success factors that embed Pacific SMEs it is vital to establish the key aspects that identify a business as an SME including the forms of operation and motivations for doing business.

Pacific small-medium enterprises

There are numerous aspects of SMEs which are context specific. Most SMEs in the Pacific are in the informal sector, and owned and run by individuals, families or small groups on both a regular and irregular basis. Small indigenous businesses in PNG have few employees and where there are none, family members take care of the firm. According to Yusuf (1998), the profit margins for indigenous businesses especially micro and small enterprise are very low. For owners of indigenous SMEs in the Pacific, the

motivations to engage in business are diverse and not limited to wealth accumulation (Fairbairn, 2006).

Examples of small indigenous enterprises vary, and they dominate local markets and largely target the local population. Early research found that many small businesses are found in the retail (e.g. trade stores), road transportation (e.g. public motor vehicles), tourism, informal fisheries, handicrafts, small-scale agriculture and manufacturing sectors (Curry, 1999; Hailey, 1987; Yusuf, 1995). Recent studies in PNG have shown that small business operations include small construction and rental property businesses as spin-offs from big mining operations (Banks, 2006; Fairbairn, 2006). Further, sales of agricultural production and street vending or 'petty trading' that occur in the informal sector have been noted as significant micro to small enterprise ventures for the majority of Papua New Guineans (Aiyus, 2006; Anderson, 2008; Benediktsson, 2002; Chang et al., 2010; Rooney, 2016; Sharp, 2013).

Characteristics of success for Pacific SMEs

The success of indigenous SMEs is multidimensional and depends on many factors. According to Chittithaworn et al. (2011), success factors for small businesses include, entrepreneurial and business characteristics, management skills and having the know-how to do business. Other factors include developing products and services that are in demand. Creating a proper business strategy, working in cooperation with others and having access to the necessary resources and finance have also been noted as vital for running a successful small business. To some extent, a conducive market environment and access to the internet can contribute to viable business. The above factors: developing entrepreneurial and business characteristics; having access to customers and markets; creating effective ways of doing business and working well with others; accessing resource and finance as well as the external environment were found to have significant positive effect on the success of small businesses in Thailand (Chittithaworn et al., 2011). These success factors do not detail specific aspects and connection to culture, but most of these factors have been noted in successful small indigenous businesses in the Pacific that are culturally embedded (Fairbairn, 2006).

Studies of Pacific indigenous enterprises by Fairbairn (2006) and Saffu (2003) identified success factors that are connected to social and cultural factors.

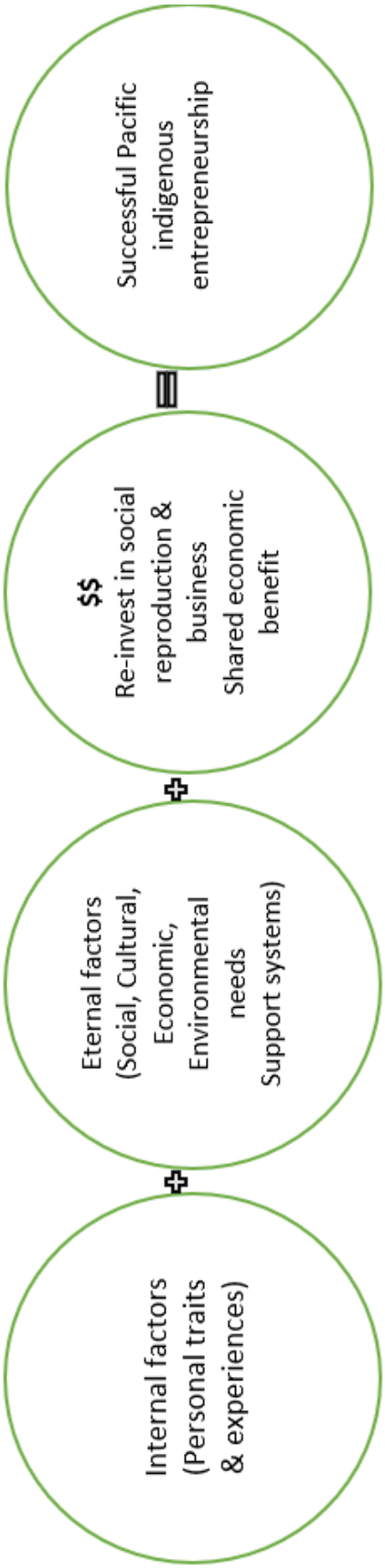


Figure 9 Success Factors for Pacific Indigenous Enterprises

Source: Fairbairn (2006) and Saffu (2003)

The list of success factors that connect and produce viable Pacific indigenous enterprise are shown in Figure 9.

Fairbairn (2006) used his own research and earlier studies by the Pacific Islands Development Program of the East West Centre in Honolulu, Hawaii, to identify specific aspects of successful businesses including both personal attributes and socio-cultural factors, stated as internal and external factors in Figure 9.

Personal aspects of successful small indigenous Pacific entrepreneurs included being mature (disciplined), ambitious, hardworking, persistent, determined and motivated. Additionally, the ability to recognise business opportunities, maintaining product quality, careful management of assets and social responsibilities and the ability to pull savings and labour from extended family were noted as worthy traits of successful indigenous entrepreneurs. For example, a participant in Fairbairn's research demonstrated that "working hard, keeping product quality and proper management of income and materials for baking bread" (Fairbairn, 2006, pp. 358, 359) resulted in the success and expansion of Mere's Hot Kitchen Bread, a Fijian indigenous business.

In terms of the social and cultural success factors, external influences such as basic education, former work experience, wide travels – in-country and abroad – and internal factors such as motivation for group status and prestige, need for family and community welfare and strong family ties – sources of capital and labour – were identified as vital success factors for island businesses. For example, the Hot Kitchen Bread entrepreneur in Fairbairn's study reported on the support and inspiration she received from family members and recognition of her social network as important for her business (Fairbairn, 2006).

Furthermore, success for Papua New Guinean entrepreneurs requires the ability to meet cultural obligations and maintain close ties with clan and *wantoks*. Bringing development "back to the community" (Saffu, 2003, p. 63) through entrepreneurial activities is also a measure of success for PNG indigenous entrepreneurs. Success is measured by the entrepreneur's social standing in the community and the extent of his

or her social obligations, and thus his social influence (Finney, 1973). Success is not just in being able to compete with and own similar material wealth as other traders (Sharp, 2013) but also being able to contribute toward assisting relatives. Thus, for island entrepreneurs, wealth is created for the common good and this wealth is used for personal and social obligations. This relates to the egalitarian and utilitarian views of doing business that mark Pacific communities. That, together with internal personal traits and meeting external socio-cultural and economic needs, render an indigenous island business as viable as shown in Figure 9.

From the above, socio-cultural elements seem to be the basis for the success of small indigenous businesses, and wealth accumulation does not seem to feature as an important motivation for doing business (Fairbairn, 2006). This is in line with important features of socially embedded indigenous entrepreneurship. Apart from personal attributes and socio-cultural factors, external relationships also play an important role for small businesses. Cooperation with other small businesses, government and legal policy support are important external factors for business success (Chittithaworn et al., 2011).

Saffu (2003, p. 65) suggested that success for

> island entrepreneurs and enterprises should not be measured only in economic terms but should be measured in terms of whether the entrepreneur/enterprise has the ability to balance the competing interests of the clan and business.

This is an important point to note when measuring success of small indigenous businesses. Taking this further, Scheyvens et al. (2017) developed a tool for measuring success and sustainability of indigenous business, using examples of successful indigenous businesses based on customary land in the Pacific. Details of this sustainability tool can be seen in Chapter 6. This tool recognises that social and cultural goals are just as important as economic goals when measuring indigenous business success particularly in the Pacific.

3.4. Summary

This chapter discussed fundamental social and cultural values, also noted as social capital, that support life and influence entrepreneurial activities in the Pacific. Values such as taking care of family and community welfare and looking out for other's needs are an integral part of Pacific indigenous societies. Examples of such cultural capitals as *kerekere, solesolevaki, totoa, wok bung, wantok* and *wanbel* interwoven in Pacific societies were discussed to exemplify how these existing systems influence businesses. Some New Zealand Māori, Polynesian and Melanesian business examples, and PNG examples of business practices such as gifting, and status-seeking were explored to understand how existing social norms embed Pacific indigenous entrepreneurship. An attempt was made at identifying characteristics of successful Pacific entrepreneurs and enterprises including internal and external factors.

The discussion in this chapter points to practices of many businesses and economic activities in the Pacific and PNG that reflect the social embeddedness concept. The examples from New Zealand Māori, Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Vanuatu and PNG showed that traditional, cultural practices and social relationships are ingrained in the society, thus are important for business success if utilised properly. These values also usefully embed businesses within the communities and cultural contexts they exist in. There are constant intertwined social and economic processes that influence economic development in the Pacific and in PNG with women being active players in the social and cultural sphere (Cox & Aitsi, 1988). This provides the justification for using social embeddedness and indigenous entrepreneurship as conceptual lenses to explore the nuances that intersect business and culture in this study.

An important cultural element that has supported the rural Papuan New Guinean economy in social reproductions, cultural connections and rural economic activities is customary land. The next chapter explores various factors relating to this key resource and its importance in supporting local business development in PNG.

CHAPTER 4: LAND AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

4.1. Introduction

This chapter will establish the importance of land and its cultural context for this study. It will begin by outlining the differing perceptions around customary land and highlight its significance for local enterprises. The laws and rules that protect and allow for land alienation will be explained briefly. Part of the chapter will discuss how women's access to customary land supports PNG's rural economy. Doing this will set the basis for the following chapter (Chapter 5) that will explore how women also utilise land and related cultural associations to contribute to PNG's economy. Toward the end of this chapter a number of cultural challenges that disadvantage women in relation to land will be discussed followed by a summary.

4.2. Perceptions of Customary Land and Culture

There are differing perceptions of customary landownership in the Pacific and PNG: that of outsiders and those who embrace western capitalist forms of development as the answer to economic growth, and that of indigenous people and those who support land as a social and cultural resource for indigenous people.

4.2.1. Outside perceptions: customary land as barrier to economic development

The western influenced perspective holds that customary land tenure and related cultural practices are responsible for the slow development in the Pacific and particularly in PNG. Those who are of this view such as development agencies, academics and those working for foreign institutions maintain that customary land ownership has been problematic and should be privatised to allow individual ownership for national economic development (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008; Gosarevski et al., 2004; Hughes, 2010). The justification is that individual titles to land are secure and can be used to further economic pursuits. Further, private titles can result in quick economic progress through commercialisation of agriculture, leasing properties by also providing security for bank loans. However, privatisation of traditional land has not been

forthcoming, thus, that form of land tenure has been observed as presenting persisting problems for "gaining secure access" (Duncan & Nakagawa, 2007, p. 5). At the socio-political level, those supporting foreign companies' access to resource sites commonly blame landowner "compensation claims" (Standish, 2001, p. 290) as a barrier to foreign investment and private sector development. Adding to this narrative, traditional social structures around land is blamed as a source for "poor and miserable rural life" (Gosarevski et al., 2004, p. 135) in PNG so funds should be redirected to land reforms as it is "a high priority" for "secure tenure" (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008, p. 105). According to these views, customary landownership is a brake to economic development and a source of inequality. While there is possibly some truth in these perceptions, they appear not to understand the close relationship between land and the landowner.

This perception comes from not recognising the thriving rural economies that are largely supported by customary land. There are numerous examples of productive management of traditional land that have supported rural livelihoods and economic activities. This study aims to reveal some examples of local entrepreneurial families who have effectively utilised their customary land and cultural connections to establish viable enterprises.

4.2.2. Papua New Guinean perception: land is life

The Papua New Guinean view of customary land differs from that of outsiders. For most people who live in rural communities and subsist on family or clan land, land is viewed as sacred and important. Land is conceived not only as a source of sustenance but also as life. According to Dove et al. (1974), land in PNG is perceived as physical, social, emotional and spiritual life. It provides food, water and sustenance as well as social and spiritual connection, status, wealth, security, and politics. Landownership has

> prestige and status attachment not only in terms of what it produces or can produce, but also in terms of just owning the land, whether it is productive or not. (Dove et al., 1974, p. 182)

The land is in fact, their world. This view is in line with other Pacific island nations. For example, *vanua* in Fiji, *enua* in the Cook Islands, *whenua* in NZ and *fonua* in Tonga,

(Tu'itahi, 2009, p. 11) evoke a sense of cultural, social and spiritual connections that people have towards land. Their values, beliefs, traditions and history are all interwoven with the natural and supernatural worlds around their land. The ultimate purpose of these values placed on land is to maintain harmony with the relationships and exchange between the environment and humanity in ways that are sustainable. Land is viewed holistically with material and immaterial meaning. People's attachment and involvement with land has different dimensions, with women having stronger attachment. There is strong intimacy between land and the landowner.

4.2.3. Significance of customary landownership

While it is important to recognise the impacts that cultural connections around customary land have had on economic development in PNG, it is also important to look at positive contributions land has had in sustaining indigenous livelihoods. Generally, land is an important part of life in PNG as it in other Pacific islands. For an indigenous Papua New Guinean, having access to customary land and the resources on it is significant as it is a social and cultural resource, that supports various livelihoods. Being connected to land provides a source of social security and belonging, a storage hub of necessities and pharmacy of herbs. No reform will detach people from what has sustained them for generations in this part of the Pacific. The strong attachment Papua New Guineans have to their lands shows in the highest level of customary landownership (97%) in the world. Some state that it is "unusual in the world with most ordinary Papuan New Guineans having some access to land," (Anderson, 2006c, p. 1).

The dominant form of livelihood activity on traditional land is subsistence agriculture which supports 85% of the rural population (Tararia & Ogle, 2010). Most PNG families and communities benefit directly from food production that comes from family and tribal lands. For the 8 million plus local people in 700 plus diverse ethnic groups, customary land remains the primary source of livelihood and provides the basis for social, cultural and economic relationships and acts as "social protection" (Filer, 2014, p. 80). Returns from produce on customary land have a higher value than returns from labouring in large oil palm plantations (Anderson, 2006c). Curry and Koczberski have demonstrated through their research that socio-cultural relationships on and around

land provide a positive condition for indigenous people to participate in modern market economics (Curry, 2005; Curry & Koczberski, 2012, 2013).

Scholarly evidence continues to show productive management of land under customary ownership particularly in the area of creative business strategies and benefit-sharing arrangements (Banks, 2007; Curry, 2005; Curry & Koczberski, 2013; Fingleton, 2004, 2005). Successful entrepreneurs adopt creative strategies to manage pressure from *wantoks* including "locating business ventures in areas away from where pressures are most strongly felt" (Curry, 1999; Haque, 2012, p. 7). While located away from *wantok* pressure zones, they contribute affordable portions of earnings to support social and cultural needs. Other strategies include renting properties to outsiders and collecting rentals (Banks, 2006) as mentioned earlier in Chapter 3.

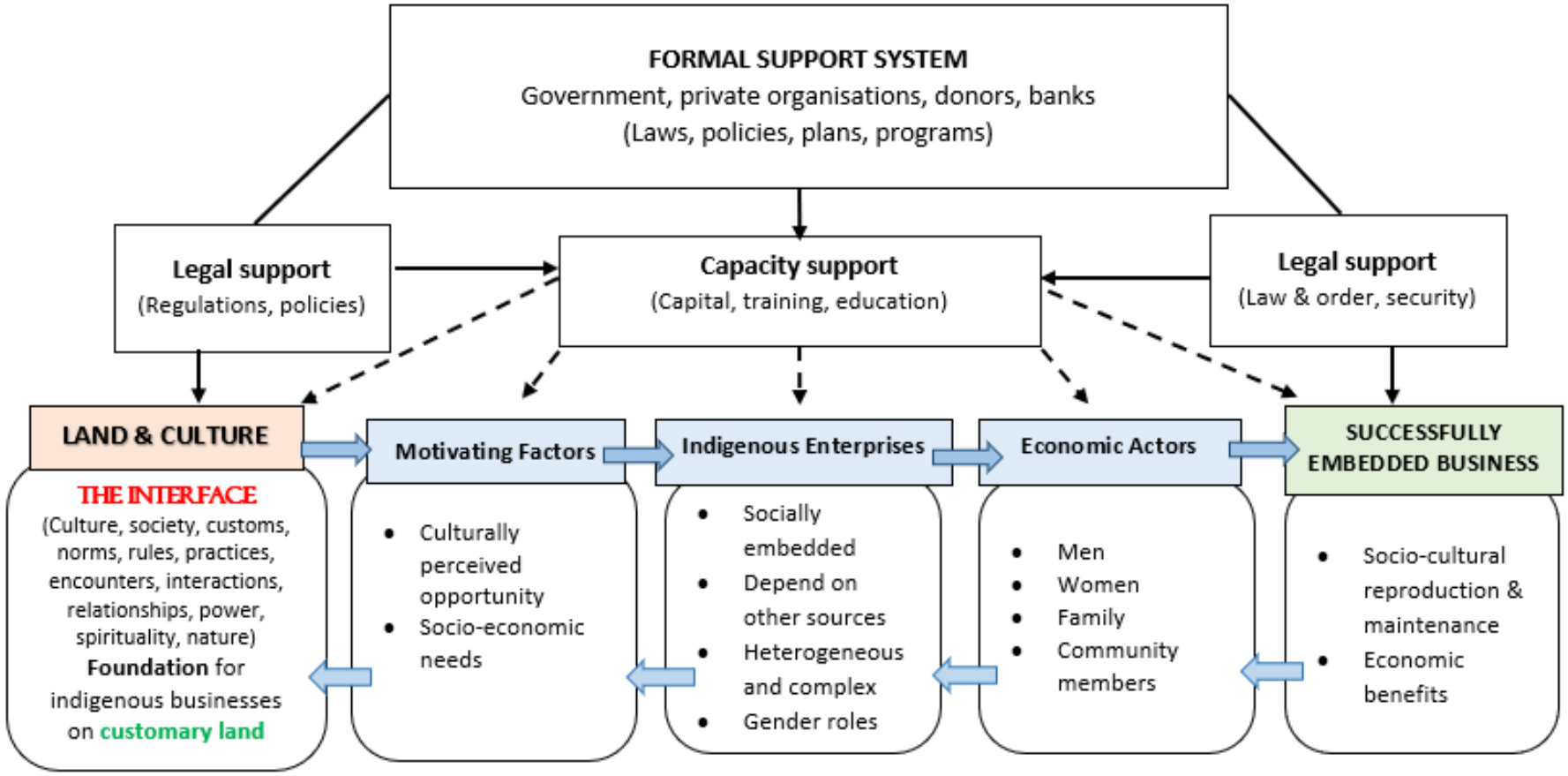
These examples show that customary land is a significant support system for cultural, social and economic productions for Papua New Guineans as it for indigenous people in other Pacific islands. This points to customary landownership and culture as important for local economic development (Saffu, 2003) thus, specific laws are in place to protect this form of land ownership. Land indeed, is a source of life for Papua New Guineans (Dove et al., 1974), particularly women and children.

4.2.4. Customary land for indigenous businesses

As a social and cultural resource, customary land can support local businesses (Scheyvens et al., 2017). Drawing from concepts raised in Chapters 2 and 3, and part of this chapter Figure 10 demonstrates how land and related cultural relationships provide the basis for indigenous businesses.

The thin, dashed lines pointing away from the capacity support (e.g. capital, training, education) show that indigenous enterprises may not always depend directly on government and donor interventions (Ministry of Trade Commerce & Industry, 2016).

Figure 10 Customary Land as Basis for Culturally Embedded Enterprises



Source: Based on (Anderson, 2015a; Curry, 2005; Scheyvens et al., 2020).

Legal support in terms of rules, regulations and policies can be in place and provide the constitutional rights for people to engage in various economic activities on their lands. But policing as well as effective law and order may not always be present to safeguard indigenous entrepreneurs operating their businesses on customary land in rural locations. This means that indigenous entrepreneurs depend on the pre-existing cultural rules and social network for support. Thus, the use of dashed lines suggests that indigenous businesses may sometimes, but not always depend on formal support systems, at least for the majority of micro-small enterprises operating in rural locales of PNG.

The use of thick blue arrows shows strong links between different factors influencing, as well as resulting from culturally embedded indigenous businesses. Indigenous enterprises depend on social and cultural factors. This could mean that indigenous businesses including those operating on customary land are not reliant on external formal support but rely on family and social relationships. As noted in the social embeddedness and indigenous entrepreneurship literature (Chapters 2 & 3), social and cultural values and reslationships seem to be key in motivating and sustaining local businesses supported by customary land.

Business and culturally perceived opportunities, social and economic needs often motivate an indigenous enterprise. Hence, indigenous enterprises are usually embedded, sometimes heterogeneous and complex as well as dependent on other livelihood strategies (Koczberski et al., 2001) to stay in business. The outcomes of indigenous businesses are not only economic benefits but also socio-cultural reproduction such as exchange and reciprocity that produces hybridised economies (Anderson, 2015a; Curry, 2005; Koczberski et al., 2001). These social reproductions and income from indigenous enterprises may sometimes be re-invested into the business to diversify into other businesses as well as enhance local livelihoods, raise people's status in the community, and support the church, community, and family members. When livelihoods are enhanced, basic needs such as education and health for families and community members may be possible, making the business a successfully embedded business. This diagram shows culture and social relationships as key elements for

indigenous businesses on customary land, which supports development that is driven from the local level.

4.3. Land Context: Protection, Alienation and Inheritance Rules

The large proportion of land under customary tenure is supported by PNG's customary land law that protects it, but it also has clauses that allow for alienation. Inheritance rules are mostly traditional and are protected by the same customary land law. Although there are challenges for women's access to customary land, usage and management of it has supported PNG's rural economy over many generations.

4.3.1. How customary land is both protected and alienated

Traditional land is recognised in the National Constitution as Customary Land. It is defined as "land that is owned or possessed by an automatic citizen or community of automatic citizens by virtue of rights of a proprietary or possessory kind that belong to that citizen or community and arise from and are regulated by custom". Here custom refers to

> …customs and usages of indigenous inhabitants of the country existing in relation to land or the use of land at the time when and the place in relation to which the matter arises, regardless of whether or not the custom or usage has existed from time immemorial. (GoPNG Land Act, 1996, p. 2)

Thus, indigenous land is protected by custom and several provisions are given in the Land Act 1996, where customary land is not to be acquired or disposed of by customary landowners (GoPNG Land Act, 1996, pp. 8-9, 59). One such provisions states that

> …a customary landowner has no power to sell, lease or otherwise dispose of customary land or customary rights otherwise than to citizens in accordance with custom and a contract or agreement made by him to do so is void. (GoPNG Land Act, 1996, p. 59).

This part of the law has "never been amended since 1963" (Chand, 2017, p. 414). Customary land defined by this law is not to be disposed of, including purchasing or selling for any purposes. However, customary land can be acquired by the State through agreement, compulsory acquisition or registration for lease-lease-back arrangement for the purposes of Special Agricultural and Business Lease (SABL). With the lease-lease-

back clause, traditional land can be registered and leased to the State at owners' free will, which then is leased back to the owners or business interest groups by the State. Compulsory acquisition of land by the State can occur for public purposes in agreement with landowners (CONSTITUTE, 2016, p. 52). These provisions have been used sparingly thus far, the percentage of alienated land has remained at 3 percent since independence in 1975 (Chand, 2017, p. 415).

Recent legislative reforms to access and alienate traditional land have resulted in the Land Registration (Amendment) Act 2009 and Land Groups Incorporation (Amendment) Act 2009. These amendments provide procedures for incorporation of land groups and registration of land but the decision to do so lies with clans and landowners. They have opened doors for land to be registered for economic purposes. If registered and leased back to the owner, a piece of land can be used as collateral for bank loans or can be leased up to 99 years for an agreed rent for the purpose of private enterprise (Chand, 2017). The general perception is that these reforms are good for economic development thus, there has been an increase in Incorporated Land Groups (ILGs) particularly in mineral rich and productive forestry areas. However, many issues have arisen particularly from lease-lease-back arrangements (Filer, 2011).

According to an investigation of records of SABLs from 2003 to 2011, the percentage of customary land alienated by lease-lease back schemes has increased by 11-12% (Filer, 2011, p. 2). Investigations were done on SABLs issued to presumed Agri-forestry projects between 2003-2011. SABLs issued from 2002 and earlier, those issued to the mining industry or other multinational projects were not included in this initial investigation. This could suggest that there is a decrease in holdings of primordial customary land from the accepted 97 percent. Given this scenario, it is obvious that ownership of customary land may slowly slip into the hands of ILGs. Among other issues, access to sources of food, water, fuelwood and other materials may be disrupted for women and children.

Despite this scenario, land is largely under customary land tenure. Studies of land reforms in PNG have noted that past attempts at reforms to traditional land have largely failed due in part to landowners' unwillingness to register land for private ownership

(Larmour, 2002). This unwillingness stems from a number of factors. In terms of productive land areas, the physical geography renders some areas very mountainous or swampy for commercial agriculture, mining or Agri-forestry thus not all parts of PNG are productive. Most traditional lands are located away from service centres, transport routes, and contain difficult geographic terrains which make it difficult for entrepreneurial activities to develop. Further, the land registration process is tedious especially if the majority of land-owning units are less knowledgeable in land registration and legislation matters. At the clan level, land is the "most inalienable gift" (Gregory, 2015, p. 174) with complex hierarchy of rights over it which means, under custom, land is owned by groups of clan members. In theory, all landowning members must agree to register or dispose of land (Paterson, 2001) thus, it is not easy to convert tenure into individual title (Fingleton, 2005). Disputes and violence over land are common, and bound to occur if land is demarcated, registered or sold without proper group consensus. Regardless of whether the land is productive or not, just having access to land provides security for families, clans and the next generation (Dove et al., 1974). Given these factors, it is clear that land is important to Papua New Guineans, therefore, will remain under customary tenure to be used for various livelihoods.

4.3.2. Inheritance, property, and land use rights

As in many Pacific island nations, customary landowners in PNG are indigenous people. There are diverse land inheritance rules, but the most notable are through patrilineal and matrilineal lineages, and sometimes by adoption (Arutangai & Crocombe, 1987). Membership and access to property is traced through these lines. If a kin group's founding ancestor is a female, descendants – women and their brothers– inherit membership and property rights through their mother (Asian Development Bank, 2013) and her brothers usually exercise authority for the group. And over the years, these kin groups develop intricate customs and traditions and form cultural links and relationships around their land. It is these relationships to land that dictate the roles and responsibilities as well as the social and economic activities of many Papua New Guineans.

Many factors guide the boundaries and limits of land ownership and usage. In traditional PNG, the physical context of land, population growth, social organisation, role of marriage and role of ritual determined land use rights (Arutangai & Crocombe, 1987). In addition, rivers, mountains, lakes, bush tracks and lines of old trees provided the boundary markers for land usage and ownership. For example, older members of kin groups would plant certain perennial trees to demarcate the physical land boundary. Also, stories of land areas and rivers used for hunting, fishing, firewood collection and grazing by ancestors were retold from generation to generation so knowledge of land boundaries was kept. Ownership of land through these means still exists in contemporary PNG today, particularly in rural areas.

Upholding customs, beliefs and values enacted around the land and the community is important because these customs and beliefs guide the practices and the use of land. For example, in many societies in PNG, sacred rituals sites were treated with respect and were used as "protection against outsiders" (Arutangai & Crocombe, 1987, p. 340). In addition, the right to use the peripheries of the village for gardens, grazing and water wells are marked by its location and organisation. Moreover, marriage into and residence in a particular area results in establishing rights to land use especially for women. Furthermore, fulfilling socio-cultural obligations and roles, working the land, residing in and participating in activities such as paying bride prices, and mortuary and gift exchange ceremonies were important means for determining usage of land for groups or individuals (Arutangai & Crocombe, 1987). The physical and socio-cultural relationships created within the community and around land continue to be significant factors that also affect women's land use rights and ownership.

4.5. Gender, Landownership and Land Use

4.5.1. Gender relations and roles that determine land use

Women have access to land in either a primary or secondary sense. Among various land access and use rights, traditional patrilineal and matrilineal systems of landownership are the most common that either allow or hinder women from owning land. In patrilineal societies where land is passed down through the paternal lineage, mostly in

the highlands region and some parts of Autonomous Region of Bougainville and Central Province, women generally do not own land, but their marriage into or being part of the clan can guarantee use and management of it. For example, in Mekeo district (Central Province) where the community chief oversees land distribution and use rights, natal and in-married women are given land use rights to grow and sell their own pepper fruit and betel-nut (Mosko, 2005). In Goroka, which represents a patrilineal system, when a plot of land is allocated to a woman to plant food crops, she may manage it without interference which is similar to Mount Hagen, Western Highlands Province (Strathern, 1995). Additionally, there are some exceptions where female-only families can own and use their father's lands usually recognised and supported by kinsmen and paternal uncles.

In matrilineal societies such as those predominating the coastal provinces of Milne Bay, New Ireland, East New Britain and most of Autonomous Region of Bougainville, land is accessed through maternal lines. In many PNG societies including in New Ireland, "possessions and rights are transmitted through the mother" (Asian Development Bank, 2013, p. 6). Thus, women (as well as men) inherit and use land through their mothers or their uncles from mothers' side. It has been noted, however that, today in these matrilineal societies, women do not always make decisions independent of their brothers on land matters as in many Pacific island nations (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008, p. 81). In the past, this was not the case. Women in many parts, of the country, including in the above provinces, used to "have power in their society and made decisions" (ibid. p.5) over family and community including over land matters. However, colonization, development of markets, population growth and migration (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008) have been noted as major contributors to the decline in women's positions in their society.

Women manage and use land in productive ways as do men. Basic materials and foodstuff are gleaned from the land to support family and community needs – although recent land alienation through logging contracts are threatening to diminish women's access to natural resources in some parts of PNG (Filer, 2011). Women grow and nurture plants and animals for food, and to generate income for various needs. Where crops

and backyard livestock are grown and raised together, women are generally involved in subsistence food production and take care of smaller animals like pigs and goats. Continual productive use of land and subsequent contribution to socio-cultural needs and communal programmes (Cox & Aitsi, 1988, p. 24) further guarantees ongoing use rights for women.

Women's labour in maintaining food production on customary land is regarded as a significant contribution to rural livelihoods, the survival of many families (Anderson, 2008, 2015b) and the overall national economy (Bourke & Harwood, 2009). Women's contribution to agriculture and open markets supported by land is explored in detail in Chapter 5, section 5.3 and 5.4.

4.5.2. Hindrances to women's access to productive land

Even if women have rights to access and use land, there are inherent factors that have been identified as hindering women's full access to land and the productive value gained out of it.

At the informal level, inherent, inequitable power relations and division of gender roles in the household do not allow women to make decisions. For example, in most parts of the highlands, most women in patrilineal clans usually have no power over the decision that is made regarding land usage, including the power to choose land for subsistence food production (Eves, 2017).They are allowed to produce food and feed their families usually from the land that is allocated to them by the men (their fathers, husbands, brothers, uncles). Also, they do not always influence or make decisions on the allocation of land for cash crop production and it is usually the best land that is used by men for cash cropping. This leaves women to deal with environmental vulnerabilities in addition to the plethora of roles at home. Women must work hard to deal with various issues including land plots that are difficult to access, degradation, poor food production due to overuse of a usually small area of land and climate change impacts, as well as taking care of children often malnourished due to lack of nutritious food. Additionally, if for some reason, a married woman is separated or divorced, she may become landless and cashless and either return to her parents' family or migrate to a town or city to look for

other opportunities (Steven, 2016, pp. 14, 17) which are often precarious. Even if she bore children to her husband, usually she does not have right to her husband's land if her husband publicly removes her (Eves, 2017). These inherent traditional power imbalances may hinder women's access to and control over resources.

For women who have access to land and desire to participate in improving their family and community wellbeing, formal structures including inequitable land and bank policies hinder their control over assets and income generation. For example, the allowance to register incorporated land groups (ILGs) and small agriculture and business leases (SABLs) (sub-section 4.4.1) has opened a gap for land alienation in rural areas (Filer, 2011, 2012). Often men are at the forefront of registering SABLs for quick money-making schemes, which leaves women and children vulnerable. Only those whose names are listed in the ILGs benefit from the proceeds of projects based on SABLs. When SABLs are contracted to outside companies, women's access to resources such water and fuelwood are limited adding more stress on them.

Many rural women have negative experiences with banks. For example, when women apply for bank loans to do backyard poultry, piggery or other small businesses, they are usually asked to provide high-value, fixed assets such as a motor vehicle, permanent house or land as collateral in order to get loans (West, 2016). For most women in the villages, it is impossible to access such fixed assets for collateral. Bank demands for big assets like these do not make it easy for women to access funds. In addition, if they do manage to get a small bank loan, men at home (sons, husbands, brothers) usually make decisions over how it is used, while leaving the women to repay the loan.

Inherent gender-power relations as well as inequitable policies, are challenges that continue to impede women's access to resources and economic opportunities. Because of these, women's unequal ownership of land is often reported and widely accepted as a cultural challenge and barrier to women's economic development. This requires society as a whole to work toward making gender relations work positively for both women and men. One way to address this is ongoing reporting and recognition of women's contributions to local economies. When families and communities recognise

the value of women's work, dominant local gender practices could be challenged, which may result in more equitable development for women and men.

4.6. Summary

This chapter has provided background to the context linking land and economic development in in PNG. The discussion began with existing perceptions of customary land ownership. Outsiders who work with foreign agencies and corporations perceive customary ownership as a barrier, while indigenous peoples and those who advocate for indigenous ways of development, have noted that customary ownership and culture are the basis that support varied and thriving indigenous economies in PNG. Further, attention is drawn to customary land laws that guide ownership. Traditional land ownership is enshrined in PNG land law and yet the same law allows for alienation of land. Discussion on land inheritance and property rights brings attention to women's access to land. Socio-cultural relationships provide the conditions for women's access to land resources. However, it was noted that there are a number of inherent cultural and structural challenges that hinder women's access to land. Thus, there are issues that need concerted effort from the government and institutions to remedy them.

Despite structural challenges and unequal access to resources, and whether they own land and make decisions about it or not, women contribute significantly to the overall national economy. In the next chapter, women's economic activities including those supported by customary land will be discussed. The focus will on women's role in social production, agriculture, markets and small businesses as these are the activities that most local women spend much of their time and labour on to support their families and communities.

CHAPTER 5: WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN PNG

5.1. Introduction

Women's role in economic development in developing countries, which includes small island developing states of the Pacific, has been well recognised since Boserup (1970). The subsequent women's development approaches: women in development (WID), women and development (WAD) and gender and development (GAD), raised attention to gender challenges, work burdens, and women's needs and interests (Bandarage, 1984; Benería & Sen, 1982; Buvinic, 1983; Jaquette & Staudt, 2006; Moser, 1989; Tinker, 1990). These approaches, especially GAD, exposed women's triple work burdens (Moser, 1989) that led to advocacy for gender equity, equality and empowerment.

This chapter focuses on relevant literature on women's roles in hybrid or place-based economies (Anderson, 2015a; Curry, 2003) of PNG, focussing on social reproduction and small business activities (agriculture, open markets, micro-small enterprises). Before these are explored, a brief discussion of Moser's recognition of women's triple work burdens is presented, and their needs and interests considered. This will provide insights into female roles in the three successful Papuan New Guinean businesses based on customary land examined later in this thesis.

There are cultural and structural challenges that hinder the majority of rural women from participation in formal business development in PNG. These are explored and attention is drawn to why a focus on women's economic empowerment in development policies and programmes sometimes obscures other place-based needs. Pulling together ideas in this chapter and key concepts in previous chapters, a gender-sensitive framework is developed in the context of women's involvement in indigenous businesses on customary land. The explanation of the framework will conclude this chapter.

5.2. Women's Triple Work Burden

To set the basis for understanding women's roles in PNG's rural economy, here I briefly discuss Caroline Moser's work (1989), which is widely recognised as foundational to gender and development thinking. Moser's work exposed women's triple work burden in Third World countries. These include women's triple role in reproductive, productive and community organising roles. Reproductive roles refer to childbearing, childrearing and family responsibilities such as caring for the sick, cleaning and preparing meals; productive roles include paid work, agricultural production or informal market activities to earn income; and community organising roles refer to participation in socio-cultural activities which could include school committees, church meetings and fundraising events for community organisations. The main point Moser makes is that women face heavier work burdens than men because of the triple nature of their roles, which can impede them from earning money, running a business or gaining positions of authority in their communities. This is relevant for many women in PNG as well.

After identifying these roles, Moser argued, in line with Molyneux (1985), that identifying women's practical and strategic interests is important. When gender interests are known, it may become easier to translate them into planning priorities, whereby women's concerns maybe be satisfied (Moser, 1989). Practical gender needs are those that emerge from women's daily experiences, particularly their roles performed in the division of labour. For example, water and fuelwood collection are daily activities performed mostly by women, therefore their need or interest could be a piped water supply to their village, rather than having to walk to a stream for water. By comparison, strategic needs are those that emerge from women's "subordination to men. The desire is to rise out of that position and formulate a more satisfactory set of arrangements" (Moser, 1989, p. 1803). Strategic gender needs could include the abolition and alleviation of the gendered division of labour around domestic chores, securing women's rights to customary land and housing, allowing political equality, providing access to credit and gaining protection against male violence (Moser, 1989).

After distinguishing practical and gender needs, Moser discussed how these needs can be addressed in gender programmes through such means as employment, housing, and access to land, resources and basic services (Moser, 1989). She then listed five main approaches to women's development including the welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment approaches (Moser, 1989, p.1807-1817) from which she suggested the empowerment approach is the only approach that may be able to address women's strategic needs. Moser's detailed description of how gender planning could be done, has been central to gender and developing thinking and, to some extent, this has influenced women's development plans and programmes at both international and national levels.

The triple gender roles identified here also reflect what women in PNG do. There are various roles and challenges that women deal with. I now turn to exploring women's different roles that contribute to the rural economy in PNG and discuss structural challenges that hinder women's full participation in formal business development.

5.3. Women's Roles in Subsistence Production and Social Reproduction in PNG

As part of kin groups with cultural relationships to land, women in PNG remain key players in the place-based, hybrid rural economy. Their participation through various means contributes directly or indirectly to PNG's economy. One such means is through their roles in subsistence and social reproductions, which refers to the role of women in the society and their contribution to the economy through their traditional roles within their household as child-bearers and family caretakers.

To understand women's contribution to subsistence and social production in contemporary PNG, it would be appropriate to understand their roles in traditional PNG societies first. Women were responsible for subsistence production and domestic needs including caring for children and older members of the family (Cox & Aitsi, 1988). Men took care of heavy, physical work, controlled religious and political spaces including ceremonial activities such as inter-group gift-giving, funeral contributions and compensation payments for resolving disputes (Strathern, 1995).

As members of kinship groups, women inherited and passed on resources like land to their descendants as custom required, particularly in matrilineal societies. Additionally, their marriages connected different clans and, in some parts, attracted bride wealth for their families (Cox & Aitsi, 1988) through exchanges of food and valuables which signified their productive and reproductive capacity to be transferred to the bride receiving clans.

Gaining respect through their social contributions was important thus, in the past, women did not see their supporting roles as degrading. As Cox and Aitsi observed,

> women accepted their roles and were proud of themselves when these roles were performed well. The woman who produced plenty food for her family, raised many pigs and other animals, kept her home clean and provided for social and ritual activities, brought pride and dignity to her family, her husband, brothers and father. (Cox & Aitsi, 1988, p. 24)

Women's labour in maintaining food production, household chores, raising animals for festivals and ensuring that traditional rituals, social, religious and cultural activities are properly carried out, were important roles that sustained the functioning of communities. In some parts of PNG, women who could produce a lot of food and animal products wielded influence amongst other women and engaged in men's political activities, for example, in gift-exchange ceremonies. Their 'backstage role' in producing ceremonial food products gave the men prestige in the community. In that regard, the physically productive women who contributed to cultural programmes won respect and recognition from other community members (Bonnemere, 2004; Weiner, 1976). Women's reproductive and community roles maintained social harmony and held families and communities together. Thus, females remained a "crucial element" (Cox & Aitsi, 1988, p. 24) in traditional PNG society.

In contemporary PNG, although education, formal employment, urbanisation and exposure to western lifestyles have modified women's social status and roles in the household, elements of traditional forms of living remain important in most local regions. Rural livelihoods that include subsistence production and reciprocal

relationships are vital elements that keep local communities functioning, with women as active agents.

Despite entrenched issues in the domestic sphere such as workload, violence and polygamy related problems, an initial study by PNG's Institute of National Affairs and the World Bank noted that women are taking more leadership and public representational roles outside their homes, at local church groups and law and order committees (Asian Development Bank, 2013). The same study also noted that there is broad agreement that more women are becoming breadwinners in some families. This is true for the increasing number of female-headed households in peri-urban PNG (Steven, 2016).

Women are aware of what raises or demotes their social standing in their communities. The same study by the Institute of National Affairs and World Bank (Asian Development Bank, 2013) revealed that for rural women, community contributions, leadership responsibilities and creating wealth are important roles through which they gain recognition and increase their social status. Contributing to the community takes various forms and can include allocating time, labour and resources to participate in community events. These can range from fulfilling cultural obligations and relieving social burdens (such as funeral), participating or supporting church programmes and activities like giving cash offering and attending camp meetings, (Dickson-Waiko, 2003), or distributing resources and income to supporting children and relatives with personal needs such as school fees (Koczberski, 2002). Further, providing reciprocal labour or volunteering (*wok bung*, Koczberski et al. 2001) to help in farms and family food gardens that forms nonmonetary exchange is not unusual in PNG villages. This is also true of wider Melanesian communities (McKinnon et al., 2016). Women's constant contribution to community programmes becomes part of their social reproduction and a community's social economy, which forms its 'social security' (Koczberski et al., 2001, p. 41). The notion of raised status through community contributions reflects the observation mentioned above (Bonnemere, 2004; Cox & Aitsi, 1988; Strathern, 1995; Weiner, 1976) that women who support community and family obligations win respect and recognition.

Taking on leadership roles in the family and particularly in community churches is another important means through which women effect changes in the domestic sphere and outside their households, supported by their church affiliation (Dickson-Waiko, 2003). In a study on smallholder oil palm livelihoods, Koczberski et al. (2001, p. 42) noted that apart from food preparation and childcare, "church activities took a considerable proportion" (2001, p. 42) of women's time. Similar to Scheyvens' (2003) observation of women's group in Solomon Islands, women in PNG do community service such as visiting and providing for sick and elderly people, participate in life skills training or attend women's ministry camp meetings for spiritual gathering as well as to raise concerns that directly affect their communities and regions. That gives women the ability to weld networks, gain confidence and advocate for changes. As such, Dickson-Waiko (2003, p. 116) observed that

> church women are strategically involved in influencing changes and engaging with modernity in ways that suit their own lived experiences in a rapidly changing world.

Therefore, being part of a church, leading and participating in various activities are elements that are adopted and ingrained as part of life (Strachan et al., 2010) in many rural PNG communities.

Women who can 'create money' (generate income) using their skills and resources are admired. They are well-regarded if they support relational (Koczberski, 2002; Koczberski et al., 2001), community, and church needs whether in cash or in kind. "Actively giving, participating, leading and working together, and earning money from businesses or by marriage, gives them more social mobility" (Asian Development Bank, 2013, p. 9) and raises their status. Ordinary women can move up the social ladder, by "moving their hands to make a living through market activity and selling" (ibid, p.9). Working and 'moving her hands' together with her family makes a woman a successful and active member of the community. Thus, in spite of the challenges they experience in contemporary rural communities, women remain an important part of their families and communities due to their reproductive, productive and community organising roles (Moser, 1989).

5.4. Women and Business

Female participation in economic activities is largely in micro and small informal enterprises, many based on family units in village communities. Informal enterprises are businesses that are not registered with any provincial or government authority such as PNG's Investment Promotion Authority, thus do not pay tax. They may be sporadic or operate on a regular basis. According to PNG's Ministry for Trade, Commerce & Industry (2016), a microenterprise has less than five employees, has annual sales turnover of less than PGK 200,000 and has assets of less than PGK200,000. And a small enterprise has between 5-20 employees, has annual sales turnover between PGK200,000 and PGK5,000,000 and has asset value between PGK200,000 and PGK5,000,000. Both micro and small enterprises sell goods and services, on a regular or irregular basis, in a local area or local market.

The private sector contributes 95% of gross domestic savings and creates more than 90% of employment (Hedditch & Manuel, 2010b). More than 90% of private enterprises are micro and informal enterprises, the main economic activity being subsistence, smallholder, and market-based agriculture (Anderson, 2015a). These microenterprises supply all domestically produced food, 70% coffee, 65% copra and cocoa and 35% oil palm (Hedditch & Manuel, 2010b) largely supported by customary land. Pigs and chickens are the dominant livestock in the informal sector. The majority of people who are involved in subsistence and informal agricultural production, and micro-small informal economic activities, are women.

Given the significance of the informal economy, in 2009, through the Department of Community Development, the government passed the National Informal Economy Policy 2011-2015. This policy aimed to provide the framework and guidelines to the 2004 Informal Sector Development and Control Act. The policy recognised the main ways for encouraging the informal economy to grow were through financial inclusion and government provision of appropriate public goods and services such as buildings and training facilities, agricultural extension, and effective law and order, amongst others. It acknowledged the importance of informal production to the broader economy

by replacing the term 'informal sector' with 'informal economy'. Since then, the informal economy has been recognised as a significant part of the "private enterprise system that PNG needs to build" (Department of Community Development, 2009, p. iv).

The majority of women participate in small-scale informal economy mainly in agriculture, open markets and other forms of SMEs. These are discussed in the following sections.

5.4.1. Women's role in agriculture

Agriculture supports more than 85% of PNG's population and remains an important part of the rural economy that provides food sources and income generation for many families. The female role in agricultural production is significant to PNG's economic development as research and reports continue to reveal (Anderson, 2006a, 2008, 2015a, 2015b; Chang et al., 2010; Hedditch & Manuel, 2010a; Mikhailovich et al., 2016; Pamphilon et al., 2019).

Whether they own land and make decisions over it or not, women manage and cultivate land together with members of their extended families (Bourke & Harwood, 2009). They are mostly involved in growing, nurturing, harvesting food plants and raising animals for food and income. Where crops and backyard livestock are grown and raised together, women are usually involved in subsistence food production and take care of smaller domestic animals like pigs and chickens. Men grow and manage cash crops and, if cattle are raised, they manage that. Although growing cash crops and raising cattle are predominately seen as men's roles, women also contribute toward harvesting seasonal crops such as coffee, copra, cocoa and oil palm. Because of the time and labour they put into these productions, women are recognised as the "backbone of the rural economy" (Snyder, 2007, p. 13).

Statistically, agricultural production by females is remarkable. Of the 72% of the labour force that is engaged in agricultural production, women make up more than 50% (FAO, 2019), producing annual food production valued at US$55 million per year (Hedditch & Manuel, 2010a, p. 2). This accounts for 35% of the national GDP (Chand, 2017, p. 414).

In a report by the International Finance Corporation, the percentage of female labour force in the rural and subsistence sectors is higher than that of male labour force. See Table 2 for comparison.

Table 2 Percentage of Labour Force Participation in PNG

	Women	**Men**
Overall	67	68
Urban sector	36	58
Rural sector	71	70
Subsistence sector	77.5	66

Source: Hedditch and Manuel (2010b, p. 2).

The high percentages of 71% and 77.5% of female involvement in the rural and subsistence sectors as shown in Table 2 highlights the importance of customary land that supports agriculture and enables women to be active contributors to the local economy. To use a regional example, in a long term study by Tim Anderson from 2004-2011 on PNG's 'hybrid rural livelihoods' systems, (Anderson, 2008, 2015a, 2015b) women were noted as the main producers of high income domestic 'cash' crops. For example, women's market crops including watermelon, mango, peanut and betel-nut (*acreca catechu*) in the coastal province of Madang, generated income that ranged from PGK50 to more than PGK1,000 per week, which was higher than the country's minimum wage at PGK37.20 per week in 2006, the same year survey was conducted. This signifies that agriculture remains a vital sector for women to 'move' and make their hands 'dirty' on the land to produce economic and social benefits for their households and communities.

Gender challenges in agriculture

There are internal cultural issues that may be recognised as challenges for women. Although women manage customary land on a daily basis, they do not usually choose which land is used for cash crops or exclusively own the production or income. If women own land, it is mostly used for subsistence food crops or used by male relatives to cultivate their crops. Sometimes, it is difficult for women to clear and till land for various

reasons. They are forced to leave their land uncultivated or share it with other family members (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008).

If cash crops are cultivated, the best locations and most fertile soils are used for export crops such as coffee, cocoa, copra and oil palm. Less fertile land may be left to women's 'less important' food gardens. Men dominate the cultivation of these seasonal crops on family plots. Since they are seasonal, cash crops require less time for labour except for maintenance. However, during the harvest season, work becomes intensive and women get involved from harvest to post-harvest. These crops have economic value and are sold at national markets for cash thus, they are accounted for in national economic statistics.

On the other hand, subsistence food production like sweet potato, maize, peanuts, pumpkins, greens and so on are often cultivated on less fertile, close-to-home, and sometimes on hillside gardens for daily household consumption. Women spend longer hours on a daily basis in the family food farms, gardens and markets then do men (Cahn & Liu, 2008). In contrast to cash crop production, the food that women produce provides daily sustenance and nutrition to their households. Surpluses of these subsistence crops are usually sold at roadside markets for extra household income (Anderson, 2008; Mikhailovich et al., 2016). The income generated from surplus sales is used to support various social needs including children's school fees (Koczberski, 2002, 2007). These productions are only partially accounted for or not at all.

The marked contribution that women make in subsistence food production, growing market produce and raising domestic animals, aside from their social and household roles, illustrate women's multiple roles (Moser, 1989). Although some (Bourke & Harwood, 2009; Pamphilon et al., 2019) have found that both men and women work together in their gardens sharing most of the labour, women seem to have longer work hours than men which is exacerbated during harvest season (Mikhailovich et al., 2016).

Moreover, women's labour and production in the informal economy are usually unrecognised and not accounted for in the national economic statistics (Anderson,

2006c). Thus, training programmes are usually aimed at seasonal export cash crops. Even when agricultural training is aimed at involving women, usually men from district offices are selected to do the job, and in most cases the training is done in urban centres which disadvantages women from participating (Chang et al., 2010). Cahn and Liu (2008) also noted that despite their direct role in cash crop and food production, women are less likely to own or make decisions on land, livestock and income from cash crops.

5.4.2. Women, open markets and social transactions

Although marketplaces are a relatively recent phenomenon in PNG (Bourke, 1986), they are significant spaces where informal economic and social transactions occur. In PNG, marketplaces are places where fresh produce, and sometimes arts and small store goods, are transacted. They can range from large populated urban markets overflowing with a diversity of various items to small domestic markets along main transport routes (Anderson, 2008; Benediktsson, 1998; Sharp, 2016). Anderson observed that markets "provide rapid access to income, allow exchanges of important domestic needs and create a home-grown and autonomous social environment," (Anderson, 2008, p. 60). The majority of vendors in both the rural and urban markets are women who mostly sell fruits and vegetables. Again, supported by land, fresh produce is transacted, and social connections are created at the local markets.

A majority of the marketers in towns, cities and roadside markets are women. Goods including homemade tailored clothing, small store goods as well fresh garden produce are transacted, with the latter being dominant. More than 80% of products sold at markets are fresh food crops including vegetable and root crops that are grown and harvested from customary land. For example, sweet potatoes, a staple crop for most Papua New Guineans, that are sold in the main centres including in Port Moresby and Lae, are grown on customary land in the highlands region and transported to coastal regions. Women make up the highest percentage of people selling sweet potatoes in open markets in Port Moresby, Lae and Highlands, at 68%, 95% and 98% respectively (Chang et al., 2010, p. 5). Men dominate long distance trade such as betel nut (Sharp, 2013) and sweet potato trades, transacting at wholesale prices, while women dominate local, transacting points such as roadside or town markets (Anderson, 2008; Chang et

al., 2010). Women's engagement in markets proximal to their homes does not affect their household roles as managers and carers.

Economically, women's income from selling surplus food at markets may be small compared to what men bring in from seasonal cash crops like coffee, copra, palm oil and betel nut. However, the income from markets is usually brought in on a "daily, weekly or fortnightly basis" (Mikhailovich et al., 2016, p. 2) depending on the season and variety of food surpluses that are transacted, unlike waiting for income from men's seasonal or annual cash crops.

Although these informal market activities can sometimes be dismissively termed as "petty commodity production" (Fahey, 1985, p. 145) or "petty trading" (Hedditch & Manuel, 2010a, p. 1), the income from markets along with women's non-economic, reproductive and community activities, contribute to the social, cultural and economic wellbeing and sustenance of many rural communities. Further, the income from small market sales when well-managed, "provide a constant cash flow" (Chang et al., 2010, p. 5) to the family, and contribute to food security, nutrition and children's education. The income is also used to support community programmes and cultural obligations, signifying the embedded element of domestic markets.

Direct involvement in marketplaces also creates an avenue for making and maintaining social connections. A typical example would be seen in sharing a market spot, assisting with giving change, assisting to sell a friend's produce and travelling together on public motor vehicles. These actions produce and reproduce reciprocity, build social relationships and enable placed-based market transactions. Growing up in a rural region, I have seen and experienced some of these practices in town markets first-hand.

Apart from town dwellers who regularly sell cooked food and other store goods, the majority of marketers are women from rural areas who bring their fresh produce to sell using public transportation. Owning private transport cannot be afforded by the rural majority. Securing a strategic spot that is busy with customers in the marketplace is important (Benediktsson, 2002, p. 168). Usually, people from the same area or village

dominate certain locations within the marketplace. When a *wantok* arrives early, she secures selling spots for her friends who may be waiting with their market goods to catch public transport into town. She spreads her own items to prevent other sellers from using the space until her friends arrive. During the hours of selling, if one is short of cash for change, for example, when PGK2 worth of fresh peanuts are bought using a PGK20 note, her friends assist and are paid back when enough cash is earned. This form of assistance is common and is always reciprocated within the market spaces.

If one's produce is completely sold or very little is left; she occupies the empty spaces of her market space with her *wantok's* produce if there is plenty yet to sell. At the end of the day, they accompany each other home on public transport for added security. Sometimes, unsold leftovers of fresh produce may be exchanged amongst themselves. This market practice is common especially for rural women who travel on public transport to sell fresh produce in town markets. The traditional exchange and reciprocity that is common in the village is reproduced in modern market spaces, making these economic actions culturally embedded and place-based, (Curry, 2005; Curry & Koczberski, 2012) 'homegrown' transactions (Anderson, 2008).

Market challenges

There are challenges that women producers and sellers deal with at different levels from participating in markets. Several studies have identified a number of similar challenges that smallholder farmers experience. At the household level, women do more work on a daily basis than men do for the production of market food (Chang et al., 2010; Mikhailovich et al., 2016). Additionally, security concerns such as theft and harassment have been raised by women, especially if they are travelling alone or long distances to sell. Although women are the ones who often sell and receive cash, the decision on how income is used is "often shared with the husband" (Nakikus, 1985, p. 125). In many cases, when market income is not shared or revealed, men can use violence to access the cash (Eves & Crawford, 2014).

At the local and national levels, transportation of fresh produce to both local and long-distance markets can be a very expensive exercise. If there is surplus production of the

same good, if road networks are very poor and market locations are very far, fresh foods such as cabbages, carrots and sweet potato can become spoiled or rotten from travelling long distances, handling issues with transferring and reloading or waiting too long to be sold. Other challenges include lack of business skills, training needs and market issues (Chang et al., 2010). These cultural and infrastructural issues are ongoing challenges for rural producers and particularly, females.

5.4.3. Women in other forms of SMEs

Apart from engaging in agricultural production and supplying surplus to domestic markets, women can be found doing various other income-generating activities. These may include trade store, second-hand clothing stalls, baking, marketing, manufacturing local crafts such as baskets and *bilums* (hand woven bags) and other non-farm activities such as small-scale tourism, informal fisheries and sometimes road transportation for example public buses (Hedditch & Manuel, 2010b). Or they might remain as supporters of male family members in the background including in construction, trade store and rental properties (Curry, 1999; Fairbairn, 2006; Yusuf, 1995).

5.5 SME Policy 2016 and women formal SMEs

Given that more people are involved in small-scale, informal economic activities and needed to upgrade their economic activities to the formal economy, the SME sector gained formal government support. In 2015, the government established a new legislation for Small and Medium Enterprise Corporation, a government agency that would develop and promote SMEs in the country (Oxford Business Group, 2018). The Small Medium Enterprise Council was also set up to oversee the implementation of the SME Policy. The SME Policy 2016 containing the SME Master Plan 2016-2030, was launched in 2016 (McQuillan, 2016). The implementation of the policy is envisaged to increase formal SMEs from 49,500 to 500,000 by 2030 while encouraging more women to participate.

Increasing support for SME development with attention to including women has come from various national and international agencies and private organisations. The national

banks (National Development Bank, Bank South Pacific, Westpac) have developed ways to provide affordable credits to the SME sector. At the initial launch, Bank South Pacific and Mainland Holdings contributed PGK50 000 each to get the SME plan underway (McQuillan, 2016). In support of the SME initiative, PNG ANZ's Chief Executive Mark Baker maintained that the development of successful SMEs is critical in generating new employment opportunities as well as spreading the economic benefits that flow from large-scale resource developments into the community (Oxford Business Group, 2018).

One of the main aims of this SME policy is to increase women's participation in formal SMEs. Programmes have been introduced to increase female participation in SMEs through entrepreneurial skills development and women's business forums to improve information sharing and networking (Drucza & Hutchens, 2008). In 2013, the Women in Business Initiative was established to provide opportunities including equipping workplaces to deal with family and sexual violence and connect budding entrepreneurial PNG women to Australian businesswomen as part of the mentoring program. In 2014, the first female-only micro bank in the Pacific, and only sixth in the world, was established in PNG to help improve women's access to finance (Mishra & Smyth, 2016).

Additionally, the Centre for International Private Enterprise (CIPE) has created a space for women to learn business skills. In partnership with the Office of Global Women's Issues of the U.S Department of State and Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, CIPE launched the PNG Women's Business Resource Centre in Port Moresby in 2016. The centre's function is to provide women from all backgrounds access to information and training in financial literacy and entrepreneurship (CIPE, 2016). Among CIPE's other plans, it envisages the improvement of the PNG Women's Chamber of Commerce and Industry to effectively support rural women in business (Chen, 2016). With its support, women's economic empowerment programmes have been implemented through capacity building activities including microfinance, bookkeeping courses, marketing assistance, business management, technical consultations, business training and provision of low interest bank loans for start-up capital.

With increasing support like this, more women are beginning to formally register and run their own businesses. Currently, of the 49,500 registered SMEs in the country, 24.8% are female-owned formal SMEs (Ministry of Trade Commerce & Industry, 2016). Additionally, from Tebbut Research's country-wide estimation of 23,323 formal SMEs, about 8% of the SMEs are fully owned by females (Mishra & Smyth, 2016). This survey further noted that female-owned SMEs (SMEs wholly owned, or majority owned by women) were mainly in commercial fishing, (15%), manufacturing (14%), and hospitality (13%) (Mishra & Smyth, 2016). Although majority of women make their living through agricultural production and market, the survey found no representation of women in the formal SMEs in this sector.

Despite the increased support for inclusion of women in SMEs, the percentage of women involved in formal SMEs remains minimal in comparison to male owned formal SMEs. As noted above, only 24.8% representing 12,176 of the total 49,500 formal SMEs are owned by women compared to 75.2% (37,324) owned by men (Ministry of Trade Commerce & Industry, 2016). At the national level, that means less than 0.4% of the total female population of 3,497,244 (PNG National Statistics Office, 2011) are engaged in formal SMEs. Of the Tebbut Research's estimated 23,323 formal SMEs, over two thirds or 67% are owned by a man or all owners are men (Mishra et al., 2017). Moreover, the 2009-2010 Household Income and Expenditure Survey reported that only 24% of women are employed and have wage jobs compared to 43% of men (PNG National Statistics Office, 2011). This suggests that majority of women are engaged in informal market activities and agricultural production derived from land, as evidenced in the previous section (sub-sections 5.4.1 & 5.4.2). Many also work in the background to support men's formal SMEs or small family businesses.

This low percentage of female participation in formal SMEs could be attributed to various challenges and barriers. In the following section, I discuss some of these challenges and raise the point that local women's strategic needs in their family relations and communities, at least for the majority of them in the villages, maybe be lacking attention. Lack of relevant policies and plans directed solely at removing entrenched cultural and structural challenges that hinder women from owning and

running businesses will mean women's business position may remain in the informal economy.

5.5.1. Structural challenges for women in SME

Lack of access to formal SMEs support structures

The high number of women in informal micro enterprises and their low representation in formal SMEs can be attributed to both formal and informal structural issues. One of these could be that most business training offices and funded economic development programmes are located in the main cities and towns (Cahn & Liu, 2008), specifically in Port Moresby and Lae (Ministry of Trade Commerce & Industry, 2016, p. 5). Those in rural locations or outer provinces are not able to access assistance from these formal offices because travel to receive training is either too expensive, or not safe for women, who live in locations where road networks are bad, and transportation is most times difficult. Training is also mostly tailored to the elite population who have some form of education.

Inequitable banking processes

Inequitable banking policies and processes make access to banking services difficult for the majority of the unemployed population who are engaged in informal economic activities. Requirements to open a bank account or access capital are sometimes overwhelming for rural people. Most banks require identification cards such as licenses, employment ID, national ID, birth certificate or passport details in order to open a savings account. Most rural people do not have such IDs. In addition, "slow services at banking depots in towns" (Mikhailovich et al., 2016, p. 10) make people disinterested in banking. Travelling from the village into town, standing in long queues in the banks just to pick up an application form to open a savings account, is daunting and discourages people from banking (Eves & Titus, 2017, p. 5). Moreover, if they have opened savings accounts and wish to apply for bank loans, they are required to have fixed assets such as motor vehicles, housing, properties or land as collateral. Such fixed assets do not come easily for most informal entrepreneurs engaged in the rural, informal market economy, especially women (Asian Development Bank, 2012). For example, between 2011 and 2015, some officers who work with a particular bank went to New Hanover,

an island off the coast of New Ireland Province, to train rural women in banking as part of the bank's capacity building initiative. After training, the local women enquired about the requirements for accessing bank loans to support their micro businesses. They were told they needed to provide high-value fixed assets such as land as collateral in order to get loans (West, 2016). For most women in rural areas throughout PNG, it is impossible to use land as a fixed asset in order to access capital (Mishra et al., 2017). Land is collectively owned under custom and is not easily disposed. Bank demands for valuable assets like these do not make it easy for women to access funds to register businesses and engage in formal SMEs.

Land registration policies: ILGs and SABLs

Some government land policies may also hinder women's control over assets and formal participation in SMEs. The allowance of land registration such as Incorporated Land Groups (ILGs) for Small Agriculture and Business Leases (SABLs) in the national land law has opened a gap for land alienation in some rural areas (Filer, 2011). Men who reside in towns and cities, in the pretext of representing the people back in their provinces, are sometimes at the forefront of registering SABLs for quick money-making schemes, which affects the women, men and children living where these lease lands are located (West, 2016). With ILGs, only those whose names are listed in the group benefit from the proceeds of projects based on leased land, if payments are distributed equally. In addition, when the leases are contracted to outside companies, women's access to land and other resources like fuelwood are limited, which adds more work burden on them, and lessens their opportunity to participate in income generating activities. Logging, mining and petroleum, and the oil palm sectors have the most ILG leased lands.

The government provides little support to many landowner groups to develop other business activities from the royalties they receive. With ILGs relating to logging, the National Forestry Service does not get involved with landowner groups once representatives of the ILGs have signed the Forest Management Agreement. No assistance is provided to the groups to encourage other business ventures or opportunities offered by the timber industry. Landowners are further prevented by the Forestry Act from negotiating directly with logging companies (Commonwealth of

Australia, 2008). Similar issues are common with the ILGs relating to mining and petroleum. For example, in the Kutubu gas and oil fields when there were fraudulent dealings with royalty payments by leaders within the Fasu and Foi landowner groups, new group formations resulted and 'rent seeking' become common, dominated by men with vested interests. Landowners manipulated land groups to access payments or only waited to receive rents without further developing other business ventures (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008). These challenges at the formal level could partly be responsible for low numbers of women-led SMEs in resource rich provinces.

Exclusion in resource development projects

Exclusion of women in development projects including mining and conservation projects on customary land can also minimise women's access to benefit-sharing opportunities to participate in SME activities. For example, with the Crater Mountain Wildlife Management Area in Eastern Highlands Province (West, 2016), local Gimi women were not involved in any stage from initial planning stage to the establishment of the conservation project. They were not given the same opportunity as men to work with the conservationists in related activities. The assumption was that women had less knowledge of the forest than the men and that the only activity fit for their income generation was making and selling *bilums* to visiting tourists. Lack of respect regarding gender-specific knowledge of the forest and animals, exclusion of women and men in most of the project activities as well as minimal benefits to the communities and other related issues, led to the closure of the conservation project in 2005 (West, 2016). This is an example of how exclusion of women in important economic initiatives and development projects can have negative outcomes and hinder economic opportunities.

Other challenges

At the local and household levels, informal structures may also hinder women's participation in running successful businesses. For example, women's workload at both the household and community level as well as limited access to resources have been noted as hindering the majority of women from establishing profitable enterprises (Mishra et al., 2017). If they are involved in subsistence production in addition to other family responsibilities, leaving these reproductive duties to engage fully in business

activities may not be an option for many women. Sharing work burdens and engaging in income generating activities with other family members seem to be the best options for collective societies like PNG (Pamphilon et al., 2019). Further, the little income they make from various micro enterprises are used for family and community needs. Most times, they do not make decisions over how this income is spent, which limits their opportunity to save and engage in formal SME activities. Other factors such as lack of education, training and business skills (Drucza & Hutchens, 2008) may inhibit women from confidently approaching formal spaces such as business training centres, banks and donor agencies for business development assistance.

Both formal and informal structures can provide opportunities as well as limitations to women from rural locales to participate in formal SMEs. Women's engagement at household and community levels in social reproduction, agricultural production and informal, market activities demonstrate that women, just as men, are important contributors to social and economic development. These contributions should be accounted for and appropriate, place-based, inclusive development programmes need to be developed especially for those in rural locations.

5.5.2. Women's empowerment should be inclusive of social and cultural interests

A good start to involve women in formal SME is the formulation of the SME Policy, as discussed earlier. This provides legal framework and mandates government and partner agencies to help people use their resources like land to engage in business and economic development. In all foreign development agencies, banking institutions and government organisations that support the SME Policy, economic empowerment is emphasised as the answer to gender equality, poverty alleviation, escape from violence, and key to sustainable development (UNDESA, 2009, p. v). The aim is to encourage more women to be productive economic actors to follow international trends (ILO, 2014; Kelley et al., 2017).

As discussed earlier (section 5.5), various initiatives including the establishment of the Women's Business Resource Centre and microfinance aimed at empowering women

economically have emerged, with some positive results. More than 1,000 urban women have used the women's centre for business motivation and upskilling, and microfinance has improved women's ability to increase their assets and take control of their lives (Staley, 2019). There is also evidence that women's earnings increase household expenditure on food and education especially for girls, reduce domestic conflict and violence, and strengthen and improve family relations (Eves & Crawford, 2014).

However, although positive results have emerged from encouraging women's economic empowerment, there is the possibility that partner agencies and foreign organisations can use government policies to push their own agendas to use women in developing their own market presence (Beazley & Desai, 2005). Women may be seen as a "driving force for economic growth and development acceleration" (Lechman & Okonowicz, 2013, p. 3) and that, is "smart economics" (World Bank, 2006, p. 2). This smart economics approach is called the "efficiency approach" (Chant & Sweetman, 2012) which can make gender challenges look as if they are solvable.

Prioritising economic needs over women's other needs including their social, cultural and spiritual interests has not always produced positive results (Eves, 2017; Eves & Crawford, 2014). There is evidence of a negative relationship between women's increased earning potential and domestic violence in PNG. When women are able to earn income and have bargaining power at home, men's position of control over their wives may be threatened and violence can be used to access their wives' income (Bradley, 2011; Chang et al., 2010). The problem is accentuated when development programmes are targeted at certain groups and certain needs. Social and inherent cultural constructs that dictate gender roles are often left out and programmes that are meant to support women may only hinder women's progress. For example, the programme manager at the Women's Business Resource Centre in Port Moresby recounts,

> What we're finding is that when women are doing business training, their husbands don't support them. They follow them here to make sure it's a women-only space. (Staley, 2019)

This is evidence of the household power imbalance that is deeply entrenched in PNG societies. If such cultural constructs remain ignored, implementing economic

empowerment programmes to target one group is unlikely to generate new and successful SMEs especially in rural locations. Further, when men are left out of programmes like this and women's social-cultural needs do not inform appropriate development programmes, it only intensifies issues like domestic violence (Eves & Crawford, 2014). The likelihood of increasing new and successful women-led formal SMEs in outer provinces remains slim. Focus on economic factors alone may not be enough to end gender challenges and increase women's participation in formal businesses. And overlooking the invisible 'backstage' roles that women perform to contribute to successful SMEs could be misunderstood as non-involvement in business, resulting in business training programmes that exclude women's other interests.

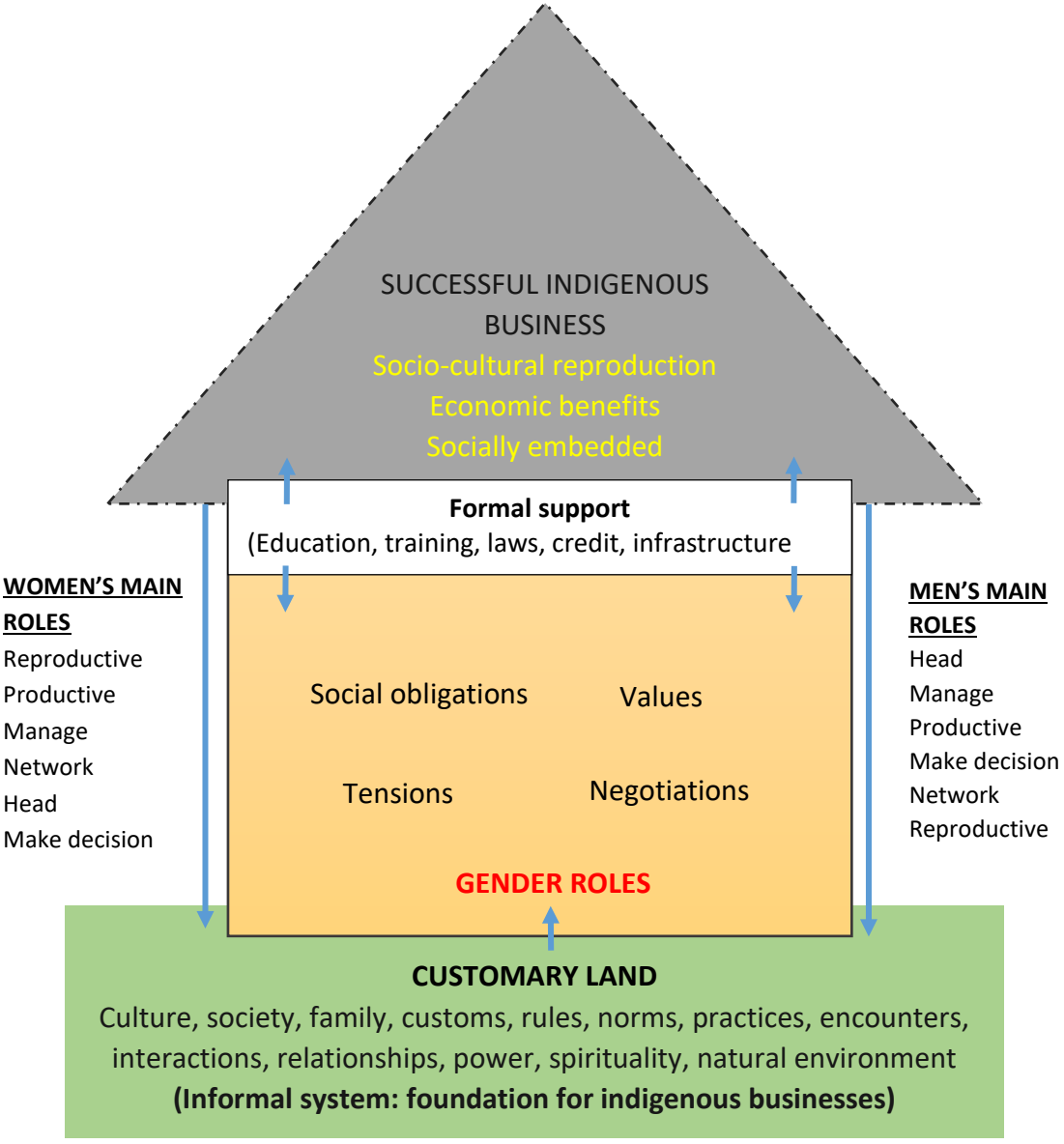
5.6. Toward a Culturally Appropriate and Gender Sensitive Approach to Business Development on Customary Land

From the concepts and ideas explored in this and previous chapters, it is clear that the appropriate approach to small business development would be to recognise valuable aspects of social and cultural factors. These include pre-existing lifestyles, and relationships established around customary land that dictate women's actions discussed in sections 5.2 to 5.4. Scheyvens et al. (2017) present a good example of an indigenous business that has integrated economic, social, cultural and environmental factors on customary land that rendered it successful (see Figure 12 in Chapter 6).

The discussion in the previous sections (5.2-5.5) has shown that women are also active social and economic actors. They participate at all levels including but not limited to household production, income generation, family and community management (Moser, 1989). These roles also support indigenous enterprises directly and indirectly. In indigenous businesses, men and women are important players, illustrated in the conceptual framework below (Figure 11), which demonstrates women and men building a successful indigenous business depicted in a grass hut, a popular form of accommodation found in rural PNG. This conceptual framework is developed as a starting point to show that women's social roles can contribute to successful business development and help in retaining control over traditional land while upholding community processes and values. This framework addresses the main aim of this study:

to critically examine the role of women in successful examples of businesses established on customary land in PNG.

Figure 11 Customary Land, Gender Roles and Successful Indigenous Business



Source: Based on (Curry et al., 2012; Fingleton, 2005; Li, 2014; Moser, 1989; Scheyvens et al., 2020).

In this diagram gender roles are informed by customary practices including land, culture, rules, norms, family, power, interactions, relationships, custom and the society, which largely make up their social capital. These provide the foundation for Papua New Guinean indigenous enterprises and influence social and economic actions. Successful utilisation and management of these socio-cultural factors is reflected in the fulfilment

of social obligations where values are upheld, tensions are resolved, social harmony is maintained, and negotiations are made. These are presented in the centre of the hut representing the centre of a household or a community where most values, negotiations and tensions begin. Successful management of these completes the roof, which represents a successful indigenous business and makes it socially embedded (Curry, 2005). A successful indigenous business may act as a social security, protecting and providing for families and communities. It also reproduces social-cultural relations, obligations and livelihoods as well as re-invests into the society, community and family at the base level. From the ideas presented here, a successful indigenous business on land depends on various roles performed by men and women. Acknowledging that women also contribute toward retaining land for their families through their social and business roles would inform business development programmes aimed at rural populations to be needs-specific, family-based, gender-sensitive and culturally relevant.

Utilising customary land, using positive aspects of socio-cultural values and understanding that both women and men are active participants in the local economy and together need empowerment to engage in business, can lead to holistic development starting from the village levels.

5.7. Summary

This chapter explored women's contributions to economic development through their social and agricultural productions as well as in open markets and small businesses (sections 5.2. and 5.3.). Discussion on women and formal SMEs (subsection 5.3.3.) drew attention to challenges that hinder women from owning and running formal SMEs. The ideas raised in this and previous chapters informed the conceptual framework (Figure 11) for this study. An important point raised was that empowerment programmes for women should be inclusive of their social, cultural, spiritual interests alongside economic empowerment (section 5.5.2.).

This chapter's purpose was to draw attention to the importance of women's roles in managing land and social relationships. The social needs and relationships that are created around land dictate gender roles, sustain livelihoods, and provide the conditions

for participation in the modern economy. Women are actively involved in local development as are men. Rather than over-emphasising customary land and culture as barriers to indigenous development, its' positive values should be supported in economic programmes. Additionally, instead of focussing solely on women's economic empowerment, the inclusion of men, families and communities and recognising and building on important socio-cultural values and relationships, is a starting point to support locally driven development initiatives.

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

6.1. Introduction

This chapter will describe the qualitative research process and procedures, underpinned by indigenous research frameworks. Some challenges and limitations encountered during fieldwork will also be discussed. The first few sections will explain the research frameworks that framed this study (section 6.2), the research ethics process and case study identification and selection (section 6.3), and the fieldwork phases (section 6.4). The later sections will describe data collection methods (section 6.5), data analysis and data verification processes (section 6.6) and point out challenges and limitations encountered in this study (section 6.7). Section 6.8 will summarise and conclude this chapter.

6.2. Methodology

Research methodology refers to the overall methodological approach that describes the processes including the research approach or framework and data collection procedures that guide one's research (Creswell, 2012, p. 9). Similarly, the research framework refers to the structure of the research plan and helps the researcher to formulate relevant research questions, regardless of whether the research is inductive or deductive (Mills et al., 2012, p. 814). This research was undertaken using an inductive qualitative research approach that is semi-structured, flexible and open where it "aims to describe an in-depth understanding" (Baker, 1999 p. 502) of women's involvement and contribution in businesses based on customary land in the Pacific and particularly in PNG.

6.2.1. Research frameworks

The main project that this study is part of, a Royal Society of New Zealand Marsden project *The land has eyes and teeth: customary landowners' entanglements with economic systems in the Pacific,* utilised the Pacific *Vanua* research framework (Nabobo-Baba, 2006) and *Tali magimagi* (Meo-Sewabu, 2015) to explore indigenous economic

engagements on customary land. The same research frameworks guided data collection processes for the PNG case studies.

The *Vanua* research framework is a culturally appropriate Pasifika research approach that sits on the *vanua*, a Fijian term for the tribe, people and land, which is

> inclusive of a chief or related chief, their people and their relationships, their land, spiritualties, knowledge systems, cultures and values. The philosophy of *vanua* lies in the interconnectedness of people to their land, environment, cultures, relationships, spirit world, beliefs, knowledge systems, values and God(s). (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, p. 143)

The owners of the case study businesses were local Papua New Guineans and the research ensured that the knowledge produced reflected the knowledge of the business families, their relations and the communities they exist in, similar to "reflecting knowledge of the people in the *vanua*" (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 25).

Tali magimagi is a Fijian phrase for weaving coconut fibre. This was used as a research framework by Meo-Sewabu (2015) to understand health and wellbeing from the indigenous Fijian women's perspective. The framework permits the researcher to 'weave' indigenous and other sources of knowledge to inform and guide the research process. Meo-Sewabu coined the term 'etmic' (2015, p.55) from the words etic (outsider) and emic (insider) referring to her position as a Fijian academic who is culturally knowledgeable about Fijian values and protocols (emic)) but worked and lived in New Zealand and was a researcher representing an institution that is not culturally connected to Fiji (etic), at the time of her study.

For this researcher, the etmic position was appropriate. As an indigenous Papua New Guinean, I had a general understanding of the social and cultural way of life. Being originally from Goroka where two of the case studies were located, being a speaker of the same dialect as one of the case study owners, and also as a native speaker of PNG's Tok Pisin[4] gave me the 'insider-ness'. I understood spoken words whether spoken

[4] Creole language spoken through PNG. It is the most widely used language in the country (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tok_Pisin)

metaphorically or literally, and I was able to explain behaviours. Hence, I went with an insider (emic) view.

However, that did not make me knowledgeable in all social relationships and cultural matters within each community that the business cases were located. I spent more than ten years living, studying and working in the capital city of PNG, Port Moresby, an urban setting. Moving to live and study in New Zealand also adds to that 'outsider-ness,' hence I went to the case studies having an etic position (Meo-Sewabu, 2015). Immersion and integration into the case study sites were significant as they enabled me to understand and properly explain behaviours and relationships that existed in the indigenous businesses, and what drove those successful businesses. Thus, going into the research sites as an insider-outsider gave me the etmic position ascribed in the *Tali magimagi* framework (Meo-Sewabu, 2015).

Both research frameworks reflect cultural protocols and processes that are common to many South Pacific island nations, therefore they were utilised to guide this research. However, the cultural protocols followed in a Fijian or other Pacific context to allow entrance and access to research sites such as *i sevusevu* (cultural protocol for entrance involving presentation of kava in Fiji) or *pōwhiri* (Maori cultural protocol for entering Maori spaces) were not quite relevant. Access to research sites was made possible through connections and establishing positive relationships with the case study business families before fieldwork began. This research occurred in locations that had no chiefs, and if there were, cultural entry protocols were not necessary. The businessmen were 'big-men' (*bikpela man* in PNG Tok Pisin) or leaders in their communities.

A 'big-man' is skilful, a good orator or a wealthy man and financier of wealth exchanges (Finney, 1973) that bring him followers. It refers to man with wealth and influence, who is often seen lending his resources and often contributing to community needs surpassing that of other men in this community. Usually the most prestige and status in the village is the big-man's household (Gregory, 2015). These give him a 'name' or status in his community.

The men in the case study businesses had community status, wealth and influence and dictated their own affairs including doing business on their customary land but lived within accepted cultural norms. A student colleague who is a daughter of one of the businessmen, connected me to the two businesses in Eastern Highland Province. Establishing connection with the businessmen made it easier to enter the research sites (see details in subsection 6.3.2). I gained insights into socio-cultural relationships as well as shared and confirmed knowledge and value systems that guided or influenced business operations. In this sense, the Pacific *Vanua* and *Tali magimagi* research frameworks were useful. Presented in the following sections are detailed explanation of processes involved in accessing the case study sites, data collection, analysis and presentation.

6.3. Ethics Process and Access to Case Studies

6.3.1. Ethics process

The Massey University Ethics Committee granted the formal ethical approval for the broader Marsden project in 2016 (Appendix I). The Massey University's Institute of Development Studies (IDS) also has in-house ethical processes, which guided the final ethical process for this research (Appendix II).

After the Confirmation of Registration for PhD process was done in early August 2018, an in-house IDS ethics approval process was completed later in the same month. Supervisors and another staff member representing IDS met with me and discussed ethical issues outlined in the ethics approval form (Appendix II).The approval was dependent upon how well I detailed processes of recruitment and access to participants; how I would obtain informed consent; addressed privacy and confidentiality; how to deal with potential harm to participants/researcher/university; how to access, handle and use information; whether there would be use of research assistants and how other cultural concerns such as gender relations would be managed.

The other part of this ethics process involved addressing how the research was to be carried out in accordance with Massey University's 'Procedures for Course-Related

Student Travel Overseas'. Contained in this was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Safe Travel website (www.safetravel.govt.zn) that outlined travel risk related information. PNG has several travel risks that makes it a high-risk country (https://safetravel.govt.nz/papua-new-guinea). Therefore, I discussed this in writing, as well as verbally, at the IDS in-house ethics meeting, explaining how I would avoid or manage these travel risks. Addressing and discussing in detail all of these ethics-related matters successfully completed the ethics process for the research to begin in September 2018.

6.3.2. Access to case studies

A case study is a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a programme, event, activity, process or one or more individual cases. Cases are bound by time and activity, and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period (Creswell, 2009). In this study, three business case studies in two provinces with slightly different cultural systems were selected and studied during the fieldwork research.

Selection and access to case study sites can be challenging especially if the researcher does not know yet his/her research sites. As Payne and Payne (2004, p. 96) pointed out, "access to research sites and participants often occur through contacts". For this research, having personal contacts such as student colleagues and a supervisor who were either personally connected to business case studies or who knew contacts that knew business owners was significant. Paula, a student I met at Massey University in 2017, was connected to the two Goroka case studies. She introduced me to her father Steven Pupune who owned the Blue Corner Farm. She also connected me to Tella Loie, the owner of PNG Beekeeping Supplies, who had supplied her with beekeeping materials. Relationship building began with the two business owners and their families through phone calls and social media chats on topics of common interest other than research related matters. For the Kavieng case study, my supervisor, Professor Glenn Banks, connected me to an academic who knew researchers in Kavieng. One of these researchers in Kavieng then linked me to the owner of Clem's Place, Clement Anton. Initial access to case study sites occurred through various connections and building new

relationships. Thus, creating positive relationships were an important means to enter research sites and access knowledge of the case studies businesses.

Access to family spaces was based on the way relationships were maintained. Before entering the case study sites, I reached out to business owners through social media including Facebook messenger (https://www.facbook.com/messages/), WhatsApp (https://web.whatsapp.com/) and mobile phone calls to make sure there was mutual understanding and to reinforce being *wantoks*. After virtual connections were made, there were numerous friendly conversations about various topics of interest, a means that established trusting relationships. Some of the small but significant ways of nurturing these relationships included regular phone calls or social media chats. This was particularly important for the Kavieng case study owner. Other means for cementing genuine connection was through reciprocating material and immaterial goods including sharing meals together, exchanging vital information or participating in social gatherings with family members of the business owners, particularly for the Goroka cases. All these means exemplified the relational nature of many PNG communities (Curry & Koczberski, 2012). Further, the values of respect, recognising and adhering to appropriate behaviours required of men and women in local communities became important protocols for this research. After relationships were created and approval was verbally given for field visits, actual research began and resulted in successful field research and data collection.

The other cultural value that enabled data collection during fieldwork was being aware and respectful of who the researcher was going to have *tok stori* (sub-section 6.5.2) with. As the researcher was a female and the business owners were well-known males in their communities, when an interview was organised with these men, it was not only culturally respectful but also important to have female family members, especially wives or daughters also present or have them 'hang around' in the vicinity of the interview. Additionally, the business owners seemed to regard me as part of their family; in two of the cases this might have been helped by the fact that their adult children were around the same age as I. For example, they would share village happenings or 'gossip', tell stories or send me on small household errands. This helped to cement trust and bond

the relationships. The maintenance of relationships through these means also created a sense of good feeling between the researcher and persons related to the case studies. Not only did these actions immerse the researcher into the business family circle and community but also resulted in a rich field experience. These mundane, normal actions also elicited valuable insights into what occurred behind the scenes, things that were not recognisable in the interviews or *tok stori* sessions. For example, how the women managed or treated children from other relationships while managing household and business matters to maintain wellbeing and harmony did not surface during organised *tok stori* sessions.

Similarly, stories of women being present for social obligations such as funerals, graduations and bride price contributions came outside of organised interviews. Such observations enabled the researcher to understand why and how women maintained not only their standing in their families, but also maintained positive social relationships within their families and businesses. Thus, employing a case study approach enabled an in-depth knowledge and understanding of women's involvement in and contribution toward successful local enterprise. Utilising a case study research approach, participation and creating positive, bonding relationships before, during and after research was significant for the success of this research.

Research data to be presented in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 came from preliminary, prolonged and follow-up fieldwork conducted in 2018 and early 2019. These fieldwork phases are presented in detail in the following section.

6.4. Fieldwork

Fieldwork in qualitative research refers to collection of raw data out of an office or in a social setting over a period where naturally occurring order of events and meanings of those who are studied are seen (Payne & Payne, 2004). That means that researchers encounter and experience life where it normally occurs thus, in doing fieldwork, the researcher appreciates and enters into the world of morals and meanings and participates in the social and cultural systems of the studied, rather than just

“immersing the self into a cultural bath”(Wax & Wax, 1980, p. 30). Additionally, during fieldwork, researchers converse meaningfully with the hosts about their activities and relate these conversations to their observations. They can also participate in community activities like ceremonies and rituals while being of “genuine service to the hosts,”(Wax & Wax, 1980, p. 30). This requires one to immerse and integrate self into a cultural context to observe and understand why things happen the way they do. Fieldwork, in this sense is, “ethnographic research” (van Hulst et al., 2015, p. 2).

Engaging the ethnographic fieldwork approach described above provided insights into the business case sites. Consequently, because investigation occurred through an etmic (insider-outsider) perspective, utilising ethnographic fieldwork research was useful. I entered community spaces that I had never been to before. I had conversations and encounters and participated in events that helped me to understand how social and cultural norms, roles and relationships influenced those businesses established on customary land. Participant observations were particularly useful as they provided insights into understanding how women contributed to the local firms and indirectly helped to retain land.

The cases were established in local cultural settings, which meant that the business families were immersed in each of their communities. Vital processes and happenings such as bridal ceremonies or weekly church events also influenced business operation times. For example, when it was church day, as part of the church and community, the business owners and their female counterparts did not do business but observed worship days and participated in church activities. Hence, community programmes also shaped how businesses operated, and doing fieldwork allowed me to observe nuances of the embeddedness of each case study

Three field research phases occurred for this study: preliminary study, prolonged fieldwork, and follow-up research.

6.4.1. Phase one: preliminary study

Phase one involved preliminary research for two weeks in Goroka in March 2018. Four businesses were identified, and interviews were conducted with the business owners. See Appendix III for guide questions for interviews. Then the indigenous entrepreneurship sustainability tool, developed earlier by the project team (Scheyvens et al., 2017), was applied to each of the business using the information gathered from the interviews. Only two businesses, Blue Corner Farm Limited (now Agro Business Consultant Ltd) and PNG Beekeeping Supplies (previously Lopi Beekeeping Supplies) met most of the sustainability indicators, thus were selected for further study.

The interview data as well as the indicators from the application of the sustainability tool were brought back to Massey University, NZ, where analysis of preliminary findings was done. These findings were presented to the Marsden team members comprising of three supervisors and a student colleague during a monthly meeting in early April 2018. The same findings were also presented to an advisory board member to the Marsden project in mid-April 2018. Continual discussion with supervisors regarding what sorts of information to gather in the second phase of research resulted in the two case studies confirmed for phase two of this research. The third case study in Kavieng was selected during the second phase of field research when it became evident that a comparative study in another province could be helpful in terms of seeing if there were similar findings regardless of case study location and cultural context. Details of the process for scoping the Kavieng business case study is presented in the following section.

6.4.2. Phase two: prolonged fieldwork

The second phase involved prolonged fieldwork with a more detailed study on the three businesses (Chapter 7) from September to November 2018. However, before travelling to the research sites, the last few days of August 2018 were spent in Port Moresby to gather information from several institutions including the PNG's National Development Bank and PNG Women's Business Resource Centre that support micro, small and medium enterprises and PNG's National Research Institute. Also, before traveling to the first case study sites in Goroka, travel and accommodation logistics for Kavieng was organised while in Port Moresby.

Being a Papua New Guinean and having a general understanding of culturally appropriate behaviours and actions, I was prepared to enter research sites. However, as an outsider to each specific research sites, I anticipated different situations that might occur, for example, participant withdrawal or control of research time by the business owners. This is because researchers in this kind of "social study are not in control of the place and the people" (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 94) from whom data is going to be collected. The participants owe nothing to the researcher thus, can withdraw from participating, restrict participation to only interviews or hold back information.

With these things in mind, I approached the owners of PNG Beekeeping Supplies and Blue Corner Farm who allowed me to begin research. There was a bit of flexibility with the first case study. I was allowed to participate in the business and other community and social activities that were going on within the business and in the village. For example, I was allowed to work with men, sawing timber and constructing bee boxes at the construction sites or travelled with the wife to sell beeswax, honey or to purchase food to contribute to cultural activities in the village. At one stage, I was allowed to witness presentation of income to four different churches that had partnership with PNG Beekeeping Supplies as well as participated in bride price contributions in the village (see Chapter 9).

Research was not as flexible at Blue Corner Farm as it was at PNG Beekeeping Supplies. During the data collection period, the business owner was travelling to and from Australia to renew his flying license. Thus, while I planned specific days and times for interviews with his wife and workers, and to participate in whatever activities occurred at the business, I was not able to just 'hang around' and participate more casually in social life associated with the business. Research data, especially from participation and observation may have been restricted as data collection revolved around the business owner's timetable. As Payne and Payne stated, I "had no control" (2004, p. 94) over the business owner, his business and time, thus I had to 'go with the flow'. One advantage of this was that it gave me space to organise interviews with key informants during the days I was away from the research site.

However, to make sense of what was unfolding, especially with the information that was collected, I communicated what I gathered or observed with one of the daughters of the business owner, Anita[5]. Anita is Steven's eldest daughter and because he is close to this family member, it was easy for her to confirm information with him and communicate this back to me. Like her sister Paula, Anita was also known to me in 2018 while at Massey University therefore, she became an important medium of communication. She confirmed or corrected information. For example, the change of name of business, from Blue Corner Farm Ltd to Agro-Business Consultants, was not known until I returned from fieldwork. In that way, data validity and reliability for Blue Corner Farm was constantly checked and established before and after data analysis.

When fieldwork in Goroka ended in October 2018, research began in the second location, in New Ireland Province in November 2018. Earlier in August 2018, a contact of my thesis supervisor introduced me to the school principal of National Fisheries College in New Ireland Province. This contact organised college accommodation for me for the duration of the research of period in New Ireland. This made it easier for me as it was my first time entering this part of PNG.

Because no initial study was carried out in Kavieng to scope out businesses as done in Goroka, it took the first week for that to occur. Again, four businesses were identified, and business owners were interviewed using the same process applied in the initial study in Goroka, (sub-section 6.4.1). As in the Goroka cases only two businesses, Clem's Place and Cathy's Eel Sanctuary, met most of the sustainability indicators. However, the latter could not be included in this study due to lack of time for detailed study during the main fieldwork phase. Thus, Clem's Place (Chapter 7) was selected as the third case study business from New Ireland Province. Most of November 2018 was spent on research at this business site.

[5] Anita Pupune is currently studying Agri-Commerce at Massey University. She was instrumental in the initial stages of her father's business. She worked for the business for more than 15 years before leaving for further studies. She also became a good contact I could reach out to when I needed clarification of information.

6.4.3. Phase three: follow-up visit

A follow-up study was organised in June 2019 for several purposes including re-visit to Cathy's Eel Sanctuary business to consider it as a case study. However, the re-visit to Cathy's Eel Sanctuary did not eventuate, due to the unfortunate passing of the owner (see section 6.7.2).

Information on how women benefited from the businesses was ambiguous when initial findings were deduced from primary data, one of the reasons for the follow-up visit to PNG. In consultation with supervisors, specific guide questions were drawn to get more information on women's social and economic status, voice, power and influence in business, family and community from engaging in those family businesses. See Appendix V for follow-up questions.

In June 2019, the researcher went to Goroka and followed up in person at PNG Beekeeping Supplies and had telephone conversations with participants at Blue Corner Farm Ltd as the owner was sickly around that time. He was housebound and his wife Margaret was taking care of him as well as looking after the business, so phone conversation was an appropriate option to garner information on business benefits or recognition of women's influence in the business. The same means of communication was also employed in the follow-up on Clem's Place in Kavieng due to its remote location.

Confirmation of initial findings also resulted from this follow-up visit. One of the initial findings was on *wanbel,* identified as vital for the sustainability of indigenous businesses. On re-visiting and talking to case study participants there was strong agreement that maintaining *wanbel* with everyone and everything connected to the business was key to running a successful business. All male owners agreed that women endeavoured to maintain *wanbel* in their families, businesses and communities through their involvement in social and cultural activities. Hence, the follow-up visits and conversations validated and minimised ambiguity in the initial findings but also helped

to cement *wanbel* relationships between the researcher and business families beyond the research.

6.5. Data Collection Methods

The methods and tools used to collect data for this research included application of the sustainability tool for indigenous businesses based on customary land (Scheyvens et al., 2017); interviews and *tok stori* sessions; participation and observation. Audio recording was used to record individual and group *tok stori* sessions when permitted, field notes were used to capture phrases, behaviours and non-verbal communications during participation.

6.5.1. Application of sustainability tool

The business sustainability tool was used to select case studies. The tool identifies factors that "contribute to sustainability of indigenous business operating on customary land" (Scheyvens et al., 2017, p. 778) including economic, socio-cultural indicators and environmental indicators. Each category has sub-categories ranging from years of establishment through to being resilient (Table 3). Each indicator had a score out of 10 with 1 denoting very poor performance and 10 as very good. Figure 12 is an example of an indigenous business that participated in the pretesting. Business X has favourable scores to social, cultural, environmental and economic indicators, which meant that it was a successful indigenous business.

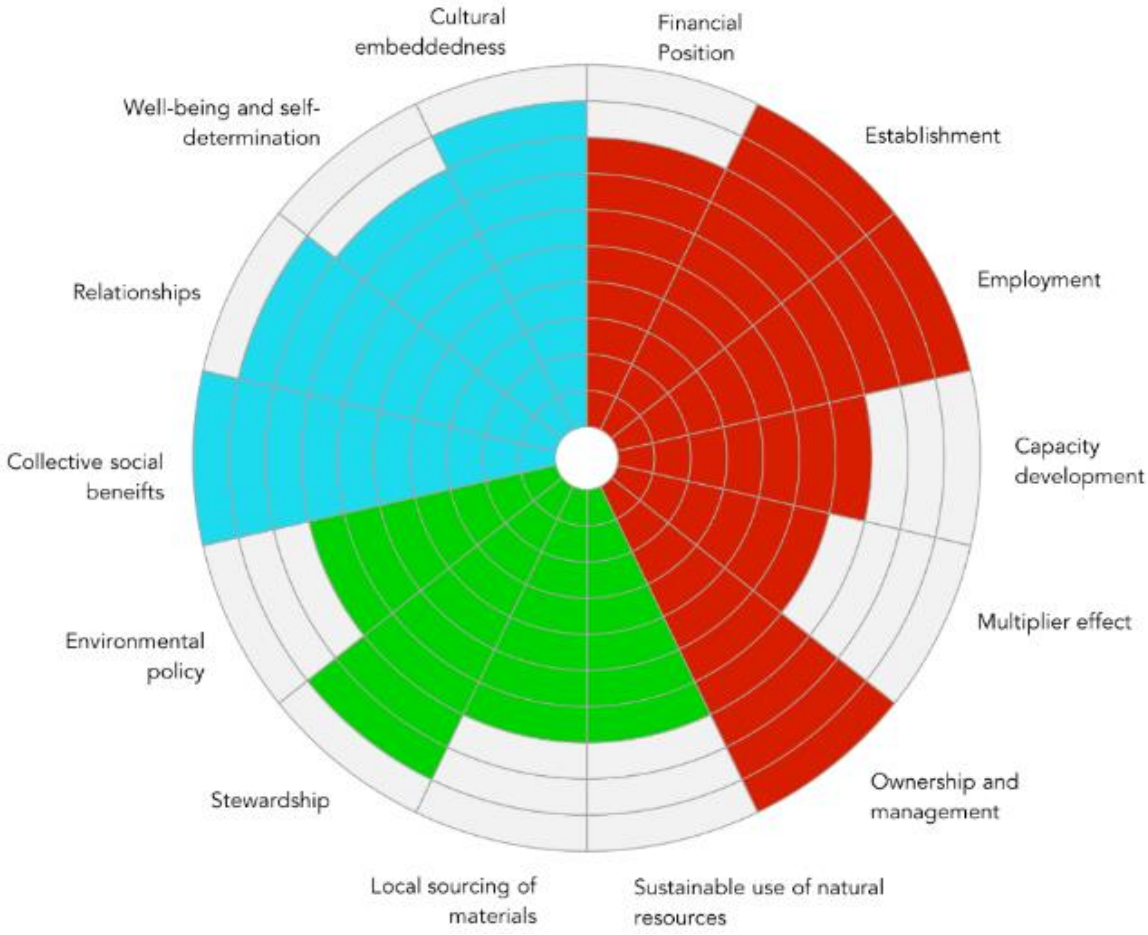
The same process in the pretesting was applied in the selection of case study businesses. See Appendix III for the questions that tested for socio-cultural, environmental and economic sustainability. Eight businesses were identified, and interviews were organised with the business owners. At the end of interview sessions, the researcher (and supervisor for the Goroka scoping study) rated each indicator for each business using the information gathered. Only four businesses, two business each in Goroka and Kavieng met 50% or more of the sustainability indicators (Table 3) thus, were selected for detailed study. Unfortunately, one of the case studies in New Ireland was dropped due to factors beyond the researcher's control (section 6.7.2).

Table 3 Indicators of Sustainability in Pacific Island Businesses on Customary Land

Sub-categories	Indicators
Economic indicators	
1. Establishment	Years of operation
2.Ownership and management	Percentage of indigenous owners and managers Extent to which decisions are made by indigenous owners
3. Employment	Local jobs created Salary and training Level of staff retention might determine job satisfaction
4.Capacity development	Training received by the landowners and the employees
5. Financial sustainability	Self-reported business performance: very good, ok, or weak
6. Multiplier effects	Linkages with local enterprises which benefit from the business
Socio-cultural indicators	
7. Collective social benefits	Commitment of the business to contribute to social or cultural groups, events, etc.
8. Spirituality	The business is informed/influenced by people's spiritual beliefs
9. Relationships	Relationships are based on the values of respect and reciprocity
10. Well-being and self-determination	The business contributes to local perceptions that indigenous development is possible. The business is true to the values of the Vanua/enua/whenua and wellbeing of the local community is a key consideration.
11. Cultural embeddedness	Business operations and practices respect local customs Cultural protocols are upheld
Environmental indicators	
12. Sustainable use of resources	Land and other natural resources are used but not degraded Good waste management practices (reduce, reuse, recycle)
13. Local sourcing of materials	Utilising local materials minimises the carbon footprint
14. Stewardship	The business owners respect their role as guardians of the land, protecting it for future generations.
15. Environmental policy	The business has, and implements, a well-structured environmental policy across its operations, and/or abides with government regulations on the environment
16. Resilience	Ability to withstand disasters; might include diversification

Source: Scheyvens et al. (2017).

Figure 12 Example of Social-cultural, Economic and Environmental Sustainability for Business X



Source: Scheyvens et al. (2017).

After the selection of case study businesses, short *tok stori* sessions were organised and undertaken with the male owners, their wives and female relatives to understand the level of women's involvement in each business. *Tok stori* with females helped to frame what to look for later during prolonged fieldwork. Initial findings from the application of the sustainability tool were shared with project members at the end of case selection. Further conversation with supervisors resulted in developing a set of guide questions for detailed fieldwork (see Appendix IV).

6.5.2. Interview/Tok Stori

In research, an interview refers to "any person-to-person interaction, either face-to-face or otherwise, between two or more individuals with a specific purpose in mind" (Kumar, 2011, p. 144). With in-depth interviews, only one to two persons from the

research population are selected to give an in-depth account of their life experiences. The interviewer leads and prompts, but the expressions are solely the interviewee's experiences and opinions. A focus group involves more than three persons interviewed as a group. Discussion is at its maximum, as the group contributes to questions asked.

There are structured and semi-structured interviews. In a structured interview, the researcher asks a predetermined set of questions using the same wording and order of questions specified in the interview guide containing a written list of questions, open-ended or closed, prepared for use by an interviewer in a person-to-person interaction (Kumar, 2011). A semi-structured interview has only lead interview questions that are further expanded during the interview as prompting occurs. Sometimes, unstructured, informal interviews can occur where the researcher participates in events and asks random questions to understand what is going on.

In this study, semi-structured interviews, which were undertaken in the form of *tok stori,* were employed for individual in-depth interviews and group discussions. *Tok stori* is a Melanesian Pacific relational mode of communication that is similar to *talanoa* and involves people sharing stories of their experiences as experts in their own lives (Fasavalu & Reynolds, 2019; Sanga & Reynolds, 2018). To gain in-depth knowledge of a person's experience, a mutual, genuine relationship is important. The quality of *tok stori* depends on positive, reciprocal relationships. According to Fasavalu and Reynolds (2019, p. 14) *tok stori* space values "vulnerability, emotionality, relational encounters and narrative intersections" therefore *tok stori* occurs in a trust-based relational space where people listen well, connect deeply and contribute to the conversation. The *tok stori* explained here is using Solomon Islands Pijin and is same as *stori* in PNG Tok Pisin. I use *stori* in the following paragraphs for context-specificity.

In this research, in-depth *stori* sessions occurred with key informants, business owners, their wives and relatives who were directly or indirectly involved in each business. Group sessions were carried out with workers and community members who were connected to each business. The quotes presented in Chapters 8 and 9 are taken from transcribed and translated *stori* sessions.

The guide to individual and group questions were developed from concepts drawn from the two research questions (Chapter 1, section 1.2) as well as the main project's guide questions. Some of the key questions were focused on how customary land has enabled development of business, why and how business began, ways in which the wider community benefits from business and how women have contributed toward and benefit from business. See Appendices III, IV, IV.

There were eight *stori* sessions with key informants and nine with business owners and their relatives, totalling to seventeen individual *stori* sessions. Three group *stori* meetings with workers and community members were held, one in each case study business. In total, twenty *stori* sessions were carried out. The length of time for each *stori* session ranged from 30 minutes to 2 hours, depending on the openness of the participants. Organised *stori* gatherings, whether individual or group, were recorded using a voice recorder when permitted to do so. The process involved in analysing the interviews is explained in section 6.6.

6.5.3. Participant observation

In qualitative fieldwork research, participant observation refers to a form of data collection where the researcher not only observes the participants but also actively engages with the activities of the research participants (Williams, 2020). This requires the researcher to be integrated and immersed into the participants' environment while objectively taking notes about what is going on. Further, the researcher must be interested in the participants' activities. Detailed notes of what was observed and what happened during encounters with participants while 'doing' and 'seeing' things alongside participants are kept during participant observation.

For this research, participant observation was employed to gather information. Participating in community programmes such as contributing to bride price, sawing timber for beehives, cleaning fish for sale or preparing food for guests, the researcher also observed women's actions and attitudes toward workers and family members as well as observed how they managed other household matters.

Utilising semi-structured interviews and *stori* sessions, participant observation and keeping fieldnotes assisted the collection of useful data. These means of data collection also enabled me to be actively engaged and learn elements of socio-cultural processes that socially embedded each local business.

6.5.4. Key informant interviews

According to Marshall (1996) key informants are expert sources of particular information especially in the area of their speciality or profession. Key informants are people who are able to provide more information of what is going on at different levels including local, provincial or national levels. They are sometimes called "strategic informants" and usually occupy a "position of responsibility and influence" (Marshall, 1996, p. 92).

In this research, several interviews were carried out with key informants representing other stakeholders that provide policy framework, training and other provisions to SMEs. These included informants from the National Development Bank, Women's Business Resource Centre, the National Research Institute, Coffee Industry Corporation, Fresh Produce Development Agency, Jabez Business Incubation Centre, Bank of South Pacific Goroka Branch and New Ireland Provincial Lands Department. The information gathered from these organisations was related to the support they provide through training, processing bank loans, consultations or other needed backing.

6.5.5. Secondary sources

Secondary sources of information refer to information collected by individuals or agencies for purposes other than those of this study. Examples can include government statistics such as the national census data of daily household activities such as PNG's national census statistics (PNG National Statistics Office, 2011); published market research reports (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2012) or national news articles and journal articles. Recent additions to these may include blogs and social media posts people make about their businesses or events they were not primarily involved in. These

secondary sources provided some useful information on women's participation in economic activities, SMEs and land matters.

For this study, useful case study business updates were gleaned from Facebook postings. For example, additional information on PNG Beekeeping Supplies was gathered from their Facebook page at https://www.facebook.com/pngbeekeepingsupplies/ and Tella's personal postings at https://www.facebook.com/honeyman.tella while additional insights on Clem's Place were accessed from customer reviews at https://www.tripadvisor.co.nz . Specific research reports, journal articles and blogs such as Pupune (2005); Singh (2015); Waide (2018) supplied information on Blue Corner Farm Ltd and PNG Beekeeping Supplies. Accessing secondary sources of information confirmed or complemented the primary research data in this research.

6.6. Data Analysis and Presentation

In qualitative research, data analysis refers to the data interpretation process and it involves interactive phases when trying to make sense of what is happening in the field, and the information that has been collected. Thorne (2000) provided an explanation of when data analysis occurs and what is involved:

> It is important to recognise that qualitative data analysis processes are not entirely distinguishable from the actual data. The theoretical lens from which the researcher approaches the phenomenon, the strategies that the researcher uses to collect or construct data, and the understandings that the researcher has about what might count as relevant or important data in answering the research question are all analytic processes that influence the data. Analysis also occurs as an explicit step in conceptually interpreting the data set as a whole, using specific analytic strategies to transform the raw data into a new and coherent depiction of the thing being studied. (Thorne, 2000, p. 68)

This means that data analysis occurs concurrently with data collection while the researcher is in the field interviewing, performing participant observation and taking note of what information to use in the interpretation.

In this research thematic analysis (section 6.6.2) was used to interpret collected data. However, before that occurred, all digitally recorded material was transcribed and

translated to written form. This was followed by sorting, arranging information and coding of main themes. The sorted information (data) was discussed with supervisors and team members to make sense of it in light of both the Marsden project and the overall aim of this particular research.

6.6.1. Interview transcription and translation

The purpose of examining data is to identify general themes that emerge which are then used to understand the meaning of data in answer to the main research question (Creswell, 2009). Raw data in this study was mostly recorded *talanoa*. Before data interpretation began, all recorded interviews were transcribed (typed) into usable digital form.

Transcribing can be time consuming. For example, an interview of one hour can take up to six hours to be transcribed and longer if the interviews are recorded in a non-standard language such as PNG's Tok Pisin. An audio player that has special features like speed control and generated notepad eases transcribing therefore sound organizer was downloaded and utilised, enabling completion of transcriptions within the planned timeframe.

While listening and transcribing, emerging themes were noted and written in capital letters and colour coded simultaneously to ease identification of themes and sub-themes later. Other loose, but important data were also noted and highlighted. The transcribed and translated material was copied onto word documents and saved as separate interview transcripts. These documents were used later in the presentation of the findings.

Sometimes, transcribing and translating occurred concurrently. For example, long Tok Pisin interviews were translated straight into English while keeping the meaning. The researcher being a native Tok Pisin speaker was advantageous in this regard. Validation of data were shared with participants through emails, particularly business owners and their family members who participated in in-depth *stori* sessions.

6.6.2. Thematic analysis

Because fieldwork took on an ethnographic form (section 6.4), thematic analysis was utilised to analysis data. Thematic analysis is the process of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns or themes within qualitative data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017). Usually it applies to sets of interview transcripts that the researcher examines and identifies common themes (Caulfield, 2019). This method of data analysis was utilised to analyse the transcribed interview sets.

There are two approaches to doing thematic analysis: inductive (allowing data to determine themes) and deductive (hypothesis testing/theory building) (Caulfield, 2019). The inductive data analysis approach was used extensively in analysing and interpreting data given the project context, aim and research questions (Chapter 1, section 1.2) that guided this research. This means that data was used to generate themes to answer the main research questions. It was also useful when information in the data appeared to be relevant for building on established theories such as social embeddedness, indigenous entrepreneurship, and hybrid economies (Chapters 2 & 3).

The six most common steps taken to do thematic analysis include: familiarisation with data, colour coding or capitalising texts with similar meaning, generating topics or themes from the codes/capitalised texts, reviewing the themes, defining and naming themes, and writing up (Caulfield, 2019). Familiarisations of data was achieved through re-playing each recorded audio more than once, re-reading transcribed texts and fieldnotes several times. Going through raw data more than once helped with understanding and identifying emerging themes from research data.

Data analysis began with thematic coding. The transcribed/translated materials were organised into segments and categorised according to similar codes, in this case using capitalised texts and/or using colours for similar texts. After the categorising and coding processes, all coded data were reviewed. Reviewing coded data confirmed initial themes that were noted during transcription/translation (sub-section 6.6.1). Where necessary, themes were re-worded during the review process. Further identification

and castigations of sub-themes under each main theme occurred. Quotes that best illustrated or exemplified the meaning of a theme or a sub-theme were selected and written under each theme. In essences, the main themes and sub-themes became the findings for this study

An important part of the data analysis process was ongoing discussion of emerging themes with project team members, both during monthly project meetings and separate meetings with thesis supervisors discussing how these themes should be represented in the main project and in this research. These discussions guided writing of research findings (Chapters 7, 8 and 9); journal articles (Scheyvens et al., 2020; Steven et al., 2019) and presentations at conferences and seminars (see Appendix VI for list of conferences and seminars). Further consolidation also resulted from feedback received from conferences and seminars. It is anticipated that further dissemination will occur as a way of 'giving back' to the indigenous businesses involved in this study.

6.7. Fieldwork Challenges and Limitations

Doing fieldwork can be daunting however prepared a researcher is. Unexpected challenges arise from different fronts including the context one is going into, personal challenges, time and financial limitations. Following detailed research plans and timelines may not be possible as the people involved in the study and what happens in the field are beyond the researcher's control. Additionally, going into unfamiliar communities can incite anxiety, frustration, stress, powerlessness, loneliness, desperation, unpreparedness and other unhelpful feelings (Pollard, 2009). These negative emotions can be damaging and result in unpleasant research experiences or disrupt completion of fieldwork. Thus, careful preparation and "being flexible and open-minded" (McLennan et al., 2014, p. 144), are key should unexpected situations arise during fieldwork.

6.7.1. Fieldwork challenges

In this research, several challenges were encountered including logistical, personal and challenges at research sites. Unexpected challenges reduced research time and were stressful especially during preliminary and detailed fieldwork phases.

Logistical challenges

In a developing country like PNG, prolonged flight delays, mechanical breakdowns and delayed responses to email messages can be expected. A discouraging experience of flight cancellations occurred during preliminary study. Prolonged flight delays hindered me from going to Kavieng, New Ireland Province in February 2018. That disrupted plans to scope possible case study businesses. This was during a time when the national Air Niugini pilots went on strike because they wanted the then Prime Minister Peter O'Neil to step down from his prime ministerial duties. Few expatriate pilots were available to provide flight services for the country, which resulted in flight cancelations and delays for several days. This unexpected situation resulted in loss of planned time for preliminary fieldwork in Kavieng, thus no initial study was conducted at this location. Due to this, there was difficulty in accessing relevant case study businesses there during the second phase of fieldwork in November 2018. Being new to that area, I spent a whole week making and meeting connections who assisted in identifying relevant local businesses to be involved in this study. Time taken to establish connections was disadvantageous for a detailed study to be completed on Cathy's Eel Sanctuary, the only woman owned business, which was eventually dropped (see details in sub-section 6.7.2).

The flight delays affected research progress because the travel agent responsible for arranging flights for students and staff of Massey University, through Air Niugini, booked in-country flights. While in PNG, the researcher had no flexibility in changing flights to another national airline. Repetition of this was likely in the second phase of fieldwork therefore, budget for in-country flights were included in the application for research assistance funds, which was approved. With access to finance, the flexibility of organising in-country flights resulted in timely transition from one province to the next during the prolonged fieldwork period.

Another unexpected issue was a mechanical error with the Automatic Teller Machine (ATM) that occurred in Port Moresby on the eve of preliminary field trip to Goroka. My personal NZ visa card got locked in an ATM machine when I was trying to withdraw funds in preparation for travel. Without any financial options for necessities and gifts for

participants, the departure for Goroka was stressful. On arrival family members assisted with my basic needs. It is culturally important to acknowledge the connections and relationships created with case study participants with gifts of any form. Lack of cash meant no gifts for both old and new connections, which is culturally unfitting and shameful on the part of the researcher. In the end, this unpleasant ordeal was avoided when additional cash from one of the supervisors (who joined me later) assisted with gifts for participants and goods for family members. To avoid a similar situation occurring in the second phase of fieldwork, packages of souvenir gifts from NZ were bought prior to departure, and enough cash was withdrawn to assist with settling in. Having cash on hand helped with basic necessities, transportation and accommodation.

Accessing suitable accommodation was another challenge that delayed research by a couple of days in Goroka. Accommodation identified during the preliminary study was not ideal due to its location right next to the Goroka Town centre, where noise and the constant flow of people were disturbing and sometimes disruptive. The case studies were also located 20-30 minutes' walk away. The first couple of days were used to identify an inn located in a quieter spot with security guards. For a female researcher located away from family, it is important to be cautious, so the 24-hour security provision was helpful. An added advantage was the inn's proximity to the research sites, about 3 minutes' walk to PNG Beekeeping Supplies construction site and 5 minutes' bus ride to Blue Corner Farm.

Development research challenges such as flight delays, mechanical problems and unconducive living spaces can be stressful for novice researchers going into fieldwork, more so for those going into foreign countries. Being originally from Goroka gave me an advantage while navigating through some of these situations and accessing necessities and conducive living spaces. Situations I had no control over, I let pass, such as not going to Kavieng and non-retrieval of my NZ visa card which occurred during the preliminary fieldwork phase.

Challenges at research sites

In this thesis, the research site challenges refer to those encountered at the case study sites. During the detailed fieldwork period, a few challenges were experienced, especially at one of the Goroka case studies. Some of these stemmed from me being overconfident and unprepared. Because I had made connections and was keeping contact with the case study business family before actual travel to the site, I was confident that fieldwork would flow as planned. However, the unexpected occurred when I arrived in Goroka and made contact in September 2018. The reception was not as it was during my preliminary trip. There was a slight reluctance from the business owner to enter the business site despite having confirmed dates with me prior to my arrival in Goroka. I was told to come back the next month (October 2018) because the businessperson and family were 'busy' and not 'ready' for research to begin. Unpreparedness for such reluctance left me confused, anxious and overwhelmed. However, instead of dwelling on this minor issue, knowing that there was the option to 'come back later' motivated me to begin study on the second business. Unlike the first business owner, the second was flexible to allow study on his business sooner rather than later as previously planned.

Another challenge that was common in all three case studies was getting women to commit to *tok stori* sessions. Sometimes, it was difficult to get the women to sit down and have a proper *tok stori* as they had so much to do in their households and business. Most times their partners' work schedule influenced how each of their days progressed as well as what they did and did not do. For example, at Blue Corner Farm Ltd, when the researcher went in September, Steven was getting ready to leave for Australia to renew his pilot license. All managerial responsibilities at home and in the business were undertaken by Margaret, which meant no quality time for *tok stori* sessions. Sometimes, some form of unspoken male control was present when in *tok stori* sessions and especially when partners/husbands were around making the researcher and women feeling pried on and uneasy. When husbands were not around, conversation became fluid and women were able to openly express opinions and reflect on their life experiences especially with how they manage business, family and community obligations.

Personal challenges

Personal challenges refer to those that were fashioned by personal situations. There were several personal challenges that were encountered during the prolonged research period, in Goroka particularly. These included being sick for few days, harassment from ex-partner and unnecessary visitations and expectations from relatives.

During the second month of research, an unexpected email from Immigration New Zealand (INZ) caused emotional distress. On October 03, 2018, information regarding an intended court order from the researcher's ex-partner reached INZ. The researcher was immediately informed that both her and her daughter's NZ visa status would be changed or withheld, potentially hindering research progress as well as return to NZ to complete study. This was an unexpected, unpleasant situation that halted research for a couple of days. Time was spent organising support letters and communicating with managers from my former employer, Pacific Adventist University in Port Moresby. The Deputy Vice Chancellor at the institution was served the court summons instead of the researcher. With advice and support from the institution's Corporate Services Director, the court summons was successfully defended two weeks later in the capital city while I was in Goroka. The court application was dismissed and did not further affect research progress.

Although this situation was under control, the mental and emotional stress became evident in me feeling unwell few days later. Fever and headaches disrupted research progress again in the second case study. However, being located close to Goroka General Hospital and having access to family, medical attention and emotional support were accessed. Doing research in my hometown was advantageous during these stressful situations.

Doing research in one's own province, however, has downsides especially in a relational economy like PNG. A trend of increasing family visitations began to surface, which distracted the researcher. Before the intended court summons, only immediate family members including the researcher's parents and sister would visit to drop off vegetables. However, when other relatives became aware of the court summons, they

felt ‘obliged’ to pop in at any time to make sure I and my daughter were ‘safe’ from potential harm. In the hope to provide ‘security’, constant visitation became a bit distracting. For every visit, the researcher felt obliged to send them away ‘properly’ with cash or in kind which became a challenge on the already dwindling finances.

Helping to relieve *hevi* (social burden) is part of life in Goroka but it can become a little distracting and daunting. Several *hevi* related occasions arose during prolonged fieldwork in this location. These included family members falling sick, death or bride price gathering. The researcher felt obliged to visit and the expectation is that one should pay visits in person. However, that would mean time away from research thus, to fulfil that expectation and to show support, I called my parents over and gave them my contributions so they could pass them onto those in *hevi*. In other instances, certain times and locations in town were organised to meet a relative to give cash or basic goods as show of support. Sometimes, the desire to perform social and cultural ‘care’ became a distraction and a challenge especially regarding control over personal finances when those *hevi* situations were not research related.

Relational social burdens are bound to arise especially if fieldwork is in one’s country and hometown where social relations are the strongest. Some of these can lead to unhelpful situations or distractions that can delay research completion. Thus, one must be prepared and be open-minded to navigate around some of these unforeseen field situations.

6.7.2. Data Limitations

The data limitations in this section refers to those things that were beyond the researcher’s control and influenced data that was collected. There were several limitations in this research, which possibly could pose biased data representation. Given that this research is qualitative, and the main Marsden project had planned for 3-4 case studies per country to be completed within a three-year timeframe, thus possible business case studies in the initial study were selected and tested in preference of the known to the unknown. The researcher only approached those business families who she had previous contact with. Further, *tok stori* and participant observations were

restricted to participants from the three indigenous business cases and related community members. Hence, research findings may not be representative of and applicable to all indigenous businesses on customary land and other locally owned SMEs throughout PNG. Also, the experiences and views of women in this study may not be representative of single, widowed or estranged women who create livelihoods either from land or other means. Data presented in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 may be limited to personal biases of self-reported data recorded in the *tok stori* sessions.

All three family businesses studied are male-owned but co-managed with female counterparts and other family members also playing supportive roles. Due to time and financial limitations, no women-owned business on customary land was engaged with in this study. Consequently, there is lack of data to compare and contrast how women contributed to male-owned indigenous businesses and female-owned ones on customary land. The only possible female-owned local business (Cathy's Eel Sanctuary) identified in Kavieng could not be included in this study due to an unexpected situation.

Lack of time toward the end of fieldwork meant no detailed study of Cathy's Eel Sanctuary was possible. As part of the Marsden project team, the researcher was required to return to NZ to prepare for the annual NZ International Development Studies Network Conference (DevNeT) in December 2018. Furthermore, an unexpected death occurred in February 2019. The owner of the eel sanctuary, who had been ill for some time, passed away. This situation hindered the detailed study envisaged for June 2019. Further, the cultural inappropriateness of entering that site for unrelated purposes while Cathy's community was in mourning, hindered research to progress on that business. The key person to be observed and interviewed first-hand was no longer alive, resulting in exclusion of this case study. Research data in this thesis is thus from the three named local firms (Chapter 7). Hence, primary data to compare and contrast women's roles and experiences in female-owned and male-owned local businesses based on customary land is lacking.

Finally, a minor but important issue that also influenced untimely identification of possible business case studies particularly in Kavieng, was lack of a research assistant

on the ground. The contacts who assisted to identify possible local businesses either had work or were busy with personal business, thus case study selection was delayed. A local, who made friends with me during an informal gathering offered to help locate possible local businesses. In this regard, not only was there a delay in selecting local entrepreneurs doing business on customary land, but there was time lag in securing a local assistant.

6.8. Summary

This chapter began with an explanation of the research methodology that guided this study. It described in detail the research framework, ethics process, fieldwork phases, data collection methods, data analysis processes and the challenges and limitations experienced in this study.

Section 6.2 explained the Pacific *Vanua* and *Tali magimagi* research frameworks that framed the study. Following this, section 6.3 discussed details of the ethics process that was completed before research began. This section also explained how research sites were selected. Relationship building before fieldwork was highlighted as a catalyst for accessing research sites and participants. Then detailed explanation of fieldwork phases was discussed in section 6.4, followed by description of data collection through *tok stori/stori* and analysis procedures (sections 6.5 & 6.6). Data analysis processes including transcribing, translating and coding were explained. Finally, challenges and limitations encountered in this study were discussed (section 6.7). Among other limitations, the major setback to this study was unexpected happenings that occurred during preliminary and detailed data collection periods (sub-section 6.7.1). When preparing for fieldwork the researcher must be prepared for unexpected things to occur such as flight delays and deaths at research sites. Hence, researchers must be "open-minded and flexible" (McLennan et al., 2014, p. 144) and be able to change plans when necessary, while still ensuring data reliability and validity.

For this study, a culturally appropriate research approach was advantageous. This enabled research to confirm that in indigenous communities like PNG, social

relationships and a cultural way of life are important factors that influence economic activities and particularly indigenous entrepreneurship. Learnings were garnered through the lived experiences of those involved in the indigenous family businesses that participated in this study. Utilizing an ethnographic fieldwork approach that engaged a culturally appropriate form of conversation in the form of *tok stori/stori* during interviews, and participant observation, provided insight into the sometimes-obscured elements that support indigenous businesses on customary land, including women's invisible roles in each family business. Additionally, doing research in phases enabled data validation, hence the research findings were able to answer the research questions as will be presented in the chapters to follow. In that respect, the Pacific research framework within a qualitative research approach framed this study very well. The findings and explanations generated from executing the research processes discussed here, will be presented in the next three chapters (Chapters 7, 8 & 9).

CHAPTER 7: INTRODUCING THE CASE STUDIES

7.1. Introduction

This chapter is part of the three findings chapters. It will introduce the family businesses that were involved in this study. Findings from the first period of fieldwork, when case studies were selected according to the business sustainability tool, will be provided after each business is introduced. The description of each business and how each began will also be presented, along with the current status and future business plans. Toward the end of each business description, the women involved in each business will be introduced. The chapter will begin with Blue Corner Farm Limited (section 7.2) followed by PNG Beekeeping Supplies (section 7.3). Both of these businesses are engaged in farm-related activities and are located in Eastern Highlands Province. Clem's Place, the third case study business (section 7.4), is a small tourism business located in New Ireland.

7.2. Blue Corner Farm Limited

Steven Pupune is the owner of Blue Corner Farm Limited. It is a diversified family business and is co-managed by female family members. This business is located just outside of Fanaiyufa village within the vicinity of Goroka town. It is about a 5-minute drive from the main town toward the southeast end of the Goroka Airport. This family business was selected during the preliminary study for meeting more than 50% of the indicators for measuring sustainability of indigenous business (Scheyvens et al., 2017). See sub-section 7.2.5 for the indicators Blue Corner Farm passes.

7.2.1. Business description

Blue Corner Farm Ltd is the umbrella name for various business activities. These include a commercial property, a large and small-scale coffee plantation, vegetable gardens, two small-scale piggeries, poultry and a fishery project. A large coffee plantation, a household vegetable farm, a commercial property, a small-scale piggery and a hatchery and nursery for fish fingerlings are based on Steven's customary land passed on to him by his father at Blue Corner farm. A fishery project, another small-scale vegetable garden, small coffee block and a small-scale

piggery are established on a piece of land purchased from customary landowners through *wantok* connections. This is located in Yonki Dam area, which is about 3 hours' drive toward Lae from Goroka town. Other activities also include a cattle ranch, fuelwood and timber sales. These activities altogether generate more than PGK100,000 annually.

There are long-serving workers who have kept Blue Corner farm going for over 40 years. These workers are from a remote district and are therefore allocated a piece of land next to the main coffee plantation to build their houses and make food gardens for themselves. The family residence, business office, workers' residences and the large coffee plantation exist together at Blue Corner farm.

Blue Corner business started very small, has since diversified into several activities, and continues to venture into other projects such as milling and pelleting animal feed.

7.2.2. Origin and development of the business

Blue Corner Farm begun in 1980 when Steven decided to locate his business just outside of the main village of Fanayiufa. Some social behaviours in the village were not conducive for doing business, which prompted Steven and family to move a few kilometres away from the village to set up his residence and business.

> *…I saw that there was something wrong with the lifestyle of staying together in the village. On every occasion, village people were drinking, gambling and were wasting their monies. They had nothing to show for the money they get from selling coffee beans and their vegetables. I told myself, I cannot live like that. That is why I came and lived here and started my farm* (Steven, 2018, interview).

The decision to distance the business from village pressures, but close enough to keep important social connections, has worked well for Blue Corner Farm.

Taking care of parents and siblings were significant points for the start of Blue Corner farm. After completing high school in 1974, Steven went to the University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, to complete matriculation in 1975. In 1976, he enrolled at the

same institution to study economics. He left university without completing his studies and got a job as an audit trainee in the Department of Finance. In 1977, he went to Lae to work as an auditor in the Momase regional office. Later in the same year he was transferred to the Highlands regional office based in Goroka. The main reason for his transfer was his aging parents who needed him. He lived and worked from his family land and took care of his parents and siblings.

In 1978, Steven was posted to Queensland, Australia. He worked in the auditor general's office in Brisbane. He learnt to audit for large departments such as transport, education and health. This experience was an opportunity for a job promotion back in PNG. On his return in 1979, Steven was promoted to the Senior Finance Inspector's position for the Highlands region. He managed six officers, travelled to different district offices throughout the highlands provinces, and made sure public money was managed well.

During a work leave in mid-1979, he raised 36 egg-laying hens in his homestead at Blue Corner Farm in a small bush material shed. These hens laid eggs every day and with the help of his former wife, the eggs were boiled and sold at a nearby primary school. The egg business was good. Every day, his former wife sold and brought in money from eggs. So, Steven took a bank loan from the Rural Agriculture Bank, expanded the poultry building and purchased more hens. This is how Blue Corner Ltd began.

On 30 December 1980, Steven resigned from his formal job and concentrated on expanding the egg business. The business supplied eggs to towns like Kainantu, Goroka, Kundiawa, and Mount Hagen and other centres in the highlands region for 15 years. The business expanded to raising meat chicken (broilers), making it a full-time poultry business producing eggs and chicken.

While the poultry business was ongoing, Blue Corner Farm ventured into developing a trucking business and a piggery. A large vegetable farm was also developed. The produce from this farm was supplied to the main town market. Then a coffee plantation replaced the piggery and vegetable farm. All these business activities were developed

because there was enough land as well as because Steven wanted to provide and take care of his relatives.

7.2.3. Current status

Today, the large-scale piggery, poultry and trucking businesses no longer exist. Raising pigs and chickens required a lot of time, resources and work force. Trucking was halted, as there was a lot to do at the farm. According to Steven, the devaluation of the kina also affected his poultry business. Therefore, the business reduced the large-scale piggery to small-scale and diversified into other things such as a coffee plantation, a rental property, sawmill and inland fish farm. The coffee plantation, fish farm, small-scale piggery and commercial property are currently the income-generating sources for Blue Corner Farm, with commercial property as the major source of income.

Most of the permanent workers are engaged in the coffee plantation for weeding, pruning and harvesting. During coffee cherry harvest season, extra workers from the village are also employed to assist. The rental property is a medium sized building that contains storage and office spaces and is on commercial lease. A family member sponsored by Steven has completed a carpentry course and is currently maintaining the rental property. Both the coffee plantation and commercial property are based on Steven's customary land.

The fish farm and a small-scale piggery are located on land purchased from landowners in the Yonki Dam area, which a 3-hour drive away from Goroka town toward Lae. These also generate income for the business. At the time of my visit in 2018, there were over 150,000 fish and several pigs. A medium sized coffee plot is also grown on this piece of land.

Blue Corner Farm has recently engaged in poultry again, but on a small-scale. The business is also looking to establish a new business venture in Manus Province. The plan is to set up a sea cucumber farm. Steven and Margaret have already built a family house in Manus to live in and do business. The land belongs to Margaret's father and she is the next of kin with access to the land and sea area where the farm is going to be. It is clear

that Blue Corner Farm does well with trialling new business ventures because there is free access to land. Profitable business activities are kept and developed while ventures that did not perform well were abandoned. Adapting to the national economic situation and diversifying business activities have been important business strategies at Blue Corner Farm over the last 40 years.

7.2.4. Women at Blue Corner Farm

This business has been successful with the support of female family members. There are several women who contribute toward the business in various ways (Chapter 9). At the time of this study, three female members were available: Steven's wife Margaret who is currently supporting him with business, his first daughter Anita who co-managed Blue Corner farm for more than 15 years before she left for studies in 2018, and Steven's second daughter, Paula, who connected me to Blue Corner Farm. These women have supported this business in various ways including 'showing hands and face' to fulfil social and cultural obligations that socially secured the business. Their stories and experiences are part of the data and conclusions of this thesis (Chapter 9). Apart from these women, female workers and Steven's mother and former wife - who are no longer alive - are also mentioned for their roles in the initial start of the business (sections 7.2.2 & 7.2.3).

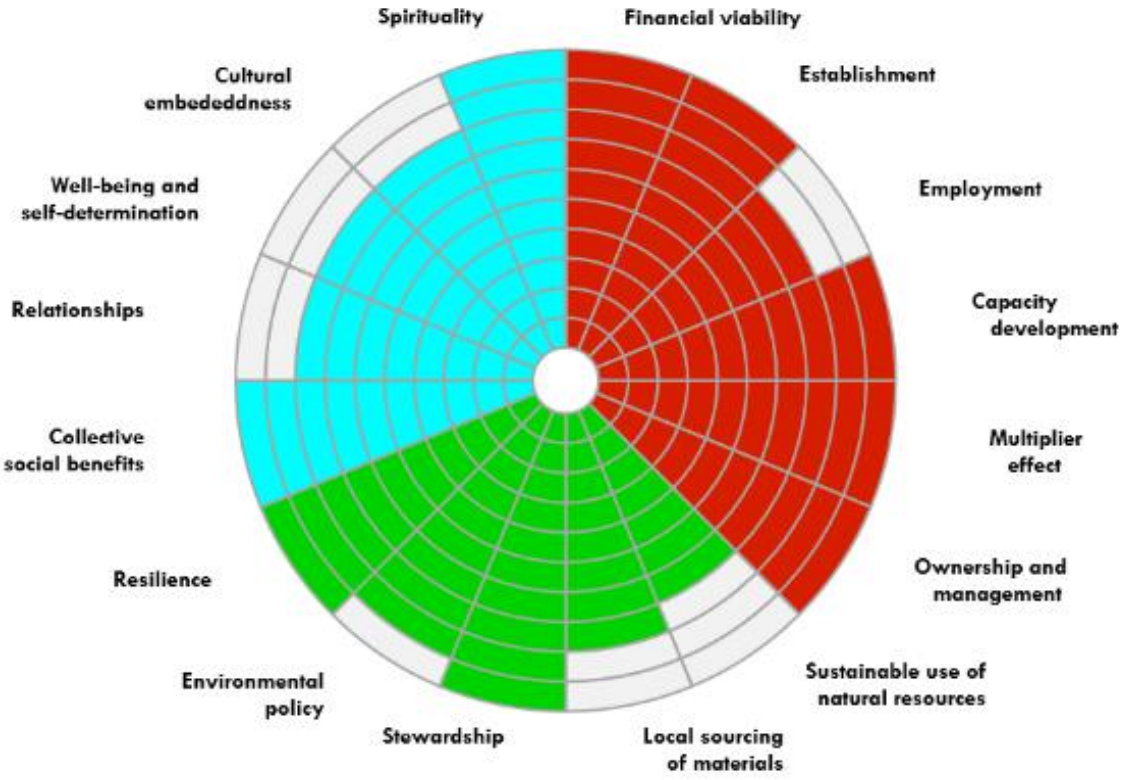
7.2.5 Preliminary findings from phase one

The Blue Corner Farm business passed the measurement of indigenous business sustainability; therefore, it was selected to be a case study for this research. Figure 13 shows the social-cultural, economic and environmental indicators for this business. The indicators were given a rating out of 10.

According to Figure 13, Blue Corner Farm did very well on all economic indicators (in red) except for employment where it scored a little lower. Although all employees and workers are family members and locals from a remote district, disputes often arise between Steven and some unemployed family members that pose some uncertainty for the future, thus the score of 8. In terms of its environmental sustainability (in green), this business generally scored well. There is no environmental policy that guides the

business operation but from observation, it was obvious that the business managed its business aligned with indigenous methods of land management.

Figure 13 Social-cultural Economic and Environmental Sustainability of Blue Corner Farm



Source: Author's preliminary fieldwork data, 2018.

It was not clear where coffee pulp, animal feed refuse, and old machineries were disposed of. However, the natural environment from which business resources are accessed was generally well maintained. Therefore, it scored 7, 8 and 9 in sustainable use of natural resources, local sourcing of materials and environmental policy indicators. With social-cultural indicators (in light blue), Blue Corner scored high as well. Steven and family maintained positive relationships however, there were noticeable in-house differences between some family members and Steven (Chapter 8, and Chapter 9). Additionally, there was hesitancy from community members to freely approach the business family, for example to request usage of business resources. In spite of that, they gave generously to community *hevi* (to be explained in Chapter 8) which is why the business scored well, with 8 for relationships, well-being and self-determination, and cultural embeddedness indicators. Blue Corner Farm business generally passed the

indigenous business sustainability indicators to be selected as a case study for further investigation.

7.3. PNG Beekeeping Supplies

Tella Loie is the owner of PNG Beekeeping Supplies, which is co-managed by his nephew, Roy James and, wife, Damaris Solomon Loie. This is another agriculture-based business that based in Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province. It engages in several beekeeping and honey production activities. The business operates both in the village and in town. A beekeeping-training centre, a honey-processing base and a warehouse for beekeeping supplies and materials are established on customary land in Kenemaro village, in the Middle Bena Local Level Government. It is located 10-15 kilometres east of the provincial capital, Goroka Town which takes about 20 minutes to drive. This is where the main business activities occur.

The construction site or workshop for building bee boxes and frames is located at Lopi, a suburb in Goroka Town. It takes about 20-30 minutes to drive from the village to the construction site. Electricity is easily accessed here and bee boxes and other small materials such as frames are constructed. The finished products are transported back to the village, stored in the warehouse and distributed to customers.

7.3.1. Business description

PNG Beekeeping Supplies involves two main activities. It provides basic training on beekeeping to interested groups, local farmers, and government officers from the Department of Primary Industry and National Agriculture Research Institute. The training is hosted in a small centre established in the village. To receive this training, the business makes sure local unemployed people pay less than those who are employed. The training sessions last for 2-3 days and the fees range from PGK150 to PGKK220, which includes lodging and meals. Both employed and unemployed men, women and young people come to receive beekeeping training. Lodging and food are provided for people travelling from other provinces and remote districts.

The second main business activity is the construction and supply of beekeeping materials such as bee boxes and frames. These are constructed in town where there is easy access to electricity. The finished boxes, frames and other beekeeping supplies, which are imported from New Zealand, are supplied to customers. Because it has a small workshop with less than six machines and only four fulltime workers, the business supplies materials only on orders. A single bee box with beehive frames, wax foundation and a queen bee is sold at PGK425 and full set of three boxes equipped with beehive frames, wax foundation and a queen bee at PGK650. Loose materials such as single wax foundation, single frame, plain bee box and other imported materials are also sold separately. The prices of single materials can range from PGK8 to over PGK300. Sales of single materials largely depend on what local farmers want.

Other activities also generate side income but are not included in the main business account. Sawdust from the woodwork is packed in empty stock feed bags and sold for PGK5.00. The owner, fondly known as Honeyman, breeds queen bees and sells each queen bee for PGK8.00. This is the male owner's income generation activity done on the side for personal use and other community and social needs.

The other activity that started small, and is expanding, is the production and sales of honey and beeswax. Currently, three different sizes of honey containers are sold: 250g, 500g and 1kg, sold at PGK20; PGK40 and PGK60 respectively. The price for beeswax varies and depends on the local buyers' price. The income from these sales are used for various things such as personal needs, children's needs, social, household and other expenses of the business.

7.3.2. Origin and development of the business

PNG Beekeeping Supplies began as Lopi Beekeeping Supplies in 1995 and changed to the current business name in 2008. Under the current business name, this business has been in operation just over ten years. Several factors motivated Tella to establish this this beekeeping business including his interest in honeybee workers during high school; his work experience after high school in the Department of Primary Industry, and a challenge posed by a managing director of a cooperative.

Tella's interest in honeybees began in 1973 and 1974 when he was attending high school at Goroka Secondary School. As a day student walking to school, he used to see honeybee workers and was fascinated by the protective gear these men wore to work with stingy honeybees. When he completed high school in 1976, Ian Mopafi, who is Tella's relative, noted his interest in bees. Ian was working as the national honeybee advisor in Goroka then. So, he recruited Tella to assist him with his work on bees in the Department of Primary Industry. Tella worked there for a few years and during this time he went to Telford Rural Polytechnic, in Balclutha, New Zealand to received further training in beekeeping.

When Ian resigned, Tella applied for the position of national honeybee advisor. He got the job but worked only for six months and left due to lack of government funding. He was employed again as the provincial beekeeping coordinator in Eastern Highlands Province in the early 1980s. He worked in this role for more than two decades. One of his main roles was providing technical advice and training on bee keeping. While working there, Tella also became a board member and a secretary for Highlands Honey Producers, a cooperative that bought raw honey from individual bee farmers, processed and sold bottled honey to local and overseas buyers. He also provided financial advice to the cooperative. However, a minor dispute with the cooperative led him to resign from his secretarial duties and register a new business in beekeeping.

In the early 1990s, a disagreement began between Tella and the managing director of the cooperative about certain funds that were supposed to assist local bee farmers. During a board meeting, the director, who was a European, accused Tella of interfering with the cooperative's operations. He challenged Tella to "stop interfering and go do something if you are good enough. If you want to compete with Highlands Honey Producers, you go ahead and do it" (Tella, 2018, interview). Tella took this challenge and resigned from being the company's board member. Although he still held his job as the provincial beekeeping coordinator in the Department of Primary Industry, the challenge from the cooperative's managing director pushed him to start thinking about doing something for himself.

Tella made contact with Stuart Ecroyd, the owner of Ecroyd Beekeeping Supplies, now Ecrotek Beekeeping Suppliers in New Zealand (Ecrotek Beekeeping Supplies, 2019) whom he met during his beekeeping training in Balclutha. Stuart had years of experience in the beekeeping business, and thus was able to advise and guide Tella who registered Lopi Beekeeping Supplies in 1995. Because Tella still had his formal employment, business remained small.

Then after his nephew Roy James finished high school in 1999, Tella trained and engaged him to construct beekeeping materials and manage the business. Roy used to work as a handyman for Tella before the start of the business, hence he took on the responsibility for constructing and supplying bee boxes as well as manage business. Initially, he constructed bee boxes and frames using one machine and a simple handsaw in a small workshop and supplied them to local bee farmers. It was time-consuming, strenuous and gained less profit and minimum payment. But Roy worked hard and produced beekeeping materials for local farmers for several years. Engaging a relative, who became a faithful worker, kept the small business going until Tella resigned from his formal employment.

Then in 2008, Lopi Beekeeping Supplies was changed to PNG Beekeeping Supplies.
In 2015, Tella left his job and joined Roy to expand PNG Beekeeping Supplies. Two years ago, the business applied for bank loans and purchased new woodwork machines.

> *We never had these machines. There was only one machine and Roy used a handsaw to cut wood to make the boxes. It was very difficult, but he is a very good young man. He tried his best to get things done and kept things going* (Tella, 2018, interview).

As the business slowly grew, three males from the village were employed to work for the business. These men were given hands-on training to work alongside Tella and Roy. The new machines and extra employees have increased production of beekeeping materials. In the last two years, the business has constructed and sold over 2,000 bee boxes and several thousand frames. There is a growing demand for these materials in the Highlands region as more people are getting into honey business. PNG Beekeeping

Supplies continues to produce as well as source other materials from Ecrotek Beekeeping Supplies, New Zealand, to meet this demand.

7.3.3. Current status

In 2018, PNG Beekeeping Supplies completed a large building in the village. This building is used as a warehouse, a storage and a workshop. The business has purchased a generator worth PGK4,000 to be used for powering woodwork machines to construct beekeeping materials as well as provide lighting for the training centre.

PNG Beekeeping Supplies has fully ventured into honey production and sales. Recently a sub-business called Goroka's Finest Pure Organic Honey was registered. This business takes care of honey production. Damaris manages the processing, packing and selling of honey from the home base. Once packed, honey containers are transported and distributed to businesses and individuals that have placed orders. Just as bee boxes and frames are constructed and sold by orders, raw honey is also packaged and sold by orders only at the moment. Goroka's Finest Honey gathers raw honey from different locations. One of the locations is from the family backyard. This is where integration of bees and other plants and crops such as flowers, coffee and orange trees are trialled. The other locations for honey collection are from churchyards. This is where bulk of the honey comes from.

The business had initiated church partnership with a few churches in the Bena Bena area to place honey boxes around the church buildings. This is because it is safe and that is where many flowering plants are usually grown as decoration for churchyards. On each round of honey harvested from a churchyard and sold, 20% of the income is returned to the church. This is a way of giving tithe and supporting churches. During this study's fieldwork, PNG Beekeeping Supplies, through its Goroka's Finest Pure Organic Honey, gave out PGK3,030 to four churches, which was 20% of the total income from just one round of honey harvested and sold. This ongoing partnership is working well for both the business and the churches. Pictured in Figure 14 is Tella (standing on the right) presenting 20% of the income from honey sale to a church representative, at Sinonuga village, Bena Bena area.

Figure 14 A Church Leader Receiving Income from Sales of Honey from Hives at the Churchyard

Source: Author's own fieldwork, 2018.

PNG Beekeeping Supplies is still developing and has plans to rebuild the training facility using permanent materials, to include dormitories and a kitchenette for people travelling from afar. The business is also initiating discussions with the Coffee Industry Corporation to integrate beekeeping and coffee for the corporation's partner coffee farmers in Goroka.

Having access to land as well as acquiring relevant training and work experience in beekeeping were key to the establishment of PNG Beekeeping Supplies. Utilising available human resource from the family has been an important factor that continues to support the business. Developing an entrepreneurial drive and adding side income-generating activities have worked well for PNG Beekeeping Supplies. This business is an example of a successful enterprise that was developed to answer a challenge from a cooperative. Thus, a challenge can become a motivator for developing local businesses based on customary land.

7.3.4. Women at PNG Beekeeping Supplies

PNG Beekeeping Supplies is a successful business also because of support from family members including female relatives. During this study, Tella's wife Damaris Loie, was observed working actively in the business. She manages several business activities including small-scale honey production from their home base, the main business finances and supports Tella to take care of other social obligations and church programmes. Sometimes, daughters Caroline, Nolive and female grandchildren 'give a helping hand' at PNG Beekeeping Supplies but most of their time is spent taking care of household chores and Tella's grandchildren. This gives their mother more flexibility to manage things in the business. Damaris' stories and experiences forms most of the data for females at PNG Beekeeping Supplies in this study (Chapter 9).

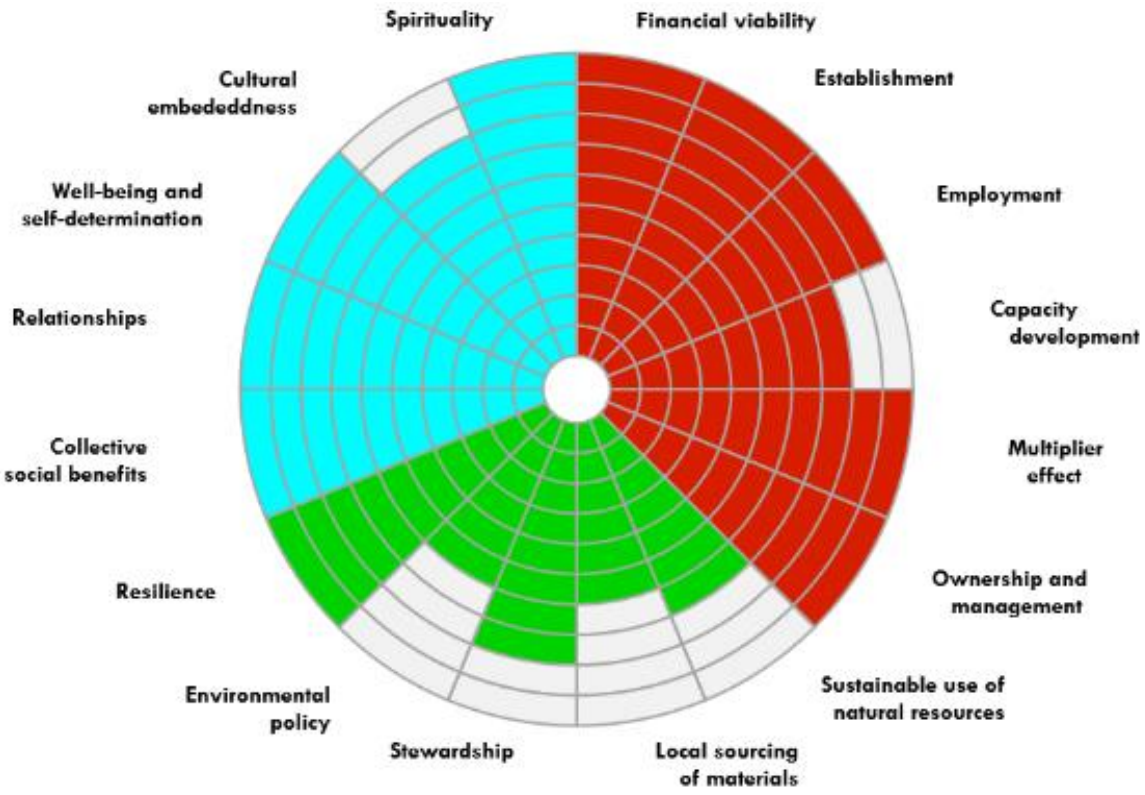
7.3.5 Preliminary findings from phase one

PNG Beekeeping Supplies was selected as a case study upon passing 50% or more of the indigenous business sustainability indicators during the preliminary study. When the circles of sustainability were applied to PNG Beekeeping Supplies, similar results were seen as the previous business. Figure 15 shows the sustainability indicators for PNG Beekeeping which made it eligible as a successful business case study.

PNG Beekeeping Supplies scored highly for almost all the economic and social-cultural indicators. It scored a little lower for capacity building (8) as although the employers and family members had some levels of primary or secondary education, upskilling was not obvious. However, hands-on training with tools and machinery was given on the job thus, most employees 'looked and learnt' while working.

Although the business family is culturally active, PNG Beekeeping Supplies is business-driven in its approach. It also allows Christian beliefs to influence some business decisions as does Blue Corner Farm, thus some behaviours deemed unchristian and detrimental to business are not recognised or tolerated in the business area.

Figure 15 Social-cultural Economic and Environmental Sustainability of PNG Beekeeping Supplies



Source: Author's preliminary fieldwork data, 2018.

For example, community members who attempt to enter the business site seeking assistance while drunk are not tolerated. In spite of that, Tella, his wife and family members were seen to be genuinely interested in community programmes such as church activities. They shared business benefits, knowledge and skills in apiculture (Chapter 8 & Chapter 9) with interested people hence, it had high scores in its social-cultural indicators.

In terms of its environmental sustainability, PNG Beekeeping Supplies had scores of 6 to 10 on each environmental indicator. Like Blue Corner Farm, there was no environmental policy that guided business operations. Materials such as timber and beekeeping equipment were mostly sourced outside of Goroka and PNG. On close observation, an issue was also noticed. Some of the workers were constructing beehives using electric-driven machines without protective equipment, which exposed them to hazards and probable respiratory risks from inhaling sawdust particles. Therefore, it had a score of 6

each for environmental policy and local sourcing of materials. Despite that, there was careful use of resources and environmental management was generally practiced. Scrap pieces of wood were used for fuelwood and sawdust was packed and sold for side income. There was no major pollution nor was there negative physical impact on the environment shared by community members. Therefore, a score of 7 was given to the indicator of sustainable use of resources. Allowing flowering trees, shrubs and bushes that are regarded not useful to grow in addition to flowering plants and pruned fruit trees for bees to make honey, indicated positivity toward stewardship principles. However, proper disposal of old car and machine parts was not obvious thus, a score of 8 was given for stewardship. Finally, despite several challenges (sub-section 7.3.3 & Chapter 8, section 8.5), this business was resilient and had been going for more five years, thus it scored 10 for this indicator.

Considering the above indicators, PNG Beekeeping Supplies was measured as a holistically successful business based on customary land, hence it's engagement in this study.

7.4. Clem's Place

Clement Anton is the owner of Clem's Place, a small tourist surf camp established on Tunnung Island. It a small remote island and is about three hours' boat ride from New Ireland's capital, Kavieng Town. This island is part of a the Tigak island chain located north of New Hanover, New Ireland Province. This family business is established on Clement's inherited land through his mother's lineage. It has been operating for about ten years and is a successful business. The origin and development of the business and business activities is described in the following sub-sections.

7.4.2. Business description

Clem's Place is a tourist destination and many of the guests are international visitors. This business generates income from activities that visiting tourists pay to do. The organised adventure activities provided are surfing, game fishing, snorkelling, diving areas of WWII wrecks, rafting down rivers on the main island, and/or trekking. Most of these activities depend on seasonal changes. For example, surfing is the main activity

that occurs from October through to April when there are high swells on the ocean that create sea waves. If for some reason there are no waves, other activities such as fishing, diving, rafting, snorkelling and trekking are also organised on the side.

The surf camp is established on clan land. According to Clement,

> *The clan owns land. Like this piece of land, it is not really mine but my people understand it as my land so I can do whatever I wish. This is because I make sure they benefit as well so that I gain their support. That is why none of my clan members have actually asked that I compensate, or I should give them rental fee. I try to make them see that what I am doing is beneficial and is a good thing. Having clan support and having access to land is very important for our business here* (Clement, 2018, interview).

Tourists who have paid to stay for some days, usually three or more, lodge at the surf camp. While there, Clem and his male workers including two sons, take them to places where adventures are planned. Most of the activities mentioned above are done on some of the neighbouring islands. Clement involves people from the neighbouring islands. If any of the tourist activities are going to be carried out on their islands and seas, these people are paid as local guides and helpers. For example, rafting is usually done on the mainland, New Hanover, where there are flowing rivers. People on that island are engaged to build bamboo rafts for tourists who wish to drift down the rivers. These local rafters are paid by the business. All year round, tourists come to enjoy these adventurous activities organised by the small tourist business. The current situation with COVID-19 has affected international visitations. Living off the land, the sea and engaging in other livelihood activities has sustained Clem's family and community at Tunnung.

While Clement and boys take tourists out for adventures, female family members clean the bungalows and cook for the guests. If more assistance is required, Clem's Place engages local women, usually family members, who assist and in turn get paid.

A side activity that Clement's son, Robin has introduced is cycling. He organises cycling to generate side income. If tourists are keen to cycle down Boluminski Highway, he takes

them to Kavieng town in New Ireland and escorts them to cycle from Kavieng to Namatanai and back. This usually takes a couple of days.

Apart from offering adventurous activities for independent tourists, Clem's Place is also a spot where super yachts or cruise ships bring tourists on short visits/stopovers. These cruise ships stop by Tunnung Island annually. Clement, being an ex-dive instructor and a crew member on cruise ships, has built a long-lasting relationship with cruise operators. Whenever a cruise ship is to pass by Tunnung, Clement is informed of the date of stopover. To prepare for the visitors he and family would organise young people from neighbouring islands to practice and prepare several traditional dances. Each year, a different island group is engaged to perform traditional dances. On the morning of the day for super yachts or cruise ships stopovers, these dancers would travel by boat to Tunnung Island and wait for the visitors.

While the dancers rehearse, people on Tunnung also prepare artisan jewellery to sell to the tourists. Clement and family allow these to happen in the common building of the surf camp. Those who have made jewellery would come and display their handmade ornaments at surf camp hall while waiting for the tourist ship to arrive. Once on shore, Clement or his boys usually take the guests to the village to watch the local dancers. After that, they are shown the jewellery on display. Usually, these tourists purchase most of it. That is how Clem's Place creates opportunities for villagers to generate income, as well as for exchange to occur between the local community and the outside world.

Apart from connecting locals to visiting tourists and creating opportunities for income generation through dancing and selling jewellery, the business organises with super yacht operators to provide other services to the neighbouring islands. Schoolbooks and water tanks for schools, second-hand clothes and grille antifungal medication are some of the things that Clement has organised to bring in for the locals. Thus, cruise ship visits have been significant for remote islands like Tunnung and its neighbours. This is all due to Clem's Place acting as a conduit for community development.

The above tourist activities that Clem's Place organises each month, generates over PGK100,000 annually making it an economically successful local business. The business began very small and has now developed to a manageable capacity of accommodating more than eight people per week. It began from a dream that Clement had as well as from other factors. Some of these are negative situations or challenges that motivated the business owner to do something for himself and his community.

7.4.3. Origin and development of the business

The establishment of Clem's surf camp began after Clement left work as a dive instructor on cruise ships in 2005. His first job as a ship crew began when a ship operator called Clement on board and offered him a job as deck hand, when he and village guys paddled up to the ship to watch tourist divers. That was in the late 1990s and it was the start of Clement's journey into the tourism industry. While working on board a cruise ship, he began courses on diving and received a master diver certificate. He worked as a dive master both on and off ships. When he left his job, he had the knowledge, skills and experience necessary to start a tourist business.

A year before he left his job, Clement was already negotiating with people who could assist him with some funds to start a business. One person he contacted, who has been his friend since school days, was Sir Ian Ling Stuckey, the governor of New Ireland Province at the time. When Ian understood what Clement and family planned to do, he donated a small fund in 2004. Clement left his job the next year and together with family and community members, began clearing the surf camp area and built small bungalows. In 2006, they completed building two bungalows. Having these bungalows in place as well two small fishing boats, Clem's Place began operation. The first guests arrived on Tunnung Island in 2008 and since then; this small local business has been receiving many international tourists each month.

Over the years, Clem's Place has developed to a good standard with all necessities provided. The bungalows increased from two to six. A common dining-relaxation centre was built in the centre of the surf camp. This is where guests relax and have their meals cooked and served. A small bar is also housed inside the centre where cold drinks are

stored and served. Additionally, the business has installed a solar energy system that powers the lighting system and other electrical needs of the business.

Clem's Place has also bought a speedboat to replace one of the fishing boats that was destroyed in a destructive tidal wave that swept across islands on the eastern part of PNG in 2008. This means of transport has been crucial in the operation of the business as well as for family and community use. It is used to transport guests from Kavieng town or to different locations for organised activities as well as for transporting logs and timber for building local people's houses or for shopping trips to Kavieng town. Having extra bungalows, the solar energy system, a common hall with kitchenette and two sea transports has maintained the flow of business.

There were several reasons for the establishment of Clem's Place on Tunnung Island. One of the main reasons was that Clement had work experience and skills that were useful to start a surf getaway. His work on cruise ships as deck hand and dive master enabled him to understand the activities and things that attracted tourists. His skills and work experience made it possible for Clement to understand what activities to offer to the tourism industry in New Ireland Province.

The other reason for starting up Clem's Place was to stay close to his young family. When he worked on ships, Clement travelled throughout PNG and other Pacific island countries where cruise ships sailed. He was usually away to assist tourist ships with customs clearance at main seaports or on tourist boats and ships as a local contact between international visitors and villages on other island provinces like Manus, Milne Bay and Autonomous Region of Bougainville. Clement was the contact person if customs PNG need to verify a foreign boat's entrance into PNG waters. That took him to Port Moresby to get these things sorted. For over eighteen years, Clement worked on and off, from one cruise ship to another and visited his family in the village only when he could. In 2005, he left his job when he became aware of his wife's struggle to raise their three young children on her own. He also realised that he was spending too much time away from home and family and felt bad that he was living luxuriously on ships while his young family lived poorly in the village.

> *I felt guilty that I was on the boat eating good food and living with all these Westerners and sleeping properly, eating very nice food and seeing the world* (Clement, 2018, interview).

This led him to leave his job and come home.

Working for others for the rest of his life was not an ideal choice for an islander. Clement wanted to do something for himself and family, which would allow them to live together, do business on their own terms and live their usual laidback island life. With the little money he made from working on the ships and a small grant from the New Ireland governor, he bought a chainsaw in 2005. Using this, Clement, his sons and workers cut down logs and timber and started building the surf camp. The establishment of the surf getaway has kept Clement close to his family and has allowed them to live relaxed lifestyle and contribute to community projects since 2008.

The other motive for establishing Clem's Place was to prove a point that local tourist business is possible. Using a challenge posed by a foreign tourist operator in Kavieng as 'advice', Clement built this surf camp in his village.

> *This person said, 'Clem, why would you want to build a resort on a remote island? Why would people go out to Lavongai, sit on a boat for three long hours when they can just hop on a boat and go across to Nusa Island which is just two minutes away? If snorkelling is what you want to offer, people can just snorkel here. They do not need to sit on a boat for three hours to go and snorkel at your place. If they want to surf, they can surf here also. Less cost, less travelling time. If you are going to do something out of Lavongai, you have to create something that is different that tourist operators here are not offering. You have to create something that will pull people and make them go that far'. I used that challenge to build this place. And yes, it is different. It is about people coming and meeting the local community. That is the main thing. That is what I created because they told me you have to create something different* (Clement, 2018, interview).

In this regard, Clem's Place developed from using a challenge as motivation and capitalising on tourist demand for pristine island experiences in New Ireland.

Fulfilling community responsibility and obligation was another main reason for the establishment of Clem's Place. When he was still at high school, being one of the very

few from his island to attend, his people were hopeful that Clement would be the channel of development for their community. They had hopes that after completion of his education he would have a good job, be paid, and using that would create avenues to bring electricity, clean drinking water and build permanent houses for them. However, he did not complete his education and left school while doing year nine. Clement was a rejected student from both Port Moresby and Kavieng high schools back in the 1980s. Due to behavioural problems, he did not complete high school. He was removed from schools. The school system did not see any good in a problematic youth. Clement returned to his island. He spent most of his youth years living in the village assisting family. He was married early and lived in the village.

However, the guilt that he had failed his people, hoping to change his people's view of him and to prove that nine years of education was enough, became internal driving forces that motivated Clement to dream things. He started thinking about doing something for himself and his community. The way to do that was to build a business that he knows very well while working on ships and travelling to different tourist destinations. This negative life experience became a motivating factor for Clem's Place. This is an example of a person who, seen as failure from a Western education perspective, needed to prove that he could do something positive for himself and for his community. He only needed to plan, have an exposure to the outside work, be determined and have a support network both from within and outside his village. Using these, Clement turned a negative start to life into building a successful small business that is now fulfilling the hopes of not only his family but also his community.

> *After I came out of school, I realised that I have to change this fate. I have to change how people see me. So, I set out to do that. I built Clem's Place to show people that even nine years of education is enough for you to be someone in this world. And the other reason was because of my family. When I used to come back here on school holidays, my relatives, used to greet me with a cup of tea and would say to me, 'Clem, here drink your tea and go and get an education and come help us'. When I was thrown out of school, those voices came back. I thought, 'man, I'm a failure. I have failed my family. I have failed my community. They have been expecting me to go and be someone and now I have been thrown out of school.'*

> *So, my life and the things I do is driven by guilt, need to fulfil these obligations and challenges here. What my people said I should do became the driving force, my motivation. That is why I helped built those permanent houses* (Clement, 2018, interview).

The reasons outlined above point to the fact that starting up a business by a local Papua New Guinean depends on multiple factors. Profit is not always the reason for doing business. Personal edification as well as family and community needs were paramount in the motivation for developing Clem's Place. According to the business owner, putting money and effort into helping family and the community is the essence of living, thus income and resources from the business such as the chainsaw and boat are used to assist relatives and surrounding communities. Among the Tigak group of small islands in New Hanover, Tunnung is the only island that has better housing structures, access to clean rainwater, environment and other things such as built up road system that runs through the island. The well-being of the community is always a priority at Clem's Place. Having achieved these developments on Tunnung, there is no plan to expand the business.

7.4.4. Current status

Although there is continual flow of international tourists to Clem's Place, it continues to remain small. There is no plan to expand the business for several reasons. Guests who have visited the surf camp have advised Clement to keep it small. Expanding and bringing in many tourists will put pressure on the limited human resources of the business and on other resources on the island. It will also mean Clement and family will become 'slaves to their business' that they will have less family time and less time for community projects and programmes. Working under pressure is foreign to the island lifestyle. Expansions may also bring negative changes to village ways of life, which is not ideal for the small number of local people living on Tunnung. Operating small means having things under control and keeping things "in balance," (Clement, 2018, interview).

> *I am not going to expand the business because Clem's Place is about experience. It is a place where people come, and they connect with the different way of living life here. Now, I am enjoying what I am doing. I think if the business expands, I am not going to enjoy it. I am going to be a slave to the business. I think for me keeping it small is good. I have the right balance where I have time to be with my family, I have time to enjoy my life and there is enough money to put food on the table, pay*

> *the bills, send kids to school and do a bit of community things. I think that is enough* (Clement, 2018, interview).

As long as their basic needs are met, it is envisaged this business will remain small.

7.4.5. Women at Clem's Place surf getaway

This family business, like the previous male-owned businesses, is also co-managed by female family members. During fieldwork in this business, three female members were observed actively doing various things to support Clem's Place. Clement's wife Mrs Sophie Anton co-manages the surf camp, and daughter Dana and niece Rosella assist Sophie with guest needs such as bungalow preparation, kitchen chores, general cleanliness and other social activities such as organising sports for youths, leading in church activities and community cleaning initiatives that their parents engage them to do. Part of the data in Chapter 9 is from these women's experiences, particularly Sophie's work at Clem's Place.

7.4.1. Preliminary findings

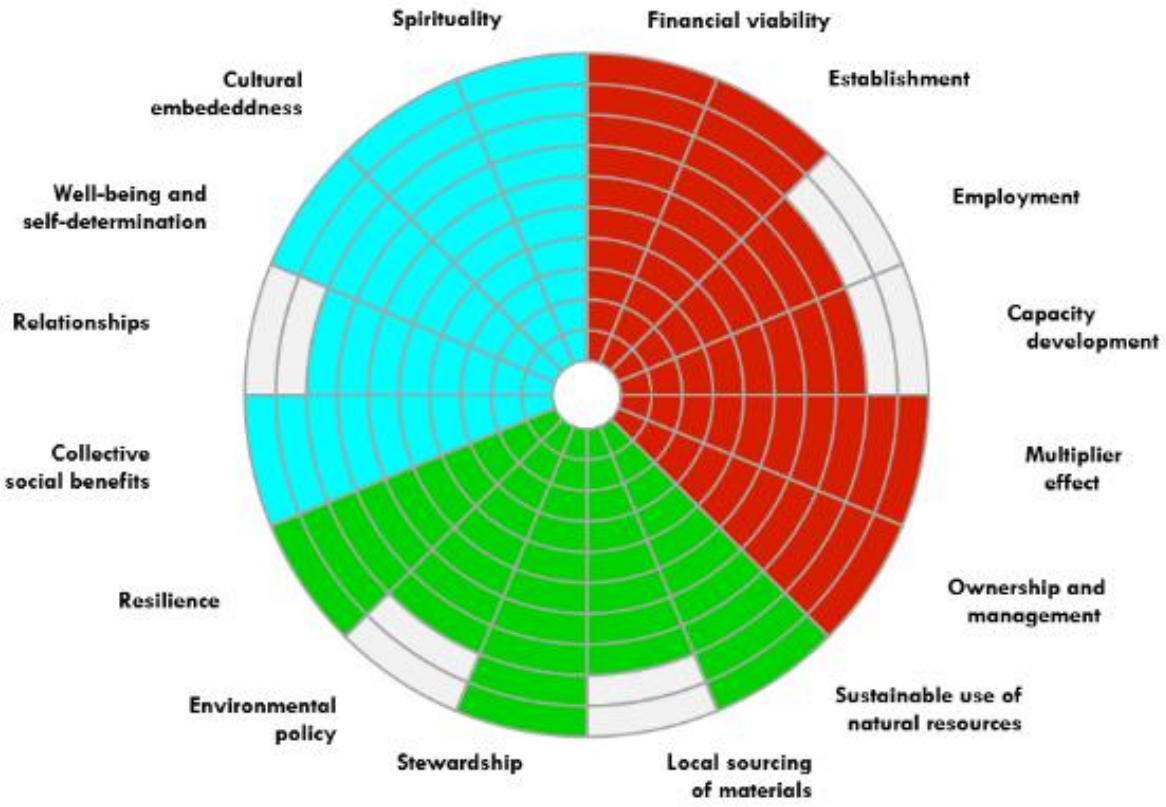
Clem's Place was not part of the preliminary fieldwork in March 2018 but was identified during the main fieldwork in November 2019. The same process used to measure the sustainability of the first two cases was applied to Clem's Place. It also scored well on the sustainability indicators as seen in Figure 16, so it could be included in this study.

This business scored very highly on two thirds of its economic indicators. Employment and capacity building each had scores of 8 because employment was seasonal, and most employees only looked and learned rather than receiving formal training. It was not obvious if there were plans for capacity building. Clem's Place depends largely on tourist arrivals therefore, family members, villagers and people from neighbouring islands are employed only when the need arises. Additionally, a few family members were given opportunities for capacity building.

For environmental indicators, Clem's Place generally scored well. Most building materials were sourced from the nearby main island, New Hanover, to build bungalows

and the central hall for dining and socialising. Other materials such as corrugated roofing iron for guest huts, bedding and kitchenware were imported materials.

Figure 16 Social-cultural, Economic and Environmental Sustainability of Clem's Place



Source: Author's own fieldwork, 2018.

Additionally, there was no environmental policy that guided its operation. Most rubbish from the surf camp was burnt. Despite that, the natural environment was very well maintained. Clement and family led in community cleanliness and beatification. The business scored 8 each in local sourcing of materials and environmental policy.

In terms of its social-cultural indicators, Clem's Place scored very well except for a slightly lower score in relationships. Clement and family maintained positive relationships with the community. It was observed during the fieldwork that there were in-house disagreements from time to time especially between a son and Clement. This particular son often complained of overwork usually to his mother. At one stage, he confided in the researcher of his interests for further studies but matters of Clem's Place keep getting in the away. At that time, this was interpreted as negative in-house

relationships, hence, the score of 8. Generally, Clem's Place has done very well not only as a business but also as part of the small island community on Tunnung Island, thus its inclusion in this study.

7.5. Summary

This chapter has introduced each case study business with descriptions of business activities and how each business began. The longest existing business Blue Corner Farm Ltd (section 7.2) began with selling eggs and has diversified into other forms of business activities on customary land for forty years. Similarly, PNG beekeeping Supplies (section 7.3), being in existence for the last ten years, has increased its presence in apiculture through its training programmes, material and honey production both in Goroka and the wider Highlands region. Engaging a loyal relative who kept up the production of beehives when it began as Lopi Beekeeping Supplies, has been advantageous for PNG Beekeeping Supplies. Clem's Place surf getaway (section 7.4) on the other hand, has established a niche tourist product – a remote village experience. For more than ten years, this remote tourist business has connected the people of Tunnung Island and the small neighbouring islands to the outside world.

Several points can be concluded from the introduction of the case study businesses. Having access to customary land, whether through their father or mother's lineage, enabled each business owner to establish their businesses. Land was easily available through inheritance and developing it, or cultural processes were observed, for example doing *kastom* (for Clem's Place business) to maintain ownership and usage of it. Customary land has sustained each business, provided employment for local people and continues to support family members and the wider community. Additionally, previous work experience and outside exposure expanded the business owners' knowledge and skills in developing businesses using locally available resources. Having intrinsic entrepreneurial drive is also another key factor that motivated the entrepreneurs to face challenges, leave formal jobs and establish successful businesses. Finally, a good source of human resources, whether family, friends or loyal workers and women's social

and cultural roles continue to be an important element that supports the case study businesses.

CHAPTER 8: COMPONENTS OF SUCCESSFUL INDIGENOUS BUSINESSES ON CUSTOMARY LAND

8.1. Introduction

In examining women's involvement in and benefits they gain from economic enterprises on customary land in PNG, one of the broader objectives of this study was to identify and explain components of successful businesses based on customary land. The main research question that guided data collection to address this objective was, what are the key ingredients for success of businesses based on customary land?

To answer this question, this study involved case studies of three successful indigenous businesses utilising the Pacific *Vanua* research framework and a mixture of *stori* sessions, participation, observation and research notes as explained in Chapter 6. Using the data generated through these methods, three main themes were distilled as the main components for successful businesses on customary land. These include having access to customary land (section 8.2), maintaining wellbeing within businesses (section 8.3) and the personal qualities and characteristics of a Pacific entrepreneur (section 8.4). Under section 8.3, a series of sub-themes are identified and presented including having Christian values and beliefs, care for families and relatives, and contributions to social obligations and community programmes. In Chapter 9, the role of women in these businesses is examined specifically, investigating how women's role in maintaining social wellbeing within the businesses works and contributes to these successes.

Access to customary land was identified as the primary component required for successful indigenous businesses in the case studies, therefore this study was carried out on indigenous economic engagements based on customary land.

8.2. Access to Customary Land

The three case study businesses involved in this research were established on customary land. Whether land was passed on through paternal, maternal lines[6] or other means, having access to land was seen as a guarantee of business success. According to the business owners interviewed, using customary land was cost-effective and allowed a range of business and social activities to occur. Business owners with rights to this land had the liberty to engage in productive use of their family/clan land.

According to Blue Corner Farm business owner Steven, he inherited land from his father Pupune. When Steven was old enough to begin a separate life, his father allocated a large portion of land, about 17 hectares, at Blue Corner upon his request in the late 1970s.

> *This is my father's land and it used to be our family garden. I told my dad to come build my house here at Blue Corner and he built it for me when I was a young man, and just finished high school* (Steven, 2018, interview).

Steven has since used the land at Blue Corner for a range of business activities (Chapter 7, section 7.2) contributing to its' success over the last four decades. In his words, "It's all thanks to the land. I am in that situation where I am no longer working for money. Money is working for me" (Steven, 2018, interview). The main factor for his success is having access to customary land.

In the second case study, PNG Beekeeping Supplies, the main business activities occur on Tella's customary land. According to Tella, his business is based on what used to be his father's land. He was left with a piece of land in the peripheries of Kenemaro village to build his home.

> *My brothers and sisters got the best pieces of land that our father had left for us. Because I was working and living outside of the village, my brothers and sisters took all the good lands. So, I was left with a small piece of land in this corner [village peripheries] to build my house. This*

[6]Among various access and use rights in PNG, the two main systems that guide property and land use rights are the patrilineal (through father's line) and matrilineal (through mother's line) systems. The first is most common in the mainland especially in most parts of the highlands region and small parts of the Autonomous Region of Bougainville while the latter is practiced mainly in Milne Bay, in the islands and most parts of Bougainville (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008, p.81).

> *is now my land and I can do what I want, like doing business* (Tella, 2018, interview).

After leaving formal employment in 2008, Tella has since developed this piece of land into a home and a business location for beekeeping materials and honey production. Like Steven, Tella and his family engage in a range of business activities that mostly occur on customary land (Chapter 7, section 7.3). Thus, access to rent-free land has been important for PNG Beekeeping Supplies' growth.

The third case study, Clem's Place, is also successful largely due to access to customary land. The surf camp is established on Clement's mother's share of land:

> *The land here belongs to the Eagle clan, the clan that owns this island. My mother is the member of this clan and that [automatically] makes me a member of this clan. Small portions of land are awarded to each member of the clan. This portion of land used to belong to my mother. It used to be covered in bush, but I cleaned it and claimed it. It is my mother's anyway, so it is mine now. My sister accepted it as my piece of block. In New Hanover, Lavongai and Kavieng [New Ireland Province], it is a matrilineal system and land gets passed on from matrilineal line. Therefore, I inherited this land from my mother… Land is very valuable in PNG. You cannot do anything without land. I believe that to run a successful business in PNG, you must have land* (Clement, 2018, interview).

As with Blue Corner and PNG Beekeeping Supplies, accessing and using customary land has supported Clem's Place for more than ten years. Bungalows are built on this land, which provide lodging for international tourists who come for adventurous activities and typically stay for a minimum of three days (Chapter 7, section 7.4.2).

The manager of Jabez Business Incubation Centre who is also the president for *Sista Helpim Sista Asosiasen* (Sister Helping Sister Association) in Goroka shared an important perspective about doing business on customary land that is noteworthy:

> *It is good to do business on customary land because it cuts many unnecessary costs, like rentals and all kinds of bills. Customary land enables us to do business because it reduces cost of production so it's cost-effective. Oh, and we are not beggars. This is the land of our ancestors. We are developers and we understand challenges we face. Our land is our life and an important asset. As long as we have our land, our food is coming* (Linda, 2018, interview).

A significant point in this finding is that for the three case studies, doing *bisnis* on customary land helps support each business owner's claim to land especially in a context where clan and family groups own customary land. Having access to land is not very effective unless it is used productively over the years. Thus, in the PNG context working the land and making it not only economically productive but also socially and culturally beneficial for families, clans and communities is important as it reinforces that access and claim to clan/family lands.

8.2.1. Conceptions and social connections to customary land

Another important finding, closely related to access to land, are the perceptions and social connections that the case study business owners had toward land. The findings confirmed important conceptions had toward land. The notion that 'land is life' was strong in the conversations and their actions, which endorse points raised by Dove et al. (1974) in support of customary land forty years ago and share similar sentiments such as "…earth [land] is our mother and it can help us stay strong" (Thomas & Kauli, 2015, p. 20). The recognition and respect given to land and the way business was carried out stemmed from conceptualising 'land as life'. For example, according to Steven:

> *Yes, land is very important to us…If you cannot find the balance between doing businesses and keeping your land, then that is not good development. Learn to respect that land belong to us and forever must be ours…We must not forgo our land but look after it. Our land must always be there…Because it has sustained our people. We are the offspring of our people who lived for many generations. The land sustained them. If you take money out [without money], we can live on the land. So, you see land is my life* (Steven, 2018, interview).

Others conceived land as a sentient being or human mother and when it is respected and used appropriately it gives more in return.

> *We have to have that special connection with the land, the water the environment and everything that we live in. Our relationship with our land is important as well. We have to love and take care of it…**Graun em man. Yu lukautim em, em ba lutautim yu [Land is a being]. If you take care of it; it will provide for you]** [emphasis added]. So, we must appreciate and respect our land. In return, it will respect us and give us food and everything we need. **The land is our mother. When we respect it, she will give us what we need** [emphasis added]. That is why you*

> *see, Papa [Steven] loves working on the land and the land has given him a lot* (Margaret, 2018, interview*).*

Another perception is that land acts as security for people living in the villages. This perception cements people's attachment to land and influences how business owners carry out economic activities on their lands. For example, according to Tella,

> *My land is important, and it is my security. When I have land, I am secured. It is my life. I will not be that keen to sell [give away] my land. For expansion of the towns and cities, yes, the government may need to use land to expand. However, for people in the villages and communities, land is our life and will not give it away easily. We can go to the extent of fighting for it. People lose their lives fighting over land. That is how important land is to us, so we respect and look after our land* (Tella, 2018, interview).

These practices and perceptions, to some extent, have guided and supported the beekeeping business.

In a related sense, others expressed how land is perceived as important and deserve taking care of. Clement for example, stated that:

> *Land is very important in PNG. You cannot do anything without land. To run a successful business in PNG, you must have land…We have to respect our land because it is important. On our island here, if you walk from here to the other side, you will see that everything is clean, and the trees are intact. I tell people not to cut down trees but only clear bushes and shrubs beside the road. So, you can see some of the things we are doing to keep our environment intact and clean. In that way, we are taking care of our land* (Clement, 2018, interview).

This is how Clement's business views and respects land on the small island of Tunnung. In turn, this has gained respect for Clem's Place and the community from visiting tourists and neighbouring islands, indirectly contributing to the positive outlook and 'good name' the business has established.

The interviews presented here have shown that land is an essential asset and livelihood enabler that business-owning families can have in order to build a successful business. Further, doing business on 'free land' has been cost-effective for local businesspersons. Using their own land to do business also meant that the case study business families stay close to home and use free food from their gardens and ocean to feed their families and contribute to community obligations. In this sense, they helped save business

income so it could be reinvested in the business or serve other needs, unlike businesses that operate on leased lands or exist in suburban areas, where constant rentals are made, and household needs are paid on a daily basis. Additionally, the case study examples have shown that establishing a business on customary land and treating it with respect results in meaningful economic development for the case study households and their communities. Thus, the connection case business owner have with land and their people is an important component in the success of the businesses.

8.3. Contributions to Social and Community Wellbeing

Another significant theme deduced from observations and interviews is the focus on the maintenance of social wellbeing within each case study business. This refers to the positive relationships, connections and social values that business owners nurtured within each of their businesses, families and communities. This is a key theme alongside access to land that has contributed significantly to the establishment and continued operation of the case study businesses. When businesses kept close social connections, supported community activities and took care of social obligations and responsibilities, they gained widespread community support in various ways. Also, personal spiritual relationships and acknowledging God as the source of their successes kept business owners focussed and grounded. This influenced the way they behaved and acted, such as helping, sharing and caring in their communities and in doing so, they distributed some of the benefits of their businesses to people in need in their communities. Thus, business owners displayed significant social values that kept up the operation and wellbeing of the businesses. This link between wellbeing and success took a variety of forms and each is presented as a sub-section here.

8.3.1. "God is the source of our success": Christian ethos and values

Firstly, a significant finding that ran through all the case studies and one that supported the social wellbeing of the businesses was the owners' Christian ethos, values and beliefs that guided their conduct and actions within their businesses.

The establishment and development of Blue Corner Farm Ltd is based on Christian beliefs. The Blue Corner family strongly believe their success is in their connection to

God, which appears to be a significant factor in the business. During informal, friendly encounters with Steven's daughters Anita and Paula, they often gave credit to God for their father's business success. On many occasions, Anita talked about how God has led her family. During field visits, Steven often made references to the time when he was a child and his father dedicating him to the Christian faith. He kept making connection between business success and his Christianity:

> *My success, I believe comes from God. I was dedicated to God when I was a small child of about four or five years old. There was a time when white missionaries were baptizing new Christians. I remember sitting on my father's shoulders. He stepped in line with those who were going to be baptised. When his turn came, he told the missionary in front of everyone, 'I used to hear you people say, 'give every first fruit of your produce to God.' This is my first-born son and I want to give him to God.' Right there, the missionary prayed and dedicated me to God. Since then, I grew up believing in God and never smoke, drink alcohol or chew betel nut. I kept away from such things. And so, I believe that many of my successes come from my belief in God. That is why God has blessed me with all these things* (Steven, 2018, interview).

These spiritual perceptions continue to influence Steven's dealings with his family members, workers and people in need in his community. For the family, their Christian beliefs, spiritual connection and recognition of God is largely responsible for the success of Blue Corner Farm Ltd.

The same spiritual perceptions influence PNG Beekeeping Supplies. During fieldwork observation and conversations, Tella and Damaris would often stress the point that everything they have and own is from God. Below are examples of conversations that pertain to God as the source of success at PNG Beekeeping Supplies:

> *The important thing we must know first is that God is the source of our success. Everything we own here is a blessing from God. Our efforts are nothing without God's intervention and blessings. That is a fact. I can do this and that and be successful, but it is not me. God gives all these. I recognise that every day. So, I have to give my tithe to recognise His faithfulness. That is why we have a church partnership with four churches in this part of Bena Bena. We have honey boxes placed in the churchyards. Each time we harvest honey from a churchyard and sell, 20% of the sales is given to that church. That is how we thank God for blessing us* (Tella, 2018, interview).

Because of their Christian belief, the church has become a strong part of the business for Tella and Damaris. The couple continue to play important roles in their village church. For example, in consultation with the church pastor, they committed PGK10,000 and used business resources such as the truck, cement mixer, generator, woodcutter and other materials to build a community library in the churchyard. Pictured in the background of Figure 17 is the newly built community's church library that Tella initiated.

Figure 17 Community Members Decorating the New Community Library area in Preparation for the Opening

Source: https://www.facebook.com/honeyman.tella/photos_all

They envisage this library will serve their village and the surrounding communities and churches. This is one of many examples of affirming their spiritual relationship and acknowledgement that God is the source of their success. From observation and in listening to the daily conversations at PNG Beekeeping Supplies, God is always recognised as the source of success.

Furthermore, Tella's workers and family brand him as a 'hard man', for example, if things are not done as instructed, "he gets on them," (Damaris, 2019, interview). However, on close observation, he seems to be empathetic toward those who need his assistance. Most times, his Christian values and beliefs influenced his business conduct. For example, he allows the business car to transport sick persons from the village to hospital or transports water from Goroka town to the village during dry seasons. In producing beekeeping materials for business, he makes sure bee boxes are made to meet quality standards and sold at affordable prices for customers. The usual price of a single box is over PGK700 but Tella sells each complete box for only PGK425. Damaris also packs and sells honey bottles at very low prices.

> *We must be honest in the quality of our products. We cannot sell roughly made boxes and sell them at a raised price. If we do, we are stealing from the poor village farmers and that is not a good way of doing business. These people are struggling like us to make money. So, we must help them by producing durable boxes and sell them at affordable prices. Someone told me, 'Tella, are you providing charity or are you doing business? You are selling quality boxes on a very low price.' I told that person, 'It is not about money. My aim is to help poor village farmers. I want them to also engage in honey business and at least make money to support themselves.' I do not want to be greedy. I will not get anywhere if I lie to people and steal from them. Also, mama and I agreed to sell her honey bottles on low prices. It is less likely that you will find a 250g honey bottle selling for PGK20, a 500g bottle for PGK40 or a 1kg bottle for PGK60. We keep the prices low so our customers can afford it and enjoy our local honey. The bees are doing the hard work anyway. So, we should not steal from our fellow men* (Tella, 2018, interview).

Thus, both Tella and Damaris draw on a Christian principle of honesty and empathy that guides their business conduct, which is similar to success factors in Islamic family businesses (Dewi & Wawan, 2012) where honesty, charity, good intention and positive thinking are key values that influence business actions and resulting in business success. This seems to be an important reason (along with known quality and value) for the constant flow of orders for bee boxes and honey bottles within both Eastern Highlands Province and other parts of PNG including the Autonomous Region of Bougainville and Port Moresby. Maintaining a strong relationship with God and allowing personal Christian values and beliefs to influence business at PNG Beekeeping supplies have been important factors that have supported the business to grow.

At Clem's Place, Clement also recognises that the start of his successful surf business began with him allowing God to change his bad habits and behaviours. He was a rejected student and never completed formal education in high school due to what he described as attitude problems. He dropped out of school, became a villager and engaged in unhealthy habits such as drinking alcohol, smoking drugs, chewing betel nut and other harmful social habits. According to Clement, those bad habits changed when he gave his life to God some years back. That change led to the start of his employment, which in turn led to the establishment of a successful tourism business on his small, remote island.

> *I dropped out of school when I was in grade nine. I was not a good kid because I grew up on the streets of Port Moresby and learnt all the bad things that many youths get involved in. I got into so much trouble that the schools could not accept me anymore. When I came to Kavieng, I did not change my attitude. The police escorted me out of the school because I attempted to burn the school buildings. So, I came home and stayed in the village.*
> *It gave me a time to reflect on my life and I used to think, 'Man, my whole life is going to be wasted. I should have listened to my teachers, to my parents and to the people who were telling me to change. Now, I am in the village. This is my fate. I'm going to be a villager.' After being in the village for a long time, I told myself, 'I've to change my fate somehow. At least, I have outside exposure and that makes me different from the village boys here. I grew up in the city, went to school in Port Moresby for nine years and I have been to Australia during school holidays. I have seen the world. There is so much going on in the world and here I am in the village just like another normal village person who has not gone to school. I have to do something with my life and change.' So, on a Christmas, we went to church. When the catechist got up to lead the worship, I just sat there with my head bowed down and I said [prayed], 'I want to stop drinking. I want to stop smoking marijuana. I want to stop being a bad person. When New Year comes, I want to be a new man.' So that is what happened. I made a New Year resolution. I stopped chewing betel, smoking and became a changed person.*
>
> *A few months later that year, a ship sailed by. I was there with other village guys paddling canoes and watching the big ship. The captain looked at me and singled me out. He asked me to get on board because according to him, I was the first person with white teeth he has seen in his travels around the islands in PNG. He asked if I was in school but learnt that I was not and asked me to join him on the ship. He needed a local person on board who could speak both Tok Pisin and English. I accepted the offer and we went to Manus Province on my first trip. That was the start of my journey on different ships. The skills and experiences*

> *I gained on the ships motivated me to establish this surf camp* (Clement, 2018, interview).

From this excerpt, it could be said that the skills and experiences Clement gained from working on ships may have motivated him to establish a successful business. However, it is obvious from his story that the initial decision he made to leave unhealthy habits behind and ask God to help him change, was instrumental in the beginning of his success story. Because he stopped those bad habits, his appearance improved and was so appealing that the ship captain singled him out among other males who were paddling around the ship at that time. Or it may have been mere coincidence that he was called to work on a ship. Whatever it was, it is obvious from Clement's story that events occurred that totally changed him from being a problematic, rejected young man to a successful businessperson. In this case, he believes only God can intervene and change people's fate, therefore, the success of Clem's Place is partly dependent on an answered prayer for a personal change.

Another common thing observed in the case studies that is related to the above was daily *lotu* [worship – Bible study and/or prayers] individuals performed privately at home and in their businesses. This was a normal routine for the individuals – the wives, the business owners or workers – that was performed in the confines of their homes and sometimes around the business areas. Most of the prayers heard were acknowledgment of and being thankful for blessings that God continues to bestow on the family and their businesses. On several occasions, just before personal and business-related travels on boat or by car, prayers of protection and blessings were rendered. Upon inquiry, most expressed that what they do and achieve depends on God and it is only appropriate to thank Him for all things He gives as well as ask for His protection from accidents.

From the above stories and perceptions, it is clear that a component of the success of the case study businesses is recognising God as the source of everything. *Lotu* and prayer seem to be key factors in keeping business families not only organised, focused and grounded in their Christian faith but also results in positively influencing their actions and behaviours within the businesses.

8.3.2. "They are our eyes, hands and legs": care for workers and relatives

Another key finding was the concerned care for workers and relatives within the three case studies. All three businesses sought to make sure those related to the business, either as workers, relatives or community members were supported. This reciprocity system of support continues to sustain business activities and contributes to each business' success.

At Blue Corner Farm Ltd, support for workers' welfare appears paramount. Unlike many conventional business owners, Steven has allocated land for workers' residences, food gardens and a church. A church building, semi-permanent houses and food gardens are developed in the peripheries of the coffee plantation. Additionally, Steven also provided water supply for his workers and continues to sponsor workers' children to school.

> *We help with schools fees. That is an important thing Papa [Steven] does every year. We do many things to support our workers. Business has become part of them, and they are part of the Blue Corner family* (Margaret, 2018, interview).

Further, Steven, if not his family members are always present at any important life events for their workers, such as graduations, births or at traditional social gathering such as bride price and funerals. On one occasion during fieldwork, farm work stopped because it was graduation day for a worker's son and everyone including Steven and Margaret were involved in preparing *mumu* [umu, stone oven] and a feast to celebrate the young man's achievement. The picture below is not related to that particular event, but it is used to show one of the many food preparations for life events that Blue Corner Farm hosts.

Figure 18 Food Prepared for Students Returning to School, Blue Corner Farm

Source: Margaret Pupune. Steven is seen here with the youngest daughter helping to keep flies away from pig meat cooked in a stone oven (*mumu/umu*).

These are some examples of the various ways that Steven uses income from his business to support workers apart from paying their wages. Because of such positive treatment, the workers regard themselves as Steven's family members and live where he has allowed them. During fieldwork, older workers were heard calling Steven 'Papa' and Margaret 'mama', terms of respect in PNG. Most of the workers are two or three generations of migrants who were born and raised in the Blue Corner Farm area.

Some of the workers gave reasons for their long-term support for Steven. They have been with Blue Corner Farm since they were children and they will continue to do so

because Steven takes care of them well. An excerpt of a personal conversation with some workers at Blue Corner farm confirmed Steven's support for them,

> *Some of us have been here since we were young. Our fathers were working for Papa [Steven] and we were born here. We feel like this is our home. Papa is our family. For example, when he makes mumu [umu], he always calls us to eat with him. He is a 'hard man' [stern] but he is a very good man. Mama also. The previous mama and yes, this mama too. They have supported us with many things. I cannot count how many times they have helped us. We will not go anywhere and look for jobs. We are happy here. Papa has been supporting our schoolchildren too. Some of them are in high schools and colleges now* (Workers, 2018, interview).

Sometimes Steven's strictness about such things as punctuality, slackness or doing things not as instructed is interpreted as being 'hard'. But in one way or another, he takes care of their general needs therefore has gained their respect and loyalty. They seem to have dedicated their lives to working for Steven and provide 'security' for not only the coffee farm to prevent stealing but also for Steven and his family. This 'security' is important for the Pupune family as well especially in a context where sorcery related beliefs and violent repercussions sometimes exist. Thus, Margaret and Steven, at different times, recognised and acknowledged that the workers are like their family and their "eyes, hands and legs" (Margaret, 2018, interview).

Additionally, Blue Corner farm workers know that the farm exists because of their continuous support.

> *It is because of us that Papa's business is intact. We are the ones who work hard and look after all these things. We have made him to become who he is now. Anyway, I don't know if we will still stay on here when he dies* (Workers, 2019, interview).

At Clem's Place, Clement also support his family and workers in various ways in appreciation for their involvement in the business as well as to fulfil his social obligations. According to him, building proper houses that would last long was an important way to reciprocate family and workers' support. He believed this would not have been possible if he worked and lived in the main cities and towns:

> *If I was working from Port Moresby, I'll be working for myself. But I have built a business here in the village, so I am able to help my family and*

> *change people like Paul and John. I have helped to educate them also. I have built them houses. Inalas, John, Paul, my in-laws, my sister, my uncle and all my people here now have proper houses. I do not think I would have done this for them if I was working and living in Port Moresby* (Clement, 2018, interview).

The last sentiment expressed in this quote reflects a reality for some people living and working in the main cities and in towns. Due to the high cost of living, there is a growing trend for many individuals and families working and living in cities and towns, to detach themselves from supporting social obligations and responsibilities back in their home provinces (Steven, 2016, pp. 20, 21). However, establishing a small business on his island and being embedded in the village ways of life helped Clement to truly understand the needs of his relatives. Living with his immediate and extended family enabled him to provide meaningful support.

Another small way Clement supports family members and workers is by allowing them to rest for one or two weeks in a month. After the guests leave, he allows workers and family members to rest and take care of their private household matters. For example, if visitors come for two weeks in a month, the next one or two weeks are allocated for relatives and employees to mind their own family work. During this 'break', they take care of needs such as building their houses, making food gardens or assist with clearing the village track. The positive reciprocal relationship that exists between Clem's Place and those who receive support and provide their services and skills to the business seem to have contributed partly to the sustainability of the small surf business.

The findings presented here show that maintaining spiritual and social wellbeing within the community and business have worked well for the case study businesses. An essential factor for business success is addressing the social needs of those who provide labour for the business. When workers and relatives realise how the business benefits their lives, they provide support in return to the business through work and in various other ways. This was a key sub-theme that came through from interviews and observations as shown above.

8.3.3. "There is blessing in giving": contributing to social and community needs

Contributions toward social needs in the community may sound like a burden to a conventional business but in the case study businesses, this appears to be an indirect support factor. The act of putting something into advancing people's lives such as sponsoring students from the community to continue schooling or participating in solving social *hevi* (social burdens e.g. funerals, bride-wealth, compensation payments) situations act as a 'social license' (Owen & Kemp, 2017, pp. 44, 45) to doing business on family/lands. Families and clans own land in PNG and so when one is doing business on the land, he/she must show support for not only his/her own family but also for the clan and community members who are directly or indirectly related to the businessperson. Additionally, popularity and building reputation in the community seemed to come from business owners helping to address social needs and obligations in each of their communities, a notable trend described several decades ago by Finney (1973).

One of the vital aspects of Blue Corner Farm's success lies in the continual contribution Steven's family have had to wider community obligations. For Steven, an important Christian virtue is to 'think of others'. In a number of ways, he has provided financial and social support in his community and fulfils social obligations. Steven is committed to regularly contributing to local groups and social development programmes like building churches, distributing fish fingerlings to year ten and twelve graduates, cash contribution to local community in times of *hevi*. Whenever *hevi* arises, people in his village anticipate some form of support from Steven.

> *From my business, I have helped many people. I help my community in many ways. I take care of all the 'hevi'. When we [community] contribute toward the 'hevi', I close it off [he adds more to what has been contributed]. I am always there for family or community 'hevis'. I give a lot out to many people: orphans, widows, the poor, the needy in the community, they receive my attention. So that's what I have been doing for many years. I do that because I have plenty from working on my land. The community will speak to that* (Steven, 2018, interview).

Steven has established a reputation for helping during times of *hevi,* thus he is fondly called 'Papa Blue' by Fanaiyufa community members. They trust him and see him as genuinely caring about the wider social burdens. From conversations with community

members, it is obvious that Steven and his family are highly regarded at Fanaiyufa village. Although these people are not employed at Blue Corner Farm, they think that the business serves them well, particularly in terms of social support.

Additionally, Steven leads in advocating for not selling customary land in his community and continues to promote the value of agricultural development locally and nationally. He has allowed students from primary school through to university to visit Blue Corner Farm and be inspired by the various agricultural activities. Not only school students benefitted from observing Blue Corner Farm but also people including small, local farmers who have passed through Steven's farm learnt farming ideas and skills. The impact Steven's farm has on some people has been positive. For example, some folks in his village also raised chickens and some have developed similar coffee plots. Also, just the sales of fish in open markets in Goroka town has inspired people to create pools for small-scale inland aquiculture in their villages or along riverways, especially in the Goroka area. The desire to develop and share simple farming skills and techniques has kept Steven motivated to keep running his farm business.

It is important to note, however, that Steven is entrepreneurial, and business oriented in his approach. He knows when it is important for his business to contribute toward community needs. For example, where there are major social obligations that affect the wider community, he 'goes big' (contributes more) and he contributes small toward personal burdens such as relieving a student with school fee burden. At times, Steven and family connect with the wider community when necessary and when there are cultural obligations that require fulfilling.

In listening to Margaret some weeks after conversing separately with Steven, the same things he shared were reiterated, which means that contributing to wider community needs is an important factor that directly or indirectly supports Blue Corner Farm Ltd.

> *From the income that we get, we use it for other things and bless others again. We contribute to bride price and attend to funeral expenses. Many deaths have occurred here, so we have helped many landowners here with funeral expenses. We help people who have needs. We provide food and medicines to old people who live next door. We are*

> *happy to do those kinds of things. When we do that, it becomes a blessing to others and that makes us happy…Papa [Steven] also sponsors Christmas games and pays school fees. On top of that, we involve them to work here for us as security and other small work on this block... People who are not employed and need assistance with school fee, they come ask and we assist them. We do many things in our community. So, Papa's success is everybody's success including those at the fish farm in Yonki. I see that when Papa give, give and give, many doors open in his life. We see many blessings that come from what he does.* ***You have to know that there is a blessing in giving*** *[emphasis added]. I think that is why he is successful* (Margaret, 2018, interview).

Thus, for the Blue Corner family, it seems 'giving' to other people and assisting in community programmes is a way of 'releasing' and 'receiving' blessings, and blessing in this case is success life and in business.

The same principle of giving and sharing community *hevi* seem to guide and influence Tella and Damaris at PNG Beekeeping Supplies. They have contributed toward numerous community needs, which in some ways, has been reciprocated by support from the community. Tella views contributions to community needs as a 'usual thing' for him and Damaris. Often during fieldwork, he stated,

> *When you are in the village, you are part of your community now. It is a normal thing to do. You have to help the village people when there is 'hevi'. If you do not and keep to yourself, no one in the village will recognise you and give you that respect. They will see you as being a selfish person. When you die, you will not get a proper burial, and no one will come and show their sympathy to your family. So, it is very important you must recognise the needs in the community and help.* ***Mama [Damaris] and I do that many times it has become part of our lives*** *[emphasis added]. But you don't have to give, give and give unnecessarily because when you do that, they will become lazy. So, we weigh it out and see what is significant and contribute to that. Very small things that people can handle; we do not participate* (Tella 2018, interview).

In this quote, it is obvious that involvement in community activities is important for Tella and his business. Maintaining connections and important relationships seems to be key to running a successful village-based business on customary land.

According to workers at PNG Beekeeping Supplies as well as family members, Tella is a 'hard' person to work with because he is strict when it comes to work. Work must be done as instructed or workers and family members can receive stern reprimands if carelessness is evident in the constructed products. That can make workers and family disinterested in providing their labour and support for the business. However, on many occasions during fieldwork, Tella was seen doing things that still maintain community and family support. For example, being apologetic and providing food and other support for workers or offering to transport village people into and from Goroka town using the business vehicle. He does this on every occasion when he is doing business runs into town.

The business vehicle is also used to transport materials to and from church camp meetings or to load containers and fetch water from town for villagers during dry seasons or other village needs such as when someone is sick and needs urgent transportation to the hospital. Tella has built the community library project. Community assistance like this has garnered support and respect for Tella and his business, directly and indirectly. Evidence of this respect was seen in the way men in his community addressed him as 'Chief' or 'Papa T', fond and respectful ways of addressing Tella.

Even if church members and village people are not directly employed in Tella's business, they have become 'advertising agents'. They use word-of-mouth in directing people to the business or by simply telling acquaintances or interested people about what Tella does, especially if these acquaintances are interested in beekeeping. In this regard, supporting community needs and in turn gaining small supports like this from the church and village people seems to have worked well for PNG Beekeeping Supplies.

Clement and Sophie at Clem's Place do several things to support the very small number of families in their island village, Tunnung. Clement has allowed business resources such as the chainsaw and boat to be used for community needs. For example, the business chainsaw is used to cut timber, and the business boat for transporting timber from mainland New Hanover to Tunnung to assist in building permanent houses for community members and those who work Clem's Place. He also built a community

church and recently completed a community hall using business resources and materials. Moreover, youths are allowed to use a land area that he has created for visiting helicopters to land. This land area is half the size of a soccer field and is an extension of a small churchyard that Clement and family have built. This is a common space where the village children and youths gather and have fun when it is not in use. They also use this space to hold village or church gatherings if the surf camp space is occupied with tourists. Recently, on 16 September 2019, Clement and community members used this space to host a small village-based 43rd PNG Independence celebration, the very first of this kind of community activity to occur on this remote island (see Figure 19). Before the celebrations began, medical checks were also organised for the villagers (Clement, 2019).

Figure 19 Clem's Place Business Area used for Hosting 2019 Independence Celebrations for Community Members

Source: https://www.facebook.com/clement.anton.750/photos_all

These are some examples of the ways that Clement contributes toward the social, economic, medical and physical needs of people on Tunnung.

As a leader, Clement has supported his community to build a church and several permanent houses not only for family members and workers, but also for those who sought assistance with building materials. Most of the houses on Tunnung Island are built with durable materials and are semi-permanent or permanent buildings. In taking care of various social and physical needs, Clement has gained community support for both the business activities and in helping to make social gatherings such as independence celebrations and tourist entertainment happen. The following quote from Clement places significance on clan support, which seem to be important for Clement's family and the surf camp:

> *In this kind of business that I am involved in, especially tourism, I need the community. So, it is important to create good relationships with the village people. To do that, I involve everyone…In order for your business to be successful, your tribe must stand with you. That is important because if they are not happy with you, they will find ways to put you down. Cause harm, instigate arguments and disagreements, destroy business property and so on. The important thing to do is to get their support* (Clement, 2018, interview).

From this quote, it is clear that the wellbeing of Clem's Place also depends on informed agreement and harmony between the business and the community in order for business to progress. Clement not only organises social activities, supports the building of houses for villagers, but also involves the people in the surrounding community in tourist activities in order that they also benefit from it.

Key informants also mentioned that gaining community support is key to establishing a successful business on customary land. To gain support, it is important to get involved, 'give' to social activities and take care of community needs. An important insight in relation to what has been presented here can be seen in the following quote by Linda, a key informant from Jabez Business Incubation Centre in Goroka,

> *For you to run a successful business on customary land, you have to be involved in all the social activities happening in the village within the community and within your tribe. You have to be seen to be interested in the affairs of the community and their needs and participate especially when people are gathering for social obligations, such as bride price or funeral services. You've got be upfront and leading. They will expect you to take leadership in all these things. It's only through that, that you will get the support from everyone in the community.*

> *Government does not support us, but we get most of the support from our own local system. So, when I do business on customary land, I have the family support.* ***Because they know that when I go up, they are coming with me. My success is their status and their identity*** *[emphasis provided],* (Linda, 2018, interview).

This quote further confirms a significant point that PNG's rural economy is based on reciprocity (Curry & Koczberski, 2012) and for any local business to thrive in rural PNG generally, and in particular on customary land, there must be a 'give and take' situation. This quote also summarizes why it is important to contribute to social and cultural obligations. Putting money and effort into helping family and community members in need is the essence of living thus, income and resources from each of the business such as chainsaws and business transport (vehicles and boat) are used to assist relatives, workers and community members who need it. All the owners of the case study businesses, in one way or another, have shown that this is also an important support factor for their business survival and success.

8.3.4. Balancing business and social obligations

The ability to balance business and social obligations has been an important trait for the owners of the case study businesses. Steven, Tella, Clement and each of their family members who were observed and interviewed realised that to do business in the village, you have to be able to also manage both the social and cultural obligations in the community. (The detailed examples of how they take care of social obligations have been presented in section 8.3.3 and elsewhere in Chapter 8). Being socially embedded, these business owners and their families were seen to be active in the affairs of each of their communities. As a result, they were recognised and respected, resulting in good repute and trustworthy relationships within their communities. Whenever each man initiated small community projects such as a village road or community library, most people in the community willingly came and participated. Again, Linda, the key informant from Jabez Business Incubation Centre, Goroka, seems to have a good understanding of what it means to run local businesses in PNG generally and in the rural areas specifically. Her words capture the essence and value of being embedded within the community and doing business:

> *One of the best ingredients we have is our social system. We have a system called wantok system. Some people criticise this system but that is the best system we have. It depends on how you see it. As businessmen and women, if we position ourselves properly and budget or allocate something towards our social obligations, we will not fail. We have our wantoks to support us and so we have to give back to the community and keep the balance between wantok system and business. That plays a significant role. If you balance your social culture and business culture, you will not have problems* (Linda, 2018, interview).

This quote reiterates the importance of keeping balance between doing business and contributing to social and cultural obligations. In the observations and conversations with the case study business families, this part of their lives was important. They had to be seen to be interested in the affairs of their communities. Village people had to see that business is also benefiting them. This is because in one way or another, community support will still be needed.

This sub-section has shown, from the findings, that providing community support and getting involved in wider community activities can be a positive factor for business. Community support is reciprocated when business 'gives' to local community needs. The general sense from the case study business owners is that the well-being of the community is always a priority and a mechanism that sustains each of their businesses on customary land.

8.4. Personal Qualities and Entrepreneurial Traits

The third theme that seemed to have contributed to the success of case study businesses is having certain personal qualities and characteristics that helped them to be effective indigenous entrepreneurs, similar to success factors identified by Chittithaworn et al. (2011), Fairbairn (2006) and Saffu (2003) (see Chapter 3, section 3.3.3). These include having some form of education, work experience and outside exposure; developing intrinsic entrepreneurial drive; using challenges as motivations and strategically locating business in the peripheries of community. Other factors include business diversification; ability to balance business and social obligations, showing strong leadership and access to financial and other support systems. These

were deduced from interviews and observations and some of these were mentioned briefly under each case study's background in Chapter 7.

8.4.1. Education, work experience and outside exposure

Similar to Finney's (1973) study of ten entrepreneurs in Goroka whose former work experience and exposure to Europeans set the basis for becoming entrepreneurs, this study also found that having some form of education, work experience and outside exposure was one of the key factors for the three business owners. All of them had a good level of formal education ranging from high school through to tertiary study, although two dropped out of high school and college due to personal and family reasons (Chapter 7, sections 7.2 & 7.4). For the case study entrepreneurs, being educated is advantageous for many reasons including developing good literacy and numeracy skills, being able to recognise business opportunities as well as identify and solve business problems. It helps in many ways such as being able to adapt to technological changes and use of social media effectively to advertise and manage their businesses.

Former training and work experience in related business areas also gave an added advantage for starting up a business. Notably, all three entrepreneurs had some form of overseas experience whether as apprentices whereby they were sponsored to learn new trades and skills, in the case of Steven and Tella, or by working abroad, as Clement did, observing various forms of business operations. The overseas exposure also led to establishing contacts and networks that have been important for each entrepreneur. Tella's connection to Stuart Ecroyd of Ecrotek Beekeeping Suppliers (Ecrotek Beekeeping Supplies, 2019) in New Zealand, Clement's connection to cruise ship owners in Australia and Steven's connection to entrepreneurs in other Pacific Islands countries and South-east Asia, have provided avenues for sharing information and ideas and networking opportunities for each of these men. These important connections have helped these small business owners with accessing materials and networking with businesses in and outside of PNG.

8.4.2. Entrepreneurial spirit

A significant factor that led to the establishment of each business was the entrepreneur's drive and motivation to set up and keep doing business. This, along with personal experiences and available resources – including land and support from family – was enough to push each businessperson to start up his business.

Once started, the entrepreneurs developed the skills, experience, networks and so on that helped them to continue doing business. For example, exploring, experimenting and trialling out new farming ideas have been at the heart of Blue Corner's adaptability and sustainability in the face of changing economic and environmental conditions. For Steven, observing, learning and creating new things have helped solved problems. These learnings keep him 'motivated' to experiment with various farming activities. Because of his inquisitive attitude and because land is available, Steven diversified Blue Corner Farm into various farming activities (Chapter 7, section 7.2) so that if any natural disaster occurred, the business was able to withstand it.

An example of the innovation and problem-solving skills of these entrepreneurs is that during the coffee rust epidemic that affected coffee trees throughout PNG in the 1990s, Steven was able to develop a new coffee variety that, according to him, is resistant to coffee rust - a fungus that grows on coffee leaves and affects coffee cherry production. While the government, through the National Agricultural Research Institute and Coffee Industry Corporation, was looking for ways to solve this problem, he identified a few coffee trees in his plantation that were not affected by the rust fungus. He collected beans from these trees and grew them in a controlled environment similar to a greenhouse. When these coffee plants started flowering, honeybees were introduced into the controlled environment to do cross-pollination. The subsequent coffee beans produced were allowed to germinate and grow away from the old coffee plants. When matured, these coffee plants had greener leaves and had more cherries than the original coffee plants. The beans were used again to germinate new coffee trees. Repetition of this process increased production of the new variety. Officers from PNG's National Agricultural Research Institute paid visits to Blue Corner Farm after being notified. This

coffee variety, according to Steven, is called the *Pupune* variety but it is yet to be named in varieties of coffee in PNG. During fieldwork, plantation workers were seen replacing old coffee trees with the new variety. Pictured in Figure 20 is a farm worker who is pruning and clearing around new coffee trees.

Figure 20 Pruning of New Coffee Variety

Source: Author's own fieldwork, 2018.

Additionally, when PNG's National Fisheries Authority introduced inland fisheries, farming fish became a leisure activity for Steven and his family. It turned into an economic opportunity when demand for fresh fish increased in Goroka town. Steven used ponds to breed tilapia fish fingerlings to trial what he observed and learned during a trip to Thailand in 2008. Hundreds of fish fingerlings were hatched. According to him, he was the first person to breed fish stock in the highlands of PNG. The National Fisheries officers have visited him several times to learn this technique. These are a few examples of how the entrepreneurial landowner observes and applies new ideas that sustain Blue Corner farm business.

Steven's belief is that "if we are the Creator's children, we are mini creators and can do much more than we think we can." His general motto is to "observe, interpret and apply" and, "improvise, adapt and overcome" (Steven, 2018, interview) when it comes to developing new ideas and solving problems. This motto has kept the Blue Corner Farm business going for the last four decades. Thus, sustainability and adaptability of this indigenous business is partly dependent on the owner's leadership and entrepreneurial drive.

For Tella, changing the business name from Lopi Beekeeping Supplies to PNG Beekeeping Supplies in 2008, leaving formal employment, and expanding the business into honey production, are evidence of being entrepreneurial. The desire to make apiculture a popular farming activity in PNG is also partly responsible for keeping him active. Additionally, ongoing site visits from government and non-government officers, private organisations, media and renowned individuals has increased his network and keeps him motivated to be in this business. He is one of the very few suppliers of all kinds of beekeeping materials and equipment in the Highlands of PNG and he has been doing this since 1995 when Lopi Beekeeping Supplies was established (Waide, 2018).

Working for others on board ships for the rest of his life was not an ideal choice for an islander like Clement. He wanted to do something for himself and for his family that would allow them to live together, drive business on their own terms and live a more relaxed island life. The establishment of the surf getaway has kept Clement close to his family and contributing to community projects since 2008. The location of Tunnung Island on a main cruise ship route as well as the popularity that Clem's Place has gained over the years among international tourists that frequent New Ireland Province means that Clement has created a niche market for himself and his community. Having an entrepreneurial spirit and the determination to start-up his own businesses has been key to Clement's success, and that of the other business owners profiled.

8.4.3. Turning challenges into business motivation

Another factor that came through from the unstructured interviews and conversations was how the entrepreneurs would turn challenges into motivations to develop specific businesses. The challenges that motivated each entrepreneur have been presented in detail in Chapter 7 under each case study business and will just be alluded to here.

There were social and economic challenges that acted as key factors to 'push' these business owners to develop and establish successful local businesses. For Steven at Blue Corner Farm, these included the social and financial challenges facing his family members which caused him to leave college and secure a job as an auditor in another part of PNG (Lae, Morobe Province) to assist his siblings who were still at school. Then his aging parents called him to return home, as they needed his support with their care and wellbeing. He left his job in Lae, returned to Goroka, spent a few months in the same job but resigned in 1979 and started his farm business in 1980 (Chapter 7, section 7.2). That enabled him to stay close to his sick parents and provide financial support to other family members.

For Tella, a challenge at his workplace became a motivation to begin his own beekeeping supplies business. In his previous role as secretary for Highlands Honey Cooperative, a business organisation that bought and processed raw honey from small apiculture farmers, he had a verbal clash with the director of the organisation. This prompted Tella to start planning for his own beekeeping business, which he established in 1995 as Lopi Beekeeping Supplies (Chapter 7, section 7.4.2). He had the knowledge, the skills and a wealth of experience but he needed something to push him out of 'his comfort zone' to start up something for himself and family, and that clash was a wakeup call for him. To prove that he could also do business in beekeeping, Tella gathered all the support he could get including 'borrowing' money from his wife and sister to start his first business, which has now developed into PNG Beekeeping Supplies.

Several challenges also motivated Clement to begin the surf camp on Tunnung Island, which has become a lucrative small tourist business in New Ireland Province (Chapter 7,

section 7.4.2). One of the challenges was from a foreign tourist operator in Kavieng who 'advised' Clement that tourists would not want to 'waste their time' and go on a 'long boat ride' to do the same things offered close to Kavieng town. This tourist operator reasoned that Clement should create something different to make people want to go that far. This was a challenge that directly motivated Clement to establish Clem's Place, including a unique village experience, while capitalising on tourist demand for a pristine island experience in New Ireland.

Another challenge was the desire to meet his outstanding community responsibilities. Because he was the only child from Tunnung Island to be in school, when Clement was still in high school, his people 'marked' him to fulfil their dreams of clean water and living in permanent houses with electricity. The challenge to make his people's lives better motivated him to establish the surf camp and make it successful. The business has served its purpose where now, most families on the island live in semi-permanent or permanent, well-lit houses and use clean water from rainwater tanks.

The next challenge was to prove that dropping out of school early in life need not be an end to a person's life. Being rejected from school was a huge challenge but that did not deter Clement from utilising the key resources he had: his work experience on ships, the budding tourism industry in New Ireland, the government support for SMEs, the free ocean and resources within the sea, the land and supportive family and networks. Using these resources and means, Clement built a successful indigenous tourism business alongside mostly foreign operators in New Ireland Province.

The presentation of the challenges in each case study above proves that they can became motivating factors for establishing socially and economically successful businesses. The case study business owners have turned around negative circumstances to change theirs and their families' lives, and their village situations through what they have created on their customary lands.

8.4.4. Strategic location of the businesses

Unlike businesses in the cities and towns that look for busy spots to do business (see Mason & Brown, 2013, p.8), the case study businesses were not located in the often

accessed or travelled sections of the villages. They, and the business families' homes, were purposefully located on the peripheries. The village peripheries and home yards were strategic locations for the businesses as these 'protected' and enabled the businesses to thrive in the face of various social pressures. Tella and Clement did not have a choice where to locate their businesses. Their family lands were already located in the peripheries of each of their villages, which seems to have worked well. Tella used family land that his father left behind and Clement accessed his mother's clan land in agreement with his sister. They did not choose to 'stay away' from their village and related social obligations.

For Steven, choosing the location for his business was important for several reasons. His father had land in different locations around the Fanaiyufa community. He chose to locate his home and business on one of his father's pieces of land about a kilometre away from the main village as two of his siblings occupied their family land in the village. Additionally, he felt that some cultural protocols and social norms were detrimental to doing business. For example, depending too much on community cooperation and community demands on the business were observed as sources of unnecessary pressure. Relatives and community members created expectations that Steven and family should always take care of every social problem in the village, some of which he felt were usually created by carelessness and ignorance. Steven stated:

> *To run a successful business, you must be different. So, to be different, I stayed away from the village. I told my dad not to have me live in the village when I finish school. That is why I am here at Blue Corner* (Steven, 2018, interview).

Locating his home and business away from the village did not mean he avoided all social obligations. It only meant that staying a little detached from the village was an opportunity to save up and develop the business, away from constant family and village pressures. As noted elsewhere, Steven and his family participate in social obligations and contribute toward relieving community *hevi*.

Whether locating the business somewhat apart from the main community was intentional or not, this helped the businesses to minimise continuous, trivial social

pressures from extended relatives and villagers. Still it meant they were close enough to access support and security from relatives and village people. All three still had strong connections to each of their communities. Existing in the vicinity of each of their villages also made it easier for the entrepreneurs to be aware of important issues facing extended families and village members in order to support and participate in social and cultural gatherings like church activities and life events. Thus, being strategic about locating the business in the village periphery was a small but significant factor that was identified as contributing to their sustainability and success.

8.4.5. Business diversification

All three case study businesses had a variety of business activities going on. There were major activities that generated income for the main business and other side business activities that typically catered for personal use. When one business venture failed due to the national economic situation, environmental consequences or other crises, the other income generating activities could act as 'security' and 'fall back' options for these business families. This was possible because of a number of factors: access to rent-free land, easy access to human resources, having acquired relevant skills and experience, local and international demand for various goods and services, or simply the zeal and enthusiasm to do a range of different things. Whatever type of business they had, the entrepreneurs' ability to develop new ventures or engage in different business activities exemplifies entrepreneurial determination and perseverance.

8.4.6. Strong relationships

Strong relationships with family and business contacts were essential to the success of all three case studies. The business owners not only established a good reputation in their communities, but it was evident that the business owners and their female counterparts created trustworthy relationships with their customers, clients, networks, suppliers and financial institutions. Providing a reliable service or products, giving discounts or selling products at reasonable prices, doing payments to suppliers and repaying loans on or before due dates helped established good standing for the business owners and set a positive record for their businesses. Recognising the need to balance business and positive rapport not only within the community but with relevant

stakeholders such as customers, clients and networks was significant for the three case study businesses.

Working together with family members has been very valuable for each of the case study business. There was a sense of mutual understanding when members of the family worked together. Whether they were paid or not, the general understanding was that the business is 'their property' and it is for their benefit now and into the future. Hence, they provided support for themselves and those related to their business when there were *hevi* situations. Males and females all performed different roles when required, but the husband and wife team, as noted in each of the business, were always on the ground to keep things going. They discussed together what and when to do things and worked hard to maintain business. When the husbands were not around for several days, with assistance from other family members, the wives stepped up to manage things around each business until the male owners returned. This was observed in all the three enterprises.

Whenever assistance was required especially when the workload seemed heavy, it was easy to access immediate assistance from relatives and family members. The costs for employing outsiders was minimised when family members shared the tasks and responsibilities. Additionally, it was easier to delegate responsibilities and tell family members straight when some things were not done correctly. In spite of some instances of disharmonious relationships, especially between fathers and their children (discussed in detail in the following Chapter, section 9.4.2), women in each business played important roles in maintaining peace and harmony within each of their families. Thus, for the case studies, having mutual understanding based on kin and cultural relationships and working closely together has been beneficial.

8.4.7. Access to credit and technology

Having access to sources of funds through either bank loans or other means such as through family and personal networks in the initial stages of starting up business has been important for each of the case study business. To begin expansion of his poultry business, Steven got a loan of PGK3,000 from PNG Agriculture Bank, now the National

Development Bank, in 1980. He used this to expand his poultry business, which then made enough money for him to expand into other business activities that helped Blue Corner Farm to withstand shocks like the devaluation of the PNG Kina in 1994. According to Steven, that was the only loan he has ever accessed from the bank. Income from the poultry business together with personal savings from former employment was enough to re-invest as well as start other business activities.

In order to start his beekeeping supplies business in 1995, Tella needed PGK10,000. He borrowed this amount from family members (his wife and sister) to purchase the first beekeeping materials from Stuart Ecroyd. The positive business relationship with Ecroyd Beekeeping Supplies has since supported PNG Beekeeping Supplies with other equipment not available in PNG. Additionally, to purchase new and more reliable machines including vehicles, generator, woodcutting machines and other resources for the firm, Tella and Damaris continue to access SME loans from the banks.

To begin Clem's Place, Clement needed funding to start his business in 2004. He had a good friend, who become governor of New Ireland Province in the same year. Through this contact, he was able to access PGK15,000 under the New Ireland Provincial SME programme. Clement spent this fund on several things in order to start up Clem's Place surf camp. First, he purchased a new chainsaw worth PGK9000. This was used to cut logs and timber to begin building the surf camp. The remaining balance of PGK6000 was used to purchase logs and saw timbers, purchased fuel for boat to transport these timbers from mainland New Hanover to Tunnung, fed workers who assisted, and built the two first bungalows. Purchasing this chainsaw not only assisted with cutting timber for the surf camp but it also assisted workers, families and community members to cut timber and build proper houses for themselves. Clem's Place also received financial assistance from another friend to replace the old speedboat that was wrecked by the 2008 King Tide that destroyed coastal island villages in the New Guinea Island region.

The above are a few examples of how access to sources of funds, whether through formal or informal means, have been important for the start of each case study business.

8.5.1. Social pressures

Doing business on customary land can be challenging and expensive especially when the businesses are located in the villages where there is the constant pressure for financial support from relations and connections as noted above. Social needs and familial issues can have an impact on running a successful business in a village. Linda, key informant representing Jabez Business Incubation Centre pointed out clearly how challenging it can be to run a successful business on customary land in PNG especially in rural locations:

> *If you are using customary land to make money for yourself but are not willing to support community activities, people become jealous. They will do anything to disturb you and your business. That's why, sometimes I wish I was somewhere else…People expect me to show leadership in contributing toward social and cultural obligations. If there is a community hevi, I as a businessperson must contribute more than my village folks. For example, if community members contribute PGK20 each, I am expected to contribute PGK100. Such undue expectations from family and wantoks can put pressure on my business. You can have the support of your family and the community but so much expectations can be problematic to run a successful business.* ***Only strong people do business in the village and support the village folks*** *[emphasis added].* (Linda, 2018, interview)

Because of this and the need to give back to their families, the case study business owners found ways to manage these pressures as presented earlier in this chapter and further in Chapter 9. This support of community needs, and programmes means that the case study businesses have not had major challenges from their communities that pose risks to doing village-based business on customary land.

Moreover, disputes over usage of land from community members or relatives (as commonly seen in resource-rich locations in PNG) have not been evident in each case study during the period of fieldwork. Each business owner accessed and developed family land into something good that benefited their wider families and community members; therefore, land disputes were not obvious. However, one issue at Blue Corner Farm is the workers' expansion of land use in the area of land allocated to them at the coffee plantation. The fear is that when Steven is no longer around, workers, who are

not part of his family, might take over these lands. This challenge is discussed in detail in sub-section 8.5.3 below.

The main challenges for the case study businesses, however, were broader issues over which they had no control. Generally, the challenges were mostly infrastructural, economic, environmental and social, which span from national to household levels. These challenges have been identified and broadly categorised in the following sub-sections as: changing economic conditions and infrastructural challenges, natural or environmental challenges, and local and household issues.

8.5. Challenges and Limitations for Businesses on Customary Land

Engaging in business ventures on customary land in a developing, relational economy like PNG is not easy because of various levels of challenges that can hinder a local business. Some of these challenges can be managed, especially internal ones, while other external issues can pose risks to business, such as infrastructural and economic conditions. There were several challenges that the three case study businesses constantly dealt with. These included social pressures and household issues at the local level, unfavourable national economic and infrastructural conditions at the national level, and environmental challenges.

8.5.2. PNG's economic conditions and infrastructural challenges

Government services such as electricity, road and telecommunication infrastructures that are often reported as lacking quality and efficiency by private sector surverys (Asian Development Bank, 2014; INA, 2013), especially in provinces and towns outside of National Capital District and Port Moresby city, continue to be challenges for small family businesses existing on customary land. These inefficient national services as well as the weak state of the PNG economy, affect each case study business in different ways. Infrastructural problems including lack of access to constant electricity, proper transport networks, distance from service and information centres, connectivity and telecommunication issues and lack of access to proper markets, were some of the common issues that business owners constantly dealt with.

For Tella and Steven, poor road conditions have been an ongoing challenge. The roads leading to each of their business sites are dirt roads and during the wet season the road can become very slippery or develop potholes that cause wear-and-tear on business vehicles. It can be very expensive to replace car parts or if a vehicle breakdown occurs, the business can be affected for several weeks or months until the needed vehicle part is available at few automobile shops in town. Additionally, Clem's Place is located far from the mainland and the only means of transport to and from Kavieng town where most necessities of the surf camp are accessed, is by dinghy. Time is lost while travelling, and fuel for one-way 3-hour boat ride can cost up to PGK500. Additionally, lack of electricity or the high cost of it, prolongs production and limits other business opportunities for these entrepreneurs.

Mobile phone networks are often unreliable, and mobile data and internet services are expensive from any of the country's three telecommunication providers, Digicel, Bmobile and Telecom, who typically provide service for small rural business operators. At Clem's Place, network coverage is intermittent thus, in order for him to make calls or get an internet connection and find out how many international tourists have booked for the surf camp, he travels to Kavieng township two or three times per month, an expensive and often challenging exercise. The entrepreneurs minimally utilise online product advertisements through social media such as Facebook due to the high costs involved in purchasing mobile data to get internet connection, which a general problem experienced by other formal SMEs operating both within and outside of urban centres.

The fluctuating economic conditions in PNG are also a constant challenge for the entrepreneurs. For Blue Corner Farm, some of the original business ventures were abandoned due to economic changes that occurred in the mid-1990s. For example, the devaluation of PNG Kina in 1994 negatively affected returns from his poultry business, resulting in the closure of this enterprise. However, because there were diverse business activities at the farm by then, Blue Corner Farm was able to withstand that shock period. Moreover, the sometimes-fluctuating prices of coffee beans on the international market has also affected income from coffee production. Despite that, the coffee plantation at

Blue Corner Farm continues to exist as it covers a large piece of land and cannot be easily removed. Because it is also the main cash crop for most smallholder farmers in PNG, Steven and workers actively replant and sustain the Blue Corner Farm coffee plantation. In addition, in the last few years, the rising cost of doing business and living in PNG in general, and in towns and cities in particular, have inflated prices of rental properties. For Steven's commercial property, it has been very challenging to secure long-term leaseholders after a company left due to making losses. It took almost a year to secure the current leaseholder for that rental property.

The depreciation of the PNG Kina in recent years has been very challenging for Tella and his business. Because PNG Beekeeping Supplies is based on the principle of providing good quality beekeeping materials and equipment to farmers, Tella purchases standardized beekeeping equipment from New Zealand. This means more PNG Kina is spent on less goods, given that PGK is weaker than NZ$. In an interview, Tella stated:

> *It is very expensive to run this business, especially when there is no beekeeping equipment here and I have to purchase them from New Zealand to support our bee farmers. You know what it has been like in the last couple of years. Our Kina has not been doing very well. When I bring thousands of PGK to the bank to deposit and purchase materials and equipment, it is discouraging to see that your thousands of PGK is halved to less than a few thousand NZ dollars. For example, if I want to purchase materials for PGK10,000, that would be just NZ$4,800 or NZ$5,000. That does not include custom's clearance fees at Lae Seaport and hire fees for trucks to load materials from Lae to Goroka. This is done two to three times a year. To be honest, it is very expensive to do business but for the love of working with bees and assisting our farmers, I do what I can and get bank loans to keep being in business* (Tella, 2018, interview).

To help reduce some costs, Tella realised that purchasing timber locally and constructing bee boxes at home would be economical. Hence, he purchased more wood cutting machines, a planer and other tools and installed them in a new workshop in his village. Timber is purchased and transported from Lae to Goroka and beehives and frames are constructed in the workshop.

High interest rates charged on bank loans is another issue that Tella sees as beyond his control. Tella and Damaris have become regular borrowers at the Bank South Pacific's

SME bank in Goroka, especially when they need expensive resources to assist them in their business activities. They know how expensive it can be to repay bank loans. If they have taken a bank loan, they repay it as soon as they receive funds from beehive orders and honey sales, before the repayment date. In this way they avoid paying more interest. Because Tella and Damaris have set a good record with the SME bank over the last few years with repaying bank loans faithfully and on time, their loan applications are usually approved immediately.

Although the entrepreneurs have found ways to economise on some of the financial and infrastructural challenges to remain in business, the national economic situation and ongoing lack of easy access to telecommunications and inadequate infrastructure continue to hinder small economic actors from participating effectively in rural economic engagements.

8.5.3. Natural or environmental challenges

There are natural and environment concerns that the case study businesses also contend with. Examples include the coffee rust that affected Blue Corner Farm coffee plantation in the 1990s, seasonal changes that affect honey production; and unpredictable weather patterns that affect ocean currents and swells for surfing at Clem's Place. To counter these challenges, each businessperson developed strategies that help minimise the impact on his business. For example, to deal with coffee rust problem, Steven experimented and produced a coffee variety that is now used to replace old coffee trees at Blue Corner coffee plantation (section 8.4.2). To deal with seasonal changes that affect the flowering season and resultant honey production, different kinds of crops and plants are grown in Tella's family yard. Partnerships with several churches to have bee boxes in the churchyards, as presented in Chapter 7, has also helped the honey business. At Clem's Place, sometimes weather and wind patterns are unpredictable, and wind directions change. This can affect organised surf activities. To counter this challenge and keep the guests engaged, a range of other activities are organised for surfers including trekking, game fishing, snorkelling or biking along the main highway on the mainland New Ireland. These are some examples of how these

small business owners have developed strategies to deal with natural challenges that are beyond their control.

8.5.4. Local and household issues

Apart from the broader challenges, there are some challenges at the local or household level that may pose problems for the continuity of each case study business. At Blue Corner Farm, there are continual differences between Steven and some family members that may cause problems for Blue Corner Farm's existence in the future. This was observed during fieldwork and confirmed by other family members. One of the main disagreements stems from the realisation that long-term workers have been bringing their relatives to build houses and live in the peripheries of the plantation, expanding the land area that Steven had originally allocated to them. Extra land is being occupied, an issue of concern at the household level. A male relative's fear is that workers and their increasing presence in the peripheries of the farm will be a threat to the future ownership of the coffee plantation when Steven is physically inactive due to old age or is no longer alive. His tolerance of extra people coming to live on the peripheries of Blue Corner Farm, with no work arrangements, has caused resentment from some family members. As a result, those family members care less about the business as observed in their poor behaviours toward the farm workers. Disruption of *wanbel* and harmony between Steven and these family members has continued, and female family members are forced to moderate conflict situations (see Chapter 9 section 9.4.2).

Steven's daughters Anita and Paula, who were instrumental at Blue Corner Farm's inception, are now married, have their own families and recently achieved higher education. This suggests that they may leave their father and relocate away from the farm or be employed somewhere else, as is the case of Paula (Chapter 9), and not continue an interest in the business. If their father is no longer around, they may not continue to stay at Blue Corner Farm and continue their father's business because their male siblings and their sons are likely to take over the business. Moreover, it is uncertain whether farm workers will continue to work for Blue Corner Farm in the event that Steven is gone, given the often-disharmonious relationships between them and some of Steven's children. Hence, the Blue Corner Farm business might not survive in the

future if some of these household issues are not sorted and relationship between family members and workers restored.

The main challenge for Tella and Damaris is the workload at PNG Beekeeping Supplies. Apiculture is a growing industry in PNG (Oxfam Australia, 2017), hence there is growing demand for honey business in the Highlands of PNG. There is constant demand for beehives. However, constantly trying to supply beehives to various customers can be daunting as there are few skilled village men and women to build boxes. It can be stressful for Tella and the few workers engaged to construct beehives. Damaris has also expressed similar sentiments that there is always so much work to do. Sometimes it is difficult to get their children to work full time, as most are married and engaged in their own lives. According to this couple, they can only do as much as they are doing to support bee farmers and make apiculture popular as another option for livelihood activity in PNG.

For Clem's Place, the main challenge is competing against established foreign tourist operators in New Ireland Province. Because this province is one of the most pristine tourist destinations in PNG, there are a number of other tourist businesses, including surf operations, that are mostly foreign-owned. When Clem's Place began, there was opposition from neighbouring islands who were incited by foreign operators to stop Clement from bringing guests to surf the seas surrounding their islands. It took a prolonged period for Clement and his father to prove to the opposing group in the village and from the neighbouring islands that Clem's Place exists not to make money for an individual or his family, but to bring basic services into their communities. This is not like the foreign operators whose interest is solely profit-driven.

The business case studies, all based on customary land, face a number of challenges, many of which are also faced by businesses not located on customary land.

8.6. Summary

This chapter has presented components of successful indigenous businesses based on customary land under three main themes including having access to customary land, contributions to social and community wellbeing and having culturally-attuned characteristics and traits of a successful Pacific entrepreneur. Sub-themes were recognised and presented in section 8.3, including the input of Christian values and beliefs into the businesses, care for family and relatives, contributions toward social obligations, and balancing business and social obligations. Personal characteristics (section 8.4) including entrepreneurial drive, outside exposure, using challenges as motivation, strategic location of business in the village, business diversification and access to credit and technology were presented as vital factors that also supported the case study businesses.

These were observed as important factors that sustained not only the case study businesses to thrive in the villages but also directly or indirectly resulted in the retention of land for business and other uses. There were challenges for doing business in rural settings, which were identified separately in section 8.5. The main issues included social pressures, the uncertainties of PNG's economic conditions and infrastructural challenges, natural or environmental challenges, and local and household issues.

In spite of the different scales of challenges that each case study business had, having access to 'rent-free' land, acquiring relevant training and outside exposure, developing important personal qualities and entrepreneurial traits as well as having access to credit and technology, were all significant factors for each business owner and their family businesses. These helped the case study indigenous entrepreneurs to persevere and continue to do business on their customary land and contribute to their communities in a reciprocal fashion.

CHAPTER 9: WOMEN'S DIRECT AND INDIRECT ROLES THAT CONTRIBUTE TO BUSINESS SUCCESS

9.1. Introduction

The previous chapter presented findings on the components of successful businesses based on customary land. This chapter supports Chapter 8 in detailing an important factor that contributed to the success of each case study business: the roles played by women. One of the research objectives was to explore women's involvement in successful indigenous businesses based on customary land in PNG and to understand what benefits it brought to women. The research pertained to the second objective: how are women involved in these small businesses and what benefits do they derive from it? The findings are presented in the following sections.

From the semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, observations and participation, it was clear that women were heavily involved in each case study business and contributed significantly towards their success. They had direct business roles and indirect social roles that allowed them to influence business decisions and contribute to the overall success of each business. These roles will be covered in turn in this chapter.

An important link will be made between women and *wanbel* to business success and social wellbeing. This is a major finding of this study.

9.2. Direct Business Roles

Women's direct involvement in business, also seen as their economic actions, were identified as important for the case study firms. The common direct business responsibilities they had were mostly managerial, supervisory or supportive. Economic actions executed under these responsibilities supported business progress across all case studies. The specific actions included financial management, budgeting, preparing workers' salaries, advising, organising, delegating and networking. Other roles included banking and bookkeeping, selling, receiving and making orders, farming, cleaning workshops and bungalows, and cooking for workers or participants. Whether they had

important responsibilities as co-managers or as workers, the goal was the upkeep and smooth running of the business and livelihood generation.

9.2.1. Women at Blue Corner Farm Limited

The involvement of female family members has been an important aspect of business at Blue Corner Farm Ltd. Several females at Blue Corner have had significant direct contributions to the development of the business including Steven's mother, his former and current wife, and daughters.

Steven's mother and former wife

Steven's mother and former wife were the first women who assisted in the initial development of Blue Corner Farm Ltd when it started with an egg business (Pupune, 2005). Steven's mother would collect water, prepare sweet potatoes, cassava (manioc) or scraps from leftover food and feed the hens. The first sales occurred in 1980. The women collected, boiled and sold eggs. An egg cost PGK0.10 at that time. Steven's mother used to collect money from selling eggs at a nearby primary school or at a roadside market, while his former wife, who was a nurse, would sell some at her workplace. These women generated income on a daily basis.

Although Steven's mother and former wife had no direct control over the income they made, they contributed directly to the expansion of the business, which started supplying eggs throughout Goroka Township and to other parts of the highlands region in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The fact that they made money and became famous for egg sales meant that they gained respect and inspired people around Blue Corner Farm who began to also produce and sell eggs. They became a connection between the business, their community and business associates. Additionally, daily income generation meant that women played an indirect but significant role to get Blue Corner Farm Ltd on a positive business journey, now a diversified business operating under the name Agro Business Consultant Ltd in Goroka town.

Anita and Paula Pupune

Anita and Paula are Steven's daughters. From the mid-1990s and into the 2000s, when Blue Corner Farm Ltd diversified into other ventures they were heavily involved in the

business. Paula contributed in various ways including doing logistics runs, general errands and banking assistance while she was working as a bank teller at ANZ Bank's Goroka branch. One of the significant contributions she made in the business was formulating stock feed for chicken, pigs and fish. She was able to help in this regard using her specialist knowledge and skills she gained from working in PNG's Department of Agriculture and Livestock, and through her study in Bachelor of Animal Science (Animal Nutrition and Growth), Massey University. Being confident that a family member is able to do that, Steven went ahead and secured a miller and pallet machine that mills and cakes animal feed for farm animals. She also assisted her father when he purchased some beehives with beekeeping knowledge and techniques, as well as provided specialist guidance on the coffee nursery.

However, Paula's assistance was intermittent because she was formally employed, previously at PNG's ANZ Bank Goroka branch and then at the Department of Agriculture and Livestock. With some financial assistance from her father along with New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Scholarship, she went to Massey University in 2016. She has completed her study and gained a Bachelor of Animal Science (Animal Nutrition and Growth). She is currently working for the Food and Agriculture Organisation office in PNG and continues to support her father with specialist agricultural information whenever the need arises (Pupune, 2019).

Anita has also contributed in many ways to the business over the years. Because she was the eldest, she grew up working with her father in the farm business. According to Anita, she was already taking care of numerous business tasks at Blue Corner Farm while in high school. She learnt how to drive the business truck so after school, during weekends or school holidays, she transported farm products and business materials to and from markets and to various locations within Goroka town. She also handled bank related matters of the business. Additionally, after completing college in 2008, Anita remained at the farm, assisted her father and did most of the office and accounting tasks for the business. This was an important role because business planning, business direction and tax related issues depended largely on proper record keeping and accounting. She was also a salesperson. She continued doing bookkeeping, banking,

preparing wages for workers, did advertisements for the commercial property, followed up on rentals and connected Blue Corner Farm to other businesses. Taking care of these responsibilities, Anita's direct actions not only contributed to business wellbeing and sustainability but also relieved Steven from his business management role to concentrate on planning, strategizing and implementing new business ventures. In an interview during fieldwork, Steven was openly emotional when he recounted Anita's assistance when she used to work at the farm:

> *I did not realise that Anita was doing a lot for Blue Corner when she was here. I never thought she was doing much. When she left, I was lost. I did not know what to do. She used to do all the banking stuff and drive here and there taking care of many things. Now that she is gone (for studies), I am stuck. I cannot do everything that she did. I have to lease this property to only one person, so it is going to be easier for me to follow up on rental payments. You see, I am getting old and I do not have the energy to drive here and there and everywhere else to follow up on rentals like Anita if I lease each office and storage space to a number of people or private companies* (Steven, 2018, interview).

Sentiments of sadness incited by her absence can be deduced from this quote. It shows that Anita's role not only as daughter but also as a manager at Blue Corner Farm was significant. The fact that she could manage most of these things and keep the business running smoothly exemplified her strong leadership skills and positive influence at Blue Corner Farm.

The strong father-daughter connection and the ongoing support that received from her father kept her managing the business until 2018 when she left for further studies at Massey University, New Zealand, following her younger sister. According to Anita,

> *I helped my father with things at the farm because I felt sorry for him. I grew up with him when mum left us around the time that I was two or three years old. Sometimes, others [stepsiblings] did not help him. I guess he trusts me more than anybody, so I even managed the finances and did all the other things. When I finished college in 2008, I stayed at the farm and helped him. It is our family business anyway and that is where our food and money come from. So, I stayed on and assisted* (Anita, 2018, interview).

Thus, Anita grew up learning agriculture and business skills from her father and played an important role in keeping the business going.

Margaret Pupune

Since Anita and Paula left for their studies in 2016 and 2018 respectively, Steven's wife Margaret Pupune has been supporting and managing Blue Corner Farm in various ways. Whenever Steven is away on business trips, she manages the business, pays out workers' wages, undertakes banking and maintains networks with clients whilst taking care of her own children and Steven's children, and their grandchildren. She manages both business and household matters.

In addition to those roles, Margaret directly manages the tilapia fish farm in Yonki Dam. She has allowed a few workers to live at the block in Yonki to feed the fish and provide security from petty rascals (thieves). When the fish have grown and are ready for harvest, she organises the farm driver and a couple of strong male workers to travel with her to harvest fish. These men help net fish and bring them onshore. Margaret and female helpers from the nearby community clean and pack fish into large containers prepared with ice cubes. Prior to doing their studies, Anita and Paula also assisted in feeding, harvesting and selling fish.

With assistance from children and workers, Margaret takes fresh fish to sell in open markets or supermarkets in Lae and Goroka. The income from these sales supplements that from the other business ventures. At one stage in 2017, Margaret made PGK6,500 from supplying fish to supermarkets and doing door-to-door sales. On one of the field days for this study, she was observed making PGK1,800 from selling 178kg of fresh fish to Bintangor, a supermarket in Goroka (see Figure 21). She would also travel to and from Yonki and make sure the pigs, the fish, the coffee block and the gardens were well managed.

Figure 21 A Day at the Fish Farm: Margaret and Workers Preparing Fish for Sale

Source: Author's own fieldwork, 2018

Currently, the rate and enthusiasm for producing and supplying tilapia fish has slowed down, but Margaret continues to manage the production of fish occasionally for an additional source of protein and household income.

Margaret has also supported Steven in his plans to develop a sea cucumber business on her father's land in Manus Province, an island province off the northeast coast of mainland PNG. In 2017, she organised her relatives to clear land and build a house next to the sea to prepare a sea cucumber farm. Through her, Blue Corner Farm is planning to expand into Manus Province.

In the following quote, Margaret justifies her support and work at Blue Corner Farm. The main point of the quote, however, expresses sentiments of establishing a social harmony with Steven and family:

> *I support Papa [Steven] 100% because when my husband died, he took me in as his wife and provides for my children and me. He knew that widows do not have identities in the community here. Mostly, such people are the neglected ones in the society that we live in. I had no hope. I did not know what to do or where to go from here. I did not know who to get support from and how to raise and provide for my five children. When my husband died, I was lost with all these challenges. So, when Papa took me in and taught me how to do business, that was a blessing. What more will I ask for? He gave me hope. It is like light at the end of the tunnel in my life. Whatever business he wants to do, I stand beside him and support him. After all, I am a 'help meet'[7] for him. If Papa has dreams, I have to stand behind him and support him to make sure that his dreams are fulfilled. I must give myself fully, totally and wholeheartedly to work. That is what I am doing. It makes me a true woman. Whether I take care of children or make money for Papa's business, I give my full support. That's it* (Margaret, 2018, interview).

In appreciation to Steven for accepting and supporting her to raise her children from a past marriage, Margaret continues to be proactive at Blue Corner Farm. To an outsider, that might seem like she is being overworked. But she feels fulfilled when she is appreciated for the things she does at the farm.

In summary, Steven's female relatives have had a significant influence in the establishment and success of his business over the years.

9.2.3. Sophie Anton at Clem's Place

Sophie, Clement's wife, has been instrumental in supporting Clem's Place from its initial development to its current stage. She is heavily involved in both the business and community affairs. Initially when Clement was working on cruise ships, Sophie was at home taking care of their three little children. When Clement left his job on ships and came to start up the surf camp, Sophie was there providing support such as preparing meals for those who came to help build the surf camp. Since Clem's Place began operation in 2008, Sophie has been at the forefront taking care of guests' comfort and needs.

[7] Margaret used this phrase from the book of Genesis 2:18 in the Bible (King James Version): "And the Lord God said, it is not good that the man should be alone; I will make an 'help meet' for him". This shows where Margaret gets her inspiration to support Steven in his business endeavours.

Although she had no training in tourism and hospitality, over the years, she has learnt to prepare good food and provide comfortable lodging to the liking of many international visitors. Some examples of positive comments on TripAdvisor read, “Albeit simple, Clem's resort is kept very clean and we felt at home the moment we arrived. The food prepared was outstanding especially when considering the remoteness of the island. A real treat is the cake we got served some evenings for dessert…The meals included were delicious, consisting of fresh fish, fruit and home baked bread and cakes…Did I mention the food? Fresh caught lobsters, mud crabs and fish with locally grown sweet potatoes and greens” (TripAdvisor LLC New Zealand, 2019). These comments imply that Sophie is a great host who keeps the visitors happy. Regarding this, Sophie stated:

> *We want people to carry good stories of our island back to their countries. Most of our visitors are ‘waitman’ [Europeans] and we want them to see the good side of our little island. Other people might think we do not cook well. We are island people and we can cook tasty food too, using our local food. At least they get a taste of our island made food, something different from what they are used to. My aim is always to make them happy and satisfied so that they can always come back. We try to make them feel at home too. Some bring their children, so we also do things that kids like. (Sophie, 2018, interview)*

Here, sentiments of pride and desire for visitors to make good memories and have positive experiences are expressed. She continues to maintain general cleanliness and most importantly connects with guests on a personal level. This means that she knows what they desire from the conversations that they have and tailors things to their liking.

Sophie also organises income earning opportunities for other villagers including those from neighbouring islands. Months before a tourist ship arrives, village women and men are informed to prepare traditional baskets and jewellery from seashells. Tourist boats normally stop by the island once a year, and these products are displayed for sale in the centre of the surf camp. Figure 23 shows Sophie and two village women preparing and putting on display handmade jewellery in the main hall at Clem’s Place for tourists who came there during fieldwork in November 2018. Sometimes, the jewellery or

handicrafts are sold to guests lodging on the surf camp. In a small way, an avenue is created for income generation for the village people.

Figure 22 Sophie (right) and Village Women Displaying Local Jewellery for Sale at Clem's Place Hall in Preparation for Arrival of Visiting Tourists

Source: Author's own fieldwork, 2018.

Additionally, village women and young men are organised to prepare traditional dances during tourist visitations. Before traditional dancers arrive, Sophie prepares food and sets it aside. After their dance performances, the participants are fed, and Sophie distributes the money that she and Clement have agreed to pay each participant.

Moreover, Sophie also plans the business budget and organises procurement in consultation with Clement. Food and essentials for the surf camp are budgeted for. Clement or sons always use a shopping list that Sophie prepares. On those occasions when Clement is away working, Sophie oversees the management of the surf camp with assistance from her children. Thus, Sophie continues to be instrumental at Clem's Place.

The direct involvement of women in the case study businesses as presented above shows the level of management and influence women have in terms of business success. They may not be direct owners of the businesses, but the women displayed strong managerial and leadership roles in each business, a characteristic that often goes unrecognised by aid agencies, government officials and even some male business owners themselves.

9.3. Indirect Social Roles that Link *Bisnis*, *Wanbel* and Wellbeing

Apart from active involvement in business, women also had indirect social, cultural and spiritual roles and responsibilities that linked the businesses to their families and community members. This finding is significant because their contribution and involvement in the socio-cultural spaces produces situations of *wanbel* (social harmony) and which is the basis for business stability and helps the businesses to thrive. The main ways through which *wanbel* is maintained included being present and participating in life events and contributing toward relieving community *hevi* which refers to crisis or social burdens. Other means included taking care of social needs, caring for workers and family members and being aware of the Christian ethos and values of hard work, honesty and sharing linked to this. Openly acknowledging God as source of everything kept them grounded and influenced how they behaved when they had money and resources.

9.3.1. Presence at life events or during times of 'hevi'

Caring for workers and relatives and making contributions at life events was a common thing for all the women involved in the three case studies. Life events are special occasions involving celebrations of life achievements or occasions of sorrow due to loss of a community member. These occasions include new births, school graduations or other achievements such as church dedications, bride wealth exchanges, or funerals where families and communities gather to feast or mourn. The women representing each business, were seen allocating time to be present at those sorts of events.

At Blue Corner Farm, in consultation with Steven, Margaret would normally present gifts or food items to congratulate workers for new births or children's graduation. At one

time during fieldwork, Margaret stopped work, prepared food, attended the student's graduation at his school, returned home with some workers and family members and presented the student with food and gifts. In addition, when there are *hevi* such as funerals or bride price gathering in the community, Margaret and Steven's daughters usually bring contributions from Blue Corner Farm in cash and other materials such as food, to the affected family to show respect and support. Steven's daughter Anita mentioned that normally, her father does not go to such *hevi* cases, so Margaret and the girls would purchase foodstuff as part of the family's contribution.

Damaris of PNG Bee keeping Supplies was often seen participating in meeting similar social obligations. According to her

> *For big community hevi I am always there. For bride price contributions and funerals, I am present. I buy cartons of lamb, other food stuff and put money on top of that and go…And if there is genuine need, for example if someone in the village is sick, I give him or her money for the bus fare and for medication. Or if I know herbal medicine of that particular sickness, I make and give or give instructions on how to make and take it. So, when the community or people need me, I make sure I am present there* (Damaris, 2019, follow-up interview).

Together with Tella, Damaris also organised bride wealth contributions. Because Damaris has been present and contributed to community *hevis* in the past, her support was reciprocated through community contributions toward her daughter-in-law's bride wealth. People in the community and neighbouring villages came and supported to carry Damaris' and Tella's *hevi* by contributing over PGK6,000 toward the bride price. There was an opportunity during the fieldwork when I witnessed how Damaris got things together for this occasion. In between banking and doing business errands, she was seen purchasing materials such as cooking utensils, garden tools, clothes and so on for her daughter-in-law who was soon to wed one of her sons.

Damaris was also seen occasionally reminding their son to participate in meeting cultural obligations. For example, she took her son once to a poultry market, provided supervision to purchase several live chickens to be cooked for a village gathering. This was to be part of his contribution to acknowledge two young girls who had just reached womanhood, which usually occurs at the first experience of monthly cycle. This

contribution was important for several reasons. The son would share in future bride wealth that these girls may attract if they get married and to be responsible for their wellbeing generally. This action also cements close family ties, garners continuing support for PNG Beekeeping Supplies, and maintains his name and family status in the community.

Like the women at Blue Corner Farm and PNG Beekeeping Supplies, women at Clem's Place participate in life events in their community as well. When I first arrived on Tunnung Island, Sophie and her niece Rosella were not around the surf camp. They were out at a *haus krai,* which refers to house of mourning, that occurred on a nearby island. They took with them foodstuff from Clem's Place to show their family's support for the community in mourning. When asked, Clement commented:

> *We do have cultural things that this business observes. When you came through, I was the only one here. Sophie and Rosella were at that village on the next island. They went there because there was a death there. I sent my family to go and represent me because 'mi big man' [to mean he is a man with status in his community]. I sent them so that people can see that I and family contributed something. They went with a bag of rice and other stuff to pay their respects, pass my condolence and be there on behalf of the family. So, I have to be seen as taking part in the cultural obligations such as funerals or other feasts etc.* (Clement, 2018, interview).

Using his 'big man' status, Clement justifies his absence at the place of mourning and left his wife and niece to attend. To an outsider, this may seem like male dominance. But it is important to note that when women 'show face' at such events with gifts and food products, it gives her 'good name', attracts recognition and raises her status in the community.

Women in the case study businesses expressed similar sentiments when they explained why they participate in community events. Their participation in such life events, social gatherings and taking care of social responsibilities establishes good thoughts toward their business and families. When a businessperson and his family are not seen to be contributing, jealousies from community members can result in a bad reputation and sometimes, violent repercussions. Therefore, to maintain family status, to keep *wanbel*

and harmony with community members, women "show face" (Anita, 2018, interview) especially during *hevi* times.

9.3.2. Care for workers and relations

Another important way through which women gained their workers' support for the business and therefore maintained *wanbel* was by caring for them and their relatives. For example, women in the case study businesses either cooked or brought lunch or dinner for their workers especially after a difficult task has been achieved. Margaret and Damaris were seen on several occasions providing lunches for their workers especially if the workers were engaged in major work that requires urgent attention. Sophie, and her daughter and niece prepared and served food for local people who participated in cultural dances and performances for tourist entertainment. This was in addition to paying them.

The act of kindness in providing food or supporting workers' families to sell their jewellery to visiting tourists, and paying participants on time, are small ways of caring for workers and relatives. In these ways, women keep people happy, maintain *wanbel* and retain the loyalty of their workers and community members. Thus, generally looking out for workers' needs and welfare is important for the case study businesses. All women recognised and acknowledged the contribution workers have in the businesses. The following quote from Margaret summarises how she viewed the workers at Blue Corner Farm Ltd:

> *Behind a very successful businessperson, is his wife. However, when you look closely, only these two cannot make things happen. It needs a team. It needs extra hands, legs, eyes and so on. We all need one another to make things happen. So, these people [the workers] are behind all the hard work at Blue Corner Farm. This is a true point. We can have the money, we can have plans, we can have all the knowledge and wisdom, but when we want to use that knowledge to work, we need many hands. Your human resources support you to make you become who you are. We should not forget that* (Margaret, 2018, interview).

Women at PNG Beekeeping Supplies and Clem's Place shared similar sentiments. For example, Damaris stated,

> *I can say, what is keeping the business going is the people …Relationship is very important. So, we must maintain that with everyone. We always*

> *help when there is 'hevi' in the village. It all depends on how we look after people and keep them happy. For me, that is important* (Damaris, 2019, interview).

Sometimes, they were seen negotiating peace between family members. For example, at Blue Corner Farm, in situations where internal family disagreements arose, female family members mediated and attempted to restore peace. Steven and an adult family member have disagreements from time to time and will not talk to one another. Usually, Anita and Paula become the medium of communication between these men. At times, they have mellowed 'hard situations' and brought peace again into the family. During such situations, Margaret would bring the male relative's children to her place, feed and take care of them, which indirectly maintains positive relationships within the family.

Damaris and Sophie were also seen doing small things to establish peace within their families if situations of disharmony have occurred. Tella is sometimes considered a 'hard man' so he can be cranky with family members or workers if things are not done properly at work or at home. To help establish peace with family members, especially with the children, Damaris would buy a nice meal or give small usable things like mobile top-up cards to mellow difficult situations. At Clem's Place, Sophie's adult children find it more comfortable to express disagreement or negativities openly with her rather than with their father. She seemed to be the peacemaker. For example, one of the sons does not like it if their father puts a lot of pressure on him regarding surf camp activities. On a number of occasions, he was seen confiding in Sophie and freely airing his frustrations. Her presence creates a sense of security and peace so that these adult children find it comfortable to express themselves. Normally, she would talk her children out of disagreements to maintain general harmony around the surf camp. The fact that she is also a landowner in her tribe at Matrankasing, a village on the mainland of New Hanover, provides security for her children. Thus, women act as power brokers, normalise situations of disharmony, and establish *wanbel* relationships between family members. In that sense, women had significant social roles that kept the welfare and wellbeing of relatives, workers and within the businesses.

In addition to women's direct presence and involvement in taking care of social and cultural needs, the desire to fulfil an outstanding challenge posed by women motivated one of the business owners to take care of workers and family members. This is the case for Clement on Tunnung Island. During Christmas holidays when Clement was young and attending primary school, his aunties would greet him with food, make him cups of tea, and advise him to study hard and 'come back' to help them. In the following quote, Clement explains why he takes care of his sister and those related to the women who challenged him as a young student:

> *The village women would say, 'Clem, here eat this food and drink this tea so that you can grow strong, go get an education and come help us'. When I was thrown out of school, those voices came back. So, I set out to do these things to silence those voices inside me. That is why as you walk through the village, you saw permanent houses. Because I wanted to show my sister that I do not need to work in Port Moresby to build her a proper house. I can do that from here. And so, I built Clem's Place to build her a better house.*
>
> *I am building Paul a house in remembrance of his mother. Paul's mother used to give me tea and tell me to study hard, find a job and come back and help our community. I told Paul: 'your mum is dead but I'm going to give the house and bring changes that she asked me to bring into the community'. Unfortunately, she is dead so she cannot see that, but her challenge has been my motivation, so I am going to deliver what she wanted me to* (Clement, 2018, interview).

This finding is quite different from what women were actually doing to take care of workers and relatives during the time of fieldwork. It is the desires of a dead relative that Sophie and Clement use as motivation for taking care of workers and relatives on Tunnung Island. In this sense, keeping *wanbel* with the voices of the spirits is partly responsible for the wellbeing of this business.

9.3.3. Christian values and ethos for wanbel and wellbeing

Having Christian values and ethos and allowing that to influence how women view things and behave accordingly to benefit the businesses was another finding. Their acknowledgement of God as the source of life and success provided the basis for connecting oneself and one's business to church and the community. The following quote explains why faith in God and active participation in church matters are important to women in the case study businesses:

> *God is the source of everything. So, we cannot say we leave the spiritual aspect aside. No. Everything including the spiritual relationship contributes to success in life. The spiritual relationship with God must be intact. You must acknowledge God. This is important. Many times, we think that things happen because of our own strength and knowledge. We have to understand that God gave us the land and knowledge. The talents and gifts to utilise land and to make things happen on the land come from God. God ya em as blo olgeta samting [God is the source of everything].*
>
> *The land down there was a swamp and in this area was covered with very big bush. When Papa bought this land[8], we prayed over it: 'Papa God, this is a new land. You took us from the village into a new area with new people. We pray and thank You for giving us this land. We would like You to help make this place be fruitful'. That was the first thing I did when I first set my feet on this land. We had to pray and dedicate this land to God. There were a few issues but now we have developed this place into a successful fish farm because God helped us* (Margaret, 2018, interview*).*

Sentiments of respect, reverence and a meaningful relationship with God is seen in this quote. These kinds of spiritual perceptions provide a sense of belonging and safety in the knowledge of a higher power overseeing what they do. Such knowledge and perceptions also influence actions and behaviours and are believed to be protection against negative situations.

Establishing a church in the community or leading in church activities, such as participating in church services and sharing children's bible stories, affirmed their faith and developed values of humility to serve people. This kept them grounded in their faith and influenced positive attitudes of caring and sharing. Further, having a church in the community and getting involved in church activities was seen as an important channel through which God's favour and 'blessings' would come upon the businesses. These 'blessings' are then shared with people in the community through social contributions.

[8] An informal arrangement where land in Yonki Dam area was purchased from customary landowners through Margaret Pupune's connection. A person married to a landowner clan there happens to be her relative and through him, Steven and Margaret were able to purchase land in Yonki. There is no security about these kinds of land arrangements but use rights are given based on monetary payment. Creating genuine relationships with the original landowners through participation in important cultural/social events or support in times of need provides security and access to the land.

For example, Sophie of Clem's Place expressed the importance of having a church built on Tunnung Island:

> *When we are faithful to God, He is faithful to us. It is our faith in God that blesses this business. I am happy that we have built a church here* (Sophie, 2018, interview).

Another common thing observed among the women was their daily acts of *lotu* (worship – bible study and prayer). *Lotu* was part of their lives. Daily prayers for protection and blessings for their children, husbands, workers, businesses etc. was a normal scene for women in the case study businesses. Most of the women observed and interviewed mentioned that spending time in *lotu* first thing in the morning helps them to be organised. They complete many tasks in a day when they begin with *lotu*. For example, according to Margaret of Blue Corner Farm:

> *When I wake up in the morning, the first thing I do is pray and read my Bible because that is the important thing. You have to thank God first for your life and the blessings He has prepared for the day. Whenever I start work without prayer and spending time with God, sometimes things become difficult and I am frustrated. I tell Papa [Steven] that every day we must have lotu and be thankful. That is our normal way* (Margaret, 2018, interview).

Damaris shared similar sentiments:

> *…The first thing I do is pray first before I do anything else. You see, when I do not pray or have worship and start doing other things and start assisting Papa [Tella] with PNG Beekeeping Supplies, I don't feel good. I am also disorganised, and I do not get much work done. Sometimes I feel tired quickly. But when I begin with prayer, somehow, I find strength to carry on working. It keeps me going. I can stay up and pack honey in the middle of the night until 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning* (Damaris, 2019, follow-up interview).

These quotes show that connecting with God on a daily basis provides a sense of direction and focus for the women and men in the case study businesses. This was evident in how they could do number of different activities each day. It was also during worship times that prayers of healing and providence for the sick and needy in the community were offered. Personal time spent in *lotu*, is thus also used to remember or think of others' needs and wellbeing, which signifies women's roles not only in the businesses but in the community as well.

The other significant part of active participation in spiritual matters was through paying church offerings and tithes from business income. Women confirmed that reminding their partners and putting aside offerings and tithes to support the church meant that they were contributing toward a 'higher cause', which builds a positive relationship with God, who is constantly acknowledged as the source of life and blessings. Paying tithes also results in peaceful thoughts and increases faith in doing well. As seen below in Damaris' words, it is also a way of maintaining *wanbel* with oneself and with God:

> *I feel guilty when it comes to tithing. I didn't pay tithe for very long time. This year, I said, 'God I have to return your tithes.' I made a deal with God like that, so I am returning tithes. Because when I do not return it, my conscience always troubles me. So, I pay my tithes faithfully. I see that when we give to God, He gives us more and more* (Damaris, 2019, follow-up interview).

This excerpt suggests that in order to have a free conscience and to be at peace with God and herself, Damaris pays church offerings and tithes. This act generates a sense of peace, positive thoughts and thus general wellbeing and *wanbel* with self and God. This is important because sometimes, losses in business income and other things are attributed to 'selfishness' and not 'giving back to God,' who is believed to be the source of everything. Non-Christians would see this as appeasement payments to please the Deity and the church but the sense of 'feeling good inside' that comes with paying tithes was a common sentiment that the women in the case studies shared.

The above findings on women's Christian values and beliefs show that women at each case study business regard spiritual things as important for their families and for the businesses. Thus, active involvement in church activities such as *lotu* (worship and prayers), paying tithes and participating in church programmes, and constant recognition of God influences their actions and behaviours. Most times, these create positive self-thoughts and relationships within business families and with church members. Having Christian beliefs grounded the women and their male counterparts in values of care and connected them to their villages and communities.

All in all, by being present and showing hands and face at life events, especially during *hevi*, looking after the welfare of relatives and family members, and being embedded in

Christian values, participating in church and community activities, women became a 'social glue,' connecting businesses to families and people in the community. Their social actions protected each business from social pressures and became a conduit through which business benefits were shared among families and people associated with the businesses.

9.2.2. Damaris Loie at PNG Beekeeping Supplies

Damaris Loie, wife of Tella Loie, has been instrumental in the start-up and upkeep of PNG Beekeeping Supplies. When PNG Beekeeping Supplies started as Lopi Beekeeping Supplies in 1995 (Chapter 7), Tella borrowed PGK10,000 from his wife and sister to buy materials for the new beekeeping business. When the business developed and changed its name in 2008 to PNG Beekeeping Supplies, Damaris got involved in various ways doing managerial and supportive roles.

Managing finances and keeping accounts is one of Damaris' main responsibilities. She takes care of all banking matters, record keeping, workers' salaries, equipment purchases and other financial accounting needs. She controls finances and the budget in the business. Damaris said,

> *I do not have a qualification in accounting, but I play an accountant's role at PNG Beekeeping Supplies. Where money comes and goes within the business, I know, and I protect money. I do banking, keep records, do bookkeeping and so on. In the mornings after helping Papa [Tella] with a few jobs around here, I normally go into town for banking purposes: to deposit the previous day's takings or withdraw funds for business needs or make payments for purchases or deposit workers' salaries, and then I come back to do other things* (Damaris, 2019, interview).

On several occasions during fieldwork, Damaris was seen doing banking and purchasing materials for PNG Beekeeping Supplies as well as handling cash for other things such as the 20% contribution they choose to pay to partner churches and helping to decide how much to use for their daughter-in-law's bride price (section 9.3).

Additionally, Damaris has an important role in 'protecting' the income of PNG Beekeeping Supplies, which sounded strict but has been beneficial for the financial

wellbeing of the business. The following quote exemplifies how she looks after business income:

> *If Papa asks for money, I ask why and for what. I make the last decision on financial matters. If it is for business matters, I close my eyes [to mean in agreement and without question] and withdraw money for business use. Papa does not look after the finances of our business. For example, if he brings a day's takings and, on the way, meets people [wantoks] he just gives it away. So, when I hold it and he asks, I give it to him from our personal money. But to use business income for other things, I say no. Sometimes he says, 'you have the money there, give it to them.' But I used to ask him, 'Is that your money? That is not Tella Loie's money. The money belongs to PNG Beekeeping Supplies.' I used to tell him, 'PNG Beekeeping Supplies is a different person. Tella Loie is a different person. So, we can't use it for small things.' Anyway, I have put him on payroll so now he gets his own salary. Whenever he meets his friends or when his wantoks ask for money, I tell him to give it from his own pocket money [private money]. I tell him, 'PNG Beekeeping Supplies is paying you so use that to do whatever you want; give to your wantoks or friends or contribute to 'hauslain hevi' [village social burdens/crisis]. In that way, I am protecting the business income. That is how I put limits to the use of business income. This has also reduced complaints for the use of business money on friends and wantoks. I make sure Papa repays his debt too if he took some money from the business for personal use. I used to tell him, 'business is business'. Because of that, my children jokingly say, 'Mama is the CEO of PNG Beekeeping Supplies* (Damaris, 2019, interview).

This quote clearly shows how Damaris sees herself as 'security' for the business income. Her influence over finances stops unnecessary social expenditure. Tella expressed sentiments of affirmation and pride for Damaris' financial management skills:

> *When I make money from selling queen bees, I give it away left, right and centre. I just give, give and give. For example, the other day I made PGK400 from selling queen bees, but I gave it away to my friends just like that. I feel happy to give when I have money in my pocket. I did not keep any. I always do that. That is the reason why I do not keep or manage the finances of the business. Only mama [Damaris] manages money. She is the bos meri[9] [in charge] when it comes to money. She looks after money well* (Tella, 2018, interview).

Damaris' involvement in managing the business finances might seem a bit harsh especially in the local PNG context where maintaining relationships takes precedence over detaching oneself for profit-making purposes. However, her control over finances

[9] PNG Tok Pisin phrase for 'boss lady/boss woman' to mean 'in charge'.

is important for the financial wellbeing and sustainability of the business. Tella seems to agree to and be proud of this, as seen in the above quote.

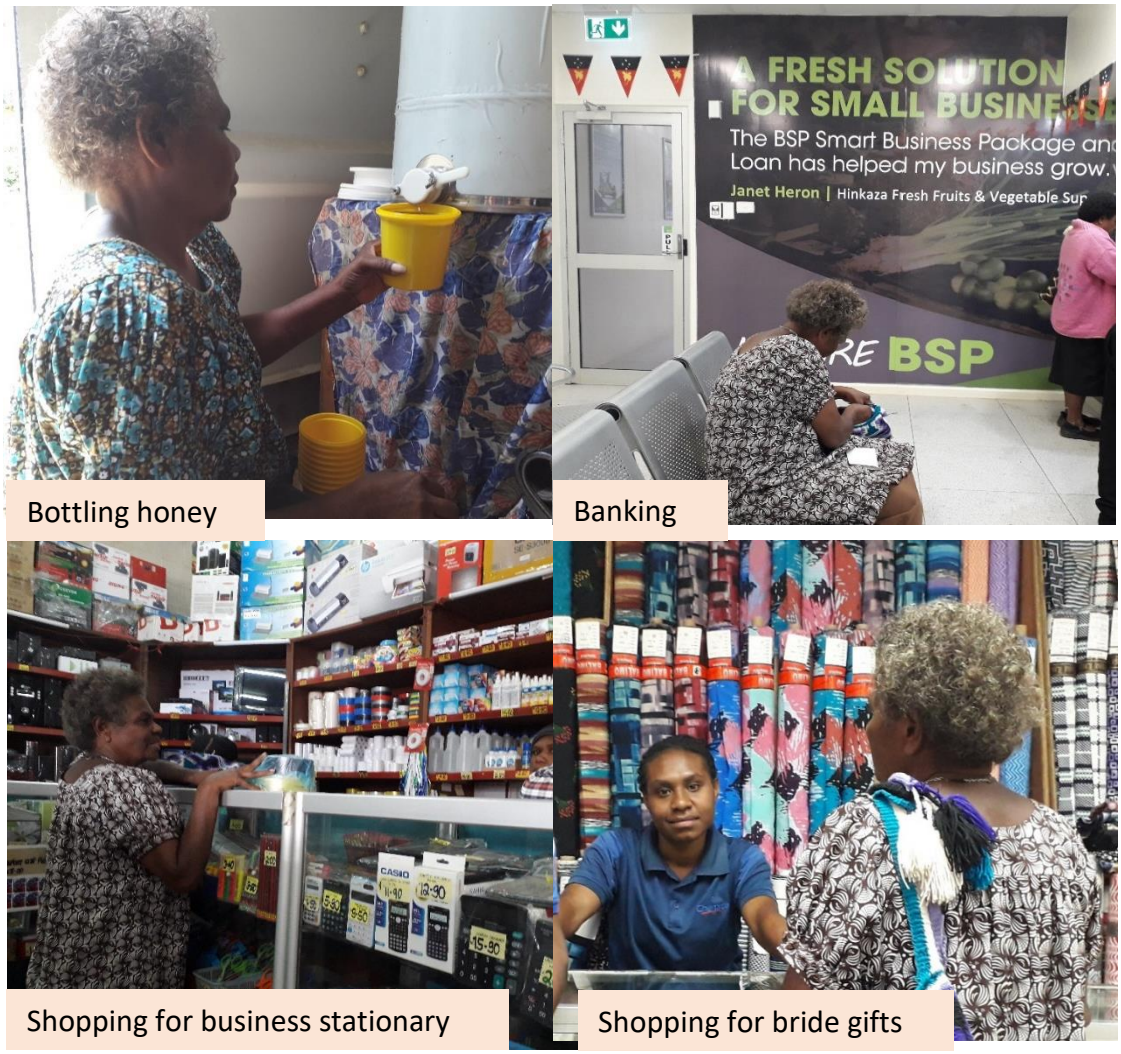
Apart from financial management, Damaris also manages honey production and sales under the sub-business name, Goroka's Finest Pure Organic Honey. Sometimes, with assistance from male relatives, Damaris extracts honey from frames that are collected from beehives located at different sites including those around partner churches. Extraction normally occurs in the family house after 10pm.

> *In the night, I used to extract and pack honey when there is honey to extract. I usually extract, strain and pack honey into the large containers. I do that at 10pm and finish at around 1am or 2am in the morning. That is my job. I do that while Papa [Tella] sits down and relaxes or sleeps. Tonton and Solo [son and nephew] usually help me do that. We collect honey only in the night because during the day, the honeybees are active, and they can be harmful. When the boys are tired and ask to stop, we call off work and go to sleep* (Damaris, 2019, interview).

When there are orders from customers, Damaris re-packs the extracted honey into required bottle sizes – 250g, 500g or 1kg – in the morning. On the way to do banking, together with Tella, they deliver the number of requested honey bottles to supermarkets or individual customers at workplaces or central locations such as bus stops. Demand from main cities like Port Moresby and Lae has increased so Damaris has started airfreighting honey bottles to other provinces. She reduces prices of honey bottles for customers outside Eastern Highlands who buy in bulk. Because she has become a regular client of Airlines PNG, the national air service provider gives Damaris and Tella special discounts on freight, especially if they supply in bulk.

Figure 22 shows a snapshot of what Damaris generally does during a workday. In the morning, she packs honey or helps Tella with other business-related things at the business base in the village. Whilst in town, she takes care of banking and other business errands and at the same time, purchases goods for household or social needs. She jokingly calls herself a 'busy bee'.

Figure 23 A Day in Damaris Loie's Life: Bottling Honey, Banking and Shopping



Source: Author's own fieldwork, 2018.

Aside from managing finances and honey production, Damaris also takes care of numerous household chores, her children and grandchildren's needs. She also participates in community projects and numerous social and cultural activities that directly or indirectly contribute to the welfare and wellbeing of PNG Beekeeping Supplies, as will be discussed later. Whether she had direct business responsibilities or performs supportive roles, the motive is to support business progress and sustainability. Thus, together with the workers and Tella, Damaris has had a substantial influence in the establishment and success of the business over the years.

9.4. Benefits of Maintaining Wanbel in Bisnis

The involvement in businesses based on customary land, through direct business activities and indirect social roles and responsibilities, had more benefits for women than challenges. Key benefits included inspiration and education, raised social status, ability to influence decisions, increased self-confidence and involvement in public relations, the ability to multi-task, and increased leadership in addition to economic benefits were identified as key benefits.

9.4.1. Economic benefits

The obvious benefit for women involved in businesses based on customary land is economic, whether being paid in cash or getting support through other means. All the women interviewed and observed mentioned that they received fortnightly wages. The daughters of one of the business owners continue to receive extra financial support from the business for their further education. They could receive this financial support because the land was put to productive use that generated income. Further, the grandchildren also benefited. Except for Dana and Rosella, who are yet to have children, the daughters of Blue Corner Farm and PNG Beekeeping Supplies all have children. These children continue to receive financial support for school fees and general needs. For example, while Anita was at Massey University, NZ in 2018, her three children were with her parents. Steven and Margaret used income from Blue Corner Farm to support the children with schools fees and basic needs until their visa was sorted and they joined her in NZ in 2019. Tella and Damaris also have several school-aged grandchildren from their daughters Caroline and Nolive. These children's main support for basic needs and school fees come from PNG Beekeeping Supplies. Families doing business on their customary land extend the economic benefits to their children, just as people in any form of business or employment do.

The other economic benefits came directly from managing side-line economic activities such as honey production and sales, selling beeswax, saw dust, handmade jewellery, second-hand clothing, fish and so forth. Essentially, customary land provided the basis

for women to engage in a variety of income generating activities for extra income to support themselves and their families.

There have been occasions when the businesses did not make enough money. During these times, women went without their wages. If they went without pay, that did not stop them from working. The common reason was that it is their family business, so they were not worried if the business was not able to pay them temporarily. However, they shared a similar sentiment that they made sure all their workers were paid. The following quote from Anita summarises why going without pay has not been a problem:

> *Sometimes I used to go without pay but I used what is supposed to be mine to pay the workers. You know, our workers are important so we have to make sure they are happy, and they can feed their families. These are hardworking people and they deserve to get paid. That is why sometimes I go without my wage. As long as we have food in the garden and have something to eat. That is our family business anyway* (Anita, 2019, interview).

Being attached to businesses that are village-based and particularly those established on customary land, has been economically beneficial for women, daughters and their children.

9.4.2. Inspiration and education

Inspiration and education were found to be an important benefit for women involved in indigenous enterprises. Particularly, daughters benefited greatly in this regard. The sorts of business activities they grew up with and worked in gave them experience and inspiration, which resulted in them either gaining internal sponsorships or external scholarship. For example, Steven's two daughters Paula and Anita gained inspiration from Blue Corner Farm Ltd to study Animal Nutrition and Agri-Commerce at Massy University, NZ. Having vast experience on the family farm business, these women received external scholarships from New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade to pursue their interest in agriculture. While in NZ, they also received financial support from their father. Paula completed her study in 2018, has returned to PNG, and has employment. Anita is currently studying Agri-Commerce. Upon completion, she hopes to return and expand coffee business opportunities.

For Sophie and Clement, they have sponsored their daughter Dana to pursue tourism and hospitality at the University of Goroka, Eastern Highlands Province. She was inspired from what her parents are doing and decided to study a tourism related course. She has recently completed her studies and is now on her island to assist her parents at Clem's Place and driving youth sports programmes. Through her, Clem's Place provides sponsorship for sports uniforms, and sports equipment for the youths on Tunnung and nearby islands.

Education made it possible for these daughters to travel outside of their villages, hometowns and country, study at a higher level and have the opportunity to increase their social connections with elites from other parts of PNG, the Pacific and within New Zealand. Their lives have been directly empowered mostly because of the inspiration and educational support they gained from each of their family businesses.

For Paula and Anita, their children have the opportunity to learn in NZ primary schools where they are also exposed to a multicultural environment and a wider variety of learning facilities than if they had remained in PNG. In addition, better paying employment opportunities are in store for these women. For example, Paula now has a job with better working conditions and benefits than her previous employment at PNG's ANZ Bank and Department of Livestock and Agriculture.

The parents' business interests as well as working in the respective family businesses greatly influenced these women's choices of education. Not only have they benefited from their parents' customary land-based businesses, but they have also become sources of inspiration, role models and leaders in their families, communities and particularly, to primary and secondary school girls in their villages.

9.4.3. Raised status and role models

The other benefit for women involved in customary land-based businesses is gaining status and recognition in the family and community. Being able to influence business decisions, showing face at social gatherings, contributing toward solving *hevis* and being able to maintain the wellbeing of family members and workers resulted in respect and

recognition from people associated with them. This indirectly made women feel empowered when they saw themselves performing as 'true' or 'real women', especially when they were able to support in economic, social and cultural spaces. For example, youths including women on Tunnung Island looked up to Sophie and Dana. Sophie led in children's church programmes and mothers respected and looked up to her as their children's teacher. The village girls viewed Dana as a role model. During fieldwork, it was observed that when she came for school holidays, teenage girls stuck around her, participated in the mundane stuff at home to be around her and were inspired by her stories and experiences in Goroka generally and at university specifically.

Like Dana on Tunnung Island, Anita's and Paula's contribution to their father's business success and education overseas has also gained respect and admiration from others including workers and young women in their community. Their ability to maintain peace between their father and other family members has also earned the trust of male family members. When they suggest ways to sort internal disagreements, males often now listen and adhere to advice from the sisters. These male family members find it easy to confide in, get advice and approval from these daughters. This means that these women have raised status as they are able to influence decision-making at the household level.

For Damaris and Margaret, workers and community members called them 'mama'. It is common in PNG that you can call women other than your biological mother 'mama'. An elderly woman or a woman who contributes towards your general needs and welfare is respectfully called 'mama'. Mama in the latter comes with respect and honour and is bestowed upon someone who at one time or on several occasions, has given her services to you. In this case, Damaris and Margaret gained that respect and recognition as 'mamas' in the latter sense by workers, village folks, and associated people due to their continued services in each of their communities.

When these women were present at community work programmes, other women and community members were easily drawn to work together, for example with community sanitation and village road work at PNG Beekeeping Supplies and Clem's Place. Hence, being immersed in community affairs and working for their family businesses based in

the village, as well as being connected to village businessmen, garnered respect and in particular, raised social status for these women.

9.4.4. Other social benefits

Performing both business and socio-cultural roles alongside men increased women's confidence in business matters. This allowed them to influence decisions at home, in the business and in the wider community. Working from home and especially in the village, they were aware of community activities. Because most of them made money for the business or managed business finances, they also had a say in how business income was used. With the ability to influence decisions in their homes and in the businesses, these women also gained self-confidence to network and make connections with other small business owners. For example, Damaris represented PNG Beekeeping Supplies and attended the 2018 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum on Women in Agriculture held in Port Moresby, to showcase Goroka's Finest Pure Organic Honey. Through this, she made connections with other small business owners and potential customers. Since then, interest for the honey has increased in the major cities.

Additionally, women have been able to represent their businesses in support groups and associations such as the Sista Helpim Sista Asosiesen (Sister Helping Sister Association) and Women in Apiculture and were able to approach formal places like banks. They were able to negotiate and sell products, just as women who solely own and lead in other businesses do. Essentially, businesses based on customary land not only benefited women in monetary and social terms but also in personal growth.

Furthermore, working in their family businesses based on their land in the villages was advantageous for women. They stayed close to home and took care of social and family needs. They did not have to travel on a daily basis to and from work as they would if they were employed in formal spaces, which are usually in provincial towns.

Women's involvement in the business based on customary land has not only been beneficial to the businesses but was also advantageous for women. They benefited economically and socially. Most importantly, working in those businesses created

avenues for women to multi-task, manage and lead businesses. Daughters were able to travel outside of their provinces and country for study and work purposes and to enjoy other life opportunities. The opportunity for them to expand their horizon, get decent employment (Paula at Food and Agriculture Organisation) and create innovative ideas to start up and support existing business (Anita's future plans) are only some of the benefits that come from being connected to businesses based on customary land.

9.5. Challenges and Limitations for Women Engaged in Local Businesses on Customary Land

As women in any other businesses do, women in the case study businesses experience some challenges. One of the main challenges was having no time for themselves. Apart from those who are away for study, women who are currently assisting the family businesses realised that they did not have time to take care of their own needs as they are always busy helping in the businesses or taking care of numerous family and community obligations. To minimise their social workload, most women stated that they attend to larger community programmes or needs such as church programmes, funerals, bride price gathering and those that need their attention. Those individual needs such as supporting a community member who is in court for stealing are not as important unless that person is directly related to them. In their homes, women have started to allow their children, including boys to make their own lunches, do washing and cooking. They have also engaged their children to help in business matters while they provide advice and direction.

Some challenges for women in those businesses come from their husbands, fathers and brothers. All the business owners were known as 'hard' or 'strict men', which means workers including children, must do things exactly as instructed. If things are not done properly, they can be stern, which sometimes added stress and pressure on the children. This sometimes results in disagreements and disharmony within the family and the business. In such instances, work output can be very low. Since women mostly negotiate peace, there is an added stress for them to mellow situations and bring *wanbel*. Some of these women were seen being emotional, trying to assist their workers or children while keeping their husbands happy. There were times when men did not listen to them

whether concerning household, community or business matters. In these kinds of situations, women tended to gain peace in prayer and *lotu*. Most agreed that their daily habits of *lotu* has helped solved family issues (for example see sub-section 9.4.3) and brought blessings to the businesses.

Some challenges come from workers, family or community members. People see women, especially wives in those businesses, as either conduits or blockages to sharing business benefits. When wives of business owners are not present at *hevi* gatherings, or do not seem to take an interest in family or community matters, they become subjected to village gossip and demeaning comments. For example, Damaris' strict ways of managing business income sometimes conflicts with village people's expectations:

> *Sometimes, people in the village are not happy with me for being strict with money. They say, 'when this woman is around, she says no if we ask'. But I tell them, 'are you people forgetting that I am employed? I did not bring all these things from my home. I brought my save*[10] *[education] here and I am earning from my save'. So, if they ask for money for petty little things and I do not give, they say all kinds of things such as I have 'pasin nogud' [bad character/attitude]. But I don't bother about what they say because I know when exactly to give and that is during times of critical hevi* (Damaris, 2019, interview*).*

To deal with these kinds of negative views, Damaris contributes more during important community programmes and continues to be kind to individuals in the villages. For Margaret, growing a 'thick skin' to the challenges and gossips, and doing what 'Papa wants' has helped her to ignore trivial gossips as '*samting nating'*[11] and manage only those issues that are important for the family and business.

Doing business on customary land has challenges for women. Finding the balance and being strategic in their approaches to those challenges has helped women to continue to support their families, communities and the case study businesses.

[10] *Save* in PNG Tok Pisin refers to education or knowledge

[11] PNG Tok Pisin phrase. Literally, it is 'something nothing'. Used metaphorically in the above context, it means 'nothing important to worry about'.

9.6. Summary

This chapter presented findings on women's involvement in the case study businesses. They had both direct business roles such as financial management and indirect social roles like 'showing face' during times of community *hevi* and social gatherings. Through these contributions, women maintained social wellbeing within the case study businesses, connected these businesses to communities, and associated people. In doing these things, women influenced business decisions and activities just as much as men did and contributed toward the success or otherwise of these businesses. Most importantly, women had a complementary role as the 'social glue' within the businesses. *Wanbel* was identified as an essential social element they endeavoured to keep. Maintaining situations of *wanbel* contributed to harmony and wellbeing within their homes and communities that also resulted in business success. The desire to maintain *wanbel* influenced the way they acted and behaved. Holding onto and creating situations of *wanbel* through direct or indirect means was necessary for businesses based on customary land.

The benefits of being part of the case study businesses outweighed the challenges for these women. Just as children of any employed person that enjoys the benefits of their working parents, female children of the business-owning families received continued support and were empowered through education. They had opportunities to experience better lives as their parents utilised customary land to develop successful businesses that generated economic means that enabled such experiences. Moreover, women have gained confidence in business matters and are able to influence decisions at home, in business and in the wider community just as the men do. What Cox and Aitsi noted few decades ago still rings true with women in indigenous businesses based on customary land: "women are crucial element" (1988, p. 24) in PNG. The key original finding from this research, however, is that, women are playing direct roles as business managers, as well as performing indirect roles as keepers of *wanbel* in PNG society. Both the direct and indirect roles contributed to business success, and enhanced women's skills and status in their family and communities.

CHAPTER 10: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

10.1. Introduction

This study set out to examine the role of women within three examples of local businesses established on customary land in PNG. The intention was firstly, to identify and explain factors that enable locally owned businesses to be successful and secondly, to explore the ways in which women were involved and benefited from these enterprises. These objectives were achieved, and the outcome is the recognition and appreciation of indigenous values and gender roles that support local businesses existing on traditional land. The significance of a local concept identified in this thesis – *wanbel* – emerged from studying women in the case study enterprises. Women maintained this value which provided an understanding of what success and wellbeing mean in PNG. A revised conceptual framework was developed, acknowledging *wanbel* as central to the Papua New Guinean worldview that sustains local businesses, holds families and communities together and enables relevant development for local people.

The three businesses involved in either agriculture or tourism have demonstrated that running successful indigenous businesses on customary land depends on a number of factors including subsidiary gender roles. Five main findings emerged from this study: customary land can enable economic development; culturally important characteristics are needed to run successful enterprises on customary land; informal support structures are vital for village-based businesses; there is synergy between businesses on customary land and villagers; and women's indirect roles are foundational to the success of indigenous firms on customary land. These ideas will be discussed in line with concepts raised in the literature (Chapters 2-5), drawing particularly from studies of customary land and culture, indigenous entrepreneurship and social embeddedness thinking, indigenous socio-cultural capital and the socio-economic gender roles that contribute to economic development in PNG.

10.2. Discussion

10.2.1. Customary land can enable economic development

In support of the main Marsden project, one of the main findings of this study showed that customary land supports a wide range of agricultural and tourism economic activities. These economic activities are only part of the various hybrid rural livelihoods (Anderson, 2015a) that local Papua New Guineans engage in using their lands. Unlike in most parts of the western world where access to free land for business is limited, the case study business owners had rent-free land at their disposal to establish a diverse suite of business activities as presented in Chapter 7. This is in line with other studies which have shown that access to land enables local people, and especially women to engage in market activities through agricultural production and informal market enterprises in the informal sector (Anderson, 2015a; Barnett-Naghshineh, 2019; Benediktsson, 2002; Bourke & Harwood, 2009; Chang et al., 2010; Mikhailovich et al., 2016; Mosko, 2005)

As well as reinvestment into the busines and spending money on other needs, the findings showed that income generated from the businesses were also used to sponsor school students, both family members and other children in the communities (sections 8.3.3 & 9.4.2) just as Koczberski (2002) reported. Some of these students have completed their studies and are now providing their labour and expertise to the case study businesses or working in key organisations in PNG. For example, Clement's daughter Donna has completed her study in tourism and hospitality, and is now assisting to manage the surf camp at Clem's Place as well as organising community activities in her small island village. Roy, who has been working for PNG Beekeeping Supplies for over ten years (section 7.3.2), was one of the recipients of sponsorship from Tella when he was attending high school. At Blue Corner Farm, Steven's daughters have gained higher education with one already employed with a well-recognised international organisation (section 9.4.2). These are examples of how customary land has enabled businesses to support students, some of whom have become an important part of PNG's human resource base. In the absence of state support, productive usage of customary land generates income which enables further education opportunities for many

students in the rural regions. In that respect, utilisation of customary land has taken on the government's responsibility to invest in future human resource that may contribute positiviely to development in wider PNG.

The different conceptions that the case study entrepreneurs have about land also influenced how the land is utilised to build viable village-based businesses. Notions such as 'land is life', 'land is our mother' and 'land is my security' (Chapter 8, section 8.2.1) were emphasised often. Such perceptions help entrepreneurs to avoid activities that are detrimental to the environmental, social and spiritual values accorded to land, and allow for the sustainable use of the land. As the findings show, all the cases accessed and utilised most materials from the environment in sustainable ways and reinvested in the social programmes of the communities (Chapter 7). These conceptions also provided a sense of place and belonging for the case study business families, confirming what Dove et al. (1974) posited four decades ago, that land has cultural, spiritual and social value for most Papua New Guineans. As such, Fingleton (2005) and others (Anderson, 2015b; Bourke & Harwood, 2009) were correct to argue that land is an important source of social security that also enables diverse livelihood strategies and income generation (Koczberski et al., 2001).

Seeing land as 'life' is also significant as it enables emotional and physical attachment to land for the majority of the rural populations. This may be true for those unable to fully participate in western forms of doing business due to illiteracy or disabilities of old age, or those youths who are pushed out of western education systems as Vunibola and Scheyvens (2019) found in Fiji at the Nayarabale Youth Farm Enterprise. In that sense, belonging to a land-owning unit and having access to customary land is the basis for developing life skills and social connections, as well as providing a foundation to support life if one cannot make a living elsewhere. Hence, customary land creates the opportunity to establish a livelihood and engage in small economic activities that may eventually diversity into key livelihood strategies that support development in the local space.

The other aspect of this finding is that meeting socio-cultural obligations, contributing to relieving *hevi*s and leading in community projects garner recognition, respect and following by community members. This is similar to what Finney's (1973) study found of entrepreneurs in Goroka. An added advantage of continued contribution to community needs and social programmes is reciprocal services and positive relationships created with members of the community. For example, they provided 'security' to the village-based businesses (section 8.3.2). This further strengthened the entrepreneurial family's ownership and land use rights. Hence, the finding here supports those of other studies – that customary landownership can support indigenous ways of life including enabling economic development (Anderson, 2006b; Koczberski et al., 2012) driven by indigenous Papua New Guineans.

10.2.2. Strong, culturally attuned entrepreneurial characteristics are needed to drive a successful business on customary land

The other main finding pertains to personal attainment and awareness of important character traits. Establishing a successful business on customary land requires strong and desirable, culturally attuned entrepreneurial characteristics, abilities and sheer determination. In relational economies like PNG and elsewhere in the Pacific, it can be challenging to run a business on customary land given the robust social connections that are implicated with a plethora of social demands (De Renzio, 2000; Yusuf, 1998) . As a key informant stated, "only strong people do business in the village and support the village folks," (Linda, 2018, interview). As such, indigenous entrepreneurs in contemporary PNG need particular traits and strengths to be able to balance cultural responsibilities and drive economic enterprises effectively in rural settings.

Findings from Chapter 8 (section 8.4) have shown that business owners in this study developed and demonstrated certain personal characteristics that were 'strong' and cushioned them from challenges while enabling them to develop and maintain their enterprises in village settings. This confirms Hailey's (1987) definition of Pacific indigenous entrepreneurs (Chapter2, section 2.3.1). Some of these characteristics pertain to a businessperson's connection to formal systems including education, training, former work experience, determination to succeed by turning former

employment challenges into business motivations, as well as utilising formal networks, banking services and technologies. These are in line with the other studies (Chittithaworn et al., 2011; Fairbairn, 2006; Saffu, 2003) that noted some of these factors as important for small indigenous enterprises. Together, these factors make up the elements of 'being exposed to the outside world' (Fairbairn, 2006) and reflect the support available from formal structures shown in the conceptual frameworks in Figure 11 (section 5.6) and Figure 24 (section 10.3.2). In this sense, competencies from the formal systems are also essential for establishing successful businesses on customary land.

The environment within which each entrepreneur and their families existed also contributed to other culturally relevant personal qualities that were beneficial to business. For example, the ability to utilise natural and cultural resources to create economic outcomes and the strong leadership skill in utilising available labour from family and community to drive diverse suites of business activities on their lands (section 8.4) are vital traits for small Pacific indigenous entrepreneurs, which were also identified by Fairbairn (2006). Dana's (1995, 2005) assertion that indigenous entrepreneurship is based on people's close connection to the natural environment and their utilisation of what is available, was true for the case study businesses. All cases used resources mostly from the natural environment to be innovative. Additionally, the ability to recognise needs and to maintain positive relationships in the community by fulfilling social obligations are key characteristics that business owners and their female counterparts developed while existing in the peripheries of the villages. These personal traits are gained from cultural awareness of social needs and relations, which reflect Croce's (2017) model of rural entrepreneurship: socio-economic outcomes motivate entrepreneurship with social outcomes superseding economic motives. Thus, being able to recognise important relationships (Curry, 2005) and keeping balance between social and economic needs (Haque, 2012) within one's socio-cultural environment are key to leading successful business on customary land. These entrepreneurial attributes reinforce similar aspects of socially embedded enterprises identified by other studies on indigenous entrepreneurship (Dana & Anderson, 2007; Peredo et al., 2004) and are

recognised as the informal support system in the revised conceptual framework in Figure 24 (section 10.3.2).

Previous studies on Pacific entrepreneurship (Bargh, 2012; Fairbairn, 2006; Finney, 1973; Foley, 2008; Foley & O'Connor, 2013; Hailey, 1987; Saffu, 2003) have highlighted some successful factors for indigenous entrepreneurs in the Pacific. This thesis has contributed to and, extended these studies on what makes indigenous businesses successful using case studies of small enterprises based on customary land in PNG.

10.2.3. Informal, culturally embedded support structures are vital to the success of business on customary land

There were pre-existing culturally embedded systems that supported the case study businesses. These included socio-cultural and spiritual structures that influenced actions and behaviours. Working together (*wok bung*, Curry & Koczberski, 2007), working well with workers and family members, helping others for example in times of *hevi*, and sharing information, extending service and maintaining relationships with others in the village and those who came to the business areas, are examples of existing cultural values that indirectly aided in the success of each business. These structures share similar notions with *solesolevaki* in Fiji (Ratuva, 2014; Vunibola & Scheyvens, 2019) and NZ Māori *manaaki* (Bargh, 2012; Kawharu et al., 2017) which require community members to work together and look out for others' needs derived from kinship connections. These informal structures, recognised as vital social-cultural capital (section 3.2.1), resulted in hybrid, culturally embedded models of businesses on traditional land.

The other vital element is related to spiritual values and ethos found in *lotu,* which is related to Christian spirituality. *Lotu* has permeated most PNG homes and involves the totality of churchgoing, praying, or daily recognition of Christian principles inspired by the way of life outlined in the Christian Bible. Although *lotu* and Christianity have not gained favour with some, the values found in *lotu* remain vital and influence many church members' attitudes and actions, including the business owners and their families. They allowed Christian principles to influence their personal and business

affairs. *Lotu* also dictated how business families worked and behaved and how they related to others in each of their communities.

Women in the case study businesses were seen observing and organising their lives around these values. *Lotu* influenced their daily rhythms and grounded their actions in values of honesty, charity, empathy and support for others (section 9.3.3). All females, as well as males, attached to the businesses openly recognised that having Christian spirituality and connection was an important success factor for their businesses as it provides spiritual wellbeing for themselves and extends support to other members in need. This is similar to success factors in Islamic family businesses which show honesty, charity, good intention and positive thinking as key values that influence actions and result in business success (Dewi & Wawan, 2012). The influence of *lotu* also confirms what Koczberski et al. (2001) noted, that women in oil palm frontiers of PNG spend consideration amount of their time in church related activities as it enables spiritual wellbeing and grounds them in vital social values. Furthermore, similar to how Dickson-Waiko (2003) and Scheyvens (2003) found that church women's groups play an important role in development in PNG and Solomon Islands, this study recognises that women and *lotu* were an important part of indigenous firms established on customary land. It provides a positive view of Christian church affiliation to counter that of it being seen as disruption to indigenous economies in PNG (West, 2016). In that sense *lotu* can be seen as spiritually embedding the case study businesses and should be used to understand how indigenous entrepreneurship is also influenced by this non-economic factor.

This thesis argues that without spiritual, social and cultural support structures, an indigenous business based on customary land is less likely to succeed. A prospective indigenous entrepreneur can be educated, have appropriate training and can have easy access to formal support mechanisms, but if he or she does not have social awareness and is unable to balance business and spiritual, social and cultural needs, he or she may not have the 'total package' to develop a sustainable business in a rural community setting. With access to customary land, one must have the ability to utilise, allow and balance social, cultural, spiritual and economic factors to establish a viable business.

Recognising and utilising all these factors in business is a good example of the bottom-up approach to community development (Sakata & Prideaux, 2013). Thus, values from informal social structures are just as important as experience gained from the formal support systems for any business to be successfully established on customary land in PNG and the wider Pacific.

10.2.4. Women's indirect roles are often the foundations for socially embedded businesses on customary land

A significant part of the informal support system that culturally embeds businesses are women's indirect roles. While co-managing male-owned enterprises and executing visible business roles as shown in Chapter 9, section 9.2, females played a vital part in connecting the case study businesses to their communities and maintained the social standing of each business (Chapter 9, section 9.3). The fact that they were able to maintain positive relationships through keeping *wanbel* situations within the business, families, communities and associated people while working directly for the businesses points to the need for wider recognition of women's invisible roles.

Hence, just like recognition that is usually given to women's direct business initiatives and leadership roles in entrepreneurial activities (Kelley et al., 2017; Lechman & Okonowicz, 2013; Movono & Dahles, 2017) women's invisible roles need to be exposed and supported widely as a vital part of economic success for indigenous communities. The social roles that women in the case studies had significantly contributed to successful, socially embedded businesses on customary land. These roles are often seen as 'supportive roles' and attract less interest, and most times are not fully understood and targeted to inform business development plans and programmes. This argument encompasses the essence of this study and is discussed in detail in the next section (section 10.3).

10.2.5. There is a symbiotic relationship between businesses on customary land and the villagers

The case studies have proven that locating businesses in the village is advantageous for several reasons. Seasonal workforce and access to human resources, although seen as 'low skill labour', supports business and is easily accessible. Access to most of the

resources for business needs are available in the surrounding environment in the village and closer to home. Additionally, business becomes a source of employment for villagers who might not otherwise be employed or find employment outside of their villages or islands. Those who give their labour and service to the firms not only benefit economically but their needs for housing and children's schools fees are often also met, and business resources are normally available for their personal and community use in agreement with business families as evident from the findings in Chapters 8 and 9. These extra services are not usually possible if employed elsewhere in towns and cities.

Operating businesses in the village is also an opportunity for connecting villagers to the outside world. As noted in Chapters 7 and 8, people from outside often visit these businesses which gives opportunities to villagers to make useful connections and gain inspiration that would not otherwise be available, or only occur outside of the village. This is similar to NZ Māori *whanaungatanga* through which access to information is made easier through creation or maintenance of positive social networks (Foley & O'Connor, 2013).

Moreover, locating business in the village is conducive for women to 'work from home' and stay connected to their young children. Young children have access to their parents, travelling time is minimised and more flexibility is given to care for family members while overseeing business needs. Hence, rather than the general practice of locating businesses in populated city centres where high demand for products exist, an alternative is to build niche agricultural and eco-tourism businesses in the village because rent-free land and access to family labour makes that possible.

10.3. Thesis Contribution

I identify here three original contributions this thesis makes to existing concepts and literature.

10.3.1. Wanbel is an indigenous concept that helps to explain women's involvement in the success of businesses on customary land in PNG

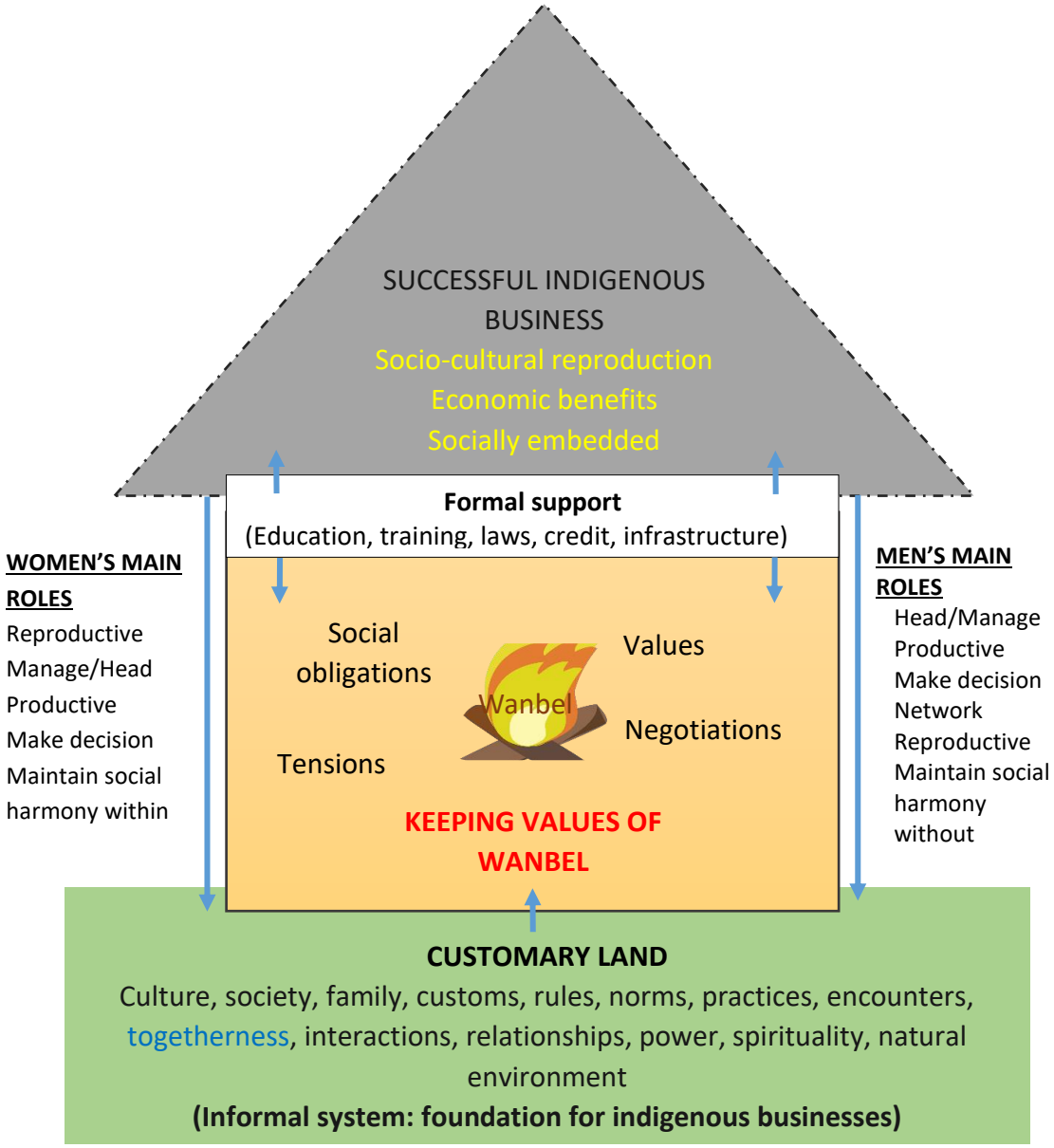
Similar to social concepts that were used to support businesses and communities in other Pacific island countries such as *totoa* in Samoa*, bubuti* in Kiribati (Ratuva, 2014) or *solesolevaki* in Fiji (Vunibola & Scheyvens, 2019), this thesis recognises the local concept of *wanbel* as an important prerequisite for developing culturally successful businesses based on customary land in PNG. Women were recognised as actively maintaining that. Women's supportive roles like showing 'hands and face' during times of community *hevi* and social gatherings maintained the 'social face' of the business cases and connected them to communities. Women acted as the 'social glue' and *wanbel* was an essential social value they endeavoured to keep. That is similar to what PNGs INA and the World Bank study (Asian Development Bank, 2013, p. 9) found, that women play a vital role as 'peace makers'.

Keeping *wanbel* situations also took care of the relational needs of the businesses. Their desire to maintain *wanbel* influenced the way they acted and behaved within their families, in the businesses and in their communities, thus it is an important concept in local business development, just as it is important for maintaining peace and justice, and for working together (Cooper, 2019; Troolin, 2018; Tshudi, 2013). Because of its social significance in business, *wanbel* is integrated into a revised conceptual framework, the *Culturally Appropriate Gender-Sensitive Framework* (Figure 24) that can be used by those who develop programmes to assist local entrepreneurs.

10.3.2. A revised conceptual framework

The learnings gained regarding the female role in maintaining *wanbel* situations is used to modify the working framework from Chapter 5 (Figure 11) to fill in a gap within the alternative economic approaches and pay attention to women's often invisible roles, strategic needs and interests. This study has attempted to do that by providing a revised conceptual framework (Figure 24) which can be useful for developing business training programmes aimed at women in rural PNG.

Figure 24 Culturally Appropriate Gender-Sensitive Framework: Relating Wanbel to Successful Indigenous Businesses Based on Customary Land



Source: Based on Cox and Aitsi (1988); Li (2014); Moser (1989); Scheyvens et al., (2020).

Wanbel is situated centrally to represent the other similar social values that need to inform appropriate, gender sensitive frameworks in business development plans and programmes specific to rural locations in PNG. In the modified framework (Figure 24), *wanbel* is represented as fire, which connotes warm, positive feelings and relationships that are maintained in the businesses. Women seem to do a good job of that as 'peace makers' (Asian Development Bank, 2013, p. 9). Positioning *wanbel* in the central part of a house stresses the importance of women's invisible roles. Tensions, negotiations, relationships and social obligations are taken care of when situations of *wanbel* are

sustained. As such, those invisible roles and needs have to gain wider recognition for meaningful and relevant development meant for the majority who thrive on rural locations largely supported by and live on customary land. Hence, this study contributes to the search and identification of important local concepts that can inform culturally relevant policy frameworks for meaningful development.

10.3.3. A challenge to the Women's Economic Empowerment literature: women's indirect roles in business needs more attention and support

Realising the importance of socio-cultural gender roles that contribute to successful indigenous enterprise, this thesis (a) argues that the neoliberal framing of women's economic empowerment is not sufficient to understand women's involvement in businesses on customary land in PNG and the Pacific, and (b) makes a primary contribution regarding women and *wanbel* in indigenous businesses based on customary land in PNG.

The assumption that inequality and economic empowerment are things that capacity-building and financial training programmes can solve is not holistic as economic needs are prioritised over women's spiritual, social and cultural interests. Most foreign development agencies such as the UN organisations and World Bank, which support gender programmes, view women as key to economic development. Hence, policies and programmes have been geared toward supporting women's economic empowerment for economic growth in PNG and elsewhere in the Pacific. The justification is that

> There are significant development gains to be made in ensuring women's equitable access to and control over economic and financial resources, including in relation to economic growth, poverty eradication and the well-being of families and communities. (UNDESA, 2009, p. v)

That is what smart economics approaches support, which is raised in Chapter 5. Regarding this approach, Chant and Sweetman (2012) posited that is it an efficiency approach that does not take into consideration other strategic needs.

The uptake of an efficiency approach has already influenced thinking around women and business in PNG. When development officers or practitioners talk about 'women in

business', there is this automatic thinking about women heading and leading businesses, directly managing businesses and making business decisions and so on. Government programmes that aim at assisting women, are often about economic empowerment where women have to attend business training, know how to do bookkeeping, make short or long-term goals and know how to make budget plans. This is exactly what the Women's Business Resource Centre and other SME support programmes offer in PNG. The focus is usually on these visible business things that could assist women to lead businesses and less on the invisible social and cultural roles, needs and interests of women which are the basis of their functioning in the society. Further, while highlighting ingrained gender challenges, annual gender analysis and business reports (Asian Development Bank, 2013; Hedditch & Manuel, 2010b), which are usually undertaken by foreign institutions and development agencies, continue to stress women's 'economic empowerment' as key to alleviating gender issues.

To this end, Chant (2016) and Chant and Sweetman (2012) argued that smart economic thinking that continues to emphasise neoliberal framing of women's economic empowerment is a capitalist agenda that simply looks at how women can be used to achieve economic development rather than how development can be transformed to enhance women's and indigenous people's lives. They argue that smart economics only adds to the multiple work burden of women rather than using economic development for the holistic benefit and wellbeing of women and their families.

In that regard, this research has contributed knowledge to those studies that recognise women's invisible roles (Chant & Sweetman, 2012; Molyneux, 1985; Moser, 1989) and further argues that the background roles as keepers of *wanbel* is absolutely critical for business development in PNG. The study has also provided a picture of 'backstage' gender roles that are significant for businesses on customary land in the Pacific to be culturally enmeshed and successful. While maintaining this vital social element and also carrying out visible business roles, females also lead the case study firms to success and benefited in gaining social status within their families and communities without directly owning businesses as evident in Chapter 9. As such, there are several lessons to be drawn from this research:

1. Women's economic empowerment does not only occur from directly owning businesses
2. The definition of women's leadership in business should not solely focus on their visible leading roles
3. Women directly and indirectly help to retain customary land for the benefit of their families and communities, through their supportive roles.

This means that females do not always have to have direct control or ownership of land to contribute meaningfully to the welfare of their families, communities and to economic development in local PNG. Paying attention to females' unseen roles exemplified in the case study businesses is a first step toward recognising women as active members and significant 'social glue' between business and communities. This suggests that indigenous enterprise performance should not be explained or defined based on economic factors alone.

Given these lessons, an original contribution of this thesis is that it specifically explores women's roles in male-owned businesses, particularly on the local concept of *wanbel* in indigenous businesses based on customary land. In that respect, this thesis makes a primary contribution to the study of woman and *wanbel* in businesses based on customary land in PNG.

10.3.4. Businesses on customary land can help to validate an alternative economic development argument that businesses can indeed serve society

The case studies have shown that doing business on customary land also serves society (Scheyvens et al., 2020). Findings in Chapters 8 and 9 explained how the case study businesses contributed in serving different groups of people. Family members gained support in various ways including wage-earning and support in education. Other students in the communities received sponsorship. The villages where the case study firms are based received assistance in community infrastructure such as building projects. Church and community halls were constructed, village tracks and village libraries were built, and sources of clean water supply were provided (Chapter 7).

Other services were reciprocated with acts of kindness. For example, when there were community *hevis* such as funerals or when a community member fell sick, they were assisted with transportation to the nearest hospitals. Workers were given land to make gardens or were assisted with building materials for their houses. The businesses also served as a learning environment for both workers and villagers. They either observed or worked in the business to learn useful skills they would not otherwise receive if these businesses did not exist in their communities. Workers, who are mostly villagers, learnt practical lessons to engage in small economic activities. It is obvious that these businesses were not there solely for economic gain but to serve their communities by extending development needs and projects relevant to them. In that sense, businesses on customary land took on the state's responsibility in providing those vital development services that are most often absent in rural locations. That is what alternative development approaches including diverse economies, doughnut economics and hybrid economies argue, (Curry, 2003; Curry & Koczberski, 2009, 2012; Gibson-Graham, 2006; Gibson-Graham et al., 2013; Raworth, 2017a) that businesses do serve society. This thesis clearly supports and builds on knowledge in the alternative development thinking space.

This draws us to the final point, that a business name is only the visible face of the business. The true value of an indigenous enterprise lies in the activities and elements that goes on out of sight, under the submerged part of the iceberg or floating coconut (Gibson-Graham, 2006; McKinnon et al., 2016). Thus, a successful indigenous business is not only defined by how much profit it makes and capital it has but also by its meaningful relationships and the contributions it makes to the wider community's social and cultural needs. This research on local businesses based on customary land in PNG has proven that. Hence, the findings support the main Marsden project assertion that businesses established on customary land do serve society (Scheyvens et al., 2020) and kindle development in rural PNG. That is the vital element that renders the case study enterprise on customary land successful.

10.4. Recommendations for action and research

A few recommendations can be drawn from this study. First, customary landownership is an enabler of positive development in rural PNG as evidenced by the case studies presented here and other studies (Anderson, 2015b; Fingleton, 2005; Mosko, 2005; Scheyvens et al., 2020). Viewing customary land ownership as a hindrance to economic development does not recognise its potential to support a thriving indigenous economy in most parts of the country. Instead, if the national challenges identified in Chapter 8 such as upgraded road systems, electricity and telecommunications infrastructure were to be improved and maintained, this would reinforce the economic gains that could be derived from economic engagements on customary land. Improved and affordable infrastructure would provide various opportunities including easier access to markets and information for the rural population to engage in sustainable economic activities, directly contributing to improved livelihoods and supporting national economic growth. This leads to the second recommendation.

Business training facilities and resource centres are mainly based in the cities and towns. For most aspiring entrepreneurs in rural locations, there is difficulty in accessing assistance from such centres because of unconducive and expensive transport infrastructure, unsafe and risky encounters for women and intimidation from the elite population who dominate training spaces in provincial centres and cities. There is a need to initiate or identify and support locally driven business spaces that are already in existence and providing training services that the government should be providing. In this way, relevant and needs-specific business training can support and inspire those who are interested in doing business on their customary lands in their villages.

Third, as noted throughout this thesis, women's often unrecognised roles have been identified as key to the success of the case studies. Most business training programmes do not acknowledge this. The focus of economic empowerment programmes for example, have always been on the visible business roles. There is a need to look beyond that because 'women in business' should not necessarily be about them being at the front of the business and assume that this is automatically empowering them. The

women in the case studies have shown that their indirect roles are significant. Hence, women need to be supported in the multiple roles they play in helping businesses to be successful and gain more recognition for that. In a relational economy like PNG, the invisible socio-cultural values and roles that underpin business should inform any business training because for any woman in PNG, family and community needs and obligations take precedence over her own needs when she has access to income (Cahn & Liu, 2008; Chang et al., 2010; Koczberski, 2002; Mikhailovich et al., 2016). This means that government actors, donors and development agencies need to realign business training and programmes to recognise, value and accommodate the various roles that women play both in business and the society.

Finally, this study was limited to small, male-owned family businesses in PNG. Hence, there is a need for a wider study on all sorts of businesses, from individual enterprises to large corporate businesses, and female and male-owned businesses based on customary land in the Pacific to test and support the findings of this study. More study on women's supportive roles can contribute significantly to providing a holistic picture of how invisible gender roles also aid economic development in rural communities. Therefore, in doing so, context specific, relevant development programmes could be devised to support many aspiring local entrepreneurs in different parts of PNG and the wider Pacific.

10.5. Conclusion

This thesis has illustrated that establishing successful businesses on customary land is dependent on both visible and invisible social factors. It showed how women in local businesses lead in negotiating and maintaining relational and societal needs that contribute to business and community wellbeing, suggesting investment in socio-cultural capital is vital for local development.

While working with their male counterparts and carrying out invisible social roles, women gained confidence in business matters and were able to influence decisions at home, in business and in the wider community, similar to their male counterparts. In

addition, Moser (1989)was right that women's triple roles made their work very challenging yet performing community management roles through the business – such as contributing to community hevi – actually helped to enhance their status in their communities. Maintaining *wanbel* situations contributed significantly to not only business sustainability but also harmony and wellbeing within their homes and communities. The absence or disruption of *wanbel* had negative repercussions that resulted in disorder and at times led to disharmonious family relations and unproductive business days. The ability and desire to maintain *wanbel* influenced the way women, as well as men, acted and behaved within and outside of the business, making *wanbel* an important link to success in indigenous enterprises. The recognition given to women as a "crucial element of PNG society" (Cox & Aitsi, 1988, p. 24) three decades ago holds true with regard to women in customary land-based businesses. They are not only a 'crucial element'. This thesis has further shown that women are active agents of development and keepers of peace, harmony, wellbeing and *wanbel* in PNG society.

> *It makes me a real woman when I show face and hands [support] and when everyone is happy. In that way, we keep good relationships and live well with others. That is important* (Margaret, 2018, interview).

10.6. Final Note

Doing this research as part of the main Marsden Project has broadened my perspective as an indigenous person. The journey has been one of realising and understanding how important indigenous cultural values are and why they continue to shape gender roles in indigenous business and particularly in society-building in contemporary PNG. Being allowed into family spaces to listen to women and small entrepreneurs' stories has been humbling and an honourable experience. The women's stories and experiences shared in those household and local spaces produced a wealth of knowledge into understanding how women carefully negotiate and retain positive relationships through a culturally meaningful notion that supports indigenous businesses thriving on customary land. This has resulted in what is identified in this thesis as a *Culturally Appropriate Gender Sensitive Business Development Framework* (Figure 11). The research has also provided an alternative understanding of indigenous wellbeing and what makes *gutpela sindaun*, a good situation or good life (Cox, 2006) possible. The

research findings were shared in various national and international conferences (Appendix VI) and through publication of academic articles (Scheyvens et al., 2020; Steven et al., 2019). Thus, this research is relevant for informing appropriate development policies and programmes based on customary land that support business-oriented women, men, families and communities in PNG and the broader Pacific. In that respect, carrying out the research and writing this thesis has been useful and personally fulfilling.

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APPENDIX I: Massey University Human Ethics Council

Date: 22 February 2017

Dear Prof Regina Scheyvens

Re: Ethics Notification - SOA **17/08 - "The land has eyes and teeth": customary landowners' entanglements with economic systems in the Pacific**

Thank you for the above application that was considered by the Massey University Human Ethics

Approval is for three years. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, reapproval must be requested.

If the nature, content, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise the Secretary of the Committee.

Yours sincerely

Dr Brian Finch
Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and Director (Research Ethics)

Research Ethics Office, Research and Enterprise

Massey University, Private Bag 11 222, Palmerston North, 4442, New Zealand **T** 06 350 5573; 06 350 5575 **F** 06 355 7973

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APPENDIX II: In-house Ethics - Institute of Development Studies, Massey University

People, Environment & Planning

Massey University

Information for in-house Ethics document from Masters and PhD students

Notes:

1. Before filling in this form you are required to read the Massey University 'Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants'. http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/research/research-ethics/human-ethics/approval.cfm
2. Please submit this document to your supervisor at least 2 days before your ethics meeting – s/he will forward it to other staff who will be attending your ethics meeting.

Name: Hennah Steven (Ms)
Research topic: Exploring the role of women in successful businesses based on customary in the Pacific: Case studies from PNG.

1. Summarise your research project (1 paragraph)

This study is part of the main Marsden project "The land has eyes and teeth": customary landowners' entanglements with economic systems in the Pacific. The main project explores how Pacific communities have been able to establish distinctive models of engagement that allow them to pursue economic development while retaining control over customary land and upholding community processes and values. This research will explore the role(s) women play in successful businesses based on customary land in Papua New Guinea, bringing an element of gender into the main project. It is anticipated that this research, while it contributes toward the main Marsden project aims, it will also address a research gap. There are a lot of research on how gender has contributed toward development in different areas including community developments in the Pacific and elsewhere. However, little is known about how women contribute toward retaining customary land and cultural values through their roles in successful businesses based on customary land in the Pacific and in PNG. This research will address that research gap. Consequently, doing this research will help me understand how women contribute toward and benefit from sustainable socio- economic developments on customary land. It is anticipated that the findings from this research will also contribute toward the main project by showing how

women's roles help to retain customary land for the benefit of the family, clan or community. This study may also illuminate how public perceptions of gender in PNG support (hinder) women's contribution to rural economic development.

2. Summarise your methodology (1-2 paragraphs)

The research framework that guides the main Marsden project is the Vanua and Tali Magimagi research frameworks within Critical Appreciative Inquiry (Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Meo-Sewabu, 2015; Reed, 2007). These research frameworks call for culturally respectful Pasifika research approaches. The Vanua research is grounded in indigenous values which '…supports and affirms existing protocols of relationships, ceremony, and knowledge acquisition. It ensures that the research benefits the vanua…' (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p.25). Complementary to this, the Tali Magimagi framework (Meo-Sewabu, 2015) weaves together culturally appropriate and ethical research practices. Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is a participative, action-learning approach, "a process to encourage social innovation" (Ridley-Duff and Duncan, 2015 p.1579) that focuses on recognising and developing best practice. These research frameworks will guide my research, especially with my entry into and accessing participants within the communities in which my case study businesses are situated. The reason for using these research frameworks to guide my entry into the communities is that PNG is a culturally heterogeneous Pacific island nation. Therefore, I have to respect and observe culturally appropriate ways of entry and behaving while in the research sites.

To collect my data, I will utilise an ethnographic case study approach to guide my data collection. The case studies in my research will be the two (or three to be identified) landowner businesses I have identified. These are the cases within which I will use feminist ethnography to explore real-life experiences and roles that women have had in the businesses, contributing to the successes of these businesses. I will do a detailed, in-depth data collection through interviews (tok stori), participant/direct observation, field notes and secondary sources. Using these methods will also help me to engage fully, participate actively and learn in action.

I will also do interviews with other stakeholders such as Fresh Produce Development Agency (FPDA), Women in Business, Business Incubation Centres, Coffee industry, Agriculture and Livestock, etc. which support, train, or provide consultation to landowner business groups and individuals. This is to understand how support/training from these stakeholders influences how women contribute (not) toward businesses and help to retain customary land.

3. Reflect on the following ethical issues with relation to your research project (an explanatory paragraph under each bullet point is usually sufficient):

- **Recruitment & access to participants**

During the preliminary data collection in PNG in early 2018, two case study businesses – Blue Corner Farm Ltd and PNG Beekeeping Supplies – that met business sustainability criteria (Scheyvens, Meo-Sewabu, Banks and Decena, 2018) were identified and contacts were established. Additionally, contacts with other stakeholders, which support landowner businesses, were made. I will use these businesses and contacts to recruit my participants using a combination of purposeful and snowball sampling. The participants will be mainly females from the businesses or surrounding communities who have direct or indirect contacts with the businesses. Thus, I anticipate accessing my research participants through the business owners, personal contacts and other stakeholders.

- **Obtaining informed consent**

To obtain participant consent for this study, I will provide detailed information sheet (revised from the main Marsden information sheet). All participants will be given an information sheet that outlines the nature of the research and what they are consenting to in terms of their time, questions that will be asked and their rights that may be involved. Additionally, such issues as incentives, participant withdrawal, and matters of confidentially will be explained in detail. These details will also be given verbally during the actual fieldwork. This is important because it will provide a sense of security especially with sharing personal experiences and information. Participants will sign informed consent forms whether they agree to participate fully or not. However, if participants are not able to sign, a recorded verbal consent will be organised. This will be digitally recorded with details such as name of interviewee and interviewer, date, time and place of interview. Freedom of withdrawal will also be explained in the consent forms or will be verbally explained to the participants so that they are not restricted in the information they chose to give. If need be, the informed consent forms will be translated into Tok Pisin, PNG national creole, for those who are not able to read and write in English.

- **Privacy & confidentiality**

I will make sure any personal detail or data that may potentially harm participants (if there will be any) are kept private and confidential. Participant information such as identity and sensitive information will be kept confidential. All private information, recorded interviews and data will be kept in a password-protected computer that only I can access. Apart from me, those who will have access to participant information and data will be the participant and my supervisors only. I will respect and uphold the wishes of all participants and not infringe on the trust and confidence participants will have on me.

- **Potential harm participants/researcher/university**

Because my study is about how women contribute toward retaining customary land through their influences in successful businesses based on customary land in PNG, there is minimal harm that is anticipated for the participants. However, the information they share may cause stigma from their communities. To minimise this risk, I will work closely with each participant and check to make sure that they are comfortable in sharing their stories (experiences). Additionally, following cultural processes and protocols will be very important. I will make sure I understand how to approach different age groups, gender, and individuals in the communities. Throughout the interview, I will continue to make sure participants are happy to continue sharing their experiences. I will make it clear to each participant that they have a right to choose not to answer any or all of the questions and that they have the right to withdraw from the research process at any stage up to the end of the data collection period.

Since I am a female researcher, security is a concern especially in a country like PNG. To manage this, I will contact my relatives and people I already know to provide security before I go for fieldwork.
I will uphold MUHEC ethical guidelines and the university's reputation at all times throughout my research.

- **Handling information/data**

I will make sure that all participants' data collected is securely stored in my password-protected computer. Consent forms that have participant details (names and addresses) as well as personal details digitally recorded will be stored separately from the main data. After the completion of my research project, data (information collected from interviews, observation and participation) will be kept securely for further research (with permission from main Marsden project team) or will be destroyed at the completion of the project. My supervisors and I only will have access to the data for the purpose of the research project.

- **Use of information**

In my research project, data collected with the consent of participants only will be used. After transcribing interviews, I will go back to the participants, have them to confirm or correct the information they have given during the field trip. This will give me opportunity to make amendments if necessary (within two weeks). Within two months of data collection, participants can request information collected not be used if they change their mind, even if they had initially consented. This includes data from interviews. Only relevant data that answers the research problem/question will be used in the final write-up of my thesis.

- **Promising access to information**

Participants will have full access to information collected if they would like, including interview transcripts. At the end of data collection and analysis, together with the main project team members or my supervisor, we will share a summary of the research findings with participants

- **Conflicts of roles**

With my research, I cannot foresee any problems with conflict of roles.

- **Use of research assistant(s)**

Research assistants will not be engaged in this my research.

- **Cultural/gender concerns**

Since I will be interviewing females from various backgrounds, I will need to ensure my conduct, dress and language is appropriate for particular community and person. I will adhere to cultural protocols and be sensitive to cultural attitudes, values and traditions toward females. Participants' comfort is important so I will ask participants if they are more comfortable to be interviewed at home with their family present or a lone. If I happen to interview males, I will have to be aware of and adhere to culturally appropriate way of approaching and talking with males in each of the case study I will be going to.

4. **Read Massey University's 'Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas'**
   http://www.massey.ac.nz/massey/fms/PolicyGuide/Documents/Academic/Procedures%20for%20course%20related%20student%20travel%20overseas.pdf

   Comment on how you will ensure your travel is carried out in accordance with these procedures. You should also refer to the NZ Government website www.safetravel.govt.nz for travel risk related information to support your ethics application, and specify if any high risks are identified.

I will be going for my research fieldwork to my home province in PNG. Therefore, I will have access security from my immediate family and relatives for safety purposes and other needs. I have no major health issue or disability. I am used to the food and the environment in my home province so there is less health risk for me. However, prior to my departure, if any health issue arises, I will discuss it with my departmental head or health professional at Massey Student Health Centre for further advice and vaccination.

There will be not stop-overs but only one sleepover at Auckland is anticipated. I have travelled safely to and from PNG via Australia by plane in the past, so I do not anticipate any problems. The travel costs and insurance will be covered by the Marsden project fund.

The research does not involve high-risk activity. Therefore, there is minimal risk that is associated with my research that could create any potential liability for the University.

My research travel will not incur uninsurable professional or public liability risks for the University. My travel is for legitimate University approved purposes therefore, my supervisor will endorse, document and approve my travel as it is research related. I will use the services of Orbit to organise my international flights (NZ-Aust-PNG and PNG-Aust-NZ). My past international travels have been successfully organised by Orbit. I have StudentSafe insurance policy and it is covered by the Marsden project.

I will ensure to provide an itinerary of my research fieldwork to my supervisor including information regarding my whereabouts and contact details, prior to departure which can be kept for up to 6 months after I arrive from fieldwork.

5. Explain whether a special research visa or ethics approval is required from the country where you intend to do research, and what progress you have made with this.

The main Marsden project has been approved therefore I do not need to apply for ethics approval. However, I will need to fill the PEP in-house ethics form, which I have. I have addressed the main issues as outlined above for discussion with my supervisor and the in-house ethics team.

I am a natural citizen of PNG therefore; I do not need a special research visa to go and carry out my research.

APPENDIX III: Guiding Questions for Interviews

With Pacific businesses on customary land (questions for owners or managers)

1. Please provide us with some background on the origins and history of your business e.g. who started it, when and why, and how has it evolved over time.
2. Do you consider your business to be economically successful? Please explain (e.g. does it turn a profit; have you been able to grow the business; does it provide local employment)?
3. Do you consider your business to be socially successful? Please explain (e.g. does it make contributions to local community groups)
4. Do you consider your business to be environmentally successful? Please explain (e.g. do you practice effective waste minimisation and management; do you actively seek to improve the surrounding environment)?
5. Do you consider your business to be culturally embedded? Please explain (e.g. do you abide by any cultural protocols, or consult local leaders on any decisions when the business might affect the community)?
6. What relationships, business or otherwise, are important to the success of your business?
7. Do you think your business contributes to local wellbeing and development? Please explain.
8. To what extent is your business locally owned and/or locally managed?
9. What are the challenges to operating a successful business on customary land?
10. What do you think are the key ingredients for success of businesses based on customary land?

With communities

1. What do you see as 'good development' for your community?
2. Do you think that business X 'puts back' into the community (or contributes to local wellbeing and development)? Please explain.
3. Are you proud to have business X in your community? Please explain.
4. What do you think is necessary for a business on customary land to be both successful and to be respected by local people?
5. To what extent does business X abide with cultural norms and protocols? Do you think cultural embeddedness is important in terms of the operation of local businesses? Please explain.
6. How would you describe the relationship which exists between the business and your community, and how has this changed over time?

With other stakeholders (e.g. government officials, donors, business associations, NGOs)

1. What do you think are the key ingredients for success of businesses based on customary land?
2. What are the challenges to operating a successful business on customary land?

3. Does your organisation do anything to support businesses based on customary land? Please explain.
4. What relationships, business or otherwise, are important to the success of businesses based on customary land?
5. Overall, do you see customary land as an enabler of, or barrier to, development in country X? Please explain.

APPENDIX IV: Interview Guide Questions for Women

1. Tell me briefly how this family business started.
2. What is your role in this business?
3. In what ways have you contributed to the success of this business?
4. How do you spend each day at home and in the business?
5. Who makes decision over how the business income is used?
6. Do you have any control over the income from the business?
7. What do you think are the factors of success of businesses based on customary land?
8. What major problems do you encounter as the head/worker/of the business?

APPENDIX V: Follow-up Questions for Women

Follow-Up Questions – June 2019

1. Do you get to have more say in things: business, family, community, etc.?
2. What recognition do you get from being in the business in terms of social and economic status? For example, do you have any leadership role in your community, church or groups.
3. Do you have any say in how business income is used?
4. What do you think are the key factors the business going?
5. ***Wanbel*** – do you think this PNG concept is important in doing business as a local person? How do you maintain ***wanbel*** in your business, family and community?

APPENDIX VI: Conferences and Seminars Research Findings were Presented at

- *Women's contribution to successful local businesses on Customary Land: Learnings from PNG Case Studies.* **Effective Economic Development on Customary Land Symposium,** January 28th, 2020, University of the South Pacific, Laucala Campus, Fiji.
- *Women's roles, impact and benefits of local businesses based on customary land in Papua New Guinea.* **2019 PNG Update**: Development and Diversity, August 8th – 9th 2019. University of Papua New Guinea, Port Moresby, PNG.
- *Small indigenous tourist businesses and gender equality: case studies from New Ireland Province, Papua New Guinea.* **Tourism and the Sustainable Development Goals Conference 2019**, January 24th – 25th, 2019. Massey University Albany Campus, Auckland, NZ.
- *Role of women in successful businesses based on customary land: case studies from Papua New Guinea.* **DevNet Conference: Disruption and Renewal**, Dec 5th - 7th, 2018. University of Canterbury, Christchurch, NZ.
- *Recognising women's role in economic enterprises on customary land in Papua New Guinea.* **Social Movements, Resistance and Social Change 2017: Beyond capitalism – beyond colonisation** – Ka whawhai tonu mātou. September 6th – 8th, 2017, Massey University Albany Campus, Auckland, NZ.
- The 'Social Glue' that Connects Business to Social Wellbeing: Women and Wanbel in Customary-Land Based Businesses in Papua New Guinea, Massey University's Institute of Development Studies Seminar, 25th March 2020. Massey University, Palmerston North, NZ.
- **Waewae takahia:** tracing the footsteps of our ancestors. Seminar on Indigenous entrepreneurship research in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Papua New Guinea and the United States of America: A local concept for wellbeing and success in indigenous enterprises in Papua New Guinea. 05th February 2020, Massey University, Palmerston North, NZ.

- Success Factors for Businesses Based on Customary Land. PNG's National Research Institute Seminar, July 26th, 2019. Port Moresby, PNG.
- Women's involvement in local businesses based on customary land in Papua New Guinea. Pacific Adventist University's School of Business Guest Lecture, August 15th, 2019. Port Moresby, PNG.
- Land and Successful Local Entrepreneurs: Learnings from three Case Studies in PNG. University of Papua New Guinea's Master's in Business Administration Guest Lecture, August 2nd, 2019. Port Moresby, PNG.