International Institute of Social Studies

Erasmus

Social Capital or Human Capital: The Reality of Young People's Access to Paid Employment in Papua New Guinea

A Research Paper presented by:

Lulu Kupe Maginde

(Papua New Guinea)

in partial fulfilment of the requirement for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

SOCIAL POLICY FOR DEVELOPMENT
(SPD)

Members of the Examining Committee:

Karin Astrid Siegmann
Irene van Staeren

The Hague, Netherlands
December 2019

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

BSP	Bank South Pacific
DJAG	Department of Justice Attorney General's Office
GDP	Gross Domestic Product; Graduate Development Program
GPA	Grade Point Average
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
ILO	International Labour Organization
LLLS	Leahy, Lewin, Lowing and Sullivan (Law firm)
LTI	Legal Training Institute
MBBS	Bachelor of Science in Medicine and Surgery
NYDA	National Youth Development Agency
PNG	Papua New Guinea
POM	Port Moresby
RMO	Resident Medical Officer
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UN	United Nations
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea
USD	United States Dollar
UYEP	Urban Youth Employment Project

Acknowledgements

I would first and foremost like to thank my supervisor, Professor Karin Astrid Siegmann for being so patient with me throughout the whole process. Your endless motivation, feedback, suggestions and advice were always needed and sincerely appreciated. My research paper would not have been nearly as put together if not for your immeasurable guidance. I would also like to thank my second reader, Professor Irene Van Staeren for her constructive and intuitive comments. If it weren't for your suggestion to apply a gendered lens, my paper would not have been half as interesting to read. I show gratitude as well to

To my big sister Joanne, who was the biggest help in putting me in touch with my interviewees, I am truly beyond blessed to have you. Thank you to my research participants: PCK, Samira, Louisa, Susan, Polly, Ida, John, Arthur and Kendja, for allowing me to incorporate your stories in my research. I hope I was able to do justice, to paint a picture of the reality young people have to face in searching for jobs in a struggling labour market.

I am grateful for the number of cafes that accommodated me during my tumultuous writing process (Coffee Company, Starbucks, Filtro and Dunkin Donuts). I apologize for always occupying tables with my colourful notes but appreciate your free Wi-Fi and friendly service.
To my ISS batch mates, and the people I have considered my family (you know who you are), for the last 15 months of my time here, thank you. We have faced numerous challenges, highs and lows and have persevered. For the endless long nights of laughter, staying up to complete assignments and quality conversations about life, I would not know where to start to show gratitude.

Last but not least, my heartfelt gratitude goes to my family for being so supportive of my dream to pursue my Masters. Paux, May, and Jemai, thank you for always being there for me when I need you. Finally Thank you Ara and Ina for your unconditional love, faith and providing me with the social capital to be able to do this. I would not be who I am without any of you or God's guidance.

Abstract

In introducing the labour market and context of employment in Papua New Guinea (PNG), this paper reasons that there are existing problems for young people, which limits their access to paid employment. As reported in various reports by international organizations, the problem with rising youth unemployment in PNG, is often due to a lack of education or skills and experience. Human capital and social capital theory lays the foundation, to counter this claim, as it illustrates that having proper investment and solid social networks would aid in the job hunt. Furthermore, asking the question, is there a difference in the way young men and women find employment in the formal sector? The intention of this research paper is to address the gaps in the way youth employment has been reported in PNG. Incorporating a triangulation of qualitative interviews, literature and an auto-ethnographic experience, to explore the factors that influence labour force participation. Particular emphasis is placed on young people's social capital and the use of their social networks to secure paid employment. In addition to other factors that may deter access to paid employment in PNG.

Relevance to Development Studies

Folbre (2012) argues that "rapid economic growth often increases the well-being of the younger generation" (p.284). This research paper is relevant to the studies of development as it employs a utilitarian view of analysing the role of social networks in aiding a privileged few while deterring others. One of the key ideologies bolstered in the discourse of development studies, are power relations reinforced in the social exclusion and inclusivity of certain groups. Through attempting to understand what are the factors that dissuade opportunities to paid employment for young people, one uncovers how this can lead to slow economic growth. As defined by the World Bank, social capital is needed for "growth equity and poverty alleviation" (as seen cited in Thieme & Siegmann 2010: 716). Leading to what Western theorists argue as a contributing factor to a country's growth/development. It is particularly relevant therefore to the study of development, as scholars have often ascribed such terms to much of the Developing South.

Keywords

Social capital, human capital, patronage, youth, employment, gender

Chapter 1
Situating the Problem

1.1 Youth Employment & A Lack of Choice

It is estimated that of the "10,000" young adults in Papua New Guinea (PNG) that reach working age and enter the job market each year, only "5,000" get jobs in the private sector (Salamang, 2016) (ILO, 2018: 3). Noble et al. (2011) claims that a lack of job opportunities and inability to pay tuition fees contribute to rising youth unemployment in the capital city of Port Moresby (p.88). Translated onto the labour market, young men and women who lack the proficient skills and education, face stifling job creation in the private sector. Inevitably a number of youths will either vie for jobs in the formal sector or create job opportunities of their own within the informal job market (Noble et al. 2011: 88). Izzi notes how, in developing countries with no established welfare systems and no government support, disadvantages groups to alternative sources of employment (Izzi 2013: 105). Human capital theory would counter this reason stating, young people are and *can* be contributing members to the economy *if* invested in, being utilized to their full potential. Crucial job creation within the private sector, or lack thereof, has been detrimental to society's rice in youth under-representation and participation in the labour force. Therefore, securing a job is difficult for many university graduates in Port Moresby (Fridriksson and Fridriksson, 1995).

A misconception of increased urban youth unemployment is often framed as a problem in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea. Young people either resort to the informal labour market as an alternate form of employment or criminality. The impression from literature is that they lack the employable skills as a result of poor or little education. This paper also incorporates the stance; the media has taken with regards to youth unemployment. For instance *Post Courier,*[1] released press issues stating how youth unemployment had become a rising problem. Even the World Bank in 2012, introduced the Urban Youth Employment Project (UYEP)*,* which is to date the only successful training program for urban youth. "15,000" participants, were provided with feasible working skills that could secure long-term employment (World Bank, 2016). Seeking to improve the employability, soft-skills and living standards of impoverished urban youth (World Bank, 2019: 6). Becker claims that "on-the-job training," "is a process that raises future productivity and differs from school training in that an investment is made on the job rather than an institution" specializing in teaching these skills (1962: 11). UYEP has yet to contribute to the well being of underprivileged urban youths in PNG, suggesting that improving human capital in this instance does not guarantee employment. I seek to reason that for young university educated men and women seeking work in the formal economy, they face various situations in accessing the job market. The very fact that the country has a growing youth population (Deloitte & UNDP, 2017: 4), whether university educated or not, on the streets and out of a job can be seen as a social problem. Not only would this suggest

---

[1] One of two of the national daily newspapers – the other being *the National*

that the country's development is not socially sustainable but that growth is restricted to the market.

The assumption upon receiving an education was the guarantee of a job regardless of the sector. I did have hopes to get a job with the foreign affairs due to the nature of my degree however that did not eventuate. When I applied for jobs in the private sector, the responses I received were less than animated. This proves that assumption that where you are born does not guarantee or afford you certain rights. Contextualizing this through Becker's (1962) understanding of human capital theory, my rate of investment had essentially become null and void. My rate of return of my parent's investment could not be returned. At least not through finding a job in the country and becoming a contributing member of the economy or society. Craig Jeffrey's concept of transitioning into adulthood could not be applied to me as I was still in the probationary period of childhood to adulthood. My youth had been extended without me wanting it to or intending it to happen.

Rising unemployment seems to be a burgeoning issue, heightened by the country's rising youth population (Salamang, 2016) (Ten, 2016). The closest resemblance of a study such as this was Maev O'Collins' (1984) work on youth in Papua New Guinea. O'Collins looked at the position of youth in the 1980s, across three different regions in PNG through a triangulation of surveys, interviews and oral reports to support the literature (O'Collins 1984: ii). She compares the case of PNG to that of Fiji and Vanuatu and found similarities in the way that young people were being treated. Supported by the idea of an expanding youth population in the 1980s, the fear was that there would be a growing group of young people who were unemployed and out of school. The reality today for many youths is, those who graduate from university, struggle to find a job (Fridriksson and Fridriksson, 1995). According to the Ministry and Department of Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology's (DHERST) quarterly newsletter, there were an estimated '4000 university graduates' in the year 2018 (p. 7). In line with this statistic, in an article published by *Post Courier,* "50,000 youth reach working age in PNG each year", however "the absorptive capacity of the formal economy is limited to only about 5000 per year" (Salamang, 2016). This issue demonstrates the inadequacy to access the labour market, and that there are fewer jobs available to accommodate the populace. It was reported in September 2019, that there was an estimated K12 billion in circulation within the informal labour market (Patjole, 2019). As defined by Galenson et al., "the western concept of employment has little applicability to much of the population that works outside the cash economy" (1981: 16) which would explain why revenue brought in by informal market is larger. This trend of informal labour market activity and engagement within has carried on from the 1980s till today.

Patronage in PNG is seen as something so embedded within the culture, and is often affiliated with ethnicity. Ethnicity in PNG refers to one's ethnic and tribal group, which is categorized per the individual's familial tribe. Referring to the example of the former Prime Minister Peter O'Neill, while in power, he awarded his kinsmen positions of power in the government. It is on this note, whereby the idea of patronage

arises. The notion of patronage as proposed in this paper is to suggest an unfair system whereby kinship networks determine who gets ahead. It is generally understood that to have the support of a patron or a greater financial supporter is what is classically defined as patronage. Parallel to Abercrombie and Hill's (1976: 422) definition of patronage and Noble et al.'s (2011: 78) understanding of PNG's wantok system, having social capital grants one access to a network/system designated to assist them. Which is how I derived my central research question, in the hopes of examining the role of patronage or social capital in determining access for young people.

Research Question

This paper aims to investigate how young women and men in Papua New Guinea access formal (paid) employment? With my sub-questions being: what might be some of the factors that affect access to job opportunities for young Papua New Guinean men and women in the private sector? What role does patronage/social capital as a factor, play in young women and men's access to paid employment? And how might class affect youth participation in the formal sector?

1.2 Defining 'Youth' and their Untapped Potential in PNG

There is very little research that suggests how a system of patronage affects one's chances of getting a job. From my personal network of friends and family members, everyone has experienced getting jobs due to their networks. I have experienced first hand how even security guards need to be offered an incentive in order to pass on information. Personal and literary evidence would suggest that there is an ample work force in PNG but a lack of job creation to cater to this. The ILO defines unemployment or unemployed persons as people who are "1) without work; 2) currently available for work; and 3) actively seeking work" (as seen cited in Izzi 2013: 104). Only the third point/objective will be explored in more depth as it is more relevant to the discourse presented in this paper as it sets out to answer the research question. O'Collins (1984), mentions how "unemployed out-of-school youth" may be seen as those "who need the attention of government and non-government agencies" (p. i). She claims that the concept of youth had previously gone undefined in smaller island countries as locals were pre-occupied with notions of economic reformation and social development (1984: i). Building on this study of youth in PNG, I find similarities in confining the concept of youth to a particular age defining group. The ILO in their definition of youth, ascribe the age group belonging to members of society aged between 15 – 25, which is similar to the definition provided by the UN (1984: 10).

Age within the discourse of development can be seen as a social construct, conveniently defined in relation to different factors (Jeffrey, 2009: 498). There is a *chronological* age, which is the assigned numerical value which increases each year. *Generational* age, where people are grouped according to the year/generational group they were born into as proposed my Mannheim (Jeffrey 2009: 498) and a *life cycle/stage*. Not to overlook age a whole discourse, but for the sake of this paper, youth and thus

age shall be explained as transitional life stages (Jeffrey, 2009: 497). Jeffrey describes youth as such because it is a period of transition in a young person's life before they reach adulthood. The growing youth unemployment phenomenon in PNG, can be viewed as a generational problem as originally proposed by Mannheim (as seen cited in Jeffrey 2009: 498). The concept of this transition from youth to adulthood is governed through "a socio political project" and not an event that occurs of its own volition (Jeffrey, 2009: 498) which implies that there are set conditions upon which the life of a youth is determined.

Another way to interpret the issue of youth unemployment is to view it as a matter of a generational gap, however that would mean grouping youths aged between 15 – 25 within the same generational group however that would not be definitely representative of the group. The dilemma with generalizing or rather grouping people as such, is that it overlooks the individual's preceding socio-economic background to suppose that they should be classified as one.

1.3 A New Era of Generation Unlimited

When referring to employment within the context of this paper, I refer to formal (paid) or wage employment. Where a working member of society is expected to be paid for performing a service. There are off course other ways of perceiving employment and its precarious nature but simply for the sake of this paper, I shall only be referring to paid employment. As Lodewijks (1988) describes though, in PNG "multiple job-holding, part-time work and work for one's family is common" and so it may be hard to clearly define 'having a job' (Lodewijks 1988: 383). It would be considered a return of investment towards parents and the economy as theorized by human capitalists when and if a young person were to be employed. In obtaining a job, the child would be obliged to financially provide a living for not only themselves but their immediate family as well. There is a large sense of familial obligation that is deeply embedded within the culture coupled with respect and guilt. I chose to focus on the supply side of the job hunt rather than the demand side because I wanted to look at how young men and women access formal sector employment in PNG rather than how private sector companies offer and hire. The point is to establish if or how social networks/wantok system affects young educated Papua New Guinean women and men's access to the labour market.

The aim of this research paper is to investigate which factors mitigate access to employment in the formal sector. Specifically, what role social networks play for young men and women in PNG when finding paid employment.

Chapter 2
Setting the Scene

2.1 Papua New Guinea

Figure 1.1
Map of Papua
New Guinea |
Source: World
Atlas (2017)

While the first chapter introduced the problem of youth unemployment in PNG, this chapter will provide a context and introduce readers to the country itself. Its location in relation to the rest of the world, its history of colonialism at the hand of the Germans and British Empire and a lifestyle of subsistence farming (which still continues today). Situated in the South Pacific, Papua New Guinea sits on the ring of fire just below the equator (see image above). Which means that officially, the climate is typical to one found in any tropical country. Summers are particularly long and arduous and lasts nine months of the year with the exception of the three months of monsoon season. There is also little known about it to the world, save for its capacity to produce and export gold and its use as a middle ground during World War II between the Japanese and the Australian army.

Ethnicity and class play intersecting roles within society and rural communities at large. It is estimated that seventy per cent of the population still resides in villages (Port Moresby Population, 2019). There are in total twenty-two different provinces; an estimated 800 languages in addition to 1000 dialects, which in a whole make up the complex diversity of the country. The country is classified into four regions; *the highlands, the islands, momase and the southern* region (Booth, 2009). Within these four regions are respectively the twenty-two provinces and the respective countless tribes that constitute of the province. Each province can then be broken down into sub-groups of ethnic tribal groups with their own specific dialect and cultural beliefs.

It was not until 1975 that Papua New Guinea became a completely unified and independent country free from German, Japanese and British rule. The 1800s saw the introduction of the German and the British explorers and traders, with the Germans being situated in much of the highlands regions and the British in the south (Connell, 1997: 4). What is known about German and British colonial rule is that they introduced "taxation, cash cropping, missionary settlements, local government councils and health and educations systems" (Connell 1997: 4). During colonial rule, and even before this, locals heavily relied on subsistence farming. Something still utilized today, as an estimated 80% of the total population reside in rural villages (The Ministry of Labour & Industrial Relations et al. 2018: 3). Initial contact with missionaries in the most rural and secluded parts of the country did not take place until after World War Two. My father recounts stories of how he remembers seeing Australian administrative officers stationed in the highlands when the country was still a mandated territory of Australia in the fifties. During the colonial period, there was a greater emphasis placed on boys to receive an education as compared to girls. The assurance lied in the view that the boys who received an education would then go on to get jobs and support the family, as will be demonstrated in later sections of this paper and through personal family examples. Based on literature on PNG insinuating there were gendered identities in addition to family accounts of gendered expectations, one may deduce that there certainly was preferential treatment towards a certain sex.

Existing gaps in the labour market are presumed to be a result of a system reinforcing the superiority of a certain sex. Patil (2013) reasons that "colonial hierarchies and their contentions in turn shaped domestic patriarchies in the metropole and the colony" (p. 848). According to Patil, colonial powers used the ideology of the husband having "natural authority over his wife", as a means to justify the power they asserted within colonies (2013: 848). She claims scholars are quick to assume that the domination of a particular sex would explain existing inequalities stating how "patriarchy itself becomes an explanation for gendered power relations" (p.851). Situating Patil's notion in a Papua New Guinean context, the colonial ideology of patriarchy can be seen as a justification for the existing gender inequality in the labour market.

2.2 PNG Labour Market Characteristics

"In the two decades since independence, change in PNG has been extremely rapid as the economy has moved from its historic orientation to agriculture towards mineral production export" (Connell 1997: 5). The country depends on its natural resource projects to attract new investors, and special attention has been paid to the mining sector which meant a gradual decline in other emerging sectors of the economy. "Any expansion in economic activity that has occurred over the last 30 years has been in the mining sector" (Levantis 2000: x). Mining and petroleum contribute to "20%" of the nation's GDP in 2014 supported by the success of the new LNG (Liquefied Natural Gas) project (The Ministry of Labour & Industrial Relations et al. 2018: 2).

"In 2016 the female labour force participation rate was 69.6% as compare to 71% for men" as it is reported that formal sector job growth has not been able to keep up with the rising youth population (The Ministry of Labour & Industrial Relations et al. 2018: 3). Statistics of the labour force from 2017, indicate that the share of adults[2] who have university degrees is only an estimated "5.2%" of the total population (ILOSTAT, 2019). Affiliated with this, ILOSTAT reveals, in 2017, to total share of young people/youth[3] are neither in school, employment or training programs remains "42%" (ILOSTAT, 2019). This then branches to a number of questions, looking at the youth within the labour force and additionally how gender is construed in the labour market. There was also issue with wage employment as the total number of wage earners fluctuated tremendously due to the recession by the end of 1991 (Marsden 1993: 233). Although agriculture remains the largest employer today, there has been considerable job growth in the tourism and services sectors since 2014 (ILO 2017: 3). Employment in 2017 was still heavily reliant on medium-skilled jobs with rising inflation and youth unemployment totalling to "5.5%" of the population (ILO 2018: 2) the future seems bleak.

2.3 A Gendered Labour Market

According to Noble et al. (2011), "70%" of Papua New Guinea's estimated population of seven million, is comprised of youths (Noble et al, 2011: 76). Whose responsibility is it to attend to the growing population of educated unemployed youth, of which a faction may be university graduates? As a result of a poor education system, many youngsters leave school by the end of the eighth grade. There may be several causes behind this: families cannot afford to support their children's further education or they are unable to secure spots in the limited number of higher education institutes (high schools/universities) (Noble et al, 2011: 75). The ILO cites that the unemployment rate of young women is higher than young men in PNG (2018: 2). Similar to this concept, is the case study of educated women in Jordan, competing for jobs in a restricted labour market. There are numerous college graduates, but very few jobs resulting in tight competition and a steady rate of unemployment (Groh et al, 2012). Such was the scenario in Jordan, where women were discriminated against on the basis of their gender and the stereotypes society (particularly men) had about women in their culture. In the case of PNG, women are held to the same standards; as Noble et al (2011) reveals, women rarely hold positions in politics and so there is no positive female reinforcement (Noble et al. 2011: 82). Furthermore, the rate of domestic violence against women is "amongst the highest in the world" (p.75). As a potential consequence of this internalized inferiority, female participation in the labour market may dwindle.

In the 1980s, the public sector was the largest formal employer contributing to almost 30% of the noteworthy employment (Galenson et al. 1981: 2). In 2017 however it was reported that a staggering "83%" of businesses in the private credit a shortage

---

[2] The adult population is defined by the ILO as those aged 25 and over (ILOSTAT, 2019)
[3] Youth is defined as persons between the ages of 15 – 24 (ILOSTAT, 2019)

of skills amongst young people as their motive for not hiring (Deloitte and UNDP 2017: 8). In PNG, it is assumed that gender greatly determines the division of labour and who performs what jobs. This is demonstrated by the clear fact that the majority of politicians are men (Noble et al. 2011: 82). The idea that there are gendered roles within the labour market is deeply embedded within young people's mind-set. As illustrated through my empirical data, one of my interviewees believed women apply for and are assigned to desk jobs while men are capable of doing manual labour jobs. Women tend apply for certain types of jobs in the formal sector ranging from "teaching, to public administration to financial and insurance" jobs (Deloitte & UNDP 2017: 11). This belief that women only apply for specific jobs can be due to a common attitude amongst average Papua New Guineans where women are only qualified for these jobs. Growing up, I was always of the impression that women in PNG had an inferior status in society. Simply by looking at the role of the woman in the home. My family structure was that of a typical nuclear family, where my father was the breadwinner and mother the homemaker and she was not encouraged to work after she started having children.

Literature on labour markets, pays little consideration to gender and the division of roles, and more specifically the origins of these gendered roles. Elson (1999), argues that labour markets act as "bearers of gender", by reproducing "existing problems of gender domination and subordination (p.612). The way in which Elson ascribes social relations to gender, is one way to identify labour force participation in paid employment. Papua New Guinean men and women affiliate roles per gender owing to cultural norms and "social stereotypes which associate masculinity with having authority over others in the workplace" (Elson 1999: 611). Longstanding cultural practices reinforced within communities may also play a part in determining the agency and positionality of both men and women. As dictated by cultural traditions, there have been set roles for both women and men and respectively girls and boys in Papua New Guinean society. Historically, or as was told by my grandmother and aunts, there was a dependence on men to serve as the protectors, hunter and gatherers and leaders in traditional village settings. Women on the other hand played secondary roles, attending to the home and raising children (Galenson et al. 1981:1). This mentality was adopted and still persists in a modern context, as it is an accepted norm for women from certain generations to rely on the men in their lives. All of my fathers' brothers, although they did not complete any form of secondary high school, had worked for either government departments or mining companies. This was before they had families of their own and their wives automatically assumed the role of the caregiver.

A parent invests in their child/children, essentially in their human capital, through education, providing for their basic necessities so that the child may return their investment. Although Becker's study was based on the case of the United States and the rate of investment of human capital, this case can also be applied to PNG. "The division of labour is limited by the extent of the market" (Becker 1962: 10). If the "extent of the market" was controlled by what is deemed as the dominant sex, then there would be a noticeable gendered division of labour in a predominantly

patriarchal society. Such a division of labour has given rise to patronage, the abuse of power and the influence of social networks/capital.

I think it is very much a generational ideal that young men and women my age are optimistic about labour market opportunities, because we have the shared experience of having parents who were able to get jobs during a period of economic success post-colonialism. An opinion shared by my research participants was the need to be self-reliant/independent which is why many sought jobs after graduating from university. In contemporary PNG, work roles are and have become more flexible. Women can be engineers, lawyers, doctors and pilots to name a few professions. There is a renowned appreciation for women who are advancing in previously male dominated fields. This goes on to show that femininity and masculinity, which were not originally associated with sex, have been associated with the roles men and women perform within social organizations (Scott, 1986).

The next chapter will delve into the theoretical framework, looking at the concepts that have guided the formation and support of the arguments presented in this paper.

Chapter 3
Conceptualizing the Problem

'Gender' as a substitute for 'women' is also used to suggest that information about women is necessarily information about men, that one implies the study of the other. This usage insists that the world of women is part of the world of men, created in and by it. This usage rejects the interpretive utility of the idea of separate spheres, maintaining that to study women in isolation perpetuates the fiction that one sphere, the experience of one sex, has little or nothing to do with the other. (Scott 1986: 1056)

Language is a crucial component in structuring how we understand our roles in the world and for academics, how gender has been engaged with. The quote above was taken from Joan W. Scott's (1986) paper on a historical analysis of gender, and I feel captures my own conceptualization of gender. In grasping the concept of youth employment in Papua New Guinea, I have come to realize that gender within the field of employment play intersecting roles. The female participants that I interviewed within the period of my data collection, all believe that when searching/applying for jobs, they were capable of performing roles that men had traditionally occupied. This is not to say that I am belittling the experience or struggle that young women currently face in the labour market in PNG, but that educated young men and women's access to the job market is substantiated by a shared struggle in finding employment. Moreover, Levantis argues that female youths were less successful at finding formal employment however young men represented a larger underemployed group of youths. One theory for this being, social networks, particularly kinship networks reduce young women's "bargaining power" in that it places decision making in the hand of the patriarch of the family, most commonly being the man (Thieme & Siegmann, 2010: 727).

In this chapter I delve into essential theories that form the basis of my argument looking first at how investing in human capital may imply employability. Then looking at the role of social capital in accessing employment and thirdly, as a probable setback, labour market institutions as bearers of gender.

3.1 Employability Through Investment of Human Capital

Becker (1962), a major contributor to human capital theory as mentioned in earlier chapters, claims that investing in human beings can potentially raise "future income prospects" (p.9). Owing to the fact that I had lived abroad for most of my life, I never imagined that I would want to go back to my country of origin and want to work there. For many neo-classical economists an education and experience equates to a "rate of return in the labour market" (Folbre 2012: 282). Neo-classical theorists such as Becker view family as crucial to this investment. The family model "represents a miniature socialist regime that is so altruistic and so powerful that it can successfully induce cooperation" (Folbre 2012: 285). Altruism is thoroughly ingrained in Papua New Guinean child rearing practices as parents expect that once their children transition into adulthood they return the investment by being employed. There is no

distinction made between whether this should be formal or informal employment, however parents (particularly my parents) are of the opinion that being university educated and acquiring skills would result in better paid employment prospects. For my case, the fact that I had been educated abroad implied that my human capital was highly desirable to employers, but when I did not get a job in Port Moresby they were very disappointed. Folbre (2012) sees the investment as a burden carried by the parents throughout the entire period of the child's life. There is little regard paid to the unseen costs of reproductive work, nor do economists account for this as a contribution towards human capital. Folbre does address the paradox presented whereby children have no say in how much capital is invested in them, labelling it as a "failure of altruism" (2012: 283). The transaction of investing in children is seen as a financial responsibility held by the parents without the promise of a return and also a burden of the child to be productive members. In PNG there are a number of training institutions to build soft skills and thereby experience. For instance, the Legal Training Institute (for lawyers), the International Training Institute (ITI), the Technical Vocational Education Training (TIVET) and International Business School (IBS). By Becker's reasoning and to support the claim that employers refuse to hire youth due to their lacking skills, these training institutions offer a solution to bridge the gap. In spite of this, these institutions require further financial support which just may not be possible for those of a lower socio-economic class. Youths are hence segregated according to their socio-economic backgrounds and the divide only widens as education allows for a larger access to networks that may guide the job hunting process.

3.2 The Role of Social Capital for Access to Employment

O'Connor (2013) argues in her paper of the resourcefulness of social network contacts in aiding job seekers in their search for employment. In understanding social network contacts, she establishes a connection between a contact's resources, position and capability to help (p.594). Through being involved in "particular networks" one is able to "access the capital" made available through said networks (O'Connor 2013: 594). Having social capital grants one access to a network/system catered to assist them. Social capital in the bearings of this research paper, may also be referred to as the *wantok system* or patronage in PNG. This is not to give new meaning to the definition of patronage, however to say that through a cultural lens, patronage is or can be understood through the wantok system. A *wantok* is a term reserved for those who may or may not be a blood relative, introduced through family connections, community ties or even through institutional links. Abercrombie and Hill (1976), offer an accurate definition when explaining patronage networks in Spain and Latin America, as "a number of people, who may or may not be truly kin are brought into a system of reciprocal obligation and may be given kinship titles" (p. 422). While Abercrombie and Hill claim that patronage is a "personal bond between pairs of contractants, not between a collectivity" (1976: 415), this paper departs from this view, by looking at the larger role a network/system has in affording young men and women opportunities. In Papua New Guinean society, the wantok system intersects with the

role of ethnicity, as ethnicity plays a critical role in creating and fostering a sense of community. It is deemed only natural therefore, for people to associate themselves with their kinsmen/ethnic groups (Noble et al, 2011: 75). This form of grouping however only gives way to inequality and a standard of indifference and misunderstanding amongst the ethnic groups. Before the introduction to colonialism and an economic monetary system, indigenous people were labourers and farmers relying on the subsistence of their hands and their lands (Booth, 2009). Following independence, reliance on such networks has meant that certain ethnic groups prosper in areas of commerce and trade whilst others politics or tourism.

Social networks as understood by Bolibar et al. are networks "deployed in different relational environments, which are unequally accessed by individuals" (2019: 405). The authors support their hypothesis on social exclusion theory, in the knowledge that networks infer systems of exclusion. Complementary to this definition, is the view presented by Thieme & Siegmann (2010). They write, "social networks have been identified with a form of social capital" comparable to how the World Bank refers to social networks when defining social capital (p. 716). This explanation does however overlook existing power relations reinforced through engaging in advantageous networks. Through an auto-ethnographic account and with the support of empirical data, this paper attempts to understand how social networks in PNG provide certain members more access to resources. In their study, Bolibar et al. (2019) mention how a lack of social support, can contribute to limited access to the job market in Barcelona for youths aged between 20 and 34 (p. 402). They surmise that a young persons familial "socioeconomic background" in addition to the youth's "sociodemographic characteristic" play into explaining youth unemployment in Barcelona (Bolibar et al, 2019: 402). Youths belonging to a lower socio-economic class are more susceptible to losing social networks/contacts, in contrast to those from a middle-income class who have better chances of finding employment. The same can be said for Papua New Guineans in the formal job sector, as family status enables you to access a larger social network. For instance, different members of my extended family, of the same generational group, have jobs in the formal sector within the same industry/sector as a family member or known social network member. This example establishes the relationship between patronage and employment or alternatively how systems of social networks can lead to greater employment opportunities for some and discriminate others.

3.3 Labour Markets as Bearers of Gender

Within the context of academic writing, feminist theorists have primarily been concerned with the exclusion and overall experience of women within society (Scott 1986: 1054). The use of the term gender, was introduced after "women's studies scholarship focused too narrowly and separately on women" and so it was a means for scholars/academics to create a relation between the sexes (Scott 1986: 1054). If we are to believe that gender is a means of designating social interaction between men and women, this would then explain a system of constructed gender appropriate roles. Theorists of patriarchy claim that the "subordination of women" is a result of "the

male 'need' to dominate the female" (Scott 1986: 1058). The understanding behind this is that men feel the need to be domineering as a means to overcome their minor roles in the reproduction and child rearing process. Theorists of patriarchy also assert that inequality exists in all forms of social life but do not address how it started. For a Marxist, the concept of gender has long been treated as the "by-product of changing economic structures; gender has no independent analytic status of its own" (Scott 1986: 1061). The notion of gender was in large, shaped by "social organizations and institutions" categorized as "religious, educational, scientific and legal" (Scott 1986: 1067).

Scott does shy away from the anthropological use of associating gender with kinship systems and instead believes that gender should also incorporate the labour market, education and politics (Scott 1986: 1068). While I do agree with her view that gender should also be examined within the labour market, in the context of PNG, ethnic/kinship ties largely determine your social organization and so it would not be deemed uncommon for someone in the public sector for instance, to acquire a job within the same department as another family member. Gender is not independent of the kinship system, nor is it exclusively constructed in relation to the kinship system but largely within society and politics, as with the case of my country.
Elson (1999) reasons that labour markets are gendered "in the way in which they operate at the intersection of ways in which people make a living and care for themselves, their children, their relatives and friends" (p. 612). Unpaid domestic work is often the most overlooked sector of the labour market, of which primarily women contribute to (Elson 1999: 612). This would explain discrepancies in labour force participation rates for most countries in the developing South but particularly for PNG. The ILO reports that "44.2 per cent of the labour force" is comprised of vulnerable and own account employment in Papua New Guinea in 2017 (2018: 2). "Employment is heavily reliant on agriculture and on medium-skilled occupations" (ILO 2018: 2). Considering women make up the majority of the sector, this seeks to reason how as an institution it can be construed as a reinforcing bearer of gender (The Ministry of Labour & Industrial Relations et al. 2018: 3).

In offering an alternative approach, Scott (1986) accredits contemporary "fundamentalist religious groups" for reinforcing traditional binary roles for women in the home (p.1068). If we are to believe that it is due to these fundamentalist groups in identifying specific gender roles, this would explain why there is still such a large division/disparity in the treatment of men and women. The introduction of colonialism into the country, also brought about Christianity and visiting missionaries, which in its own right promoted a form of religious coloniality. At present, an estimated 99% of PNG's population are Christian (Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project, 2016), based on statistics capturing the population in 2010. As Scott writes, "gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (1986: 1067), as it determines how men and women are treated and how relationships are situated. The introduction of Christianity and the teachings of the Bible accented women, through biblical depiction as obedient. There are noted instances of strong and powerful women in the bible, or in Christianity for that matter, however the mass of the narrative is told through masculine voices. Children, as was the situation for my

siblings and I, are raised on these ideals that men occupied certain positions within politics, education, law and science due to ideals grounded in religion and therefore years of tradition. It would explain why wives chose to be subservient to their husbands and why a great number of domestic violence victims (mostly women) chose to stay with their abusive partners.

The next chapter of this paper looks at the methodology, offering an insight to the research location, my method of selection for my research participants; how data was generated and analysed brief ethical reflections.

Chapter 4
Methodology

4.1 Research Location

Research with this specific purpose, to my knowledge has not been attempted in Papua New Guinea, and while it would have been more fitting to conduct a longitudinal study, I largely use primary data generated through qualitative interviews. O'Collins conducted her study on the basis of the 1980s census and the National Youth Movement Program being introduced at the time (O'Collins 1984: ii). Whilst she engages with a number of different methods, my research is primarily qualitative and narrative in nature consisting of interviews, existing literature and statistics on employment and young people. There is something different in the manner in which an autoethnography is written and presented that is refreshing, which is why I prefer this method to a case study for instance. In doing so, I hope to legitimize the struggle that I and many Papua New Guineans have and may still be going through in the process of finding a job. The format/style of the paper will primarily be written as an autoethnography, using a triangulation of online questionnaires, qualitative interviewing and that of my own perspective.

Port Moresby being the capital city, and my place of birth and residence until the age of nine, it only seemed fitting that it should be chosen as the foreground of the scope of my research. I specifically targeted young people in Port Moresby to study, due to my familiarity in terms of manoeuvring the job hunting process and because more literature existed on urban youth (un)employment. Moreover, a large share of private sector employment and commercial business occurs in Port Moresby, as well as the two other largely populated cities in the country. It therefore seemed fitting to base it as my location of study. A snowball sampling method was then used for two reasons. First, I did not grow up in Papua New Guinea and so my network of friends was limited to that of the childhood friends I still keep in touch with and my extended family. Secondly, my knowledge of young people in this current predicament was limited to neighbours and family friends. Which is why, it seemed more appropriate for them to recommend other youths/friends whom they knew, who had experienced the same situation.

4.2 Using My Social Capital to Select Research Participants

The majority of my interviewees had self-sustaining jobs, so they viewed paid employment as an important means for survival and a form of financial support not only for themselves but also for their families. Samira, PCK, John, Arthur, Louisa, Polly and Jamie-Lee, were employed and cited their jobs as their main sources of sustenance. Ida, Susan and Kendja, were the exceptions as they were unemployed. Kendja and Ida were special cases though because both identified as unemployed but Kendja was an entrepreneur and Ida owned a bus company, which provided an income

for her family. Through my interviews I learnt that young educated men and women in PNG, can and are being self-reliant/self sufficient. Just as Noble et al. (2011) has suggested, even in the instances where they are not formally employed, they look to the informal economy to create opportunities of their own.

I started our by reaching out to my first two participants through WhatsApp then expanded my search through the snowballing technique. The phone interviews with my research participants were conducted throughout the course of September, a month after initially planned due delayed responses. With the aim to generate data such as employment status, how they apply for jobs and whether they think there is a gender divide in accessing paid jobs. It is often common in qualitative research for 'nonprobability sampling' to be applied and snowball sampling is an example of the application of this. Snowball or chain sampling as defined by Naderifar et al. (2017), 'is a convenience sampling method' 'applied when it is difficult to access subjects with the target characteristics' (p. 2). According to the authors, snowball sampling is cost efficient, provides easy accessibility to research participants and offers more effective communication between the researcher and his/her participants (Naderifar et al. 2017: 2). Thus labelled as convenient, but can be known to be lengthy/time consuming as finding new research participants lies solely in the hands of the existing research participants. There is also the risk of the research thus being homogeneous. In hindsight, when I was designing my sampling design, the biggest limitation with employing such a technique was that there would not be fair class representation or that the sample would be homogeneous. Fortunately, my original network of friends and family have aided in ensuring that my research participants and interviews would reflect different ethnic and social groups in PNG. The limitation of that being the time it has taken for more participants to be found.

In applying a snowball sampling technique, I was aware of the dangers of producing homogeneous answers and so to diversify my responses, I ensured to reach participants from different socioeconomic backgrounds. Of the cousins that I managed to hear back from two; Joanne (Jo) and Fabiola, had managed to successfully put me in touch with my first batch of interviewees. One of her contacts Samira, had then in turn provided me with a list of five additional friends, whom she knew would be willing to be interviewed. Only John was kind enough to reply to me expressing interest in participating. Samira's family are reliant on a subsistent agricultural economy as were my family traditionally, and is proud of graduating from university and now working as a Resident Medical Officer (RMO) in Port Moresby General Hospital. She is only twenty-three and has a degree in Medicine and Surgery or MBBS (as it is commonly referred to) from the university of PNG.

Kendja and I have been childhood friends since we were four, as we both had family members working for the government. Like me, she spent most of her life living and being educated abroad, graduating with a Bachelors in the United Kingdom (UK). She is currently in the process of looking for paid employment but has admitted to doing entrepreneurial work in her spare time.

I was introduced to PCK, through my cousin Jo who was hesitant to introduce us at first on the relevance of her age being 36. She shall be referred to in the paper as PCK because she agreed to me only using her initials. I had been apprehensive to interview

her owing to her age, but I found her interview to be the most in depth. She had multiple university degrees but has been on the job hunt as a lawyer for the past two years. It was through PCK that I had met and interacted with half of my interviewees; Susan, Louisa, Arthur, Jamie-Lee and Polly (an acquaintance of Susan). I had initially virtually met Polly through Susan whom I had met through PCK, all known acquaintances through law school. At the time of our interview, Susan was twenty-five, unemployed and in the process of waiting to start her job. Polly elected to remain anonymous so for the sake of protecting her identity, she shall be referred to as such. She is currently working as, a public prosecutor with the office of the Public Prosecutor and is proud to be a working member of the public sector. She had attained a Bachelor of Law degree from the University of PNG, and at the time of the interview, she was twenty-six.

Just as I was introduced to PCK through a cousin, I was put in touch with Ida through my cousin Fabiola, as they were batch mates, graduating from university in the same year. She shall be referred to as Ida, as she had asked to remain anonymous in the beginning of the interview. Ida had graduated from university in 2014 at the age of twenty-four and had at different points since, been employed in the capital. She is a single mother of two and contributes to the informal economy through her own bus company, providing chartered services to local villagers who go between their villages and the provincial town.

4.3 Research Techniques for Generating Data

Primarily techniques for data analysis were qualitative analytical descriptions were used in this paper. As I did not proceed with the questionnaires, I then transformed the questions to fit an interview format. As I could not travel home during the fieldwork period, my only option was to conduct phone interviews with the exception of one being done over Skype. This research paper adhered to employ an intersectional lens of viewing youth employment through the gender inequality that may ensue. Most often, this is likely to occur amongst young people from different class and ethnic backgrounds. It was particularly relevant to write this paper as an auto-ethnography because I will soon be approaching the job hunting process once again. So this paper really was a self reflection of what I had gone through three years ago; what I will have to go through and what many Papua New Guineans, regardless of their educational achievements must be going through.

The purpose of an autoethnography is to make the "characteristics of a culture familiar for insiders and outsiders" (Ellis et al. 2010: 4). Everyone can write about their stories and their personal epiphanies but what sets apart an autoethnography is how the epiphany is framed around the literature and theoretical framework. Most autoethnography accounts contains details from collected personal diaries and/or videos as well as previous studies. Which is what makes this particular paper different from an ordinary auto ethnography, because the literature that does exist, was conducted thirty to forty years ago. As Ellis et al. (2010) write, at the turn of the new millennium authors were turning away from including a colonialist and authoritative research whereby authors would "exploit cultural members, and then recklessly leaving

to write about the culture for monetary and/or professional gain, while disregarding relational ties to cultural members" (p. 3).

The objective of the interviews was to question young adults who were either in the process of job hunting, currently employed or had been unsuccessful in finding a job. I had wanted to uncover why their job search had been futile and identify if there was a correlation to patronage/social capital. Current material on urban youth and unemployment in Papua New Guinea, was difficult to access as much of the relevant material was in Australia. Therefore, I relied on books, journals, articles, and mostly empirical data collated by various agencies/organizations based both in PNG and internationally. I fore fronted journals and books containing the keywords urban youth, crime and unemployment as the priority. After having conducted my semi-structured interviews with different Papua New Guinean youth, the focus their responses in providing an answer which supported my thesis. The idea of approaching this study from a gendered lens had not occurred to me until pointed out that perhaps men and women access different jobs both in the formal and informal economy.

4.4 Data Analysis through an Autoethnographic Experience

The main objective of doing an autoethnography, was to showcase a first person's perspective. It was also rewarding after finding out that some of the research participants had faced similar experiences on the job hunt. After graduating with my Bachelors in 2016, I planned on going back to my country and either working for the government or for an international organization in Port Moresby. My social network, comprising primarily of family members, encouraged me to apply to companies in the private sector where they had contacts. It was through them, or in the newspapers that I heard of available positions. Most often, I took the initiative to enquire about government departments and how I could go about working for them through my network however when I applied for open positions, I faced rejection. I had observed that a number of my female cousins were working in the services sector and so even tried applying at hotels and insurance firms but was also overlooked owing to different reasons. After a frustrating job search period both in the private and public sector, I applied instead to firms in Australia. The lesson learnt from my experience was that having a reliable social network paid in securing a job in the private sector. This was the mind-set in approaching my interviewees as I wanted to learn how they found the employment situation for young people. Through my conversations with my research participants I discerned that in some aspects we shared similar opinions about the labour market whilst in others we differed. I understood that my experiences were not going to be the exact same as the majority of my interviewees given that my social capital differed. The basis of my line of questioning was were there were shared similarities and differences in how we, as young people, access the labour market in PNG.

4.5 Ethical Reflections

The extent to which I had to protect their identities and how much I had to change about their personal details became an internal debate when writing my data analysis chapter. Of my ten interviewees, only half of them were comfortable with me using their real names in the paper. Therefore, in order for the structure of the fifth chapter to flow, I shortened names down to only the first names with the use of one interviewee being referred to by her initials. I also had to differentiate what to include in the paper from what I knew and had learnt about them on a personal level. Two of my interviewees I knew on a personal level, whilst five of them, even though we were complete strangers, I grew to know more about as we conversed. Knowing when to limit myself/ draw the line in detailing their stories.

I constantly questioned the purpose of this research as it seemed like I was not being subjective given my positionality and the chosen methodology of the paper. I also wondered how much I could tell my participants and how open I could be in order to have won their trust/gained their confidence. I am by nature a very reserved person, and while I am sociable and enjoy meeting new people, it is very rare that I am completely honest with a stranger.

Chapter 5
Answering The Questions

5.1 Data Collection & Interviews

When my search for participants began, I utilized the largest resource at my disposal: my family contacts. Reaching out to the female cousins I still kept in touch with, I enquired about their network of friends, asking who would be willing to participate in my research. I first reached out to most of my research participants through social media as young people in PNG are more likely to be active on Facebook. It was also through Facebook where I heard and found more young people to interview, as it worked as a form of filter for my sample size. My search criteria for possible research participants in the beginning was a young university educated Papua New Guinean man/woman, between the age of 23 – 30. My first interview took place in the first week of September after, a month of waiting in vain to hear back from my possible interviewees. For the interviews, my research participants ranged in age with the youngest being 23, to the oldest being 36. In this paper, I shall be including excerpts from my interviews conducted with: Samira, John, PCK, Jamie-Lee, Arthur, Susan, Louisa, Polly, Ida and Kendja. The analysis presented in this chapter has been organized according to a set of deductive and inductive codes framed around the concepts presented in the conceptual framework. An example of this being the code of family connections/wantok system being based on social capital and patronage theories as presented by O'Connor (2013) and Abercrombie and Hill (1976). The reasons for this structure is to first establish how they: 1) hear about jobs, 2) apply to them then, 3) draw a clear line to how each subsection interlink/co-relate. My transcriptions for each interview were at least four pages long or more hence my code applications. I needed to categorize each section according to the corresponding interview question. The codes in this paper were labelled according to the interview questions but were only reduced to seven based on relevance and relation to the research question. Throughout the data collection process, and in the stage of conducting interviews, I observed similarities in thought patterns between my own and my interviewees.

5.2 Accessing Jobs through Different Sources of Information

In seeking an answer to the research question set forward in this paper, I thought it would be interesting to first highlight how young educated Papua New Guinean interact with the job market. This would set the precedent for the following sections in this chapter as it relates to how young men and women access the labour market and what other factors affects their job hunt in the private sector. My findings suggest that, of the young Papua New Guineans I interviewed, the majority of them do use their social network system to hear about jobs. If not through the traditional medium, then through their online network of friends and word of mouth. Irrespective

of socio-economic class, each of my participants admitted to using their social networks to hear about jobs. Using the traditional medium of the newspaper is expected, but to be able to use the internet, one has to belong to a certain middle-income earning family/background. Therefore, their reality of access to working internet and online job portals might be different compared to young Papua New Guineans who may not be university educated or without the option to be. This is to highlight that my interviewees all belonged to a certain socio-economic class and thus access to different forms of social and human capital.

There was a combined use of mediums in hearing about jobs: online websites, social networks, word of mouth and online job portals. There was no consensus on the preferred method to hear about job listings, but there were overlapping answers. Most of my interviewees cite either the classified ads in the national newspapers or assorted online assorted job portals as their primary source of information. Even though the majority were currently employed, they acknowledged the use of newspaper ads as well job postings heard about through friends online or posted on online portals in accessing jobs. Samira is a special exception in this case owing to the fact that she was afforded an opportunity to do a residency after she graduated, which meant her position was more or less guaranteed. Susan, credits *LinkedIn* as an innovative new way young Papua New Guineans hear and search for jobs; and it was how she found the job she was waiting to start. "The other option is through my circle of friends who share the information that they have and my family" (Susan 2019, personal interview). She asserts that opportunities in the public sector are very narrow stating "who you know gets you the job" (Susan 2019, personal interview), so instead opted to work for the private sector. She insists on still wanting to work for the public sector citing better training as a lawyer through the national legal system. Likewise, Kendja hears about job opportunities online job search engines such as *Indeed*, *Monster* and others. She usually receives e-mails from them once or twice a week, but otherwise, also looks through the newspaper and recruiting groups on Facebook.

Ida, who is currently self-employed, employs a combination of both newspapers and online portals to look for jobs. Similarly, Arthur heard about jobs through the daily newspaper or verbally from his social network, before he found his job. John heard about jobs availabilities through his various Facebook connections or newspaper ads and the same applies for Louisa, a friend of PCK. PCK normally hears about jobs from the print media i.e. job adverts in the newspapers, e-mail notifications and from employment groups. "Social Media especially groups on Facebook and off course friends – which happens a lot. Most of the *tok save*[4] about jobs has been through friends, where they have heard from their own friends or relatives that there is a job opening at a particular organization even when there hasn't been any formal advertised job vacancy through the usual outlets" (PCK 2019, personal interview). She provides an example of how it happened to her the week before. She told me of how she got a message from a classmate of hers from the Legal Training Institute (LTI) encouraging her to apply for a vacancy for a lawyer from a particular law firm. However, when she searched online, there wasn't any official job advert. It wasn't until the day before our

---

[4] In one of the official languages; Pidgin/Tok Pisin, it means knowledge

interview did she hear of her colleague being offered the job. This example supports my claim that some are disadvantaged due to their social connections and is comparable to Bolibar et al.'s (2019) study of young people in Barcelona in how their employed contacts ensured better chances of securing employment. Jamie-Lee is also someone who hears about job availabilities from the newspapers. She claims to rarely read the daily newspapers but hears about job opportunities from her mother and lists her current job as an example. She refers to her mother as her "designated recruitment agency" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview).

Polly, says before she heard of her current job, she normally found out about jobs through newspaper ads, as seen advertised on TV or verbally. When I asked her whether she meant verbally cognate to her wantoks/ family and friends she simply replied "yes." The answer she gave was similar to previous answers provided by my other interviewees all saying they relied on their network of friends or groups to hear about jobs.

5.3 Finding Opportunities in A Competitive Private Sector

Akin to the notion of accessibility to the labour market, is the understanding of existing opportunities. Both young men and women I interviewed alleged that realistically, a lot of youths do want to work but sometimes their lack of skills, hinder the opportunity to do so. The premise of this paper, claims there is a lack of job opportunities but each of my interviewees have told me, there *are* indeed job opportunities in the private and public sector. Thus the determining factors as to who has access to the job market depends on external conditions like the individual or the specific/respective companies they apply to. Strict hiring requirements can be seen as one of the external factors along with the individuals' motivation and academic qualifications (human capital). There was also an interesting amount of conversations which produced similar answers in their view of opportunities in the job sector. Whether this can be understood as a shortage of skills and thus a shortcoming of sufficiently investing in human capital or a shortcoming of the market itself is not necessarily clear.

Arthur, John, Ida, Samira, Polly and Louisa all provided short and simple answers when asked if they thought there were job opportunities in the private sector for educated young Papua New Guineans. They all acknowledged opportunities in both sectors, with various setbacks that young Papua New Guineans faced. For instance, Ida and Polly allege that young people only need adequate job experience, for the available jobs. Arthur says it is a matter of motivation and that young Papua New Guineans simply have to apply themselves and Samira and Louisa both agreeing that there is an inefficient amount of jobs which is why the unemployment is great and rising. All gave varying responses in relation to their current positionality given that the majority of them were employed at present. Jamie-Lee explains that "for those fresh out of college, employers often seek candidates with at least a few years' experience which means that the only available job opportunities come in the form of graduate development programs. "It is quite difficult to find jobs in Port Moresby. I'm

saying this based on seeing how my friends from LTI are still looking for jobs despite graduating in March. There are only a handful of us that are employed and most of them are still in search of employment" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). Upon hearing this, I took the opportunity to mention something that I had read in an article in the national newspaper the *Post Courier*[3] as well as in a World Bank report. Both reports provided statistics on the number of students that leave educational institutes each year but struggle to find formal employment. She credits her graduate program and others like it as a step towards progress for the formal sector.

PCK feels that at the moment there isn't enough job creation in the private sector. "A lot of tertiary graduates still a struggle to find jobs months and even years after graduating from university. My brother's friend graduated from UPNG (University of Papua New Guinea) in 2015 and only secured a job this year. It's harder for some than others" (PCK 2019, personal interview). For her "it depends on the current types of jobs available in the private sector. Especially with the rapid population growth in particular the increasing number of young educated people leaving university or college" (PCK 2019, personal interview). I confirm with her that this is my belief, that there are a lot of young college/university graduates still looking for paid jobs in the private sector. She believes that the private sector is needed to drive job creation and the economy. Yet, not a lot of organizations in the private sector are hiring with the slow economic growth. Or if they are hiring they only create jobs for certain people. "Right now the government is just focused on the extractive industry and ignoring the massive potential PNG has in the agricultural sector. By developing our agricultural sector, we have the opportunity to create more jobs. She ended her comment with a lot of people assume that the wantok system only exists in the public sector but it does also occur in the private sector" (PCK 2019, personal interview). She also added, in a more vulnerable moment, "in the past months of my looking for a job, the factor of ageism comes into play and having too many papers… It's something I have struggled with knowing that I graduated from university with honours and in the top 3 of my class and here I am still looking for a job. I've found that ageism is alive and well during the recruitment process" (PCK 2019, personal interview). I told her I could not begin to imagine how difficult it must be for her, being as qualified as she was and still not managing to find paid employment. I agreed that ageism and sexism was alive and well and thanked her for being honest.

Polly believes that the standard of getting jobs in the private sector, has been particularly high in recent years. She said that she had initially looked at the private sector because of the level of mentoring and attention paid to skill development. She realized it was also the same for the public sector, while currently being employed as a government worker. Upon hearing what she did, I excitedly responded telling her how cool her job was. My impression of her had changed mostly because we were the same age and so it was great to see what she had achieved.

For Susan, she recounts of how dismayed she is when talking about the lack of opportunities in the private sector. "I keep reading about young people here struggling

---

[3] Of the two daily national newspapers, the oldest and longest running; and a big source of how young people hear about jobs

to get jobs even though they have degrees or other similar qualifications. Even though they have a degree but the jobs they are getting is not really according to their qualifications. After a while of searching, people just settle and get whatever job is available but keep looking, like I did" (Susan 2019, personal interview). It is particularly interesting to see how opportunities may be affected by one's family network/wantok system. Initially when I questioned my participants about the use of their social networks and wantok systems in looking for a job, I was apprehensive about how they would respond. I have observed, "who your family is", arbitrates your chances of securing a job in the public sector and to a certain extent the private sector. Evidence of the wantok system being more effective in the public sector/government, has been demonstrated by accounts from PCK, Polly, Samira and Louisa. The next subsection will look at the role family connections/the wantok system has in the job hunt.

5.4 The Role of Family Connections in The Job Hunt

The wantok system is seen as an important aspect of Papua New Guinean society/culture. I cannot speak for why my research participants do not claim to use their wantok system and would rather believe in the basis of a meritocratic system. Not one single interviewee claimed to either have or use a wantok system and argued more for the use of their social networks. The wantok system in this context had been rendered ineffective by young adults, currently operating the labour market. These are the views reflected by these ten individuals and may not necessarily represent all university educated young people. They relate having a wantok system to rely on as having a family member within the same institution or office as them. I would still not feel confident in asserting that it is completely outdated as it is presently, highly recognized as being important but it may not be applicable on a generational level. More of an emphasis was placed on the role of social networks, particularly on friends (both physical and virtual) as PCK claims, "most of the time it's through social networks and if you are lucky enough to have a strong network you hear about these job vacancies" (PCK 2019, personal interview). "One thing I know for sure and have observed is that your educational background also plays a role in social networking. People who have gone to the same secondary schools especially the private schools, have a stronger social network and so they keep each other in the loop and give each other the heads up about jobs and even recommend jobs to their friends" (PCK 2019, personal interview). "Its only in the past six years or especially when I went back to university that I saw an increased emphasis at the tertiary level about the need for students to build their network and join groups" (PCK 2019, personal interview).

She believes in merit based hiring but in reality, it is often your family connections that get you the job. "When I graduated with my second degree, my dad got his friends to offer me jobs at their organizations since they were bosses there. I told my dad I would rather get a job on my own merit so I turned down all the job

offers from the *wantoks*[5]. But like I said, some get jobs through their family connections" (PCK 2019, personal interview). Susan is an example of this, acquiring her first through family connections. "The principle lawyer knew my dad because they went to school together in high school, but my dad didn't tell me that until after the interview and didn't tell me that too until after my interview" (Susan 2019, personal interview). She told me how her work ethic did not allow for her to rely on hand outs and had to work hard to prove herself in the company. Louisa is another example of someone who has found out about jobs through her family connections. "These days when it comes to finding employment it's also about who you know or who you have connections with, whether it be family, relatives or close friends" (Louisa 2019, personal interview). This view contrasts that of my other interviewees, whereby they believe in a meritocratic hiring system. Some of my participants, particularly the females, have pointed out the negative features of using one's family network to find and apply for a job.

According to Jamie-Lee, the problem with using one's social capital/ family network is the feeling of obligation on the part of the young person receiving the job and to a certain degree a sense of indebtedness. "In this day and age, it's about who you know" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). "Having relatives in strategic locations can assist when searching for a job, and if you're fortunate enough, they can even put in a good work for you and have you recruited" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). What she said, supports the definition of patronage and thereby the wantok system, as provided by Abercrombie & Hill (1976), in addition to offering an example of how patronage works in PNG. She affirms that she has never relied on family connections to get a job, as if disdained by the question asked. "I've never really liked the idea of relatives helping out with looking for a job because I think it waters down the merits of the person" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). I then asked her if she has a wantok system which she relies on for job support. She replies playfully saying "If my mom looking for job vacancies for me is deemed as wantok system, then yes!" she says breaking out into a small laugh. Continuing on a serious note, "I don't. I think two things show your true net worth and one of them is whether you can secure a job without family relations playing a role in the selection process." "I would prefer to know that I got the job based purely on merits and my own hard work rather than because of my last name" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview).

Susan claims that family connections are not as important within the private sector compared to the public sector. Within the public sector she says that "if you have a personal friend or family in there, your chances of getting the job is very high! They don't care about your experience or qualification as long as your wantok works there, you know you'll get the job" (Susan 2019, personal interview). She labels the wantok system as the reason for bribery/corruption existing in the public sector, "because people have to pay to get a job" (Susan 2019, personal interview). This alludes to the corruption that persists in the system; how it is common knowledge that to get anything done within the system, one must first be financially enticed to do something. Both the men I interviewed considered the wantok system insignificant to them but

---

[5] The Pidgin/Tok Pisin term for a relative or family friend. Find a more detailed definition of this term on page 18 under the sub-section Understanding Social Capital

do believe that it is important to a lot of people in PNG. The impression I received from my conversation with John and the tone of voice used was that, he disliked the idea of having to rely on the support of his relatives.

Polly has had jobs recommended to her through family connections, but never actually obtained a job through her wantok system. She seemed hesitant at first to answer the question, as there was a noticeable pause before responding. "Not to say I couldn't but I prefer not to". Her response is supported by other interviewees proving that young educated men and women in PNG did have access to securing jobs in Port Moresby due to their family connections. It was simply a matter of exercising that power their family connections provided. The consensus seemed to be that young educated Papua New Guineans believed in the value of a meritocratic and fair system. Whereby your educational qualifications would guarantee you a job in the private sector and that it really depended on the company you apply to.

5.5 Becoming Self-reliant and Contributing Young Members of Society

How do these young people internalize their aspirations when finding or selecting employment? Or one would wonder if they even pursue their ambitions in working for the sector they originally intended to. My interviewees, see paid employment as an important contributing factor to being independent and self-reliant. They also see paid employment as a means to support their immediate and extended family. Owing to altruistic values, embedded from childhood, my participants share this same belief that once they have reached adulthood, it is their responsibility to take care of their parents. In relation to the purpose of this research and supported by the earlier section on opportunities in the job market, all ten young interviewees were determined to be a part of the formal sector for personal motivation and the need to support family. One of the questions I asked my research participants was whether they thought paid employment was important for young people. Most of my interviewees reasoned being able to use their education to get a job, that allowed them to be independent. It was an intriguing method of finding out their motivation behind preferring paid employment. Samira believes that "given the high unemployment rate in PNG and the rural to urban drift, almost everyone living in urban areas rely on cash to sustain their day to day living and pay for many other expenses" (Samira 2019, personal interview). Such is why, to her "paid employment is important because it allows individuals to sustain their own lives and their families' livelihoods" (Samira 2019, personal interview).

Susan claims "I would say I take care of my parents. I am glad I am going to be working in the private sector now" (Susan 2019, personal interview). "Young people should not burden their parents for money to out drinking and socializing, we should be able to provide for ourselves" (Susan 2019, personal interview). It is the same for twenty-four-year old Louisa, who states that "young people today have families to support and life in the city especially isn't easy today" (Louisa 2019, personal interview). She credits her parents as her biggest source of support both emotionally

and financially, but does want to return the rate of investment and in turn support them. She views this as the least that she can do for them, and points out the rising cost of living in the city as one of the reasons. Arthur is of the same belief when it comes to young people having paid employment. He believes "others who haven't gone to school have to work to sustain themselves and their immediate families" (Arthur 2019, personal interview). John furthermore regards paid employment as important for everyone in PNG today, as it offers young people a source of income. John, twenty-four and working as an information security analyst at BSP, spoke from experience as he initially had dreams of being an electrical engineer. For Ida, paid employment is important for young people as the alternative for young males especially is petty theft and a life of crime – the seeming connotation for unemployed young men. Based on observations of labour market characteristics in PNG, women have a slightly lower labour force participation rate but are more active within the larger labour market (with regards to unpaid domestic work and informal sector employment).

Kendja asserts that "paid employment is very important for young people, not only in Papua New Guinea but in general as it gives a sense of independence as well as identity and freedom of living under the rules of parents or guardians. It also gives young people an opportunity to show their appreciation to those who have contributed tremendously to attain a paid job, which is very important in society in PNG" (Kendja 2019, personal interview). She continues with "paid employment also enables the majority of young people to be more self-reliant and most importantly gain the ability to adapt and understand concepts concerning the region or country that they may live in, either economically, socially or environmentally" (Kendja 2019, personal interview). That is the essential goal of young educated Papua New Guineans, particularly for Kendja and I, as being educated abroad provides one with the perspective to give back to the country.

PCK says that because Port Moresby has become very expensive, and the cost of living is extremely high, "I am currently frustratingly unemployed in my new career as a lawyer. But I do work as an IELTS examiner" (PCK 2019, personal interview). young people cannot just rely on family support. Therefore, it is important as it builds a safety net; "It builds their human capital, and can help young people develop their careers, it builds self esteem and yes life satisfaction" (PCK 2019, personal interview). Jamie-Lee, who had completed a Graduate Development Program (GDP) work placement at the Bank of South Pacific (BSP) in the city, and had now become a permanent employee contends that she has certain responsibilities which is why her job is important to her. "Some young folk want to begin living independently and having a paid job allows for that" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). Polly simply reasons that "everything requires money in today's society, thus earning money in exchange for labour is important" (Polly 2019, personal interview). I personally identified with her explanation because it was one of my justifications when looking for a job in Port Moresby.

5.6 Examining Gender Roles in The Labour Market

Mirrored by this belief in a modern meritocratic hiring system, is the idea for young Papua New Guineans to be self reliant/independent and contributing members of the economy. Staying on the theme of being independent of family support, young people view paid employment as a means to independence, but mostly sustenance to survive in a cash economy (a factor that transcends gender). In recognizing that it is important to be self-sufficient in PNG's economy, one's human capital attributes greatly to this. There were two main questions which looked at assessing the role of gender within the labour market, particularly for young educated Papua New Guineans. This was to establish whether there was an intersecting role of gender and class and how it affected accessing the job market. It was compelling to learn that both men I interviewed had alternative views which I am assuming is a reflection of the particular sector they are currently working in. As Arthur is working in a field that is now increasingly becoming female dominated within the private sector, it is not difficult to understand his point of view. John on the other hand, works as an information security analyst dealing with cyber and data protection, an industry which is still largely male dominated as women are not encouraged to pursue a career in Information Technology. There was also a noticeable difference in the way women viewed opportunities in the job market as compared to both men.

Five of my female interviewees, specifically referred to low-skilled jobs when providing examples of gendered roles, they deemed women would be more successful in obtaining. "For instance, when it comes to secretarial and admin work, women tend to be more successful. Then when it comes to jobs involving manual labour such as driving or mechanics, men tend to dominate" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). There seems to be an assumption held by five of my female research participants that men are generally more successful in terms of finding employment in the private sector. Jamie-Lee labels a woman's reproductive role to be a primary factor as to why women may lose out on job opportunities in the private sector as compared to men. These examples, can be construed as cultural gendered norms which have stratified the labour market and meant a difference in access to jobs for men and women. In concluding her reply, she remains optimistic as "women are now applying for jobs in fields previously male-dominated and putting themselves out there" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). "Women are taking on trade jobs such as carpentry, mechanics, etc. and men are starting to train in becoming waiters and cleaners, and I think that's great" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). Polly concurs with this view and asserts that "in recent times, per my own observation, more women are now filling jobs that were once deemed as male-dominated industries or fields" (Polly 2019, personal interview). Both Samira and Ida are of the belief that both sexes have equal opportunities in accessing jobs in the private sector but at first did refer to similar examples as listed by Jamie-Lee. Samira asserts that "as long as you have the qualifications, whether male or female then you have a chance of getting that job" (Samira 2019, personal interview). Ida says women can do the same job as men and provides the example of female engineers and lawyers. Although Susan does support this claim, and refers to the example of the interview from her first job and how she was the only girl along with three other boys. She does correlate jobs that require more physical activities to being more masculine and thus more appealing to men. Related to what Elson (1999) and Scott (1986) argue, "there are social stereotypes which

associate masculinity with having authority over others in the workplace (being the 'boss') and social stereotypes about what is 'man's work' and 'women's work'" (Elson 1999: 611). I was raised not to entertain such assumptions that there was a difference in the types of jobs women and men could do. This is also the adopted attitude amongst my extended family as well. My sister has a degree in aerospace engineering and has always wanted to build planes inspired and encouraged by the example our parents set to be perseverant. My extended family is filled with cousins who are engineers, doctors, pilots, television personalities and lawyers; so being raised in such an empowering environment has meant that I do not identify with gender stereotypes and assumed gendered roles.

Arthur feels differently and argues "I usually see young men struggling to look for Jobs in POM (Port Moresby). I don't see as many women struggling to find work. A lot of companies are hiring women now as they are dedicated and are less likely to have bad habits like drinking and causing trouble in the workplace" (Arthur 2019, personal interview). He attributes traits he deems as feminine to be the reason why young women are more likely to be hired in law firms. Arthur is also of the belief that young women tend to be more sociable and thus build on their social networks allowing them to hear about job opportunities. His example coincides with the view that "unemployment causes detachment from the world of employment, hence cutting people off from information about employment opportunities" (as seen cited in Bolibar et al. 2019: 403). He goes on to provide an example of two jobs, specifically looking for female lawyers, advertised amongst his batch mates from LTI. "Those are the only two job advertisements I saw that specifically asked for a certain gender to apply. International Law firms like LLLS (Leahy, Lewin, Lowing and Sullivan) and Dentons have mostly women working as lawyers and even a female as Senior Partner. This may be the case for other law firms too. But I do not know about all of them and how their approaches to employing new people are" (Arthur 2019, personal interview).

John in contrast, feels that young men are more successful in securing a job in Port Moresby based on his observation of a competitive domestic labour market. He believes that there are job opportunities available for tertiary educated young Papua New Guineans, but from what he has seen thus far, young men have increased chances of getting jobs in the private sector. Whether these thoughts were formed owing to his position as a member of the working middle class which provided him with a greater access to knowledge about this is not clear. It is safe to assume, as Bolibar et al. (2019) has argued "males from a middle and high SES background had mobilized more social support in the employment sphere, and with contacts who were in a better position in the labour market" (p. 414). It is an endurance of this attitude amongst young women and men, that continues to widen the gap between both sexes in their pursuit of paid employment. PCK in agreement with John insists that "young men tend to get jobs faster than women" and provides the example of her graduating class from the LTI. The majority of her male colleagues received job offers faster than the female students. She reiterated the fact that her male colleagues managed to get jobs earlier, even receiving help with their job hunt. One of the question I was asking was how their perceptions or labour market roles of each sex is determined. Both men were from middle-income families but had been shaped by different experiences in

the labour market, which would explain why they had juxtaposing views of the role of gender in formal employment

PCK provided an additional example through an interview she had with a mining company at the beginning of the year where the interviewer was more focused on her relationship status. When she asked her fellow colleagues who applied for the same job, if they were asked the same question, they said no. She had found out that three of her male colleagues were recruited along with a female who happened to be single. This ties in to the idea presented by Jamie-Lee earlier in claiming reproductive roles as a deterring factor for private sector companies. PCK is adamant in stating that there is "definitely a gender divide. Even though most if not all organizations pride themselves on being an equal opportunity employer, I believe that discrimination or unintentional stereotyping still occurs in subtle ways during the recruitment process" (PCK 2019, personal interview). She strongly feels that the public sector tends to be more gender biased and provides an example of this. "Two months ago when the Department of Justice and Attorney General's Office (DJAG) advertised their job vacancies, my classmates' and I had been looking forward to applying as we were told to look out for the ad. But when the ad came out only senior lawyer positions were advertised requiring three to five years' experience." "Needless to say all of us were disappointed but a day before the close of the application we saw a screenshot of e-mails from a senior lawyer in the DJAG office to a specific number of colleagues telling them which positions to apply for" (PCK 2019, personal interview). To further clarify, she said the senior lawyer was a female lawyer in the office, instructing specific female colleagues of hers to apply for the position. The same senior lawyer was on the hiring team/interview panel and so it was no surprise that those specific colleagues were chosen above everyone else who had applied. To juxtapose Marxist theory, "the value of labour power" *has* been biologically determined rather than "socially bargained" in the examples provided by PCK (Folbre 2012: 282). Moreover, her example proves that in contrast to Elson's theory (1999), there are now gendered hiring preferences and thereby practice of female empowerment within hiring policy practices. Further supported by the example provided by Arthur, it illustrates how in the field of Law, sex is an asset rather than a deterring factor. The next subsection of this chapter looks at how my interviewees regard a lacking education system as being a contributing factor to rising youth unemployment.

5.7 Accountability and the Burden of an Inadequate Education System

This section relates to my interviewees thoughts regarding the government's responsibility when catering to a rising youth population. Though responsibility does not solely fall on the government to cater for this percentage of the population, it is evident from the rising number of unemployed youth that there are underlying issues yet to be addressed. This question could also be asked of young educated individuals and their attempts to seek employment. Interestingly enough, my interviewees viewed

the education system as a contributing factor to the problem and all voiced their opinions of how the government has considerably failed young people. Ida thinks the government has overlooked the issue altogether in the political arena. She thought if more members of parliament were to discuss this, or if it were to be made a matter or urgency, then solutions would also be discussed.

Polly believes that the government should "effectively improve the education system, in terms of investing in their infrastructure and human capital (teachers). Furthermore, she expressed that it is their responsibility to create more industries for a wider variety of fields. "Not simply focusing on the main ones such a medical, legal and finance" (Polly 2019, personal interview). Being educated abroad for the majority of my life, I had limited knowledge on the country's education system, save for what I read in print and internet media. I was curious to find out if my interviewees and I shared the same opinion regarding the treatment of teachers in the country, and asked her if she thought teachers were underpaid. She completely agreed, further adding that they lack the "necessary welfare aid" (Polly 2019, personal interview). She also shared the same hope that I did, in wanting the new government to be able to better cater to the improvement and distribution of public services.

According to Susan, "there has never been any tangible development for the rising youth population that I have seen. Things are getting worse by the day" (Susan 2019, personal interview). "The only thing that the government did to assist *and* ruin this population was providing free education for the past five years. But when they did that, they increased University tuition fees by the thousands! Literally!" (Susan 2019, personal interview) "School fees have skyrocketed and even the scholarship programs didn't even help!" (Susan 2019, personal interview). When I commented on the current state of the tertiary education system, I surmised that those who receive a university education is determined by those who are of a certain class. Upon commenting on the class divide she replied "Yes, no money means no university. "And it's worse that those that live out of Port Moresby have no choice but to pay for boarding for their children. Not only UPNG, but this applies for UniTech (University of Technology) and other colleges around PNG" (Susan 2019, personal interview). She further adds "scholarships are automatically offered to a student if you reach a certain GPA (Grade Point Average) at the end of the year. The education department pays for these scholarships but realistically it does not decrease the fees" (Susan 2019, personal interview).

Jamie-Lee is another of my interviewees that considers the education system as the main problem and believes that it should be remodelled. "Presently, it's a bottleneck system that is intended to produce elites who only have a handful of fields of study to choose from. The courses offered at tertiary institutions are not as varied as in other countries such as investment banking, hotel management and stockbroking, to name a few. If there were more courses or fields of study to choose from in tertiary institutions, the education system wouldn't be so rigid and streamlined" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). "In addition to this, the government could look at investing in the labour market as a form of 'commodity'. Elevating our education standards to the global level (which means running courses that are recognized worldwide) would result in our labour market being 'exportable'" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). "This way the labour force would be able to work overseas and gain employment in

other countries. When we send our people overseas to work, they will revert money back to PNG and this can also help ease our foreign exchange problem" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview).

From the perspective of my interviewees, part of the responsibility falls on the government to address lacking areas of policy specifically within the institution of the school and with regards to hiring policies. This is related to the earlier section on opportunities in that there are opportunities available in the private sector, but generalized findings would assert that hiring policies within the formal labour market are too rigid. Arthur believes that the government is capable of creating more opportunities for young people by creating more vocational schools "so that they can learn trades and practical skills that they can apply in everyday life" (Arthur 2019, personal interview). He continued with a view slightly more extreme by saying "they should also stop foreigners from coming into our country and doing jobs that our own citizens can do even operating machines and construction work. And stop Illegal Immigrants from owning and running SMEs in the country" (Arthur 2019, personal interview). Louisa is of the same opinion and thinks it is the government's role is to create more employment opportunities for a rising youth population. "Not all youths go as far as tertiary education and that's a sad case here in PNG. The government should create programs that will teach these youths to become entrepreneurs so they can create their own business instead" (Louisa 2019, personal interview).

The next and final chapter will provide a summary of my findings, presenting my observations of what the findings suggest; an outlook for future policies to be adopted and possible suggestions/tips for future research. Considering 60% of the country's population is engaged within the informal sector, one would assume that more efforts would be made to regulate this sector or at the least, formalize certain jobs. It is understood that those who contribute and engage with informal jobs, all support their immediate and extended families (ILO 2017: 2). Whether the solution is to formalize jobs within the informal economy, is an approach that the new government would have to consider to mend a stratified labour market economy.

Chapter 6
Conclusion & Recommendation

6.1 Summary of The Answers

With this research, I initially set out to establish how young Papua New Guinean men and women access paid employment, attempting to identify what are the factors that limit their access. My main research question being: how do young women and men in Papua New Guinea access formal (paid) employment? To answer each of these questions, I shall be methodical by first addressing the general themes addressed in this paper. As my findings would suggest, young people rely more on their social networks (defined as their friends / social media) than their wantok systems/family networks. Patronage, as defined by Abercrombie and Hill (1976), therefore, is not a significant deterring factor, as initially assumed. My original theory presumed, based on my failed job hunt in both sectors, that socio-economic background and familial status, guarantees employment. My research participants however demonstrated that social networks are more significant within the private and public sector. It is not simply a matter of who you are related to but who you know within the department/company. Upon being asked, none of them claimed to have a wantok system which they relied on for job support but did recognize its presence as crucial for those looking to "get ahead" in the system.

I can conclude based on my data collection and analysis that young people equate getting a job to being the culmination of their studies. They view the process of applying for and accessing the labour market as a measure of their academic intellect. Additionally, the young men and women that I interviewed, regard securing paid employment as the pinnacle of their success. Educated young people in PNG are optimistic and persevere, or at least with regards to my interviewees they are. Kendja, Ida and Susan are examples of young people who disavow Nobel et al.'s (2011) stereotypes about urban youth who do not manage to find employment. They furthermore negate Bolibar et al.'s (2019) claim that sustained periods of unemployment imply a lower likelihood to enter the job market. In general, there are very indignant views about educated young men and women, but the literature does not go further to suggest neither a positive or negative outcome. I found the answers provided by my female interviewees, on a gender divide on labour force participation, most surprising. They all believed in the value of a meritocratic system, and that one is hired based on their qualifications/human capital. Yet, these educated young women believed masculinity and femininity were assigned to positions in the work-force. It is of no fault of their own, as the labour market as an institution, continues to be a "bearer of gender" as a result of reinforced social norms (Elson 1999: 611). Contrary to this notion, my findings demonstrate that in certain circumstances women are the preferred sex to hire, referring to the cases presented by PCK and Arthur. Folbre (2012) asserts that "human skills that are enhanced by education and experience have played a crucial role in economic development" (p.283) but this is not what has happened in PNG. Private sector companies in Port Moresby either have restrictive hiring policies or do not provide sufficient job opportunities for university graduates.

6.2 Outlook for Policy

There is a definite class divide in terms of who is capable of attaining a university education. As previously suggested in earlier chapters, class is not as significant as compared to ethnicity/kinship. Socio-economic background in this instance does determine one's ability to access certain services. It is easier to attend university if you can afford it and scholarships do exist but does very little to alleviate the burden of fees. A good majority of my participants emphasized the need for the government to reform the education system, accrediting it as inadequate to accommodate the surplus of youth each year. By their reasoning, with a lacking system, it is no wonder that a lot of young Papua New Guineans find it hard to secure paid employment and instead turn to the informal economy. More money is being made within the informal labour economy, hence it would be advisable for the government to focus efforts on formalizing the informal economy (Patjole, 2019). Jamie-Lee perfectly sums this up stating how "young people are the most eager ones to hustle and make money, mainly because they've spent pretty much their whole life learning and striving to earn their qualifications that they want to see for a fact how well they can perform in the real world; and there's no better meter to measure this than money itself" (Jamie-Lee 2019, personal interview). Jamie-Lee was the only one of my interviewees to participate and secure full term employment from a graduate program, highlighting the value of such programs. It is becoming apparent that private sector organizations are reported to offer more graduate programs in the name of development. Meaning an ease of entry for those university graduates, who lack experience to enter the job market. Rather than providing an outlook for policy, this section of the chapter looks to recommend suggestions for both the individual and private sector companies.

There are pre-existing policies, the national government has proposed in order to "support economic and employment opportunities" (The Department of Labour & Industrial Relations et al. 2018: 4). An example being the *"Employment Placement Services Act"* which was an initiative to "support job-seekers to find employment" (The Department of Labour & Industrial Relations et al. 2018: 4). Similarly, Kanaparao et al. (n.d.) had also envisioned his study on urban youth unemployment prove relevant to policy makers, however nothing eventuated. Another example for outlook for policy would be for the government to look at the Generation Unlimited partnership. Its goal is to prioritize youth needs and ensure young people have a voice and a future. With strengthened support from international organizations such as the World Bank, investing in education, skills and capacity building for young people comes into focus (Camara and Cooper, 2019). It is relevant for PNG owing to the enormous support the country receives from the World Bank. Equipping youths with the appropriate skills fit for the labour market, are goals/targets that PNG needs to personify for their rapidly expanding youth population. This program inspiring to see on a global scale, as it breeds a glimmer of hope for the future generations.

6.3 Future Research

The project proposals and impact evaluation of UYEP (2018) and Kanaparo et al.'s (n.d.) study, serves as a pre-existing building block for the outcomes of research looking into youth unemployment in PNG. The largest contrasting factors between my research and Kanaparo et al.'s was that theirs was more extensive and had a larger population sample. Whilst I looked at only ten university educated youths in Port Moresby, they looked at different urban centers, focusing the search on a number of high school graduates. Moreover, it might be interesting to employ a different methodological approach rather than an auto-ethnography. A case study for instance might prove useful in providing insights that my experience did not capture. Another tip to improve the study, would be to recreate a study that is more representative in terms of incorporating more educated young Papua New Guineans who remain unemployed and in the search for a job. For this, using a different research technique to select research participants and generate data would also have to be used. As I mentioned comprehensively, the problem with snowball sampling is the homogeneity of answers. Such was the case with my participants in regards to some of their responses, as a great deal of them were well acquainted and lawyers. The advice therefore would be to ensure that there is equal representation amongst the sectors and sexes.

References

Abercrombie, N and S. Hill. (1976) 'Paternalism and Patronge', *The British Journal of Sociology'*, 27(4): 413-429. Accessed 21 July, 2019. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/590182?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents>

 Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2002) 'Priorities of the Poor in Papua New Guinea' Manila, Philippines: Asian Development Bank. Accessed 20th February 2019 <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/29745/hardship-png.pdf>

Becker, G. (1962). 'Investment in Human Capital: A Theoretical Analysis', *Investment in Human Beings*, 5(2): 9-49. Accessed 10 June, 2019. <http://www.nber.org/books/univ62-3>

Bolibar, M., J., M., Verd and O, Barranco. (2019) 'The Downward Spiral of Youth Unemployment: An Approach of Considering Social Networks and Family Background', *Work, Employment and Society*, 33(3): 401 – 421. Date accessed May 11, 2019 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017018822918>

Booth, A. (2009) *Employment, Education and Skills Development in Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby, PNG: Institute of National Affairs.

Camara, P., d. & K, Cooper. (2019) 'World Bank and UNICEF Partner to Promote Education, Skills and Training for Young People'. Washington: UNICEF (press release, 8 April) Accessed 15 August 2019 <https://www.generationunlimited.org/news-and-stories/world-bank-unicef-education-skills-training-young-people>

Connell, J. (2005) *Papua New Guinea - The Struggle for Development*. London: Taylor and Francis e-Library

Conroy, J.D. (1976) *Education, employment and migration in Papua New Guinea*. Australia: Australian National University. Google scholar database. Accessed 13 August 2019 <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/131355/1/DSC_monograph_03.pdf>

Deloitte and UNDP. (2017) 'Fulfilling the land of opportunity: How to grow employment in Papua New Guinea'. Papua New Guinea: UNDP.

Dinnen, S. (1993) 'Big Men, Small Men and Invisible Women – Urban Crime and Inequality in Papua New Guinea', *Aust & NZ Journal of Criminology,* 19(34): 19 – 34.

Elder, S. (2009) 'Module 2 SWTS Questionnaire', *ILO school-to-work transition survey: a methodological guide*, p. 1- 56. Geneva, Switzerland: ILO.

Ellis, C., T. E., Adams & A. Bochner. (2010) 'Autoethnography: An Overview', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 12(1): 345-357.

Elson, D. (1999) 'Labour Markets as Gendered Institutions: Equality, Efficiency and Empowerment', *World Development,* 27(3): 611 – 627.

Folbre, N. (2012) 'The Political Economy of Human Capital', *Review of Radical Political Economics'*, 44(3): 281 - 292

Fridriksson, G. and T.A. Fridriksson. (1995) Destination Papua New Guinea, Papua New Guinea Accessed 19th March 2019 <http://www.destinationpng.com/section-4/labour-and-employment-overview/>

Friese, S. (2017) 'How to make the best of codes in ATLAS.ti', Accessed 14 October, 2019 <https://atlasti.com/2017/03/16/make-best-codes-atlas-ti/>

Galenson, A., F, Kahnert, G, Lehmann, L., Likar, M. Ngandu and K. Woodward. (1981) 'Papua New Guinea: Selected Development Issues (Pub 3544)'. Washington D.C.: The World Bank

"Generation Unlimited – Our Time. Our turn. Our future.", YouTube video, 1:58. "Generation Unlimited," September 21, 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z1L8ewssmvc>

Groh, M., N. Krishnan, D. McKenzie and T. Vishwanath. (2012) 'Soft Skills or Hard Cash? The Impact of Training and Wage Subsidy Programs on Female Youth Employment in Jordan', the World Bank Finance and Private Sector Development Team No. 6141. Middle East & North Africa Region: The World Bank Group.

Hughes, S., and J, Pennington. (2017) *Autoethnography: process, product and possibility for critical social research*, California: Sage Publications. Accessed 15 September, 2019 <http://methods.sagepub.com.eur.idm.oclc.org/book/autoethnography>

ILO. (2018) 'Employment and environmental sustainability in Papua New Guinea', *ILO Fact Sheet,* pp. 1-5. Accessed 25th February 2019 <https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/publication/wcms_625971.pdf>

ILO. (2014) 'Papua New Guinea (3)', *Database of national labour, social security and related human rights legislations.* Date accessed March 13, 2019 <http://ilo.ch/dyn/natlex/natlex4.detail?p_lang=en&p_isn=102732&p_country=PNG&p_count=3>

ILOSTAT. (2019) 'Labour force participation rate – ILO modeled estimates, July 2018 (%) –

Annual'. Accessed November 9, 2019 <https://www.ilo.org/shinyapps/bulkexplorer4/>

ILOSTAT. (2019) 'Country profiles – Papua New Guinea'. Accessed November 9, 2019
    <https://ilostat.ilo.org/data/country-profiles/>

Izzi, V. (2013) 'Just keeping them busy? Youth employment projects as a peacebuilding tool',
    International Development Planning Review, 35(2): 103 – 107.

Jackson, R. and W. Standish. (2019) 'Papua New Guinea - Encyclopaedia Britannica'.
Accessed 26 February 2019 <https://www.britannica.com/place/Papua-New-Guinea/The-
colonial-period> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Papua-New-Guinea/Languages>

Jeffrey, C. (2010) 'Geographies of children and youth I: eroding maps of life', *Progress in
    Human Geography,* 34(4): 496 – 505. Oxford, UK: Sage pub

Kanaparo, P., J, Rayel, B, Imbun. (n.d.) 'Urban Youth Unemployment Study in Selected Urban
Centers in Papua New Guinea'. Accessed 15 June 2019 <http://devpolicy.org/presentations/2014-
PNG-Update/Day-2/S7-Peter-Kanaparo-youth-unemployment.pdf>

Kep, Y. (2018) 'Youth Seek Jobs after training', *Post Courier.* Accessed 24 May, 2019
    <https://postcourier.com.pg/youth-seek-jobs-training/>

Lakingu, R. (2018) 'National Youth Development Authority to Host Youth Policy
Workshop'. Port Moresby: EMTV News (press release, 16th August). Accessed 19th March 2019
<https://emtv.com.pg/national-youth-development-authority-to-host-youth-policy-workshop/>

Levantis, T. (2000) *Papua New Guinea: employment, wages and economic development.*
    Canberra ACT, Australia: Asia Pacific Press

Lodewijks, J., Enahoro, D., & Argyrous, G. (1991) 'Structural adjustment issues in Papua New
Guinea', *The Economic and Labour Relations Review'*, 2(1): 154 – 171. Date accessed May 10, 2019
<https://search.proquest.com/docview/751031502?accountid=13598>

Lodewijks, J. (1988) 'Employment and wages policy in Papua New Guinea', *Journal of
Industrial Relations*, 30(3): 381 – 411. Accessed 14 June 2019
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/002218568803000303>

Marsden, K. (1993) 'Employment Strategy in Papua New Guinea: An international perspective',
    International Labour Review, 132(2): 229 – 244

McGavin, P, A. (1991) 'Policy Evaluation of Investment in Education: a Papua New Guinea
    Study', *Economics of Education Review,* 10(3): 213 – 226

McLachlan, A. (2018) 'Youth in PNG: challenges to building a positive future', *Devpolicy Blog.*

17 January 2018. Accessed 20 May, 2019 <http://www.devpolicy.org/youth-png-challenges-building-positive-future-20180117/>

Mineral Resources Authority Papua New Guinea (MRA). (2019) 'Mining History'. Accessed 7 June, 2019 <http://www.mra.gov.pg/GeologyMining/MiningHistory.aspx>

Naderifar, M., H., Goli and F. Ghaljaie. (2017) 'Snowball Sampling: A Purposeful Method of Sampling in Qualitative Research', *Strides in Development of Medical Education*, 14(3): e67670. Accessed 29 October, 2019 <https://sdmejournal.com/en/articles/67670.html>

Noble, C., N, Pereira and S, Naune. (2011) 'Chapter Five: Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea', *Urban Youth in the Pacific*, pp. 73 – 95. Suva, Fiji: University of South Pacific

O'Collins, M. (1984) *Youth in Papua New Guinea: With reference to Fiji, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu.* Canberra, Australia: Australian National University

O'Connor, T, L. (2013) 'Ask and you shall receive: Social network contacts' provision of help during the job search', *Social Networks* 35(2013): 593 – 603

Oesch, D. and A, v., Ow. (2017) 'Social Networks and Job Access for the Unemployed: Work Ties for the Upper-Middle Class, Communal Ties for the Working Class', *European Sociological Review,* 33(2): 275 – 291. Date accessed May 12, 2019 <https://academic-oup-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/esr/article/33/2/275/3045085>

Patil, V. (2013) 'From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come', *Signs* 38(4): 847 – 867. Accessed October 14, 2019 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10/1086/66/9560>

Patjole, C. (2019) 'K12bn in informal economy: DPM', *Loop News.* Accessed: 23 September, 2019 <http://www.looppng.com/png-news/k12bn-informal-economy-dpm-87110?fbclid=IwAR3q1FM8HVyRujcDl7PLW2uFTr_25M4FuNikgE3oP_opHRBEyblnvHYFLZg>

Pew-Templeton Global Religious Futures Project (2016) Pew Research Centre, Washington DC, Accessed 1 November 2019 <http://www.globalreligiousfutures.org/religions/christians>

PNG Workers4U (n.d.) 'Papua New Guinea seasonal workers program'. Accessed 25 March 2019 <http://www.pngworkers4u.com/index.html>

Port Moresby Population. (2019) 'Port Moresby Population 2019', *World Population review.* Accessed 6 June, 2019 <http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/port-moresby-population/>

Salaman, G. (2016) 'Not Enough Jobs for Youths', *Post Courier.* Accessed 20 May, 2019 <https://postcourier.com.pg/not-enough-jobs-for-youths/>

Scott, J, W. (1986) 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', *The American Historical Review*, 91(5): 1053-1075.

Setepano, N. (2013) 'PNG Youth Unhappy with Chronic Unemployment: Survey', *Pacific Islands Report*. Accessed 13 August 2019 <http://www.pireport.org/articles/2013/10/11/png-youth-unhappy-%E2%80%98chronic-unemployment%E2%80%99-survey>

Swain, M. (1999) 'Agricultural Tenancy and Interlinked Transactions: I: Neoclassical and Marxist Approaches', *Economic and Political Weekly,* 34(37): 2657 – 2665.

Ten, M. (2016) 'UYEP Aims to Reduce Youth Unemployment', *Post Courier*. Accessed 20 May, 2019 <https://postcourier.com.pg/uyep-aims-to-reduce-youth-unemployment/>

Topints, K., N., Ngalkay and D., Koiyange (2018) 'Problem of unemployment', *The National*. Date accessed 12 August 2019. <https://www.thenational.com.pg/problem-of-unemployment/>

The Ministry & Department of Higher Education, Research, Science and Technology's (DHERST). 'Transition and Reform in Higher and Technical Education', *Quality Higher   Education*, 2019; 1(2): 1 – 16.

The Ministry of Labour & Industrial Relations, the Employers' Federation of PNG, the PNG, Trade Union Congress and the ILO. (2018) 'Papua New Guinea Decent Work Country Programme 2018 – 2022'. Accessed 5 July, 2019. < https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_mas/---program/documents/genericdocument/wcms_651154.pdf>

The National (2013) 'Study: Many youths without jobs', 23 October. Accessed 15 August 2019 <https://www.thenational.com.pg/study-many-youths-without-jobs/>

Thieme, S. and K, A, Siegmann. (2010) 'Coping on Women's Backs: Social Capital-Vulnerability Links through a Gendered Lens', *Current Sociology* 58: 715 – 737.

Vagi, L, C, M. (2013) 'Struggles of Rural Youth Factors that Empower and Disempower Youth in Rural Villages – Central Province, PNG', Masters thesis. Dunedin: University of Otago

Vincent, S. (2019) 'Timeline of PNG's VONC', *Loop PNG*. Date Accessed May 3, 2019 <http://www.looppng.com/png-news/timeline-png%E2%80%99s-vonc-84070>

Walton, G. W. (2013) 'Is All Corruption Dysfunctional? Perceptions of Corruption and its Consequences in Papua New Guinea', *Public Administration and Development*, 33(3): 175 – 190. Accessed May 10, 2019 <https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/doi/epdf/10.1002/pad.1636>

World Atlas. (2017) Map of Papua New Guinea. Date Accessed May 7, 2019
    <https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/oceania/pg.htm>

World Bank. (2016) 'Papua New Guinea: Giving Urban Youth a Second Chance'.
Accessed 13 March 2019 <http://www.worldbank.org/en/results/2016/05/13/papua-new-guinea-giving-urban-youth-a-second-chance>

World Bank. (2019) *Papua New Guinea Urban Youth Employment Project – 2018
    Impact Evaluation and Results*, 136013. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group.