

Analyzing the Evolution of Rascal Gang Culture in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, through the Sociological Imagination Lens

Dr Garry Sali

Papua New Guinea University of Technology

Abstract

As Papua New Guinea moved towards self-government in 1973 and ultimately gained independence on September 16, 1975, the emergence of criminal gang culture became an inherent aspect, mirroring the various phases of the country's development. This analysis explores the evolution of criminal gang culture in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, through the lens of sociological imagination. Its objective is to explain the formation of gang culture in Port Moresby during the periods leading up to and following independence, and how it has contributed to the city's contemporary issues related to law and order, mainly involving young individuals colloquially known as 'rascal' gangs in Papua New Guinea. Data collection posed challenges, as this research commenced amid the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2019. Residing in Lae within the Morobe Province, the author of this paper had to intermittently collect data during several visits to Port Moresby from 2019 to 2023. The findings of the research reveal that a combination of historical influences, individual biographies, and structural factors, coupled with rapid development, has perpetuated the crime issue in Port Moresby. Over time, this problem has evolved into a serious concern regarding law and order. This paper asserts that it is important to look beyond our own experiences and understand how bigger social, historical, and structural things affect our lives in Port Moresby. Fixing this problem needs more than just saying there's a problem – it needs leaders who are really committed and have good strategies and plans to control and stop it.

Key words: sociological imagination; rascal gangs; crime; law and order problem,

Introduction

The road to Papua New Guinea's independence on September 16, 1975, was marked by profound socio-economic and political transformation (Dorney, 2000; Griffin, et al, 1979). As the country gained momentum for political independence with a formation of Self-Government in 1973, rascal gangs, which were emerging in the 1960s, became notable appearance (Pitts, 2001). So, using C. Wright Mill's Sociological Imagination Theory as a guiding lens, this research examines how rascal gangs were formed and spread in Port Moresby, the capital city of Papua New Guinea. The study intends to examine the evolution and spread of rascal gangs and their groups from the years leading to independence and up till today. By closely looking at the historical context, its biographies (people), and the social structure, this study aims to find out how the rascal gangs have formed and operated over the years. Further, the investigation aims to shed light on how changes in society, politics, and the economy during these significant periods have impacted the creation, structure, and beliefs shaping the modern gang culture in Port Moresby. Through this exploration, the goal is to provide an understanding of the various intricate forces that have influenced the development of rascal gang behavior within the city.

In Papua New Guinea, the term "raskol gang" is more often used rather than criminal gang where "raskol" is a Pidgin English term derived from the English word 'rascal' and it is used in Papua New Guinea to refer to a criminal or a member of a gang group (Harris, 1988). While the word 'rascal' in English generally refers to images of a disobedient, defiant and naughty person, that person is generally viewed as only a nuisance (Harper, 1998); however, in Papua New Guinea it refers to a much more distressing image – of violent thugs, robbers or even rapists and killers (Luker & Monsell-Davis, 2010). Hence, raskols in the Papua New Guinea context are young men, usually in groups (Nibbrig, 1992), who operate mainly in the larger cities, particularly in Port Moresby and Lae to commit crime against persons and properties. They are notoriously known for engaging merciless crimes like murder, rape, robbery, and armed hold-ups, which are characterized as violent and serious acts of brutality against humanity (Biles, 1976; Dinnen 1995). For the purpose of this paper, we will use the term "rascal gang" as we refer to criminal gangs.

The research process posed its own set of unique challenges, not the least of which was the timing of its initiation. In 2019, the world was struck by the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, a global crisis that disrupted various aspects of life, including academic research. Additionally, being a resident of Lae within the Morobe Province, conducting fieldwork in Port Moresby required several visits over a span of four years, making data collection an arduous endeavor. This aspect adds a layer of complexity to the research, emphasizing the commitment and dedication required to investigate such a multifaceted and pressing issue.

The paper is structured as follows: firstly, employing C. Wright Mill's sociological imagination as the research framework; secondly, an analysis of the rascal gang culture

in Port Moresby, both pre and post-independence; thirdly, an exploration of the rascal gang culture in Port Moresby within the context of sociological imagination; fourthly, an explanation of the research methodology utilized; fifthly, a presentation of the study on gang culture in Port Moresby; and finally, a discussion highlighting key points, culminating in a conclusion.

Sociological imagination

The sociological imagination, a concept introduced by American sociologist C. Wright Mills in his 1959 book, "The Sociological Imagination," is a fundamental framework that encourages individuals to look beyond their personal experiences and recognize the broader social, historical, and structural forces that shape their lives and the lives of others (Mills, 1959). It provides a lens through which we can understand the interconnectedness of personal troubles and public issues. The analysis below examines the main propositions of C. Wright Mills' Theory of Sociological Imagination (Mills, 1959):

- a) Mills stressed the connection between biography (the individual's life story), history (societal events and developments), and the social structure (the rules governing the society). He pointed out that understanding the sociological imagination involves recognizing how individual experiences and choices are shaped by historical and changing social forces in the society. By connecting personal lives to larger historical accounts within the social structure, we have clear understanding of the social context in which our lives unfold (Michael, 2019). The biography, history, and social structure are key components in his concept of sociological imaginations.
- b) C. Wright Mills' sociological imagination strongly puts emphasizes on critical thinking and empathy. It encourages individuals to think and move beyond their own personal biases, self-interests, and experiences and accept an objective and fair, sociological approach. This involves trying to understand the experiences and perspectives of other people, especially those who are affected by common community issues and problems. Empathy and critical thinking are vital for developing a wide-ranging understanding of community issues and problems as was supported by Flynn, Kilvington and Aliverti, (2020).
- c) The sociological imagination is about examining society's structure and history. It involves asking questions about how social institutions, laws, norms, and values contribute to the rise and persistence of various issues and problems. It seeks to reveal the fundamental social and historical factors that mold and shape individual life experiences in the society (Michael, 2019).
- d) It is observed that sociological imagination assists individuals to tell the difference between personal troubles and public/community issues. As in the explanation of C.

Wright Mills (1959), personal troubles are individual difficulties, such as unemployment, illness, or family problems, that affect an individual's immediate life in the community. Public issues, on the other hand, are community/societal problems, such as poverty, inequality, or discrimination, that affect many people within a community/society. The sociological imagination informs and encourages us to see how personal troubles often have roots in larger structural issues. Hence, when more people are affected, it becomes public issues whereas if an issue affects only a handful of people, it is a personal trouble as supported by Ellison (2019).

- e) In an increasingly globalized world, the sociological imagination also helps us understand global issues and challenges, such as climate change, migration, and economic inequality. It provides a lens through which we can examine these issues from a sociological standpoint and appreciate their global interconnectedness (Flynn, Kilvington and Aliverti, 2020).

In short, sociological imagination is a theory that allows society and its people to think beyond their immediate circumstances and understand how personal experiences are shaped by larger social, historical, and structural forces. It plays a crucial role in sociological research, policy development, and efforts to address societal issues, ultimately fostering a more empathetic and socially aware society. It is an important theory as guide in our efforts to explain current issues and social problems including rascal gang problems in our contemporary society.

Rascal gang culture in Port Moresby in the context of sociological imagination

C. Wright Mills concept of sociological imagination encourages individuals to understand the interplay between personal troubles and societal issues, bridging the gap between the individual and the broader society. Applying the sociological imagination to the evolution of criminal gang culture in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, unveils a complex interplay of factors that have given rise to crime and rascal gang culture. This section explores how Mills' sociological imagination can be employed to comprehend the multifaceted dynamics contributing to the development of criminal gang culture in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea.

Port Moresby, the capital of Papua New Guinea, has been grappling with the evolution of criminal gang culture. A sociological analysis using the sociological imagination reveals that this issue is deeply rooted in historical, structural, and cultural factors as outlined in points (a), (b) and (c) below respectively:

- (a) The historical legacy of colonialism in Papua New Guinea has left a significant impact on the nation. British and Australian colonial rulers imposed their systems, which disrupted traditional social structures and led to social disintegration. Since the formal

colonization, which started in 1884 (Waiko, 1993), the colonial administration was in force for almost 100 years before granting independence in 1975. The contemporary state of law and order in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea, in general, is a legacy of the colonial government's negligence to develop laws and policies consistent with the traditional social regulatory system (Narokobi, 1983). The law and order under colonial administration in Papua New Guinea was an instrument which the colonialists extended their economic, political, and religious institutions as well as their beliefs and idiosyncrasies (Turner, 1990). Papua New Guineans were robbed out of their unwritten laws, social organization, their communal government systems, and of their pride, dignity and self-respect (Narokobi, 1983, in Clifford, et al, 1984:110). Therefore, colonial rule was in part responsible for creating such a gloomy state of law and order in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea. This disruption sowed the seeds for future social issues, including the rise of criminal gangs in the city and the country.

- (b) The strain theory of crime captures the relationship between socio-economic hardship and committal of crime theory (Merton, 1968; Merton, 1938; Messner and Rosenfeld, 1994). Because of their adverse socio-economic condition (unemployment and poverty), there is pressure or stress placed on them for their survival. The intent and the execution of the crime is relative to the stressed place upon them. Hence, in this context, crime is a means-to-an end. The study on rascal gangs and crime in Lae (Sali, 2014) clearly revealed that 100% (68) of the respondents (rascal gangs) have committed crimes of shoplifting, pickpocketing, theft, and robbery because they need to feed their families and themselves with the basic necessities for daily living. There are so many street children and other young people without employment who are disadvantaged and live in poverty (O'Collins, 1993). While we appreciate that not all property crimes are committed because of socio-economic hardship, the anecdotal evidences in the daily newspapers (Uki, 2015) and personal observations (Sali, 2016) are compelling to argue that poor and adverse socio-economic conditions alone can drive the young people to commit crime for living. Hence, it can be observed that structural factors, such as poverty and lack of access to quality education and employment opportunities, play a pivotal role in the emergence of criminal gang culture. The majority of the population in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea lives in impoverished conditions, leading to feelings of hopelessness and frustration. The sociological imagination helps us understand that the gang members are not solely to blame for their actions, but rather products of a society that offers limited alternatives and opportunities.
- (c) In a linguistically and culturally diverse (Gordon, 2005; Turner, 1990) country like Papua New Guinea with a population of 10,401,596 12 million people (Worldometers, (2023) spread over a difficult geographical terrain (mountains, valleys, rocks, swamps and grassland), running a formal and western form of government and administration from a main administrative centre is categorically a difficult job and a mammoth task. There is a myriad of different and unique cultures in the context of both the material

and nonmaterial cultures which are somewhat fascinating to many people and visitors. Papua New Guinea is truly a nation of thousand tribes and it is a compressed nation within thousand nations spread over its 462,840 square kilometres of land mass (in Sali, 1996:80). Port Moresby the nation's capital and Lae, the second largest city, and other urban towns are represented by people from these cultures, which means that people of different ethnic and racial backgrounds with diverse norms and values have been flocked and compressed into these urban locations making it difficult for the city authorities to control the residents (Uki, 2015). Law-and-order problems, in this context, are viable adaptation to the heterogeneous and diverse ethnic communities with myriads of competing values and norms whether in the urban places or in the villages. Papua New Guinea is a diverse country with hundreds of different indigenous cultures and languages. The coexistence of these diverse cultural groups can lead to tensions and conflicts, which can, in turn, fuel criminal gang culture. Applying the sociological imagination, we can see how cultural diversity, if not managed effectively, can exacerbate social issues and criminal gang culture.

Mills suggests that the sociological imagination allows individuals to connect their personal troubles to public issues. In the context of criminal gang culture in Port Moresby, this means recognizing that the individuals involved in these gangs are not merely "bad" people but are often products of a social environment that leaves them with limited choices. When we apply the sociological imagination to the lives of gang members, we see that many come from broken families, have limited access to education, and struggle to find stable employment. These are personal troubles, but when we zoom out and analyze the broader context, we realize that these issues are also public problems. High levels of unemployment and inadequate social support systems contribute to the perpetuation of these personal troubles, creating a vicious cycle of crime. Moreover, the prevalence of violence in gang culture can be linked to broader issues such as the availability of firearms and the breakdown of law and order in certain areas of the city. These public issues, in turn, influence the personal troubles faced by individuals who may resort to joining criminal gangs as a means of survival or identity.

The rascal gang culture in Port Moresby before and after independence

Harris (1988) writes that, rascal gangs first emerged in Port Moresby around 1963, initially comprising loosely organized groups of impoverished young men. Their activities primarily revolved around acts of vandalism, intimidation, mutual protection, and minor theft (Nibbrig, 1992). During this early period, these gangs aimed to bolster their self-esteem and secure basic necessities like food, beer, and cash.

Harris (1988) further points out that, as the late 1960s approached, these groups evolved into more permanent entities, engaging in increasingly complex endeavors. By the 1970s, their focus shifted towards residential area robberies, with many young individuals

specifically migrating to Port Moresby to join the ranks of these rascals, prioritizing this lifestyle over seeking employment or pursuing education as agreed by (Harper, 1998).

The 1980s marked a phase of gang consolidation, characterized by intergang conflicts and violence. Successful gangs, having established solid business connections, expanded their activities into various illicit ventures such as the black market for beer, auto theft, and involvement in the drug trade. Each gang was under the leadership of a king or lord, who assigns specific tasks to subordinates.

In addition to their traditional business operations, which involve the sale of car parts, small appliances, electronic goods, and jewelry, these gangs have diversified into the marijuana trade. They've also ventured into establishing political connections to safeguard their illicit activities and have developed associations with international criminal organizations as Harris (1988) points out.

After Papua New Guinea gained independence from Australia in 1975, the country experienced a significant transformation. In the capital city of Port Moresby, rascal gangs began to emerge more prominently (Biles, ed.1976). These groups were initially loose associations of marginalized young men who engaged in activities like vandalism, petty theft, and intimidation. The shift towards urbanization and social change following independence provided an environment for these gangs to establish themselves. The primary motivations for early rascal gangs were to gain self-esteem and access basic necessities such as food and cash (Amarshi, et al, 1979). Their activities often revolved around surviving in an evolving urban landscape.

During the 1980s and 1990s, rascal gangs in Port Moresby experienced significant growth and escalation. Many of them transitioned into more permanent and organized entities. Their activities became increasingly complex and aggressive (Luker & Monsell-Davis, 2010). Residential area robberies became a focus, and the youth population in Port Moresby saw a growing influx of individuals migrating to the city, not for employment or education, but to join these gangs (Dinnen, 1995). The 1980s marked a period of gang consolidation, with intergang violence and territorial disputes. Successful gangs with strong business ties expanded their activities into areas like black market beer, auto theft, and drug trade (Harper, 1998).

In the 2000s, rascal gangs in Port Moresby continued to evolve (Lakhani and William, 2012). The gangs were no longer limited to traditional criminal activities; they had diversified and expanded their operations (Levantis, 2000). Each gang was typically led by a kingpin who assigned specific roles to subordinates. Beyond their established businesses, which involved selling stolen goods, gangs ventured into the lucrative drug trade, including marijuana cultivation and distribution (Luker & Monsell-Davis, 2010). They also developed political ties to protect their interests and established connections with international criminal

organizations. This period saw a more sophisticated and multifaceted approach to organized crime (Sali, 2014).

The development of rascal gangs in Port Moresby through the post-independence era and into the 2000s was influenced by several socioeconomic factors. These gangs thrived in an environment where the equitable distribution of resources and development remained a challenge (Levantis, 2000). The allure of drug money became a significant driving force for many young individuals who felt marginalized by society (Luker & Monsell-Davis, 2010). Addressing the issue of rascal gangs required a multifaceted approach, combining law enforcement efforts, social programs, and economic development initiatives aimed at providing opportunities for the youth and addressing the root causes of their involvement in criminal activities (O'Collins, 1993). The ongoing challenge remains in finding ways to create a more inclusive and equitable society in which these gangs no longer find fertile ground to operate.

Research Methodology

This study was conducted over a four-year period, spanning from 2019 to 2023. While the project officially commenced in 2019, the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic posed considerable challenges to its early stages. Data collection primarily took place during several visits to Port Moresby after the peak periods of COVID-19. The ensuing discussions cover a range of research methodologies and procedures employed throughout the study. These include the utilization of both quantitative and qualitative research approaches, sampling methodologies, literature reviews from secondary sources, social surveys, interviews, and the processes involved in data preparation, processing, and analysis. Additionally, the discussions move into aspects concerning informed consent and ethical considerations adhered to during the research period.

Qualitative and quantitative research approaches

This research employed a combination of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies to address the complexities of the topic. Qualitative approaches were useful in providing rich, descriptive insights into the phenomenon under investigation. Through methods such as interviews, observations, and analysis, I was able to capture the experiences, perspectives, and motivations of individuals involved in rascal gang activities in Port Moresby. These qualitative insights added depth and context to the study, allowing for a more thorough understanding of the social dynamics and challenges at play. It was a useful method of exploring the natural rascal gang context environment.

In addition to qualitative methods, quantitative approaches were utilized to quantify and analyze numerical data related to the prevalence and characteristics of rascal gang activities in the city. Quantitative techniques involved the use of surveys, statistical analysis, and data presentations to systematically examine patterns, trends, and correlations within

the dataset. By employing quantitative measures, such as frequency counts, percentages, and statistics, I was able to identify key indicators, assess the magnitude of various factors, and draw empirical conclusions. Integrating both qualitative and quantitative approaches enriched the research process, enabling a wide-ranging exploration of the topic from multiple perspectives and facilitating a more robust interpretation of the findings.

Sampling methods

Sampling methods utilized in the study comprised snowball sampling and purposive sampling. Snowball sampling involved initially engaging with a known young individual, a relative of mine, who holds a leadership position within the Kovera gang residing in Gordens. Recognized for his influence and respect among peers, he willingly agreed to participate in data collection. Through his connections, five fellow gang members were recruited, subsequently introducing additional participants. Together, the leader and the five recruits served as research assistants, aiding in the administration of questionnaires, ultimately resulting in a sample size of 63.

Thirteen respondents were selected via purposive sampling. Leveraging a longstanding relationship with the Papua New Guinea Correctional Institutional Services Commissioner, stemming from my tenure as a Lecturer at the University of Papua New Guinea between 1998 and 2001, I sought permission to visit the Bomana Prison Camp during a research trip to Port Moresby. With consent secured, a three-day visit to the camp ensued, facilitated by cooperative prison officers who permitted interviews with 13 inmates affiliated with rascal gangs. Remarkably, these individuals willingly provided information, understanding the academic nature of the research and consenting to the interviews.

Literature reviews from secondary sources

Conducting a desktop literature review of secondary sources proved invaluable in gathering essential data and information for the research. By systematically examining existing literature from various online databases, academic journals, books, and newspapers, I synthesized key findings and insights relevant to the research objectives of this paper. This critical analysis allowed for the identification of gaps and areas for further exploration within the literature, ultimately informing the development of research questions and methodology. Thus, the literature review served as a foundational step in ensuring the validity and depth of the study's findings.

Social survey

A specific questionnaire was tailored to gather data and information from the respondents as part of the survey process. This questionnaire was carefully crafted to address the research objectives and included a series of structured questions designed to gauge relevant responses. Prior to administering the survey, I thoroughly reviewed the questionnaire to ensure clarity and coherence in the questions. In instances where research assistants were involved, I provided detailed instructions on how to accurately complete the questionnaires.

This involved explaining the purpose of each question and guiding them through the process of recording respondents' answers. By effectively communicating the survey methodology to the assistants, I ensured the consistency and reliability of the data collection process.

Interviews

Interviews played a crucial role in this research, complementing the data obtained through the questionnaire. While the questionnaire provided a structured framework for gathering information, conducting interviews allowed for deeper exploration and clarification of respondents' responses. Through direct communication with participants, additional insights were gained by asking follow-up questions and probing further into their experiences and perspectives. This interactive approach facilitated a richer understanding of the research topic and enhanced the depth of the data collected.

Moreover, there were instances where valuable data and information were acquired through informal communication with key respondents outside the structured questionnaire. These conversations provided unique insights and perspectives that may not have been captured through standardized questions alone. By engaging in open dialogue with key individuals, I was able to uncover important details and context that enriched the research findings. This flexible approach to data collection highlighted the importance of interpersonal communication and adaptability in conducting social research.

Data preparation, processing and analysis

Data preparation, processing, and analysis became increasingly challenging after collecting the data and information. While gathering data from secondary sources via literature review was an ongoing process, organizing and analyzing the data obtained from surveys and interviews demanded meticulous attention. Each variable and question underwent thorough scrutiny to ensure the accuracy and appropriateness of responses. For data processing, I employed a straightforward Excel program to input and manipulate the data, generating graphical representations of overarching trends. Thus, a combination of manual effort and Excel software was utilized for processing and analyzing data, diverging from more specialized tools like SPSS.

Informed Consent

Securing informed consent from respondents to participate in the interviews was a fundamental aspect of the research process. Ensuring that participants fully understood the nature and purpose of the research was paramount, and efforts were made to clarify any questions or concerns they may have had. In Port Moresby, during the interview sessions, it was encountered that eleven (11) young rascal gangs declined to participate in the survey, asserting their rights, and their decision was respected accordingly. However, for the 76 respondents who agreed to take part, meticulous care was taken to explain that the research was solely for academic purposes and that their identities and personal information would be kept confidential and not disclosed in any form or manner.

Each participant was provided with detailed information about the research objectives, procedures, and potential risks or benefits associated with their involvement. Clear communication regarding confidentiality and anonymity was emphasized to ensure that respondents felt comfortable and confident in sharing their experiences and perspectives. This ethical approach to obtaining informed consent not only upheld the rights and autonomy of the participants but also reinforced the integrity and credibility of the research findings.

Ethical consideration

Ethical considerations were carefully integrated into every aspect of the research process beyond obtaining informed consent. An essential ethical consideration involved immersing and putting oneself in the criminal gang culture and lifestyle to gain access to authentic data and insights. This necessitated a culturally sensitive approach, including careful consideration of attire to ensure that I did not appear too formal or out of place, which might have caused discomfort among the participants. While maintaining professionalism, I dressed in attire that was respectful yet relatable, fostering a sense of comfort and rapport during interactions. Additionally, I made concerted efforts to engage with the respondents on their terms, often adapting to their social norms and behaviors to establish trust and facilitate open communication. This included instances where I shared meals and traveled with respondents, demonstrating an understanding and respect for their culture and way of life.

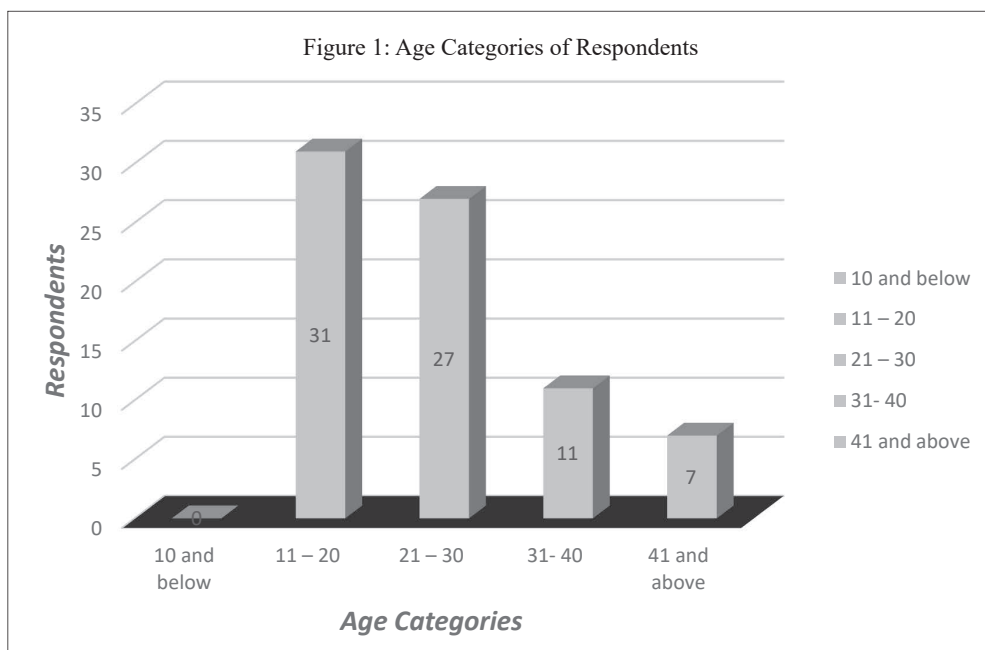
Furthermore, understanding and responding appropriately to the cultural sensitivity of the community being studied were paramount ethical considerations. By immersing myself in their environment and engaging with them on a personal level, I aimed to build rapport and establish a sense of mutual respect and understanding. This approach not only facilitated the collection of data and information but also upheld the dignity and autonomy of the participants. By demonstrating cultural sensitivity and responsiveness, I ensured that the research process was conducted ethically and responsibly, fostering trust and cooperation among the respondents. Overall, these ethical considerations were integral to conducting meaningful and respectful research within the criminal gang culture context.

Research Findings

This study was conducted over a four-year period, spanning from 2019 to 2023. While the project officially commenced in 2019, the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic posed considerable challenges to its early stages. Data collection primarily took place during several visits to Port Moresby after the peak periods of COVID-19. In the ensuing discussions, the results of the study are presented:

Respondents

In a study encompassing 76 male respondents in Port Moresby, it was evident that all individuals were without formal employment, representing a broad spectrum of ages ranging from 15 to 43 years. This demographic sample revealed an important trend of unemployment across various age groups. Specifically, the distribution among age groups showed that the largest cohort of respondents, comprising 31 individuals, fell within the 11-20 age group. Following this, 27 respondents were aged between 21 and 30, indicating a significant presence within this category. The subsequent age groups depicted a decreasing trend in participation, with 11 respondents falling in the 31-40 age range, and only 7 individuals in the 41 and above age group. This distribution across age categories shows a predominant representation of younger males in the sample set grappling with unemployment in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea.

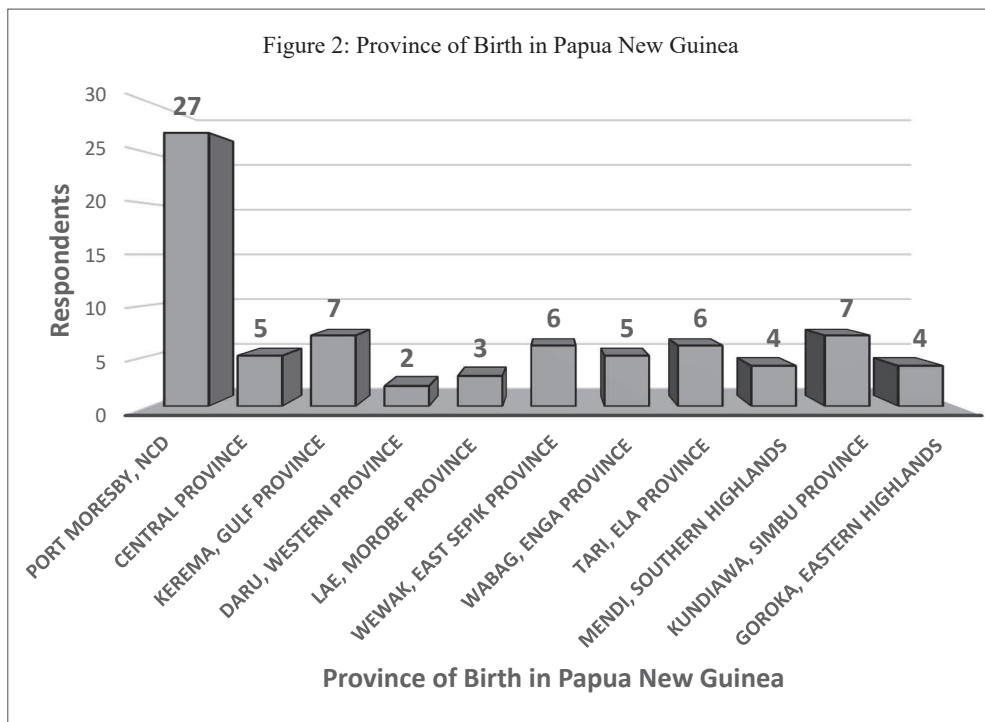


The data highlights a concerning trend of widespread unemployment among male individuals in Port Moresby, transcending various age groups. Notably, the absence of formal employment was consistent across all 76 respondents, signaling a collective challenge irrespective of age within this demographic. Overall, the study's findings shed light on the prevalence of unemployment among males in Port Moresby, urging the need for targeted interventions and support systems, especially for the younger population, to address this concerning societal challenge.

Province of birth in Papua New Guinea

The geographical origins of the respondents in the study reveal a diverse representation of birthplaces across Papua New Guinea. Among the 76 respondents, it was observed that

while a notable portion, 27 individuals (36%), were born in Port Moresby, there was a varied distribution among the remaining provinces. Out of the 22 provinces in Papua New Guinea, the study encompassed individuals born in 11 different provinces. The data shows a fairly even dispersal among these provinces, with 7 respondents hailing from each of the Southern Highlands and Central Provinces, while 6 respondents originated from Tari and Wewak, respectively. The remaining provinces contributed to the dataset, as depicted in Figure 2, showcasing a diversified representation of birthplaces across the country among the respondents.

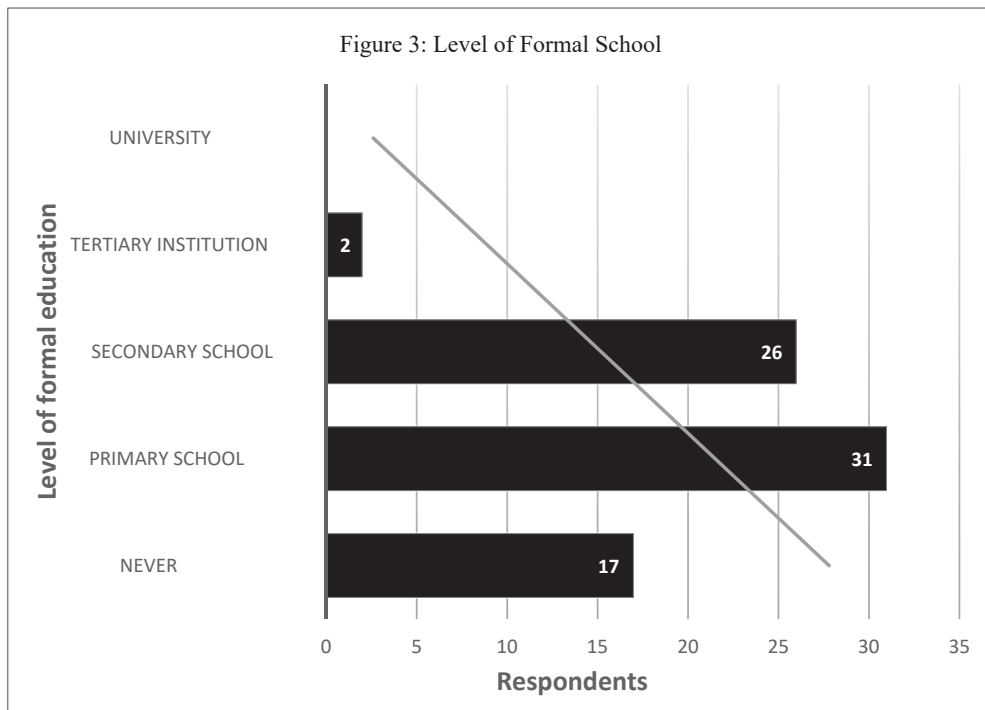


The dataset reflects Port Moresby's status as a culturally diverse modern city, representing individuals from all 22 provinces of Papua New Guinea. The migration patterns seem to vary, with some relocating for improved services, while others have moved due to parental work commitments. Despite the city's multicultural landscape, the 76 respondents in this study were solely from 11 provinces, indicating a partial representation of the country's provinces within this specific research sample.

Level of formal education

The educational background survey among the 76 respondents revealed a diverse distribution within the group. The majority, comprising 31 individuals, or 41% of the respondents, had completed primary school education. Additionally, 26 respondents, representing 34% of the sample, had completed secondary school, indicating a significant portion with a higher level of education. Contrarily, a notable portion of the group,

consisting of 17 individuals (22%), had not attended any formal schooling. Furthermore, only 2 respondents (3%) had completed tertiary education. This shows a varied educational attainment within the criminal gangs, with a considerable proportion having attained at least a secondary level of education, yet a large number lacking any form of formal schooling altogether. So, there is a mixed group of individuals in terms of educational qualification as can be seen in Figure 3 below.

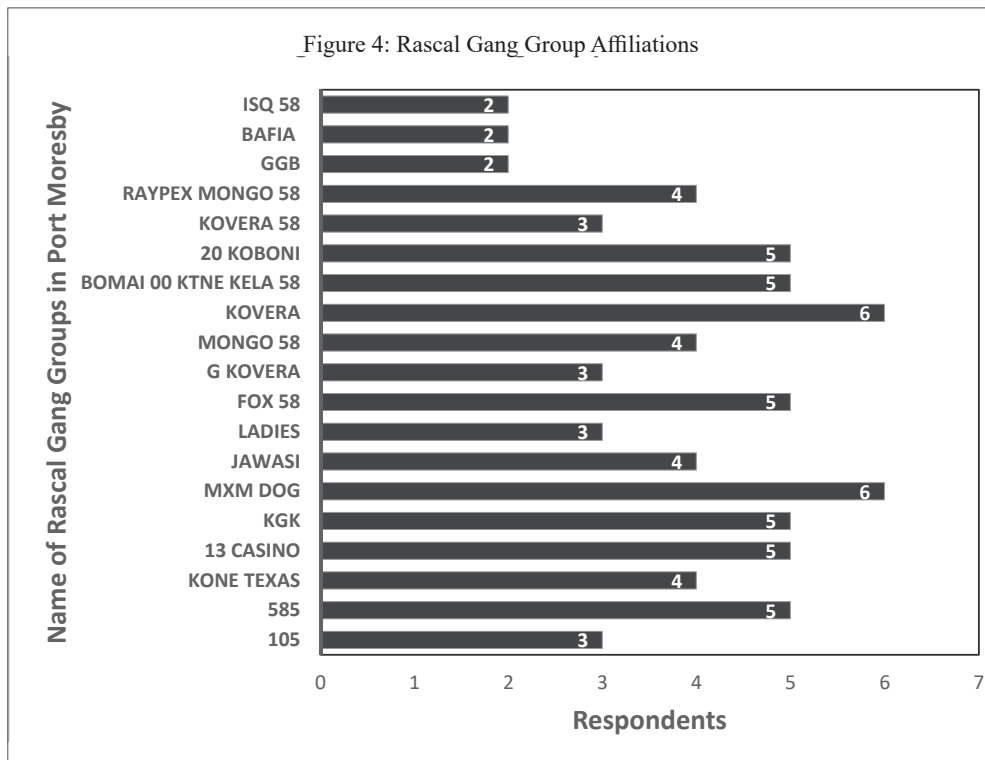


So, the trend in educational achievement among the criminal gang respondents in Port Moresby shows a mixed pattern. While a substantial portion had completed primary and secondary education, showing an effort towards formal education, there existed a large number who had no formal schooling at all. This difference in schooling backgrounds within the group shows underlying social and economic challenges. It can be seen here that rascal gangs do not only come from the uneducated group of young people but also from the educated members of the society.

Rascal gang groups

The 76 respondents provided their specific group names during the investigation. These names, as depicted in Figure 4, were derived from various sources, encompassing references to renowned places, dangerous animals, or symbolic representations of their activities. While it's acknowledged that there might be more rascal gang groups beyond the ones provided, the disclosed names form the basis of their identities. Each group operates under its set of rules and guidelines, functioning within the confines of their established regulations.

Notably, these groups claim distinct territories, as outlined in Table 1, and clashes erupt fiercely if boundaries are breached, leading to battles among these rascal factions.



Inter-group conflicts are prevalent among these factions, leading to intense confrontations when territories are violated. The organized nature of these gangs makes them a formidable force, especially when working collectively. Executions and actions are meticulously planned within these groups, showcasing their structured and strategic approach to their illicit operations. Furthermore, these groups maintain ties with influential figures such as politicians, government officials, and community members, occasionally receiving protection from these connections, enabling their continued operation within the community.

Spread of the rascal gang group in Port Moresby

The tabulated data in Table 1 outlines the rascal gang groups and their respective operational zones across Port Moresby. Notably, a significant coverage of various suburbs within the city is apparent, with the exception of key areas like Port Moresby town area, Badili/Koki, Sambama/Manua, 9 Mile, Morauta, and Waigani. This dispersion suggests the wide reach and prevalence of these deviant groups throughout the city, despite the small sample size of 76 respondents in this study. While the sample size might seem limited, it remains significant, especially considering the sensitive nature of the inquiry into criminal behavior.

Table 1: Details of sample population Interviewed by Locations

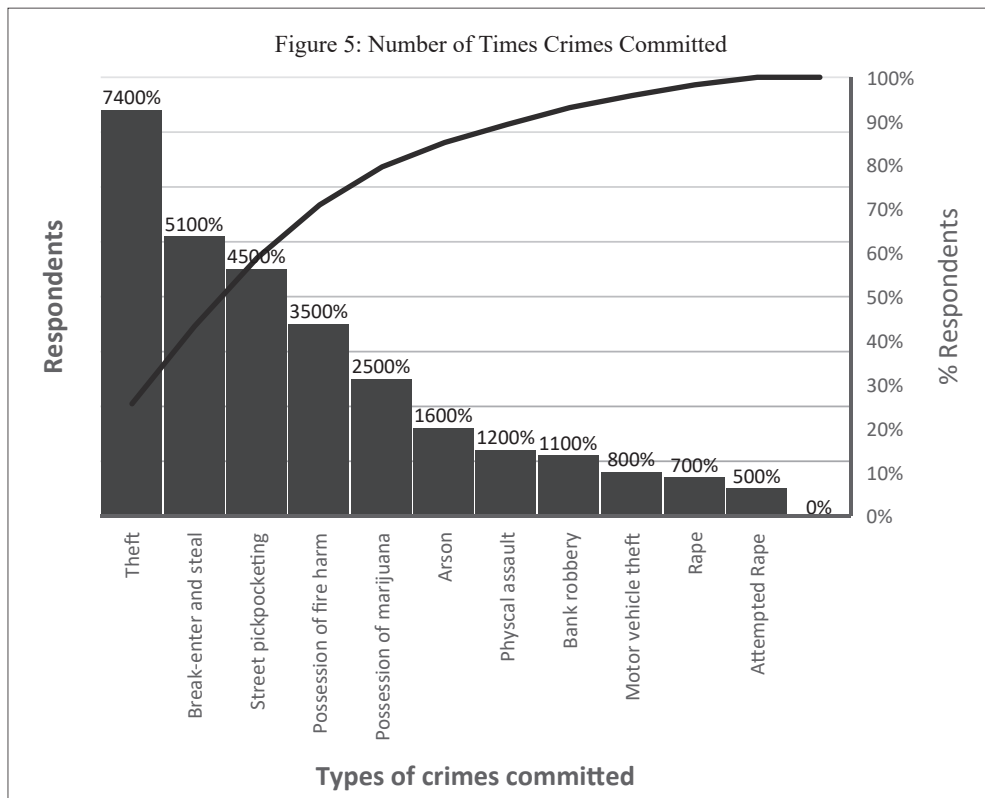
Rascal gangs Names	Locations in Port Moresby	Sample Population Interviewed
105	Boroko	3
585	Boroko	5
Kone Texas	Konedobu/Hanubada	4
13 Casino	Hohola	5
KGK	Hohola	5
MXM DoG	Hohola	6
Jawasi	Tokorara	4
Ladies	Tokorara	3
Fox 58	Tokorara	5
G Kovera	Gerehu	3
JSQ58	Gerehu	4
Mongo 58	Gerehu	6
Kovera	Gordens	5
Bomai 00 KTNE Kela 58	7 Miles, 6 Mile & 5 Mile	5
20 Koboni	7 Miles, 6 Mile & 5 Mile	3
Kovera 58	Morata	4
Raypex Mongo 58	Erima	2
585GGB	Magi Highway	2
Bafia	Gaire, Barakau & Tubaseria	2
Total sample population		76

Prior research conducted by Harris in (1988) documented rascal groups with distinctive names such as KKK, Kips Koboni, Apes, Ladies Mapia, Tigers, Maggies, Rough Riders, Macarthurs, Fever, SOS, Devils, No Face, among others. While some of these names have faded into history, newer groups bearing similar or identical names, such as 105, 585, Texas, Jawasi, Koboni, Raipex, continue to persist. Over time, these groups have evolved by altering their names, territories, and member structures. Presently, the rascal gangs in Port Moresby primarily concentrate on the city's outskirts, as inner city centers have undergone significant development, leaving little room for escape after committing major crimes. So, as it can be seen, most of the suburbs in Port Moresby city are covered by the rascal gang groups and their criminal operations.

Committal of crimes

The 76 respondents surveyed in Port Moresby shed light on the major types of crimes committed by rascal gangs in Papua New Guinea. Their criminal activities often directly oppose the country's laws governing peace and order, displaying a clear conflict with legal statutes. Figure 5 encapsulates the respondents' confessions regarding their involvement in criminal acts. Theft, break-and-enter, and street pickpocketing emerge as the most common offenses, reported by 74, 51, and 45 respondents respectively. These crimes are often seen as

means of survival within the city for these individuals.

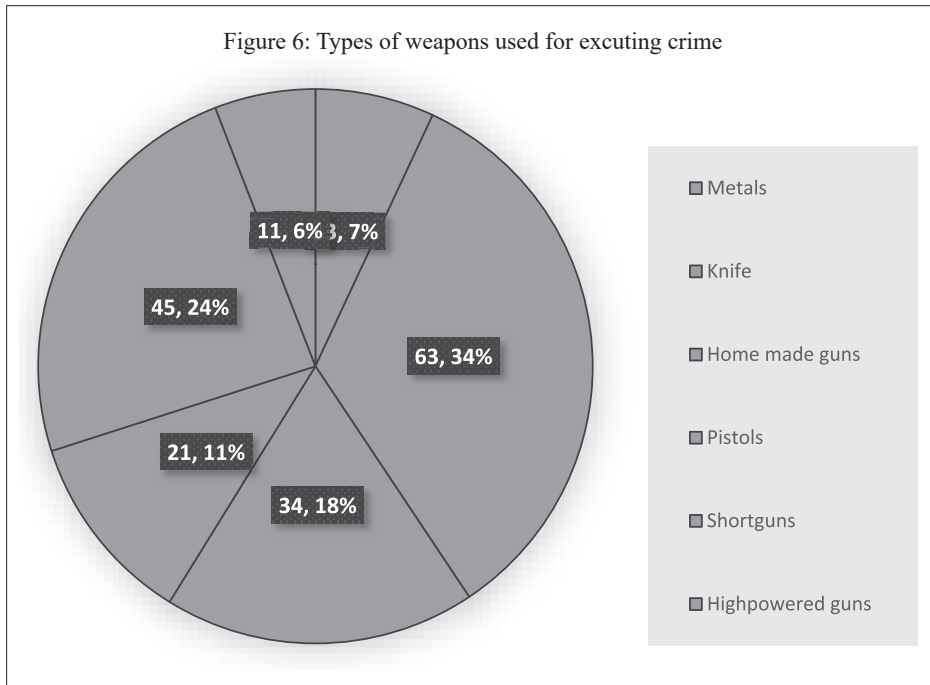


Furthermore, the respondents admitted to engaging in serious criminal behavior such as possession of firearms, marijuana, arson, physical assault, bank robbery, rape, attempted rape, and motor vehicle theft. Notably, the absence of respondents acknowledging involvement in crimes of murder or attempted murder is intriguing. Equally, other offenses like kidnapping and damage to others' property were not disclosed by any of the participants. This selective spectrum of criminal activities hints at a particular set of crimes prevalent within the rascal gang activities in Port Moresby, painting a picture of the types of illicit acts these groups are primarily involved in, while omitting certain more severe offenses. theft. Notably, the absence of respondents acknowledging involvement in crimes of murder or attempted murder is intriguing. Equally, other offenses like kidnapping and damage to others' property were not disclosed by any of the participants. This selective spectrum of criminal activities hints at a particular set of crimes prevalent within the rascal gang activities in Port Moresby, painting a picture of the types of illicit acts these groups are primarily involved in, while omitting certain more severe offenses.

Types of weapons used for executing crimes

The access and the use of weapons to commit crime in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea is a serious concern in the country. In the complex web of rascal gang activities, the

use of firearms especially serve as force multipliers, transforming individuals into strong and powerful threats. Figure 6 shows the different array of weapons used by these criminal gangs, ranging from simple tools like metals and knives to more complicated firearms such as home-made guns, pistols, and high-powered guns.



The issue of weapons in the hands of criminal gangs fuels a contentious debate in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea. The access to firearms is a serious issue in the country now. Particularly concerning are the availability of short guns and high-powered guns among these rascal gang groups. Questions loom over how these weapons find their way into the possession of disadvantaged and poor criminal gang members and the systems and ways by which they obtain such firearms (Singirok, 2023). The discourse surrounding the illicit arms trade and its connection to the socio-economic conditions in Papua New Guinea highlights the urgency of addressing the root causes of weapon accessibility. As the nation grapples with the impact of armed criminal activities, understanding and mitigating the pathways through which these weapons circulate among rascal gangs becomes paramount in fostering long-term security and stability. There is a need to visit the gun investigation report commissioned by the Papua New Guinean Government in 2005 (Singirok, 2005).

Rascal gangs in conflict with the law

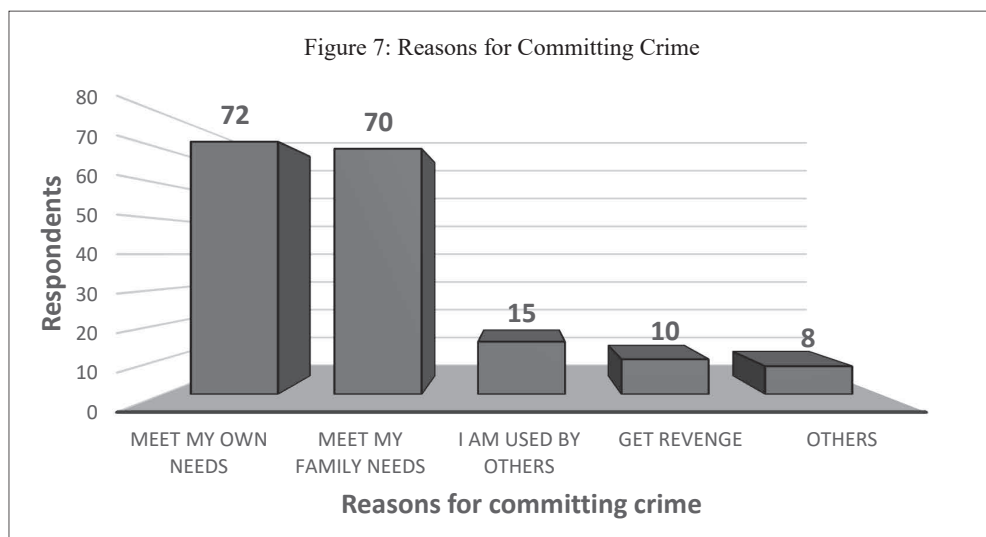
The data on respondents involved in conflicts with the law sheds light on the varied paths within the criminal justice system. Among the surveyed individuals, 23 reported having experienced arrest, with their encounters culminating in a temporary stay in police cells. Another subset of respondents, numbering 5, faced legal prosecution but ultimately won in

their cases, securing acquittals or dismissals. In a more serious legal road, 37 respondents found themselves arrested, prosecuted, and ultimately imprisoned. These figures highlight the multifaceted nature of interactions with the legal system, reflecting the diverse outcomes that individuals may experience based on their circumstances and legal defenses. (Note that 13 of the respondents were still in the Bomana prison at the time of the interview).

For the 11 respondents who claimed to have never been arrested by the police, a cautionary note is sounded. The statement accompanying this group suggests a recognition that, despite their current status, the long arm of the law may still reach them in the future. This acknowledgment highlights an awareness that legal circumstances can swiftly change, and individuals who have so far avoided legal entanglements may not be immune to future encounters with law enforcement. It points out the importance of ongoing vigilance and adherence to legal norms even for those who have thus far evaded arrest, serving as a reminder that the long hand of the law can still catch them.

Reason why they commit crime

Understanding the motives behind criminal behavior is a complex task, encompassing a myriad of influences from various domains. The literature on criminology highlights a spectrum of factors, including biological, psychological, and sociological elements, contributing to criminal activities.



While pinpointing a singular cause for crime remains elusive, a survey presented in Figure 6 above sheds light on some prevalent motivations among respondents. Notably, 72 participants cited committing crimes to fulfill their physiological or basic needs, emphasizing the stark realities of survival in their everyday lives. Another significant group, comprising 70 respondents, identified family-related reasons, where the pressures of supporting their families drove them towards criminal acts. Intriguingly, 15 participants

acknowledged being manipulated by influential figures, such as politicians, public servants, and close relatives. Furthermore, motivations like revenge (cited by 10 respondents) and group influence (mentioned by 8 respondents) showcase the multifaceted nature of criminal motivations, pointing out that crime arises from a complex interplay of circumstances and situations.

The survey results point out the diversity of factors that contribute to criminal behavior, challenging simple explanations about the origins of crime. The findings suggest that societal, economic, and interpersonal dynamics play pivotal roles in shaping individuals' choices to engage in illegal activities. Policymakers, law enforcement, and researchers must recognize this complexity when devising strategies to prevent and address criminal behavior. Approaching crime with a wide understanding of its root causes can pave the way for more effective interventions that address the diverse motivations behind criminal actions. We need to understand the root causes of crime one-by-one in order to develop appropriate strategies to prevent criminal elements in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea.

Discussions

This study employs the theory of sociological imagination developed by C. Wright Mills to analyze the evolution of rascal gang activities in Papua New Guinea, with a specific focus on Port Moresby. The theory examines the interplay between biography (individual life stories), history (societal events and developments), and social structure (the governing rules of society). It emphasizes understanding how personal experiences and decisions are influenced by historical and evolving social dynamics. By linking individual accounts to broader historical contexts within the societal framework, we gain a clearer insight into the social environment in which our lives unfold.

The biographical data presented involved 76 participants, primarily aged between 11 and 31, who hailed from 11 provinces across Papua New Guinea. A notable majority of respondents possess secondary school qualifications. Despite their claims of provincial origin, some participants have never physically experienced their purported provinces, having been born and raised in Port Moresby. Capturing the life narratives of all participants proved challenging; however, upon closer examination of select testimonies, a prevailing sense of hardship emerged. Reasons for engaging in criminal behavior highlights the complex motivations driving such actions. For instance, one respondent recounted losing both parents in a car accident while attending secondary school in Port Moresby in 2018, leading him to resort to theft for survival due to financial constraints. Another cited poverty and unemployment within their family as driving factors, necessitating the search for supplementary income to support their kin. Similarly, a participant expressed aspirations for material wealth but lacked the means to acquire it, leading them to join a rascal group in hopes of attaining such possessions. Each participant's narrative reflects a moving and emotional tale of adversity, with biographical data shedding light on the challenges they face. Their stories reveal circumstances often beyond their control, which have propelled

them into their current predicaments. Despite the diversity of backgrounds and experiences among respondents, a common thread of struggle and resilience permeates their accounts.

The sociological imagination, as expounded by C. Wright Mills, encourages us to understand these individual experiences within broader social contexts, considering how personal troubles are often connected to larger societal issues. In examining the phenomenon of rascal gang groups in Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea, this framework becomes particularly pertinent. The intricate web of rascal gang activities, as revealed through the survey data, showcases the interplay between individual actions and societal structures.

One can observe that the evolution of rascal gangs in Port Moresby since the 1960s is closely linked to the socio-economic hardships experienced by young people, as illustrated by the three examples provided above. While the 73 respondents shared similar stories, this paper does not delve into each individual difficulty they encountered. Because of the socio-economic hardship that young people encounter, it directly contributes to the formation of rascal gang groups, as individuals find themselves thrust into disadvantaged positions. These gangs emerge as a response to the economic struggles, unemployment, and lack of opportunities faced by individuals, particularly the youth. In the face of limited prospects and financial hardship, joining these gangs offers a sense of belonging and security, albeit through illicit means. Thus, the prevalence of rascal gangs can be understood as a consequence of the challenging socio-economic conditions that individuals are compelled to navigate as in the cases of periods leading up to independence in 1975 and after.

The formation of these rascal gang groups, each with its distinct identity and territorial claims, reflects not only the choices of individuals but also the socio-economic conditions that shape their opportunities and constraints. The adoption of group names derived from various sources, including references to places, animals, or activities, serves as symbolic representations of their identities and aspirations. This aligns with Mills' notion of understanding personal experiences within the broader context of social forces and historical developments.

Furthermore, the spread of rascal gang groups across various suburbs in Port Moresby highlights the pervasive nature of their presence, despite the city's development. This dispersion points out the complex interplay between urbanization, inequality, and crime, illustrating how marginalized communities may resort to illicit activities as a means of survival or assertion of power within socio-economically disadvantaged environments. The types of crimes committed by these gangs, ranging from theft and pickpocketing to more serious offenses like possession of firearms and drug-related crimes, reflect both individual choices and systemic issues such as poverty, lack of opportunities, and inadequate law enforcement. The selective spectrum of criminal activities, with certain offenses being more prevalent while others are notably absent, hints at the socio-cultural dynamics and internal norms within these groups, as well as the external pressures and constraints they face.

Moreover, the access to firearms and the contentious debate surrounding gun control in Papua New Guinea highlights the intersection of political, economic, and cultural factors in shaping patterns of violence and criminality. The availability of weapons among rascal gang groups not only exacerbates the impact of their criminal activities but also raises questions

about the underlying socio-economic conditions that contribute to the proliferation of arms within disadvantaged communities. In considering individuals' interactions with the legal system, from arrest and prosecution to imprisonment or acquittal, Mills' emphasis on the importance of historical context and power dynamics becomes evident. The varied outcomes experienced by respondents reflect not only individual agency and legal defenses but also broader systemic inequalities and institutional biases that shape access to justice and the administration of law.

C. Wright Mills' concept of the sociological imagination provides a lens through which we can analyze the evolution of rascal gang culture in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea, taking into account historical, structural, and cultural factors. The historical legacy of colonialism in Papua New Guinea has had a profound impact on the nation's social fabric. The imposition of British and Australian colonial systems disrupted traditional social structures, leading to social disintegration. Colonial rule not only neglected the development of laws and policies consistent with traditional social regulatory systems but also undermined the indigenous people's pride, dignity, and self-respect. This disruption laid the groundwork for future social issues, including the rise of criminal gangs in Port Moresby and beyond.

The strain theory of crime highlights the relationship between socio-economic hardship and criminal behavior. In the context of Papua New Guinea, where poverty and unemployment are widespread, individuals face immense pressure to survive, often resorting to crime as a means to meet basic needs. The prevalence of property crimes among disadvantaged youth underscores the role of structural factors such as poverty, lack of education, and limited employment opportunities in driving criminal gang culture. Rather than attributing blame solely to the gang members, the sociological imagination allows us to understand them as products of a society that offers few alternatives.

Papua New Guinea's linguistic and cultural diversity presents unique challenges for governance and social cohesion. With hundreds of indigenous cultures and languages, urban centers like Port Moresby and Lae become melting pots of competing norms and values. The compression of diverse ethnic communities into these urban areas creates tensions that can fuel law-and-order problems, including the proliferation of criminal gangs. Failure to effectively manage cultural diversity exacerbates social issues, highlighting the importance of addressing cultural tensions in addressing criminal gang culture.

The evolution of rascal gang culture in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea can be understood through the sociological imagination, which illuminates the interplay of historical, structural, and cultural factors. By considering these dynamics, policymakers and stakeholders can develop more holistic approaches to addressing the root causes of criminal behavior and promoting social cohesion and development.

Conclusion:

The study highlights the enduring issue of rascal gang activities in Port Moresby and Papua

New Guinea, despite 48 years of political independence. Criminal activities ranging from murder and firearm possession to drug trafficking and theft pose significant challenges to public safety and law enforcement efforts. These criminal acts not only contribute to a pervasive sense of insecurity but also impact financial institutions, public trust, and individual well-being, necessitating effective strategies to address rascal gang criminal activities comprehensively.

Through the lens of C. Wright Mills' sociological imagination, the study elucidates the complex interplay of historical influences, individual biographies, and social structures in shaping the prevalence of rascal gangs. The neglect of peace and order during the colonial era, coupled with rapid development and socioeconomic disparities, created fertile ground for the emergence of these gangs. Urban youth populations, particularly in Port Moresby, grapple with limited access to education, employment, and social services, fostering a sense of hopelessness and driving involvement in 'rascal' gang activities. Rapid urban development, rural-urban migrations, and poverty further exacerbate the challenges.

Moreover, the study sheds light on the reality faced by individuals from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds across Papua New Guinea who converge in Port Moresby. Persistent unemployment and educational deficits plunge many youths into a disadvantaged state marked by financial hardship, driving them to form rascal gang groups as a means of coping with their circumstances. The proliferation of factory-made weapons exacerbates instances of violence and poses substantial threats to public safety, necessitating urgent government intervention to address the supply and spread of firearms.

In addressing the complex issue of rascal gangs and their criminal behaviors requires strong political leadership and a commitment to implementing sustainable solutions. Harnessing the power of sociological imagination, policymakers must recognize the role of historical influences, individual attitudes, and socio-economic structural factors in shaping the problem. By acknowledging the multifaceted nature of the issue and demonstrating unwavering commitment, leaders can pave the way for meaningful change and promote public safety and security in Port Moresby and Papua New Guinea as a whole.

References

- AMARSHI, A., et al, (1979). *Development and Dependency: The Political Economy of Papua New Guinea*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- BILES, D., (ed)., (1976). *Crime in Papua New Guinea*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology.
- DENNIN, S. (2001). *Law and Order in a Weak State: Crime and Politics in Papua New Guinea*. Adelaide: Crawford House Publishing
- DINNEN, S. (1995). Praise the lord and pass the ammunition. criminal group surrender in Papua New Guinea. Retrieved on 9th April, 2020, at <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/>

- doi/10.1002/j.1834.1995.tbo2539.x
- DORNEY, S. (2000). *Papua New Guinea: People. Politics and History Since 1975*. Sydney: Revised Edition. Random House.
- ELLISON, C.G. (2019) *The Sociological Imagination: Conversations with Leading Sociologists*. London. Publisher: Routledge
- FLYNN, M. Kilvington, D. and ALIVERTI, A. (2020). *The Sociological Imagination Revisited*. Bristol: Policy Press
- GORDON, R. G. (ed.), (2005). *Ethnologue: languages of the world*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Fifteenth edition. Retrieved on 24th December 2016 at <http://www.ethnologue.com/15>.
- GRIFFIN, J. et al, (1979). *Papua New Guinea: A Political History*. Victoria. Heinemann Education Australia.
- HARPER, J. L. (1998). *Rascals, resistance, and ethnographic resistance in Papua New Guinea* (Masters dissertation). Department of Anthropology, Faculty of Graduate Studies, The University of Western Ontario.
- HARRIS, B. M. (1988). *The Rise of Rascalism: Action and Research in the Evolution of Rascal Ganos*. IASER Discussion Paper No. 54, Papua New Guinea Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research.
- KUKU, R. (21st May 2015). Gender violence high. *The National*. Port Moresby. p3. Retrieved on 24th December, 2016, at <http://www.thenational.com.pg/gender-violence-high/>
- LAKHANI, S. and WILLIAM, A. M. (2012). Briefing Note No. 1: Trends in crime and violence in Papua New Guinea. World Bank Social Cohesion and Violence Prevention Team, Social Development Department.
- LEVANTIS, T. (2000). Crime catastrophe Reviewing Papua New Guineans most serious social and economic problem. *Pacific Economic Bulletin* Volume 15 No 2, Asia Pacific Press
- LUKER, V. & MONSELL-DAVIS, M. (2010). Teasing out the tangle: raskols, young men, crime and HIV. In V. Luker, & S. Dennin (Eds.), *Civic insecurity: law, order and HIV in Papua New Guinea*, (pp. 81-115), *Studies in Society in the Pacific* No. 6, State Society and Governance in Melanesia, Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- MERTON, R.K. (1938). Social structure and anomie. *American Sociological Review*, 3, 672–682.
- MERTON, R.K. (1968). *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: Free Press.
- MESSNER, S.F. and R. Rosenfeld. (1994). *Crime and the American Dream*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- MICHAEL, M. (2019). *Sociological Imaginations: Theorizing the Present*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd
- MILLS, C. W. (1959). *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press. Fourth Edition. Retrieved on 2nd December 2023 at <https://ratical.org/ratville/AoS/TheSociologicalImagination.pdf>
- MITNA, P. (2014). *The prevalence of transnational crime in Papua New Guinea: by design or by default?* Canberra: State Society and Governance in Melanesia: Australian National University.

- NIBBRIG, H. E. (1992). Rascals in paradise: actions and reactions in the evolution of rascal gangs. *Pacific Studies*, 15 (3), 115-134
- O'COLLINS, M. (1993). *Social Development in Papua New Guinea 1972-1990: Searching for Solution in a Changing World*. Political and Social Monograph 18. Canberra. Department of Political and Social Change. Research School of Pacific Studies. Australian National University.
- ORAM, N. D. (1964). 'Urbanisation - Port Moresby', *South Pacific Bulletin*, 14 (4):37-43
- ORAM, N. D. (1965). 'Health, housing and urban development', *Papua New Guinea Medical Journal*. I (2):41-51
- ORAM, N. D. (1967). *Social and Economic Relations in a Port Moresby Canoe Settlement*. New Guinea Research Bulletin, 18, Canberra, Australian National University.
- ORAM, N. D. (1968a). 'Culture change, economic development and migration among the Hula', *Oceania*. 38 (4):243-75
- ORAM, N. D. 1968b. 'The Hula in Port Moresby', *Oceania*. 39 (1):1-35
- ORAM, N. D. (1976). *Colonial Town to Melanesian City*. Canberra; Australian University.
- NAROKOBI, B. (1983). *The Melanesian Way*. Port Moresby and Suva: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and Institute of Pacific Studies, University of South Pacific.
- OSAC, (3rd March, 2020). *Papua New Guinea 2020: Crime and Safety Report*. Retrieved on 28th March, 2020, at <https://www.osac.gov>
- PITTS, M. (2001). Crime and corruption – Does Papua New Guinea have the capacity to control it? *Pacific Economic Bulletin*, 16 (2), 127-134
- SALI, G. (2017). "Papua New Guinea state university students in conflict with social morality and the rule of law, *Korean Journal of Correctional Discourse*, 11 (1): 237-277
- SALI, G. (2016). *Papua New Guinea State University Students in Conflict with Morality and the Rule of Law*. Draft paper. Kagoshima University Research Centre for the Pacific Islands, Kagoshima University
- SALI, G. (2015) 'Rascals and Crime in Lae, Thwarting Sustainable Development', *Journal of Korean Journal of Correctional Discourse*., December, Volume 9. No.2:247-280
- SALI, G. (2014). Crime challenges the development path of Papua New Guinea. *Journal of Communication and Development Studies*. Vol.1, Issue 1. pp 29-43
- SALI, G. (1 March 2013a). Addressing the vicious cycle of rape culture. *Focus*. The National. Port Moresby. p14. Retrieved on 12th January, 2017, at <http://www.thenational.com.pg/addressing-the-vicious-cycle-of-rape-culture/>
- TUNER, M. (1990). *Papua New Guinea: The Challenge of Independence*. Victoria: Penguin Books.
- SALI, G. (1996). *Law and Order in Contemporary Papua New Guinea: An Examination of Causes and Policy Options*, (Doctoral Dissertation). Department of Applied Social Sciences. Victoria University of Wellington.
- SINGIROK, J. (2023). Independence Speech on the occasion of Papua New Guinea's independence celebration at the PNG University of Technology on the 16th of September 2023.

- SINGIROK, J. (2005). The use of illegal guns: security implications for Papua New Guinea. State, Society and Governance in Melanesia, Discussion Paper No. 5. State, Society and Governance in Melanesia. Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies. The Australian National University.
- WAIKO, J. D. (1993). A Short History of Papua New Guinea. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- WARD, R. G. (1968a). 'Inaugural lecture: reshaping New Guinea's geography', Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea.
- WORLDOMETERS, (2023). Papua New Guinea population Alive. Retrieved on 21st November, 2023 at [https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/papua-new-guinea-population/#:~:text=Papua%20New%20Guinea%202023%20population,\(and%20dependencies\)%20by%20population.](https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/papua-new-guinea-population/#:~:text=Papua%20New%20Guinea%202023%20population,(and%20dependencies)%20by%20population.)