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ANNE DICKSON-WAIKO

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the question of women, decolonisation and nation-building. It argues that the inclusion of women within the nation of Papua New Guinea (PNG) was problematic partly because women had rarely experienced mainstream colonial rule — an experience that elsewhere provided a basis for participation in the post-colonial state. The paper also investigates how women were perceived and represented by male writers at independence. While the Pangu Pati attempted to include women in state-building, these efforts were not adequately supported. PNG's achievement of independence coincided with the globalisation of second-wave feminism, and this was to prove critical for PNG's female citizens in their efforts to be included in the new state, for PNG's membership in the United Nations provided an external push to raise women's participation in the nation. Nevertheless, the government's dependence on international organisations to push the women's agenda also hampered the development of an autonomous women's movement in the country. The paper argues that, for PNG's female citizens, colonisation, independence and decolonisation occurred simultaneously after 1975.

COLONIAL RULE IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA (PNG) WAS RELATIVELY BRIEF, LASTING NINE DECADES from 1884 to 1975, and was largely confined to the coastal lowlands, islands and surrounding white settlements in Rabaul, Madang, Lae, Port Moresby, Samarai and Daru.¹ Consequently the majority of the Indigenous population did not experience colonial rule directly. The historian Stewart Firth has observed that those who lived beyond the reach of the colonial state, especially in the coastal hinterlands and highlands, went from first contact to independence with very limited experience of colonial

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¹ The official names for the territories that in 1975 became the independent nation of Papua New Guinea changed several times during the colonial period. In this paper 'Papua New Guinea' will sometimes be used to refer to entities that were, at the time, titled differently; 'Papua New Guineans' will also be used loosely for the peoples who lived there. An earlier version of this paper was presented at a workshop entitled "'Going Finish' or 'Go Pinis'? The Ending of the Colonial Era and the Beginning of Independence in the Nations of Melanesia", Alfred Deakin Research Institute, Deakin University, Melbourne, 12–13 Nov. 2009; later published as 'Taking over, of what and from whom?: women and independence, the PNG experience', Alfred Deakin Research Institute, Working Paper 10 (2010).

rule, if any at all.² Colonialism for most Papua New Guineans was experienced from a distance, through hearsay and rumour. This was especially the case for the women of PNG. Only a tiny minority of Indigenous women experienced colonialism directly – mostly as domestic servants of colonial officials, as women exposed to the Christian missions or as prisoners serving gaol sentences for breaking colonial law. So if only a limited number of women had direct experience of colonialism, what happened to the Indigenous female population during and immediately following decolonisation? After presenting a brief overview of the history of women and colonisation in PNG, this paper will investigate the experiences of some of the few educated women during decolonisation. Since finding sources on women and independence outside personal anecdotes and autobiographical accounts is difficult, this paper is written from personal observations and conversations as well as the more common primary and secondary sources. It will also consider the following questions: What did independence mean to the educated women of PNG? Were they included in state-making? To what extent did women secure their independence when the majority of the female population had but a transient experience of colonisation?

Women in the Colonial Era

The women who experienced colonialism in PNG did so mainly on mission stations, where Victorian notions of domesticity were imparted. The London Missionary Society (LMS) directed specifically that Indigenous women should be trained in domestic arts, so that they could serve as good wives for male catechists.³ For the non-celibate denominations, the missionary and his wife set up their homes consciously to promote the cult of domesticity among the new parishioners. If the missionary's wife had a responsibility in addition to taking care of house, family and husband, it was usually as teacher or nurse. The lives of schooled Indigenous female converts were thus channelled into service for the greater community's welfare. In general terms, an even greater majority of women than men remained in their rural villages, where women continued to perform gardening and other productive tasks. Only a few Papua New Guinean women were confined to a colonial domestic sphere. For the small number of Indigenous women who engaged directly with the colonial state, their experience was distinctively gendered.

Prior to 1942, colonial settlements were composed mainly of male indentured labourers who came to work on plantations or in other enclaves without their wives or partners. According to Lieutenant Governor Hubert Murray, the recruitment of women as labourers was not encouraged, because their presence would generate prostitution in Papua.⁴ Part of this policy also had to do with the protection of Indigenous peoples and fears of depopulation among them, whether they were living within or beyond the effective control of the colonial administration. Compounds erected for

² Stewart Firth, 'Colonial administration and the invention of the native', in Donald Denoon, Malama Meleisea, Stewart Firth, Jocelyn Linnekin and Karen Nero (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (Sydney 1997), 254.

³ Shirley Randell, 'United for action: women's fellowships: an agent of change in Papua New Guinea', in 'New Horizons for Melanesian Women', *Point*, 2 (1975), 120–1.

⁴ Hubert Murray, *Native Administration in Papua* (Port Moresby 1929), 4.

native labour were for men only, so that the prospect of female companionship could furthermore entice male workers back to their villages.⁵

The gendered ideology of the colonial state separated the public from the private world and production from reproduction. Colonial women were confined to the private world as wives and mothers in their homes. Yet most Indigenous women, who remained in the safety of their villages, protected primarily by *kastom*, performed economically productive functions unlike any bourgeois housewife.⁶ The exceptions were mainly those women who lived in close proximity to mission stations, which continued to proliferate under colonial rule. The domestication of these small numbers of Indigenous women effected their incorporation into the developing colonial state to some extent, although Indigenous and colonial patriarchy colluded in largely preventing such women access to education in most districts until the 1960s.

My own experience of colonialism followed such a course. It came from living within colonial enclaves in Port Moresby and from attending school on Kwato Mission in Milne Bay. The mission, established in 1891, was something of a colonial showpiece. It received numerous esteemed visitors, including William Macgregor from the days of British New Guinea;⁷ Hubert Murray, the longest serving governor in the British Empire;⁸ and Donald Cleland, the administrator of the combined territories of Papua and New Guinea after the war.⁹ The mission was headquartered on the island of Kwato, making it easier for the founder, Charles Abel, to remove children as young as five to be raised there completely free from the ‘contaminating’ socialisation of non-Christian ways. Before they were brought into the fold, new children arriving at Kwato were often physically washed and scrubbed down at the beachfront (*gelegele*), where the mission wharf was located.¹⁰ While intended to rid them of head lice and such, this practice was also symbolic. Youngsters were raised according to the Kwato way, which meant neglecting old customs and culture and forcibly

⁵ Murray quoted in Francis West, *Hubert Murray: the Australian Pro-Consul* (Melbourne 1968), 137.

⁶ For a wider exploration of the interaction between local and Western gender ideologies, see Margaret Jolly and Martha Macintyre (eds), *Family and Gender in the Pacific: domestic contradictions and the colonial impact* (Cambridge 1989). See also Margaret Jolly, “‘To save the girls for brighter and better lives’: Presbyterian missions and women in the south of Vanuatu: 1848–1870”, *Journal of Pacific History*, 26:1 (1991), 27–48. For examples of the process seen through the eyes of Indigenous women who had undergone ‘domestication’ on New Guinea’s Kwato island, see also Anne Kaniku, ‘Milne Bay women’, in Donald Denoon and Roderic Lacey (eds), *Oral Tradition in Melanesia* (Port Moresby 1981), 188–203.

⁷ David Wetherell, *Charles Abel: and the Kwato Mission of Papua New Guinea 1891–1975* (Carlton 1996), 28–9. Other visitors included fellow missionaries and MacGregor’s successor, Le Hunte, as well as anthropologists A.C. Haddon and Bronislaw Malinowski. See also Cecil Abel, ‘The impact of Charles Abel’, in Ken S. Inglis (ed.), *The History of Melanesia* (Port Moresby 1991), 265–81.

⁸ Hubert Murray served as Lieutenant-Governor of the Territory of Papua from 1908 to 1940; he was initially appointed as judge to the territory in 1904, when it was known as British New Guinea. H.N. Nelson, ‘Murray, Sir John Hubert Plunkett (1861–1940)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, available online at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/murray-sir-john-hubert-plunkett-7711> (accessed 23 Apr. 2013).

⁹ Donald Cleland was the longest-serving administrator (1952–67) of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. (After World War II, the formerly separate administrations of Papua and New Guinea were combined.) See Rachel Cleland, *Pathways to Independence: story of official and family life in Papua New Guinea, from 1951 to 1975* (Cottesloe, WA 1985), 28, 337.

¹⁰ It is unknown whether the Abels insisted on this practice or ‘enlightened’ Kwato women took it upon themselves in order to maintain the high standards exacted by the Abels from their flock. I was told about it by my mother, Doreen Bulegei Dickson, and her sister-in-law, Oleva Dickson Lebasi. See the latter’s story in Kaniku, ‘Milne Bay women’, 194–201.

cutting clan ties. Those raised on Kwato were encouraged to marry from within the 'Kwato family', thereby spawning a new clan. Kwato Mission held the dubious distinction of successfully 'domesticating' Indigenous women (and men). A minority of PNG women certainly did experience the impact of colonialism on such missions. But since the majority was not similarly subjected to colonisation, can we therefore conclude that most PNG women remained independent throughout the colonial era because they subsisted beyond the pale of developing colonial enclaves? My answer is yes.

So what did Indigenous women in the colonial era imagine as the life of a woman in civilised society? Those who lived within walking distance of colonial enclaves probably imagined it as the traditional Western model of wife and mother, which was being propagated on mission stations throughout PNG and by mission schools. Where schools existed, overwhelmingly the enrolled students were male.¹¹ Not until the late 1950s did the colonial administration begin to address the education of girls, first by establishing a girls-only primary school in Dragahafen in the Morobe District, and then by opening, in 1963, Busu High School in Lae as the first secondary school for girls. The brightest girls from primary schools throughout the territory were selected to attend Busu High School, in keeping with the education policy for the territories to educate an elite, presumably to take over at independence. Two Busu graduates who rose to prominence, both from Manus, were Hiap Kila and Nahau Rooney, and the latter will be discussed further below. Yet opportunities for most women still remained very limited. Even in schools, the role models that working colonial women imparted were 'traditional' ones of nursing, teaching, social welfare and secretarial work. The majority of the girls whom I observed completing high school between 1960 and 1970 went into either nursing or teaching.

In summary, the vast majority of women in PNG had arguably not been colonised prior to 1975, as colonial rule had not encroached far into the lives of most of the population. For the few women who had been affected, their colonial experience was a sharply gendered one, with their roles tightly prescribed around home and family. Only a few were fortunate enough to have gained some education during the colonial era.

Women in the Era of Decolonisation

The first stirrings of nationalism emerged ahead of feminism in most third world countries; nationalism was the precursor and a catalyst for third world feminism.¹² Decolonisation in PNG and other Pacific Island countries, however, proceeded differently from in Asia and Africa; PNG experienced neither a strong, widely based nationalism nor feminism. This had a direct bearing on the place of women in PNG society, due in part to the little interest shown by Australian women in exporting feminism to

¹¹ For exceptions to schools with mostly male enrolments in Milne Bay and among the Tolai, see Anne Kaniku, 'Those Massim women', in Sione Latukefu (ed.), *Papua New Guinea: a century of colonial impact, 1884–1984* (Port Moresby 1989), 371–3; Evelyn Hogan, 'Controlling the bodies of women: reading gender ideologies in Papua New Guinea', in Maev O'Collins (ed.), *Women and Politics in Papua New Guinea* (Canberra 1985), 55.

¹² See for instance Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London 1986); Valentine M. Moghadam, *Gender and National Identity: women and politics in Muslim societies* (London 1994).

the colony, as British women, by contrast, had done in other parts of the British Empire.¹³ Nevertheless those Indigenous women who had access to education during the colonial period considered themselves emancipated. Having an education enabled them to move out of village subsistence and to acquire paid employment in the urban centres. There they earned salaries for their individual use, though many continued to share their earnings with family and clan members. Yet constraints remained. The emphasis of Australian women, including missionaries, who took up the cause of local women, was in the traditional areas of nutrition and social welfare through women's clubs. For example, the United Church colonial women organised an interracial women's club called the Contact Club, and Rachel Cleland, wife of administrator Donald Cleland, especially expended tireless effort in promoting Indigenous women leaders in the Girl Guides movement.¹⁴

Having experienced colonialism from a distance, most Indigenous women (and men) received the idea of independence with some trepidation mixed with euphoria at the prospect of 'governing ourselves'. The earliest notion of a 'nation' I heard was through oral tradition. As a girl I was told the words spoken by Daniel Sioni, one of the best batsmen ever in the first Kwato XI, when playing cricket in the 1920s: '*Egu basileia enana ea aihea*' (I am playing for my nation).¹⁵ Songs were used extensively throughout the colony as a way to teach young children the English language, and some of these included references to the idea of the nation. At school on Kwato, we were taught songs composed by missionaries, catechists and local composers, the lyrics of which included words such as 'my land, my country', as well as the celebratory songs composed after the war referring to 'Our country, Papua, Can we keep our country free?' The word 'independence' caused some anxiety. Independence was portrayed as all colonials 'go in finish'. I recall a conversation in 1961 or 1962 on Kwato when the idea of independence was first mentioned. Sheila Abel, who was in charge of the mission school, admitted, 'I guess we now have to think about leaving'. For me at the time, aged 11 or 12, I could not imagine life without the Abels – that is, without the Europeans on Kwato. Life beyond Milne Bay was something I never contemplated, although my first seven years were spent in Port Moresby, at Konedobu. I lived with my parents on a hill adjacent to and overlooking Government House and watched the Australian flag being raised and lowered each day accompanied

¹³ See for instance Antoinette M. Burton, 'The white woman's burden: British feminists and the "Indian Woman", 1865–1915', in Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (eds), *Western Women and Imperialism: complicity and resistance* (Bloomington, IN 1992), 137–57.

¹⁴ For a wider discussion, see Rachel Cleland, *Grass Roots to Independence and Beyond: the contribution by women in Papua New Guinea 1951–1991* (Claremont, WA 1996).

¹⁵ The word for country in the Suau language is the same as for place: *eanua*. *Basileia* refers to nation, a civilised nation, a kingdom. Though he hailed from Logea Island, just a stone's throw from Kwato Island, Daniel Sioni had impressed me at an early age as a walking dictionary of the Suau language as spoken by the older generation. He assisted Russell Abel in translating the bible into Suau. In the opinion of David Wetherell, one reason for the loss of the first Kwato XI against an all-white cricket team in a close match in Port Moresby in 1929 was the omission of Daniel Sioni from the team, who had been left behind because of illness. See Wetherell, *Charles Abel*, 152. See also Hubert Murray's description of the significance of the June 1929 cricket match in Port Moresby in *Territory of Papua: annual report for the year 1928–29* (Melbourne 1929), 10–11. The defeat of all-white teams from Samarai by successive Kwato cricket teams was legendary and, without doubt, contributed to the growth of national and racial pride, not just in Milne Bay, but throughout Papua.

by the sound of a lone native bugler. My recollection of independence as an undergraduate in the 1970s was of a politically exciting time: the emergence of self-help and micro-nationalist movements; the renegotiation of the Bougainville Copper Agreement; the ascendance of Pangu Pati, which formed PNG's first self-governing and then fully independent government under Michael Somare. In what according to Peter Fitzpatrick was 'something of an afterthought', 'women's equal participation in the social and economic development of the country' was included in the 1973 Eight Point Improvement Plan for PNG.¹⁶ This plan could be considered an attempt to co-opt women into nation-building, especially in the light of their prior exclusion.

In a 1970 submission to the Select Committee on Constitutional Development, Pangu recommended a 90-seat House of Assembly, including five seats reserved for women with the same rights as all other members.¹⁷ The all-male Select Committee on Constitutional Development apparently did not take this issue of women's reserved seats seriously, and thus women missed this particular opportunity for meaningful inclusion in state processes. Pangu was in a league of its own, thirty years before the idea of temporary special measures (TSM) for women's parliamentary representation became fashionable in the 21st century.¹⁸

This lost opportunity was not, of course, all the fault of men. Only a handful of women university graduates existed at the time, and most succumbed to the nationalist rhetoric that was sweeping the country in the 1970s, undermining support for what was perceived as Western feminism. The Pangu Pati's proposal to ensure parliamentary representation by women was a genuine desire to share power with female citizens, a sentiment lost on other political players in the dying days of colonial rule. The most prominent woman associated with Pangu was Elizabeth Kiki, whose husband Sir Albert Maori Kiki was an original founder of the party and in whose house in the Port Moresby suburb of Hohola many early Pangu meetings were held.¹⁹ Yet rather than being a member of the party, she acted as host, often with other wives, such as Gari Kumaina, making cups of tea during party meetings.²⁰ This was symbolic of the place of women in the developing post-colonial state. While the constitution contains a gender-inclusive provision, the reality and experience of independence for women was different. Women and men were incorporated differently into the state.²¹ Men were incorporated as individuals, while women were incorporated in relational terms as mothers and sisters.

Pangu also proposed a motion in 1970 to amend the Local Government Amendment Bill for the creation of one or more wards that only women could contest. The

¹⁶ Cited in Anne Dickson-Waiko, 'Women, policy making and development', in R.J. May (ed.), *Policy Making and Implementation: studies from Papua New Guinea* (Canberra 2009), 283.

¹⁷ David Stephen, *A History of Political Parties in Papua New Guinea* (Melbourne 1972), 99.

¹⁸ See for instance Lesley Clark and Charmaine Rodrigues, *Utilising Temporary Special Measures to Promote Gender Balance in Pacific Legislatures: a guide to options* (Suva 2009).

¹⁹ Michael Somare, *Sana: an autobiography of Michael Somare* (Port Moresby 2010), 45.

²⁰ Gari Kumaina, pers. comm., 2011; Elizabeth Kiki, pers. comm., 2011.

²¹ Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (London 1998), 68–92.

motion was narrowly defeated 33 votes to 28.²² For the Lae Town Council elections, Pangu put forward names of female candidates, who were unsuccessful in the contest.²³ As was related to me by one of the candidates, Gari Kumaina, their candidacy was pushed by Tony Voutus, probably under the influence of his wife, Christine. This promising beginning is all but forgotten in the pages of history. The first visible woman Pangu member was Nahau Rooney, who joined about 1972 and was successful in being elected to the Port Moresby City Council in 1973.²⁴ She was first elected to parliament in 1977 and again in 1982, each time as a member of Pangu, but in 1987 she became a founding member of the People's Democratic Movement (PDM), formed with other disgruntled former members of the Pangu Pati under Paias Wingti. Yet by and large, women were excluded from the formal politics of the new nation of PNG.

For many women, the independence of PNG was simultaneously an exciting, anxious and sad occasion. Stella Chan has written that 'the founding years of Papua New Guinea's democracy, freedom and nationhood were a very exciting period, but full of apprehension, especially for business people from different parts of the Asia-Pacific'.²⁵ One person who shed tears when the Australians departed was a retired welfare assistant named Stephanie Maino from Kairuku, who had worked for the colonial welfare department. She was captured on film by Dennis O'Rourke talking tearfully about the lowering of the Australian flag for the last time. Maino stated that 'many of the young girls, young boys, me and the people were crying and could not look up to see Prince Charles give his speech'.²⁶ Why shed tears at the setting of the colonial sun, one may ask? Most of the semi-educated and illiterate majority feared the unknown future. Indigenous people had been successfully indoctrinated over three generations into thinking 'natives' were incapable of doing anything; this was often said to one's face. For example, colonial women complained about the inability of their *hausbois* to do laundry because they frequently placed all makes of clothing into the washing machines, ruining items made of delicate synthetic fibres. Departing Australian civil servants were adamant that PNG, like another Congo, would descend into chaos after their departure.²⁷

²² Stephen, *A History of Political Parties*, 98. The 33–28 loss was the closest Pangu got to winning a vote in the 1968 House Assembly, during two years of serving in the political wilderness as an opposition bloc.

²³ Gari Kumaina came second in the Lae Municipal Council elections. Gari Kumaina, pers. comm., n.d. The other female contestant was Mrs Bunting, who came fourth. Other Pangu wives included Christine (then wife of Tony Voutus), Elizabeth Kiki and Semi Abel.

²⁴ In his autobiography, Sir Albert Maori Kiki mentioned that the original Bully Beef Club (before it became a political club) had eight members, one of whom was a woman, though he did not identify her by name. Indeed, she was not mentioned again in the two Pangu submissions to the Select Committee on Constitutional Development. Albert Maori Kiki, *Kiki: ten thousand years in a lifetime, a New Guinea autobiography* (Melbourne 1968), 148, 152–3.

²⁵ Stella Chan, 'To thank and honour my husband and my country', in Ian Maddocks and E.P. Wolfers (eds), *Living History and Evolving Democracy*, Waigani Seminar new series 1 (Port Moresby 2010), 239. Lady Stella Chan is the wife of Sir Julius Chan, who at independence was the Minister for Finance.

²⁶ *Yumi Yet: Papua New Guinea gets independence* (1976), 54 min., dir. and prod. by Dennis O'Rourke.

²⁷ An American academic had this to say about the Congo in a book published a year after the Congo gained independence: 'The basic weakness of paternalism was, of course, that it [Belgium] failed to prepare the Congolese for their independence; it failed to give them a sense of belonging to their own country; it failed to instruct them in Western systems of government which, it was assumed, they would undertake once the fact of independence was established; it failed in race relations; it failed in education; it failed in understanding that decrees are not a substitute for real

This was an extraordinary admission, and ironically reflected not just the presumed inability of ‘natives’ to learn, but also how badly Australia had prepared PNG for self-rule.

Independence in 1975 did coincide with the emergence of new and major women’s organisations, in which educated women continued to show their time-honoured maternal and sisterly concern for the less fortunate. This was demonstrated in 1975 by the formation of an informal group known simply as WAG, or Women’s Action Group. A handful of the first female graduates from both the University of PNG and overseas universities often met with like-minded women from the YWCA and discussed ways in which they could assist women living in settlements.²⁸ WAG began as a social group, but was the first attempt by educated PNG women to find a different voice: ‘We became aware that there was another world out there besides the usual concerns about nappy rash’.²⁹ These graduate women wanted to know why only graduate men were taking the jobs that were rapidly becoming localised. WAG also sought ways for women to engage with a rapidly changing PNG. Feminism was one of a number of topics raised at social gatherings and at the UPNG University Staff Club, which some of them frequented. The University Staff Club provided a venue for educated Papua New Guineans to meet and have informal discussions with expatriate resident and visiting academics on any number of topics of political and academic interest over a beer, an acquired ‘Aussie *kastom*’.³⁰ A handful of men, such as Pius Kerepia, Ted Diro, Joe Nombri and Ignatius Kilage, bravely supported WAG members, but mostly male colleagues laughed off what they perceived as an interest in feminism, telling their female colleagues to go back to the house and village.³¹ A few of the WAG members were Jean Kekedo, Dawa Solomon, Meg Taylor, Pauline Fox, Ann Kerepia and Tamo Diro. But by their own accounts, no WAG member was a feminist.³²

Despite the actions of individual women and of WAG, decolonisation for PNG women actually meant ‘colonisation’, this time by their male compatriots, and the loss of what little independence had been afforded to them by their respective customs. The re-emergence of feminism – or the ‘second wave’ in the West – was to offer a glimmer of hope for women struggling against the plight forced upon them.

human relations; it failed because it established patterns of expectation which could not, in wildest dreams, be fulfilled.’ Alan P. Merriam, *Congo: background of conflict* (Evanston, IL 1961), 51. Although the Australians squarely blamed Papua New Guineans for the lack of preparedness, Merriam’s statement shows parallels to PNG.

²⁸ Though conservative, the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), introduced to Port Moresby in the early 1960s, was one of the two publicly recognised women’s groups at the time, the other being the Girl Guides movement. Church women’s groups (established by pastors or missionary wives, most of whom were non-Indigenous or white) predominated, but limited themselves to spiritual and, at core, domestic interests. The wives of many leading PNG identities became members of the YWCA, including Carol Kidu, Kila Amimi, Ann Kerepia, Tamo Diro, Au Doko, Neri Tololo, Elizabeth Kiki and Martha Songo, as well as Rose and Jean Kekedo.

²⁹ Dawa Solomon, pers. comm., 2011.

³⁰ The racial openness of the UPNG Staff Club was a rarity in the 1970s, as PNG was just emerging from a racially divided colonial society.

³¹ Dawa Solomon, pers. comm., 2011.

³² Ibid.

Women and Independence

What then did women gain or lose in 1975? They lost what little economic independence they had always enjoyed. Life in pre-colonial times was never the golden era – far from it – but the most important difference as far as survival was concerned was that women who had not experienced colonialism were economically independent, as they had access to land and did not have to depend on their menfolk to survive.³³ Their clan membership was secure for life and in death, and their membership determined that of their descendants and their rights to land inheritance. A few women did experience colonialism. Through domestication – by missions or post-war initiatives of the colonial administration to promote participation in, for instance, women's clubs and infant welfare initiatives – many of these few gradually lost their close connection to the land and gardens. 'Beneficiaries' of such opportunities to become better wives and mothers often moved away from the villages where their user rights to land were recognised. Confined to the house as housewives, they became dependent on their breadwinner husbands. Those Indigenous women who remained single took up paid employment of one kind or another as teachers, nurses and assistant welfare officers. This kind of domestication was particularly critical for women from matrilineal areas who became inactive and absentee landowners, unable to keep up with obligations that came with the rights to land, thereby eradicating their authority and leading to the loss of land rights altogether.

Domestication often led to a decline in the kin support that women enjoyed prior to contact with the West; extended families provided the social safety net and protection from the serious crime of 'domestic' violence. As in most other colonies, violent methods were used to achieve the colonial state in PNG, and these had repercussions. Punitive expeditions had been ordered to punish whole villages for crimes committed by a handful of natives; thus the use of violence was normalised, simply because it was part of colonial policy. Patrol officers and their Indigenous helpers, the police, established the new colonial order, securing peace using violent methods. August Kituai's study of the colonial environment under which the native constabulary served describes how Indigenous women were abused, brutalised and sexually violated by officers.³⁴ Sexual violence was tolerated prior to the onset of colonial administration in 1884, but close-knit communities with strong kinship and clan alliances kept it under control. *Kastom* did sanction the use of community and sexual violence, but in very specific settings; it was never commonplace.

Women also lost out through the absence of a long-standing and well-developed nationalist movement. The absence of a genuine nationalist movement in PNG may have been related to the external pressures that bore down on Australia, forcing it to agree to grant independence much earlier than had been envisaged, thus facilitating the relatively easy achievement of independence rather than by way of a conscious nationalist struggle. As far as women were concerned, the

³³ See Bernard Narokobi, *The Melanesian Way* (Suva 1983), 36–7. Narokobi used this argument as a justification for why PNG women did not need women's liberation.

³⁴ See August Ibrum K. Kituai, *My Gun, My Brother: the world of the Papua New Guinea colonial police, 1920–1960* (Honolulu 1998), 251–2.

absence of a nationalist movement meant that the 'woman question' was never thoroughly discussed as the country moved towards independence, even during the Constitutional Planning Committee (CPC) debates and discussions.³⁵ The lack of a public debate on the woman question was an unfortunate oversight by the founding fathers and a major flaw when the building blocks were being laid and the future of the new state was being negotiated. (In fact, that debate only came in 2010 when the submission for 22 reserved seats for women in parliament was mooted.) A minority report to the CPC by the government under Michael Somare had recommended that the constitution include section 102,³⁶ which would have allowed parliament to nominate three persons to serve as members, one of whom should be a woman.³⁷ The proposal met with objection from the deputy chairman of the CPC, John Momis, who correctly pointed out that it was not a recommendation from the people; he thereby nonchalantly sanctioned women's disempowerment. The failure to include women in state-building can be explained in two ways. First, not many women turned up to the public meetings held by the CPC throughout the country.³⁸ Second, most women, having spent the last 91 years effectively beyond the colonial state, believed their role should not be in the political arena. They lacked the level of politicisation often seen in colonies where nationalist movements had waged long and difficult campaigns for independence.

The new, educated PNG woman who emerged in the independence era became the object of a male backlash. From the 1970s, anticolonial texts by men attacked her. Men's imagined fears of new gender roles in PNG society were expressed through a focus on women's bodies and what appeared to be women's new-found freedom. Some educated men were fearful that women's dress and makeup amounted to the display of a free spirit over their bodies.³⁹ The content of these writings showed deep gender divisions within society that caused much resentment between the sexes. The arguments were a reaction against the West as much as a longing for the pre-colonial past when men were thought to have held firmer political, sexual and social control over women. For example, Bernard Narokobi wrote:

Modern Melanesian women consider it smart to keep up with Western trends in dress. The men folk chuckle at women, who paint their lips, shave their eyebrows, wear pants, put on large sunglasses and walk on high heel shoes.⁴⁰

Men perceived women who had been changed by colonialism as figures of fun. Judging such women against frozen images of an ancient past, men considered them inauthentic. The basis of Narokobi's conclusion that 'PNG women do not need women's lib' came from his own Bukip and Sausa language groups, out of the

³⁵ For a discussion of this consultative process see Jonathan Ritchie, 'Defining citizenship for a new nation: Papua New Guinea, 1972–1974', *Journal of Pacific History*, 48:2 (2013).

³⁶ Meg Taylor, 'Section 102 of the Constitution of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea', in Maddocks and Wolfers, *Living History and Evolving Democracy*, 321–3.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ For a discussion of these meetings see Ritchie, 'Defining citizenship for a new nation'.

³⁹ See especially Evelyn Hogan's discussion of letters to the editor in the *Papua New Guinea Post Courier* between 1971 and 1981. Many Papua New Guinean women in the 21st century may find these letters disturbing. Hogan, 'Controlling the bodies of women', 54–71.

⁴⁰ Narokobi, *The Melanesian Way*, 37.

possible 780 language groups in PNG. Bernard Narokobi, who coined and propagated the concept of ‘The Melanesian Way’, was not only conservative in his views on women’s rights and the modern PNG woman, but ahistorical on the subject.⁴¹ He was reacting to the public debate that was waged in the only national daily newspaper at the time, the *Post Courier*.⁴² His views were typical of Melanesian men, as was evident in the reactions to his article on women’s liberation in PNG. Many letters supported Narokobi’s use of ‘The Melanesian Way’ against the ‘Westernised woman’.⁴³ By clinging to a picture of the past, Narokobi and other Melanesian men refused to acknowledge the modern Melanesian woman.

Much to the chagrin of the modern PNG man, the gendered politics of the new nation had reconfigured the ‘Melanesian woman’ from a cultural signifier of ethnicity to that of a modern emancipated woman. What is the relationship between decolonisation and the rapidly changing images of women? Decolonisation, in creating new forms of inequality and societal divisions, forced women and men to acquire new subjectivities as they forged national identities distinct from their ethnic selves. The contradictory and conflicting images of women were indicative of nation-building and nationalism, which tend to combine two opposing figures of time, one gazing back into primordial time and the other gazing into the present and future – the Janus quality of nation-building as expounded by Deniz Kandiyoti for Algeria, Margaret Jolly for Vanuatu and Anne McClintock for South Africa.⁴⁴

The poet Dus Mapun lampooned the new town/public image being portrayed by urban women:

Oh woman of people
 Before your lips were brown
 Now your lips are red
 Before your hair grew high and free
 Now it’s all crimped down
 Before your breasts hung soft and loose
 Now they stand out tight and hard.⁴⁵

Yet some women stood against this male backlash. Lynda Thomas was one of a handful writing in the early 1970s. In a powerful poem, ‘Volcano’, she was unequivocal in her response to male efforts to control PNG women:

⁴¹ For a discussion of ‘The Melanesian Way’, see Stephanie Lawson, ‘“Melanesia”: the history and politics of an idea’, *Journal of Pacific History*, 48:1 (2013), 1–22.

⁴² See Hogan, ‘Controlling the bodies of women’, 54–71.

⁴³ See Narokobi, *The Melanesian Way*, 166–70, 176–9.

⁴⁴ Deniz Kandiyoti, ‘Identity and its discontents: women and the nation’, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 20: 3 (1991), 429–43; Margaret Jolly, ‘Women-nation-state in Vanuatu: women as signs and subjects in the discourses of kastom, modernity and Christianity’, in Ton Otto and Nicholas Thomas (eds), *Narratives of Nation in the South Pacific* (Amsterdam 1997), 133–62; Anne McClintock, ‘“No longer in a future heaven”: gender, race, and nationalism’, in Anne McClintock, Aamir Mufti and Ella Shohat (eds), *Dangerous Liaisons: gender, nation, and postcolonial perspectives* (Minneapolis 1997), 103.

⁴⁵ Dus Mapun cited by Pauline Rimani, ‘Indigenous women in Papua New Guinea literature’, *South Pacific Journal of Philosophy and Culture*, 10 (2008/2009), 29.

Wake up sleepers!
 They use us like playgrounds
 enjoy us like nightclubs
 handle us like machines
 they step on us like dirt
 regard us like flowers of the devil

The master is like the mountain:
 the higher it gets, the colder
 But master, we are the rocks beneath
 on which you stand; without us
 You are no longer a mountain
 How long shall we carry our weight?

It is hot in your cell
 we want to be free
 if you don't give way
 we'll force our way through you like a volcano.⁴⁶

A handful of women were overtaken by the euphoria of independence and displayed some hope for the future. As politically conscious Elizabeth Kiki said, 'I have no doubt that our educated women will dominate men in politics in the villages'.⁴⁷ But Kiki referred specifically to female domination in local government, not national politics. In the urban/national areas, Kiki saw the role of women such as herself in the traditional mode as the wife of a politician and supporter of her husband's career, not as a female politician. She also saw a woman's role as a mother figure for the whole community, whereby people from other ethnic groups alien to hers might seek advice and assistance. This traditional role of wife and mother as envisaged by Kiki is similar to the one expressed by Stella Chan and Kaludia Matane.⁴⁸ As far as can be determined, they were not members of the political parties that were headed by their politician husbands. Chan spoke about her experiences as the 'Nambawan Mama bilong Papua New Guinea' (first mother of PNG), a more appropriate understanding of the title 'First Lady of PNG' during her husband's term as prime minister. She dealt with being a wife and mother to her children and anxieties about her husband's

⁴⁶ Lynda Thomas, 'Volcano', in Adeola James (ed.), *PNG Women Writers: an anthology* (Melbourne 1996), 187.

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Kiki, 'Partners in politics: my role as a politician's wife', in 'New Horizons for Melanesian Women', *Point*, 2 (1975), 65–7.

⁴⁸ Chan, 'To thank and honour', 238–46.

safety, as is reflected in the title of her presentation to the Waigani Seminar. She recounted:

The first House of Assembly opening was a real experience for me, finding myself among wives of other members from other regions of our emerging Country. I, for one, at the time had no knowledge of anything that was happening, I just went along with the flow. I was very nervous, very shy, and did not know much what to do ... Travelling to and from Rabaul was demanding during the first ten years, I gave my husband full support, and tried to be a good politician's wife.⁴⁹

A good politician's wife, as Chan experienced, was limited to a supporting role, looking after the children when they were young and in college and accompanying the prime minister to state functions at home or abroad.⁵⁰ Like other first ladies abroad, she was also involved with many charity groups.

The promise of freedom and independence for the female citizenry did not come from the birth of the nation, but from the re-emerging global movement of feminism. At independence, colonised women would have expected to follow their usual gender roles by occupying the private spaces vacated by colonial women, as described by Elizabeth Kiki above. Kaludia Matane, wife of former Governor-General Sir Paulius Matane, made the following reflection in her presentation to the 2008 Waigani Seminar:

Two things that I miss at Government House are (1) my village gardens, and (2) the simple people. Since my husband was elected by Members of Parliament as Head of State or Queen's Representative in PNG, I have no choice but to continue to support him by being with him at Government House.⁵¹

Women have been largely denied representation in national politics; the idea of having a professional career and running for parliament was beyond their expectations, with few role models to emulate. Yet notable exceptions existed, individual women who deviated from the norm. From 1964, excluding the recent 2012 national elections, four women have been elected into parliament, while two have been elected as heads of provincial government – the first in Morobe, Enny Moaitz in 1987,⁵² the second in Milne Bay, Dame Josephine Abaijah in 1997. Even earlier exceptions were Doris Booth (1895–1970), a colonial appointee to the Legislative Council who served two terms from 1951, and Dame Alice Wedega (1905–1987), the first Indigenous woman to be allowed an appointed seat, in the 1962 Legislative Council. The appointment of these two women rested on their extensive involvement in women's clubs and their roles as district commissioners for the Girl Guides movement in Wau and Milne Bay, respectively.⁵³

Doris Booth, originally from south Brisbane, was a nursing volunteer who came to the Territory of New Guinea in 1923, later joining the gold rush in the Wau and

⁴⁹ Ibid., 239–40.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 243.

⁵¹ Kaludia Matane, 'From village gardener to Government House', in Maddocks and Wolfers, *Living History and Evolving Democracy*, 237.

⁵² See her political profile in Commonwealth Secretariat, *Women in Politics: voices from the Commonwealth* (London 1999), 104–7.

⁵³ Cleland, *Grassroots to Independence and Beyond*, 27.

Bulolo area as a licensed recruiter of labour. In 1926 and 1927, she organised and managed a racially segregated hospital to control a dysentery epidemic, treating over thirty patients and, on one occasion, more than one hundred and thirty.⁵⁴ She received an OBE for this. She became a successful mine manager and company director. As the sole female representative on the Legislative Council, she supported mining interests as well as health⁵⁵ and education measures. She was vocal in debates on the education of Indigenous students in Australia, claiming that they should be educated in-country. Booth argued that, although white parents complained about separation from their children who were in schools in Australia, at least they could remain in contact through letters. She doubted whether Indigenous parents could communicate with their children by the same means.⁵⁶ Education through correspondence was the solution to the lack of high schools in the territory.⁵⁷ She spoke against the ban on married women joining the public service (under the Public Service Bill 1953), insisting that efficiency and good qualifications should be the determining factors, not sex. Booth also supported the Native Women's Protection Bill 1954, which banned white men in Indigenous villages.⁵⁸

Alice Wedega was from Duria village in the Ahioma area of the Milne Bay Province. She was educated at Kwato and served the mission as teacher and evangelist prior to World War II. Her leadership skills were recognised quite early when she and a number of Milne Bay women were groomed as future women leaders on Kwato.⁵⁹ Alice Wedega's contributions ranged across her many roles as teacher, evangelist, politician and peacemaker (in Amau and Bougainville). Widely travelled – to Australia, New Zealand, India, Northern Ireland and Switzerland – her most valuable contribution was the promotion of training in order to improve the quality of life for women in their communities. She was the driving force behind the establishment of the Ahioma Training Centre in Milne Bay, which set out to better women's agricultural skills and knowledge as well as improve women's homemaking skills, the health of children and general welfare.⁶⁰

During Queen Elizabeth's visit in 1974 a member of her security team was surprised to hear Alice Wedega say that she had been to Belfast. When asked why, she replied:

Our people used to kill and eat men. They would practice payback. That is, if one of your side killed one of mine, my side would kill one of yours. But the missionaries came from Europe to stop us doing all that. And now I have been back to Northern Ireland to help the Europeans there to stop doing it.⁶¹

⁵⁴ Susan Gardner, 'Booth, Doris Regina (1895–1970)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, available online at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/booth-doris-regina-5289> (accessed 23 Apr. 2013).

⁵⁵ See *Legislative Council Debates/Territory of Papua and New Guinea* (Port Moresby), 16–23 Nov. 1953, 69.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 16–23 Nov. 1953, 98–9; 6–18 Oct. 1952, 131.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 16–23 Nov. 1953, 98–9. Her Indigenous colleague Merari Dickson, who had a son studying in Australia in 1953, also expressed reservations about sending Indigenous students to Australia for secondary education, although his reservation was based on religious reasons. See *ibid.*, 106.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 1–6 Nov. 1954, 91.

⁵⁹ Kaniku, 'Milne Bay women', 189, 201.

⁶⁰ By the late 1960s, Ahioma Training Centre was training assistant welfare officers from all over the country.

⁶¹ Alice Wedega, *Listen My Country* (Sydney 1981), vii.

Alice Wedega's political independence was evident from her record of voting during her term of office. John Gunther, the assistant administrator, had explained to all appointed Indigenous members that he expected them to vote with the administration.⁶² The 1961–63 Legislative Council introduced a number of major social reforms, and most of Wedega's male colleagues – such as Reuben Taureka, John Guise, Vin Tobaining, Nicholas Brokam and Somu Sigob – voted with the administration nearly always. Wedega, in contrast, supported the government on four occasions and voted against it on five,⁶³ including opposing the law prohibiting the consumption of alcohol by Indigenous people.⁶⁴ After her time on the council, Alice Wedega concluded that 'her people needed help to take responsibility, instead of being led by Australia'.⁶⁵

The first Indigenous woman to win a seat in the National Parliament of Papua New Guinea was Josephine Abajjah, elected in 1972. In 1974, Abajjah formed an anticolonial movement called the Papua Besena Movement to persuade Australia to grant Papua separate statehood.⁶⁶ To place Abajjah's remarkable political achievements in historical perspective, there have been very few anticolonial movements in the world founded by women. She also achieved a difficult feat in the extremely unstable political environment of PNG politics by successfully contesting not two but three different electorates, two in two different provinces and one in the National Capital District. Her most recent success in 1997 was to be elected Provincial Governor of Milne Bay, which made her the first woman to be political head of a province under the provincial government system.⁶⁷

Nahau Rooney was the first woman to enter cabinet as a minister, holding the portfolio for corrective institutions and liquor licensing in 1977 and serving a term as Minister for Justice from 1979 to 1980, which ended in PNG's first constitutional crisis, the 'Rooney Affair'.⁶⁸ She then held the position of secretary general in the PDM and played a leading role in ensuring victory in the successful vote of no confidence, which ousted Sir Michael Somare as prime minister in 1985. In that year, under a new Wingti-led PDM, she served as Minister for Tourism and Culture. As an elected parliamentarian, Nahau Rooney was against affirmative action, including women-only seats.⁶⁹ She insisted that women should earn their own place in

⁶² Ibid., 87.

⁶³ See David G. Bettison, Colin A. Hughes and Paul W. van der Veur (eds), *The Papua-New Guinea Elections, 1964* (Canberra 1965), 26.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Wedega, *Listen My Country*, 87.

⁶⁶ For more details on Papua Besena see Boio Bess Daro, *The Papua Besena Movement: Papua Dainai, Tano Dainai, Maru Dainai* (Port Moresby 1976); Nao Badu, 'Papua Besena: a case study of a separatist movement', MA thesis, University of Sydney (Sydney 1982). Abajjah's political profile prior to her re-election to parliament in 1992 appears in Commonwealth Secretariat, *Women in Politics*, 107–10.

⁶⁷ The only woman to serve as political head of a province under the old provincial government system was Enny Moaitz, Premier of Morobe Province in 1987.

⁶⁸ The political profile for Nahau Rooney, including a detailed analysis of the first constitutional crisis and her central role in it, appears in Commonwealth Secretariat, *Women in Politics*, 100–4. An interesting twist exists between the 'Rooney Affair' and the 2011–12 political crisis in PNG as far as the independence of the three arms of government is concerned. In 1979, the breach of the independence of the three arms of government came from the executive branch; in 2011, the breach came from the judiciary.

⁶⁹ See Commonwealth Secretariat, *Women in Politics*, 104.

parliament. She avoided raising women's issues in parliament because, as the only female member, she did not want to be seen as representing only women. After leaving office in the 1990s, her involvement with the Women's Council has changed her position on women's politics in PNG. She now supports reserved seats for women in parliament.

The attainment of independence in PNG coincided with the re-emergence of the women's movement in the West. The reach of second-wave feminism went beyond individual women's rights and impacted on governments, states and multilateral institutions such as the United Nations. Papua New Guinea's membership in the UN paved the way for the involvement of PNG women at the first UN Women's Conference in Mexico in 1974. The first United Nations Decade for Women (1975–85) also provided a political backdrop to decolonisation in PNG, at least for the female citizenry. Because PNG independence coincided with the second wave of feminism, its membership in the United Nations was critical in placing the country squarely under the UN agenda for women's rights and participation in national development. This offered a glimmer of hope for emancipated female citizens.

Nevertheless the kind of feminism to emerge in PNG after 1975 was not spontaneous nor was it driven from below. What did emerge was imposed from above through the state apparatus,⁷⁰ partly derived from individual emancipation resulting from formal education, and partly from the way feminism was introduced to PNG through its UN membership. Until 1995, feminism was pushed from outside through the developing post-colonial state, and therefore it can be referred to as a form of post-colonial feminism. The liberal feminist approach that was being pushed by UN agencies through governments⁷¹ and through national councils of women would prove problematic for this post-colonial state where women had been excluded during the process of state formation. Educated urban women were moved to action by the inclusion of the seventh point in the Pangu Pati's Eight Point Plan, and it was this – together with the first UN International Women's Meeting in Mexico in 1974 and the first UN Decade for Women – that led to the establishment of the PNG National Council of Women in 1975, a nationwide umbrella women's organisation formalised by an act of parliament in 1979.⁷² The National Council of Women was by default a non-governmental organisation. In other words, feminism in PNG was pushed by the state with the backing of UN agencies, but the lead women's organisation set up by the government for women was to function as an NGO. The critical link between post-colonial feminism and the nascent women's movement in PNG was stillborn.

⁷⁰ See Anne Dickson-Waiko, 'The missing rib: mobilizing church women for change in Papua New Guinea', in Bronwen Douglas (ed.), 'Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia', special issue, *Oceania*, 74:1–2 (2003), 98.

⁷¹ R.W. Connell explains the emphasis on 'rights', antidiscrimination and equal employment as the cornerstones of liberal feminism – also themes pursued by the United Nations First Decade of Women (1975–1985) – in R.W. Connell, 'The state, gender, and sexual politics: theory and appraisal', *Theory and Society*, 19:5 (1990), 512–14.

⁷² For further reflections on whether the PNG state (which has been described as a developing liberal democracy) is liberal enough for a liberal feminist approach, see Anne Dickson-Waiko, 'Reflections on the women and development agenda in Papua New Guinea', *Development Bulletin*, 70 (2006), 96–9.

THE ABSENCE OF a deep-seated nationalist movement prior to independence, the lack of participation by women in local political movements and the manner of gendering the PNG post-colonial state are factors that have adversely affected the construction of a modern PNG womanhood. The full enjoyment of citizenship in PNG – that is, the full range of social, legal and political rights – is experienced only by men. Women have been victims of history and continue in the present as casualties of state processes as well as the emerging ‘political culture’.⁷³ Not only are women badly affected by the political culture in the country, as suggested by Orovu Sepoe, but the state systems and processes and the gendering of the post-colonial state have contributed to the near absence of women from national politics. This reinforces the premise that gender is critical to the construction, practice and experience of empire and nation for both coloniser and colonised.⁷⁴

The struggle to attain political rights by women continues 38 years after PNG attained sovereignty in 1975. They can vote, but have found it almost impossible to be elected to political office. Legislation to create TSM for women’s parliamentary representation failed to win parliamentary support in 2012. The national elections of 2012 did, however, return three women representatives – Julie Soso (simultaneously elected governor of Eastern Highlands Province), Loujaya Toni and Delilah Gore – in what might hopefully be a sign of change. Their election brings to a total of seven the number of women members of parliament to have served in PNG.⁷⁵ Previously, the highest number of women elected into parliament was in the 1977 national elections: Josephine Abaijah, Nahau Rooney and Waliyato Clowes.

This paper has argued that one of the underlying reasons for the negligible presence of women in the national processes of independent PNG was their absence from the mainstream of the colonial order when the framework for a modern PNG state was being constructed. The paper has also suggested that a majority of the female population experienced colonisation, decolonisation and independence almost simultaneously. The struggle to place their agenda before the government has had to face many hurdles. The history of PNG women, much of it undocumented, remains an outcome of a number of factors, including the way women were and are structurally located within the patriarchal cultures of PNG societies and their structural relocation during the colonial period. It has also been shaped by colonial policies that were brazenly gendered and racialised, thus institutionalising gender inequality and subordination, wherein the latter had always been culturally constructed. This means that the subordinated position of women in society continued to be reinforced during the construction of the colonial state and later became embedded in the post-colonial state. Thus, male hegemony prevailed both before and after decolonisation.

⁷³ Orovu Sepoe, ‘Women in the elections: casualties of PNG political culture’, in Yaw Saffu (ed.), *The 1992 Papua New Guinea Election: change and continuity in electoral politics* (Canberra 1992), 105–21. For reservations on using the state to advance an agenda for women, see Dickson-Waiko, ‘Reflections on the women and development agenda’, 96–9.

⁷⁴ Mrinalin Sinha, ‘Nations in an imperial crucible’, in Philippa Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire* (New York 2004), 184. See also McClintock, “‘No longer in a future heaven’”; Jan Jindy Pettman, *Worlding Women: a feminist international politics* (St Leonards, NSW 1996).

⁷⁵ ‘Papua New Guinea’, Pacific Women in Politics, available online at <http://www.pacwip.org/future-elections/papua-new-guinea> (accessed 22 Apr. 2013).