

10. Women as Candidates and Voters: Gender Issues and the Kerema Open Electorate

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Introduction

The 2007 national election in Papua New Guinea was expected to produce some pronounced changes in terms of its administration and conduct, and in the final outcome, particularly as a result of the introduction of a limited preferential voting (LPV) system. Certainly, a lot more work and higher costs were involved in administering the election, partly due to the lengthy counting process associated with LPV. In terms of its outcomes, the winners obtained a larger mandate from the voters than in previous elections. While some observers commented that electoral violence was quelled as a result of LPV, others posited that a heavy deployment of security forces was primarily responsible for the more peaceful election.

From a gender perspective, it was anticipated that women candidates would have far greater chance of success at the polls given the element of preference trading implicit in LPV and the widely accepted view that LPV could be anybody's game. This, however, did not eventuate. It is important to understand why the 2007 election outcome, like all other elections in the past, did not prove to be advantageous for women. The main objective of this study is therefore to examine women as candidates and voters, with specific reference to gender issues in the Kerema Open electorate.

The discussion and analysis here are based on personal observations of campaigning and polling as well as election information made available by the Papua New Guinea Electoral Commission (PNGEC), in particular the final election results. In addition to media coverage, four local research assistants based in the Gulf Province through all phases of the election provided invaluable information about the election.

The chapter is presented in three parts. The first briefly outlines the conceptual basis for the study. The second gives an overview of women's participation and gender issues in the 2007 national election. The final part is a discussion of women as candidates and voters, and analysis of gender issues, in Kerema Open.

Conceptual framework

The discussion and analysis in this study is premised on several theoretical and conceptual tools relevant to the gender and feminist perspective.

First, the public/private split in social, economic and political realms of life infiltrates the entire electoral process. The prevailing cultural perceptions of men as the decision-makers results in the continuing domination of public leadership positions and roles by men. The large number of male candidates compared to female candidates not only demonstrates this perception but also reinforces it. The domination of political parties by men, and the relatively low endorsement of women candidates compared to men, further supports this view. The prevailing trend is for women candidates not to be taken seriously by political parties. Women's role in cooking and hospitality during campaign rallies and feasts supports prevailing gender norms and division of labour. As voters, women's choices are mostly determined or dictated by men.

Secondly, the concepts of structure and agency allow us to understand women's position relative to men as the dominant players while also accounting for women's empowerment in a male-dominated system. The persistent view of electoral politics as a male preserve is reflected, for example, in the number of guns in the hands of 'warlord' candidates, and in access to and control over resources such as money and labour. 'Bigman' leadership style sends a clear message that women cannot be 'bigmen'. However, it is important not to lose sight of the ever-increasing number of women contesting as candidates in Papua New Guinea elections, even standing against sitting MPs who are apparently well established and well resourced (Elizabeth Simogun Bade's challenge to Sir Michael Somare in the East Sepik Provincial seat recalls the biblical story of David and Goliath). The evidence of women's participation in politics demonstrates the empowerment of increasing numbers of women courageous and confident enough to challenge male candidates in a male-dominated sphere.

Thirdly, the idea of the state as a masculine entity entails an appreciation of the implications of women's entry to the electoral process, which poses immense challenges and difficulties for women as candidates and voters. These include the heavy presence and involvement of security forces; electoral violence and intimidation, whose perpetrators are mostly men; the expenses associated with security during the election, which is essentially money spent on problems created by men; and the predominance of money politics, which illustrates male control of public and private resources.

Fourthly, the issue of women's rights as human rights requires appreciation of the fact that the Constitution of Papua New Guinea grants women the right to vote and stand for public office. Questions need to be asked: how is the electoral

process ensuring that women's rights are exercised? What is the role of the state (specifically the PNGEC and the security forces) and of civil society in defending the rights of women? Is the cultural context supportive of women's rights? Is the political environment conducive for women to exercise their rights, especially with widespread corruption, bribery, violence and intimidation?

Finally, analyses of women's participation in politics have to acknowledge the concepts of difference, diversity and commonality. Women are divided by religion, culture, age, education, socio-economic class, rural–urban divide, and so on. This could explain why women voters are not voting for women candidates, or are even contesting against each other.

Gender issues in the 2007 national election

Women as candidates

A total of 103 women candidates contested the 2007 national election (3.7 percent of the total of 2759 candidates), showing an upward trend in numbers of women candidates in most post-independence elections (Table 10.1). A list of women candidates, showing the electorate contested and party affiliation in 2007, is given in Table 10.8 in the appendix at the end of this chapter. Of these, 39 (37.9 percent) were nominated by political parties while 64 nominated as independents—fewer than in 2002, when 49 claimed party affiliation. It is highly likely that some of the independents in 2007 were in fact pro-party candidates, a practice quite common in Papua New Guinea politics.¹

Table 10.1: Women in national elections, 1972–2007

Year	Total candidates	Number of female candidates	Percent of female candidates	Female candidates with party affiliation	Female candidates elected
1972	608	4	0.7	na	1
1977	879	10	1.1	1	3
1982	1124	17	1.5	0	1
1987	1515	18	1.3	7	0
1992	1655	16	1.0	0	0
1997	2372	55	2.3	12	2
2002	2870	71	2.5	49	1
2007	2759	103	3.7	39	1

¹ Personal communication (December 2007) with two female candidates who nominated as independents but received some financial support from a political party.

Some provinces had more women candidates than others, the highest (12 women) being Eastern Highlands and the lowest (one woman) Bougainville and West New Britain (Table 10.2). For the first time in history, all 20 provinces had women contesting the national election.

Table 10.2: Provincial distribution of women candidates, 2007 election

	Rank	Province	Number of candidates
Highest number of women candidates	1	Eastern Highlands	13
	2	Oro	11
	3	Milne Bay	9
	3	Central	9
Lowest number of women candidates	18	East New Britain	2
	19	Bougainville	1
	19	West New Britain	1

On a regional basis, the Southern Region had the highest number of women candidates (45), followed by the Highlands Region (27), Momase (22) and the Islands Region (9). Generally, the peaceful nature of elections in the Southern Region has encouraged women to contest. However, the Highlands Region, by far the most volatile and high-risk region, was ranked second. This may be largely explained by the work of civil society organizations in promoting principles of good governance and democracy, including rights of women, peace, and law and order.²

Of the 34 registered political parties, 22 endorsed women candidates. The number of party-endorsed women candidates, however, fell from 49 in 2002 to 39 in 2007. The largest number was recorded by People's Action Party (5 candidates) and the Melanesian Alliance (4 candidates). The Pan Melanesian Congress, New Generation Party and National Alliance endorsed 3 women candidates each. Three political parties endorsed 2 women candidates each while 14 other political parties endorsed 1 candidate each. These figures are low, and suggest that parties have yet to consider women seriously. The fact that the People's Action Party (of which Janet Sape is deputy president) and the Melanesian Alliance (of which Dame Carol Kidu is parliamentary leader) endorsed the largest number of women candidates also illustrates the importance of having women actively involved in political parties to exert influence in decisions about candidate selection.

The *Organic Law on the Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates* (OLIPPAC) appears to have done little so far to encourage political parties to endorse female

² In this regard, the work of Kup Women for Peace (see chapter 11), *Meri i Kirap Sapotim* and other non-government organizations carrying out election awareness is acknowledged.

candidates. Political parties are fixed on getting the 'strongest', most 'popular' candidates, mostly men, though these are not necessarily the best candidates, and often poll poorly.

In relation to policies, women candidates generally focused on social, welfare, family, good governance and rights issues.³ They did not necessarily reflect party policies, even for women endorsed by political parties. This was partly to do with the fact that party endorsements were slow in coming and that preparations for campaigning, including policy platforms, were finalized well before party endorsements were confirmed. It also illustrates the nature of party affiliation: parties and candidates do not necessarily have long-term relationships, a reflection of the weak party system in Papua New Guinea. Many of the female candidates endorsed by parties, like male candidates, neither were members nor had long-term affiliation with those parties.

Some women candidates had experience as community leaders (civil society organizations/non-government organizations) and professionals (in both the private and public sectors). 'Money politics' and corruption, however, deny women candidates a level playing field.

Women as voters

Women voters appeared to exercise free choice in Kerema, though their preferences were mostly predetermined. Elsewhere, intimidation of women voters ranged from obvious, through subtle to non-existent.

However, just as the OLIPPAC seems to have had little impact on the mindset of political parties, LPV did little or nothing to change the perception and mindset of women voters, who seem (at least on the basis of observation in Kerema) to have generally preferred male leadership. The cultural and social environment remains largely unchanged.

³ This became apparent in a post-election diagnostic workshop for women candidates held at UPNG, 19–22 November 2007, sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme.

Gender issues and the election in Kerema Open electorate

Women as candidates

Three women candidates contested the Kerema Open seat, two from coastal areas and one from inland—the latter an historical first. One of the three had contested the seat in 2002. Two of the women had non-government organization leadership experience; the other was a primary school teacher.

Two of the women stood as party-endorsed candidates—though lacking any long-term political party affiliation—and one stood as an independent.⁴ None of the women candidates undertook electorate-wide campaigning, campaign activities being essentially restricted to their own language and cultural areas for both coastal and inland candidates. One candidate could barely meet her election expenses. After a frantic search for funds from women's organizations,⁵ her nomination fee was provided by her son just before the close of nomination, and she was hard pressed to make it to Kerema in time to nominate.

One of the women (who had contested in 2002) had lost her husband close to nomination. Some people said: 'She is a widow; doesn't she respect her husband?' Because her husband was from another province, it was suggested that her allegiance should be to her husband's people.

Resource constraints were encountered by all women candidates. In comparison to some of the male candidates, mobility was restricted; without access to private transport (motorized dinghies or vehicles) all three campaigned mostly on foot. No candidate posters for the women were seen in villages or along roadsides or main travel routes. There was no money for feasting or to bribe voters. However, it was alleged that one woman candidate had accessed donor funding for LPV awareness and used it to her advantage in carrying out awareness about her candidacy.

Women as voters

Voters' general attitude towards women candidates was one of indifference. None of the women candidates was considered popular in the electorate, though a few voters considered that one of the three women was more qualified than

4 This candidate was in fact a pro-party candidate (personal communication with the candidate, December 2007).

5 I am aware that she approached Papua Hahine Social Action Forum and Women in National Government Strategy for Change during the polling period.

most of the male candidates. There was little awareness of notions of ‘women’s rights’ or ‘gender equality’. Rural voters in Kerema Open have little time for such principles—indeed, the identity of women candidates was challenged by ordinary village women, who saw their lifestyle as far removed from those of rural women. Some voters expressed the view that the candidates needed to be on the ground to experience villagers’ hardships and understand their lives (a comment equally applicable to male candidates). But most were simply not aware of women’s candidacy.

In Kerema women voters generally follow the dictates of their husband or male relatives; failure to stick by the family choice could result in rejection and conflicts (post-election events attest to this, where family relations have soured as a result of election choices). Cultural norms are still strong and women are not taken seriously as leaders who can represent their people in parliament. In some cases, ‘money politics’ compelled voters, including women, to vote for men.

On the other hand, women performed their gender roles as hosts, feeding campaign teams, and wives and female relatives of male candidates were actively involved in rallying support, especially for husbands from a different cultural area. Family networks were revived to build and draw voter support; every family connection was utilized and, in this respect, women were key linkages through marriage.

Women also had much influence on how resources—especially food—were distributed: how much to whom? Who to look after? Elections are a time to eat and drink, and women at the fireplaces had much more than they would normally consume. Women also received cash rewards for their efforts.

However, there is evidence of changing perceptions, and some women and men are supporting women candidates, acknowledging that the quality of some male candidates was poor compared to women candidates.

Election outcome for women candidates in Kerema Open

Tables 10.3 to 10.6 show the election results for women candidates in Kerema Open. Table 10.3 suggests that all female candidates received their primary votes from their respective ethnic communities (as represented by local-level government [LLG] areas)—though this is not confined to female candidates, as most male candidates also received most of their votes from their respective ethnic (LLG) communities.

Table 10.4 shows primary and final votes for the women candidates, their respective placing and when they were eliminated from the count. Table 10.9 in the appendix to this chapter shows the same for all candidates, indicating voter support for men in comparison to women candidates.

It is apparent from Tables 10.4 and 10.5 that women as voters did not give their primary votes to female candidates, either from choice or because their votes were predetermined by male kin.

Informal votes for the inland LLG areas, Kaintiba and Kotidanga, where illiteracy rates are very high, were, paradoxically, very low (at 0.8 and 0.7 percent respectively). By comparison, the informal votes registered in the coastal LLG areas were between 2 and 5 percent (Table 10.6). This may be attributed to the abuse of 'assisted voting', where the bulk of ballot papers were marked by 'helpers'.⁶

Table 10.3: Female candidates' and selected male candidates' primary votes and percentages by local-level government areas, Kerema Open electorate, 2007

No.	Candidate name	Total and percentage of primary votes received in each local-level government area						Total
		KU	CK	EK	K	KOTI	TL	
12	Kathy Karapa Tom	4	23	3	6	2	5	43
		9.3	53.5	7.0	14.0	4.7	11.6	100.0
19	Pricilla Opa Kare	3	581	6	0	5	35	630
		0.5	92.2	1.0	0.0	0.8	5.6	100.0
35	Josephine W Morova	4	9	3	191	1105	136	1448
		0.3	0.6	0.2	13.2	76.3	9.4	100.0
16	Pittom Titus Bombom	91	39	21	3427	74	122	3774
		2.4	1.0	0.6	90.8	2.0	3.2	100.0
51	George Mero	235	370	2221	17	183	303	3329
		7.1	11.1	66.7	0.5	5.5	9.1	100.0
20	Dan F P Maravila	352	104	10	0	2	43	511
		68.9	20.4	2.0	0.	0.4	8.4	100.0
55	Nixon Forova	26	19	435	0	1	8	489
		5.3	3.9	89.0	0.0	0.2	1.6	100.0
28	Richard Panama	16	9	1	178	1779	137	2120
		0.8	0.4	0.0	8.4	83.9	6.5	100.0
14	Sivore Lakou	5	24	45	0	4	686	764
		0.7	3.1	5.9	0.0	0.5	89.8	100.0

Key: Kerema Urban (KU), Central Kerema (CK), East Kerema (EK), Kaintiba (K), Kotidanga (KOTI), Tauri Lakekamu (TL)

⁶ At the time of writing, a petition was before the Court of Disputed Returns relating to allegations that the 'helpers' were supporters of the winner.

Table 10.4: Female candidates, votes, placing and elimination, Kerema Open electorate, 2007

No.	Candidate name	Primary votes	Primary placing	Final votes	Final placing	Elimination
12	Kathy Karapa Tom	43	47	43	47	5th
19	Priscilla Opa Kare	630	16	1190	13	39th
5	Josephine W Morova	1448	5	3614	4	48th

Table 10.5: Eligible voters by local-level government area, Kerema Open electorate, 2007

LLGs	Male	Female	Total	Total on roll
Kerema Urban	855	865	1,720	2,800
Central Kerema	3,410	3,090	6,500	8,300
East Kerema	3,622	3,084	6,706	9,400
Kaintiba	2,799	2,235	5,034	6,700
Kotidanga	3,523	3,063	6,586	9,300
Tauri Lakekamu	2,493	1,990	4,483	7,700
Total eligible voters	16,702	14,327	31,029	44,200

Table 10.6: Total formal and informal votes by local-level government area, Kerema Open electorate, 2007

Ballot papers	KU	CK	EK	K	KOTI	TL	Total
Total formal votes	1,648	6,296	6,540	5,087	6,584	4,384	30,539
Total informal votes	72	206	194	39	45	116	672
Total votes	1,720	6,502	6,734	5,126	6,629	4,500	31,211
Percent informal votes	(4.2)	(3.2)	(2.9)	(0.8)	(0.7)	(2.6)	(2.2)

Key: Kerema Urban (KU), Central Kerema (CK), East Kerema (EK), Kaintiba (K), Kotidanga (KOTI), Tauri Lakekamu (TL)

Conclusion

The 2007 national election saw many more women contesting than in the 2002 election, continuing the upward trend observed since the first post-independence election in 1977.

However, money politics, as well as entrenched cultural perceptions and practices, effectively ruled out any chance of free and fair electoral competition for women candidates. Support for increased women's entry into parliament is not ingrained in the mindset of voters, men or women. Reforms, such as the OLIPPAC and the change to LPV, appear to have done little, if anything, to change this.

Meanwhile, behind the scenes women performed their gender roles, hosting campaign teams and utilizing family connections and linkages through marriage to rally support for husbands and male relatives.

References

Post-Election Diagnostic Workshop for Women Candidates, University of PNG, November 2007. UNDP, UNIFEM Pacific and AusAID in partnership with Department of Community Development and National Council of Women.

Appendix

Table 10.7: Voting statistics for Kerema Open electorate, 2007 election

Number of registered voters	42,160	
Total votes cast	31,205	
Informal votes	508	(1.6% of total votes cast)
Total allowable ballot papers	30,697	
Total ballot papers remaining in count	11,428	
Total votes distributed	23,594	
Exhausted ballot papers	19,269	(62.8% of allowable ballots)
Absolute majority (50% + 1)	5,715	

Table 10.8: Female candidates in the 2007 election

Name	Province	Electorate	Party affiliation
Odelia Virua	East New Britain	Gazelle Open	Independent
Rosemary Vartuam Swek	East New Britain	Rabaul Open	Independent
Ruth Mandra Kuma	Manus	Manus Open	Independent
Cathy Lee Graham	New Ireland	Kavieng Open	Independent
Helen Fong Seeto	New Ireland	Kavieng Open	Independent
Monica Maleigua	New Ireland	Kavieng Open	Independent
Anna Ofu	Central	Kairuku-Hiri Open	Independent
Lady Rita Kipalan	Central	Kairuku-Hiri Open	Independent
Maria Andrew Laut	Central	Goilala Open	Independent
Philomena Kassman	Central	Central Provincial	Independent
Veronica Aawa Bera	Central	Kairuku-Hiri Open	Independent
Waila Koloa	Central	Rigo Open	Independent
Cathy Karapa Tom	Gulf	Kerema Open	Independent
Susan Ila Apopo	Gulf	Kikori Open	Independent
Dinah Halstead	Milne Bay	Alotau Open	Independent
Judy Kauadi	Milne Bay	Samarai-Murua Open	Independent

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Name	Province	Electorate	Party affiliation
Leah Sharp	Milne Bay	Milne Bay Provincial	Independent
Matilda May Pilacapio	Milne Bay	Alotau Open	Independent
Selina Elijah	Milne Bay	Kiriwina Goodenough Open	Independent
Helen Robert	National Capital District	Moresby North East Open	Independent
Margaret Kliawi	National Capital District	Moresby North West Open	Independent
Margret Morris	National Capital District	Moresby North East Open	Independent
Mary J Karo	National Capital District	Moresby South Open	Independent
Anita Yapuso	Oro	Oro Provincial	Independent
Clare Embahe Nenai	Oro	Oro Provincial	Independent
Deborah Eupu Emboge	Oro	Ijivitari Open	Independent
Josephine M Abajah	Oro	Sohe Open	Independent
Oliva Aripa Bunari	Oro	Oro Provincial	Independent
Shirley Otto Jipori	Oro	Oro Provincial	Independent
Ageda Mili	Western	Middle Fly Open	Independent
Naomi Kamai	Western	North Fly Open	Independent
Julie Trasis Kuri	Chimbu	Chimbu Provincial	Independent
Miriam Waie Kia	Chimbu	Karamui-Nomane Open	Independent
Rhonda Gande Baru	Chimbu	Karamui-Nomane Open	Independent
Botty Usima	Eastern Highlands	Bura-Wonenara Open	Independent
Ellen Hamena	Eastern Highlands	Lufa Open	Independent
Esta Siru Joshua	Eastern Highlands	Kainantu Open	Independent
Florence Jaukae	Eastern Highlands	Goroka Open	Independent
Julie Soso Akeke	Eastern Highlands	Eastern Highlands Provincial	Independent
Linet Mofeno	Eastern Highlands	Henganofi Open	Independent
Rhonda Morris Risepe	Eastern Highlands	Kainantu Open	Independent
Robyn Belari nenda	Eastern Highlands	Daulo Open	Independent
Susan Sam Fima	Eastern Highlands	Henganofi Open	Independent
Maryanne Tokome Amu	Enga	Wapenamanda Open	Independent
Auana Janet Koriama	Southern Highlands	Tari Open	Independent
Anna Nepa	Western Highlands	Western Highlands Provincial	Independent
Doris K Kentz	Western Highlands	Jimi Open	Independent
Elizabeth Simogun Bade	East Sepik	East Sepik Provincial	Independent
Evangeline Kaima	East Sepik	Wewak Open	Independent
Jennifa Bowie	East Sepik	Wewak Open	Independent

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Name	Province	Electorate	Party affiliation
Josepha Namsu Kiris	East Sepik	Wewak Open	Independent
Margretha Apakia	East Sepik	Wosera Gawi Open	Independent
Betty Rugei Higgins	Madang	Usino Bundi Open	Independent
Cecilia Pakule	Madang	Madang Open	Independent
Margaret Yusam	Madang	Usino Bundi Open	Independent
Mary Kamang	Madang	Madang Provincial	Independent
Delilah Kelly	Morobe	Tewae-Siaso Open	Independent
Gusu Tuhiana	Morobe	Finschaffan Open	Independent
Julie Kandi	Morobe	Nawae Open	Independent
Loujaya Toni	Morobe	Lae Open	Independent
Coretta Lema Naig	West Sepik	Vanimo-Green River Open	Independent
Lena Miroi Napmuku	West Sepik	West Sepik Provincial	Independent
Lespina Pupuwes	West Sepik	Vanimo-Green River Open	Independent
Marry Tarp Lene	West Sepik	Telefomin Open	Independent
Rita Jonah	Oro	Sohe Open	Christian Party
Anne Karo Karafae	Eastern Highlands	Henganofi Open	Mapai Levites Party
Elizeberth Mary Sipos	Manus	Manus Open	Melanesian Alliance
Hilda Timan Kakawi	West New Britain	Talasea Open	Melanesian Alliance
Dame Carol Kidu	National Capital District	Moresby South Open	Melanesian Alliance
Lilias Erepa Klapat	Oro	Sohe Open	Melanesian Alliance
Matilda Tagu Koma	Central	Goilala Open	Melanesian Liberal Party
Maureen Ambo	Oro	Ijivitari Open	National Alliance
Laottie Miriam Laurie	Eastern Highlands	Kainantu Open	National Alliance
Agatha Yama	Madang	Madang Open	National Alliance
Priscilla Opa Kare	Gulf	Kerema Open	National Conservative Party
Jollyn Ambo Warome	Eastern Highlands	Eastern Highlands Provincial	National Conservative Party
Monica Abia Aitsi	Central	Central Provincial	New Generation Party
Maggie Wilson	Western Highlands	Hagen Open	New Generation Party
Donna Harvey Hall	Morobe	Bulolo Open	New Generation Party
Goini Doilegu Loko	Milne Bay	Alotau Open	Pan Melanesian Congress

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Name	Province	Electorate	Party affiliation
Margaret Bacca	Milne Bay	Esa'ala Open	Pan Melanesian Congress
Kruo Martha Kaiun	Chimbu	Kerowagi Open	Pan Melanesian Congress
Damarise Buaga	Oro	Oro Provincial	Papua and New Guinea Unity Party
Erigere Singin	Morobe	Nawae Open	Papua and New Guinea Unity Party
Ruffina Peter	Central	Goilala Open	Papua New Guinea Party
Martha Kala	Gulf	Kikori Open	People's Action Party
Sahara Douglas	Milne Bay	Alotau Open	People's Action Party
Janet Sape	National Capital District	NCD Provincial	People's Action Party
Julie Moide	Western	North Fly Open	People's Action Party
Dr Donna Plamnok Bikainbo	West Sepik	Telefomin Open	People's Action Party
Susan Trose Mati	Eastern Highlands	Kainantu Open	People's Democratic Movement
Margret Kawa	Southern Highlands	Ialibu-Pangia Open	People's First Party
Maria Micjeal Menap	Western	North Fly Open	People's Freedom Party
Lynette Ona	Bougainville	Central Bougainville Open	People's Party
Bella Eari Ameu	Oro	Sohe Open	People's Progress Party
Edna Kathy Kakaraya	Enga	Enga Provincial	People's Progress Party
Regina Aiarak	Western	North Fly Open	People's Resources Awareness Party
Rhonda Gaiosi Anakapa	Milne Bay	Alotau Open	PNG Conservative Party
Julie Daniel	Enga	Wabag Open	PNG First Party
Monica Hasimani	East Sepik	Yangoru-Saussia Open	PNG Labour Party
Epiya Janet Kang Nisa	Southern Highlands	Ialibu-Pangia Open	Star Alliance Party
Josephine Wasi Morova	Gulf	Kerema Open	United Party
Theresia Noglai	Chimbu	Kerowagi Open	Yumi Reform Party

Table 10.9: Kerema Open electorate results, 2007 election

Ballot order	Candidate	Sex	Political party	Primary votes		Position after primary vote	Preferential votes		Order of exclusion	Total votes	Total allowable ballots (%)	Ballots remaining in count (%)
				Number	Percent		Number	Percent				
16	Pitom Bombom	M	Independent	3,774	12.3	1	2061	35.3		5835	19.0	51.1
51	George Mero	M	Independent	3,329	10.8	2	2264	40.5		5593	18.2	48.9
28	Richard Panama	M	Independent	2,120	6.9	3	2908	57.8	49	5028	16.4	
35	Josephine Morova	F	United Party	1,448	4.7	5	2166	59.9	48	3614	11.8	
40	Ivan Hullah	M	PNG Labour Party	1,981	6.5	4	821	29.3	47	2802	9.1	
45	Robert Paiva	M	Independent	1,360	4.4	6	1142	45.6	46	2502	8.2	
30	Tai Sape	M	People's Action Party	1,261	4.1	8	855	40.4	45	2116	6.9	
23	Lemek Kum	M	PNG Party	1,319	4.3	7	762	36.6	44	2081	6.8	
56	Terry Maraka	M	People's Party	853	2.8	11	1054	55.3	43	1907	6.2	
14	Sivore Lakou	M	Independent	764	2.5	12	708	48.1	42	1472	4.8	
29	Jessy Bimalo	M	Independent	984	3.2	10	441	30.9	41	1425	4.6	
37	Joel Paito	M	Independent	1,241	4.0	9	82	6.2	40	1323	4.3	
19	Priscilla Kare	F	National Conservative Party	630	2.1	17	560	47.1	39	1190	3.9	
47	Ekis Ropenu	M	People's Labour Party	723	2.4	13	389	35.0	38	1112	3.6	

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Ballot order	Candidate	Sex	Political party	Primary votes		Position after primary vote	Preferential votes		Order of exclusion	Total votes	Total allowable ballots (%)	Ballots remaining in count (%)
				Number	Percent		Number	Percent				
53	Edward Elap	M	Independent	704	2.3	14	312	30.7	37	1016	3.3	
25	Paul Apio	M	PANGU Party	687	2.2	15	98	12.5	36	785	2.6	
31	Sevesoa Maso	M	Independent	530	1.7	18	197	27.1	35	727	2.4	
20	Dan Maravila	M	Independent	511	1.7	19	182	26.3	34	693	2.3	
15	Daniel Iltu	M	Independent	648	2.1	16	62	8.7	33	710	2.3	
55	Nixon Forova	M	National Advance Party	489	1.6	20	141	22.4	32	630	2.1	
32	Jacob Ivaroa	M	New Generation Party	356	1.2	24	224	38.6	31	580	1.9	
11	Joe Mesa	M	Independent	298	1.0	28	220	42.5	30	518	1.7	
39	Oavita Eapo	M	Independent	425	1.4	21	54	11.3	29	479	1.6	
18	John Dio	M	Independent	406	1.3	22	19	4.5	28	425	1.4	
44	Chris Hova	M	Independent	352	1.1	25	71	16.8	27	423	1.4	
46	Harold Farapo	M	Independent	351	1.1	26	44	11.1	26	395	1.3	
52	Peter Eka	M	Rural Development Party	345	1.1	27	33	8.7	25	378	1.2	
34	Fred Eovo	M	PNG Country Party	279	0.9	29	88	24.0	24	367	1.2	
48	Peter Sevara	M	People's Democratic Movement	360	1.2	23	1	0.3	23	361	1.2	
21	Moses Kaipu	M	Stars Alliance Party	250	0.8	30	30	10.7	22	280	0.9	

Ballot order	Candidate	Sex	Political party	Primary votes		Position after primary vote		Preferential votes		Order of exclusion	Total votes	Total allowable ballots (%)	Ballots remaining in count (%)
				Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent				
17	Tony Kaipu	M	Independent	227	0.7	31		16	6.6	21	243	0.8	
36	Tom Toutore	M	Christian Democratic Party	172	0.6	33		63	26.8	20	235	0.8	
42	Gabriel Ivei	M	PNG National Party	214	0.7	32		7	3.2	19	221	0.7	
33	Fred Airi	M	Independent	149	0.5	34		49	24.7	18	198	0.6	
22	Michael Maera	M	Independent	129	0.4	35		37	22.3	17	166	0.5	
38	Matthew Pok	M	Independent	112	0.4	37		25	18.2	16	137	0.4	
10	Kahi Vila	M	Independent	121	0.4	36		7	5.5	15	128	0.4	
26	Kevin Miakari	M	Independent	102	0.3	38		7	6.4	14	109	0.4	
58	Jobu Mako	M	Independent	97	0.3	39		10	9.3	13	107	0.3	
49	Peter Siuwen	M	Independent	70	0.2	40		7	9.1	12	77	0.3	
41	Ross Miva	M	Independent	66	0.2	41		4	5.7	11	70	0.2	
57	Koraea Kapera	M	Independent	64	0.2	42		3	4.5	10	67	0.2	
54	Jackson Pari	M	People's National Congress Party	64	0.2	43		0	0.0	9	64	0.2	
27	Foster Harava	M	Independent	59	0.2	44		0	0.0	8	59	0.2	
24	Jim Mainoni	M	Independent	46	0.1	45		3	6.1	7	49	0.2	
13	Taisi Mie	M	Independent	47	0.2	46		0	0.0	6	47	0.2	
12	Kathy Tom	F	Independent	43	0.1	47		0	0.0	5	43	0.1	
59	Maupua Ovasuru	M	Independent	43	0.1	48		0	0.0	4	43	0.1	

10. Women as Candidates and Voters: Gender Issues and the Kerema Open Electorate

Ballot order	Candidate	Sex	Political party	Primary votes		Position after primary vote	Preferential votes		Order of exclusion	Total votes	Total allowable ballots (%)	Ballots remaining in count (%)
				Number	Percent		Number	Percent				
50	Aike Avosa	M	Independent	41	0.1	49	0	0.0	3	41	0.1	
43	Rodney Tom	M	Independent	31	0.1	50	0	0.0	2	31	0.1	
60	Opa Kavora	M	Independent	22	0.1	51	0	0.0	1	22	0.1	