

Chapter 15

Women, Policy Making and Development

Anne Dickson-Waiko

Women and gender issues have received increasing attention, partly as a result of the United Nations International Year of Women (1975) and first Decade for Women (1976–85). New bureaucratic structures have been set up with an explicit mandate to bring women's interests into the policy-making process (Miller and Razavi 1998; Staudt 1998; Tsikata 2000; Jahan 1995). Feminist activists and scholars have scrutinized and contested the role played by various state institutions and development agencies in sustaining gender inequalities through their structures, procedures and policy outcomes. There has been debate among feminists about whether to engage with or disengage from the state, an institution viewed by many feminists as 'a vehicle for social justice versus a protector of male interests' (Miller and Razavi 1998, 4). But feminists who have attempted to gender the discipline of politics identify other considerations of which Papua New Guinea women in policy making should take note — especially since women tend to look to the state for any development activity to do with women, including the development of a women's movement:

To date the government is fed up with the current fragmentation and rivalry amongst women, and is determined to establish a coordinated, united and solid organization and movement for women in PNG (Women's Division c.1993).

This view is reiterated in a vision statement on women's policy.

Organized women in Papua New Guinea should take note of the post-structuralist argument that the state is not a unified body and that power is dispersed throughout various institutions of the state which do not necessarily act in concert (see Rai 1996, 18). From what is cited above, obviously the majority of organized women in Papua New Guinea, that is those whose voices we can hear, wish to be engaged with the state and its various bureaucratic structures. But what kind of a relationship must women construct with the state? This discussion of women's policy will therefore include problems women of Papua New Guinea face in their attempts at feminist engagement as well as the engagement strategies used in promoting change within existing bureaucratic structures. The struggle

should not be limited to a unified struggle (see Rai 1996, 19) as suggested by officers in the Women's Division of the Department of Home Affairs and Youth,¹ which is itself an entity of the state. Thus there are spaces within the state where various struggles can be launched through negotiation, cooperation, opposition, and 'subversion not only of rules but also of articulated intentions of state forms' (*ibid.*). Papua New Guinea women can begin to construct a multifaceted approach to the state through a strong but varied women's movement.

Historical background

Prior to 1973, women were considered part of welfare and social development (before 1945 'welfare' referred specifically to education and health). During the colonial period women, as part of welfare, would have come under Native Affairs if they were considered at all. The provisional postwar administration in 1946 created an expanded public service but social welfare was not among the newly created departments. Women came under District Services and Native Affairs, reorganized in 1956, 1964 and 1969 into the Department of the Administrator (Jinks 1971, 131). It is conceivable that women were also considered under Native Labour and under Health and Education. A Maternity and Child Welfare Section was inaugurated in 1952 as part of the Department of Health (Mair 1970, 240). A reorganization of the colonial public service became necessary in the late 1960s when it was recognized that field staff of the Department of Administrator 'no longer spent most of their time enforcing law and order, but must now play a vital part in development and welfare' (Jinks 1971, 131, emphasis added). Thus a Department of Social Development and Home Affairs was created.

Until the first five years of statehood, women, if considered at all in government policies and processes, carried a welfare orientation reflecting a 'traditional' Western perception that women are primarily concerned with reproduction and household maintenance. The purpose of the welfare approach introduced in the 1950s and 1960s was to bring women into development as better mothers (Moser 1993, 59). It was based on three assumptions: that women are passive recipients of development, rather than participants in the development process; that motherhood is the most important role for women in society; and that childrearing is the most effective role for women in all aspects of economic development (*ibid.* 59–60). This approach focused entirely on women's reproductive role, with programs initiated and implemented through the various women's clubs, emphasizing women's 'traditional' preoccupations with infant and mother's welfare, handicrafts, motherhood, cooking, and sewing. Women's broader economic roles were generally overlooked during this initial phase.

Many community activities were organized by the Department of Native Affairs, and welfare officers assisted by the old Department of Information and Extension Services. Though most of the participants were men, gradually specific

courses for women were mounted through women's clubs and church women's groups, apparently becoming very popular in the mid 1960s and the early 1970s (Kekedo 1985, 32). The first welfare officers were recruited and trained in Ahioma, Milne Bay Province and in Fiji. They were to be responsible for both welfare and women's work. Despite feminist criticism of the welfare approach (Lee 1985; Schoeffel 1986), and modernization theory generally (Waylen 1996, 36–40; Moser 1993, 58–62), I believe that the approach was useful at a certain stage of women's development in Papua New Guinea, and in many areas of the country today a welfare approach is still considered appropriate, and is sought after by grassroots women themselves, particularly in the areas of health and nutrition.

The Women in Development framework

In 1973, 'Women's equal participation' became part of a national 'Eight Point Plan' (see King, Lee and Warakai 1985, 453) which was subsequently incorporated into the national constitution as the 'Eight Aims'. With respect to the Eight Point Plan, Fitzpatrick (1985, 23) explains: 'it was something of an afterthought'; the Faber Report (1973) did not mention women's equality. The authors of the Eight Point Plan were Tony Voutas, Steve Zorn and Michael Somare. Fitzpatrick (1985, 24) notes that 'there was only one difference between the first and final drafts of the Eight Aims, namely the inclusion of the seventh aim'. Curiously, he does not say on whose insistence the seventh point was included, only that 'promoting the participation of women, was included with some difficulty' (*ibid.*). Voutas (1981, 46) refers to the ambivalence of some ministers about the philosophy behind the Eight Aims, saying: 'it reflected an intellectual trend of the late sixties and seventies keenly felt by the expatriate Western liberals and by the Papua New Guinean graduates and undergraduates'. Somare's commitment to women's development can be surmised from his address as chief minister to the first-ever women's convention in May 1975:

I believe this convention is the first of its kind to be organised and conducted in our country. And I am proud that this important initiative came largely from the women of Papua New Guinea. The support my Government has given this convention by providing the finance emphasizes the importance my Government places on the role of women in Papua New Guinea. As you know my Government is committed to a philosophy of equal participation by women and I believe this convention is a clear sign of my Government's desire to involve women in developing this country in partnership with the men (Boden 1975, 54–56).

The conceptual basis of women's equality was obviously Women in Development (WID), promoted by liberal feminists in the early 1970s as part of the intellectual

debate waged by women in the reemerging feminist movement (Moser 1993; Waylen 1996).

In the late 1960s there was a growing perception of the failure of development, especially in the emerging criticism of the impact of modernization theory on Third World women coming from liberal feminists (see Jacquette 1982; Scott 1995). Not only was the 'trickle down' effect not happening, the impact of modernization or development was assessed to be different for men and women. Instead of improving women's rights and status, the development process appeared to be contributing to a deterioration of their position (Razavi and Miller 1995, 2–6).

The original WID approach recognizes 'that women are active participants in the development process, who through both their productive and reproductive roles provide a critical, if often unacknowledged, contribution to economic growth' (Moser 1993, 63). While it recognizes the negative impact of economic development, it is also concerned with fundamental issues of equality, which transcend development (*ibid.*). Thus we see sentiments expressed in the Eight Point Plan and the constitution; the second goal of the constitution comes directly from the seventh aim. The Eight Point Plan was important as the first public document to raise the issue of women's equal participation as citizens in the new, soon-to-be independent state.

The WID approach formed the second phase of Papua New Guinea's women policy development. WID was taken on board by the United Nations, its agencies and many bilateral donors (Razavi and Miller 1995), who provided the external push for Papua New Guinea government agencies to pursue women's programs and projects. Papua New Guinea joined the United Nations in 1975 and has struggled since then to keep up with the sustained pressure from UN agencies and to address gender and women's issues emanating from the various UN women's conferences. In fact, a high level of activity by both government and civil society groups tends to follow world conferences on women, lapsing into inactivity between conferences. Empowerment through women's organizations in Papua New Guinea has been a fractured process (Dickson-Waiko 2003).

Women and Development

The re-emergence of a global women's movement coincided with the birth of Papua New Guinea as a nation-state. This has proven to be fortuitous for female citizens. Two major government documents refer to women's equality: the Eight Point Plan (1973) and the constitution of 1975. The preamble to the constitution reaffirmed what had been the seventh point of the Eight Point Plan in stating its second goal to be: 'for all citizens to have an equal opportunity to participate in, and benefit from, the development of our country' (King, Lee and Warakai 1985, Appendix A, 453–4). The constitution formalized the relationship of women

with the new state, surviving what had been a male-gendered colonial state (Dickson-Waiko 2001, 52–56).

The seventh point of the Eight Point Plan or Eight Aims, provided official recognition of women's disadvantaged position in society in calling for a 'rapid increase in the equal participation for women in all forms of economic and social activity' (King, Lee and Warakai 1985). This public statement generated a lot of interest among women in the urban areas between 1973 and the early 1980s, when educated women began to see themselves not just as members of families and clans, as in the Melanesian cultural context, but as individuals and, from 1975, citizens (King, Lee and Warakai 1985, 2–10, 32–177). Unfortunately, this early interest in women's rights and issues, also expressed in government documents describing women in typically WID terms as 'both beneficiaries and agents in the development process' (see Women's Policy 1990), did not lead on to the emergence of a women's movement. Women have become more vocal about issues which affect them, but we have yet to witness an effective women's movement.

Despite official *recognition* of women's subordinate status in society, in concrete terms development for the female citizens of Papua New Guinea can be best described as having a very low priority. For example, a review of the National Public Expenditure Programme (NPEP) found that between 1979 (when the first government funds were made available for women's projects) and 1982, the share of total NPEP funding for women's projects declined from a low 1.5 per cent to a mere 0.2 per cent (Department of Home Affairs n.d., 5). The Women's Division has since moved away from designating women's projects to be funded under the NPEP or Public Investment Programme (PIP), relying solely on donor funding and the annual departmental recurrent budget, which has been on a downward slide since 1990. The fact that the Women's Division (though renamed Gender and Development Division) is still located in the Department of Social Welfare and Development illustrates the fact that nothing much has changed since 1969. The adoption of WID by the United Nations and most countries around the world has seen the creation of separate Women's ministries/departments/machineries in many countries. Discussions were under way in 2005 for a Gender Unit to be located in the prime minister's department. Its main functions were expected to be policy development, research and monitoring (Kajoi, personal communication 2005). The link between the proposed new entity, the Gender Unit (formerly the Women's Division) in the Department of Community Development, and national and provincial councils of women remains unclear.

In the late 1980s the National Council of Women (NCW), under the presidency of Buntabu Brown, was working towards replacing the NCW with a National Commission for Women. This progressive move was frustrated by some

better-educated women members of the group, Women in Politics (WIP), headed by Maria Kopkop, and women officers from the Women's Division, Department of Religion, Home Affairs and Youth. At the NCW convention in Lae in 1990, they managed to disrupt proceedings and oust the Brown executive (personal communication Au Aruai and Ume Wainetti; see also *Times of PNG* 4 January 1990, p19).² The 'women's movement' has never quite recovered from this experience.

Implementing the Second National Goal

Between 1982 and 1987 the first coordinated government strategy on women was put in place. It was known as the National Women's Development Programme (NWDP). The idea was to have an integrated program emphasizing training, income-generating activities, family health, network building, and educational programs for women. It reflected a shift in approach from welfare to 'equal and productive partners', arising from the changing discourse on Women in Development. Network building and mobilization dominated the first phase of the NWDP, which involved setting up provincial councils of women and convincing provincial governments to establish positions for women's affairs officers. Up till 1983, many provincial governments had welfare officers but not women's officers. Network building required a close working relationship between the provincial governments, the official women's machinery (the Women's Division), and the NGO women's machinery, the NCW (personal communication Jane Kesno, Marilyn Kajoi 2001). The NCW, which came to include twenty provincial councils, was recognized as an alternative vehicle through which women's programs, information and educational training could be delivered.

This was the most productive period of policy making, policy implementation and resource allocation for women's programs by government. Staff from the Women's Division spent most of their time in the provinces mobilizing women and establishing provincial councils of women. They ran numerous workshops and training programs on issues ranging from food preparation, family health, and how to run meetings, to family planning, leadership training, appropriate technology and literacy (personal communication, Kajoi 2002). There was at least one women's officer in each province, and in the districts community women's organizers (CWOs) were appointed to mobilize women and set up the provincial councils. CWOs were volunteers; they were given a daily allowance to cover transportation and food costs and undertook the groundwork in the rural areas. Between 1982 and 1985 the National Youth Programme (NYP) and the NWDP worked closely together. In fact, many of the concepts used in the NWDP, such as the idea of using volunteers as community women's organizers, were developed by the NYP.

A National Women's Coordinating Committee (NWCC) was set up in 1983. Its role was to advise the ministry on policy, programs and training for women. Its membership included six church women's groups, provinces whose women's organizations were not members of the NCW, the NCW, and other women's groups such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Country Women's Association (CWA) and the Women's Division as the convenor. The NWCC was dominated by church women's groups, as the NCW was still relatively weak in the early 1980s.³ The NWCC was reconstituted in 1989 as a result of the restructuring of the NCW after a period of dormancy between 1986 and 1988. Had this committee idea worked, it would have provided an important pressure group within the NWDP. The NWCC suggested that the NWDP be expanded in the areas of training, communication and networking. This recommendation was endorsed by an internal review conducted by the Women's Division in Kundiawa in 1988, where it was decided that new components would be added on to the NWDP.⁴

The NWDP was successful in establishing a women's agenda, within both the bureaucracy and civil society, and in raising awareness about women's participation in development. The program also paved the way for the development of the National Women's Policy. There had been calls for a National Women's Policy since 1982, when initial work on such a policy had begun. Intensive consultations on policy began in 1987. But while women-oriented policymakers worked outside the state apparatus, the training of those who worked within the bureaucracy was overlooked.

The most active period of policy making and implementation in the early 1980s coincided with the presence of a coterie of female social planners who guided various policy initiatives from the Women's Division through the National Planning Office. One of these, Margaret Nakikus, became the director of the National Planning Office. In hindsight, what contributed to the loss of the momentum of the early 1980s was a failure to adequately cultivate the insider-outsider dynamics of women's development within the bureaucracy, and to find negotiating spaces within the state.

Other components of the NWDP included the 1990 National Training Package co-funded by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the International Labour Organization (ILO), and training for CWOs and provincial women's officers supported by grants from the national department. CWOs worked under the supervision of the provincial women's development officer. They supervised projects and activities of women's groups within the districts. A communication and network-building component saw the publication of *Nius Blong Meri*, a quarterly newsletter focusing on women's issues, concerns and achievements. A UNIFEM (United Nations Development Fund for Women)-funded project, Mobilization of Women Through Communication, which operated from 1989–92,

focused on training women leaders about media relations, lobbying, public speaking and fundraising skills. Practical exercises were conducted in writing press releases and newsletter articles, and preparing radio information pieces (Nakikus *et al.* 1991). A Women's Resource Directory was also produced.

Other components of the NWDP came on stream after the launch of the Women's Policy in 1991 and were incorporated under the policy. These included the first credit scheme launched in 1991 under the Credit Assistance Component. It had been piloted in the East Sepik and Simbu provinces in 1989. Seven other provinces came into the scheme in 1991. Other credit schemes have since been introduced, including Meri Dinau (Women's Credit Scheme). A few provincial governments have supported women's credit schemes by offering capital for lending, one of the more successful being that of the Western Highlands Province under Governor Robert Lak. The Women's Division was also engaged in several inter-departmental training activities, including the Health Department's sensitizing of women leaders on HIV/AIDS and other sexually-transmitted diseases. This project was funded by UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Fund). A National Women's Literacy Committee was established to liaise with the Literacy Council on adult literacy for women and to work with NGOs involved in literacy projects targeting women. A donor-supported Women in Fisheries Project was developed in 1989 in cooperation with the Fisheries Department. It was piloted in Milne Bay, with plans to expand it to Momase and the New Guinea Islands regions. The idea was to increase women's participation in fish handling, processing and marketing. Direct funding by the Commonwealth Fund for Technical Assistance (CFTA) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) ceased in 1997. Other international donors funded feasibility studies and technical assistance, including the Asian Development Bank, the South Pacific Commission, USAID Fisheries Program and the International Centre for Oceanic Development. Over six hundred women and youth were trained in various post-harvest fisheries activities in rural areas (Sungu 1999). The Women in Fisheries Project was transferred without funds to the Department of Home Affairs in 1997. The Women's Division failed to raise funds for its continuation.

By the mid 1990s, when a new provincial government system was put in place, the Women's Division was implementing a credit scheme, and a family health and family planning project funded by the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

National Women's Policy

The development of the Women's Policy took almost ten years and probably involved the widest community consultation of any government policy, through women leaders at the national and local levels, the National Council of Women, church women's groups, and government agencies and departments (personal

communication Kajoi, Kesno 2001; Nakikus *et al.* 1991). Many workshops were held to consider various policy drafts, and consultations were held in every province at district level (*ibid.*). The policy was finally completed in 1990 and launched by Prime Minister Wingti in 1992. It spelled out the government's role in women's development issues by placing responsibility on a number of key government departments, such as Health, Education, Agriculture and Planning, to better plan policies and programs with consideration of their impact on women. The policy delineated the roles of the Women's Division and the National Council of Women and urged the government to strengthen the National Council of Women and other non-government organizations of women.

The policy also introduced a new approach, that of gender mainstreaming. Under this approach, line departments were to include women's projects within their particular policy mandates, while the Women's Division was to facilitate and monitor implementation. Unfortunately, most departments have not taken the Women's Policy seriously. Despite the wide consultation with various stakeholders in formulating the policy, line departments need specific guidance from the Women's Division or gender specialists as to how gender mainstreaming is to be incorporated within the policy units of the line departments. The rationale behind sending a large government delegation to the Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, was to give female officers an insight into how to mainstream gender within their respective departments. The delegation included women from line departments, including the prime minister's department, and representatives from two provincial governments and the social sector. Two years after 'Beijing + Five', only four government agencies have lived up to that expectation, namely the Departments of Agriculture and Livestock, Education, Mining, and the University of Papua New Guinea.

Implementing the Women's Policy

Many of the activities under the NWDP were continued as part of the implementation strategy of the Women's Policy. But beyond that, the Women's Policy appears to have been shelved. A Five Year Management Plan (FYMP) for the Women's Division was developed by a consultant in 1994, setting out an implementation guide. The plan outlines a year-by-year implementation schedule which the department is supposed to follow, strengthening existing administrative structures and culminating in the establishment of a proposed Office of the Status of Women (OSW). The passage of the Organic Law on Provincial Governments and Local-level Governments in 1995 made the FYMP redundant, because the organic law transferred the major functions of the department to the provinces under a new system of decentralization. The Women's Policy has yet to be reviewed to incorporate this change, and to include the various international commitments that the government has agreed to, such as the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of

Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action (1995). Parliament ratified CEDAW without reservation in 1994, some fifteen years after its adoption by the United Nations General Assembly, but there is no new women's policy in the offing. While resources allocated to the Women's Division have declined, the Division's workload has increased as various international organizations step up the pressure on member countries to address gender issues, through, for example, CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action, and other international agreements such as the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Women and Development. This was highlighted by an internal review of women's policy by officers of the Women's Division in 1999.

Constant reorganization and restructuring has also contributed to the demoralization of staff and consequent inaction. A number of inappropriate appointments to senior management has not improved the situation. No government, with the exception of the first Somare-led government, has paid attention to gender issues in a systematic way. Recognizing women's disadvantaged position and encouraging them to participate in all forms of public life is one thing; recognizing gender as a development issue is quite another. Some implementation of women's policies has taken place, but it has been *ad hoc*. Several provinces, including New Ireland, Oro, Gulf and Sandaun, however, have gone ahead to plan their own provincial women's policies/plans.

A review of the NWDP in 1988 revealed that the Women's Division had anticipated that in the second phase of the NWDP, with sufficient training programs for women's officers and CWOs, provinces would be able to develop their own women's programs and, after 1992, their own Provincial Women's Policy modelled on the national one (personal communication, Molly Manuyakasi). Indeed, had the second phase of the NWDP proceeded as envisaged, provincial gender units would have been well placed to accommodate the 1995 provincial and local-level reforms, which transferred functions to provinces and districts.

Institutional arrangements — women's machinery

A significant impediment to the development of a coherent women's policy has been the way in which bureaucratic structures responsible for women's interests were allowed to evolve in a disjointed manner. After the launch of the Eight Point Plan, the then chief minister, Michael Somare, appointed an adviser on women's affairs, Tamo Diro. A Women's Unit was established in 1974 in the Office of Home Affairs located within the Department of Decentralisation. The Women's Unit tried to appoint at least one women's activity officer in each province. In 1975 a coordinator was appointed to oversee Papua New Guinea women's involvement in the United Nations International Year activities; this included the holding of the first national convention for women. The National Council of Women (NCW) was formed at this historic convention. The

establishment of the Council was formalized in 1979, with the passage of the *National Council of Women Incorporation Act* paving the way for the establishment of provincial councils of women (PCW) throughout the country. But the status of the NCW has been ambiguous: while formally a statutory body it has largely operated as a non-government organization, while at the same time functioning sometimes as an appendage or even a program of the Department of Social Welfare and Development. A grant of K94,000 was reportedly given by the Somare government in 1978 to run NCW programs (Brouwer *et al.* 1998, 51).⁵ Dame Rosa Tokiel, the first president of the NCW, established a full-time secretariat to carry out its advocacy role.

The Women's Office in the prime minister's department was reorganized in 1978 and a Women's Activity Section was established in the Office of Social Development within the Department of Decentralisation. In 1980, Prime Minister Chan felt that social development lacked the attention it deserved and so the Department of Community and Family Services was created under the leadership of Rose Kekedo (personal communication 2001; see also Department of Community and Family Services 1981). Both welfare services and women came under the new department. This was the first serious attempt to implement the equality provisions of the constitution and the national goals. The short lifespan of the department, however, meant that it had little time to do anything but put together a first comprehensive policy document on women. The department was abolished after a year, and the women's functions transferred to the Office of Youth, Women, Religion and Recreation, located in the prime minister's department. In mid 1983 the Office of Youth and Recreation became a separate department, while Women, Welfare and Religion were separated into a new department of Home Affairs. The Women's Unit was upgraded to a division headed by an assistant director in 1983, with a staff strength of four. In 1988 Home Affairs, Youth and Recreation merged into the Department of Religion, Home Affairs and Youth (DRHAY). The staffing level rose to nine. This bureaucratic arrangement continued until the Department was downgraded to an office under the Skate government and transferred to the Department of Provincial Affairs in 1999, as the Office of Church and Family Affairs. That decision was reversed a year later when the Morauta government restored its departmental status. The department was renamed Social Welfare and Development in 2000. In 2002, for the first time a female member of parliament (the only female member of parliament), Dame Carol Kidu, was appointed minister for Social Development. Under her direction the department underwent a major restructuring, resulting in further reduction of staff in the Women's Division (which was renamed Gender and Development Division). The following year the Department was renamed yet again, as the Department of Community Development, reflecting the department's 'community development' focus.

Constant reorganization has contributed to the Women's Division's inability to plan for systematic implementation of the 1990 Women's Policy. Decentralization has further contributed to confusion and frustration. Meanwhile, in the provinces and districts, the WID and GAD units have not been properly addressed with usually one officer in charge of women, welfare, sports, youth, and other functions.

A UNIFEM Gender Mainstreaming Project mounted in 1988 led in 1992 to the establishment of a Gender Unit in the Department of Planning and Implementation. The intent was to facilitate the mainstreaming of women's issues and concerns into project planning and implementation processes across all sectors. However, over the years, the one officer allocated to the unit has been given other responsibilities, such as justice, and law and order. Other gender units were established after the Beijing conference in 1995, in the Departments of Agriculture and Livestock, Commerce, Labour and Employment, Police, Education and (until 1997) Fisheries. Over the past five years, however, the effectiveness of coordination and monitoring by the Women's Division has been hampered by restructuring and retrenchment initiatives by the government, and the Women's Division has virtually collapsed.

The conceptual shift from WID to GAD was developed 'after recognition of the slow progress in equalizing power in gender relations' (Goetz 1997, 5). This involved a reassessment of concepts, analysis and approaches in gender equality. 'WID approaches had been based on a politics of access while GAD recognizes the importance of redistributing power in social relations' (*ibid.*). A permanent gender desk has since been established in the Department of Planning and Implementation, but given the number of projects, both donor-driven and government-initiated, budget preparations and the general workload on department staff, it is almost impossible for the person at the gender desk to keep track of the various projects from formulation, design and development through to implementation. The department has experienced its share of restructuring: at least four times since 1992. WID and GAD units in line departments are usually the first to be axed when budget cuts occur.

The 1995 *Organic Law on Provincial Governments and Local-level Governments* had a similar effect; indeed its impact has been more severe since it transferred control of women's programs to provinces (see National Monitoring Authority 1998). The Women's Division no longer runs programs from the national office. Decentralization has meant that, in most provinces, one officer is charged with women's affairs, often in conjunction with sports, welfare, youth, and other functions. In the 1980s, when the national government began implementation of the NWDP, liaison between the national department and provincial governments was much stronger, especially in provinces where a provincial coordinating committee (PCC) had been established. There was also coordination

between various provincial agencies whose work covered women, such as non-formal education, health, agriculture, and business development. The provincial women's officer coordinated the meetings of the PCC. This made for better coordination of extension work with women, and facilitated parallel programs in the rural areas. By the 1990s this linkage had become difficult to maintain. The national department's ability to sustain projects under the NWDP declined, as Papua New Guinea experienced a series of economic and financial crises. The pivotal link between the national department, provincial governments, provincial women's councils and districts—the Community Women's Organisers (CWO) scheme — was gradually phased out. Some provincial governments re-engaged their CWOs, had them retrained, and appointed them as provincial women's officers. But the linkage between provincial and national departments has become tenuous at best, as provincial governments have shown a tendency to determine their own priorities and programs. Funding for women's programs is now dependent on the whim of provincial governors and their provincial administrations, specifically the joint planning and budget priority committees in the provinces. A few provincial governments, including Sandaun, Gulf, New Ireland and Oro have developed, or are in the process of developing, their own women's policy.

The national Department of Community Development now has the important role of monitoring the implementation of women's policy and programs at the provincial level. In general, the bureaucratic structures required to implement women's policy and women's development are not well developed. Those provincial governments which are doing fairly well with regard to women's development are, not surprisingly, also provinces which have well-organized provincial councils which are pushing for women's development. But most provinces suffer from bureaucratic and political indifference. Some are bewildered by constant changes caused by restructuring, retrenchment, reforms, and the high turnover of political leadership. One province which has gone ahead in mainstreaming gender is Manus: It has legislated the establishment of a single provincial women's policy mechanism bringing government and non-government machineries together in Pihi Manus. Pihi Manus has been incorporated into the Manus provincial government structure, ensuring government funding for its programs.

Women were mobilized into a 'movement', ostensibly to participate in development. But the training needs of those who worked within the Women's Division were often overlooked. Feminist academics became involved in the exciting new field of feminist scholarship, but the field of Women's Studies was virtually unknown in the various training institutions engaged in human resource development, such the University of Papua New Guinea and the Papua New Guinea Institute of Public Administration (the former Administrative College). Ironically, while certain women leaders began to demand a move away from

welfare-oriented programs, most of the staff who were employed in the Women's Division graduated from the University of Papua New Guinea with Social Work degrees. While civil servants in other departments underwent specialist training, as career diplomats, agricultural officers, teachers, even *kiap*, women's officers received no such specialist training; women's officers were supposed to know how to institutionalize women and gender policies and processes because they happened to be women.

Feminist policy advocacy within the state in Papua New Guinea has never been an issue, while in Australia, Papua New Guinea's colonial forebear and mentor, it became highly developed (see Watson 1990; Sawer 1998). Further, women's policy development and implementation was never a government priority in Papua New Guinea. In the 1990s attempts were made through a number of donor-funded projects to institutionalize WID and GAD, but this proved difficult in an entrenched, male-gendered bureaucracy.

Conclusion

The implementation of the women's policy has thus suffered from a number of inconsistencies. First it is part of a sector that continues to be marginalized. Personnel changes at the political and bureaucratic levels have meant changes in policy, implementation, priorities, and emphasis. In particular, the constant reorganization of the bureaucratic structure has brought confusion, frustration and low staff morale, and diminishing state resources have worsened the situation. This has forced the Women's Division to rely on donor-funded projects, but donor assistance, especially that from multilateral institutions, comes with strings, which restrict the Division's ability to implement its own programs.

Women's policy underwent an internal review in 1999, but a planned external review has yet to take place. What is needed is a new policy that takes into consideration all the structural and functional changes that have occurred in the last ten years. A new policy needs to address gender mainstreaming in a more realistic manner within the state apparatus, extending down to provincial and local-level government. Coordination of government and non-government machinery, separate from social welfare, is well overdue. Policymakers and women's civil society groups need to strategize the relationship of Papua New Guinea women with the state, such that female citizens, regardless of class, ethnicity, religion and locality, begin to experience real changes in their lives.

Postscript

A number of developments have taken place since this chapter was first drafted. Preparation of a CEDAW report was at an advanced stage at the end of 2008. Papua New Guinea should be ready to present its first report to the UN some time in 2009. The new Office of the Development of Women has received funding from the government to appoint staff in 2009. The Office will eventually be

located in the Prime Minister's Department. The Somare government has agreed to use Section 102 of the constitution and appoint three nominated women to the National Parliament. A process of nomination has been agreed to and three nominated women should be appointed to parliament in the first quarter of 2009.

The Somare government has also agreed to fund the National Council of Women to build a convention centre. Land has been secured for construction to begin. The National Council of Women Act has also initiated a consultative process to make amendments to its legislation.

References

- Boden, D. 1975. Notes on conference, The First National Convention of Women in Papua New Guinea. *Administration for Development* 5(October): 50–61.
- Brouwer, E., B. Harris, B and S. Tanaka. 1998. *Gender Analysis in Papua New Guinea*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- Department of Community and Family Services. 1981. *Policy Document, Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby.
- Department of Home Affairs, n.d. *Women in Development*. Port Moresby.
- Department of Home Affairs and Youth. 1987. *First Draft National Women's Policy, Papua New Guinea*. Port Moresby.
- Department of Home Affairs and Youth. 1991. *Papua New Guinea Women's Policy*. Boroko.
- Dickson-Waiko, A. 2001. Women, individual human rights, community rights: tensions within the Papua New Guinea state. In *Women's Rights and Human Rights, International Historical Perspectives*, ed. P. Grimshaw, K. Holmes and M. Lake, 49–70. London and New York: Palgrave.
- Dickson-Waiko, A. 2003. The missing rib. Mobilizing church women for change in Papua New Guinea. In *Women's Groups and Everyday Modernity in Melanesia*, ed. B. Douglas. *Oceania* 74 (1&2): 98–119.
- Fitzpatrick, P. 1985. The making and the unmaking of the Eight Aims. In *From Rhetoric to Reality: Papua New Guinea's Eight Point Plan and National Goals after a Decade*, ed. P. King, W. Lee and V. Warakai, 22–31. Waigani: University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- Goetz, Anne M. ed. 1997. *Getting Institutions Right for Women in Development*. London: Zed Books.
- Jacquette, J. S. 1982. Women and modernization theory: a decade of feminist criticism. *World Politics* 34(2): 267–288.
- Jahan, R. 1995. *The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development*. London: Zed Books.

- Jinks, B. 1971. *New Guinea Government. An Introduction*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.
- Kekedo, R. 1985. The role of the Department of Community and Family Services in women's advancement. In *From Rhetoric to Reality: Papua New Guinea's Eight Point Plan and National Goals After a Decade*, ed. W. Lee, P. King and V. Warakai, 32–37. Waigani: University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- King, P., W. Lee and V. Warakai eds. 1985. *From Rhetoric to Reality: Papua New Guinea's Eight Point Plan and National Goals After a Decade*. Waigani: University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- Lee, W. 1985. Women's groups in Papua New Guinea: shedding the legacy of drop scones and embroidered pillowcases. *Community Development Journal* 20(3): 222–236.
- Mair L. 1970. *Australia in New Guinea*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Miller, C. and S. Razavi. 1998. *Missionaries and Mandarins. Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications in association with the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Moser, C. 1993. *Gender Planning and Development. Theory, Practice and Training*. London: Routledge.
- National Monitoring Authority. 1998. *Handbook on the Rules and Responsibilities of Different Levels of Government Under the Reforms*. Port Moresby.
- Nakikus, M., M. Andrew, A. Mandie-Filer and B. Brown. 1991. *Papua New Guinea Women in Development Sector Review*. Port Moresby: United Nations Development Programme.
- Overseas Development Group, University of East Anglia for the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. 1973. *A Report on Development Strategies for Papua New Guinea (The Faber Report)*. Port Moresby: Office of the Chief Minister.
- Rai, S. M. 1996. Women and the state in the Third World: some issues for debate. In *Women and the State: International Perspectives*, ed. S. M. Rai and G. Lievesley, 5–22. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Razavi, S. and C. Miller. 1995. *From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Sawer, Marian. 1998. Femocrats and ecocrats: womens' policy makers in Australia, Canada and New Zealand. In *Missionaries and Mandarins, Feminist Engagement with Development Institutions*, ed. C. Miller and S. Razavi,

- 112–137. London: Intermediate Technology Publications in association with the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Schoeffel, P. 1986. The rice pudding syndrome: women's advancement and home economics training in the South Pacific. In *Development in the Pacific: What Women Say*, 36–44. Canberra: Australian Council for Overseas Aid.
- Scott, Catherine V. 1995. *Gender and Development. Rethinking Modernization and Dependency Theory*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Staudt, K. 1998. *Policy, Politics and Gender, Women Gaining Ground*. Connecticut: Kumarian Press.
- Sungu, Monica. 1999. Post Harvest Fisheries Technology. Information Supplement for Project Development, Women in Fisheries Development Programme in Papua New Guinea. Port Moresby: Women's Division, Office of Family and Church Affairs. Typescript.
- Tsikata, D. 2000. *Lip-Service and Peanuts: The State and National Machinery for Women in Africa*. Ghana: Third World Network-Africa.
- Voutas, A. C. 1981. Policy initiatives and the pursuit of control, 1972–74. In *Policy-Making in a New State: Papua New Guinea 1972–77*, ed. J. A. Ballard, 33–47. St Lucia: University of Queensland Press.
- Watson, Sophie ed. 1990. *Playing the State. Australian Feminist Interventions*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.
- Waylen, G. 1996. *Gender in Third World Politics*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Women's Division, Department of Religion, Home Affairs and Youth, 1990. *Status Report of National Women's Development Programme*. Department of Home Affairs and Youth, Port Moresby.
- Women's Division, Department of Religion, Home Affairs and Youth, c 1993. Background Information. Port Moresby. Typescript.
- Women's Division, Department of Religion, Home Affairs and Youth, 1988–1993. *Expansion of Women's Role in Development*. Department of Home Affairs and Youth, Port Moresby.
- Women's Division, Department of Religion, Home Affairs and Youth, with assistance of The Asian Development Bank. 1994. *Women's Division, Department of Religion, Home Affairs and Youth, Five Year Management Plan 1994–1998*. Department of Home Affairs and Youth, Port Moresby.
- Women's Division, Department of Religion, Home Affairs and Youth, n.d. *National Women's Development Programme*. Department of Home Affairs and Youth, Port Moresby.

Endnotes

¹ The Women's Division was initially part of the then Department of Home Affairs. In 1988, as a result of a departmental reorganization, it became part of the Department of Religion, Home Affairs and Youth. This and subsequent administrative reshuffling are detailed below.

² I discuss the source of these ongoing tensions between organized women in (Dickson-Waiko 2003, 102).

³ Church womens' organizations such as the United Church Fellowship and the Lutheran Wokmeri had been around since the early 1950s (see Dickson-Waiko 2003).

⁴ The concept of a coordinating committee was revived in the lead-up to the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women. An Inter-Agency Committee was established, but was disbanded immediately after the Beijing conference.

⁵ This piece of history has been incorrectly recorded. According to Louis Aitsi (general secretary of the NCW at the time) and Nelly Lawrence (an officer with the NCW), the money given by Somare was earmarked for the building of a Women's Resource Centre (personal communication, Louise Aitsi 1985 and Kajoi 2004).