

“Working Together, Working To Win”

**Women and the 2007 PNG Elections:
A Diagnostic Assessment**

**Sherrill Whittington
18 January 2008**

CONTENTS	Page
1. Overview.....	4
2. Background: Women’s Political Leadership.....	5
3. PNG’s International, Regional and National Obligations for Women’s Political Representation.....	7
4. PNG Political System - Changes to 2007 Electoral System.....	10
i. Overview.....	10
ii. Election management bodies.....	11
iii. Voter and Civic education.....	13
iv. Laws regulating political parties.....	15
v. Voting Systems.....	16
5. Women and 2007 Elections.....	18
a. Preparation and Training	18
b. Election	20
c. Diagnostic Workshop.....	21
i) Participants.....	21
ii) Process.....	22
iii) Keynote Presentations.....	22
iv) Group Analyses	24
v) Outcome Document	24
6. In Conclusion : The Way Ahead.....	29

ANNEXES

I. List of Female Candidates 2007	36
II. Diagnostic Workshop:	
a) Programme	40
b) Focus Group Discussion Guides.....	46
c) Candidate Profiles	54
d) Final Outcome Document.....	58

1. Overview

Governance is essentially the process of decision-making and the ways in which decisions are implemented. It should be participatory, consensus-orientated, transparent, responsive as well as equitable and inclusive. To ensure that it upholds gender equality as a basic tenet, there has to be a critical mass of women in representational institutions, a key policy-making mechanism strategically placed in government to influence decision-making, and a strong civil society component working together with decision-makers to promote women's rights.

This triangle of women's empowerment is absent in most Pacific island countries which in terms of women's parliamentary representation, are at the lowest end of the global scale. Women in Papua-New Guinea face enormous challenges in reaching the echelons of political power and decision-making bodies which was again evident in the outcomes of the June 2007 elections where one hundred and one female candidates contested¹, but as before only one was successful. The outcomes were not commensurate with the time, effort and resources invested by these women, who campaigned vigorously and fairly on platforms of social reform, community welfare and good governance and who could have undoubtedly made as good, if not better, contribution than their successful male counterparts.

By applying a gender lens to the processes of democratisation and governance, the degree of equal participation and representation can be determined, and the gaps redressed. A gender analysis of electoral outcomes enables an understanding of the differential impact of legislation, electoral systems and processes, the nature and composition of political parties, examining barriers to inclusive participation and appropriate special measures required to ensure gender-balanced representation. Achieving political office has been a struggle for the women of PNG and the discriminatory barriers they face will take many years more to overcome.

While there has been much past analysis of this recurrent phenomenon in PNG, this time an in-depth diagnosis of the problem was called for by women's civil society organizations, the Department for Community Development, the United Nations and the candidates themselves. The Workshop's Outcome Document recommended learning from the past, taking action and moving forward.

Since the 2007 elections two very important developments occurred before and during the November Diagnostic Workshop to redress the leadership imbalance: notably the preparation of a Parliamentary Submission by Dame Carol Kidu the Minister for Community Development recommending four nominated regional seats for women to be presented to the National Executive Council (NEC) in its first 2008 session; and its support and recommendation of other special affirmative action measures to redress the current parliamentary gender imbalance by the Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Temu at the opening of the Workshop.

¹ This has been the official figure quoted, but a close examination of the Electoral Commission's final candidate list in conjunction with the list of Workshop candidates shows that there were 106 female candidates with a number entered incorrectly as male. See Annex I.

Such commitments are of historical significance and in order for such affirmative action to succeed. The challenge to their realization will be the development of a singular vision and strategy, with mechanisms and processes in place to achieve equitable representation. If divisiveness, a lack of vision, capacity to focus and to work together continues to undermine progress for women's leadership, there will be no representative constituency for women, of women and by women. This is only possible provided that there is a unified drive by women and their supporters. Anything less over the next four years will continue to ensure under representation of half of the population of Papua New Guinea.

2. Background: Women's Political Leadership in PNG

*Persistent gender inequality in the national political arena does not reflect well on a state that claims to be democratic. As long as women are denied access to the corridors of power, the quality of leadership that is essential for effective and meaningful democracy, as well as for national welfare, is being stifled.*²

Women's involvement in the political arena in Papua New Guinea has been a slow and gradual process, both before and after the achievement of Independence. Even though the Constitution of PNG guarantees the political equality of men and women both to vote and stand for elections, the statistics show that women's involvement in contesting elections has been somewhat limited. Traditional, cultural barriers to women's involvement in public decision-making have meant that:

While modern men heavily depend on women for their success in politics, they rarely include women's participation in political activities, especially those of intellectual nature such as advice, discussions, debates, planning, making decisions because women were not and still to some degree thought to be 'thinkers' or 'intellectuals' ...women have been excluded from major decision making, and issues of importance to women have been ignored³.

In 1972 when PNG gained independence, four women candidates contested the election with Josephine Abaijah⁴ successful. In the following election of 1977, the number of women contesting more than doubled with three women candidates, Nahau Rooney, Waliyato Clowes and Josephine Abaijah, gaining parliamentary seats, an achievement which did not ensure the success of those who came after. For the decade from 1982 to 1992, total 48 women contested⁵ with only one returned.⁶

² Sepoe, Orovu, *To Make a Difference: Realities of Women's Participation in Papua New Guinea Politics*, Development Bulletin 59 October 2002p. 39

³ Korare, D, 2002. 'Gender and perceptions of political power in Papua New Guinea', Development Bulletin, no. 59, p.41

⁴ Now Dame Abaijah

⁵ In 1982 there were 14 women candidates; 18 in 1987 and 16 in 1992.

Despite greater efforts being made by organizations such as the National Council of Women (NCW) and Women in Politics (WIP) to train prospective candidates and build leadership capacity at all levels, no headway was made in the next election in increasing women's representation. A total of 55 women contested the 1997 election and only two, Lady Carol Kidu and Dame Josephine Abaijah, were elected.⁷ Despite the total of female political contestants doubling in the past ten years, there still remains only one representative.

This pattern begs a number of questions: How and why did women succeed in the 1977 election and this could not be repeated? Why when more women ran for elected office did the outcome continue to turn out so negatively? In order to understand why such a pattern of unequal representation has persisted it is necessary to examine the context of traditional cultural views of women's leadership, the 'big man' ethos, a weak political party system encouraging a large number of independent candidates, and a 'first-past-the-post' electoral system, all of which disfavoured female candidates. In addition, the financial demands of running for political office, combined with endemic corruption and electoral violence which worsened over time, were all factors militating against women's leadership.

It has been noted that one of the major obstacles to women's leadership may lie in the incompatibility between *traditional PNG society and the modern state structure* whose value system may have introduced *gendered instrumentalities that do not promote the rights of women*⁸. This cultural bias was highlighted in 2002 by Dame Carol Kidu, who in explaining her electoral success, stated that

*On several occasions, both in 1997 and 2002, some men (and perhaps women) rationalised their decision to vote for me in spite of my sex by saying that, 'She understands these things because she is a "nao hahine" (expatriate) but we would not vote for our own women.'*⁹

The factionalism and divisiveness among women's organizations has also been a key contributing factor to this lack of representation. As noted in a 1998 World Bank Report:

*A further set of political influences involves power conflicts, competition, and cooperation between women themselves. Since Independence the development of national, provincial and local women's councils has been marked by tension and conflict, often over management of the meager resources provided by governments.*¹⁰

⁶ Nahau Rooney was elected following a successful Court of Disputed Returns

⁷ Sepoe, Orovu, *Op. cit.*, pp39-40

⁸ Dickson-Waiko 2001, quoted in W. KWA, *Electoral odds Against Women*, ANU/UPNG Series 2007.

⁹ Kidu, C & Setae, S, 2002. 'Winning and losing in politics: Key issues in Papua New Guinea', *Development Bulletin*, no. 59, pp. 51-53.

¹⁰ Brouwer, E (ed) et al., *Gender Analysis in Papua New Guinea*, The World Bank 1998. p. 20

One organization which for quite a substantial period did work to bring a focus to women's leadership was Women in Politics (WIP). At its first WIP Congress in July 1999 participants identified strategies such as encouragement of women to participate in national politics through women's forums, intensification of education and political awareness raising among women politicians and those intending to run for public office, and encouragement of women to be members of political parties and to seek executive positions.. In March 2000, WIP made two submissions of policy papers: one on the inclusion in the Organic Law of Integrity of Political Parties of the 30% quota for women candidates, and one on electoral reform issues, to the Constitution Development Commission. As a result of these submissions, the provision for one woman to be nominated by any one political party was included in the Organic Law of Political Parties and Candidates.

WIP's decision to expand their voter education programme through forums, seminars and training workshops, gearing them toward raising public awareness about the value of expanding women's political participation, and correcting public misconceptions about women in politics had much to recommend it. These strategies which were very sound required strong leadership for implementation, and if WIP had remained functional it may well have been effective in bringing about real changes in women's leadership. Its failure to do so only contributed more to the lack of direction and disunity and served to further debilitate the chances of increasing the role of women in decision-making.¹¹

3. International, Regional and National Obligations for Women's Political Representation

PNG's continued failure to redress the gross under-representation of women in elected bodies is not due to a lack of international, regional and national commitments and instruments. Papua New Guinea acceded to the Convention on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) on 12 January 1995, thereby being obligated to *...take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country which ensures that women, on equal terms with men... participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government.*¹²

In Article 4, CEDAW also provides for the adoption of *temporary special measures aimed at accelerating the de facto equality between men and women*, a provision is aimed at encouraging countries to adopt affirmative action to redress the

¹¹ At this juncture following the Workshop recommendation (see Outcome Document), it would be very timely for an in-depth review of WIP to be undertaken to determine if and how it could be formed, and whether it would be more beneficial to establish a new, more inclusive and effective organization.

¹² CEDAW Article 7

imbalance in men and women's positions in society, including political representation. As a Member Government of the United Nations, PNG also pledged at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 to "*set specific targets and implement measures to substantially increase the number of women with a view to achieving equal representation of women and men, if necessary through positive action, in all governmental and public administration positions*"¹³ All the Pacific UN Member States also endorsed the Fourth World Summit Outcome in which the General Assembly undertook to *promot[e] increased representation of women in government decision-making bodies...*¹⁴

All of the above have constitutionally or legally mandated special affirmative action measures which are also in concurrence with the Commonwealth's *Latimer House Principles* which uphold equality for women as one of the *Fundamental political values of the Commonwealth*¹⁵. As a member of the Commonwealth, PNG has espoused these Principles which advocate that:

Political parties in nations with proportional representation should be required to ensure an adequate gender balance on their respective lists of candidates for election. Women, where relevant, should be included in the top part of the candidates' lists of political parties. Parties should be called upon publicly to declare the degree of representation of women on their lists and to defend any failure to maintain adequate representation.

On the other hand, *where there is no proportional representation, candidate search and/or selection committees of political parties should be gender-balanced as should representation at political conventions and this should be facilitated by political parties by way of amendment to party constitutions; women should be put forward for safe seats*¹⁶.

Following the Beijing Conference, the 5th Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers for Women's Affairs (WAMM) in Trinidad and Tobago (1996) recommended that '*member countries should be encouraged to achieve a target of no less than 30 per cent of women in decision-making in the political, public and private sectors by 2005*'. This target was subsequently endorsed by CHOGM¹⁷ in Edinburgh in 1997... *The Commonwealth acknowledges the need to work harder to achieve the minimum target of 30% representation by 2015*¹⁸ While the Commonwealth recognizes *that redress of gender imbalance is essential to accomplish full and equal rights in society and to achieve true human rights*,¹⁹ holding Commonwealth governments accountable is essential to achieving change.

Heads of Government have agreed not only to increase the number of female representatives but to appoint more women to executive positions in political parties.

¹³ 1995 Beijing Platform for Action 1995:75

¹⁴ UN, 2005

¹⁵ Latimer House Principles, p.15

¹⁶ Ibid.,

¹⁷ Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting

¹⁸ Commonwealth Plan of Action for Gender Equality 2005–2015 p. 25

¹⁹ LATIMER HOUSE GUIDELINES FOR THE COMMONWEALTH, 19 JUNE 1998. p.16

At the Eighth Commonwealth Women's Affairs Ministers Meeting held in Kampala in June this year, *Ministers recognised the uneven and slow progress in achieving the minimum 30 per cent target of women in leadership and decision-making at all levels, and urged governments to provide and implement appropriate laws and policies through constitutional and legislative reforms to achieve gender balance.*²⁰

At a regional level, the Pacific Plan for Strengthening Regional Cooperation and Integration endorsed by Leaders at the Pacific Islands Forum meeting in October 2005 which sets out the path for the region in the coming 10 years, lists *improved gender equality* as one of its strategic objectives.²¹ It notably sets as one of its initiatives in the first three years under its goal of "good governance", to "*develop a strategy to support participatory democracy and consultative decision-making... and electoral process*"²² in which women and other groups are better included. All Pacific Islands Countries and Territories have endorsed a Revised Pacific Platform for Action (PPA) on Advancement of Women and Gender Equality (PPA) 2005-2015 which affirms as one of its goals the *Full participation of women in political and public decision-making*. A specific objective under this goal is to achieve *equitable participation by women and men in public life through the increase [in] the number of women appointed and elected to public office*.

The 9th Triennial Conference of Pacific Women, which adopted the revised PPA, urged governments to *take affirmative action by promoting and putting in place policies and practices that enhance gender parity in political representation and to encourage equal participation of men and women in public life, in political parties, statutory bodies and Boards and management roles in governments, the private sector and civil society organizations.*²³ The necessity of special measures to increase Pacific women's political participation was also reinforced in the Final Outcomes Document of the Pacific Regional Workshop on Advancing Women's Representation in Parliaments which urged Governments, legislatures and other state entities to consider:

IX the introduction of reserved seats to fast-track women's representation in Parliament, especially in countries with weak political party systems or without political parties.

*X The adoption of voluntary party quotas or quotas established by legislation particularly in countries with strong political party systems.*²⁴

²⁰ Eighth Commonwealth Women's Affairs Ministers Meeting - Kampala Communiqué - Kampala, Uganda, 11-14 June 2007.para.16

²¹ Adopted by the 9th Triennial Conference of Pacific Women held in Nadi, Fiji, 16-19 August 2004 and the 2nd Pacific Ministerial Meeting on Women, held in Nadi, Fiji, 19-20 August 2004, as an update to the original 1994 Pacific Platform for Action for the Advancement of Women.

²² PIFS, 2005: 18

²³ See SPC, 2004

²⁴ PACIFIC REGIONAL WORKSHOP ON ADVANCING WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENTS Rarotonga, Cook Islands 19 – 21 April, 2006 UNIFEM and Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat

At the national level, The Preamble of the Constitution of Papua New Guinea calls for *equal participation by women citizens in all political, economic, social and religious activities...* and the Constitution states that the equality of all citizens “*does not prevent the making of laws for the special benefit, welfare, protection or advancement of females, children and young persons, members of under-privileged or less advanced groups or residents of less advanced areas*”²⁵. In addition Section 102 of the Constitution allows the parliament to appoint, from time to time and with approval of a two-thirds majority, a nominated person as a member.

Affirmative action for women’s representation at the provincial and local levels is integrated into the Organic Law on Provincial Governments and Local-Level Governments enacted in 1995, which provides for the nomination of women representatives at the Provincial and Local level Governments. It specifically allows for one women’s representative to be nominated in each of the 20 Provincial Assemblies and for two women to be appointed in the rural Local Level Governments and one in urban Local Level Governments. It is now time that similar provisions were enacted at the national level.

The rationale for special initiatives has been in place for more than a decade. What has been lacking, however, has been the will, determination coupled with the strategic capacity to translate these commitments into action.

4. The PNG Political System –Changes prior to the 2007 Elections

i. Overview

PNG’s government is a constitutional monarchy with parliamentary democracy, and a 109-member unicameral parliament, of which 20 are occupied by the governors of the 19 provinces and the NCD²⁶, with members elected every 5 years. The parliament in turn elects the prime minister, who appoints his cabinet from members of his party or coalition. Members of parliament are elected from 19 provinces and the National Capital District of Port Moresby. Parliament introduced reforms in June 1995 to change the provincial government system, with regional (at-large) members of parliament becoming provincial governors, while retaining their national seats in parliament.

In the most recent elections of July 2007, in addition to the seats won by the National Alliance Party directly, thirteen independents joined the party after the election. Together with its coalition partners (which include the People's Action

²⁵ Section 55, subsections 1 and 2

²⁶ NCD – National Capital District is the incorporated area around Port Moresby covering an area of 240km² with a population of 254,158 (2000 Census). Although it is surrounded by Central Province where Port Moresby is also the capital, it is technically not part of that province. (Wikipedia)

Party, the United Resources Party, the Pangu Party, the National Party, the Melanesian Liberal Party and the Melanesian Alliance Party) the National Alliance Party had the support of a substantial majority of the newly elected Members of Parliament.

In the early years of independence, however, the instability of the party system led to frequent votes of no-confidence in Parliament with resulting falls of the government of the day and the need for national elections, in accordance with the conventions of parliamentary democracy. In recent years, successive governments have passed legislation preventing such votes sooner than 18 months after a national election. This has arguably resulted in greater stability though, perhaps, at a cost of reducing the accountability of the executive branch of government.

Elections in PNG attract large numbers of candidates. After independence in 1975, members were elected by the first past the post system, with winners frequently gaining less than 15% of the vote. Electoral reforms in 2001 introduced the Limited Preferential Vote system (LPV), a version of the Alternative Vote. The 2007 general election in which an estimated four million votes were cast out of Papua New Guinea's population of about six million was the first to be conducted using LPV.²⁷

Despite these changes, there was no increase in the number of elected women representatives. Factors such as election management bodies, voter and civic education, laws regulating political parties, as well as the type of electoral system can have a direct impact on the selection of women candidates.

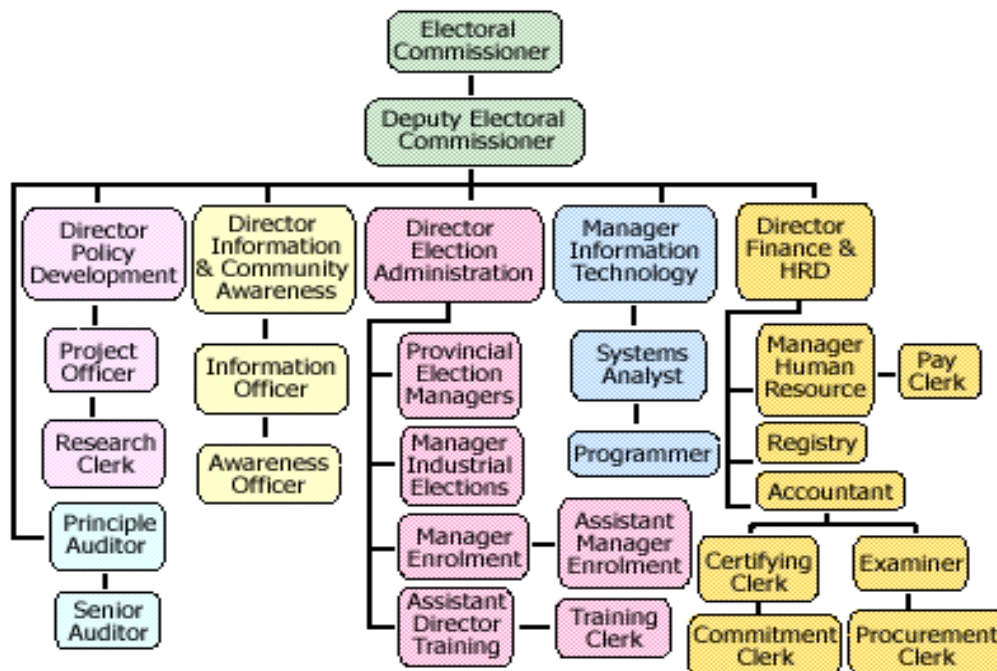
ii. Election management bodies

The body responsible for managing national elections is the Electoral Commission of PNG, which has broad powers and provides oversight over the whole election process. The Electoral Commission is set up under the Organic Law on National and Local Level Government Elections. The Electoral Commissioner, a Constitutional officeholder, is the head of the Electoral Commission. The degree of gender balance in such bodies can help ensure that women's issues and concerns are taken on board in election administration decision-making, so participation of women in election management bodies is essential. Of the seven most senior positions in the Commission, only one, the Director of Information and Community Awareness is occupied by a woman at headquarters and one female Election Manager at the provincial level (Manaus Province) out of twenty. All electoral staff, including Presiding and Returning Officers are recruited by the Electoral Commission, with the latter recommended by the Provincial Administrator. Women were neither recruited as Returning Officers in 2007 nor did they participate in voter registration which was conducted house-to-house.²⁸

²⁷ For further detail of these systems refer to Section v. Voting Systems p.16.

²⁸ This is an area requiring immediate attention by government.

Organisational Structure of PNG Electoral Commission



Since the Electoral Commission determines the requirements and selection criteria for all election administrators, including those in leadership positions and polling station election workers, there must be assurance that selection criteria are not discriminatory. *In many polling stations in East New Britain and Buka, Team members also noted the presence of women scrutineers keeping check on the proceedings on behalf of their candidates. This was not the case in the Highlands electorates, where women were relatively under-represented as both polling officials and scrutineers.*^{29,30}

Some countries have addressed the issue of intimidation and harassment of women voters by establishing women's only polling stations. Providing appropriate security at polling stations is another way of addressing the issue. In order to guarantee security for women voters, the Electoral Commission decided to have a limited number of "women only" polling booths in the Highlands areas. However, these were not used in Mt. Hagan in the Western Highlands and their effectiveness on the polling conditions for women, and how women regarded their voting experience has

²⁹ REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH-PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM ELECTION ASSESSMENT TEAM
PAPUA NEW GUINEA NATIONAL ELECTION, JUNE-AUGUST 2007 p.14

³⁰ Many Diagnostic Workshop participants also commented on either the absence or low representation of women in these roles.

to be examined to determine if they had an impact on the way women voted and whether their future use may have a positive outcome for women candidates.³¹

Prior to the 2007 elections the Electoral Commission decided to redo the 2002 electoral roll, with separate electoral rolls for each ward. There were misgivings about the outcomes of this exercise with accusations of corruption by village leaders and scrutineers in the Western Highlands who *alleged that enrolment figures had been inflated in the sitting members' strongholds and reduced in those of other candidates. While this was difficult to objectively verify, we did observe that in one sitting member's home village, the number of enrolled voters had skyrocketed from a reported 2800 in 2002 to some 10,000 voters in 2007, where it seemed to us (and locals confirmed) that there were not 10,000 adults living in that village. We noted that in this particular village, which had four polling places running concurrently, the roll did not appear to be being properly used.* .³²

This issue also arose in discussions with the Campaign teams for two women candidates, Maggie Wilson (Mt Hagan Open) and Rosemary Sovek (Rabaul Open). The observation process for their scrutineers was very open to question with them having no real visibility of the process, and ballot papers being opened before they were put into boxes.

iii. Voter and Civic Education

Effective voter education starts far in advance of elections and covers the entire election process. Generally, state authorities such as the Electoral Management Bodies are responsible for designing voter education materials, but political parties, civil society, the media and inter-governmental organisations also play an equally important role in disseminating the information. Women's groups may be a particularly helpful source of ideas for creative and interactive voter education initiatives to successfully target women voters.

Voter and civic education and training can raise voter awareness about issues such as how the country's political and electoral system works, what their political rights are, the electoral process, from voter registration and the logistics of voting to the complaints and appeals process. It can also promote gender-sensitive messages and positive images of women as political actors; raise the obstacles women face as a result of history, culture and tradition, and include special messages for women voters about their political rights.

If such voter education is to be gender sensitive it should also take into account specific targeting of women voters on issues that particularly affect women voters,

³¹ Since these were used in such limited numbers, it is essential that the rationale used by the Electoral Commission be examined, and whether women voters using them for the first time felt they made a difference to how they voted.

³² REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH-PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM ELECTION ASSESSMENT TEAM
PAPUA NEW GUINEA NATIONAL ELECTION, JUNE-AUGUST 2007 p.8

voter education materials produced by political parties, civil society or the media. There should also be endorsement of many of the community issues important to women candidates and electors. In addition, the practice of family voting whereby one family member (usually the male head of the household) casts votes on behalf of other family members, or family members enter the voting booth together needs to be addressed, with both men and women targeted in order to understand that family voting deprives women of their political rights.

In PNG prior to the 2007 elections a major voter awareness program was conducted, with the assistance of civil society groups and with funding and technical support from AusAID through the Electoral Support Program (ESP).

Voter awareness focused on ensuring understanding of the new LPV system, and was undertaken throughout the country largely through the use of face-to-face meetings, which featured group meetings and discussions, separate group discussions for men and women, mock voting and counting, as well as music and performances by theatre groups. While it was impossible to cover every community in PNG in this way, radio messages were also used to reach isolated areas inaccessible by awareness teams. Moreover, a comprehensive advertising campaign involved utilising television, radio and press to explain the voting process and encourage people to have their say – “Our Vote, Our Future”.

Through the Electoral Support Program (ESP), AusAID funded the development of a Training manual , Everybody’s Business! Awareness Training for Civil Society to increase understanding about good leadership and democratic governance. Although there is a separate section Topic 5 which covers *Women and Elections- a Woman’s Road Blocks to Voting* the issues of gender equality and women’s leadership should have been mainstreamed throughout the other topics. For example, the first topic dealing with governance issues and parliamentary representation should have integrated the concept of female leadership and how democracy that does not include an equal voice from half its citizens is not representative. The checklist on *Characteristics of an MP* lists leadership traits such as “good looking”; physically fit”, “well educated”, “wealthy” , “military experience” ,”previous experience in business”, “feared by the people” all of which are much more male biased. Unless the reasons for lack of female representation and leadership are discussed throughout the entire training program, the materials cannot claim to be gender aware or addressing gender discrimination.

iv. Laws regulating political parties

Electoral laws and other legislation relating to the electoral process, such as laws governing political parties also need to be examined for their impact on women’s political participation. It is not just discriminatory provisions within these laws that need to be highlighted but also provisions which may *indirectly* impact on women’s participation, such as requirements for candidates to collect a high number of

signatures to qualify as a candidate. Requirements for candidates to pay or deposit large amounts of money in order to qualify also works against women as they are paid less than men and are often locked in low income or unpaid jobs.

Women's chances increase greatly if legislation specifies minimum levels of representation of both men and women on parties' candidate lists. Any discrepancies between the electoral laws, electoral regulations and national legislation should be assessed. Certain national laws that can be discriminatory for women may provide a disincentive for women to engage in the political sphere.

In the five year interim period since the 2002 elections, a number of important developments occurred which had a direct impact on the 2007 elections, notably the Organic Law on the Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates and the introduction of Limited Preferential Voting (LPV). In PNG political parties have been amongst the most fluid in the region, with MPs regularly switching sides and a large number of independents securing election.

The 2001 *Organic Law on Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates* (OLIPPAC) was revised and replaced by the current Organic Law in October 2003 and the Office of the Registrar of Political Parties was established, with relevant appointments made in accordance with Section 4 of the law. Two thirds of the membership comprises constitutional Office holders, namely the Clerk of Parliament, Electoral Commissioner, the Chairman of National Fiscal Commission and the Registrar. These *ex-officio* members also include two community representatives from the church and women's groups, with a crucial role in ensuring the independence of the Integrity Commission by standing above party politics and any other political pressure.

According to Dr Orovu Sepoe :

...it has been a difficult task attempting to regulate the political behaviour of key players, particularly political parties and Members of Parliament. Some aspects of our political culture that has become entrenched such as party hopping and lack of party discipline will not change overnight or in a period of two to three years. At the very least we have OLIPPAC to help us discipline MPs and political parties, and the ruling coalition government. ³³

This law should have enhanced women's chances of political representation, since in addition to having a voice on the Integrity Commission, the law stipulates that a representative of the National Council of Women must serve on the Central Fund Board of Management (CFBM). Section 62 of the law provides financial incentives to

³³ Sepoe, Orovu, *ORGANIC LAW ON THE INTEGRITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND CANDIDATES: A TOOL FOR POLITICAL STABILITY* SSTM Working Papers, NUMBER 2005/4

political parties to put forward women candidates. The law states that if a woman candidate gets 10 percent of votes in her constituency, the CFBM is required to refund 75 percent of expenses associated with campaigning for the woman candidate.

Section 83 on Funding of Female Candidates encourages *registered political parties to endorse or nominate female candidates for election to Parliament by providing a financial incentive in the form of 75% of K10,000 reimbursement to the political party where the female candidate obtains 10% of the votes cast in the electorate in that election. This Section has been amended by adding the following: "(3) The percentage of votes referred to in Subsection(1) includes primary and preference votes if they were counted"*³⁴

Despite the financial incentives in the *Organic Law on the Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates* for political parties to field women candidates, the number of women candidates endorsed by political parties in 2007 was relatively low. Of the 34 officially registered political parties, only 21 endorsed women candidates numbering 36 women altogether. The People's Action Party fielded five women candidates while four political parties endorsed three women candidates each and most parties supported one women candidate each. The majority of women candidates (65) stood as independent candidates.³⁵ While increased number of women received party endorsement there was limited mentoring of female candidates and insufficient funding provided, with most support going to males.

v. Voting Systems

Voting systems are not gender neutral and election observers need to be aware of the impact that different kinds of electoral systems can have on women's political participation. They must assess whether or not the election system in place provides equal opportunities for women candidates. Research has shown that more women are elected with proportional systems in place rather than mixed or majority systems - almost all of the top 15 countries with the highest representation of women use some form of proportional representation (PR) system and average over 30 percent of women in legislative bodies³⁶. All five Commonwealth countries that have achieved the target of 30 percent of women in national legislative bodies use a List PR system or mixed system with PR.

In order to have a voice in government, women have to develop strategies to overcome systemic discrimination which militates against their representation. Evidence suggests that a choice of electoral system has a profound effect on whether women get elected or not. A combination of Proportional Representation (PR) and the list system is more conducive to the representation of women than the

³⁴ Policy Issues relating to Elections in PNG, OLIPPAC, Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates Commission p.10.

³⁵ REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH-PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM ELECTION ASSESSMENT TEAM
PAPUA NEW GUINEA NATIONAL ELECTION, JUNE-AUGUST 2007 pp11-12

constituency-based system, because a system, in which the electorate votes for political parties, has been shown to be far more woman-friendly than the constituency system in which voters vote for a specific candidate.

The 'First-Past-The-Post' (FPTP) system which operated in PNG prior to the 2007 elections had the 'winner takes all' pressure of having only one seat in a constituency, with political parties less likely to nominate women candidates. 'List Proportional representation systems (PR) are those in which political parties present candidate lists and voters choose among competing party lists. Such a system provides greater incentives for political parties to diversify their candidate lists and include women candidates in order to appeal to a wider voter base. In 2007 for the first time since independence, PNG at a national level used the system of Limited Preferential Voting (LPV) which was considered *user-friendly... promoting ... greater and majority support for elected members in Parliament.* ³⁷ The decision to move away from the first-past-the-post voting to the LPV system prior to the 2007 election was a response to growing calls to better reflect the will of a majority of voters and increase the mandate of MPs, which over previous elections dropped significantly due to increasing numbers of candidates contesting for seats.

This system differed from the previous one because it required the voter to make three choices of candidates with the candidates' numbers and names appearing on a Candidate Poster and the voter then writing either the names or candidate numbers of his/her three preferred candidates on the ballot paper. For a candidate to be elected under the LPV system, they need to receive more than 50% + 1 of the total formal votes cast in the election which is called an Absolute Majority. Once a candidate has reached an Absolute Majority, they can be declared elected, because no other candidate can obtain a greater number of votes. ³⁸

In essence, LPV means that candidates have to win at least 50% plus 1 of the vote, whereas under FPTP, some candidates have won with as little as 5% of the vote. ³⁹ LPV also means that candidates will have to begin to create alliances in order to win and we think that this will decrease political rivalry as candidates begin to understand this more. It will not be possible for people to vote only along clan lines as they will need to choose three candidates. In turn, this means that candidates will have to begin to develop policies that appeal to a wider cross-section of voters, not just their families and clans.

LPV is a new system though it has now been trialed in 10 by-elections with promising results. It is quite a complex system compared to FPTP so we are very aware that voters need to be educated about it so they can understand the system and

³⁷ Andrew S. Trawen MBE Electoral Commissioner, Welcoming Remarks by Electoral Commissioner Andrew Trawen to Members of the International Observer Team Here to Observe the 2007 PNG General Election Thursday, 28 June 2007.

³⁸ http://www.pnhec.gov.pg/lpv_voting.php

³⁹ In many instances women candidates felt that this mitigated against them since they were most likely to receive second and third preferences which were not counted once the absolute majority was reached.

make the most of their vote when it comes to polling day. This means that voter education about the new system is critical for it to work.

While it was believed that such a system would benefit female candidates, there was no increase in the number elected. The Commonwealth- Pacific Islands Forum Election Assessment Team noted in their Report that *With the high number of candidates contesting and single member electorates, the possibilities for women candidates to be elected using the LPV system appear to be no better than those under the recently replaced first-past-the post voting system. Unless further enabling mechanisms are examined to fast-track and increase the number of women entering Parliament, it appears to the Team that the numbers of women representatives in Parliament will continue to remain low for a long time.*⁴⁰

5. Women and 2007 Elections

According to official results, 101 women candidates contested the 2007 elections, but a close reading of the Electoral Commission candidate rolls shows that there were in fact... On average five (5) women candidates contested seats in each of the 20 Provinces, including the NCD. The exception was West New Britain Province which failed to field any women candidates. Out of the total 101 women candidates,⁴¹ 45 stood for seats in the southern region, including the NCD (Central 9, Gulf 5, Milne Bay Province 9, NCD 6, Northern Province 10 and Western Province 6). The Highlands region recorded 26 women candidates compared to 22 women in Mamose and eight in the New Guinea Islands.⁴²

a. Preparation and Capacity Building

❖ *The Gateway Workshop*

Prior to the June 2007 elections, there was little evaluation undertaken of the 2002 elections and how women might build networks and capacity to improve their chances for election in 2007. In April a candidate's workshop was conducted at the Gateway Hotel in Port Moresby, The concept came originally organized by Papua Hahine Social Action Forum⁴³, a NGO supported by the Electoral Commission and AUSAID's Electoral Support Project to organize pre-election workshops in the Southern region. With concerns raised regarding the need to raise women's parliamentary representation, it was decided to conduct a workshop encompassing all four regions.⁴⁴ A total of 80 intending women candidates⁴⁵ participated in the three days and covered topics such as parliamentary processes, legislation and the electoral process, LPV, and the role of MPs, as well as regional strategic planning.

⁴⁰ *Op.cit.*,p.14

⁴¹ See Annex I

⁴² REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH-PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM ELECTION ASSESSMENT TEAM
PAPUA NEW GUINEA NATIONAL ELECTION, JUNE-AUGUST 2007 p. 11

⁴³ PHSAF or Papua Hahine

⁴⁴ This was undertaken with funds from the AUSAID Electoral Commission's Electoral Support Project, the UNDP Parliamentary Support Project, as well as technical support from UNIFEM Pacific Regional Office.

⁴⁵ See Annex I for a list of 2007 candidates, indicating those whose attended the Gateway Workshop in April 2007 and the diagnostic Workshop in November.

While the vast majority of participants appreciated the workshop it was felt it was too close to the elections to be really effective, and for such capacity building to be effective it should be conducted as a longer term more comprehensive exercise.

❖ **Meri I Kirap** : Other pre-election training was undertaken by Meri I Kirap⁴⁶ which worked with the Electoral Commission and focused on the empowerment of women, through community education about governance, leadership and the electoral process. Although it focuses on women, it recognises that both men and women need to be involved in creating a country with better leaders. The group takes governance as the entry point to the empowerment of women and promotes education about governance to show how people can participate in government decisions to bring about good leadership through the election process.⁴⁷

During the 2006 Chauve by-election Meri I Kirap conducted voter education across the electorate, relying on the group's existing networks with other local groups across the electorate like churches, women's groups, and the police. In fact in this project, the regional police approached the group themselves and asked to be involved. One or two police officers went with the group across the electorate ensuring security for the group and also contributing to the awareness raising them. This was an added bonus of the project and showed us at the PNGEC that the police can in fact work collaboratively with the community to help elections run more smoothly.⁴⁸ Basically, in this activity, 12 experienced members of the group went with the police to every town, and village they could reach, and ran public meetings demonstrating the new LPV system by running mock elections Train the trainer program, elections 2007.

Prior to the 2007 elections they were directly involved in developing the Electoral Support Programme manual, *Elections 2007: Everybody's Business* into which they were able to incorporate some of the exercises and information from the manual into their own training manuals i.e. the women and elections section and the HIV/AIDS section. Therefore, the impact of the training manual will reach much further than the groups funded under ESP. This project used the existing networks of Meri I Kirap. In each of the five Highlands provinces, the group has a grassroots network of churches, NGOs, teachers and smaller community-based organisations.

⁴⁶ This is a non-government organisation which started in the Highlands province of Simbu. Now, there are chapters in each Highlands province.

⁴⁷ The electoral commission began working with them in earnest since they received funding in July 2005. The group has developed a number of training manuals and processes on good governance and voter awareness, which they were initially running within villages around the Highlands region, particularly Simbu.

⁴⁸ These training programs and materials need to be evaluated as a "good practice" in terms of their future applicability.

b. The Election

The national elections held in June and July 2007 returned the incumbent Prime Minister Sir Michael Somare's National Alliance party which won the highest number of seats (27 out of 109). Some 2,700 candidates nominated to contest the 109 electorates, with an average of over 24 candidates per electorate. The highest number of candidates contesting a single electorate was 69 (in Northern Provincial electorate) compared to a low of 7 in three electorates⁴⁹

The main observation of the election was undertaken by the Commonwealth-Pacific Islands Forum Team whose agreed Terms of Reference were: *"The Commonwealth-Pacific Islands Forum Election Assessment Team for the Papua New Guinea National Election shall observe the preparations for the election, the polling, counting and results process, and the overall electoral environment."*⁵⁰

The Report noted that on average five (5) women candidates contested seats in each of the 20 Provinces, including the NCD. The exception was West New Britain Province which failed to field any women candidates. Out of the total 101 women candidates,⁵¹ 45 stood for seats in the southern region, including the NCD (Central 9, Gulf 5, Milne Bay Province 9, NCD 6, Northern Province 10 and Western Province 6). The Highlands region recorded 26 women candidates compared to 22 women in Mamose and eight in the New Guinea Islands.

Despite the financial incentives in the Organic Law on the Integrity of Political Parties and Candidates for political parties to field women candidates, the number of women candidates endorsed by political parties in 2007 was relatively low. Of the 34 officially registered political parties, only 21 endorsed women candidates numbering 36 women altogether. The People's Action Party fielded five women candidates while four political parties endorsed three women candidates each and most parties supported one women candidate each. The majority of women candidates (65) stood as independent candidates.

The observers concluded that *with the high number of candidates contesting and single member electorates, the possibilities for women candidates to be elected using the LPV system appear to be no better than those under the recently replaced first-past-the post voting system. Unless further enabling mechanisms are examined to fast-track and increase the number of women entering Parliament, it appears to the Team that the numbers of women representatives in Parliament will continue to remain low for a long time.*

⁴⁹ REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH-PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM ELECTION ASSESSMENT TEAM
PAPUA NEW GUINEA NATIONAL ELECTION, JUNE-AUGUST 2007 p 10

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.2

⁵¹ As listed in Annex I there were in fact 106 female candidates.

As voters, women appeared to be well represented and the Team did not see evidence of any intimidation or discrimination in comparison to their male counterparts, even though the separate voting arrangements put in place for women were not always used. In many polling stations in East New Britain and Buka, Team members also noted the presence of women scrutineers keeping check on the proceedings on behalf of their candidates. This was not the case in the Highlands electorates, where women were relatively under-represented as both polling officials and scrutineers.⁵²

c. Diagnostic Workshop:

Despite the fact that many more women candidates contested, than in previous elections only one woman parliamentarian was re-elected. The National Council of Women (NCW) was scheduled to hold its Annual General Meeting in November to prepare for the 2008 Congress, and is undergoing a review of the 1979 NCW Act while preparing to design a five year Strategic Plan; the Department of Community Development is about to undertake a review of the 1990 Women's Policy and develop a National Gender Policy, while at the same time United Nations is planning a women's leadership program for the next five years.

So, a partnership of the United Nations, the Department of Community Development and the National Council of Women came together to undertake a diagnostic analysis workshop in order to identify the existing barriers to women's participation in national decision-making and ways in which these could be overcome. The examination of women and the elections was undertaken by those who had direct experience – as either candidates or as civil society and partners.

i) Participants

The Diagnostic brought together 47 candidates⁵³ as well as National Council of Women representatives and members of the Provincial Councils of Women. Due to flooding in Oro Province no women candidates attended which was most unfortunate since it fielded such a large number in the 2007 elections. The Autonomous region of Bougainville was represented by one women candidate, as well as another from the Bougainville elections. The Eastern Highlands which fielded 15 female candidates was represented by 9 (nine) of them, with Western Province having five(5) of their total of seven(7) candidates present. The vast majority of women candidates in 2007 ran as independents, with 26 out of the 47 candidates participating in the workshop among that number. Both the Melanesian Alliance Party and People's Action Party had the highest workshop representation (5 candidates each)⁵⁴, with PNG First and National Alliance having four each. For the majority of candidates this was the first

⁵² Ibid., pp13-24

⁵³ Since no final participant list has been made available, this number is based on the Candidate profile sheets handed in.

⁵⁴ There should be an evaluation of political parties in terms of female membership, platforms, support for women candidates etc. See final recommendations.

time they had contested an election, with the rest running a second, third or as in one case a fifth time.⁵⁵ Their failure to win a seat cannot be attributed to lack of education or professional backgrounds, with more than a quarter having tertiary or post year 10 training, and a third with professional or business backgrounds.⁵⁶

ii) Process:

In order for this to happen in a participatory and inclusive way, it was decided to hold this workshop to facilitate discussion and future planning between key organizations and stakeholders. The final product of these deliberations was to be a consensus outcome document which would highlight actions to be taken to redress the gender imbalance in women's parliamentary representation and leadership. Participants were involved in analyzing the issues they faced as candidates and partners during the 2007 elections in areas such as the electoral process, training and capacity building, finances, the campaign and partnerships. The programme⁵⁷ enabled a process of separate Focus Group discussions for candidates and civil society partners facilitated by the United Nations, Papua Hahine, NCW, the DCD Women's Division and the University of Papua New Guinea. The objective was to enable participants to speak openly and honestly in a supportive and confidential environment about their experiences, and their ideas for the future change. If time had permitted a post-election evaluation of the Gateway Workshop could also have been undertaken to determine its effectiveness.

iii) Keynote Presentations

The key presentations were delivered by the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister for Community Development, Dame Carol Kidu and the Dr. Jacqui Badcock, the United Nations Resident Coordinator. Dame Carol Kidu opened the Workshop by noting that such a diagnostic had never been before held straight after the elections and stated that the theme of the Workshop was to be forward-looking, *setting visions for 2012*. She acknowledged the *difficult road for women in PNG* and while she *got there by special circumstances* she was now planning to take affirmative action with a submission to the National executive Council (Cabinet) proposing an amendment to section 102 of the Constitution to allocate four regional seats to women by the beginning of 2009.

The most striking commitments for immediate and longer term affirmative action followed from Dr Temu, the Deputy Prime Minister who spoke on behalf of the Prime Minister Sir Michael Somare. He strongly endorsed Dame Kidu's proposal, and stated they were awaiting the Minister to advise Cabinet on the processes to get a fairer representation of women. He raised the fact that their conditions of engagement, the types of jobs they might hold (i.e. whether for example they could be Chairpersons of Parliamentary Committees) had not been decided as yet.

⁵⁵ 29 candidates out of 47 were first-timers, with 9 running a second time, seven a third time, and one having contested four previous elections.

⁵⁶ It would be interesting to undertake a similar study of the backgrounds of male candidates.

⁵⁷ See Annex II (a) Workshop Program

In order to redress the gender imbalance in women's leadership, Dr Temu stated that three key areas needed to be addressed, namely legislative, policy and political party reform;

- *A legislative approach to reform – Organic Law on Gender Equity in Political Governance :* Dr Temu advocated that a legislative approach should be undertaken in regards to the NCW Act, 1990 Women's Policy, both of which were under review. There needed to be the *right constitutional framework to bring in the participation of women from all over the country at all levels.* He stated that there was a need for *legislation to support the issue of gender equity in all areas of women's representation at the highest levels, national, provincial and local level legislatures.* Such measures were necessary because *Our embedded culture is such that we do not have women elected on the floor of Parliament in numbers that we would want.* A proposed *Organic Law on Gender Equity in Political Governance* would, according to Dr Temu, *set a constitutional legal framework to redress issues such as representation through election and nomination.*
- *Policy Interventions.* –particularly the revised National Women's Policy must be addressed immediately and should recommend *specific policy interventions to allow equal representation at all levels of the decision-making process.* The Policy which would be linked to the Organic Law on Gender Equity should say that there must be 30% representation of women,⁵⁸ at all levels from departmental heads to the Provincial administration Dr Temu stated that as Deputy Prime Minister he would *advocate to get these things through quickly...It's not hard to do it. We must do it immediately – this year.* In order to facilitate this, the Deputy Prime Minister called upon NCW to advise the Government on an inventory of qualified women, as well as all *Workshop participants to support the Minister for Community Development when such a policy is brought to Cabinet.* He also noted the Prime Minister's commitment to the establishment of the Office of Women, which should be the key policy area for women in government, and the beginning of a Ministry for Women.
- *Political Parties* – a need to examine what impact the above could have on the Organic Law on the Integrity of Political parties and Candidates (OLIPPAC), to ensure *the Registrar of political parties will deregister parties without women's wings.*

These key recommendations made by the Deputy Prime Minister, including his endorsement of the Minister for Community Development's Cabinet submission for the four nominated regional seats for women were fully supported by the United Nations Resident Representative, Dr Jacqueline Badcock who urged participants to produce a document, *a common strategy for future action for working together, working to win* which would be a *critical consensus outcome which will directly inform the planning*

⁵⁸ Dr Temu recommended that the revised Women's Policy should propose such an Organic Law and its conditions

the United Nations is about to undertake, programmes we are to implement . She emphasized the readiness of the “One UN” to work together with you, your government and civil society to bring about a parliament in PNG that is not just democratic but truly representative .

iv) Group Analysis

Participants undertook separate candidate and civil society group analyses on the following areas:

– *Electoral process:*

Voter registration was regarded as problematic with the common roll seen as inaccurate, incomplete and inconsistent, and the need to renew registration unclear to voters. Some witnessed male candidates actively tampering with the common roll and bribing electoral officials, and a widespread practice of voter substitution. In order to redress these inconsistencies, it was suggested that updating of electoral rolls be decentralized and undertaken by Provincial Governments with ward councilors responsible for annual updating. At time of registration, voters should receive a carbon copy of registration which could then be used on voting day. It was also recommended that electoral commission officers caught receiving bribes be dismissed immediately and charged accordingly, not to be reemployed as commission..

Candidate registration was seen as having both advantages and disadvantages for women who regarded the registration fee of K 1,000 as making running more accessible, but who also criticized the candidate criteria as too lax allowing convicts and polygamists to register. Last minute registrations and parachuting “fly-by-night” candidates into electorates were seen as disadvantageous for women.

Candidates raised the issues of voter intimidation, tension among voters, as well as lack of separate male and female polling booths. The fact that there was only one ballot box for two or more villages, delayed polling with long queues going well into the night, coupled with the distances traveled, all placed strains on voters and candidates. Bribery and corruption was evident with double voting, ballot boxes being kept overnight in insecure places, well financed candidates feeding the electors before they voted, *inducing voters with kaikai* ,polling staff being candidates’ family members. Candidates also provided inducements to electoral officials. In some instances candidates and their teams took advantage of the fact that electoral staff did not tell them to leave, and a number were campaigning at the time of voting and using their undue influence on voting by their prolonged presence. Scrutineers were only within one to one and a half meters from the booths, with insufficient polling staff being on hand to ensure transparency. The fact that distribution of ballot papers was unchecked by scrutineers, and their role was disrupted by security officers was regarded as further evidence of lack of a ‘free and fair ‘process.

Participants felt that confusion arose due to lack of colour differentiation of ballot papers for open and regional seats and that illiterate voters were being misled due to

the inconsistency between the posters and ballot papers. Another aspect of the electoral process regarded as problematic was that of the ballot boxes which were identified unclearly as either open or regional, and that there was insufficient security for transporting them with too much movement between counting centres which were not centralized.

While many candidates had read the electoral laws and had a general concept of the legal framework, it was felt that the Electoral Commission should have provided workshops on basic legislation for candidates and scrutineers. In regards to the national electoral system it was regarded that while the LPV system enabled freer movement around the community in less adversarial conditions than in previous elections⁵⁹, there was lack of understanding of how LPV operates. It was a general concurrence that there needs to be close examination of how the LPV system disadvantaged women who were given second and third votes. Most women who were depending on second and third counts but were eliminated in the first round of counting.

– *Training and Capacity Building*

Participants regarded this as one of the areas leading up to the election requiring special attention. While the majority of candidates had earlier participated in the Gateway workshop⁶⁰, and a number had also attended the Electoral Support Programme workshops, there was overall consensus that there was insufficient capacity building for candidates in key areas such as election planning and strategizing, fund-raising, media as well as general leadership skills. Many also felt that there should have been more public awareness raising about LPV, how to use it effectively, gender issues in elections and women's leadership roles. Candidates regarded the National Council of Women and its Provincial counterparts as having a role to play in this area, along with other training organizations such as Meri I Kerap and Papua Hahine. There was much criticism of WIP which has been ineffectual since 2002, with many seeing its failure to undertake a support and capacity-building role as not only negligent but also creating a gap which should be filled by the creation of another women's leadership organization which could undertake continuous capacity-building in all areas of women's leadership.

– *Finance*

Finances were a huge problem for women candidates and their supporters, and regarded by many as an issue of gender equality. It was claimed that bribery and vote-buying were widespread, with K50 being paid to electors for Vote 1, K30 for Vote 2 and K 20 for Vote 3 under the LPV system. Media access was also costly and thereby prohibitive for women candidates with a radio programme costing K1,000. and other campaigning equipment such as 2xcruisers, plus speakers, 2 x K4000, Outboard motors – boat. Funding came from their own Political Parties, themselves, fund raisers, families and clans, businesses, partners, and churches Not sufficient,

⁵⁹ This is a most interesting observation that should be examined more closely.

⁶⁰ 37 Workshop participants also took part in the Gateway Workshop. (see Annex I)

seek support from other sources Logistics, allowances for scrutineers, managers, coordinators, managers, refreshments, relatives, posters, media, posters, voter requests, payment for venue access. Campaign funds were personal finances and also raised in the informal sector by selling water, fruit, chickens etc and by support from business community , tribe, clan and family members. Much of it was spent on staff, transport, fuel, managers and scrutineers. There was no financial support from NCW.

Unlike sitting members recontesting their seats, candidates did not have the same access to funding support. The advantages of being a sitting Member were explained by Dame Carol Kidu :

My chance of success was also helped by the fact that I was a sitting member of parliament, and had the benefit of having had electorate funds to leave my 'handmark' on the electorate. I used those funds honestly, but very strategically, to capitalise on my chances of re-election so that I could continue working on integrated community development to ensure its sustainability in the next five years. ⁶¹

The Electoral Development Fund (EDF) development grants, are handed out annually to 109 electorates through respective Members of Parliament (MPs) under various district improvement programs, and have had a significant impact on electoral politics and governance in Papua New Guinea.

The inducement to bribery was also described by Dame Carol Kidu when discussing the 2002 elections:

Bribery and vote buying is the biggest threat to an honest candidate. The failure to enforce the law on bribery and vote buying allows many candidates to abuse the law and walk away freely. Many voters have also developed a culture of bribing the candidates: 'If you pay me, I will vote for you or I will bring you this many votes.' Campaign period is a time of feasting, drinking and dancing. It is a financial burden to the candidate, and it creates an environment in which supporters move from camp to camp to get what they can. Just providing refreshments, without any feasts, is a huge financial burden. Eight weeks of campaigning is far too long and increases costs enormously. In addition, for many the focus of the campaign becomes a culture of feasting and negative oratory, rather than realistic platforms and policies. ⁶²

– Campaign

⁶¹ Kidu, C & Setae, S, 2002. 'Winning and losing in politics: Key issues in Papua New Guinea', Development Bulletin, no. 59, pp. 51-53.

⁶² Kidu, C & Setae, S, 2002. 'Winning and losing in politics: Key issues in Papua New Guinea', Development Bulletin, no. 59, pp. 51-53.

In order to distinguish themselves as *different to male candidates with empty promises*, a vast majority of women candidates campaigned on community issues such as health, education, welfare, environment, anti-corruption, gender inequality. They saw voters as desensitised to issues of integrity and honesty. To convince voters to support them, women candidates used their community status, community groups, party policies, family name and relationships and personal profiles, workshops, mock elections and forums. They also undertook mass educational awareness campaigns on current issues, made project proposals to the Provincial Government and used data (statistics) to raise people's awareness on issues. Many candidates believed that there was a need to broaden people's perspectives on women's roles.

Since the cost of media access was prohibitive for many, those with political party endorsement did use the media, but the majority got their message across by using family members, public rallies and workshops. While many felt that their methods were successful, they also saw the lack of financial parity with male counterparts as disadvantageous.

While some women were members of political parties, most had no affiliations and ran as independents.⁶³ Some women believed while political parties emphasise the importance of having women candidates, they failed to give them support. A number said that they were given empty promises by political parties which encouraged them to make commitments to community groups but failed to provide funds to honour these commitments, thus leaving the women candidates with personal debts.

d. Outcome Document

Undoubtedly the most important product coming out of the Workshop was the final consensus outcome document⁶⁴ in which participants recognized the centrality of gender equality to social, economic and political development and acknowledging the gravity of the lack of achievements to date, an called upon partners from civil society, women candidates, political parties, the national, provincial and local governments and Parliament, particularly the Department for Community Development, the Electoral Commission and international partners to work together to ensure equal representation of women in parliament and leadership.

Among the many recommended strategies was that the National Council of Women *build national consensus and unity with a strong network to call on to assist women candidates during elections, and to put in place a mechanism to coordinate efforts to get women into politics and parliament* and that it establish both a lobby group to advocate for the implementation made by Government commitments to the Diagnostic workshop as well as a database of women experts.

⁶³ Just over 60% (60/106) female candidates ran as independents, with the Melanesian Alliance Party (5 candidates), and the People's Action Party (5 candidates) having the highest number of female candidates.

⁶⁴ See Annex ??? for complete document

Most importantly, the document endorsed strongly the commitments made by Deputy Prime Minister. the Hon. Puka Temu, for the four Regional nominated seats in parliament by 2009 with allocation of sufficient budgetary resources, as well as the commitment to legislate for one reserved seat for women in each Province by 2012 elections. In order to achieve the former, the Workshop and the subsequent AGM of the National Council of Women, gave firm support to Dame Carol Kidu's proposed Submission, accorded In order to achieve both of these affirmative action measurers, it urged the Parliament *to amend Section 102 of the Constitution to support both the recommendation by the Deputy Prime Minister and the proposal by the Minister for Community Development to nominate four (4) regional positions for women parliamentary representatives by the end of 2008 , and to review Section 101 of the Constitution to determine if enabling legislation can be passed for women to be elected on provincial reserved seats, with one seat per province (i.e. 20 seats) .* It was also recommended that the Minister for Community Development to be the *focal point for women's issues in the Parliament and work closely with the women of PNG and vice-versa to ensure implementation of the women's policy agenda, with wide consultations and discussions to be undertaken with Government, Private sector and CSO partners in formulating National Women's Policy.*

At the provincial level , the Workshop proposed increasing the number of women in provincial assembles by amending the existing provisions and that *at least 30% minimum of annual budget be allocated to enable training and the support of Provincial Councils of Women.* Increasing the number of women in Local Level Assemblies was recommended with *five year planning to include woman's programs to be submitted before LLG money is released.*

To optimize the prospects for increasing women's parliamentary representation, the participants proposed that former female candidates and those knowledgeable *to volunteer their knowledge and skills to assist standing candidates, mentor young and new women candidates,* and that *prospective women candidates work together with National, Provincial and District Councils of Women to rationalize numbers standing prior to 2012 elections, encouraging one woman candidate per constituency.* Political parties were urged to *adopt the recommendation from the Deputy Prime Minister to deregister all parties which do not include at least a minimum of 30% women members and to establish women's wings with voting powers on selection and nomination processes.* At the same time, they were called upon to recruit women members, and to ensure they had representation on *executive boards and selection committees.* As a partner which can play an effective role in promoting women's leadership, the Electoral Commission was requested to strengthen the electoral process/system so that it can *address and reflect the concerns of women voters and candidates,* and to *ensure equal participation of women in polling teams, with half of all returning officers and other electoral officials women.*

The Document also recognized the key role of the International Community such as the United Nations and bilateral donors in *providing institutional and capacity*

building for DFCD and NCW and a country women's leadership program, as well as awareness and training for women candidates for 2012 Elections. In particular, participants called upon international partners to provide assistance for the creation of new organization to be called "Women in Leadership in PNG Inc".

In order that the document's recommendations are implemented, it was concluded that *a Common Strategy be developed and an implementation Task Force established representing all partners to carry this Strategy forward over the next 5 years to increase women's representation.*

6. In Conclusion: The Way Ahead

i) Affirmative Action

Given the historical marginalisation of women from the public sphere and the numerous structural barriers women continue to face in achieving equal participation in the political sphere, many countries, including those in the Commonwealth, have undertaken special measures. Special measures in the form of quotas, whether voluntarily adopted by political parties or stipulated by law (as above), including reserved seats, have been the most effective temporary special measures in increasing women's political representation. Special measures such as quotas and affirmative action to increase women's participation in elections are effective, yet controversial.

Single member district-based plurality-majority systems, such as first-past-the-post or the Fiji/PNG/Australia-type alternative vote system, are particularly unfavourable to the electoral prospects of women. List PR systems, particularly if used in relatively large multi-member districts, tend to result in the election of the largest number of women

The only way to ensure significant increases in numbers in constituency-based systems is to have legislated quotas. Of the 63 or 21.3 percent women in the **Tanzanian** parliament after the 2000 elections, 47 women (20 percent) owed their presence to the constitutional quota which reserves a fifth of the seats in parliament for women. In the elections of December 2005 this percentage increased to just over 30%, placing Tanzania in the top twenty of global representation of women in parliaments. This came about because Tanzania increased the constitutional quota to thirty percent, the latter being the quickest and surest way to achieve a substantial increase, but one that may have the relative disadvantage of being "special seats.

Three basic fast-track strategies could be considered to increase significantly the level of women's political participation and parliamentary representation:

- The first option is that of *reserved seats*. Just as in many countries there are reserved positions for ethnic minorities that are underrepresented in parliament, so too can a case be made for having a guarantee, either constitutional or legal, that a certain percentage of seats be set aside in parliament for women. Many of the

countries that had adopted that approach had been successful: Rwanda, for example, currently the world leader in terms of women's parliamentary representation, had 30 per cent of its parliamentary seats reserved for women.

However, there may be some downsides to this approach, if women gaining their positions under reserved seats were viewed in a different light from those parliamentarians that were elected in open competition. In addition, consideration needed to be given to how the seats were filled, either by appointment or direct or indirect election.

- The second option is to *establish legislated quotas at the candidate nomination stage* - when political parties select their candidates for election. Under this option, every political party is required by statutory law to field a certain percentage of women candidates. This option has been tried widely, although its effectiveness seems to vary from country to country. The desired effect cannot always be achieved simply by passing a law: there has to be good-faith compliance and political will, effective penalties and sanctions for noncompliance and a placement mandate system must be introduced so that women are not simply placed at the bottom of the party list with little chance of election. The importance of these two strategies is that they make it possible to change the country's entire electoral landscape, and parliamentary composition, at a stroke.
- The third option differs in that the *quota is implemented on a voluntary basis by political parties*. These quotas allow political parties to make a voluntary choice to field a particular proportion of women candidates. This option is quite widespread in established or consolidating democracies, and can be effective provided that it is genuinely implemented in practice. It is important to guard against token gestures, with party leaders proclaiming quotas for women candidates that are never actually going to be filled.

PNG has a lot to learn from the experiences of such countries in relation to gender representation in Parliament. Uganda's constitutional quota system assigns a parliamentary seat from each of the 39 districts to be reserved for women, resulting in an increase in women's political representation. Other women can be elected to Parliament on the non-gender reserved seats.

Uganda reformed its system of reserving seats for women in Parliament by raising the number of women district representatives from 69 to 80. In *Uganda* when the Constitution was being revised in 1995, the National Association of Women's Organizations successfully lobbied for the appointment of two women to the Constitutional Commission. Though Uganda has a FPTP(First-past-the-post) electoral system, with 29.8% of women in parliament, it takes 5th place amongst Commonwealth countries. This is because reserved seats for women are constitutionally mandated. Article 78(1) of the 1995 Ugandan Constitution states that there will be one woman representative for every district and Article 180(2) (b) stipulates one third of the membership of each local government council to be

reserved for women.⁶⁵ Electoral quotas in Uganda have the strong backing of the law. The Constitution clearly lays out the objective of introducing affirmative action in Article 32(1): *Notwithstanding anything in this Constitution, the State shall take affirmative action in favour of groups marginalised on the basis of gender, age, disability or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom, for the purpose of redressing imbalances which exist against them.*

The autonomous government of Bougainville is the sole territory in the Pacific Islands that has introduced reserved seats for women. The surrounding debates are of particular importance much more broadly in the Pacific. The Bougainville Constitutional Commission sought to recognise the part played by women in the island's mostly matrilineal society and the role played by women's groups in the post-conflict peace process. It expressed concern that 'if no seats were set aside for women it could be likely that they would not succeed in contests for a single member constituency at the election, and that as a result there might be no female members in the legislature'. The Commission rejected 'the argument that it would be contrary to custom for women to play a prominent role in public affairs in special seats reserved for women, and that women had the same rights as men to nominate and stand for ordinary single member constituencies'.

The report emphasised that 'in the situation of a new and changing Bougainville, the roles of women are changing' and that 'in order to ensure that women's voices are heard clearly in the Bougainville legislature it is right and proper that some seats are reserved for women members of the house who specifically represent the interests of women'. Initially, the proposal was to have a single seat for women selected from a single cross-Bougainville electorate. In part owing the view that this might potentially entail some friction with the President (who is elected from a single Bougainville constituency), it was decided instead to have three women members, representing the South, Central and North regions. The Constitutional Commission also recommended that there should be at least one woman's representative on the Executive Council⁶⁶

*The Team recognised the key role played by women in the Bougainville peace process, and the allocation of three seats specifically for representation by women. However, while 25 women contested the three allocated seats, we understood that no women contested constituency seats, for which they were also entitled to stand. Some people we spoke to suggested that allocating three seats specifically for women may have had an unintended effect of marginalising them within the process. We were of the view that women should be encouraged in future to contest general constituency seats.*⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Uganda Presidential and Parliamentary Elections REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH OBSERVER GROUP Commonwealth Secretariat 23 February 2006

⁶⁶ Report of the Bougainville Constitutional Commission, Arawa and Buka, July 2004, p159, p179.

⁶⁷ REPORT OF THE COMMONWEALTH-PACIFIC ISLANDS FORUM EXPERT TEAM, GENERAL ELECTION FOR THE AUTONOMOUS BOUGAINVILLE GOVERNMENT, May-June 2005, p.14

As stressed by Dr Temu in his opening presentation, similar affirmative action measures will have to be adopted in Papua New Guinea if there is to be an increase in female parliamentary representation. Section 102 of the Constitution , Nominated members. Specifically states that *The Parliament may, from time to time, by a two-thirds absolute majority vote, appoint a person (other than a member) to be a nominated member of the Parliament.* To

It is this Section which is currently being addressed in a Submission to the Parliament currently being developed by the Minister for Community Development, Dame Carol Kidu. Given that Section 102 allows for three women to be appointed, this Submission calls for an amendment and urges members of Parliament to take carriage of Section 102, selecting four women to form a bipartisan women's caucus. It is proposed that the selection process would call for a public expression of interest or by approved women's names from Regional Women's networks, with the final decision remaining at the Prime Minister's and Opposition Leader's discretion, and the process to be overseen by the National executive Committee. If this Submission gains approval and additional budgetary requirements allocated in the 2008 budget, it is hoped that the four women MPs could be sworn in before the end of 2008.

Transparency International (PNG), which is part of the global organisation against corruption, has suggested that 20 regional seats be reserved for women for ten years. Both men and women will still vote for the candidates in those seats. The chance of this being passed by parliament is slim, and some women are concerned that men will then exclude women from standing for other seats, as they will see that as an encroachment on their territory. Another alternative suggested is that an extra 20 seats be added to the present 109-member parliament and that these be reserved for women. Others have recommended that there be nominated seats for women as there are in the local-level governments, but many women are adamant that they will not be respected by male politicians unless they win the seats. Is affirmative action the answer? Are the obstacles in front of women too great to overcome?

Reserved seats are a form of constitutional or legislated quota which provides that only women can contest a certain number of seats, normally entailing all eligible citizens casting one ballot in one of the reserved women's constituencies and another in one of the open constituencies.

ii) Capacity Building

Another area requiring attention over the next four years is that of capacity building which has to encompass a wide range of actors, not only women candidates but also the electorate, the Electoral Commission, media, civil society organizations, especially those focusing on women's leadership.

To ensure that election administration decisions do not disadvantage the participation of women, it is necessary to increase women's representation as election administrators, and develop and implement gender-awareness training, as well as establishing a system gender focal points. Policies or regulations on women's electoral participation have to be adopted and it has to be ensured that education requirements are not set too high to discourage or prevent women from applying, and to avoid appointment rather than electing administrators, since this tends to favour 'old boys' networks' and can leave women underrepresented.

Another key focus area has to be the National Council of Women and its provincial counterparts. As Workshop participants noted the absence of Council support for women candidates and the divisiveness within the Council as a chief weakness, it is imperative that the forthcoming Congress call for support to build its capacity to work effectively as a national and provincial organization representing the voice of PNG women. Team-building is essential for it to undertake its role as the prime civil society arm of women's empowerment. Internal rivalry and power plays are undermining any positive impact it could have on moving the agenda of women's leadership forward at a time when these special measures are being considered. NCW's support is essential to carry these initiatives forward and its failure to concur and work together will undoubtedly undermine any attempts to increase women's parliamentary representation.

iii) Mechanisms and Processes

To ensure the triangle of women's empowerment can be developed and function effectively, mechanisms and processes have to be put in place immediately to support the Cabinet Submission for the four nominated regional seats, to build capacity of the women nominated to Parliament, to lobby for a proposal to reserve 20 provincial seats for women, and to strengthen women's leadership before the next national elections.

It is essential to set up a partnership mechanism to work with the new Office of Development of Women (ODW) which will focus on policy advice, implementation and gender mainstreaming, consulting with government agencies to investigate new emerging issues affecting women and put forward policies that can generate structural change to improve the status of PNG women. A major area will be strengthening partnerships with women non-government organisations, community organisations, government agencies and professional groups to provide informed and representative advice to government on policy and development issues relevant to the diverse views and circumstances of women. ODW will also liaise with relevant agencies to promote women's participation in decision making at all levels through the development of a women's register and leadership training programmes. It will enhance partnership between Government and the National Council of Women, and other women's organisations, by providing technical and financial support to increase their input into government decision-making.

This Office will be the key to women's empowerment, working with parliamentary and civil society partners to ensure a strong women's voice in decision-making. How these co-operative mechanisms and processes are established and function over the next five years will be essential to moving the issue of gender equality forward - if they fail to cohere and lose momentum then there will be little advancement of women.

If the Cabinet Submission for the nominated regional seats is endorsed and four women regional representative are in Parliament by the beginning of 2009, there will need to be a parliamentary women's caucus established with the Minister for Community Development and external expertise sought for special capacity building initiatives to ensure they can function effectively not only as members of parliament, but as women's representatives and advocates of gender equality.

iv) Partnerships: "Working Together, Working to Win"

Increasing the presence of women in government may be valued for its own sake, for reasons of gender equality. However, our results suggest that there may be extremely important spin-offs stemming from increasing female representation: if women are less likely than men to behave opportunistically, then bringing more women into government may have significant benefits for society in general.⁶⁸ Numerous behavioral studies have found women to be more trust-worthy and public-spirited than men. These results suggest that women should be particularly effective in promoting honest government. Consistent with this hypothesis, we find that the greater the representation of women in parliament, the lower the level of corruption.⁶⁹

At the Workshop women candidates and their civil society counterparts recommended increased access to campaign resources, a clear mandate for NCW to support candidates with an enhanced capacity NCW to increase communication channels and dissemination of information. They also overwhelmingly supported the Dr Temu's suggestion of government legislation for one woman's seat per province, and political party reforms to include a women's wing or failing which parties will be deregistered.

While Workshop participants agreed that the way forward for 2012 can be facilitated by early planning, fundraising and networking, the only effective way forward is a unified, concerted effort by all women, former and future candidates, the National Council of Women, women in government, the professions and at grass roots levels. Given that there have been many strategies considered in the past, countless workshops, meetings, resolutions and attempts to consolidate women's

⁶⁸ Dollar, D. et al. *Are Women Really the "Fairer" Sex? Corruption and Women in Government?* October 1999, The World Bank, Development Research Group p.8

⁶⁹ Dollar, D. et al. *Are Women Really the "Fairer" Sex? Corruption and Women in Government?* October 1999, The World Bank, Development Research Group p.1.

political representation through establishment of organizations such as WIP and WINGS, there have been no positive outcomes. The most important initiative to date is the Cabinet Submission for the four nominated regional women's seats and the strategies recommended by the Deputy Prime Minister in his keynote address.

If in the immediate future, the 2008 Women's Congress can be used as a vehicle to develop a unified vision, revise the Platform for Action, and arrive at strategies to have an inclusive, participatory approach to formulating and adopting a new national women's policy, then it can serve as a force of coherence. Strategies, mechanisms and processes need to be put in place immediately to follow up on the Dr Temu's recommendations, and those of the Workshop Outcome Document. A cross-representational Task Force ⁷⁰ should be established immediately to support special measures for women's parliamentary representation, and the other Workshop recommendations. If this Task Force group, in conjunction with a donor theme group on women's leadership initiated under the "One UN", could develop common strategies and programmes for the next four years, then working together will mean winning an equal voice for women in the development of PNG.

⁷⁰ Such a Task Force could consist of representatives of NCW, candidates (both independent and political parties), the Minister for Community Development, Women's Bureau DCD, business and professional women, church women's groups and young women's representatives.

Annex I : List of Female Candidates 2007

PROVINCE - ELECTORATE	NAME	G ⁱ	D ⁱⁱ	PARTY/ INDEPENDENT
BOUGAINVILLE PROVINCE				
CENTRAL BOUGAINVILLE OPEN	1 LYNETTE ONA* ⁱⁱⁱ	X	X	People's Party
CENTRAL PROVINCE				
CENTRAL PROVINCIAL	2 MONICA ABIA AITSI *	X	X	New Generation Party
CENTRAL PROVINCIAL	PHILOMENA KASSMAN			Independent
GOILALA OPEN	3 MARIA ANDREW LAUT *	X	X	Independent Melanesian Liberal Party
GOILALA OPEN	4 MATILDA TAGU KOMA			PNG Party
GOILALA OPEN	5 RUFINA PETER			PNG First Party
KAIRUKU-HIRI OPEN	6 ANNA OFU			Independent
KAIRUKU-HIRI OPEN	7 RITA KIPALAN			National Advance Party
KAIRUKU-HIRI OPEN	8 VERONICA AIWA BERA *	X	X	
RIGO OPEN	9 WAILA KOLOA			Independent
CHIMBU PROVINCE				
CHIMBU PROVINCIAL	10 JULIE TRASIS KURI			Independent
KARIMUI-NOMANE OPEN	11 MIRIAM WAIE KIA			Independent
KARIMUI-NOMANE OPEN	12 RHONDA GANDE BARU			Independent Pan Melanesian Congress
KEROWAGI OPEN	13 KRUIO MARTHA KAIUN		X	Yumi Reform Party
KEROWAGI OPEN	14 THERESIA NOGLAI			
EAST NEW BRITAIN PROVINCE				
GAZELLE OPEN	15 ODELIA VIRUA		X	Independent
RABAU OPEN	16 ROSEMARY SOVEK		X	Independent
EAST SEPIK PROVINCE				
EAST SEPIK PROVINCIAL	17 ELIZABETH SIMOGUN BADE *	X		Independent
WEWAK OPEN	18 EVANGELINE KAIMA *	X	X	Independent
WEWAK OPEN	19 JENNIFA BOWIE *	X	X	Independent
WEWAK OPEN	20 JOSEPHA NAMSU KIRIS			Independent
WOSERA-GAUI OPEN	21 MARGARET APAKIA *	X	X	Independent
YANGORU-SAUSSIA OPEN	22 MONICA HASIMANI *	X		PNG Labour Party
EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE				
EASTERN HIGHLANDS	23 ANNA DARUA WARUPI * # ^{iv}	X	X	Melanesian Alliance Party
DAULO OPEN	24 JOLLYN AMBO WAROME			National Conservative

						Party
DAULO OPEN	25	ROBYN BELARI NENDA			X	Independent
GOROKA OPEN	26	FLORENCE JAUKAE *	X		X	Independent
HENGANOFI OPEN	27	ANNE KARO KAROFAE				Mapai Levites Party
HENGANOFI OPEN	28	LINET MOFENO				Independent
HENGANOFI OPEN	29	SUSAN SAM FIMA *	X			Independent
KAINANTU OPEN	30	ESTA SIRUE JOSHUA				Independent
KAINANTU OPEN	31	LOTTIE MIRIAM LAURIE			X	National Alliance
KAINANTU OPEN	32	RHODA MORIS RISEPE				Independent
						People's Democratic Movement
KAINANTU OPEN	33	SUSAN T. MATI *	X			
LUFA OPEN	34	ELLEN HAMENA *	X		X	Independent
OBURA-WONENARA OPEN	35	BEI BETTY USIMA				Independent
OBURA-WONENARA OPEN	36	JULIE SOSO AKEKE *	X		X	Independent
UNGGAI-BENA OPEN	37	SALLYN LOMUTOPA * #	X		X	Independent
ENGA PROVINCE						
						People's Progress Party
ENGA PROVINCIAL	38	ENDA KATHY KAKARAYA				
WABAG OPEN	39	JULIE DANIEL *	X		X	PNG First Party
		MARYANNE TOKOME AMU	X			
WAPENAMANDA OPEN	40	*			X	Independent
GULF PROVINCE						
						United Party
KEREMA OPEN	41	JOSEPHINE WASI MOROVA				
KEREMA OPEN	42	KATHY KARAPA TOM *	X		X	Independent
						National Conservative Party
KEREMA OPEN	43	PRISCILLA OPA KARE				
KIKORI OPEN	44	MARTHA KAIA *	X		X	People's Action Party
KIKORI OPEN	45	SUSAN ILA APOPO(OPU) *	X			Independent
MADANG PROVINCE						
						Independent
MADANG PROVINCIAL	46	MARY KAMANG				
MADANG OPEN	47	AGATHA YAMA			X	National Alliance
MADANG OPEN	48	CECILIA PAKULE			X	Independent
USINO-BUNDI OPEN	49	BETTY RUGEI HIGGINS				Independent
USINO-BUNDI OPEN	50	MARGARET YAGUM SAWI				Independent
MANUS PROVINCE						
						Melanesian Alliance Party
MANUS OPEN	51	ELIZABETH MARY SIPOS *	X		X	
MANUS OPEN	52	RUTH MANDRAKAMU *	X		X	Independent
MILNE BAY PROVINCE						
						Independent
MILNE BAY PROVINCIAL	53	LEAH SHARP				
ALOTAU OPEN	54	DINAH HALSTEAD				Independent
						Pan Melanesian Congress
ALOTAU OPEN	55	GOINI J. DOILEGU-LOKO *	X			
ALOTAU OPEN	56	MATILDA MAY PILACAPIO			X	Independent
		RHONDA GAIOSI ANAKAPU	X			
ALOTAU OPEN	57	*			X	Independent
ALOTAU OPEN	58	SAHARA DOUGLAS *	X		X	People's Action Party
						Pan Melanesian Congress
ESA'ALA OPEN	59	MARGRET BACCA *	X		X	
KIRIWINA-GOODENOUGH OPEN	60	SELINA ELIJAH				Independent
SAMARAI-MURUA OPEN	61	JUDY KANADI				People's Action Party

MOROBE PROVINCE

BULOLO OPEN	62	DONNA HARVEY HALL			New Generation Party
FINSCHHAFEN OPEN	63	GUSU TUHIANA			Independent
LAE OPEN	64	LOUJAYA TONI		X	Independent
NAWAE OPEN	65	ERIGERE E. SINGIN*	X		PANGU Party
NAWAE OPEN	66	JULIE KANDI			Independent
TEWAI-SIASSI OPEN	67	DELILAH KELEINO *	X	X	Independent

NATIONAL CAPITAL DISTRICT

NATIONAL CAPITAL DISTRICT					
PROVINCIAL	68	JANET SAPE *	X	X	People's Action Party
MORESBY NORTH-EAST OPEN	69	HELEN ROBERT			Independent
MORESBY NORTH-EAST OPEN	70	MARGARET MORRIS			Independent
MORESBY NORTH-WEST OPEN	71	MARGARET KLIAWI *	X	X	Independent Melanesian Alliance Party
MORESBY SOUTH OPEN	72	CAROL KIDU *	X	X	Independent
MORESBY SOUTH OPEN	73	MARY J. KARO			

NEW IRELAND PROVINCE

KAVIENG OPEN	74	CATHY LEE GRAHAM		X	Independent
KAVIENG OPEN	75	HELEN FONG SEETO		X	Independent
KAVIENG OPEN	76	MONICA MOLE IGUA		X	Independent

NORTHERN PROVINCE

NORTHERN PROVINCIAL	77	ANITA YARUSO			Independent
NORTHERN PROVINCIAL	78	CLAIRE EMBAHE NINAI			Independent
NORTHERN PROVINCIAL	79	DAMARISE BONGA			PANGU Party
NORTHERN PROVINCIAL	80	OLIVIA ARIPA BUNARI			Independent
NORTHERN PROVINCIAL	81	SHIRLEY OTTO JIPORI DEBORAH EUPU EMBOGE	X		Yumi Reform Party
IJIVITARI OPEN	82	*			Independent
IJIVITARI OPEN	83	MAUREEN AMBO * #	X	X	National Alliance People's Progress Party
SOHE OPEN	84	BELLA EARI AMEN *	X		Independent
SOHE OPEN	85	JOSEPHINE M ABAIJAH			Melanesian Alliance Party
SOHE OPEN	86	LILIAS EREPA KLAPAT *	X		Christian Democratic Party
SOHE OPEN	87	RITA JONAH			

SOUTHERN HIGHLANDS

IMBONGGU OPEN	88	MARGRET KAWA		X	PNG First Party Stars Alliance Party
MENDI OPEN	89	EPIYA JANET KANK NISA			Melanesian Alliance Party
TARI	90	AIJANA JANET KORIAMA *	X	X	

WEST SEPIK PROVINCE

WEST SEPIK PROVINCIAL	91	LENA MIROI NAPMUKU DONNA PIAMNOK			Independent
TELEFOMIN OPEN	92	BIKAMBO			People's Action Party
TELEFOMIN OPEN	93	MARY TARP LANE			Independent
VANIMO-GREEN RIVER OPEN	94	CORETTA LEMA NAIG			Independent
VANIMO-GREEN RIVER OPEN	95	LESPINA PUPUN WES		X	Independent

WESTERN PROVINCE

MIDDLE FLY OPEN	96	AGEDA MILI			Independent
-----------------	----	------------	--	--	-------------

NORTH FLY OPEN	97	JULIE MOIDE *	X	X	People's Action Party
NORTH FLY OPEN	98	NAOMI KAMAI *	X	X	Independent
NORTH FLY OPEN	99	REGINA AIARAK *	X	X	People's Resources Awareness Party
NORTH FLY OPEN	100	ELIZABETH MATIT * #	X	X	Independent
NORTH FLY OPEN	101	MARIA MICHAEL MENAP*	X	X	People's Freedom Party
SOUTH FLY OPEN	102	ETHEL KUTO SANDERY*	X	X	Independent
WESTERN HIGHLANDS					
WESTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCIAL	103	ANNA NEPA *	X	X	PNG First Party
HAGEN OPEN	104	MAGGIE WILSON *	X	X	New Generation Party
JIMI OPEN	105	DORIS K NENTZ			Independent
WESTERN HIGHLANDS	106	HELEN KOPUNYE #		X	National Alliance

¹ Participants at Gateway Workshop 28-30 April , 2007 Port Moresby

¹ Participants at Diagnostic Workshop, UPNG 19-22 November 2007

¹ Asterisk denotes Gateway Workshop Participants who contested the 2007 election

¹ # indicates female candidates listed as male on final Electoral Commission List

Annex II

a) Diagnostic Workshop Programme

WORKING TOGETHER, WORKING TO WIN

DIAGNOSTIC WORKSHOP

***UNIVERSITY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA (UPNG)
19-22 NOVEMBER 2007***

DAY ONE – MONDAY 19TH NOVEMBER 2007

SESSION	TIME	PRESENTER/ ACTIVITY	Comments
	7.30 -8.30 am	Registration	
	8.30am-10.00am	Official Opening	Prime Minister/Minister for Community Development – Dame Carol Kidu UNRR NCW –Welcome/Opening
	10.00am	MORNING TEA	
1.	10.15-11.15am	PANEL 1: <i>Making Governance Gender Responsive</i>	Dame Carol Kidu Dr Anne Waiko (UPNG) Duah Saffu <i>Moderator :</i> Margaret Lokoloko(UNDP)
2.	11.15am-12.00pm	PANEL 2: <i>Revisiting the Gateway Workshop : objective, process and methodology of the Diagnostic Assessment</i>	Michelle Rooney (UNDP) Papua Hahine Sherrill Whittington (Consultant) <i>Moderator:</i> Sadhana Sen (UNIFEM)
	12.00pm-1.00pm	LUNCH	
3.	1.15pm- 2.30pm	PANEL3: <i>The 2007 Elections</i>	Electoral Commission Dr. Alphonse Gelu (NRI) Susan Setae (Papua Hahine) Maria Hayes (WIP) <i>Moderator:</i> Gayle T Misionyaki (DCD)
	2.30-3.00pm	<i>Question and Answer</i>	
	3.00-3.15pm	AFTERNOON TEA	
4.	3.15-4.15pm	PANEL 4 : <i>Special Measures</i>	Theresa Jaintong- Bougainville Nahau Rooney – PNG

			<p>Nominated seats Regional experience – Fiji - Sadhana Sen-(UNIFEM) Timor Leste - Sherrill Whittington – (Consultant)</p> <p><i>Moderator: Enaha Kwa</i> (UNDP)</p>
5.	4.30-530pm	Video	

**DAY TWO : TUESDAY 20TH November 6, 2007- CANDIDATES and PARTNERS
DIAGNOSTIC EVALUATION**

SESSION	TIME	PRESENTER/ ACTIVITY	Comments
1.	8.30-10.00AM	<i>Candidates Introduction;</i>	Five Focus Groups: ❖ Electoral process; ❖ Training and capacity Building; ❖ Finances; ❖ Campaign ; ❖ Partnerships Facilitators plus rapporteurs
	10.00am	MORNING TEA	
2.	10.15-12.00pm	<i>Overview of Campaign Experiences</i>	This will be a group discussion based on discussion guides.
	12.00pm- 1.00pm	LUNCH	
3.	1.15-3.00pm	<i>Focus Group Evaluations</i>	Five Focus Groups: ❖ Electoral process; ❖ Training and capacity Building; ❖ Finances; ❖ Campaign ; ❖ Partnerships Facilitators plus rapporteurs
	3.00p-3.15pm	AFTERNOON TEA	
4.	3.15-5.00PM	<i>Focus Group Evaluations (Cont'd)</i>	
5.	5.00-6.00pm	<i>Review of Focus Group discussions</i>	Facilitators and rapporteurs

DAY THREE: WEDNESDAY 21ST NOVEMBER 2007

SESSION	TIME	PRESENTER/ ACTIVITY	Comments
1.	8.30-10.00AM	<i>Focus Groups</i>	Development of Focus Group reports
	10.00am	MORNING TEA	
2.	10.15-12.00pm	<i>Focus Groups</i>	Finalisation of Focus Group reports
	12.00pm-1.00pm	LUNCH	
3.	1.15pm 1.30pm	<i>Plenary- Introduction</i>	Both Candidates and Civil Society groups reconvene.
4.	1.30-3pm	<i>Panel I: Candidates</i>	Five candidates representing each Focus Group present reports , with Q&A <i>Moderator:</i> Enaha Kwa (UNDP)
	3.00p-3.15pm	AFTERNOON TEA	
5.	3.15-5.00pm	<i>Panel 2: Civil Society and Partners</i>	Five representatives will present from discussion groups <i>Moderator:</i> Catherine Natera
6.	5.00pm-6.00pm	<i>Conclusions – DRAFT : COMMON STRATEGY OUTCOME DOCUMENT (Enaha Kwa and Julie Bukikun)</i>	The “One UN Programme” Jacqui Badcock (UNDP) & Elizabeth Cox (UNIFEM)

DAY FOUR Thursday 22nd November 2007, THE WAY AHEAD

SESSION	TIME	PRESENTER/ ACTIVITY	Comments
1.	8.30-10.00AM	<i>Focus Groups</i>	Development of Outcome Document.
	10.00am	MORNING TEA	
2.	10.15-12.00pm	<i>Focus Groups</i>	Finalise Draft Outcome Document.
	12.00pm-1.00pm	LUNCH	
3.	1.15pm 3.00pm	<i>Plenary- Introduction: Gayle T Misionyaki (DCD) Julie Bukikun (UNIFEM)</i>	Ten (10) participants from each group will present a summary of the group discussions.
	3.00p-3.15pm	AFTERNOON TEA	
5.	3.15-4.30pm	<i>Sherrill Whittington (Consultant)</i>	Finalising the Outcome Document.
6.	5.00pm-6.00pm	Closing	Dame Carol Kidu Jacqui Badcock Elizabeth Cox Schola W Kakas (NCW) 1 Rep of candidates; 1 Rep of Civil Society & Partners

b. Diagnostic Discussion Guides

Papua New Guinea: Participant Assessment

PART A *Candidate Profile*(Note: This was adapted for civil society partners)

a. **Name:**

b. **birth place?**

c. . **Age:** circle the appropriate age : 20-25; 25-30; 30-35; 35-40; 40-45; 45-50; over 50

d. **Marital Status** Married, .Single, Divorced, Widowed (circle the appropriate one)
Where was your husband born?

e. **Educational qualifications/level:** University, Technical, Grade 12, Grade 10, Grade 8, Below Grade 8 (Circle the appropriate one)

f. **Professional/ work background/**

g. **Community involvement / women's groups/other organisations:**

h. **Electorate:** Where is it? Do you live in your Electorate? If not, where do you live?

i. . **2007 Elections** Was this your first attempt at running for parliamentary elections? Y/N If not, how many times have you stood previously?

Overview of Campaign Experience

1. What are the important community issues in your province, and your electoral district? How did you approach these before the election?
2. Please list what kind of things were important when developing your campaign plan.
3. What methods did you use to convince voters to vote for you during your campaign?
4. Did you use the media (newspapers, radio, or TV) during your campaign? What other methods did you use, such as posters, meetings, markets, to reach out to people in your electorate? Do you think your methods were successful?
5. Are you a member of a political party? How do women get nominated in your political party? How are women supported by your party? Does your Party Platform emphasize the importance of equality for women?
6. If you ran as an independent candidate, why did you do so and do you believe it was a good choice?
7. From where did you get your campaign funding? Was it sufficient? Did you have to seek support from elsewhere? How did you spend it?
8. What were the most important lessons you learned from your experiences as a candidate? How would you run your campaign next time?
9. Do you intend to run again at the national or local level? If so, what will you do for the next 5 years?

10. Take 10 minutes each to write down **three** most important lessons you have learned from past elections. Each participant to take 3 minutes to share these with the group.

CANDIDATES 'FOCUS GROUPS

Discussion Guides : Lessons Learnt from the 2007 Parliamentary Elections

Group 1: Electoral Process

- ***Polling stations:*** How they were set up, how accessible? (location and opening hours)

- ***Design of voting ballots:*** Were they easily understandable by illiterate women?

- ***Electoral law:*** Did you have access to the electoral law, did you read and understand the electoral legislation?

- ***National electoral system:*** What type of System does the Papua New Guinea now have? How do you think the LPV system affected women's political participation in 2007 elections?

- ***Voter registration:*** What sort of registration system operates? (do people have to register by themselves or do government officials come door to door to register)? Does this have an effect on women's right to vote?

- ***Candidate registration:*** What is the process to register as a candidate? Did you encounter any difficulties?

- ***Electoral Commission:*** Were you aware of the functions of the Electoral Commission?
 -
 - Were women employed in the Electoral Commission?
 -
 - How many women were employed in your electorate?
 -
 - Were women involved as voter registers, electoral observers and as ballot counters?

Group 2: Training and Capacity Building

Training for candidates

- Did you receive any special candidate training before the elections?
- How did you know about the training?
- What type of training did you receive?
- What areas were covered by the training?
- How long did the training last?
- Who organized the training?
- If you did not participate in training, why not? Do you think this was a disadvantage?

Voter education

- Were voter education campaigns targeted specifically at women, as well as men and women together?
- Did you attend any civic and voter education training?
- Did you think the training materials and content encourage women to participate in the electoral process as voters and candidates?
- Were positive messages about women as voters and candidates transmitted? Did voter education material take into consideration the needs of illiterate women in their design and dissemination?
- Was special consideration being given to women in timing and location of voter and civic education?
- Were issues affecting women's participation as voters addressed in the sessions? (free and fair vote, e.g. family voting, etc.)
- Did women in your community attend these civic / voter education sessions? Where they organized at a convenient time and place? What was the proportion of women in the audience attending these meetings?

Group 3: Finance

- Did you make a financial estimate or budget for your candidacy and your campaign? Was it realistic?
- Were you required to pay a fee to register as a candidate? How did you get the money?
- Was money required to launch your campaign?
- Is there a campaign spending limit in place? Did you reach that limit?
- How did you raise money to finance your campaign?
- In retrospect, did you have enough financial resources to cover all the expenses of your campaign?
- How much have you been left in debt? Were you able to pay your campaign leaders and staff?
- How have these debts affected your ability to stand in future elections?
- Have they seriously affected your economic security and that of your family?

Group 4: Campaign

As member of a political party

- To which political party did you belong? Why?
- Were women' interests or issues included in the platform of your political party?
- What is the party policy in relation to women's participation?
- Does your party have special measures to promote women?

As an independent candidate

- Why did you choose to stand as an independent candidate?
- What were the advantages and disadvantages?
- Would you choose to be an independent candidate again?

Campaign strategy and programme

- What was your campaign strategy and programme? How was it developed?
- Who was in your campaign team? Why?
- What was your message and what methods did you use during your campaign to convince voters (men and women) to vote for you?
- Were you aware of the main issues in your community? How?
- Did you use the media (radio, newspaper, etc.) to get your message across to your electorate? How did you do it? Was it successful?
- What other traditional or informal channels of communication did you use?

Local Government

- Do you have any links with local government?
- Would you be interested in standing in the Local Government elections next year?

Group 5: Partnerships

- Who were your major supporters?
 - family: husband, parents, extended family
 - friends and community,
 - church,
 - business groups
 - women' organizations and groups
 - other individuals and institutions

- How did you select them and why?
- How did you gain their support?
- How did they support you?
- How did you as a candidate support your partners? (reciprocity)
- Was there a lack of support or resistance to your campaign? From whom? Why? How did you handle this?
- Did you experience any forms of violence, discrimination, threats and harassment before, during and after your campaign? From whom? How did you respond?
- Do you intend to stay engaged in national politics over the next 5 years?
- If not why not? What do you think you will be doing?

c) DIAGNOSTIC WORKSHOP NATIONAL CANDIDATES' PROFILES

PROVINCE – ELECTORATE	NAME	AGE	EDUCATION WORK	No. of ELECTIONS	PARTY/ INDEPENDENT
Bougainville					
<i>CENTRAL BOUGAINVILLE</i>	Lynette ONA	50+	Grade 8 Youth leader	First	People's Party
Central					
<i>CENTRAL PROVINCIAL</i>	Monica AITSI (m)	45-50	University High School Teacher	First	New Generation Party
<i>GOILALA OPEN</i>	Maria LAUT (m)	45-50	Grade 10 Nursing College ,Nurse	First	Independent
<i>KAIRUKU-HIRI OPEN</i>	Veronica BERA (m)	40-45	Grade 12 Industrial Advocate	Second	Natl. Advance Party
Chimbu					
<i>KEROWAGI OPEN</i>	Kruo Martha KAIUN(m)	40-45	Grade 10 Computing	First	Pan Melanesian Congress
East New Britain					
<i>GAZELLE OPEN</i>	Odelia VIRUA	50+	University Scientist	First	Independent
<i>RABAU OPEN</i>	Rosemary SOVEK	45-50	Technical PS to PM Chan	First	Independent
East Sepik					
<i>EAST SEPIK PROVINCIAL</i>	Elizabeth BADE (m)	50+	Grade 10 Govt. officer	Third	Independent
<i>WEWAK OPEN</i>	Evangeline KAIMA	45-50	University	First	Independent
<i>WEWAK OPEN</i>	Jennifa BOWIE	45-50	Teachers College, Bank Officer	First	Independent
<i>WOSERA-GAUI OPEN</i>	Margaret APAKIA (m)	30	Grade 10 Secretarial, 2 nd Hand Clothing	First	Independent
Eastern Highlands					
<i>EASTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCIAL</i>	Julie SOSO AKEKE (m)	45-50	Grade 12 NBC Radio Announcer	Third	Independent
<i>OBURA-WONENARA</i>	Anna DARUA (m)	45-50	<Grade 8 Secretary	Second	Mel. Alliance Party
<i>DAULO OPEN</i>	Robyn BELARI NENDA	40-45	Nursing School Nurse	Second	Independent
<i>GOROKA OPEN</i>	FLORENCE JAUKAE(m)	35-40	Grade10	First	Independent
<i>KAINANTU OPEN</i>	Lottie LAURIE	50+	Diploma Trainer	First	National Alliance

PROVINCE/ ELECTORATE	NAME	AGE	EDUCATION/WORK	No. of ELECTIONS	PARTY/ INDEPENDENT
<i>LUFA OPEN</i>	Ellen HAMENA	35-40	University Accountant	Third	Independent
<i>UNGGAI-BENA</i>	SALLYN LOMUTOPA	40-45	Technical Community Volunteer	First	Independent
Enga					
<i>WABAG OPEN</i>	Julie DANIEL	35-40	Grade 8 Youth Coordinator	First	PNG First
Gulf					
<i>KEREMA OPEN</i>	Kathy KARAPA TOM	45-50	Grade 10 Nurse & Community Worker	Second	Independent
<i>KIKORI OPEN</i>	Martha KAIA	40-45	University Company Chairwoman	Second	National Conservative Party
Madang					
<i>MADANG OPEN</i>	Cecilia PAKULE	40-45	UPNG Pediatrician	First	Independent
<i>MADANG OPEN</i>	Agatha YAMA	45-40	Grade 12 Business	First	National Alliance
Manus					
<i>MANUS OPEN</i>	Ruth MANDRAKA MU	45-50	Secretarial College Program Officer	First	Independent
Milne Bay					
<i>ALOTAU OPEN</i>	Matilda PILACAPIO	50+	Grade 8 Farmer	Fifth	Independent
<i>ALOTAU OPEN</i>	Rhonda ANAKAPU	50+	Grade 10 Finance Officer Prov. Treasury	First	Independent
<i>ALOTAU OPEN</i>	Sahara DOUGLAS	45-50	Technical Real Estate developer	First	People's Action Party
<i>ESA'ALA OPEN</i>	Margret BACCA	45-50	Technical Diplomas – Training Business	First	Congress Party
Morobe					
<i>LAE OPEN</i>	Loujaya TONI	40-45	University Journalist Teacher	First	Independent

PROVINCE – ELECTORATE	NAME	AGE	EDUCATION WORK	No. of ELECTIONS	PARTY/ INDEPENDENT
TEWAI-SIASSI OPEN	Delilah KELEINO	40-45	Grade 12 Health Professional	First	Independent
National Capital District (NCD)					
NCD PROVINCIAL	Janet SAPE	45-50	Grade 10 Teaching Banking Business	Third	People's Action Party
MORESBY NORTH-EAST OPEN	Margaret KLIAWI	50+	DCD Volunteer Councillor	First	Independent
MORESBY SOUTH OPEN	Carol KIDU(w)	50+	University MP Minister	Third	Melanesian Alliance Party
New Ireland					
KAVIENG OPEN	Cathy GRAHAM (m)	50+	Technical/ Business	Third (incl. By -election)	Independent
KAVIENG OPEN	Helen FONG SEETO				Independent
KAVIENG OPEN	Monica IGUA(m)	40-45	Grade 12/ Company Director	First	Independent
Southern Highlands					
IMBONGGU OPEN	Margaret KAWA(m)	35-40	Grade 8 Prov. Assembly ('95-02)	First	PNG First Party
TARI	Jant KORIAMA	45-50	Nursing School Pres. HELA Council of Women, Director KP Devpt.	Third	Melanesian Alliance Party
West Sepik					
VANIMO- GREEN RIVER OPEN	Lespina PUPIN WES	35-40	Grade 12 Secretary	Second	Melanesian Alliance Party
Western					
NORTH FLY OPEN	Regina AIARAK	30-35	Technical H.R. Landowning Co.	First	People's Resource Awareness Party
NORTH FLY OPEN	Elizabeth MATIT	40-45	Secretarial College Ward Councillor	First	Independent

PROVINCE – ELECTORATE	NAME	AGE	EDUCATION WORK	No. of ELECTIONS	PARTY/ INDEPENDENT
<i>NORTH FLY OPEN</i>	Maria MENAP	40-45	Grade 10 Secretary OK TEDI	Second	People's Freedom Party
<i>NORTH FLY OPEN</i>	Naomi KAMAI	40-45	Grade 8/ School Librarian	First	Independent
<i>SOUTH FLY OPEN</i>	Ethel SANDERY	45-50	Grade 10 Govt. welfare Officer	Second	Independent
Western Highlands					
<i>WESTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCIAL</i>	Anna NEPA	45-50	Technical Business National Women's Entrepreneurs Assocn.	First	PNG First
<i>HAGEN OPEN</i>	Maggie WILSON	50+	Year 12 Film School – Documentary Maker, Community Worker	Second	New Generation Party
<i>NORTH WAHGI</i>	Helen KOPUNYE	50+	Grade 10 High School teacher	First	National Alliance Party

d) Final Outcome Document;

Working Together, Working to Win.

OUTCOME DOCUMENT

Of the DIAGNOSTIC ASSESSMENT WORKSHOP of WOMEN AND ELECTIONS 2007 *University of Papua New Guinea 19 – 22 November 2007*

Background

The National Parliament of Papua New Guinea (PNG) comprises 109 seats of which only a handful have been occupied by women since 1972. The June 2007 National Elections had 109 women candidates contesting, outnumbering women standing in any previous elections. Despite an increased number of female candidates, this has not resulted in more elected women in the National Parliament, with the current representation remaining 0.9%. The only woman parliamentarian in the current eighth Parliament is re-elected Moresby-South member, Dame Carol Kidu, Minister for Community Development.

The exception is the Autonomous Region of Bougainville (ARB), which adopted by law special affirmative action measures by introducing three reserved seats for women that recognized and acknowledged of the role of women in public affairs.

In 2002, PNG replaced the first-past-the-post system with the Alternative-vote-system (AV), commonly known in PNG as the 'Limited Preferential Vote' (LPV). The LPV-system was mooted as one that would benefit women candidates, since under the former system, women tended to face an obligation to support the candidate (usually male) favoured by the clan. While many women have improved their overall positions, the fact remains that only one was elected. The first preference continues to be taken up by the male candidates while women campaign for the 2nd and the 3rd preferences.

The current Government of PNG duly recognizes the gravity of this gender gap and through regional, international and national commitments is obligated to redress this discrepancy. The Constitution of PNG provides for equality of all citizens, and allows the Government to take affirmative action in this regard, calling for "equal participation by women citizens in all political, economic, social and religious activities...".

Increasing the number of female parliamentarians in the PNG Parliament requires a joint effort of elected representatives and civil society. Since gender equality is not only a women's issue, this implies a joint responsibility for both men and women. Unlike their male counterparts, women have lacked access to resources and decision-making, with a lack of consensus as to the way forward, articulating strategies have thus largely remained at the level of rhetoric, with no translation into action.

Objectives of the Workshop:

At this important time, a partnership of the United Nations, the Department for Community Development and the National Council of Women has come together to undertake a process of examination, to identify the existing barriers to women's participation in national decision-making. This is happening at the time that all of these partners are undertaking a process of review, future planning and programme implementation for women's leadership in PNG.

This Diagnostic Workshop was attended by about 200 women and men, who undertook a process of examination of the electoral process, an assessment of campaign strategies and financing, partnerships, as well as training and capacity building. The objectives were to identify the existing barriers to women's political participation in national decision making, and to build consensus among all relevant stakeholders on the strategies that need to be taken collectively towards future planning, and programme implementation for women's leadership in PNG.

Recommendations

Recognizing the centrality of gender equality to social, economic and political development and acknowledging the gravity of the lack of achievements to date, the delegates called upon the following relevant partners to work together to ensure equal representation of women in parliament and leadership:

A. *Civil Society* - NCW and its network

- To consolidate the capacity of National Council of Women, its members and affiliates to have technical/professional expertise and advisers;
- To build national consensus and unity with a strong network to call on to assist women candidates during elections, and to put in place a mechanism to coordinate efforts to get women into politics and parliament ;
- To assist with fundraising to support women candidates in 2012;
- NCW to use its networks to carry out awareness work and to identify and nurture young women through training and mentoring;
- NCW to create a lobby group that advocates for the implementation of the various commitments made by Government to the Diagnostic workshop;
- To be the focal organization for all women's organizations in PNG.
- To create a database of women experts.

B. *National Government*

- To honour the commitments made by Deputy Prime Minister. the Hon. Puka Temu, on Monday, 19 November 2007, for the four Regional nominated seats in parliament by 2009 and to allocate sufficient budgetary resources;
- To commit through legislation one reserved seat for women in each Province;

- To appropriate adequate Gender funding for priority areas of the MDG's and MTDS 2005-2010 in 2008-2012, in all gender desks in Government department;
- To put in place a budget that ties in with the donor funds for gender equality work in order to build in sustainability in leadership;
- To allocate at least 30% minimum of national budget to support women;
- To review Sec. 102 and 101 of the Constitution and the OLPGLLG.

C. Parliament

- To amend Section 102 of the Constitution and support both the recommendation by the Deputy Prime Minister and the proposal by the Minister for Community Development to nominate four (4) regional positions for women parliamentary representatives by the end of 2008 ;
- To review Section 101 of the Constitution to determine if enabling legislation can be passed for women to be elected on provincial reserved seats, with one seat per province (i.e. 20 seats) ;
- To provide gender awareness training and capacity building for members of Parliament;
- To ensure equitable appointment of all parliamentary staff ;
- To adopt the recommendations from women to support the work of women in PNG.

D. The Department of Community Development (Office of Women's Development)

- The Minister for Community Development to be the focal point for women's issues in the Parliament and work closely with the women of PNG and vice-versa to ensure implementation of the women's policy agenda;
- Fund a women's desk at provincial level with practical workshops on gender equality and good governance;
- To establish and maintain a database on gender, women leaders and CSOs across the country;
- To include wide consultations and discussions with Government, Private sector and CSO partners in formulating National Women's Policy;
- To guide and strengthen the capacity of the Gender Division and maintain it at sustainable levels over a long term.

D. Provincial Assemblies

- To increase the number of women in provincial assemblies by amending the existing provisions;
- Provincial governments to work closely with NCW's network and provide women's resource centres at the provincial level;
- To allocate at least 30% minimum of annual budget to enable training and the support of Provincial Councils of Women.

E. Local Level Government

- Increase number of women in Local Level Assemblies by amending relevant provisions of legislation;
- To work closely with District Women's Council to update the Electoral Rolls;

- To allocate at least 30% minimum of annual funding to support women's programs;
- Ensure women sit on JDPBPC;
- Five year planning to include woman's programs must be submitted before LLG money is released.

F. Women Candidates

- Former female candidates and those knowledgeable to volunteer their knowledge and skills to assist standing candidates, mentor young and new women candidates;
- Prospective women candidates to work together with National, Provincial and District Councils of Women to rationalize numbers standing prior to 2012 elections, encouraging one woman candidate per constituency.

G. Political Parties/OLIPPAC

- To adopt the recommendation from the Deputy Prime Minister to deregister all parties which do not include at least a minimum of 30% women members;
- To develop and define commitments on gender equality policies, translating into action;
- To call on political parties to start recruiting women as members of political parties and that women be represented on the executive boards and selection committees ;
- To establish women's wings with voting powers on selection and nomination processes;
- Parties to endorse an equitable number of women candidates in safe seats and support them with campaign financing, training and mentoring;
- That the Registrar of Political Parties be given powers to deregister parties that fail to have policies that encourage women's equal participation in elections at all levels ;
- Women candidates endorsed by Political Parties to be equally funded in elections.

H. The PNG Electoral Commission

- To work closely with the Civil Registry to update Rolls annually and undertake registration at Provincial level to ensure rolls are complete, and correct ;
- To decentralize voter registration;
- To mark Provincial boxes clearly by different colours;
- Candidates/supporters and polling booths/officials to be clearly separated;
- Ballot papers to be countersigned by a community member/church member;
- Electoral process/system to be strengthened to address and reflect the concerns of women voters and candidates;
- Voter awareness to be widely carried out in sufficient time.
- To ensure there are separate polling booths for male and female voters in violence prone Provinces such as in the Highlands;

- To ensure equal participation of women in polling teams, with half of all returning officers and other electoral officials women;
- To enact and oversee campaign finance legislation;
- To disallow persons with criminal records standing for elections

I. The Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary

- To address women’s concerns on electoral violence, intimidation, and security.
 - To ensure safe and secure access to vote, to stand for election and campaign and ensure that ballot boxes are not tampered with;
 - To appoint more female police officers at polling booths;
 - Police officers who violate election laws should be dealt with severely;
 - Police should be transparent and incorruptible to ensure fair elections.

J. Ombudsman’s Office

- To investigate and expose electoral corruption be it related to the electoral process, administration, the security forces, etc;
 - To appoint a woman Ombudsman;
 - To be given adequate funding for their operations;
 - To ensure a political candidate is covered by the leadership code at the time of nomination.

K. The International Community (UN, donors)

- To provide institutional and capacity building for DFCD and NCW and a country women’s leadership program;
- To liaise with each other regularly to coordinate gender programs and activities ;
 - To assist with the review of the existing draft NCW Strategic Plan and providing financial and technical support for its implementation;
 - To provide awareness and training for women candidates for 2012 Elections;
 - To provide assistance for the creation of new organization to be called “Women in Leadership in PNG Inc” ;
 - Training on how to manage and acquit funds to be provided to donor recipients.

L. Media

- Train the media on understanding issues related to gender and women’s leadership;
 - To provide discount for women candidates in elections and offer space and time for coverage of women’s leadership issues.
 - Organise a round table for partners to establish a Task Force to oversee the implementation of the recommendations of the Diagnostic Workshop.

In Conclusion – The Way Forward

To that end a Common Strategy will be developed and an implementation Task Force established representing all partners to carry this Strategy forward over the next 5 years to increase women's representation.

ⁱ Participants at Gateway Workshop 28-30 April , 2007 Port Moresby

ⁱⁱ Participants at Diagnostic Workshop, UPNG 19-22 November 2007

ⁱⁱⁱ Asterisk denotes Gateway Workshop Participants who contested the 2007 election

^{iv} # indicates female candidates listed as male on final Electoral Commission List