

Victoria University

**TAMOT: MASCULINITIES IN
TRANSITION IN PAPUA NEW
GUINEA**

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DECLARATION

I, Anastasia Sai, declare that the PhD thesis entitled *Tamot: Masculinities in Transition in Papua New Guinea* is no more than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Anastasia Sai
1st February 2006

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to all the dads who treat their daughters as important as a son. One such father is my beloved father John Kong, who gave me a treatment fit for a son.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an exploration of gender relations in contemporary Papua New Guinea. It is dedicated to unveiling the standpoints of senior men in a range of powerful senior positions towards issues of gender, and asks the question 'How do contemporary big men conceptualise their own and others' masculinity?'

Firstly, it begins with a discussion of the legacy of the colonial era in terms of gendered power and looks at some of the ways in which Western Anthropologists typified masculinities and, to a lesser extent, femininities.

Secondly, it surveys a range of literature written within the West which deals with theories of gender and attempts to apply these to the Papua New Guinean context.

Following this is the chapter which gives an overview of the methodological considerations and research methods employed in the thesis.

Using a feminist perspective, it goes on to investigate the perspectives of a number of men who hold senior positions within the education system, the public service, non-government organisations and the government itself in order to ascertain what, if any, contribution they offer the project of developing gender equity. In doing so, it considers the typologies of masculinity problematised by the participants and a model of their interrelation and intersections is offered.

INTRODUCTION

Let me tell you a story or two about my father in the hope that it will put my choice of topic for this research project into perspective.

My Father

My father is John Wadui Anguw Kong from the Saub clan of Megiar village in the Madang Province of Papua New Guinea. According to the patrilineal and patriarchal traditions of my region, my mother, a woman from a matrilineal society of Zam village in the Middle Ramu district in Madang Province, had to leave her village and live with my father's clan.

My father cooked for us; he did not wait for my mother to cook for him if he was hungry as most men do in my village - and in fact most men in PNG. When he went fishing at night and came home in the early hours of the morning, my father would cook breakfast for us before he went to sleep for a couple of hours prior to leaving for work as a driver at our local government council headquarters. He went fishing not only because he enjoyed it, but also because he could catch fish to sell to get money to supplement his income so as to be able to pay school fees for my brothers, my sisters and me.

In a way, what my father was doing was taboo. These actions defied the norms of our society. He made me see that there was nothing wrong with men cooking.

In the context of his masculine identity, my father did not become emasculated – a fate so feared by PNG men.

My father also believed in me and thought I was just as important as his sons. He sent me to school. One day, when I was little, I overheard an uncle discussing my future. My uncle came to our house to see my father and he asked my father ‘Why are you working so hard to send your daughter to school?! Just think about your son and help him to go to school’. He implied that I was not important enough and my father’s efforts would be wasted if I were to get married and go live in my husband’s village. At this my father became quiet, did not argue, but continued to send me to school. He worked even harder to support me. That day as I heard my uncle, I vowed in my little heart that I would go as far as I could in getting educated and make my father proud of making that choice to give me equal opportunities. He did what many fathers would not do - he was thinking beyond his time.

Lastly, my father broke other gendered rules by teaching me to fish and hunt. He included me in all his activities, and made me feel important as a child of my father. I saw the possibilities before me. He has always been my support.

From these personal experiences of my father and the way he maintained his masculinity even when he cooked for us, and for thinking that I was important enough to educate led me to question gender in PNG. Thus, I became

interested in men and masculinities because of how my father, to me it seemed, did not feel threatened by doing what was considered to be a woman's job of cooking. My father even worked harder so that I could have an education, perhaps much to the disappointment of the uncle I had mentioned earlier.

In my quest to understand why my father was different to most PNG men in this strongly patriarchal society, I embarked on this study of men and masculinities, and how they define their identities as men in this changing time. Furthermore, how does this quest for masculine identity, impact on women and their participation in development?

This is the first time the issue of masculinity/masculinities has been questioned by a Papua New Guinean woman. Western male anthropologists (Herdt 1982a, 1984, 1994; Godelier 1986; Tuzin 1997) have given a Western interpretation of PNG masculinities, but so far we have not heard from Papua New Guineans (either male or female). This research hopes to give a feminist perspective and interpretation to men's definition of themselves - and to their changing expressions of their masculinities.

Chapter one offers a geographical overview of PNG followed by a brief history which highlights the colonial impulses driving the discussion to follow. Then it discusses modernisation and its corollary, globalisation. The chapter continues with the borders between the old and the new man and his expressions of

identity. Five issues are highlighted as an introductory illustration of the interfaces between traditional and modern masculinities in general. These are:

- Violence
- Christianity
- Rural life
- The workforce and
- Electoral politics.

The chapter concludes with an overview of patriarchal practices generally in Papua New Guinea today.

Chapter two explores the concept of patriarchy and masculinity in Papua New Guinea as interpreted by Western anthropologists. It explores the anthropological assumptions in regards to gender relations. It goes on to offer a mapping of the cultural practices of patriarchy in four loose models:

- Strong patriarchy
- Middle patriarchy
- Less aggressive patriarchy and
- Soft, non-aggressive patriarchy.

These models include detailed account and ranking of the key characteristics inherent in each model.

Chapter three explores the Western theoretical accounts of patriarchy and masculinity. This provides the foundation by which it is possible to understand the conceptual framework from which the Papua New Guinean patriarchal practices and the new hybridised masculinity can be discussed. It begins by exploring the concepts of patriarchy and masculinity/masculinities from Western theorists and also presenting the Western characteristics of masculinity. Then it explores the concept of the hybridisation of masculinities by looking at ways in which colonial and colonised masculinities interact in PNG. The chapter ends with a discussion of PNG men's formation of the new hybridised masculinities as a corollary to colonisation and modernisation.

Chapter four discusses the methodology used in the research and analysis. The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodology and the methodological procedures followed in each step of preparation, collecting and analysing data so as to answer the research questions. The chapter also aims to offer justification for using these particular methods for this research.

The fourth chapter firstly explains the difference between method and methodology, and gives a theoretical background for this research. It then discusses the choice and selection of qualitative research methodology, which includes in-depth interviews as the method for data collection. The chapter goes on to explain the choice and selection of interview participants and the relationship between the researcher and the interviewees. The choice of

interview questions is outlined next, followed by the interview process. The chapter ends with an explanation of the data analysis.

Chapter five explores two crucial categories of masculinity for Papua New Guinean man: *man tru* and big man using data from the participants. The chapter explores the differences between the traditional and modern *man tru* and the traditional and modern big man. It discusses the initiation rites through which men articulate their identities from childhood to manhood. The traditional typologies of man as defender, provider and other qualities that men see make a man a '*man tru*'. The 'big man' typology is discussed next, including, again, old and new variations.

Chapter six follows on from the exploration of the big man and *man tru* and their ways of negotiating masculinity both in the traditional and modern societies. It firstly defines the concept of hybridity followed by PNG's hybridised masculinity which looks at the concept of male hegemony in the practices of patriarchy and how masculinity is further negotiated in leadership. Then it explores the element of male power and how it is used. It further looks at male violence as an expression of power and of masculinity. The chapter ends with a discussion of *raskolism* as an example of hegemonic and hybridised form of masculinity.

Chapter seven explores social change in gender relations in PNG in one major arena: the modern workplace. It looks at how the modern educated and

employed men view women in general and women in the workplace. This chapter also looks at how some men have changed from their exclusive view of their predominant position in the workforce. The chapter concludes with an exploration of how PNG men redefine and reconstruct their masculinities in this time of transition.

Chapter eight offers a comprehensive overview of the continuum of masculinities in contemporary PNG. This discussion includes:

- The big man
- The bureaucratic big man
- Free market entrepreneurial masculinity
- The *Wokman*
- Grassroots masculinity
- *Raskol* masculinity
- The *rabis* man

The eighth chapter ends with the discussion of the ways in which these consuming patterns of masculinity have undermined, and continue to undermine, women's traditional status.

CHAPTER ONE

Problematizing Gender Issues in Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea is a predominantly patriarchal society. Patriarchy plays a significant role in the formal and informal systems of power, which puts men and their 'patriarchal dividend' (Connell 2000) at the forefront in the running of all modern institutions. Constructions of masculinity are socialised, sustained and perpetuated in this patriarchal system that permeates the whole society forming an almost complete male hegemony.

This project aims to investigate the manifestations and implications of this hegemony. In particular, it explores the ways in which men themselves perceive masculinity, the 'patriarchal dividend' and the masculine continuum, which seem to consume so much of their daily lives. In doing so, it interrogates the interfaces between tradition masculine modalities and their modern manifestations; it discusses the ways in which power is held and increased by contemporary men, and ultimately (and obliquely) the impact of these preoccupations and activities on women.

The purpose of this first chapter is to offer an overview of the geographical location, historical and cultural background of Papua New Guinea as a backdrop

to the issues that will form the discussion and focus of this thesis, a project which is timely, if not long overdue.

I begin by situating the topic in Papua New Guinea by giving a brief history of the country. I then discuss the advent of westernisation and modernity and the implications of this transition for masculinity.

A Brief History

Papua New Guinea is situated in the Pacific region. It shares a land border with the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya in the west; and sea borders with the Solomon Islands to the east and Australia to the south. The geographical features are mostly dense tropical rainforests, rough mountain terrain and rivers that make travel inaccessible by road. Communication between the provinces of the country and with the capital Port Moresby is impeded by this topology, as is the provision of basic services (The CIA FACTBOOK <https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/pp.html>).

With a population of 5.1 million registered in the last national census in 2000, the people and their cultures are as diverse as the number of languages that exist. There are over eight hundred and twenty language groups in PNG (Seib 2000:6) and the cultures are diverse. There are nineteen provinces and within that, four regions, namely, the Highlands, Islands, Northern (mostly known as Momase)

and Southern regions.¹ Although there are particular practices and beliefs that underpin the livelihood of these tribes, one thing is certain, and that is that all of them share the transition to modern contemporary society which provides the temporal and spatial reference in this study.

The history of colonisation and globalisation for Papua New Guinea goes back to its first discovery by Europeans in the early part of the sixteenth century. In 1526-27, a Portuguese navigator, Don Jorge de Meneses discovered the main land of New Guinea and named it "Papua", a Malay word meaning 'darker, fuzzy-haired' people (Rannells 1990:117) or 'frizzle hair' as Melanesians were thought to have.² Then in 1545, a Spaniard, Ynigo Ortis de Retez came upon the island and named it 'New Guinea' because of the resemblance of the people to those in Guinea in Africa. In 1884, whilst a British protectorate was proclaimed over the southern coast of New Guinea (the area called Papua), Germany took possession of the northeast part of the island, and put it in the hands of a chartered company (the New Guinea Company) in 1899. The German imperial government assumed direct control of the territory and called it 'German New Guinea'. Australia in 1906 formally took responsibility of the British Protectorate and renamed it Papua (Waiko 1993:80) and it (Australia) took over the German territory (New Guinea) in 1914. Britain, on behalf of the Commonwealth of

¹ Momase is the acronym for the four provinces of the Northern regions, Morobe, Madang, East and West Sepik provinces

² Melanesia is a name that scientists have given to the southwest Pacific. It includes PNG, Irian Jaya, the Torres Strait islands in Australia, the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, Vanuatu and the western islands of Fiji. Melanesia in classical Greek means "black islands". Melanesians generally have dark skin, because of their dark pigmentation, and fuzzy hair (Rannells 1990).

Australia, assumed a mandate from the League of Nations to govern the Territory of New Guinea in 1920. It was administered under this mandate until the Japanese invasion in 1941. Following the Japanese surrender to the allied forces in 1945, the Australian civil administration of Papua and New Guinea was restored under the Papua New Guinea Provisional Administration Act, and the two parts of the country became a combined administrative union. In 1949, they became officially approved as 'The Territory of Papua and New Guinea'. This territory remained under the jurisdiction of Australia until it gained independence in 1975 and became the sovereign state of Papua New Guinea (see White 1965 and Waiko 1993).

The socio-political impact on PNG men was overt in that male colonial administrators engaged local men as carriers and labourers. They converted the traditional role of village headmen and made them into *luluais*³. The *luluais* helped to recruit young men as carriers, labourers to build roads and to plant coconuts in plantations. The German administration also appointed men who could learn Pidgin (or who already knew Pidgin), to be *tultuls* (interpreters) for the government. The *luluais* and *tultuls* were government agents in New Guinea while the village constables and village councillors were the agents in Papua. The colonial administrators recruited young men as policemen (see Waiko 1993)

³ *Luluai* was a term given to the government representative of the German administration. The *luluai* system was established to extend the administrator's influence among the indigenous communities. This was a system that existed only in German New Guinea. It was not a system used in the British Protectorate which was then Papua. The *luluai* system collapsed because the Australian administration did not understand it and did not support it when they took over that administration of New Guinea in 1914 (see Waiko 1993).

and the PNG government continued this pattern until 1977 when women were accepted into the police force (Dangoume 1996:2).⁴ Men who had joined the police force during the colonial period, saw the 'colonial rule as a catalyst for social, political, economic change from the village way of life' (Kituai 1998:84). Politically, PNG men had beginnings of modern leadership initiated by the colonial administration where only men were engaged to extend the arm of the colonial administration as stated above, and women continued to be wives, mothers and the helpmates of their husbands. The written history of PNG excludes women, except in very few places where women's involvement was prominent enough to be mentioned. Men constructed the history of PNG as one nation - from self-government to independence in 1975⁵.

The economic transformation brought by colonialism wrought many changes to the traditional lives of men who were recruited and engaged in wage labour under the colonial administration (see Kituai 1998). When men were recruited as indentured labourers and policemen, officials, craftsmen and clerks, they were paid for their labour from which they could pay the government head tax, and those growing cash crops (cocoa and copra on the coast and coffee in the highlands) could pay their head tax from the money earned from this. These agricultural products, together with vegetables mostly grown by women, enabled people to enter into the cash economy. In the highlands, for example, women's

⁴ The colonial administrators were the British, and then Australians in Papua, and the Germans in New Guinea.

⁵ One woman Josephine Abaijah was engaged in politics before independence (1972-1982) and later, Waliyato Clowes (1977-1982) and Nahau Rooney from 1977-1987 (Waiko 1993:223).

skills in gardening were heavily used in tending the coffee trees, thus extending their labour from subsistence gardening to cash cropping. However, women's contribution to the cash economy had very little cash returns because the men kept most of the money earned from the sale of coffee. When the growth of towns created a demand for fruits and vegetables, village women who grew these could sell their produce, but their earnings were minimal compared to the men's earnings. This left the women on the fringes of cash economy (Waiko 1993).

In the area of education, opportunities were limited under the Mandate administration and in 1922 an Education Ordinance was set up and schools were established. By 1942, primary schools were set up in New Britain near Rabaul, and Kavieng and Chimbu in the Highlands. During that time boys mainly attended these schools because both the administration and the village people did not see the importance in educating girls, even in basic literacy and numeracy (Waiko 1993:103). This part of PNG's history in the government and peoples' attitude towards girls had denied girls' involvement in the workforce earlier, as the boys who were educated then, graduated into the paid workforce, leaving the women to maintain their roles as mothers, wives while playing their supportive roles to their husbands in the workforce.

From this brief history, it can be argued that the colonial administrations (German, British, and then Australian) were gendered because they were

consisted of male administrators who recruited male Papuans and New Guineans to extend their administrative influences over the population.⁶ Women's participation was mainly in their domestic roles and in subsistence farming. The post-colonial era from independence till today, has more educated and employed women, but still not clearly representative of women at the executive and decision-making levels of the nation's workforce, let alone the national political arena (see NSO 2000).⁷ Dickson-Waiko (2003) resonates with this fact that 'women were excluded from public arenas including public religious rituals' (p.104).

Papua New Guinean is Traditional as Western is Modern

Discussions on the traditional and the modern aspects of Papua New Guinea pose a dichotomous relation of PNG as a traditional society compared to the West as modern. What Papua New Guineans refer to as 'tradition' and 'traditional' are the customs and practices that have been handed down from their ancestors and those are the practices that form part of their identity as a people. Keesing and Tonkinson (1982) also affirm this understanding of tradition by Papua New Guineans and the other Melanesia states such as Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands, as the 'Melanesian way', a concept which PNG's popular statesman Bernard Narakobi so passionately promotes (Narakobi, 1983). To Papua New Guineans, culture is equated with tradition and custom or *kastom* in

⁶ It could be equally argued that PNG people were 'gendered' and the various administrations dealt with the local people in terms the local people could accept.

⁷ NSO – PNG National Statistics Office.

Pidgin as Errington and Gewertz (1996) point out about the Chambri people of the East Sepik and their understanding of culture as tradition.⁸ Gostin's (1986) study of the Kuni people of Papua highlights the definition of the traditional as that which is of their forefathers before contact with the outside world and their resettlement. This understanding stands to be true for most, if not all Papua New Guineans. Thus what Papua New Guineans see as tradition resonates with what some theorists define as tradition, '... the beliefs and practices that are inherited from previous generations and that can be adopted and reinterpreted in the process of modernisation' (Weiner 1966 cited in Martinelli 2005:32). Tradition should not be understood in any way as a static process, but a dynamic one where new influences and experiences continue to change to suit the needs of the day, for the people who participate in that tradition and these changes become accepted as part of the tradition. Shils (1981) and Sillitoe (1998) affirm that tradition is not frozen or static; it is evolutionary. Traditional depends upon rituals and practices and tradition can be invented and stabilised within a short space of time (cited in Giddens and Pierson 1998:128).

The men who were selected to participate in this research are men who have emerged from this traditional socialisation by a society so steeped in traditional culture or *kastom* and who have now entered the Westernised, modern system of

⁸ *Kastom* is the Pidgin word for custom which means all the traditional and cultural practices and ways to doing things, people's way of thinking and behaving that have been passed down from one generation to the next. Papua New Guineans also refer to *kastom* as *kalsa* (culture), understood as 'the way we Papua New Guineans do things' as what Korare (2002) explains as 'pasin bilong mipela', in Tok Pisin, 'our way' or our custom (p.47); and what Keesing (1981) describes as customs, 'the ways of doing things' (p.166).

state through education, government and lifestyle. While the modern education system has trained and enabled people to participate in the modern society, all educated people still have strong ties with their culture and participate in many traditional practices in their villages. Thus, the participants of this research are still influenced by traditional norms, even if they are modern educated men (see Chapter four), the process that Anthony Giddens describes as the past living in the present and thereby shaping the future (see Giddens and Pierson 1998; Kaspersen 2000). It is in this research that the male participants are seen as the agents of the past and present coexisting to be writing the future of PNG.

Western is Modern

Westernisation is the process by which native or indigenous societies come under the influence of western culture through the process of colonisation. The western culture is disseminated through technology, law, politics, the economy, language, religion or even values and much more (see Conrad 2005). This is the definition that is used in this study to discuss the concept of westernisation. For the people of PNG, the process of westernisation is easily equated with Europe and the colonial influences of the same, hence, anything thing that is not traditionally Papua New Guinean, is regarded as European. The Eurocentric aspect of colonisation is easily identified with the Europeans or expatriates who live and work in PNG. Furthermore, European ways, culture and language (especially English), remain some of the attributes by which one is identified as modern, as opposed to the traditional Papua New Guinean way. These

therefore, are the criteria for selecting the modern men in this research (see Chapter four).

In spite of its long traditional existence, Papua New Guinea is engaged in the process of modernisation since its introduction to the outside world and the consequent effects of globalisation. The concept of modernity is derived from the late fifth century Latin term 'modernus' which was used to distinguish the officially Christian present from a Roman, pagan past (Ashcroft *et. al.* 1998; Martinelli 2005). Martinelli (2005) further argues that the concept of modernisation refers to the whole 'process of large-scale change throughout which a certain society tends to acquire the economic, political, social and cultural characteristics considered typical of modernity' (p.5). Thus, today, modernisation means more than just the 'here and now': it refers to the modes of social organisation that emerged in Europe in the sixteenth century and extended their influence throughout the world in the wake of European exploration and colonisation. One development of this concept of modernity emerged with the period of the French Enlightenment that saw modernity as a distinctive and superior period in the history of humanity. During this period, successive generations saw their own 'present' as enjoying a superior and prominent position in the modern (Ashcroft *et. al.* 1998). Spencer (1998) affirms that modernity is not just the here and now, but is the period of change prompted by scientific and technological development which swept across the world through the capitalist market economy.

Papua New Guinea, as a former colony, shares this experience of Westernisation and modernity with other former colonies which are now categorised as post-colonial nations. In this context, Post-Colonial studies posit that modernity in post-colonial societies began with the process of colonisation and civilisation:

As European power expanded, this sense of the superiority of the present over the past became translated into a sense of superiority over those pre-modern societies and cultures that were 'locked' in the past – primitive and uncivilized peoples whose subjugation and 'introduction' to modernity became the right and obligation of European powers (Ashcroft et. al. 1998: 145).

Modernity in the context of colonisation and postcolonisation is argued by Ashcroft et al., emerged with Euro-centrism and the European dominance of the world that was non-European as Europe constructed itself as 'modern' and the non-European as 'traditional', 'static' and 'pre-historical'. So for a traditional, perhaps culturally 'static' and pre-historical society,⁹ PNG began its process of modernisation with colonisation by Germany, Britain and, finally, Australia.

In the post-colonial context, the notion that what is western is modern persists alongside the idea that what is indigenously Papua New Guinean is pre-modern and (to some extent) primitive. The definition of modernity this study employs is the concept which Martinelli (2005) highlights as a large-scale worldwide change with its impact on a society's economic, political, social and cultural patterns that are considered to be modern, as opposed to what is pre-modern. PNG has no doubt been impacted upon through the world's major events like the two world

⁹ Culture as 'static' is not as static per se, but quite the contrary as discussed above.

wars and colonisation which have also opened doors for westernisation and globalisation. The current major events that continue to have influence on the country are numerous and some of which are mass media, global economic system and for PNG, which changed from subsistence to cash economy that has opened doors to more outside influence. Modern communication and information systems and transport enabled people to travel and have contact with those beyond their village boundaries. Hence, modernity has brought and continues to bring rapid changes with the influx of modern technology, mass communication that continues to transmit western ideologies and values to many in the urban centres, although the majority remain rural dwellers and modern influence seeps through to the rural areas. However, the most influential of all modern experiences is that of the modern education system through which the impact of modernity is instrumental in enabling Papua New Guineans to participate in the global market either economically, politically, linguistically or socially. Errington and Gewertz (1996) rightfully add that modernity in postcolonial PNG is 'progressively influenced by transnational capitalism and by state power' (p.114).

Modern PNG society has opened itself (and been opened) to western ways of thought, behaviour and modes of social organisation. The western ways are indeed Eurocentric and have engaged the country in the process of modern development and change. More than being Eurocentric, modernity and westernisation can be seen as being patriarchal in that the catalysts for modernity were men. It was men who explored and discovered PNG in its pre-

modern 'stateless' social systems (Dickson-Waiko 2001:49), conquered it and began the process of modern civilisation or westernisation. Hence Martin (1985) affirms that the purpose of the colonialists was to change 'primitive' traditional societies to 'civilised' ones' (p.109).

In PNG as in other colonised societies, the colonisers partially appropriated the already existing patriarchal dividend and inculcated indigenous men into a system which would reward them further for their compliance.

Whilst PNG men may not have associated masculinity with modernity as they grappled with the forces of colonisation and the process of transition, Tanabe and Tokita-Tanabe (2003) argue that modernity and westernisation are seen to be masculine whereas the traditional (or the 'Orient') are perceived as feminine. This dichotomy between modern/traditional: European/non-European and masculine/feminine were clearly distinctive in the provenance of the westernisation in PNG. The patrol officers from the British/Australian administration, for example, were men who established an administrative system in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea which recruited indigenous men as carriers, peace officers, policemen, clerks, interpreters and plantation labourers (see Waiko 1993).

Yet whilst men were active participants in the process of modernisation and the development of urban centres, women were not. They remained in rural villages,

had no active role in the development process but remained as passive recipients, as they continued to undertake their domestic duties and play supportive roles to their husbands and male kinfolk.

The new administration also paid little or no attention to the inclusion of women, thus delaying women's participation in education and formal employment, although Maher (1961) implies that the process of colonisation in the Purari Delta in the Gulf Province was an exception to this, bringing freedom for women to play more active roles in village activities (p.60). Although women had less freedom to be active in public affairs in the traditional societies, men's activities saw women's contributions in the work they did towards those activities, like raising pigs, planting and harvesting food to be cooked and shared at feasts that men organised.

The political, social and economic development that followed appears on the surface to have absorbed all the traditional patriarchal dominance into the modern institutions. Public institutions like the military, the political system, the education system the police force, the public service, the media and the judicial system are all dominated not only by men numerically, but by a particularly patriarchal hegemony which persists without any serious challenge. Martin (1985) points out that both the colonial system and the traditional patrilineal clan system "...were essentially patriarchal, i.e. both posited the female sex as insignificant" (Martin 1985:109).

The 1998 World Bank's analysis of gender in PNG reports that all institutions of law enforcement in PNG are male-dominated (Brouwer, Harris and Tanaka 1998). This is affirmed by national statistics provided by the 2000 national census (PNGNSO - Papua New Guinea National Statistics Office 2000). There was only one female judge in PNG and she was an expatriate, but in 2003 a national female judge, Cathy Davani was appointed and in 2005 the first female lecturer in Law – Tapore Isorua - was appointed (*The National* 11/5/2005).¹⁰ The legal profession is 90 per cent male (Brouwer, *et al.* 1998). While the legal institutions have this considerable absence of women in the legal profession, the interest by women and their participation is slowly increasing, and this is not dissimilar to the other professions especially the ones deemed to be in the male domain - those professions in engineering, academia, medicine, the administrative and management level of all institutions (see NSO 2000).

Interfaces Between the Old and New Man

This section discusses the interfaces between the old and new forms, and expressions, of masculinity in the fields of violence, religion, industry and government – all of which have been emblematic in the enactment of masculinity.

¹⁰ I have used newspapers as a source of both information and statistics throughout the thesis. Chiefly, this is because there are no reliable national data bases for such material. In part, of course, this indicates the relative lack of interest in the matters under discussion.

Violence

Firstly, as has been extensively argued (Toft 1985, 1986; Bradley 1992; Josephides 1994; Morley 1994; Towadong 1996; Dinnen 1995, 2000, 2001; Banks 2000a; O'Collins 2000) violence is particularly evident in PNG and can arguably be seen as an extension of the traditional modalities of masculinity. Traditionally, PNG men (no matter which province they came from) engaged in tribal warfare in order to protect land and to maintain the spatial boundaries of their tribes. Even then, violence was controlled and performed as an important part of traditional culture, i.e. initiation ceremonies, warfare, how men made their names as warriors (see Herdt 1981; Godelier 1982; Tuzin 1997, Errington and Gewertz 1987).

In the post war period, men came to augment this culture of localised tribal fights with the means of warfare garnered and witnessed during the two world wars. This watershed also introduced two new factors which became key to the practice of warfare in modern PNG. Firstly, warfare was removed from the domains of women since it involved travelling away from them - often for long periods of time as seen in the role of PNG men during World War II as carriers, interpreters and policemen (Waiko 1993; Stone 1995; Moremon 2002, 2003) and recently as soldiers of the Defence Force deployed on Bougainville during the crisis from 1989 to 1997 (see Dorney 1990; May and Spriggs 1990), and the peace-keeping mission to the Solomon Islands which began in 2004. Secondly, traditional arms such as spears, bows and arrows were outlawed, yet the police,

military and correctional services introduced the use of guns. Today, guns (both legal and illegal) saturate the society and are widely used in tribal fights (Rumsey 2000; Dinnen & Thompson 2004) and criminal activities – not least for terrorising other men and women (Macintyre 2000:35; see also Dinnen & Thompson 2004).

Firearms have also been used to further political power, guns were widely used in the Highlands of PNG to intimidate voters in the 2002 national elections, for example, (Standish 2002a; Gibbs 2004a; Ketan 2002) and the ten-year-old Bougainville crisis came to an end partly by disarming the men from rival factions and collecting their weapons for disposal (Downer 2001; Australian Parliament: Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade 1999).

It is possible to argue that guns in PNG today symbolise a particularly masculine form of violence. Macintyre (2000:35) calls this 'glamorous masculinity in Melanesia'. Newspapers have covered the violence and crimes caused with guns. For instance, the journalist Clifford Faiparik (2005a) reported in *The National* (20/4/2005) the police statistics in the first three months of 2005 in Port Moresby. The report showed that there were eighty one armed robberies of motor vehicles in January alone, and ninety four armed robberies of motor vehicles in March. With the rise of gun-related crimes, the purchase and trafficking of guns becomes salient. *The National* (11/5/2005) reported that police in Vanimo confiscated high-powered guns from criminals there and

believed these guns had been smuggled in from Indonesia.¹¹ Tribes at war in the Highlands have turned to using guns in fights (Alphonse 2005). The use of guns in domestic disputes has surfaced, even amongst the elite men of the country. One case in point is where a big man shot and injured his wife in a domestic argument (*Post-Courier* 7-9 May 2004). Another case reported was of another elite man who used a gun to threaten security guards (Pamba 2004), and yet another allegedly threatened a university lecturer with a gun (Dinnen & Thompson 2004). These newspaper reports reveal that the use of guns in crimes, tribal fights, on the streets and in domestic arguments is a new configuration of male expression of power and control. As guns prove to be more powerful than traditional weapons, ownership and the ability to use them gives added power over the enemies and victims, and prestige to men. Modern guns have become their weapon of preference (see Dinnen & Thompson 2004; Muggah 2004).

Connell (1995) and Barrett (2001) further argue that the use of guns advocates hegemonic masculinity where a range of power dynamics between the idealised image of masculinities and the subordinated and marginalised masculinities are displayed. Dinnen & Thompson (2004) state that gun ownership generates prestige, and the intimidation of enemy tribes, and voters, during elections. This suggests that the elite, law enforcement agencies and criminals in PNG all

¹¹ Vanimo is the provincial capital of the West Sepik Province, Sandaun. This province shares the border with the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya.

demonstrate the same desire for the weapons which demonstrate hypermasculinity.

Modern state agencies as well as criminals employ guns in order to display power and heroism. However, the use of guns by criminals further suggests that young men in PNG have lost any traditional and indigenous sense of power and identity in modern society and resort to a new configuration of their identity through engaging in criminal activities and using guns in the process (see Banks 2000a; Dinnen 2000; Dinnen & Thompson 2004). In the context of the law enforcement agencies, gun use also highlights a power mandated by state institutions by way of keeping surveillance over the subjects and boundaries of the state and beyond. Furthermore, law enforcement agencies like the Royal PNG Constabulary, have an institutionalised masculine culture where a strong emphasis on physical force is a remedy for solving problems (Dinnen & Thompson 2004).

While violence generally has been a part of the traditional and contemporary PNG, domestic violence has also been in existence and in particular, domestic violence perpetrated against women, is prevalent in PNG as highlighted by the Law Reform Commission (see Toft 1985, 1986; Bradley 1992), and other groups and individuals in the society. For example, Kivung, Doiwa and Cox (1985) foreground violence against women which can be identified in two categories: sexual and non-sexual (mainly of assault and murder). But they make an

interesting observation that female sexuality cannot be divorced from the female victim no matter what the crime because of a woman's position within the society and she is always defined by her sexuality. Therefore, female sexuality, female victim, woman's position in society and woman's sexuality, must be factors to be considered when discussing why women become victims (Kivung, Doiwa and Cox 1985:78). While men and boys also become victims of violence, my interest in women as victims is of great interest because of gender power relations in the discussion of men and their masculinity (see Chapters 5-8).

Religion

The second major transitioning factor for PNG masculinities was the introduction of formalised religion. Christianity brought with it an ideology which glorified male leadership - this was most pronounced in the Catholic priesthood. Whilst the Christian value of equality between women and men could be used to deflect male domination, Kempf's study of Yawig men of Rai Coast in the Madang province shows, for example, that

Christianity is, in the men's hands, an important tool in the process of forging identifications with modernity. The men also use religion to reconstruct their identity and modernize their own exclusively male domains of ritual power (Kempf 2002:73).

Furthermore, in this same study, the indigenous men's understanding of the precondition of masculine gender identity is the need for them to distance themselves from contact (both material and ideological) with the female domain and the avoidance of the feminine through an aversion to marriage and to sexual

contact – a life resembling that of a priest (Kempf 2002:62). With this distancing from women, Christianity has compounded the traditional marginalisation of women.

While there are aspects of Christianity that do marginalise women, there is a large literature (on Melanesia generally) which suggests that Christianity simultaneously opened up new spaces for women to participate in the public realm. For example, Naomi Martin (1985) states that spread of Christianity helped women to take up responsible positions in the church as prayer leaders while others took training as health workers (p.110). Meleisea (1985) states that the United Church in PNG encouraged the ministers' wives to establish women's groups where they were given religious instructions and taught domestic skills such as sewing and Western ways of cooking, hygiene and infant care (p.67). Although women's education was mostly informal and largely skills-based on their traditional roles as mothers and carers, it was a form of education to enable them to participate in the modern development processes even if their contribution remained 'domesticated', hence, giving them less 'formal power', as Meleisea further observes (Meleisea 1985:70-71). Douglas (2005) points out that the women's organisations in the different Churches were instrumental in women's involvement in the peace processes of Bougainville. Dikson-Waiko (2003) also highlights the women's organisations of both the Protestant and Catholic Churches have been the catalysts for women's participation in the public sphere of PNG.

The prestige which results from leadership positions within the church and the power regime created by religious men can catapult them into other ventures like politics or business. It is not uncommon, for example, for a Catholic priest or other church ministers to become political leaders because of their religious identity and the social cachet which accompanies this identity. Gibbs (2002, 2004b) affirms that political candidates' use of religious motifs and religious institutions promote a 'God-fearing' impression of PNG politicians. Incorporating religion to advance business prospects is another way some men can benefit. For instance, *The National* newspaper reported that a church pastor was selling herbal medicinal products which he claimed worked 'with the help of God' (*The National* 18/5/2005).

While Christianity has provided opportunities for education of both men and women in Church agency schools and colleges, leadership in this area still remains the sacrosanct of men and men who have been socialised in the traditional patriarchal system who are in positions of power appear to endorse this arrangement.

Rural Life

The third arena in which the transition to modern life has elevated the position of men and masculinity and devalued the position of women is in agrarian life. Agricultural production has been changed from a system where women were integral to the production of food and subsistence for the family, to an industry-

driven economy which men control and operate and women's role has shifted to one of dependence. Men have become the sole breadwinners and women can do very little to contribute to the family income in town if they are unemployed; they remain dependent on their husbands for their material requirements and those of their children (Bradley 1995). Conversely, in the village, women still have gardening activities to supplement their husbands' contributions to their family, in towns, that privilege is curtailed (see Samana 1985 and Nagari 1985).

The kind of traditional societies in Papua New Guinea, some of which have been observed to be egalitarian by some Western anthropologists (Strathern 1984; McDowell 1984; Sillitoe 1998; Barlow 1995) women had status to some extent in society, and Mandie (1985), a modern educated Papua New Guinean woman attests to this. Strathern (1984) observes that high value is given to women in the Trobriand, Enga and Hagen. Strathern (1984), McDowell (1984) and Barlow (1995) agree that women in the traditional society did have a lot of value in the roles they played and in their socio-economic contribution to society, and this is apparent when a bride's price is set at the time of her marriage (see Wardlow 2006). The nature of the partnership between women and men is caught in the characterisation of women as in Melpa society as *producers* and men as its *transactors* (Sillitoe 1998). Yet the same attitude of complementarity has gone amiss as Papua New Guinea began to move away from the traditional boundaries and embraced the modern economic system and all the trappings of modernity. While men have changed from warriors to salaried workers, women's

work has not changed much. Women are still producers in the subsistence economy but their work is not given monetary value, while men have become educated and take part in the development of the country in doing politics and making decisions, women are hardly represented in the same processes and remain as dependents of their husbands.¹²

PNG has a number of provinces which are predominantly matrilineal (see map Appendix 6) which have also, in turn, been changed by the new emphasis on masculinity. Even in matrilineal societies, there is a dominance of men who do esteem women and include their views in decision-making, yet ultimately hold the power. In Bougainville, for example, men who ran the modern institutions overlooked women's contributions to the peace process and domestic and local economies. In both Bougainville and Lihir,¹³ men assumed control in the negotiations with the mining company and women's custodial rights to manage matrilineal land were ignored by both sides in the conflict (Membup and Macintyre 2000; Douglas 2000). Men in matrilineal societies are patriarchal in their ways because they are still leaders, descent is traced through women, but the right to rule still remains the prerogative of the men. A matrilineal society is not controlled or ruled by women, nor is there more respect than what we on the outside might presume to happen, as Stone (1995) noted in the Tolai society:¹⁴

¹² Even though Strathern (1984), McDowell (1984), and Barlow's (1995) observations of particular societies to be complementary, men are still the transactors of the women's production (Sillitoe 1998; Josephides 1985).

¹³ Lihir is an island in the New Ireland province where one of PNG's gold mines is situated. The society is matrilineal and therefore traces lineage through mother's line.

¹⁴ Tolai is the ethnic group found on the Gazelle Peninsular of East New Britain Province. Theirs is a matrilineal society.

The Tolai are matrilineal people, meaning that a child belongs to the clan of the mother, not the father, and is under the authority and discipline of its mother's eldest brother in clan matters. Clan and land are looked after by the eldest living male and is inherited not by his sons but by one of his sister's sons. Matrilineality should not be confused with matriarchy, which refers to a society controlled by women. In Tolai society, it was believed that women were inferior to men and often the male secret societies perpetuated this belief by excluding women and intimidating them (Stone 1995:19).

The Workplace

Another arena which has shifted is the feminisation of men's work. This is also related to the concept of the 'breadwinner'- the concept brought by modernisation. With the shift from defined gender roles and jobs that defined men's masculinity, the new configuration in the workforce has overruled men doing what is traditionally deemed to be women's work. This is because work has assumed monetary value and the ability to earn money has redefined a man's identity as a *man tru* who is able to meet the traditional demands of a man who can provide for his family.

In the modern workforce, men can accept jobs that are considered to be feminine jobs, for example, cooking, cleaning and nursing. Men do not see these jobs as effeminate because the concept of employment connotes the power to earn wages. A man, thus, earns more status because he has the power to transact goods and services with money. This contributes to 'glorified' masculinity which

can be seen as a legacy of colonialism, because paid work started with colonialism (Gewertz 1983:122; see also Gregory 1982). For instance, a traditional man can be employed as a 'tea boy' or 'boi'.¹⁵ He would perform duties he would not otherwise do in his family home where he would be considered to be doing women's work. He may accept his feminised position as long as this job fell within formal employment and he receives a wage for doing it.

The interface between the old and the new has formed new configurations of men's identity. This has in one way offered a challenge in the way to cope with men's ways of expressing their identity, since their transition is not biological. Men have had to redefine ways of expressing masculinity as they are alienated from their traditional arenas as demonstrated above.

The *Haus Tambaran* Politics

Politics in PNG is another activity made exclusive to men. Whilst traditionally men's political activities included women's supportive role as far as they raised pigs, generated wealth and contributed food to support the man's political activities where they lobbied for support and built their reputation (see; Strathern 1984; Josephides 1985; Meggitt 1989; Roscoe 1995).¹⁶ Coastal societies also

¹⁵ Tea boy is a casual labourer working as a servant in an office. His main job is to make tea for the clerks and officers in that office. He also does work as cleaner in the offices.

A 'boi' is a Tok Pisin word for a male domestic servant who was employed by an expatriate household in the colonial period. His duties were domestic duties like cooking, cleaning, gardening, serving tea and sometimes even did washing for the expatriate family. He defied traditional customs of performing such duties in his own family.

¹⁶ Food contribution includes garden foods that included yams, taro, and bananas that are cultivated, and harvested by women and then prepared for consumption. Women also make sago and gather vegetables to supplement the diet

have women's supportive role in men's activities (see; McDowell 1984; Nash 1984; Barlow 1995; Roscoe 1995). Men still involve women in their traditional roles of providing food for campaign followers and most of all women provide the means of expanding the male politician's base vote by way of affinity. Women contribute pigs to the campaign feasts. While modern men heavily depend of 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'. He uses money, education or his business and oratory skills to lobby for people's support.

In PNG, political activities are planned and decisions are made in the *haus tambaran* – the House of Parliament.¹⁷ As much as decision-making in modern society has close resemblance with the traditional, the modern 'men's house' excludes women and their supportive role becomes insignificant in day-to-day decision making.¹⁸ Women are not adequately represented in the parliament and the decision-making level, let alone on the advisory level.

¹⁷ *Haus Tambaran* is a term from Tok Pisin and refers to the house of ancestral spirits where men assemble and perform their secret rituals. It is also used as a men's house which women are strictly forbidden to enter. The PNG National Parliament House is called the *Haus Tambaran* and it is architecturally designed as the Sepik River *haus tambaran*.

¹⁸ The men's house or *haus man* is the primary local unit in many areas. The house belongs exclusively to the men and only they can congregate there for discussing men's affairs. It was used more as a council or a republican senate than a miniature royal court (Scheps 2000).

Political leadership in PNG is seen by the general population to be a male prerogative so the political arena where leadership is exercised is male dominated. In the years leading up to independence, there was only one female elected in 1972 into the then House of Assembly and in 1977, three women were elected into parliament (Brouwer *et al.* 1998). This did not mean that women's interest in politics and leadership at a national level was lacking, quite the contrary, as Table 1.1 below shows that every election year has seen a steady increase in female candidates and the 2002 elections saw the highest number to date. As Standish (2002b) noted in the 2002 national elections, it was difficult for women, even well known and respected women, to be taken seriously as political prospects. Women found it hard to get party endorsement and support to muster sufficient funds to campaign, and then to obtain votes (Standish 2002b).

The number of women elected into parliament and leadership at the national level has not improved in the thirty years since independence - PNG has seen 6 Prime Ministers, all male and leading a predominantly male dominated political arena. In the same period since independence, only seven women have been elected to parliament and held a term of office. This shows that men (who are usually regarded as the 'big men') dominate the highest policy and decision-making offices in the country and because they are equipped with modern knowledge, they have a wider domain than just their village locality as was formally practised. ¹⁹This numerical dominance of men concomitantly controls the

¹⁹ The *big man* concept as it is understood and practised in Papua New Guinea will be described in detail in Chapter Five.

power structures and institutions ideologically and intellectually and they are, without exception, structured to suit men alone (Garap 2004:5).

Although the number of female candidates in the national elections has increased, the number of elected female representatives has not increased (see table 1.1 below) as per reasons stated above.

Table 1.1: Female Candidates in PNG National Elections

General elections	Number of women candidates	Number of women elected
1964 & 1968	nil	nil
1972	4	1
1977	10	3
1982	17	1*
1987	18	nil
1992	16	nil
1997	55	2
2000**	60	1

* This was achieved through the court of disputed returns where the candidate won after recounting of votes took place (Brouwer, *et al.* 1998). ** Results of 2002 national elections not recorded by this World Bank report (Brouwer *et al.*) (Standish 2002b).

The political arena is almost exclusively a male domain as women's attempts to participate in it seem futile as seen in the statistics above – despite the attempts by women to intervene. Quite why this has been unsuccessful is unclear, but the answer surely lies in the field of patriarchy – an issue which I turn to in more detail next.

Men's rule, Men's control

This section explores issues of patriarchy as a theory, explores the ways in which it is currently expressed and argues that patriarchy is practised at all levels of PNG society.

Walby (1990) argues that radical feminism sees gender inequality in the way that men as a group dominate women as a group. As a result, men become the main beneficiaries of women's subordination. This system of dominance is called 'patriarchy' (Walby 1990:3). In its most simple definition, the rule, control and power of the father dominates the members of his household. The term has taken on a wider definition that transposes the same rule and control over the family unit into the public arena and structures. Patriarchy is discussed always in the context of male supremacy and female subordination (Millett 1970; Remy 1990; Walby 1990; Kimmel 2001).

Strathern (1987) contests the Western idea of gender inequality which is measured in terms of a subject-object dyad. She argues that gender inequality in the Melanesian societies as discussed in *Dealing with Inequalities* is that these societies do not define the value of a man or woman *per se* in terms of who causes the act. For the Melanesian, the efficacy of the act is more important because it is measured by the collective community rather than individually. The individual can be autonomous. Strathern therefore concludes:

...neither sex stands for the idea of an exclusively defined value (the agent which causes itself to act, society which encompasses). Consequently there can be no gender-free domains of action – the male world of politics or a female world of matrilineage affairs does not incidentally exclude or acknowledge the opposite sex; it is constituted in deliberate antithesis or combination. By the same token there can be no ultimate encompassment: the ends of one sex are not subsumed under those of the other (Strathern 1987:300)

If Strathern (1987) argues that the traditional societies discussed in anthropological literature had a different view of gendered actions and relations. These were not measured and valued the way it is done in the Western world view. Then I further argue that the contemporary PNG society has shifted in its practise of the inclusion and value of women and their work. Women contributed and still contribute to men's activities. Women's activities and the value gained from their contribution towards men's activities seem ultimately to be for the survival of the community in traditional societies. Yet, in modern, urban PNG, men have risen in their power and dominance because women are simply not present in any of the key institutions. This detaches women from participating with men in whatever capacity they can because men's activities are performed in a prescribed workplace where their women are absent. This makes the Western measurement of patriarchy and patriarchal dominance more pronounced – there has been a shift from traditionally sharing activities (such as food production, preparing feasts, raising and teaching of children, crafting artefacts and so on) to women working alone as their men are busy at the modern workplace.

Modern PNG society has become an infusion of the different culturally diverse ethnic groups trying to build and live as a nation and constantly borrowing from what they know best – their individual traditional cultures transposing them into the modern culture. While the cultural elements are tainted and measured by Western ideologies and standards, there is a paradigm shift in the gender relations in this new context. The traditional communitarian system of valuing men's and women's activities is now measured in achieved outcomes like through the remuneration packages, positions, office, education and jobs. Because these tangible results of their activities are detached from humanitarian outcomes which are measured in terms of the community being satisfied when people are fed, respected, sheltered and family lineage is maintained. The opposite of these values would create conflict and disharmony (see Strathern 1987; Morley 1994; Bradley 1995; Banks 2000a).

In trying to understand the social order where men remain superior to women, Remy (1990) theorises that there are two forms of androcracy (men's rule) that characterise this social order: '*patriarchy* (rule of the fathers) and '*fratriarchy* (rule of the brotherhood), and both are predicated on the institution known as the 'men's hut' (p.43). This means that men's rule has originated from the traditional understanding of patriarchy where primacy of the father in kinship which extended to an authoritarian and paternalistic form of government, as well as 'the rule of the elders', the 'wise old men'. This term is now used to embrace all these meanings and their spiritual, biological, social, and political ramifications, as well

as to cover the whole familial domination of men's rule (Remy 1990:44). Thus, patriarchy advocates the supremacy of male members of society in all areas of the society.

Millett (1970) views patriarchy as both an ideology and a practice that conditions men to have the dominant or 'masculine' roles and the women to have subordinate or feminine roles (cited in Tong 1998:95f).²⁰ Patriarchy is practised at two levels: the public and the private. Patriarchy practised in the public arena, Kimmel (2001) argues:

...refers to the institutional arrangements of a society, the predominance of males in all power positions with the economy and polity, both locally and nationally, as well as the 'gendering' of those institutions themselves (by which the criteria for promotion, for example, appear to be gender-neutral, but actually reproduce the gender order)....Public patriarchy includes the military and police apparatus of society, which are also explicitly gendered...(Kimmel 2001:23).

But patriarchy is also manifested in the private domestic arena. Kimmel (2001) calls this 'domestic patriarchy' as it:

...refers to the emotional and familial arrangements in a society, the ways in which men's power in the public arena is reproduced at the level of private life. This includes male-female relationships as well as family life, child socialisation and the like...Rape and domestic violence sustain domestic patriarchy (Kimmel 2001: 23).

²⁰ Millett's argument is reflected in PNG. The traditional institution of customs, exaggerate sex/gender differences that denigrate women's biological processes of menstruation and childbirth. Besides celebrating women's fertility and fecundity, girls and women's blood during menstruation and childbirth are feared to be a pollutant to the women themselves (Lutkehaus 1995, Roscoe 1995) as well as the men who can become emasculated (Herdt 1982, 1994; Meggitt 1964, 1989; Kyakas & Wiessner 1992; Clark 1997; Sillitoe 1998). This belief may not be too strictly observed in some societies and the urban centres, but it is still a point of caution among the largely rural population.

Kimmel further argues that both domestic and public patriarchy is held together by threat of violence, either implicitly or explicitly – an issue explored later in the chapter. But first let us explore ‘the rule of the father’ in the domestic and familial life.

It is important to note that the position of the fathers as the head of the family in PNG is deeply embedded and has never been seen as an issue as Western feminists have presented it (Barrett and McIntosh 1982; Perelberg and Miller 1990; Segal 1990; Gittins 1993). This was because of the complex and intricate details of familial and extra-familial relationships and ties that people culturally have. All these relations lead to the overall wellbeing and survival of the clan and tribe as a community, and the individuals within the group. It is only with the process of westernisation that PNG is being led to look at individuals and their wellbeing *per se* more than that of the community, that the issue of patriarchy is problematised as being unequal, and patriarchal structures are now questioned by PNG feminists like myself.

At a domestic level, the men are important, but they are also powerful as fathers, husbands, brothers and uncles, especially maternal uncles.²¹ The father is expected to be the head of the family, as is the practice in other societies (Mead 1967; Herdt 1982a; Bradley 1995). The father’s decisions are respected and his role is extended to the sons as well as the uncles - especially the maternal

²¹ Maternal uncles are important because they have the power to bless or curse their sisters’ children. They are important figureheads in any decision relating to their sisters’ children. The children must show them respect and pay them tribute throughout their lives.

uncles. The sons are considered to be heads of their future families, so this makes the position of the male children in the family and the society, more valued as Gibson and Rozelle's (2004) study attests to the PNG families' preference for boy, rather than girls.

Men as fathers are important and their consent is necessary for any important decision. The men's role as husband and father is a traditionally esteemed position. As father, the men are important figureheads in the family. They give their consent to their children's marriage and they receive the brideprice of their daughters.²² Besides the fathers' involvement in their own children's lives, if they have sisters, they are paramount kin relations with their nephews and nieces (see Mead 1970; Gewertz 1983; Wiener 1988). In the absence of a father, his brothers are the next important male figures, but the mother's brothers are the most important relations to the children. As husbands, men take precedence over their wife and family in gatherings and events. A wife can only play a leading role if the husband is dead or away and if the eldest son is too young to participate in adult decisions and events in the place of his father. Even if the wife of the absent father is able to be involved, she remains in the background

²² Brideprice is a traditional form of dowry given by the groom and his family and relations, to his bride's family and relations. The price is set by the family of the bride and this is met by the groom and his family. It is a form of thanks to the bride's family and this consolidates and seals the marriage. The bride's family then distribute the bridewealth amongst them and in this case, the maternal uncles get the most in the distribution because they are the one consulted for the bride's marriage and because they are the most important uncles to the bride. Their receiving of part of the bridewealth is a sign of recognition of their importance in the life of the bride. The valuables and the amount can vary from one society to the other, but the constant in this are pigs. Women are also defined by bridewealth as among the Huli (see Wardlow 2006).

while the husband's brothers and male relations take the lead in events and make decisions in his absence. Because of this and for matters regarding inheritance, families in patrilineal societies desire a male heir.

While the traditional customs of care and respect for women and men as Strathern (1987) concluded exists, it is the traditional custom of bringing violence to women that stands contrary to the communitarian value of women and men and their activities. Domestic violence and the custom that allows a man to beat his wife at his choosing can be seen to be a clear example of Kimmel's (2001) proposition that women are ultimately controlled using violence – and the fear of violence (Banks 2000a:87). According to custom, a husband can beat his wife for any of the following reasons: 'failure to prepare food, failure to perform work in the garden or house, failure to look after children properly, sexual jealousy, failure to respect in-laws, insubordination (disobedience or talking back), adultery and men's abuse of alcohol' (Banks 2000a:87; see also Bradley 1992; Morley 1994). Banks further suggests that violence seems to arise most often when men perceive that they have lost their control over women (Banks 2000a:87; see also Strathern 1985; Errington & Gewertz 1987; Morley 1994). It is almost impossible to access reliable statistics about the rates of such violence in PNG as they are not collected – an example, perhaps, of its acceptance as a custom and of women's invisibility.

While patriarchy is undoubtedly characterized by male dominance, by power in social structures and domestic settings, masculinity expressed individually is a key foundation for the maintenance of patriarchy. Masculinity gives substance to patriarchy because it gives a particular image, identity and set of practices to the male who exert power and authority both in the family and, for some, in the public sphere. It is to these issues that we now turn.

Men's Expressions of Masculinity

Masculinity is a gender matter where the construction of men's identity as male is taught by social and cultural socialisation (Millet 1970; Oakley 1972, 2002; Connell 1987, 1995; Butler 1990; Wearing 1996; Tong 1998). The socialisation of gender is done by each culture or society, deciding strategies that determine what type of person is masculine and what type of person is not. In some cases, what one culture and society sees as masculine, another culture might well not, although there are clearly overlaps.

The term 'masculine' itself points beyond the categorical sex difference to the ways men are different amongst themselves, just as the term 'feminine' points to the different ways women are different among themselves (Connell 1995:69). Thus, masculinity is constructed in each society and culture. Following are some ways of expressions of masculinity in PNG today.

Contemporary PNG is in a process of transition where the traditional and the modern systems blend, but they also come into conflict with each other. The traditional demands of gender relations sometimes come in conflict with the modern laws but they can also meld very nicely.

Wife Beating

One way of expressing masculinity is through the traditional custom that permits a man to beat his wife if she is found to have done 'wrong'. But there are also customs that are against beating of women for reasons that are not acceptable. Wife beating displays not only the physical strength of a man, but it also shows that he is in control of his wife, his household and the situation in which the beating occurs (Bradley 1992; Morley 1994; Banks 2000a; Banks 2000b). A recent survey on the issue of wife beating conducted by the journalism students of Divine Word University (although done only for the purpose of skills training), for example, showed that wife beating is a popular means of disciplining a wife if she nags or if a situation calls for it. Some of the participants in that survey commented that 'real men' do not hit their wives (Newageman 2002). From the data gathered in this survey, it seems that the views of wife beating are changing; even the gathering of the data itself may be seen as evidence that the practice is finally being interrogated. In any case, modern PNG laws have outlawed wife beating as a punishable crime (Bradley 1992; Morley 1994; Banks

2000a).²³ This is an example of a clash between traditional, indigenous culture and the modern legislative practice and for the most part, the law appears to be futile.

Sexual Violence

Another expression of masculinity is through forms of sexual violence such as rape, incest, pornography and sexual harassment which appear to be relatively widespread (see table 1.2 below which shows the statistics for Port Moresby alone in the first three months of 2005).²⁴ Statistics for the other provinces are not available.

Table 1.2: Police Statistics of Crime in Port Moresby from January to March 2005

Offence	Rape	Other sexual offences	Armed robberies of motor vehicles	Stolen vehicles	Murder	Domestic break-in
January 2005	11	16	81	22	10	35
February 2005	19	*	*	*	*	*
March 2005	16	25	94	29		24

²³ In 1986, The Law Reform Commission passed a laws making wife beating a criminal offense and punishable by law. The perpetrators of wife beating are charged with offences such as common assault, grievous bodily harm, etc. The Law Reform Commission (LRC) drew attention to the need for law enforcement officials to treat assaults against wives seriously, using existing charges. Despite this, women do not commonly use the law largely because it is still seen to be a private, family matter. Another possible reason for not reporting is the fear of provoking more anger and beating from the husband later on.

²⁴ Statistics on sexual abuse on women in PNG could not be obtained because they are not available and the National Statistics Office also does not have statistics specifically on types of sexual abuse that occur in PNG. I have therefore, used statistics given in the newspapers, even if other provincial centers are not covered. I have also used some cases of sexual harassment and abuse reported in the daily papers to show that sexual violence done to women and girls is prevalent, as the media is one source by which people are informed of sexual violence.

(*The National* 20-4-05)²⁵

As noted earlier, newspapers are the main vehicle for relaying information regarding sexual violence given the dearth of reliable data.²⁶ The following offers some examples of offences reported between February and August 2005:

- A college lecturer threatened to expel his student for not giving in to sexual favours (*Post-Courier* 11/5/2005)
- A man was charged with sexually abusing his three daughters (*The National* 11/2/2005)
- A girl of seven was sexually abused by a sixty-year old family friend and one of twelve, was raped by a fifty year old man from the same village (*The National- Weekender* 23/5/2005)
- Two girls in Port Moresby were attacked by twelve armed men who forced their way into the house and after demanding money, raped them (*The National* 18/2/2005)
- A young girl was pack raped who had refused sex with a boy (*The National* 30/3/2005)
- A mother who was attacked and raped in her home by ten men (*The National* 30/3/2005)

²⁵ Figures of offences in February declined however, exact figures were not given in the newspaper report.

²⁶ Susan Brownmiller's argument in *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* that the media acts to propagate news of sexual violence in order to keep women in a state of fear has a resonance here.

- In the Western Highlands, two women were pack raped by in a village in the Nebilyer district (*The National* 23/3/2005)
- An eleven year old girl was raped in the Dei district (*The National* 23/3/2005)
- A seven-year-old girl was allegedly raped by a policeman (*The National* 2/8/2005).

These few examples from newspapers show the kinds of sexual violence and abuse that women and girls are threatened with, and endure, every day yet how many more go unreported (see Borrey 2000).

In the case of PNG, research has shown that circumstances of rape offences suggest that rape can be classified into three types: (1) punishment against victim or others related to the victim; (2) as a response to spurning; (3) and opportunistic rape (Borrey 2000: 100). In all three types of rape, the victim is a woman. In the first example, the raping of women is used as an excuse to 'payback' men of enemy tribes in a tribal fight (see Banks 2000b; Borrey 2000). As a response to spurning, men who are refused by women use rape to both punish the girl or woman but also to symbolise, on another level, that females are to be subordinated. Opportunistic rape, whilst more chaotic than the other types, operates to ensure that women and girls are pressurised to keep within the domain of protective men as Brownmiller (1975) argued.

According to Brownmiller rape 'is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear' (p.15). She argues that man uses rape as a basic weapon of force against a woman and that his forced entry into her body, despite her refusal, becomes the vehicle of his victorious conquest over her being, the ultimate test of his superior strength and triumph of his manhood (Brownmiller 1975:14). The male perpetrators display not just physical power, but also sexual power.

Although some traditional societies in PNG did not have a name for rape (Hanuabada- Central, Umbukul-NIP), people did not condone what, from a Western perspective, is defined as rape (Banks 2000b, see also Borrey 2000). Since the incidences of rape have been reported by media as unwanted sex through force, people are becoming aware of it as a form of sexual assault to a female, although the victims often are blamed for the rape (see Banks 2000b; Borrey 2000b). Although Banks' (2000b) study of the wider context in which sexual offences like rape happen, her study fails to address the issues of violation of the human rights of the victims as well as respect for them as women. As the male perpetrators take advantage of opportunities to sexually assault women under whatever the circumstance be it cultural or personal, they use their physical strength to intimidate women and keep them under their power and control, and maintain their masculinity as Brownmiller (1975) has argued. Ward (1995) affirms this and argues that rape is a 'crime of violence, power and control' (p.62). Moreover, once the perpetrators control women, then they can

also indirectly have power and control over the men that these female victims, and other possible victims, are related to.

The HIV/AIDS Pandemic

With the current threat of an HIV/AIDS pandemic in PNG, police have expressed concern over cases of rape which will exacerbate the spread of the disease as the Western Highlands police commander Mr. Wini Henao commented after the rape cases in the Western Highlands mentioned above:

... young women were often subjected to the threat of violence including death, and then raped. He said such situations were dangerous because apart from rape being a criminal act, there is an increased risk of AIDS spreading very quickly (The National 23/3/2005).

While rape could increase the risk in the spread of HIV/AIDS on the one hand, on the other hand, married women are still at risk of contracting the virus when their husband or partners are unfaithful and practice unsafe sex outside of marriage. In cases where women are raped in marriage even if they know that their husband is unfaithful to them, they are doubly at risk at the threat of rape. For instance, Scarlett's Letter (31/3/2005) shared her experience in conducting HIV/AIDS awareness workshops in different parts of PNG in 2004:

[M]any men confessed that they were infected by having unprotected sex with sex workers. At the same time many female workshop participants openly complained that they now carry the virus, having been infected by their own husbands or partners, some of whom were even leading politicians while others were high-ranking administrators. These women claimed that their menfolk had been

infected by having sex with one or another already infected sex worker and had then passed it on to them in the course of marital rape (The National-Weekender 31/3/2005).

The HIV/AIDS pandemic incipient in PNG is another result of the sexual violence against women (see UNAIDS/WHO 2004 and UNAIDS 2005).²⁷ This is for two reasons – firstly, condoms are not used in cases of rape, and secondly because infected men often engage in forced intercourse with a large number of women. In other words, monogamous men are likely to use protection and the reverse is true of unattached men. One consequence of the spread of the virus to women will be the infection of unborn children for whom women are ultimately responsible. As a nation, then, sexual violence has the potential to kill the women and their children and hinder the development of PNG to a very great extent in the coming decades. It is important to note that women are frequently blamed for the spread of HIV, not men.

The Sex Industry

Another issue related to sex – and to the HIV/AIDS crisis - is that of prostitution which is a growing industry. As in other countries, female sex workers are shunned by society whilst the men who trade money for sex are protected and their involvement is not foregrounded in the discussions about prostitution. In other words, women's involvement in the trade is highlighted, but the men's involvement is almost invisible. Here women are seen as the inferior, immoral

²⁷ UNAIDS and WHO reports with the PNGNACS – Papua New Guinea National AIDS Council Secretariat.

'Other'. This echoes Simone de Beauvoir's (1972) analysis of prostitution that on the one hand, 'the woman as the other, object, as the exploited one; on the other hand, ...the man who purchases her services, is a self, a subject, and exploiter' (cited in Tong 1998:185).

Prostitution also positions women as powerless socially and economically - they are ostracised for being involved and yet commonly have no other means of earning an income than trading sex.²⁸ Yet the men who pay for sex are the socially and economically powerful simply because they have money to do so. It might be argued that such a transaction – whether the customer is a man from PNG or a tourist – both symbolises and enacts an almost universal exchange between men and women and one which is becoming more widespread. Yet is also clear that children and men work in the industry (most commonly for tourists) and that there is a legislative vacuum concerning them, whereas for women no vacuum exists. The victimisation of female sex workers, in particular, was clearly demonstrated when a brothel raid by police netted seventy-two men, women and children sex workers. They were arrested and then paraded in public. The women were detained, but the men were set free – because the law does not cover male sex workers at all (*Post Courier* 18/3/2004).

²⁸ The rise in the sex trade generally, and sex tourism in particular, is arguably another result of globalisation and one to which PNG is vulnerable (Altman, 2001).

The Use and Abuse of Alcohol

Another way PNG men express their masculinity today is through alcohol purchase and consumption, as well as through their own brewing of it.²⁹

As the process of westernisation and modernisation introduced alcohol, for men in PNG it has become a symbol of modernisation and also as a symbol of wealth. According to popular understanding, drinking is mostly associated with men's activities, and men who drink, have money and its use points to education, employment and a high status in society. Today with the home brewing practices especially among the youth in both the rural and urban (especially in settlements) sectors of society, this shows a lot of ingenuity and courage to defy government liquor ban. To be able to defy law also gives them status in the same way *raskols* gain status for their criminal activities as discussed in detail in chapter six. In this way, alcohol has become a modern symbol of masculinity in PNG.

Yet it has also come to be blended with traditional practices. Firstly, its consumption is seen as a modern rite of passage. It is 'substituted for traditional male initiation' (Marshall 1982:5). LiPuma (1982) points out that alcohol is also taken as a rite of passage into being officially modernised and Lepowsky (1990) also presents alcohol as a key symbol of the modern way.

²⁹ Alcohol brewing is a new phenomenon that is gaining popularity in PNG today (2006/2007). Men brew their own beer which they call 'home brew', 'jungle juice' or 'JJ', 'stream' or 'Java' with the spelling Pidginised of 'hom bru', 'stim'. or 'Yawa'.

For the employed, being able to afford alcohol is also a status symbol. In their study of the Highlands, Dernbach and Marshall (2001) claim that beer is a key indicator of wealth and has purchasing power in the cash economy in that it has been used in the Highlands in the peacemaking ceremonies to end tribal fights (p.39). Cartons of beer have also become incorporated into traditional exchanges in many parts of PNG (Marshall 1982:5). Although alcohol (mostly beer) is consumed by men, some women have also begun to consume it when it is incorporated into traditional practices in this way (see Banks 2000a; Banks 2000b; Marshall 1982).

Secondly, alcohol is a major factor that contributes to fights in places where men drink. Sadly, fights related to alcohol do not remain in the men's arena; it causes domestic violence (Marshall 1988, Toft 1985; Kidu 2000; Dembach and Marshall 2001;WHO 2004).

Status

In addition to the above an education, a career and money all contribute a subset of modern men's expression of their masculinity. Education brings the promise of a good career which, in turn, guarantees a good salary. With wealth he is able to contribute to his customary obligations and that makes him stand out as a big man (Cox and Aitsi 1988).

Amassing modern assets like a salary, a house and cars is a new way a man can maintain the traditional concept of being a big man, but this kind of wealth is accrued individually rather than summoning help and the contribution of their wife (or wives) and relations. The modern big men who work for the government have become wealthy by benefiting from the state and public resources and their relatives also seek to benefit from their big men. This poses the country with problems of corruption like the misappropriation of funds for development projects (see Pitts 2002). This issue so explored later in the thesis.

In PNG, men express their masculinity in many ways - some of which I have discussed above. What I have presented I hope brings out the key contemporary gender issues, and the problems associated with masculinity which in the past were not questioned and seen as a natural part of life – these include wife beating, rape, the use of alcohol, the spread of HIV/AIDS and the sex industry. In these matters, I take a radical feminist position to argue that these forms of violence against women are systemic, systematic, and denigrate women as individuals who are passive objects ready to accept physical violence and sexual abuse (Tong 1998:66).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to present an overview of some of the key gender issues in which patriarchy and masculinity have been problematised as two forces that both construct and sustain the psyche of PNG men as a group.

Whilst there is a paradigm shift occurring in the construction of masculinity, the patriarchal system is still strong and old and new expressions of masculinity can easily function alongside one another within this system. This co-existence contributes to the complexity of the issues where culturally they are accepted but in the modern context become problems – particularly in relation to the law. So whilst wife beating is a crime today, traditionally a man could beat his wife if she injured his pride or masculinity in some way and many men still do (see Banks 2000b, Borrey 2000, Morley 1994).

This patriarchal system, and these male characteristics, extend to the modern urban society where men still are in authority and dominate all modern institutions of government, bureaucracy and business. Connell (2000) calls the style of leadership practised in both traditional and contemporary PNG society as 'hegemonic masculinity'. The manifestations of this are many and this study will investigate them.

This thesis explores the twin forces of patriarchy and masculinity and examines how men redefine these in contemporary PNG society through the eyes of the modern elite men of PNG. But before presenting their perspective, the Western anthropological approach to patriarchy and masculinity will be discussed in the next chapter so as to provide a framework from which the modern men's perspectives will be given.

CHAPTER TWO

Patriarchy And Masculinity: The Anthropological Perspective

Introduction

The anthropological discourse on patriarchy and masculinity in Papua New Guinea has been dominated by Western male anthropologists. Their interpretation of primitive cultures is both intriguing and incredible. They have interpreted the world of those cultures from an ethnocentric conceptual framework which provides the point of departure for further discussion.

Chapter two explores the concept of patriarchy and masculinity in Papua New Guinea as interpreted by Western anthropologists. It explores the anthropological assumptions on gender relations, and the cultural constructs of men and how they practice patriarchy and masculinity. It further explains the cultural practices of patriarchy by mapping it out in four loose models. The chapter ends with a description of the four models stating the similarities and differences between them.

Anthropological Assumptions

Western anthropologists like Malinowski (1922); Mead (1949a, 1949b, 1963, 1967); Herdt (1981); Godelier (1982); Strathern (1982, 1987), Gewertz and Errington (1989), Tuzin (1997) and Sillitoe (1998) to name a few, studied aspects

of the culture of Papua New Guinea like that of patriarchy and masculinity, and based their work on their own cultural assumptions. Strathern (1982, 1984), Sillitoe (1998) and MacDowell (1984) argue that some societies in PNG are egalitarian because men and women play complementary roles. However, if egalitarianism is based only on roles and functions then this claim may be true, but because approaches to masculinity and power and the abjection of women do not promote equality, it appears less convincing. For example, for men to come in contact with fluids like menstrual blood is perceived as polluting and therefore would weaken men's power (see Herdt 1981, Godelier 1982, Kyakas and Wiessner 1992). This belief makes women appear dirty and inferior and men appear clean and superior - a position and a belief which plays its part in women's subjugation. Although this belief is not observed in modern urban societies, in some rural societies this belief is still held even if it is not as strong as before.³⁰

The Cultural Construct of Masculinity

The male institutions and practices that contribute to male socialization vary in some aspects from society to society; however, there are some similar aspects that exist across societies. How strong patriarchy is observed and felt in the

³⁰ Practices where contact with menstrual blood is seen to be a pollutant is not anymore practices in the urban societies. In the rural sector, some societies still observe this, especially among societies who still practice male initiation rites. For example, in Madang province, some villages still have male initiation and the initiated men are not allowed to receive food from young women and women with new born babies because of the fear of menstrual blood or blood from childbirth. They would avoid contact with women for about six months after their rites of passage. I have witnessed this when male members of my family have gone through initiation rites, the most recent case was Christmas 2005.

different societies relates to the taboos that enforce the male members and how strict these taboos are. The taboos and the consequences that could be suffered if they are broken are part and partial of the whole belief systems that influence the conduct of both males and females in a society.

In Papua New Guinea, the dynamics of patriarchy and masculinity and male institutions of socialisation have been categorised into four very loose models. These models work on a continuum where there is fluidity in the dynamics and some characteristics and traits of masculine identity can be seen across models. Some tribes display characteristics that are more aggressive than others as some men's roles exhibit more aggression while some behaviours of the same group are quite mild and less threatening. Below is a matrix that shows the four loose models of patriarchy, operating on a continuum.

The socialisation of masculinity shown through anthropological studies ranges from a strong patriarchal model to middle patriarchy, to less aggressive and to the non-aggressive patriarchy depending on the norms of the individual societies.

Although some societies are matrilineal, Flaherty's (1998) study of female secondary school teachers shows that women in both matrilineal (Milne Bay and Tolais) and patrilineal (East Sepik and Western Highlands) societies were quiet and men spoke in public. Although women in matrilineal societies participated in making decisions, men aired those decisions in public meetings. In the same study, the female participants highlighted the dominance of men in their

societies; men are the heads of, and run, institutions. Men have a voice in the public arena while women have little or no voice. Flaherty's participants in the study stressed that men were highly respected and had a higher status than women (Flaherty 1998). In matrilineal societies, men are still dominant and powerful through the chiefs and maternal brothers as seen on Trobriand Islands. Weiner (1988: 92) notes, 'In each generation, one man, as the head of the matrilineage, controls the land. When he dies, his younger brother assumes his position, until in the next generation the oldest son of his oldest sister inherits control'.

Strong patriarchy is shown in male power and control among the Sambia (Herdt 1981) and the Baruya (Godelier 1981) in the Eastern Highlands of Papua New Guinea. Strong patriarchy among the Iahita – Arapesh (Tuzin 1997) speaks about men who had guarded the *Tambaran* (spirit house) for years until its 'death' with the influence of Christianity.³¹ Patriarchy in some societies like the Melpa in Mt Hagen area and the Enga is not too aggressive, yet still strongly male dominated although women do have a certain amount of control in socio-economic gift exchange ceremonies like *Moka* and *Tee* (Strathern 1982; Sillitoe 1998). This not-too-aggressive patriarchy can be seen as the middle patriarchy. This model begins to have some tolerance for women as long as they contribute to their men's wellbeing and social economic activities in society. The third

³¹ *Tambaran* is the general name for a spirit. House *Tambaran* is a spirit house usually where sacred masks and totemic ornaments are kept. It is believed that the spirits of dead ancestors live there. It is where only initiates men enter and live and it is where initiation rituals take place. It is interesting to note that the Parliament building in Papua New Guinea is called the House

model is the less aggressive model is a trait seen on the coastal regions of Gulf, Central, Oro, Morobe, Madang and the Sepik provinces. Malinowski (1922; 1929) and Weiner (1988) discovered the Trobriand Islanders on Southeastern part of the country to be another model that is soft, non-aggressive patriarchy which shows more tolerance for women and more inclined towards egalitarian ways, men still remain as heads of families and some inherit chiefly positions that women do not usually hold. Hence the four models of patriarchy that can be seen working in the dynamics of gender relations in PNG are: model one: strong patriarchy, model two: middle patriarchy, model three: less aggressive and model four: soft, non-aggressive patriarchy.

In patrilineal societies, power is predominantly in the hands of the male members, while in egalitarian matrilineal societies, power is more shared with women as seen in the Trobriand Islands. In patrilineal societies, it is the initiated men who own and guard the knowledge, usually in the men's house where women's access is prohibited and strictly observed by taboos. The Baruya guard the technological knowledge of manufacturing diggings sticks for women and salt for trade. Sambia guard the ritual flutes (Herdt 1981) and belong to the men's secret society, the kind of which resembles the military club. Herdt (1987: 101) states:

This secret club instils the warrior ethos in boys and transmits to them the power called jerungdu. Sambia men associate this power with homosexual intercourse and the use of phallic symbols, especially the ritual flutes, that represent the cult and masculinity'. Among the Chambri, men had power through the inheritance of totemic names and these names are believed to convey power (Herdt 1987:101).

The Ilahita Arapesh men in the East Sepik, had power through the *Tambaran* to keep their male identity (Tuzin 1997). In PNG, masculine power and great physical strength is demonstrated through warfare and defeat of enemy tribes or through roles that require physical strength, like clearing garden land or constructing houses and fences.

The table below offers a loose mapping of the attributes relating to masculinities compiled by western Anthropologists. Currently, this material is all that is available in order to gain an overview of the key characteristics.

Table 2.1: Mapping Patriarchy In Papua New Guinea

CHARACTERISTICS	Model 1 STRONG PATRIARCHY	Model 2 MIDDLE PATRIARCHY	Model 3 LESS AGGRESSIVE PATRIARCHY	Model 4 SOFT, NON-AGGRESSIVE PATRIARCHY
Male physical strength	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - high aggression, violent -emphasis on prowess in warfare -excited by blood of enemy -very powerful 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -aggression not too high -occasional warfare -loss of blood in any violence calls for payback -payback fights are common -powerful 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -low aggression -a lot of negotiation, talking, 'sitting' -verbal (fights, disputes etc) -still in power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - no aggression - mostly negotiation - peace-loving - more verbal fights, disputes - still chiefs
Initiation Spiritual prowess	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - rigorous initiation rituals (long time, different stages, blood letting, nose piercing) - sever connection with females (mothers, sisters) -strict taboos to protect initiates - strong fear of menstrual blood/pollution/ atrophy - guardians of magic, sorcery, knowledge, flutes, masks etc. - shamans, orators, healers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - rigorous initiation rituals (blood letting, nose piercing) - strict/strong taboos to protect male initiates and men in general - strong fear in women's blood/pollution/ atrophy - guardians of magic, knowledge - shamans, orators, healers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - initiation rituals, very important, but not aggressive - taboos for male protection exist - still fear women's blood/ pollution/atrophy - guardians of magic, sorcery, 'sanguma', knowledge of myths - shamans, orators (but not aggressive), healers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - some form of initiation for boys (Upe ceremony for boy on Bougainville, Malangan, Dukduk rituals) for rites of passage -women's blood (menstruation & birth) is still a matter to be cautious of -men are still guardians of magic (shark calling magic in New Ireland, black magic known among the Tolais of East New Britain, sorcerers of Dobu Island and Trobriand Islands in Milne Bay)
Marriage and procreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -only after initiation -must father children -must build a house for wife/wives and provide for them -polygamy allowed -arranged (betrothed from infant) -must have sister to exchange (or female kin) - pay bride price (many pigs, continual gift giving) - male strength in sperm = life (explicit statements) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -only after initiation -must father children -must build house before marriage -arranged marriages - polygamy is allowed -woman can be given as part of bride price for her brother -pay bride price (many pigs, continual gift giving) - man's substance (sperm) is life-giving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -after initiation and some form of rite of passage -must father children -arranged marriages (sometimes by betrothal eg: Manam) -exchange marriage -polygamy more in chiefs - pay bride price (but not as much as the other two patriarchal models). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - usually after initiation -sometimes by own choice -often by parents' choice or arranged -sometimes exchange marriage -pay bride price -in the Trobriands, the man must make yam gardens for his sister - among the Tolais, the man is expected to reside with wife on her land

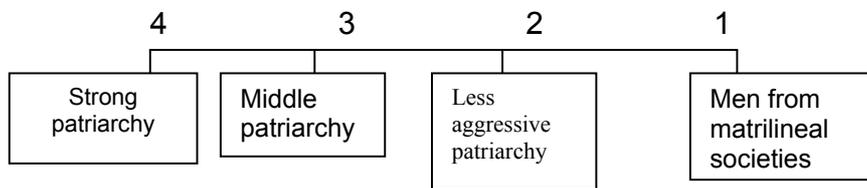
Territory, man's space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -men's house, Tambaran (spirit house) women not allowed - forest is masculine - certain tracks, usually the high road -river (upstream) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - men's house, Tambaran, men's institution - forest, river (river people) -river (upstream) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - do have men's house - no tracks reserved only for men -river (upstream), certain pools only for men 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -men's house is still a male institution, and strictly male space - more communal living but men still have their territory -not inhibited about being around women
Division of labour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hunting (usually certain game that give status: cassowary, pigs) - work that demonstrates physical strength (felling trees, building house, fence) - plant 'masculine' crops: sugarcane 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -hunting, (game that give status: pigs, cassowary, crocodiles for the river people) -work that demonstrates physical strength (felling trees, clearing forest for gardening, building house) - planting 'masculine' crops: sugarcane, yams 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hunting, fishing (coastal & river) - clearing forest for gardening, - building house, fence - planting 'masculine' crops: yam (coastal region) - climbing coconut (coast) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - hunting, fishing - clearing forests - building house - Trobrianders, yam planting is men's work, - Domestic work is not shared - Mumu (cooking in earth oven with hot stones) is shared work - Climbing coconut
Gift exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - woman exchanges for peace -a lot of pigs (50-100) - ornaments: shells, beads - food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -woman given in exchange marriages - a lot of pigs (can be up to 50 pigs) - ornaments: shells, pigs' tasks -food 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -exchange sisters or female kin in marriage - a few pigs (maximum 5) -food - ornament: shells, feathers, pig's tasks, clay pots 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -shell money (kina,) -pigs -food, (especially yams Trobriand)
Wealth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -land ownership - pigs (usually raised by wives) - children -daughters (for bride price) -names 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -land ownership -pigs (usually raised by wives) -children -daughters (for bride price) -totems -names 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -land ownership, -totems -names - crops (yams,) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -no land ownership -totems -names -crops (yams in the Trobriand) -knowledge of carving masks (Trobriand)
Key societies	Baruya (EHP), Sambia (EHP), Enga, Southern Highlands, Western Highlands,	Enga, Southern Highlands, Western Highlands, Iatmul, Tchambuli – East Sepik, Murik Lakes, Mundugumor – East Sepik, Western Province (Star Mountains), West Sepik, Iahita generally mountain societies	Morobe, Madang Coast, Manam, Manus, Papua Coast (Central, Oro, Gulf)	Trobriand Islands (Milne Bay), East New Britain, New Island, Bougainville Arapesh (East Sepik),

Models of Patriarchy

This section explores four loose models of patriarchy as interpreted from western anthropologists' studies of traditional societies in PNG. Since patriarchy is a social cultural construct, four models have been established from the literature and from personal knowledge as a Papua New Guinean. These four models present a continuum of how strong and aggressive the exercise of patriarchy in the traditional societies was, which has a bearing on the degree of patriarchy practiced in PNG today. In other words, the models present the strength of patriarchy. The models suggest that the dynamics of the societies are not static and clearly defined in one model. They present the degrees of 'temperaments' (Mead 1963) such as aggression and gentleness that men exercised which is the variable that distinguishes one model from the other. This means that the temperament of aggressiveness and gentleness is the distinguishing factor between each model. The models are also distinguished by how strongly they uphold and practice patriarchy.

The four models to be explored are: strong patriarchy, middle patriarchy which is not as strong as the strong model, the less aggressive patriarchy which is not as strong as the first two models, but stronger than the fourth model - the non-aggressive, soft patriarchy.

Model 1: Strong Patriarchy



On a scale of one to four with four as the strongest model of patriarchy, model one would be on four. It is very, and almost consistently, strong. One distinguishing characteristic of strong patriarchal societies is that the power of the men is shown in physical prowess and strength – or physical capital. This factor is shared with societies in the middle patriarchy model. This is often demonstrated in activities that show physical strength and endurance in tasks they perform. For example, in warfare, men show intense use of power to protect their tribe from enemies and in so doing the outstanding men attain titles of great men. A great man is a warrior who shows strength; hunter who has hunted wild pigs and cassowaries or men along the Sepik River hunt crocodiles, shamans who deftly guide warriors to attack enemies. A great man earns the title he functions; his skills are those that mostly serve the interests of the whole community. For example, a man is a great warrior; a good crocodile hunter; a very good fisherman or a dugong hunter.

A big man on the other hand, merely acts as an individual who wields a lot of power by accumulating wealth and planning and calculating gift exchanges to build his reputation among his followers. A big man position is not inherited; one works hard to acquire it. Godelier explains:

The big-man is a man who has acquired power through his own merit; this power is neither inherited nor inheritable. His merit lies in his proven superiority in various fields, for example, his skill and efforts as a gardener, his bravery in battle, his oratorical gifts, or his magical powers. According to Sahlins (1963), none of these talents alone is sufficient to make a big-man with one additional gift which apparently plays the decisive role in building the renown and power of this man, namely, his ability to amass wealth and redistribute it with astutely calculated generosity (Godelier 1982: 163).

The second characteristic is that of men's strict observation of men's boundaries and territory with women in the society. This characteristic is also strictly observed by societies in the middle patriarchy model. The territories of the two sexes are clearly demarcated and strictly observed. For example, certain parts of the forest, river or 'men's house' are masculine areas where only men can access and women keep away from it. Similarly, the feminine parts of the forest or gardening plots are only for women and men can't enter that. This demarcation has strong taboos that enforce the 'sacrosanct'. If these taboos are broken, then a curse has befallen the erring party. For men, this means that they will become weak and effeminate. The fear of pollution by women's blood, women's bodies and entering women's space are strong factors that distinguished strong patriarchy from less strong patriarchy and the less aggressive models.

Melanesian males fear menstrual blood and birth pollution (Sillitoe 1998). This trait is present in all four models however, where there is strong patriarchy, more rigorous taboos are set to segregate menstruating women and women at the time of giving birth. Brook's (1999) feminist perspectives on the body calls this

kind of fear of the fluids and processes specific to the adult female reproductive body as the concept of the abject. Male abjection of the female body is a sign of women's inferiority yet Brook argues that women's bodies are essential for social situations. In PNG, such social situations are when women are used as assets and exchanged between men as in exchanged marriages; or women's bodies are used for childbearing for the survival of the clan and tribe. Among patriarchal societies, there is great fear of male atrophy. There are strictly observed taboos that protect men from coming in contact with women's menstrual blood or blood from childbirth. The Wola men fear that women may poison them with menstrual blood; the Melpa men believe that menstrual blood and anything associated with birth can pollute and kill them. The Iatmul upon introducing the boys to the men's house world, are separated from females (Sillitoe 1998). The Baruya have an attitude about women's blood, that it is lethal, polluting, and dangerous and a permanent threat to men's strength. The same sentiments are shared by Sambia (see Herdt 1981; 1987).

The attitude of the men toward menstrual blood, wherever they talk or think about it, verges on hysteria, mingling disgust, repulsion, and above all fear. For them, menstrual blood is dirty, and they rank it with those other polluting, repugnant substances, urine and faeces. Above all, though, it is a substance that weakens women whenever it flows from them, and it would destroy men's strength if ever it came into contact with their bodies (Godelier 1982: 58).

The demarcation of men's and women's territories and space, leads us to the third point of distinction which is the division of labour. Male and female roles are different, so as the types of work they do, and even the types of crops they cultivate. For example, men hunt, fish, fight and protect the family and tribe. They do physically strenuous jobs in the garden like felling trees, climbing fruit and nut trees. These forms of labour are not reversed with women's labour. Women in the absence of men can do men's work, but it is not about women's ability to do the work, it is about men's productivity and resourcefulness. If men do not work and perform their tasks, then they can lose face and regarded as improvident. Doing the hard physical work builds their reputation as hardworking and productive. It is part of their masculine identity to be hardworking and productive and can provide for his family and society.

The other characteristic that distinguishes the strong patriarchy model is the power and control of decision-making lies solely on the men. This power is not shared with the women. With this power, is the role of leadership that men believe is their role and so, women's leadership is not noticed and valued among the men in a strong patriarchal society. Leadership in this model is usually not ascribed, but rather attained. This means that a man has to work hard to be recognized as the leader and thereafter, continue to work hard to maintain that title.

Lastly, the characteristic that distinguishes strong patriarchy is the high level of aggression and violence towards enemies. Tribal wars are a part of political dynamics between tribes. Blood of enemies spilled on the battlefields bring great excitement to the winning side. Men who slay enemies are endowed with more respect and authority in the tribe and they become leaders and elders who pass on the skills of marksmanship and other useful skills in life, to young initiates during their initiation rites. For some tribes, the purpose of male initiation is to socialize them to be masculine and aggressive warriors. In Melanesia, initiation incorporates young men into the male aggressive domain and ensures the survival of social groups (Sillitoe 1998). For the Sambia according to Herdt (1987), 'The main goal of initiation is to make boys big and strong, to make them aggressive warriors'. Initiation rituals are rigorous and long as they extend over years involving several stages. The Baruya and Sambia start at about the age of nine or ten until they marry and have children. The initial stage is to sever their connection from their mothers and sisters and should have no relationship with them. The other characteristics from the model map can be followed with little difficulty where other points of distinction can be seen. Having explored the characteristics of the strong patriarchy model, the middle patriarchy model will be discussed next.

Model 2: Middle Patriarchy

This section explores the second model of middle patriarchy where the temperamental quality of aggression is strong, but not as strong as in the

previous model. From the scale of one to four, the middle patriarchy model would be on four, being the second strongest model of patriarchy. Men in this model practice patriarchy in every way like the first model, but to a degree of strength and force less than the first.

The characteristics that the middle patriarchy share with the strong patriarchy model is that need to show physical prowess and strength and the male abjection of the female body, which is enforced through the observation of men's space and territory like the men's house, sections of the river, forests and so on.

One factor that is different with the strong patriarchy model is that the level of aggression is not too high, yet there is occasional warfare. Pay back killings are common where a killing in one tribe must be avenged. In this situation, the aggressive warrior trait is displayed in men (include how men solicit for sorcery 'sanguma'). Physically, men still exert their power over women through the masculine roles of chiefs, warriors, shamans, orators, leaders and sorcerers.

Male initiation is one characteristic that all four models of patriarchy observe because it is the most dramatic manifestation of how men are socialised into their masculine identity. Manhood and masculinity are attained after men undergo initiation rituals. Without the rites of passage, a man is not considered as a 'full' man. According to the Sambia,

Pre-initiates are seen as boys, not men, for they show feminine traits such as shyness and crying, and they engage in female tasks and routines such as babysitting and weeding. In this sense they belong to the female world, though they are not female... They must learn new things, but they must also unlearn old traits and ideas, so that they can truly feel in their identity: 'I am not feminine; I am masculine' (Herdt 1987: 102).

In the hierarchy of masculinity in what Connell (2000:10-11) calls 'hegemonic masculinity', uninitiated men will be marginalized and belong to a lower class of males and in a societies like Sambia (see Herdt 1987); they may be seen as feminine. Other positions as warriors, cassowary or crocodile hunters (Sepik River) are attained as distinguished positions. Hegemonic masculinity distinguishes those men in power not only over women, but men over other men. The social hierarchy of masculinity is the same in many other tribes as that noted by Godelier (1981) as an unequal hierarchy among the Baruya. He attests that the social hierarchy has men over women; shamans, warriors and cassowary hunters over other men; the initiates over non-initiates. 'Forms of social hierarchy which exist in New Guinea, under which conditions has exploitation, not only of women by men, but also of men by men' (Godelier 1981: 32). This same concept of hegemonic masculinity is also seen on Manam Island in Madang. The Paramount chief of the island (*Tanepoa* or *Kukurai*) has power over other junior chiefs and all chiefs have power over the commoner known as the *gadagada*. A similar experience is had in the Trobriand Islands where a chief has high rank while commoners belong to the low caste and who have to pay tribute of yams to the chief (Malinowski 1922; 1929; Weiner 1988).

All societies in PNG had some form or other of male and female initiation. The strong patriarchal societies conduct rigorous initiation rituals for males which is done in several stages. The Baruya and Sambia (Godelier 1981, 1982; Herdt 1981, 1987;) have up to four stages of initiation and ritual initiation is the key social mechanism for changing boys' gender roles and internal gender identity. In both of these societies, homosexuality and feeding the young initiates with semen is part of the initiation cult. They even pierce the nose of young boys. The Sepik River societies like the Korogu and Iatmul, engage in skin cutting and bloodletting of the initiates and the scars are left to 'resemble the horny protuberances of a crocodile skin' (Sillitoe 1998:202). The symbolism and the imagery of the crocodile are used to encourage boys to develop harsh male personalities, communicate the desirability of ferocious crocodile-like emotions and behaviour (Sillitoe 1998: 211-212). The other two models of patriarchy do have initiation rites that require boys to go into seclusion where they are taught life skills and lore of the tribe. Other initiation cults include the Bougainville society's *Upe* ritual and the Tolais have the *dukduk* and the Madang and Sepik people have the *tumbuan* cults.³²

In matrilineal societies outlined in model four like the Trobriand Islands, women's blood is still a matter to be cautious of. Men in such societies are still guardians

³² *Upe* is the initiation ritual for boys in Bougainville. *Upe* is the name of the special hat made for each young initiate and is worn on the head throughout the duration of the initiation period. It is worn when the initiated parade into the village at the end of their period of seclusion.

Dukduk is the sacred spirit mask of the Tolai and Duke of York people. Only special initiated men wear this mask in dance festivals in the village.

Tumbuan is the special totem mask believed to inhabit ancestral spirits. It is usually worn by initiated men and displayed during village dance festivals.

of knowledge like the 'shark-calling' charms in New Ireland, sorcery (*sanguma*) practices among the Trobrianders and Dobuans of Milne Bay Province and parts of the New Guinea mainland, the 'black magic' practised by the Tolais of East New Britain.

In Melanesia, men's space is very important. In a way, it adds to the strengthening of male identity. In Papua New Guinea, the concept of 'men's house' (*haus man*) is well known, as this was the most visible institution of segregation between men and women in a society.³³ In patriarchal societies a man's house is exclusively for men and it is like a 'club house' or the *Ilahita* – Arapesh (Tuzin 1997) and the Sepik River people call it the *Haus Tambaran* (the spirit house). This is where male symbols of identity are kept and guarded. For example, the sacred flutes and masks like the *tumbuan*, the *dukduk* are safeguarded there. The Baruya (Godelier 1981) and Sambia (Herdt 1981; 1987) capture young boys and keep them in the men's house and take them through initiation. Sambia and Baruya men return to live in the men's house when their wives give birth for fear of pollution. Matrilineal societies also have men's house. Paulias Matane who is a Tolai from East New Britain, comes from a matrilineal system. He shares his experience of spending part of his childhood in a men's house (Matane 1972). In their quest to be a big-man, a Siuai (NSP) man has to attract enough following to help him build a men's house. Then he must furnish

³³ '*Haus man*' is a men's house. It is like a men's institution that permits only men, where women are not allowed to enter it. Researching men and what they think on gender issues felt like I was entering men's mind to know their views and this was like entering the men's space and this made me feel strange. *Haus man* is also interchanged with *haus boi*.

the house with gongs (*garamut*). In the men's house, sacred panpipes are played and spirits who are believed to inhabit the men's house, teach gifted men new tunes (see Sillitoe 1998).

There are other spaces that are used by men to maintain their masculine identity. For the Baruya and Sambia, the forest is masculine and it is occupied by men only for hunting. Women are prohibited from entering that space. Men and women use different tracks. Men's tracks are on the higher part and women's in the lower part. Sleeping space in the family house is also demarcated. Men occupy the space away from the doorway so as not to be touched or walked over by female members in the household (see Herdt 1981; Godelier 1982). The Eastern Iatmul cosmology as Silverman (1997) explains, claims trees, villages and dry ground are masculine while river or water is feminine, hence the division of masculine and feminine space. He further states that Eastern Iatmul attain masculine identity through totemic names inherited from their ancestors and these names embody space and time. These men transcend historical space and time and perpetuate this identity by passing on this name to the next generation. In other patriarchal models, men's spaces are observed, but sometimes not as strictly as those that practise the strong patriarchal model.

Marriage and procreation are an important aspect of life in Papua New Guinea. It is expected that all men and women marry in their lifetimes. It is rare that one remains unmarried, because the main purpose of marriage is procreation for the

survival of the clan and tribe. A man attains full manhood when he sires children and especially male children. For example, the Baruya and Sambia reach the last stage of initiation and manhood after the first child is born (Herdt 1981; Godelier 1982). A man's sperm is seen to be the most important element in procreation. The Baruya claim that '...a child is first and foremost produced by the man, by his sperm...' and that '...sperm is life, strength, the nourishment that give life...' (Godelier 1982: 51-52). The Eastern Iatmul say that at conception, man contributes the stronger permanent structure of the new life while the woman the softer parts as Silverman (1997) states 'semen becomes the bones that form a stable core the bones' and the '...growth of delicate organs and flesh originate from menstrual blood'. Therefore paternal identity, like bones is fixed and permanent (Silverman 1997). A woman who is childless can suffer a lot of criticism and denigration. A man can take another wife if his current wife does not bear children. A man can take another wife if his current wife does not bear him male children.

In these and other societies like the Ilahita Arapesh (Tuzin 1997) and the offspring of chiefs on Manam Island, future marriage partners are betrothed from birth. While it may seem to maintain lineage relations among men, Modjeska (1982) argues that among the Etoro, arranged marriages through child betrothal is a way of men's control over women. Arranged marriages are common and brideprice payment is a practice.³⁴ For example, among the Orokaiva people,

³⁴ *Brideprice* is a form of payment, usually understood to be gifts given by the groom and his clan to the family and clan of the bride. Pigs and garden food crops are the main commodity

'The eventual payment of the brideprice is an important occasion which confers status on a clan as a whole and particularly the main donors within it' (Newton 1985: 147). In all the four models of patriarchy, some kind of exchanged marriage is practised. This is when a woman is given for marriage in exchange for the woman her brother or a male relative has married. Among the Baruya, as Godelier states, 'The only way one can really compensate the gift of a woman is by giving another woman in exchange, whether in the same generation or in the one that follows the first marriage. Thus, only a woman can equal or compensate for another woman' (Godelier 1982: 23). Sometimes a woman can be given as part of her brother's brideprice payment. Polygamy is practised in all societies in PNG, but usually chiefs and men of renown practise it because they are wealthy and can afford paying brideprice for all wives. A man who feels capable of looking after his wives can engage in polygamy.

The division of labour and other activities among the societies of PNG contribute to the socialisation of masculinity in a patriarchal society. In societies like the Highlands and Sepik River where strong and medium patriarchy are practised, hunting wild pigs, cassowary and crocodiles are masculine activities. Men's physical prowess is measured by their hunting skills and by the success of their hunting expeditions. Men's labour involves physical strength like clearing garden land, building fence around the garden and constructing houses, making canoes and slit gongs (garamut). Men's planting and harvesting of yams as done in the Trobriands (see Malinowski 1922, 1929; Weiner 1988), the Arapesh (Tuzin 1997)

and the Melpa (Strathern 1988; Sillitoe 1998) enhance men's definition of their masculinity. Among the Baruya and Sambia the sugarcane plant is seen as a symbol of the phallus and therefore a masculine crop which only men can plant and harvest (Herdt 1981; Godelier 1982). Men's work is in the public sphere and results are noticed and their reputation in that work is acknowledged.

In a patriarchal society, land ownership is passed on from father to son. In the matrilineal society like in the Trobriand Islands, land is still passed to a son, but through matrilineal connections. Even if land comes from the matrilineage, it is still owned by a male person. So in practice, landownership remains the right of the male members. Children and wives in a polygamous marriage form part of a man's wealth and these give him a sense of his male identity. Daughters have some value, as they are assets for brideprice later on. Totemic names give man his masculine identity as these names also carry power. The Eastern Iatmul and the Chambri have their whole politics of identity and their gender relations is based on totemic names. For the Chambri '...a male clan member competes to gain access to totemic names which are esoteric and which establish identification with his ancestors. This enables the man to have power and to control social relations in his clan' (Errington; Gewertz 1987: 47). For the Eastern Iatmul a man who assumes the totemic name of his ancestor, embodies the spatiotemporal history of his clan and so the past and present converge in him (Silverman 1996; 1997).

Hence, a man's status is attained by the amount of wealth he possesses. Not every man in PNG has such accumulation of wealth that is worth the status. For those who have a lot of wealth, gain and keep their prestige. Those who have no wealth become workers of the wealthy. Thus we find a society with a few wealthy men and men of rank who can wield a lot of power and control over the less powerful men and women in the society.

Model 3: Less Aggressive Patriarchy

This model of patriarchy shows the strength and power that identify men, yet is more inclined towards a softer patriarchy where men show much less physical aggression than the two first models discussed. There are more verbal discussions and negotiations between men and they include women in these to some extent. But men have the last say in decision-making and women give them that privilege. The women have been socialised to see men as the ultimate authority in their gender relations which elevates men's relative authority even if they are less aggressive than men in the first two models. And perhaps they do not need to be aggressive for power, as the system has already socialised people to give that respect to the men in this model.

This model also has male initiation rites of passage that socialise boys to a defined male identity. Since male initiation is an installation of boys as men, it is already an outward sign of their masculine identity and therefore they can still be less aggressive but maintain their identity. In other words, the initiated men have

status, but some form of aggression is practiced on occasions, but mostly aggression in this model is more verbal than physical.

In marriage and procreation, the man is still head of family and he gains status as a married man when he has children. Children are a demonstration of fertility and fecundity and even men in this model can get another wife if his first wife cannot bear him children which in a way, blames the women even if the man may have problems. Having children means that he has heirs who will inherit his property. Furthermore, this ensures that his name continues to exist even if he dies. The continuation of his line is one major reason why it is important for a man to have children.

When a man marries he is expected to pay brideprice. His ability to pay brideprice attains him status among his in-laws and can participate in activities his in-laws engage in. It also shows that he is industrious and has accumulated enough wealth to be able to pay for his bride. Part of his gifts of exchange is that he has a sister or a close female relative to give to his wife's family as a way of exchange. For some societies like the Baruya (see Godelier 1986), only a woman can compensate for another woman taken in marriage.

Men in this model still have men's territory, men's space, but it is not as strictly observed as men of the first two models. Men do not focus so much on the men's institutions like the men' house that give identity to them. What helps them

to maintain their identity is the roles they play as fathers, providers, defenders and so on.

Men in this model are like other men, but the difference is in the level of aggression. Their aggression is more verbal than physical and their male institutions are not strictly observed as the first two models of patriarchy.

Model 4: Non-Aggressive Patriarchy

This section discusses a model of patriarchy that is not aggressive. The men are what Mead (1963) calls 'passive men'. They do not use force or violence on women to gain respect and status; they are sympathetic towards women and negotiate with them. They have a lot of shared space and ideas with women. Men in this non-aggressive model can be found in matrilineal societies like the Trobriand Islands and the Massim Islands of Milne Bay, Bougainville, New Ireland and East New Britain. There are some societies that are patrilineal, yet have men as 'passive men' as in Mead's (1963) study of the Arapesh. Although domestic violence or family violence is unusual in this context of non-aggressive patriarchy, it does sometimes occur in these contexts (Sykes 2005).

Although men in this category are dominant and play chiefly roles, their power is shared with women to an extent where women deal with matters regarding the land. This means that women's input in decision-making processes is considered. Men listen to their women and they consult with their sisters more

than the other three models, when a decision is to be made. The relationship of men with their mothers and sisters in this model is very close and a high degree of respect for these women.

For physical strength and prowess of men in this model, they do not display their strength in order to gain status. They use their strength when it is necessary, for instance, in situations where men need to protect their families from their enemies. They do not fight only in order to display their physical capital.

Initiation and spiritual prowess is shown at the time of initiation. Boys go through the rites of initiation like boys from the other three models discussed above.

Another avenue where men show their prowess is at the time of using sorcery and magic to overpower the other people because men are the gatekeepers of the knowledge of using sorcery and magic.

Men in the non-aggressive model do not feel threatened about losing their masculinity if they negotiate with women and they have a lot of respect for women because of their ownership of land, unlike in patrilineal societies. Yet abjection of women is still practiced to a certain degree - men are still cautious of women's menstrual blood and blood at childbirth because it is considered to be a pollutant.

In marriage and procreation, the man is expected to move to his wife's village to settle there because the man does not own land to settle in, his sisters own the land. The man still pays brideprice for his wife. In the Trobriand Islands, the husband has to cultivate yams and make sure the wife's family is fed and satisfied and he must make yam gardens for his sister (see Weiner 1988). As for wealth, men in this non-aggressive model do not own land.

Men's space and territory (like the men's house) is their space, but they are not inhibited to share women's space with them. They have a more shared living arrangement than the other three models. The division of labour is practiced where men do the outdoor work and women do the domestic work. In the Trobriands, men plant yams (see Weiner 1988). In the New Guinea Islands,³⁵ cooking *mumu* is shared work where women prepare food and men grate coconut and chop wood for the fire to heat the stones.³⁶

The non-aggressive model is mostly seen among the matrilineal societies. Men respect women because they own the land and can distribute material resources to their brothers. Yet even here, there are some paradoxical practices and beliefs where fluids passed from a woman's body are still feared as pollutants for boys and men.

³⁵ New Guinea Islands are the island provinces of PNG: East and West New Britain, Manus, New Ireland and Bougainville.

³⁶ *Mumu* is food cooked in ground oven on hot stones. On the coast *mumu* is made with garden foods and meat or fish and vegetables parceled with coconut cream.

Conclusion

The four models of patriarchy share most characteristics. The major differences between them are the different levels of aggression and violence in men and the degree of abjection of women in their society. Strong patriarchal practices have strict norms of segregation between men and women. The concept of abjection of women's menstrual and child-birthing fluids is very strong and becomes part of training for male initiates. Men in the two models that are more egalitarian are still cautious of these, but are not as strict. All models strongly keep man's space as 'sacrosanct', not to be contaminated by female presence. Decision-making, power and control are largely men's functions. Rights of inheritance remain the right of men. Patriarchal dominance therefore permeates the whole PNG society even where matriarchal systems exist.

We are reliant, however, on western Anthropologists' data for these typologies and, as has been noted, such data resonates with their own cultural configurations which may explain the attention given to model one rather than model four!

CHAPTER THREE

Patriarchy And Masculinities: The Western Conceptual Framework

Introduction

Before colonisation, both Papua New Guinean men and women saw patriarchy and masculinity as unproblematic. This was and still is because, as Poole observes:

Certain configurations of gender may be privileged as they come to be constituted through, articulated with and legitimised by and encased in dominant ideologies; enshrined in prominent, powerful and pervasive stereotypes; deployed in centrally institutionalised or otherwise significantly marked arenas of social action' (Poole 1996:198)

In Papua New Guinea, the notion that patriarchy and masculinity are problematic is new. While traditional PNG societies saw the forces of patriarchy and masculinity as a natural way of life, the Western influence through education and consciousness has seen the practices of patriarchy an issue. The awareness of the state of inequality has come with Westernisation which insists on the equality of the sexes – at least at an official and legal level. Men have joined modernised society and women haven't, although women are struggling to participate, but their progress is slow and is resisted.

Having seen the cultural concepts and constructs of patriarchy and masculinity in the previous chapter, this chapter explores the Western concept of patriarchy and masculinity, in order to understand the conceptual framework from which the Papua New Guinean patriarchal practices and the new hybridised masculinity can be discussed. It begins by exploring the concepts of patriarchy and masculinity/masculinities from Western theorists and also presenting the Western characteristics of masculinity. Then it explores the concept of the hybridisation of masculinities by looking at ways in which colonial and colonised masculinities interact in PNG. The chapter ends with a discussion on the PNG men's formation of the new hybridised masculinities as a corollary to colonisation and modernisation. Finally, the chapter discusses contemporary PNG masculinities *per se*, as these masculinities express the interface between the old and new.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is one of the most contested structures in feminist theory. As seen earlier, since the concept of patriarchy was introduced into feminist thought in Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1970), radical feminists operate on the premise that patriarchy is the root of women's oppression where men become the main beneficiaries of their domination of women (see Millett 1970; Walby 1990; Tong 1998; Bryson 2003). In its most simple definition, patriarchy is the rule or control of the father upon members of his household. The word has taken on a wider definition that takes the same concept of rule and control in the family unit into the wider public arena, structures and institutions.

Gerda Lerner's (1986:236-239) discussion of the origin and the creation of patriarchy helps to create a better understanding of the modern practices of patriarchy. Patriarchy is a historical creation formed by men and women in a process which took nearly 2500 years to its complete or rather, incomplete process as it is constantly undergoing reproduction in different times and places. In its earliest form patriarchy appeared as the archaic state. It was founded within the very basic unit of a (patriarchal) family, which both expressed and constantly generated its rules and values. There are two types of meanings; the narrow and the wider meaning. Firstly, patriarchy in its narrow meaning refers to a system historically derived from Greek and Roman law in which the male head of the household has power over his dependent female and male family members. Lerner elaborates that the narrow definition of patriarchy forecloses accurate definition and analysis of its continued presence in today's world. Secondly, patriarchy in its wider sense means the manifestation of and institutionalisation of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. This implies that men hold power in all public institutions like the military, police, media, universities, economics and politics as Millett states:

... our society, like all historical civilizations, is a patriarchy. The fact is evident at once if one recalls that the military, industry, technology, universities, science, political office and finance – in short, every avenue of power within society, including coercive force of the police, is entirely in male hands (Millett 1970: 25).

Millett's work of over thirty years ago has strong resonance even today in many societies of the Third World like PNG, and even in the Western societies (Howard III and Prividera 2004). Goldberg (1973) expresses the similar sentiments while asserting that patriarchy, male dominance and male attainment of high status roles and positions are both universal and inevitably present in any system of organisation (political, economic, religious or social) that associates authority and leadership primarily with males in which males fill the vast majority of authority and leadership positions. What Goldberg describes to be universal Pease (2000) argues is Western. The 'Western concept of patriarchy has been used as an 'umbrella' term for describing men's systemic dominance of women' (p.12). This is patriarchy exercised beyond the narrow familial level where the impact is seen at national and universal levels.

Patriarchy in the narrow sense, practised on the domestic familial level could be said as personal and private. What creates more interest is the – wider suprafamilial – space where the dominance of men is felt and the impact it has on individuals as well as organisations, institutions, policies and strategies for development. More recent works have retained the notion of the systemic male domination and female subordination (Pease 2000:13), but have stressed on the use of power used at varying degrees and as always in flux. They have identified types of patriarchy used. Mederos (1987: 25) discusses the patriarchal system and calls the public: 'institutionalised patriarchal system' and the domestic: 'personal patriarchal system'. The institutionalised patriarchal system is one in

which men gain benefits through their structural advantages in 'employment and control over social institutions' and the personal patriarchal system is one in which men actively 'make various types of claims upon women at home or elsewhere' (cited in Pease 2000: 14). Walby (1990) makes a distinction between two forms of patriarchy – private and public highlighting the range of patriarchal structures that run along the public/private divide. She sees the private patriarchy based upon household production as the main site of women's oppression and public patriarchy based principally in public sites such as employment and state (Walby 1990: 24).

Kimmel (2001) takes the two arenas – public and domestic – as sites within which men's power is articulated. Public patriarchy refers to the institutional arrangements of a society, the predominance of males in all power positions within the economy and polity, both locally and nationally, as well as the 'gendering' of those institutions themselves. Domestic patriarchy on the other hand, refers to the emotional and familial arrangements in the society (Kimmel 2001: 23). It would not be totally incorrect to add here that the boundaries of public patriarchy transcend national borders through globalisation where the values of rich and powerful nations have a dominating effect on the polity and economy of smaller and weaker nations. These distinctions thus, foreground the two important arenas- the public and domestic - where the values of patriarchy are articulated although the different ways of expression may be complex, not uniform and not monolithic in all cultures.

Domestic patriarchy is often manifested in the family which is the most basic unit where patriarchy is constantly reinforced and perpetuated. The family breeds patriarchy and culture and religion enforce it. For example, it is a common tradition that the man is the head of the household. Therefore the man is naturally the head of the family. So if this advocates that women's subordination is natural is God-given, then it cannot be changed. In this case, all men enjoy what Connell (1995, 2000) calls the 'patriarchal dividend', that is, all men reap the benefits of being men no matter how masculine they are or are not.

Patriarchal relations are structural and embedded in the institutions and social practices of our society and cannot be explained by intentions of good or bad individual men, notwithstanding that individual men continue to be the agents of women's oppression (Pease 2000: 13). It is clear that masculinity is very much related to patriarchy. Patriarchy has a strong basis for male dominance over women hence causing women's subordination. Patriarchy is the predominant exercise of male power and authority that is systemic and institutionalised where it permeates all structures of society, both in the domestic and public spheres. Masculinity is composed of many masculinities (Beynon 2002) that operate within the patriarchal system. Hence patriarchy is the ideology within which masculinity/masculinities are exercised. It can be concluded as Kaufman (1987) sees it, that masculinity is power. In a patriarchal society being male is highly valued, and men value their masculinity. This therefore affirms patriarchy as a system that not only supports, but also perpetuates gendered power that is held

and exercised by men in both the domestic and public sectors, but more importantly what is of concern is the extent to which patriarchal power and dominance is used to disadvantage the women and other men who are less powerful in the gender order.

While patriarchy is characterized by male dominance and power in social structures, masculinity is individual. Masculinity is individualised patriarchy. This means that patriarchy provides the system where individual men or groups of men through their particular ways within that system, exercise masculinity. Pease's (2000) assertion is that many theories of patriarchy imply that male dominance and masculinity are reflections of each other, and they are sometimes fused together or their semantic fields tend to overlap, because the dominant mode of masculinity is patriarchal and the enactment of this mode reproduces patriarchal structures. Patriarchy has some currency as an acceptable term for describing systemic male domination (Pease 2000: 13). This implies that patriarchy is a system of operation where male dominance is present and exercised. When feminism in the 1970s spoke of 'patriarchy' as the master pattern in human history, the idea well captured the power and intractability of massive structure: a structure that involved the state, the economy, culture and communications as well as kinship, child-rearing and sexuality (Connell 1995: 65). Patriarchy configured particular masculine identities in the domestic and public sphere. In his article on 'The Construction of Masculinity and the Triad of Men's Violence', Kaufman (1987) posits that being a male in a patriarchal society

is valued, and men value their masculinity. He sees men's violence against women as an expression of the fragility of masculinity and its place in the perpetuation of masculinity and male domination (Kaufman 1987: 14-5). In some cultures, this may mean segregation from the 'feminine' aspects of life. The next section explores masculinity and masculinities.

Sex/Gender

In the social arrangement of societies, gender is used as the main organising principal whether it be in work, sports, clothing or space for males or female. The use of sex and gender are often seen to be synonymous and therefore used interchangeably. However, sociologists have distinguished between sex and gender. Sex is a biological construct. A person's sex is determined at birth when a child is physically endowed with either male or female genitalia. Boys have penis and testes and girls have vagina, ovaries and uterus, although in some cases a child may be born with sets of both genitalia. In the biological process of growth from conception, the combination of XY chromosomes result in the birth of a boy and the XX chromosomes result in a girl (Holmes, Hughes and Julian, 2003). Gender on the other hand, is a social construct. It refers to what the society makes of that fact that one is born male or female, and what it expects of one as a man or a woman (Connell 2002; Holmes *et al.*, 2003). Gender is the socialization that one receives as a boy or a girl to grow to possess behaviours deemed appropriate for a male or a female in a society and every culture throughout its history, socializes boys and girls to have appropriate cultural behaviours to uphold their gender identity.

Gender socialisation often develops in time, into wider patterns of gender arrangements where one gender is more dominant, authoritative and powerful, or more respected in society, or who is employed in what jobs (see Connell 2002). For example, the gender arrangement of work in primary schools has it that there are more female teachers than male teachers. In PNG, men do politics and women do clerical work. Some religions like the Catholic Christianity, Islam and some Buddhist sects have a gender arrangement that only men could be leaders. This type of gender organisation results in a gender order where men benefit more than women do albeit, some men may benefit more than other men. In the gender order, the more a man upholds himself as masculine, the more power and value is given to him in the society. Conversely, the less masculine a man is the less he benefits. This is the idea that gender is a continuum where the most masculine men are at the top and perhaps the least masculine men (transsexuals, transvestites, gay etc.) are at the bottom and women are in the middle somewhere, in turn, to how feminine they are. Pronger (1990) adds that in a culture that is dominated by gender, in which gender is like a class system, giving power to men and withholding it from women, all aspects of a person's life will be influenced by his or her gender (Pronger 1990: 49).

Given this definition of sex and gender, it makes it easier to understand one's gender identity although it is still unclear for young people who are still being socialised to make out the configurations of gender differences and identity. Gender identity refers to an individual's view or belief that he or she belongs to a

particular gender, supported by self-identification ('I am male', 'I am female') and the identification of others (Franklin 1984:3). This means that masculinity is gender specified to men who see themselves as male, rather than female (also see Beynon 2002). Franklin (1984) asserts that male socialisation prepares the male child to assume the 'masculine' role (p.44). Likewise, the female socialization is teaching the female child to assume 'feminine' role. Hence the gender difference is in constant construction and reconstruction in maintaining the respective gender identity as Simone de Beauvoir (1972) puts it in a phrase: 'One is not born, but rather becomes a woman'. The principle could also be true for men: one is not born masculine, but acquires and enacts masculinity, and so becomes a man (Connell 2002: 4). This next section discusses masculinity as a singular concept.

Masculinities

Patriarchy is an ideological system that defines masculinity or 'masculinities' in plural forms, as Connell (1995; 2000) argues. Hence, it is within the framework of patriarchy that masculinities function to give value and meaning to men's identity, while masculinity gives 'substance' to patriarchy. In other words, patriarchy and masculinity are intertwined in the dynamics of gender relations and should be treated in relation to each other. While the problems of defining masculinity are many and varied, Jeff Hearn (1996) points out that the concept is problematic, because sometimes it fails to be specific; it is used in a wide variety of ways; it is

not precise in cases where a wide range of phenomena connected with men and males are used.

Masculinity is complex and therefore a clear and absolute definition is elusive and problematic. It is expressed differently at different times and cultures and the degree of masculinity is also in flux because of a diverse range of factors and issues that contribute to the changing meanings. Sociologists have argued that masculinity is not monolithic and cannot be treated in a singular form, but the concept should be treated in its plurality. We cannot talk about a homogeneous masculinity, but masculinities (Connell 1987, 1995, 2000; Buchbinder 1994; Brittan 1989, 2001; Pease 2000; Kimmel 2001; Beynon 2002, Whitehead 2002). Connell (1995) argues that 'masculinity' does not exist except in contrast with 'femininity' and in talking about these two, one is in fact doing 'gender' (p.68).

The expressions of masculinity are both culturally and historically variable. In his book *The Gender of Oppression*, Hearn (1987) looks at the concept of masculinity by examining both the structural relations of the gender class men and the differing agentic positions of particular men, both as individuals and groups and within this framework, masculinity was seen as appearance, as a set of signs that someone is a man and not a woman (Hearn 1987). Signs deemed to be characteristic of men in Australia were: rationality, competitiveness, competence, strength, aggressiveness and leadership (Wearing 1996: 92) and

the opposite of these would be seen to be feminine characteristics. Signs signifying masculinity change according to history, time and space.

Other theorists refer to masculinity as behaviour, what people do rather than what people are. For example, Morgan (1992) and Beynon (2002) assert that what is masculinity (and femininity) is best approached from the standpoint of what men and women do (that is, how they behave) rather than what they are. Whitehead (2002) defines masculinity as ‘...those practices and ways of being that serve to validate the masculine subject’s sense of itself as male/boy/man’ (p. 4). Masculinity is about those behaviours, languages and practices existing in specific cultural and organisational locations, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined not as feminine (Whitehead and Barrett 2001: 17). This implies that all cultures socialise their males to become masculine and some societies prescribe rituals and tasks to be performed successfully to achieve recognition to ‘real man’ or manhood. David Gilmore’s studies of societies in Africa, Pacific and Asia show a performance of activities in a quest for attaining manhood while among the Tahitians and Semai in Malaysia there are no requirements for endurance tests for manhood (Gilmore 1990). So gender identity is constructed by ‘performativity’ (Judith Butler 1990), that is, masculinity is constructed by performative actions. Cranny-Francis *et al.* (2003) agree with Butler that a repeated series of performances of the same activities that creates a person’s identity:

It is the accretion of a series of performances – putting on nylons and high heels or wearing work boots, day after day – which provides people with their sense of gender and sexual matrix. In this sense it is not so much a performance, a one-off thing as performativity. You can create yourself by repeating a series of steps over and over again, and it is the repetitions of such series of steps that produce you (Cranny-Francis et al. 2003).

Masculinity therefore is a socio-cultural construct of men. One assumes a masculine identity through his socialization of norms and values upon his physical and psychological conditioning. Again, masculinity is fluid and made up of an ever-changing assemblage of meanings and behaviours. There is no constant, universal essence of masculinity; and masculinity is a continuum of varying meanings where some men are more masculine than others (Connell 1995, 2000; Kimmel 2001; Beynon 2002). This continuum is better shown in the following characterisation of masculinity.

Characteristics of Masculinity

Masculinity is usually identified by certain characteristics that are associated with ideal men. Western scholars defined men's certain characteristics from a normative approach telling what men ought to be (see Connell 1995). Gender socialisation of masculine characteristics is ongoing and happens everywhere; home, school, workplace, politics, church, in fact, wherever people are interacting. Gender is always at work there.

Here is a list of gender characterisation for males and females after a study by Broverman *et al.* (1972 cited in Holmes, Hughes and Julian 2003).

Table 3.1: Gender Characterisations

Feminine	Masculine
Not at all aggressive	Very aggressive
Not at all independent	Very independent
Very emotional	Not at all emotional
Very subjective	Very objective
Very easily influenced	Not at all easily influenced
Very submissive	Very dominant
Dislikes maths and science	Likes maths and science
Very excitable in crisis	Not at all excitable in crisis
Very passive	Very active
Not at all competitive	Very competitive
Very illogical	Very logical
Very home oriented	Very worldly
Not at all skilled in business	Very skilled in business
Does not know the ways of the world	Knows the ways of the world
Feelings easily hurt	Feelings not easily hurt
Not at all adventurous	Very adventurous
Has difficulty making decisions	Can make decisions easily
Cries very easily	Never cries
Almost never acts as a leader	Almost always acts as a leader
Not at all self-confident	Very self-confident
Not at all ambitious	Very ambitious
Unable to separate feelings from ideas	Easily able to separate feelings from ideas
Very conceited about appearance	Never conceited about appearance
Doesn't use harsh language at all	Uses harsh language
Very talkative	Not at all talkative
Very tactful	Very blunt
Very gentle	Very rough
Very aware of feelings of others	Not at all aware of feelings of others
Very religious	Not at all religious
Very interested in own appearance	Not at all interested in own appearance
Very neat in habits	Very sloppy in habits
Very quiet	Very loud
Very strong need for security	Very little need for security
Easily expresses tender feelings	Does not easily express tender feelings

It is important to note that this study was done in 1972 and appears to show that the masculine gender is stronger, powerful, forthright, active and detached from emotions while the feminine is subdued, passive and more associated with emotions. Wearing's (1996) study of gender relations in Australian society suggests that men still emulate these characteristics and women are still perceived to be subordinate to men. She goes on to highlight the institutions that perpetuate these characteristics – family, education system, workplace, sports, media and church (Wearing 1996). The public/private divide is still gendered with the public masculine and the private feminine. This next section discusses the concept of masculinities.

Masculinity is composed of many 'masculinities' (Buchbinder 1994; Connell 1995; Mac an Ghail 1996; Beynon 2002). While all men have the male body in common there are many forms and expressions of gender, of being masculine (Beynon 2002:1). Connell (1995) points out:

True masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies – to be inherent in a male body or to express something about the male body. Either the body derives and directs action (e.g., men are naturally more aggressive than women; rape results from uncontrollable lust or and innate urge to violence), or the body sets limits to action (e.g., men do not naturally take care of infants; homosexuality is unnatural and therefore confined to a perverse minority).

These beliefs are a strategic part of modern gender ideology, in the English-speaking world at least. So the first task of a social analysis is to arrive at an understanding of men's bodies and their relation to masculinity (Connell 1995: 45).

Men's socialisation of their bodies is part of gender politics. Men's bodies are politicised i.e., particular versions of masculinity are constituted in their meaningful bodies and embodied meanings (Connell 1995: 64). So the way men's bodies are treated, whether in sports, media or sex and how men view their bodies constitute meanings of heterosexuality, gay, macho or exemplar sportsman. Being in touch with one's body helps to define his gender as masculine and place him on a continuum of diverse masculinities.

This Western definition of the concept of masculinity/masculinities, if transposed to the PNG context, a continuum of masculinities also exists. A range of PNG masculinities could be, 'grassroots', 'big-man', 'Highlands', 'Coastal', 'free market', 'employed/unemployed' or *raskol* masculinities. So on a continuum, styles of masculinity may change over time, but the substance of male power does not change. The men do not lose this power, but they just redefine another arena in which this power is exercised (Brittan 2001:52). They also make sure that the gap between male and female power is kept. For example, in the past, men exercised their male power as warriors when they were expected to fight to protect their families and tribes. Today, as a result of civilisation and christianisation, tribal wars have been banished, hence, men have lost that masculine warrior role, but they have not lost the power of being men. They use their male power in other ways, such as in wife beating, gang rape, terrorism, occasional tribal wars in the Highlands and in power displayed in the political arena.

Masculinity is often equated with the exercise of power whether it is in the private and personal sphere or in the public and institutionalised arenas. Masculinity is shaped in relation to an overall structure of power (the subordination of women to men), and in relation to a general symbolism of difference where there is opposition of femininity and masculinity (Connell 1995, 1987). In instances where power is exerted as in rape and other forms of violence and opposition to gay sexual orientation, it is easy to notice, but there are cases where the power relations is subtle, hence difficult to see. But the different degree of domination of masculinity and power used leads to what Connell (1995, 2000) terms as 'hegemonic masculinity' which is, as we have seen, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations. Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as 'the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of women' (Connell 1995: 77). Connell (2000) further asserts that hegemonic masculinity is a hierarchy where men are always found or placed in the top bracket of society and whose masculine standards of behaviour and practices are the yardstick to measure on the continuum who is more or less masculine. For example, apart from the organizing categories of class and race, the white, heterosexual men are seen as the norm for masculinity places men in these categories in the top bracket of the hierarchy of masculinities, while the black and gay masculinities are positioned at the bottom. Hegemony also means that masculinity dominates the ways in which people think and consequently act. So

patriarchy, the system in which masculinity is practiced, is unquestioned by both men and women.

Patriarchy therefore, sets the conditions for hegemonic masculinity. Where power is exerted by one group over the other thereby reproducing the structure of dominance that is where 'hegemony' is manifested. Carrigan *et al.* (1983) claim that in the patriarchal social order, 'hegemony' always refers to a historical situation, a set of circumstances in which power is won and held by one group, usually the dominant one and in the current experience of societies, groups of men are dominant. Hegemonic masculinity is how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth and how they legitimate and reproduce social relationships that generate their dominance (Carrigan *et al.* 1983: 179). They note that a large number of men are responsible for sustaining the hegemonic model and the most important reason is that most men benefit from the subordination of women, and hegemonic masculinity is connected with institutionalisation of men's dominance over women. Men have a 'patriarchal dividend' from this institutional dominance. Men benefit from patriarchy and Connell (1995) attests that men gain a dividend from patriarchy in terms of honour, prestige and the right to command. They also gain a material dividend in that in rich capitalist countries, men's average incomes are approximately *double* women's income (p. 82). Apart from unequal pay, a patriarchal dividend exists in different other forms in society.

Fusions of Masculinity

So far I have explored the terrain of patriarchy and masculinity *per se*, noting the cultural variations. In the case of PNG, as I have argued, two styles of patriarchy converge: the colonial and the colonised. The interaction between the pre-colonial and the colonial masculinities explores two groups of men: the colonial and the indigenous. In the colonial and post-colonial context, the positionality of both the pre-colonial and the colonial is important and how the practices of colonial attributes of masculinity are adopted by PNG masculinity, in particular.

With the cultural borrowings, there is a kind of 'hybridised masculinity' (Beynon 2002: 6) that is experienced and displayed differently at different times in different situations. This is an example of hybridised masculinity practiced by contemporary PNG men in the post-colonial context. They have borrowed a style of masculinity and blended it with their style to make a new hybridised masculinity.³⁷

When colonial masculinities came into contact with indigenous or colonised masculinities in PNG, they had a major role in the configuration of gendered power in PNG, especially in the public sphere. The interaction between pre-colonial and colonial masculinities began with the first colonial settlement in the early 1800s. The colonials came in the capacity of military personnel, administrators and missionaries. The Germans settled on the northern part of

³⁷ This does not claim that PNG was static until the colonization; it argues that traditional practices of masculinities became extended and took new forms of expression through the process of colonization.

PNG (New Guinea) and established coconut plantations and had a robust trading business going on where the local labourers were recruited to work in the plantations. The German-occupied New Guinea was expropriated after the World War I and settled by Australian returned servicemen. They started the government education system for the indigenous (Dorney 1990). Sir Murray's administration in those early days was crucial because he was setting trends for what is to be modern development.³⁸ He constituted a 'court of appeal' for the local people (Dorney 1990:40). Sir Murray's character was setting precedence for modern attitude to governance; he was 'absurdly paternal' to the locals and as Governor of Papua, he had '...ability, vision, scrupulous integrity and rigid adherence to a high code and a splendid ideal...' for which he was given worldwide reputation (Dorney 1990:41). This is the kind of firm and strong and impartial style of modern leadership that the modern indigenous masculinities appear to be adapting to, but in the process finding their own version.

Some of the colonial men were distinguished figures among the colonised and played a part in organising these men in the new ways of doing politics, business and being part of the employed workforce. The colonials worked in areas of health, education, politics, administration and business entrepreneurship. Those who worked in education became instrumental in the education of some of the founding fathers of the nation, like Bernard Narakobi, Mekere Morauta, Anthony Siaguru and Rabbi Namaliu who were educated at the University of Papua New

³⁸ Murray worked in Papua, not New Guinea as these two parts of the PNG were under two different colonial administrations; Papua to the south was under the British and later Australian administration and New Guinea to the north, was under German administration.

Guinea under Dr. John Gunther. Sir Paul Hasluck was a dominant colonial politician who formulated the policy of Papua and New Guinea in the first twenty years after the war. On the development of business entrepreneurship, the famous Leahy brothers Mick and Dan and Jim Taylor who became successful role models for businessmen in the Highlands, which many indigenous men have followed.

Through the process of colonisation, the traditional precolonial man converged with the colonial man³⁹. The colonial masculinities gendered the institutions, which were later transferred to the indigenous men after independence. The colonial style of patriarchy introduced new roles by which men proved their masculinity. The structures in which they could articulate this new style of masculinity shifted from the tribal locations of the village to the political floor of parliament, bureaucracy, education and other institutions. The monetary value of free market enterprise and for services rendered was introduced; education as a means of attaining status started with the establishment of the education system where ascending grades and levels of education could be attained. Traditional animistic religions (although feminine in nature) were unified with the Christian God who is Father, denying any feminine attributes to God and who seems to have pre-ordained male leadership. The exemplars of the colonial masculinities mentioned above depict several characteristics of hegemonic masculinity:

³⁹ The traditional precolonial men are the indigenous Papua New Guinean men, while the colonial men are the colonial administrators who introduced the Western ideologies.

- a patriarchal figure who would provide for and deliver services to the people and who also headed a high learning institution as seen in Dr Gunther
- one who was a politician and made up policy decisions for the people such as Sir Hasluck
- an 'indigenised' hero like Colonel 'Kanaka Jack' who endorsed male heroism in military-like behaviour and perhaps hypermasculinity in military activities
- an ordinary colonial person who had a little more power because of his job who could afford a servant (boy)
- a business entrepreneur such as the Leahy brothers.

In the non-government sector, the Churches had tremendous institutional influence on the development of PNG, especially in the areas of education and health. Christian missionaries came with their own structure of male hegemony, keeping the ministry and leadership positions of the hierarchy to men while women merely worked on the lower positions and formed members of the congregation who were supposed to be cared for by the patriarchal figures of the Church. The Catholic hierarchy for instance, is exclusively male, keeping the clerical posts for men who get through higher level of education and the pastoral care position is taken up by nuns who do not have as much education as the priests. The training for indigenous church leaders still maintains this hierarchical structure.

The education system established by the colonials was, perhaps unsurprisingly, geared to the needs of boys rather than girls and hence was slow to encourage girls to have an education and the number of females enrolled in higher

education and traditional male jobs were few. This culture fitted neatly with the traditional gender roles of PNG, and the as yet unknown future impact of education on both individuals and their community was not immediately obvious. Dobunaba *et al.*'s (1979) study of the constraints facing women just after independence (1975) attests that during the colonial period, all the administrative, educational and employment opportunities were geared towards men (Dobunaba cited in Crossley 1988: 6). Waiko (1993) resonates this in history where in 1922 an Education Ordinance was set up for education of the indigenous but this was not successful because educating girls was not important at that time for both the indigenous people and the administrators (Waiko 1993:103). The judicial system had laws that protected people, but some clauses in the laws are gender biased and in the masculinised system, gender discrimination against women remains unproblematic. Bradley (1992) points out that some statutes in the law contain sections that are discriminatory against women, especially such laws relating to polygamy and division of matrimonial property and customary law often comes in conflict with the constitution. Remnants of such discriminatory laws set up in the colonial times still exist today. A case in point in PNG occurred when the police arrested some men and women for allegations of prostitution. The male prostitutes were set free while the females were charged. The reason the males were not charged was because Section 55 of the Summary Offences Act of the Criminal Code provided for female sex workers to be charged. It made no reference to the male sex workers

(*Post-Courier* 16/3/2004). The male police officers who were involved with the case, did not question the discriminatory view of this law.

The post-independence transfer of leadership from the colonial to the indigenous was a gendered regime. That is, the modern institutions both in government and public sectors, were staffed by men at the top administrative and management levels. That transfer also began to change the gender roles and responsibilities of the traditional PNG notion of subsistence farming and work. In PNG, men were not seen as the sole breadwinners in the family. Both men and women contributed to food production and everyone was taught the skills for food production. This kind of education was done without leaving home and family; education was integrated with all other aspects of community living and survival. Women were not denied education for life skills and neither were men. The new colonial system instead introduced and transferred a system where only men were involved and only men were educated and skilled for the jobs and women's ways of contribution became insignificant. In the new system, men were employed to run the government and private institutions; they had to leave home, get educated for employment for the development of PNG, and in their personal lives became breadwinners.

While the colonial system was changing men's space for their participation in national development, women's space was not changing. In this new system of transition, women were required to leave home to train in order to be marketable

for the modern job markets, but they could not because of their domestic duties and other cultural reasons. Men could leave home easily but women could not. For those men who could not get an education and training for jobs in the workplace were also losing their power in personal independence and beginning to see themselves as grassroots, dependent on the state. The notion of 'work' and 'workplace' was changing the status of both men and women in the society. Feminist analysis has argued that notions of 'work' and 'the workplace' reduce the meaning and status of 'work' to the organisational and the 'workplace' to employment and what happens in public. This applies negatively for men as it gives them a sense of being 'out of work' or unemployed (Collinson & Hearn 1996: 66). As for women, their lives were also changing from having a robust range of activities in the traditional society giving them some sense of independence as they could produce food and support their families, they were beginning to become dependent on their husbands (Crossley 1988) while reconstructing their role and labelling them as a 'housewife' - made official in forms that she, her husband or her children have to fill in.

Bringing men into the organisational structures of government and employment has created a new, but wider and public space for the location of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities and women somewhere in the middle. What has changed about the traditional practices of hegemonic masculinity is the extension of tribal boundaries. The men in positions of leadership, bureaucrats and public servants now act on behalf of the state and are expected to reach a wider

audience and therefore their positions influence the wider public community. The colonial government has redefined the arena in which male power can be exercised. As Brittan (1989) asserts, what has changed is not male power as such, but its form, its presentation, its packaging. That while it is apparent that styles of masculinity may alter the substance of male power does not. Men are redefining the arena in which that power is exercised (Brittan 1989: 1).

Colonial masculinity overwrote indigenous and colonised masculinity, but in ways which suited PNG men. For example, the first legacy of the influence of colonial masculinity is in the PNG male leadership. PNG men were leaders before the presence of colonial masculinity, but their leadership was not extensive as it is today. Their leadership was confined to their immediate tribal boundaries and other tribes they had ties with. After World War I there was a notable absence of powerful indigenous rulers and there was no unified system as people were scattered mostly in small villages. The Australian patrol officer – the *Kiap* - was the unifying figure for the new administration.⁴⁰ The first leaders of the colonial administration were the *kiap*, who brought the ‘government’ to the bulk of the people of Papua New Guinea (Dorney 1990). There was no visible presence of female leadership in the Australian Administration that governed PNG. The first national leaders were male. The national history books make reference to the ‘founding fathers’ with the absence of ‘founding mothers’. This is explicit in the

⁴⁰ *Kiap*- the local name given to the patrol officers who were also the government official for Australian administration of PNG. The *Kiap* was the government official who kept official records of the district he administered; he kept law and order, he governed the district. He brought the ‘government’ to the bulk of the people (Dorney 1990: 288).

absence of the female population in the lyrics of the National Anthem.⁴¹ The lyrics of the anthem were not questioned because it so neatly captures the patriarchal patriotism felt by the colonised masculinity. This was a male dominated legacy that has passed on to the PNG leaders and that code is still hard to break through for women today. Furthermore, the colonial male leadership overlooked women's roles in the social organisation of leadership in the matrilineal societies of New Britain, New Ireland, Bougainville and Milne Bay. The modern indigenous leaders today, have also overlooked women's role in leadership as practiced in matrilineal societies. The Bougainville matrilineal leadership has only recently been acknowledged with the peace negotiations after the Bougainville crisis. It took a civil war to initiate national recognition of women in the governance of Bougainville and hopefully the governance of PNG.⁴²

Another legacy of colonial masculinisation is the organised trade and use of firearms, a practice handed down from the colonial administration. Modern tribal warfare in the Highlands of PNG employs the use of guns to exert power over the rivals, an example of which happened in the Western Highlands (*Post-Courier* 17/3/2004, Alphonse 29/4/2005, Gumuno 20/5/2005). The use of guns has taken on a new twist where the tribesmen of the Western Highlands province are

⁴¹ The PNG National Anthem begins with: "O arise all you sons of this land... Now give thanks to the good Lord above... for this land of our fathers so free, Papua New Guinea. The anthem was not questioned for being gender-biased, and it would be interesting to not that it was composed by a woman.

⁴² Bougainville is currently (at the time this work was written) undergoing peace negotiations after a 10-year war on the island. They are working towards autonomy and eventually independence.

reported to be exchanging girls and women for guns to support their warfare (Gumuno 20/5/2005).

The use of guns shows the militarisation of power and dominance over other tribes and through the exploitation of their women and girls for trade of guns, although these villagers and gangs do not have the strict military training and socialization of the soldier embodiment as Barrett (2001) outlines in the case of the US Navy. But there are other avenues like the mass media that socialise the indigenous men to emulate the attitude, behaviour and looks of glorified and glamorous masculinity. Martha Macintyre (2000) observes that the taste for violence as an exciting activity is constantly fostered in contemporary PNG with movies, videos and TV shows that depict and glorify violence. Not only are *raskols* attracted to be like Rambo, but also the defence force in Bougainville, the police mobile squad members, the men fighting in tribal fights, the disaffected unemployed youth in small towns, the men swaggering around with bandanas and baggy army clothes - all emulate the style of dress and the arrogant stance familiar from advertisements and films. The militarisation of tribalism and criminal gang (*raskolism*) activities and violence give the men what Buchbinder (1994) terms as 'machismo', that is, an aggressive hypermasculinity (p.1) transposed from the violence perpetrated by the colonising military. Whitehead (2002) argues that the discourse of violence is at large in this new millennium, be it articulated through the media, social and state organisations, 'machine culture' or practices of individual men. This is a discourse that is powerful and it legitimises

male violence, not only through verbal communication, but also through a set of practices, attitudes and belief systems corollary to the effect that it makes men's violence 'normal' (Whitehead 2002: 38). For example in PNG, the brute force used by police on criminal gangs colloquially as 'panel beating' (Dinnen 2000: 61) is seen as a legitimate action authorised by the state. Whitehead (2002) suggests that in order to have some understanding of the otherwise inexplicable acts of violence by men, whether it be serial killing, sexual assault, rape, child abuse, mass violence (for example tribal fighting in PNG), random violence or torture, then we must recognise that dominant forms and codes of masculinity serve to legitimise, to some degree, that which is, arguably, the major social problem of our time (Whitehead 2002: 38).

Another colonial, institutionally-driven factor in the formation of contemporary masculinity is the status derived from employment. A corollary to employment is the monetary value given to work in the public sphere whilst women's unpaid labour becomes inherently unvalued within this schema. This changed the collaborative breadwinners' role share by men and women in the traditional PNG society to a male gendered role. From a Western perspective, employment provides the source of provision for the male breadwinner, consequently masculinising the breadwinner role (Connell 2000). Willott and Griffin's (1996) study of unemployed men and the challenges they face with their masculinity, state, "The position of (male) breadwinner is associated not only with economic independence, but also social status and 'respect'" (p.85). The idea of the male

breadwinner was not an issue in the traditional society where both men and women worked in the garden to provide food. In employment for wages, work has become masculinised where highly technical jobs are associated with men while women have the usual clerical and nursing jobs that are paid less than the highly skilled technical jobs usually occupied men (Crossley 1988). In the gender order, this is about hegemony as the way of thinking about something is altered alongside the gender role itself. Nothing has meaning until it is given meaning by people. This shift from shared 'work' to individualised 'work' overwrote indigenous/colonised masculinity with colonial masculinity thus making employment competitive and the process of attaining one, discriminating and dislocated from their sense of identity creating a brand for the 'employed' and 'unemployed'.

Another culture cultivated by colonial masculinity is the 'pub culture'.⁴³ The period of colonisation brought with it the culture of drinking alcohol. The 'pub' has even moved to the family home where the father might meet with his mates after work or on weekends. The women would be responsible for cooking and feeding the drinking men. Urban boys, in particular, often aspire to enter into the 'pub culture', and engage in drinking as part of their initiation into manhood. This is a paradigm shift from undergoing traditional initiation into reaching manhood to

⁴³ The pub or the club is a common drinking hole established in villages and settlements where alcohol – usually beer – is sold. Men congregate there for drinking and women do not enter there as it is seen as men's domain. Men drink spend a lot of money and time there and often fights follow a drinking spree. This is something to do with men's attitude and behaviour with drinking. The 'pub culture' here is more the drinking culture rather than the pub culture and known in the Western sense

seeking masculine identity in drinking - the redefining of meaning for masculinity. For PNG boys and men, drinking alcohol is becoming a key rite of passage for them regardless of where they drink – either in a pub or at home. The pub is a masculine public space; women do not even serve in pubs. The masculine space in the pub is often associated with drunken brawls and domestic violence (see Toft 1985; Bradley 1992; Morely 1994).

Although the consumption of alcohol has progressively become an informal yet a key rite of passage and gender marker of colonised contemporary masculinity for PNG men, it is crucial to note that the demarcation between colonial and colonised masculinity is maintained. In particular this demarcation focuses on the amount of alcohol consumed but perhaps more importantly the style of behaviour adopted whilst drunk. For instance, the state of being inebriated allows men to behave in ways normally considered transgressive in modern societies such as Australia, U.S.A and Europe. This appropriation of colonial masculinity is summed up in this phrase in Pidgin: '*Dring olsem waitman na spak olsem kanaka*'.⁴⁴ The borrowing of the colonial masculine expression has been appropriated and given indigenous meaning. PNG men have found a new configuration of masculinity through alcohol consumption and everything in their behaviour suggests that. Cornwall and Lindisfarne agree that there are cultural borrowings, that 'masculinities imported from elsewhere are conflated with local

⁴⁴ This phrase means: 'You drink like a white man but you get drunk like an uncivilized bushman'.

ideas to produce new configurations' (Cornwall & Lindisfarne 1994 cited in Beynon 2002: 2).

Papua New Guinea after independence can be classified as a post-colonial society. As such, it is one of those '... cultures affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonisation to the present day' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2002:194). The influence of colonisation is still present and new forms of colonisation have taken over the colonial forms, only that this time, the indigenous have filled in the positions of authority that were once occupied by the colonials. This in PNG terms is called 'localisation'. Those who govern the country are the elite of the post-colonial PNG contemporary society. The hegemonic power and authority of the colonial government has not changed, but what has changed is that the positions have become localised. In post-colonial theory, they are the 'neo-colonialists' (Ashcroft *et al.* 2002). In the process of colonisation, they dominate their own people, hence forming a hegemonic system of government.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the Western conceptual framework of gendered power expressed through the dominant system of patriarchy and masculinity and the individualized patriarchy. It has also tried to show that there are many masculinities and these should be placed on a continuum of how more or less masculine the exercise of masculinity is. The corollary effect of colonisation in

PNG has created a new brand of masculinity which, as we have seen, is partly structured on the legacy of colonial masculinity, blended with traditional, indigenous gender markers. Modern Papua New Guinean society, through its history with colonial masculinity and the process of globalisation, has embraced these western expressions of masculinity and patriarchy and conflated them with its own definitions of the terms. It remains a nation interfaced with the dynamics of the two forces in a modern, yet traditional way.

In the following chapter, the methodological considerations inherent in the project are discussed, including the problematic issue of Papua New Guinean woman researcher situating herself both within and outside her own culture, and enquiring into issues of a sensitive nature.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

Introduction

Chapter one dealt with the issues of patriarchy and masculinity, chapter two presented four loose models of patriarchy in PNG, and in chapter three there was an exploration of the Western theoretical framework of patriarchy and masculinity/masculinities and application of these to the current fusion of traditional and colonial masculinities in contemporary PNG. Clearly missing from the discussion so far, and in the literature generally, is an account and an analysis of the ways in which masculinity is experienced and expressed by men in contemporary PNG. Key questions within this context are the ways in which patriarchy today is an extension of the traditional modalities; how modern PNG men define their masculinity; and what their changing expressions of masculinity are.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodology and the methodological procedures followed in each step of preparation, collecting and analysing data so as to answer the research questions. The chapter also aims to offer justification for using these particular methods for this research.

The chapter firstly explains the difference between method and methodology, and gives a theoretical background for this research. It then discusses the choice and selection of qualitative research methodology, which includes in-depth interviews as the method for data collection. The chapter goes on to explain the choice and selection of interview participants and the relationship between the researcher and the interviewees. The choice of interview questions is outlined next, followed by the interview process. The chapter ends with an explanation of the data analysis processes.

Theoretical Background

Feminist Research

The theoretical background of this research methodology is founded on feminist research in the West, since there is no such developed theory from a Papua New Guinean perspective to use as a starting point. The rationale for the emergence of feminist inquiry in the West according to Lather (1991) was as a standpoint through which to productively explore gender:

To do feminist research is to put the social construction of gender at the centre of one's inquiry...feminist researchers see gender as a basic organising principle which profoundly shapes and/or mediates the concrete conditions of our lives. Through the questions that feminism poses and the absences it locates, feminism argues that gender is a central factor in the shaping of our consciousness, skills and institutions as well as in the distribution of power and privilege. This is not to deny the powerful shaping forces of race, class, sexual orientation; increasingly, feminist inquiry looks to the interaction of such social forces in the construction of our lives (Lather 1991:17).

Sarantakos (2005), although not a feminist himself, affirms that feminist research is a type of inquiry that uses the conventional research methods on the areas on which it focuses, and in which it employs its findings, thus making feminist research an emancipatory type of inquiry. This means that it not only documents aspects of reality; it also takes a personal, political and engaged stance to the world. Feminist research does inquire into the social world and explores the realities and experiences of women and men which may otherwise remain (see Lather 1991; Reinharz 1992; Skelton 1998; Brunskell 1998; Letherby 2003).

Feminist research is based on critical theory and therefore the research model is critical and emancipatory, and perceives reality, science and research within this context. Feminist research studies the social conditions of women in a sexist, 'malestream' and patriarchal society (Stanley and Wise 1983; Reinharz 1992; Kimball 1995; Abbott and Wallace 1997; Francis and Skelton 2001; Letherby 2003). In particular, it sets out to challenge the justification of the subordination and exploitation of women by men (Abbott and Wallace 1997).

One of the earliest definitions of feminist social research was formulated by Liz Stanley and Sue Wise who defined feminist social research as a research that is 'on women, by women and for women' (Stanley and Wise 1983:17 cited in Brunskell 1998:39). Brunskell (1998) affirms this position that the topic of investigation thus focuses on women's lives, but how this is done depends on whatever seems to be the most appropriate methods or techniques for collecting

and then analysing the data and essentially, the data collection and analysis will be informed by feminist theory (p. 39). However, not all feminist research chooses women as subjects (see Cavanagh and Lewis 1996, Campbell, 2003). Lather (1995) argues that feminist research puts the social constructions of gender in the centre of one's enquiry, therefore, feminist researchers give a form of attention and sensitivity that looks through a lens that brings into focus particular questions.

In summary, this is what feminist research is and attempts to do and hence, forms the framework in this research project. Feminist research:

- ...is guided by feminist theory
- ...may reach beyond and across disciplinary boundaries.⁴⁵
- ...is connected to creating social change and social policy change (Reinharz 1992).

Feminist researchers do not have a feminist methodology *per se*; they instead use a range of methods within a broad theoretical framework which is informed by theories of gender relations (Brunskell 1998; Reinharz 1992). Reinharz (1992) defines feminist methodology as not a single method, but a multiplicity of methods that are guided by feminist theory, from a feminist perspective. This means that any of the conventional methods can be used, but the ways feminist

⁴⁵ For the purpose of this study, this means that my research also crossed disciplines to gather and analyse data. It has used anthropological studies of PNG masculinities; it has used feminist theories. This study has begun with anthropological studies on men and masculinities and continued into the sociological and feminist aspect of masculinity. As for gender boundaries, this study crosses the gender divide, by studying men instead of women.

do research is with gender sensitivity and consciousness. My research hopes to have demonstrated that and although it is not multi-method, it nevertheless uses one of the many methods that feminist researchers can use.

Although feminist research focuses on women, for women and by women, my research does not focus directly on women. It instead focuses on gender in PNG, and explores men's understanding of their masculinity and how they view women in their participation in development. My research seeks to have a better understanding of masculinity in order to understand men's treatment of women in society and hopefully with this understanding, people can work towards gender sensitivity and gender equality. Furthermore, subjects of feminist research differ as Brunskell (2002) notes: 'While some researchers are concerned with women alone, others focus on women's relationship to men from a woman's perspective, and others focus on men and masculinity' (p.36). Thus, my research focuses on men and masculinity in Papua New Guinea from a feminist perspective.

The rationale for the choice of men as subjects of my research is that men constitute the sex for whom patriarchy and patriarchal institutions continue to manifest unequal opportunities for men and women. This has consequently directed the course of the selection of topic for this research, namely, focusing on men and masculinity and men's view of themselves and men's view of women. In studying men's current view of their masculinity and their view of women, it is hoped that women's issues and the unequal gender balance which finds women

at the other end of the spectrum where their contribution is taken for granted and their participation in decision-making is reduced, can be understood and relevant changes can be made.

Studying men and masculinity will, it is hoped, put a gender perspective to women's value, women's worth, from the male perspective. In other words, in order to understand men's value and treatment of women in the modern society, it was seen worthwhile to study men's view of themselves and of women and interpret that data from a feminist perspective. As Letherby (2003) argues, 'Taking "gender seriously" means "bringing men back in", for in order to fully understand what is going on in women's lives we need to know what is going on in men's lives also...' (Letherby 2003: 137). My research has men as subjects precisely because of this.

Campbell argues that

The inclusion of men as subject/object of feminist research remains both problematic and controversial. It is not so much a question of whether men's inclusion is possible or desirable, but how it is theorised in epistemological terms and implemented methodologically (2003, p. 285).

The methodological issues are discussed below, but at this point it is necessary to be clear about my epistemological terms and for this I draw on Michel Foucault (1980) who argued that knowledges which are obscured or made invisible by hegemonies can be termed 'subjugated knowledges' (Holland and Ramazangoglu 1995). Subjugated knowledges, according to Foucault, refer

to the forms of knowledge or experience which 'have been disqualified as inadequate to their task, or insufficiently elaborated: naïve knowledges located low down in the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity' (Weedon 1987 cited in Sawicki 1991). This resonates with my research in that it is dedicated to the releasing of the 'subjugated knowledges' of contemporary PNG men. In this context, their 'subjugated knowledges' concern their perceptions of masculinity. Where male hegemony is complete, to ask about gender in itself seems extraordinary, and to discuss masculinity - its constitution and its failings - with powerful PNG men who are in a position to effect transformation even more so. Masculinity is rarely discussed in PNG yet its influence is all-encompassing. It enjoys a hegemony so routine that to investigate it releases 'subjugated knowledges' – albeit the knowledges of men.

My endeavour in this thesis is to shine a light on masculinity from the perspectives of men in order to investigate how it works, how it has changed and, indeed, how it might be changed. In doing so, this research can be located under the umbrella of feminist research which dedicated to both understanding and dismantling patriarchy in a way which cognisant of difference as Campbell explains:

In other words, standpoint epistemological development had proceeded without reference to ontologically distinct sets of experiences, histories and struggles. 'Difference', therefore, rather than 'experience' per se should form the epistemological basis of feminist social enquiry and by extension 'difference' dismantles the notion of a transcendent, omnipotent and monolithic patriarchy (Campbell 2003: 286).

I now turn to some methodological concerns.

Rationale for Using Qualitative Research

My research was qualitative and therefore used qualitative research methodology. Unlike quantitative research which focuses on statistical analyses where the data are produced by counting and measuring, qualitative research on the other hand expresses the data by using language of scientific knowledge to describe the participants' experiences of their social world (Minichiello *et al.* 1995). Qualitative research according to Minichiello *et al.* (1995) is that it '...attempts to capture people's meanings, definitions and descriptions of events' (p.9), and '...qualitative researchers seek to uncover the thoughts, perceptions and feelings experienced by informants. They are most interested in studying how people attach meaning to and organise their lives, and how this in turn influences their actions'(p.10).

Qualitative research is characterised by the following:

- Concerned with understanding human behaviour from the informants' perspective
- Data are collected through participant observation, unstructured interviews
- Data are analysed by themes from description by informants
- Data are reported in the language of the informant (Minichiello *et al.* 1995:10).

Furthermore, qualitative research methodology is founded on the theory of constructionism. This theory posits that there is neither objective reality nor objective truth. Constructionism believes that meanings are not fixed but emerge from people's interaction with the world by gaining impressions based on culturally defined and historically situated interpretations and personal experiences. This means that the reality that people experience everyday is a constructed reality – their reality based on their interpretations (Sarantakos 2005:37). Hence, the interpretations of reality gained by the researchers who gather data from respondents talking about their experiences, gain insight into the constructed reality of the respondents. The process of construction and reconstruction is facilitated by the process of interpretation (Sarantakos 2005:38-39). From this perspective then, this research has interpreted the constructions and reconstructions of the men's view of their masculinity - and of their view of women. This construction and reconstruction presents interpretations and meanings that are in transition.

In-depth Interviews

The in-depth interview was the main method of data collection used in this research in order to empower to the interviewees to speak; to give them the space to reveal their motives, meanings, actions and reactions. This method was also seen to be the appropriate method given the sex difference between researched and researcher (this is discussed in more detail below) (see appendix 1). Men already have a strong speaking position and I saw that I could capitalise

on this by letting the interviewees speak about their masculinity (and how they give it meaning today) in a relatively unstructured way which had the potential for gaining richer data than any comparable interviewing style. Through using this technique, 'Qualitative methods are said to allow the researcher to gain access to the motives, meanings, actions and reaction of people in the context of their daily lives' (Minichiello *et al.* 1995:10). Rubin and Rubin (2005) further state that qualitative research is not simply learning about a topic, but also learning what is important to those being studied. Thus, researchers using qualitative methods like in-depth interviewing, learn about topics chosen by the researcher, from the perspective of the interviewees in their own words.

Interviewer/Interviewee Relationship

Before further discussion, a definition of the researcher's position needs to be made (Nilan 2002). In this research, my positionality is that of an insider, yet an outsider (see Shahbazi, 2004). I share the same cultural and ethnic background as the participants, yet I am an outsider because I am a woman and the research participants are men (see Dowling 2000). As a female, I stand as the sexual 'other' to the male participants (see Bolak, 1996). As the sexual 'other', I belong to the category that has cultural expectations of subservience, and the gender that has less participation in the top echelons of the society and the workforce.

I was forty years old at the time of the interviews with the forty men who are considered to be the modern elite of PNG, with some even standing out as 'big

men' in society. The participants were categorised as modern, because of the modern attributes of men with status in society: the educated, employed and in positions of influence, both in the government and private sector. They were also categorised as the elite and 'big men' firstly because of their level of education; secondly because of their position in their job; thirdly, because of their ability to earn money and be part of the growing affluent class; and lastly because of the status gained from all the above and with that status, they are able to contribute to customary events that their family and relatives in the village engage in. Given these modern attributes of the participants, they are traditionally, superior because they are men. On the contrary, this puts me in the traditionally defined position as an inferior, the 'other'.

I make this point because a modern PNG man is first, a product of culture and second, a product of the modern society where their decisions in the modern workplace are influenced by cultural forces and their village contributions is influenced by their modern social class. Thus, the participants in this project operate between these two modes: the traditional cultural and the modern mode. Through that modern mode, they saw me as a modern educated woman like themselves, but beyond that, they could have still seen me as their inferior in society if they switched to their cultural modes and saw me through their cultural lenses. I stand as the 'other' who is the researcher.

The following variables can be used to illustrate the differences and therefore, the 'otherness' of the position of the researcher and the participants: sex, marital

status, level of education, position and title. The 'other' in feminist research is principally based on Simone de Beauvoir's (1968 cited in Johnson-Bailey 2004) concept as female other to man's primary being. This term has been extrapolated to mean the 'different' when compared to the 'norm' (Johnson-Bailey 2004).

Firstly, the sexual 'otherness' poses me, the researcher, as an outsider, although I share the same ethnicity and cultural background with the research participants. I am sexually different to the participants and therefore, do not share the same gender experiences of the men, and neither do participants share my female gender experience. Yet, as Dowling (2000) argues, the researcher is 'never simply an insider or an outsider' (p. 3).

As an insider, I am a well educated woman, know the cultural norms and patterns of socialisation of these participants and their positions and I am in a position to judge if the responses affirm or reject these cultural configurations of patriarchy and masculinity. Being an insider, that knowledge about culturally sensitive issues and ways to relate to men of status proved to be inhibitive and created cautiousness and apprehension towards the phrasing of questions and the urge to delve deeper into knowing their thoughts. Further, my cultural awareness of my position as a researcher studying men required me to cross boundaries of comfort into male territory, male institution like the '*haus man*'

Secondly, the marital status of the participants and myself was different (see appendix 1), in that all participants except one are married while I was not. This sets the participant and researcher further apart because socio-culturally, a mature aged woman is expected to be married and engaging in private interviews with married men can be seen as transgressive of cultural norms.

Thirdly, the educational level is different in that most of the participants are very well educated at university level and their education has enabled them to get jobs that give them status among their colleagues and the society. The level of education has also endowed some participants with titles of 'Dr.' (both in academia and medicine). However, the fact that I am well educated like most of them, made them regard me as a colleague rather than not.

Below is a table that illustrates the points of difference between the participants and me as the researcher. This difference has posed the researcher in an unequal position to the male interviewees⁴⁶:

⁴⁶ See also appendix 1.

Table 4.1: Differences between the Researcher and Researched

Variables	Researcher	Researched
Sex	Female	All male
Age	40 (at the time of research)	Range from 35 – 60 years old
Marital status	Single	All married except one
Education range	PhD student	Grade 6 – PhD at university
Title	Miss	Mr., Dr. (both in medicine and academia), Br. (religious)
Job	Student	Academic, medical doctor, politician, bureaucrat, lawyer engineer, journalist, community development worker
Region	Momase	Momase, Highlands, Southern and Islands
Province	Madang	Madang, East New Britain, West New Britain, New Ireland, North Solomons, East Sepik, West Sepik, Milne Bay, Central, Oro, Eastern Highlands, Western Highlands, Southern Highlands, Morobe, Manus,

Interviewing ‘Up’

According to Wolf (1996:2), ‘studying up’ is studying those who are more powerful, more influential and wealthier than the researcher. The sample chosen for this research have all these attributes. They were employed as bureaucrats, academics, politicians, doctors, lawyers, administrators, community development workers, engineers and journalists. Furthermore, these men are at the interface of the traditional and the modern and know their own value.

During the process of conducting the fieldwork, however, it became clear that, despite my lack of status on the grounds outlined above, the participants were keen to present a façade which might please me. For example, when asked about their view of women all seemed to be sympathetic towards them and talked at length about how women should participate actively in development processes. Similarly, they spoke enthusiastically of the importance of gender equality generally and argued that they would, indeed, welcome the possibility of having a female supervisor at work. They seemed keen, in effect, to present themselves as enlightened men who are able to both work well with women and who are sensitive and respectful towards them, although some might contradict themselves in some situations. It might have been different if the researcher was male and therefore came to them as an insider.

Despite this desire to please, in some instances, the participants were also keen to ensure that I was aware of my subservient position as the following examples illustrate:

Example One: In this first example, one interviewee (who was a bureaucrat), made this power relationship known when his secretary showed me into his office at the scheduled time for the interview. I found him reading his newspaper. He continued to do his work for a further five minutes, before he even acknowledged my presence. He showed some agitation, saying that he did not want to give more than thirty minutes of his time on the interview. In the end,

however, he and gave two hours for the interview and spoke for almost all of the time.

Example two: In this second example, the interviewee (an NGO administrator) was critical of the selection of questions which he thought were too broad and general, claiming that he could not understand them and therefore had difficulty answering them. The same questions were asked to all participants and no other person found the questions to be the way this particular participant claimed to be. His criticisms were designed to assert his authority in a situation where he otherwise might have felt disempowered.

Example three: The third example involved an interview which took place with an academic who was established and well educated. His answers were not straightforward and simple. He cited references of books he had read and used in his work, which he thought was relevant to the research topic. This participant had verbose ways of answering the questions and was clearly anxious to display his expertise (from field notes 2003).

These examples demonstrate the complexities involved in the researcher's insider/outsider status (see Bolak, 1996, Shahbazi, 2004, Nilan 2002 and Dowling, 2000). Despite their expressions of the desirability of female equality, a number nevertheless showed considerable disquiet to an interview by a woman.

Interviewee Selection

Two sample selection methods were used in this research: purposive sampling and snowball sampling. In the purposive sampling process, ‘... researchers use their special knowledge or expertise about some groups to select subjects who represent this population.’ (Berg 2004:36). Participants were chosen from specific strata and sectors of the society – those who were in positions of influence, who are engaged in public discourse regarding policy and whose opinions are sought on a range of topics. Participants were also selected from all provinces which included men from both matrilineal and patrilineal societies (although there were no participants from four provinces who declined participating and could not be replaced). With this choice of sampling made, the snowball sampling process began for the selection of the forty men for the interviews (see appendix 3).

Snowball sampling process according to Minichiello *et al* (1995), relies on the researcher’s knowledge of a social situation. It involves using a group of informants with whom the researcher has made initial contact asking them to put the researcher in touch with people they know who fitted the criteria and this process continues until the desired sample size for the project is reached. The interview participants were chosen from institutions of work, mostly, universities, government departments, non-government institutions and the media. Through this process of sample selection, I contacted men known to me and who were in the PNG workforce. One woman (a personal contact) was contacted by email

and asked to provide me with a list of government bureaucrats and this list was supplied. The bureaucrats were sent a letter (see appendix 3) requesting their participation in the research. The academics were also selected and contacted by letter (see appendix 3). The NGO officers' names were obtained through email contact with a director of one of the NGOs in PNG who knew other NGO officers who gave me their names and address and I contacted them by letter. In this way, the initial sixty-five names of the potential participants of this study who met the criteria of elite men who were educated and employed either in the private or state sectors were selected.

The sixty-five men selected initially from those various institutions were contacted by letter (see appendix 3), asking them if they could participate in this research. Of the sixty-five contacted, only twenty responded to the initial letter. It is unclear why the response rate was low; however, it could have been any, some or all of the reasons below:

- Too busy to respond
- Did not have the means to respond
- Afraid to expose opinion on sensitive topic of research
- Uncomfortable being a research participant
- Did not want to be researched by a female
- Did not like the research topic or
- Felt uncomfortable with the research topic.

Of the twenty who did respond, only one declined to participate. The ones who responded were mostly academics, bureaucrats and NGO workers, with only one politician who responded by email through an officer in his department.

Because the initial responses received were less than the number required for this study, and some could not be available for a scheduled interview, snowball sampling was employed - other men were approached through contacts in the field and asked to participate, some personally and others were contacted through friends and other contacts. In the end, a total of forty interviews were conducted.

Due to cultural and regional differences in PNG, the participants had to be selected from the four regions: Highlands, Islands, Northern (Momase) and Southern, and representation from each of the nineteen provinces except four. It was hoped that representation from the nineteen provinces would also bring out the gender nuances particular to them. Most provinces from the Islands region and the Milne Bay province in the southern region are matrilineal and the rest of the southern region, together with the northern and highlands regions are patrilineal. Selection from matrilineal and patrilineal societies was a deliberate choice because of the differences in their view of women and thought this factor would enrich the research. Unfortunately, all nineteen provinces are not represented because those who were in the initial list, could not be interviewed

for reasons known only to them and it was simply not possible to find appropriate participants.

Interview Process

Before the process of interviewing began, an application was made to the Victoria University of Technology Human Research Ethics Committee for approval for research. When this research was approved (see appendix 2), four pilot interviews were conducted in Melbourne with PNG men from appropriate professions. The question sequence was tested for smoothness and accuracy.

Setting Interview Schedules

The interview dates were set up after consulting with the participants either by a phone call, fax or at a face-to-face meeting with the interviewees. The time and place of an interview was one that was convenient for the interviewee.

Scheduling the interview had to also be at a time and place that was culturally appropriate and acceptable between the female researcher and the male interviewee. This was important because an association of this kind could arouse suspicions of a sexual relationship between the researcher and the researched. All the interviews were scheduled and conducted in the office of the participant during business hours in order to assuage such anxieties.

The participants were informed of the intent of the research and were asked to complete a consent form – which they did (see appendix 4).

Question Selection

The selection of questions to be asked in this interview was related to the issue of PNG masculinities; the definition(s) and the expressions of these (a full interview schedule is available in appendix 5). The questions were grouped into four parts: socio-demographics, the definition(s) of the PNG male image, the male attitudes towards women in society and the last part was on male attitudes towards women's participation in development.

Demographic Questions

The first part of the interview questions focused on socio-demographical background of the interviewees (see appendix 1). These asked for their names, where they are from and what kind of work they do. The questions were to establish rapport and gain insight into the background of the participant, for the purpose of data analysis. One question left unasked in this section was that of their age because it was not deemed important and, most of all, Papua New Guineans do not talk about age. As a consequence, only an approximate age is given which was derived from observation at the interview, and background knowledge

Descriptive Questions

These type of questions were asked in order to provide descriptions of events, people, places or experiences (see Minichiello *et al.* 1995). Since the focus of the

interviews was to elicit the view of PNG men's view of and expressions of their masculinity, this type of questions could help them to describe those views and expression of their masculinity. The following are questions in this category which attempt to elicit a descriptions of concepts and situations of men:

- What makes a PNG man a *man tru*?
- What makes a PNG man a 'big-man'?
- What do you think the kinds of violence done to women? What does that say about men's use of power?
- So what would you do to change men's negative attitudes towards women and women's perception of themselves?
- How do you see that definition you just gave, translate into the current situation of governance in PNG?
- Can you say that the leaders today practice the traditional style of 'big man' in the modern context? And how do they show that?

Opinion/Value Questions

Another style of questioning used were the opinion/value questions. According to Patton (1989, cited in Minichiello 1995:88), opinion/value questions are '...aimed at gaining access to or understanding the cognitive and interpretive processes of people'. Questions in this category relate to what the participants thought about broad questions of gender inequality and about particular issues, events, or experiences they brought up. Below are examples of opinion/value questions asked in the interviews.

- Why do you think we have so few women politicians?

- Our National Constitution says that there be Equal participation of men and women in national development. Can you say that this goal has been achieved? Why?
- Do you think education has helped to change these traditional attitudes to male preference?

Feeling Questions

The purpose of this style of questioning is to draw out people's feelings about the issues, events or experiences commonly raised in opinion/value questions (see Patton 1989, Minichiello *et al.* 1995). They are asked in order to provide the participants with the possibility of expressing their feelings about issues already discussed, and while in the process of doing that, it is hoped that their attitudes on the issues may emerge. These questions are examples of this style, as used in the interviews.

- Have you ever worked with, or known someone who has worked with a woman as a leader. How did you/they feel about this?
- What is your opinion on violence done to women?
- How does a man feel when he cannot father a child? How does the society regard him?
- What was the general feeling or regard for the women who spoke at the meeting?

Knowledge Questions

Knowledge questions according to Patton (1989),

...are used to 'find out what factual information' the informant has. The underlying assumption is that the informant 'knows things'-to find out what the informant considers to be factual, to elicit the informant's

*view on ‘the empirical nature of the world that is being elicited’
(Patton 1989, cited in Minichiello et al. 1995:208).*

The interviews here also sought to acquire information about what interviewees have observed in relation to the topic. Like the question styles above, knowledge questions seek to ‘capture people’s meanings, definitions and descriptions of events’ (Minichiello, 1995, p.9) which arguably lead to an understanding of the epistemological foundation from which these men make decisions. The following are questions in this category:

- What do you think is stopping women from taking up decision-making and executive positions?
- How is the traditional definition of *man tru* and ‘big man’ transferred to the modern context?
- How do you see men in modern leadership exercise their power as males, as opposed to females in society?
- How much does your cultural socialisation as a boy or man influence your decision-making and policies on women’s participation?
- How does a man exercise his power as a man?

Hypothetical Questions

These questions inquire about people’s feelings and views on situations and events that are hypothetical. Questions in this category ask men in the interviews about their feelings, views and stance on probable situations and allow for the possibility for cross-checking of their responses to other questions. For example, this hypothetical question was asked in the interviews to see how traditional value for boys and girls, or deep-seated attitude about boys and girls might surface:

- If you had twins, a girl and a boy, you were poor and could only afford to send one child to school. Which of the twins would you send? Why?

Probes

One characteristic of in-depth interviewing is the use of probing questions, because through probing, the researcher is able to gain a better understanding of the subject or topic researched, through the interviewee's elaboration and explanation of things that are not clear enough at the earlier response to the primary question. 'Probing questions are used to elicit information more fully than the original questions which introduced the topic' (Minichiello *et al.* 1995: 89). Minichiello *et al.* further argue that probing is part of the research process that differentiates in-depth interview from normal everyday conversation. It is an indicator that the researcher is aware that he or she cannot take for granted the common sense understanding that people share because these may be differently interpreted by informant and interviewer (p.89).

Apart from the primary questions, there were probing questions used as impromptu follow-up questions asked for further explanation, elaboration, validation or for encouragement to speak on. As discussed earlier, however, given the power differentials between men and women in PNG generally and between the interviewer and interviewee specifically, the participants in this project did not require regular prompts or probes and, on the whole, required little stimulation to speak.

For More Explanation

The probing styles that were thought to be more appropriate in this project were short, follow-up questions that sought more explanation and clarity in the answers given. For example

- Why is that...?
- Can you explain...?
- Is that so?

For Encouragement

Again, the encouragement probes were used to encourage talk whilst positioning the interviewer as passive. I chose submissive and affirmative probes since these appeared to elicit a greater flow of data, and a flow which detracted from the participants' inclination to please me. For example:

- Yeah...?
- Mm...,
- Yes, yes...
- Are there any other reasons/factors that....?

For Validation

Probing is also used to check out previous information, to validate it, or give more detail. Validation probes were used to check the validity of my understanding, but also because it offered the participants the opportunity to reiterate their point, and perhaps even more importantly, to *explain* it to me as an uninformed person:

- Did I understand you correctly that....
- Please correct me if I'm wrong. You said that....
- You said...?

- Did you mean...?

Non-Verbal

The non-verbal gestures of encouragement to talk were the most frequently used probing style in this research because it created a non-interruptive atmosphere, for example, nodding of the head and silence. Again, this was also to confirm the power differential to the interviewee. Because I used more body language, more silence and active listening, this in itself provided more time for the interviewee to continue speaking. The verbal nudging probes used throughout the interviews turned out to be few. The interviewees did not have trouble speaking so little was needed to encourage them to continue.

Data Analysis

Coding the Data

Two types of coding were used; manifest coding and latent coding. According to Sarantakos (2005), manifest coding deals with the text to identify themes and form categories from those themes, while latent coding deals with meanings, as they become evident through more general reading (p.303). Each transcript was read a number of times, the themes were identified and noted in the margins and if they appeared more than twice, then the word or idea was listed as a theme to be used in the coding. The themes noted in the margin were either identified as part of the text or as meaning from the text. The initial list of codes came to over

one hundred, but all related themes were collapsed into a list of primary coding themes of forty. These forty were organised into these five categories:

Table 4.2: Primary Codes

Men	Women	Formal systems of Power	Informal systems of power	Social Change
Big man	Daughters	Development	Negotiation	Age-young/old
<i>Man tru/</i> Real man	Rural women	Education	Reciprocity	Development
Men with female bosses	Women and achievement	Family	Respect	Globalisation
Father	Women and aggression	Globalisation	Strength	Infrastructure
Traditional	Women and development	Hierarchy	Values	Interface of old/new
Strong man	Women and marriage	Infrastructure	Male violence	Media
Sons	Women and values	Lineage		Men with female bosses
Traditional big man	Women with male bosses	Rituals		Modern PNG
Traditional man	Women bosses	Matrilineal		Modern/traditional
Modern man	Women's rights	Media		Old/new
		Money		Tradition
		Power		Traditional big man
		Patriarchy		Traditional patriarchy
		Patrilineal		Traditional/modern
		Politics		Urban/rural
		Regions		Western influences
		Strength		
		Warfare		
		Wealth		
		Western influences		
		Government		
		Law		
		Customs		

These five categories were restructured to include more specific themes that would direct a more focused analysis. The themes of *big man* and *man tru* define the two mostly popular typologies of men; power and violence relate to characteristics of men and leadership is a role through which power is exercised more powerfully and patriarchy manifested; status is a characteristic that men strive to achieve; and social change explores the changes in their social lives and gender relations. The secondary codes are the following:

Table 4.3: Secondary Codes

Big Man	<i>Man tru</i>	Leadership	Power	Violence	Social Change	Status
Definition	Definition	Definition	Meaning/why show power	By men	Traditional expressions of masculinity	Men's
Characteristics	Characteristics	Characteristics	Male attribute	Kinds of	Modern expressions of masculinity	Women's status according to men
Leadership	Traditional	Traditional	Expressions of	Show of power	Causes of	Ways of gaining
Traditional	Modern is extension of traditional	Modern is not an extension of traditional in one sense	Loss of power in modern society	Reasons for		
Modern is extension of traditional			Systems of power (formal/in-formal)			

Once these codes had been identified, they were tested for regularity in terms of the interviewees' usage of them, and for the degree of importance given to them. Once complete, this confirmed their importance as key data. Similarly, codes which were irregularly cited were abandoned as unimportant.

Conclusion

In chapter four I have explicated the procedures employed in this research; the rationale for my approach, the recruitment of interviewees, the interview procedure, the methods of data collection and data analysis. It can be said that research methodologies and methods are many, but it is the prerogative of the researcher to select the appropriate ones to use. The choice of methodology and style depend on the research topic and the kind of data the researcher wants to gather to answer the research questions, and I believe that I chose appropriately in each case.

The research topic of this study focuses on the definitions of masculinity and masculine expressions constructed by patriarchy in PNG, and how this affects men's behaviour in relation to gender. It also gives a comparative analysis of masculinity and patriarchy in the traditional and modern contexts. Feminist theories and perspectives provided the framework used in this research; thus, qualitative methodology was used because it was deemed more useful and appropriate for the kind of data that was to be gathered and analysed. The in-depth interview method proved to be an appropriate method for this topic because it allowed expanded answers from the research participants themselves in their own words so the interpretation of themes from these interviews, together with the nuances, provided deeper insight to the interviewees' perceptions of the topic.

It is to the results of these methods that I now turn.

CHAPTER FIVE

Man Tru? Big Man?: Negotiating Masculinities

Introduction

As seen in the previous chapter, feminist research puts gender as an organising principle for social constructions and interactions, negotiating masculinity is what every man has to live with, especially in a society like Papua New Guinea where this masculinity comes under constant scrutiny and assessment. A male person has to be more than what his physiological existence requires – to eat, sleep, clothe himself and be sheltered and be healthy. He is gendered and as such, is required by culture to live and negotiate his masculinity. Masculinity is under constant negotiation because one could be considered more masculine or less, hence placing masculinity on a continuum (see Connell 1995, 2000), depending on one's ability to live the norms and meet the expectations of the society. This brings me to ask the following questions: What is a *man tru* or 'real man' that every PNG man negotiates and works to maintain in society in one way or another? What gives a man this status of *man tru* in the process of negotiating his masculinity? What are the typologies of masculinity that are emergent in this modern society in PNG?

As we set out to answer these questions, we will look closely at what the male participants have said about these in this chapter. The chapter begins with exploring what it means for a PNG man to be a *man tru*, which means, a real

man. Then the chapter discusses the initiation rites that are the official rites of passage from childhood to manhood for men, the traditional typologies of man as defender, provider and other qualities that men see that makes a man a *man tru*. The 'big man' typology is discussed next as this is an old concept with new meaning; and how a big man is ascribed or acquired. The discussion continues in exploring the modern *man tru* and modern big man derived from cultural configurations. The chapter ends with how the modern big man practices the tradition aspects of being big man.

Masculinity is a continuum (Connell 1995, 2000) where a man's identity can be negotiated as more or less masculine, as discussed in chapter two. There are several types of masculinities to be found in PNG, and some of these are exhibited concurrently by contemporary men. They are the grassroots man, big man, *raskol*, business man, *wokman*,⁴⁷ *moni man*⁴⁸ or *rabis man*.⁴⁹ The *man tru* is the ideal man every man aspires to be if he wants to have good social standing in the community.⁵⁰ Keeping his masculine identity sets him apart from femininity, thus earning him a *man tru* status. This chapter explores a range of

⁴⁷ 'Wokman' is the Pidgin term for the employed man; one who has a paid job. An unemployed, jobless man is the opposite of a wokman.

⁴⁸ 'Moni man' is the Pidgin term for the man who has money; in other words, a rich man.

⁴⁹ 'Rabis man' is a man who is unproductive, unsuccessful in life, he has no status. He is the opposite of the man tru.

⁵⁰ 'Man tru' – is a Pidgin term that qualifies a man as 'real man'; the ideal man. A man is expected to be a real man, true man as opposed to a woman or a false, not true man. He is called a 'man tru' when he does things that identify him as a man and make him more masculine, to uphold his masculinity as opposed to femininity. Femininity is abject (Butler 1990; Brook 1999). A man tru is productive and successful in doing things that are expected of a man in society. His actions and behaviour are pleasing to the society. The opposite of man tru would be considered a '*rabis man*' (rubbish man).

configurations of masculinity in PNG, particularly the concepts of *man tru* and the big man.

Man tru

Every man in PNG, even at this very basic level is expected to be a man, and every man can be and aspires to be the ideal man – the *man tru* or the ‘real man’. For Papua New Guinean’s a *man tru* extends from the biological man, he is both culturally groomed to behave and perform in the family and society what is expected of all males. The *man tru* status is not reserved for special men nor is it a status that is ascribed to certain men. To be a *man tru* is not a one-time achievement for all time, it is an identity that needs to be constantly negotiated and maintained from when a boy is born. Males in a PNG society are expected to perform all activities they engage in and come out of that activity as *man tru* or real man. That means that while they maintain their roles as males, they must also maintain their identities as males and this implies the complexity in the layers of meaning of maintaining their masculinities.

In both the traditional and modern contexts of PNG, a *man tru* does what a man is supposed to and is expected to do. The status of the *man tru* is role based, that is, a man plays his roles as a man, some of which are: protector, provider, father of his immediate family and this capacity of protector, provider and father extends to the extended family. For example, as a father, he must also contribute to his extended kin relations by sharing meat with his extended family after his

fishing or hunting trip. On the physiological level, the man, having been born a male with male genitalia, does the physical things that are seen to be masculine. He dresses, walks and behaves like most, if not all men. Although a man at this level can be seen to be culturally articulated, that is, what men generally do and behave as it can be seen to be a cross-cultural phenomenon of men. The social cultural level of masculinity is where there are cultural norms and precepts that define masculinity that vary cross-culturally. It is what anthropology has studied about the rites and practices that initiate a man into adulthood thus validating him to function in his gender roles and articulate his masculinity (Mead 1963, 1967, 1970, Herdt 1982a, 1994; Poole 1982; Schieffelin 1982; Hays and Hays 1982; Newman and Boyd 1982; Gewertz 1983; Errington & Gewertz 1987; Godelier 1986; Tuzin 1997). For example, for the Angkaiyakmin of the Western Province, manhood is constituted in the capacity to put a resource with restricted access into use, thus differentiating him from women or junior men (Crook 2000:238).

Although there are variations, at the basic level every man is expected to be productive so as to provide for and defend himself, his family, clan and tribe in the community. In order to be productive he must be hardworking and industrious. The quest for survival underpins all efforts to negotiate masculinity at this basic level. While the women's biological role of motherhood clearly defines their role in the survival of the family, clan and tribe, a man has to work harder to ensure survival and this is articulated in his male roles in society. At this level, all men are expected to be strong, work hard and therefore become productive and

can survive. In addition to that, all men are required to think of their kin relations and share with them what they produce. This ensures community building and harmony. A man who shares with others and one who reciprocates what has been shared with him, also shows he is *man tru*.

While in daily activities a man must show he is *man tru*, there are other special times when a man must stand up to show he is a real man. For example, at times when he must defend and protect himself, his family and tribe, a man must exert his strength against the enemy. This is what some participants of this study express about a man showing that aspect of strength that the *man tru* is expected to have and use when required, especially in times of providing protection for family, clan and tribe. The strength is demonstrated also in the physical muscular image of a man. Robert, for example, is in his late 40s and affirms this:

...most people have the impression that to be a man, you have got to be muscular, ...you need to be able to stand up for yourself, protect yourself, family and community. You need to provide for your community and your family.

Victor who is in his 50s says a *man tru* must be strong because masculinity is defined very clearly by the activities a man carries out, hence the male roles that

must show both physical and mental strength, perseverance and endurance. For example, they have to build the *lakatoi* and travel far to do *hiri* trade:⁵¹

The definition of masculinity comes in the Motu society by the important functions regarding the hiri trade and hunting. Because males are the stronger of the two genders, men are accorded the special status. By virtues of their strength, they can build the lakatoi. By virtue of their strength they can go out fishing ...and also catching turtles. Those are the activities that require a lot of strength...the stronger you are, the more successful you are and the higher the status you get...It is what defines a man's level of productivity.

Productivity ensures survival. Nathan, a journalist in his forties, expresses this of a *man tru* at this ordinary man's level:

...man tru in PNG ...is a man's ability to live, to survive, to raise a family, to have gardens successfully, to provide for his family...

On another level, skills carry added prestige for the *man tru*. Men with skills do more than the ordinary man who strives to provide for and defend his family and clan. They negotiate their masculinity through their skills and ability to do something that many other men could not do. They gain status and respect because the members in the community notice their knowledge, ability and skills. Some of the valued skills are: yam growing, doing rituals, doing sorcery, dancing, fishing, hunting and even fighting. And the skills enable the man to provide more fully than others. For example, some men have the knowledge and skills to fish

⁵¹ Hiri is the name given to the trade that the Motuans do. They travel the trade routes on big *lakatois*. A *lakatoi* is a big canoe with sails that the Motu people on the Papuan coast use on *hiri* trade expeditions.

or hunt turtles, dugongs or crocodiles. These men always catch plenty fish or turtles or animals that can be consumed by members of the family and the community. They gain renown when they do not return from fishing or hunting empty-handed. Oscar, a participant in his early 50s says that skilled men earn respect in the village when they use their skills and that makes them earn the respect of a *man tru*.

...there are certain people who command respect in the village. Some actually work hard in the garden, they work, there is nothing but making gardens. Some are good at hunting or fishing so people command respect in the community as a good fishermen, or dancer. He is a man tru in his own ability to do what he is good at. In that sense, he is a man tru so he is not only a big man, but real man or man tru.

These elite men in the modern PNG society show that their knowledge and expectations of a *man tru* is derived from their knowledge and the practices of traditional societies. They make reference to the rites of passage for males. In the next section, the participants give their views of a formal installation of manhood.

Rites of Initiation

The participants in this study are versed in this social cultural scheme of what makes a *man tru*. In pre-colonial times, a man's initiation was a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood.

Initiation rites involve boys enduring physical endurance tests after which they are considered a man. After this point they are thought to have the level of maturity and responsibility required of the adult as *man tru*. Their responsibilities include being able to provide for their family and their tribe by knowing the skills of gardening, fishing, hunting or building a house. In the past they also had to defend their family and tribe especially in warfare by learning skills to fight or protect their family and tribe from danger and for fostering peace and harmony in society. They were and still are taught the customs and values that guide one's behaviour and conduct in society.

Allan, a senior statesman in his 60s who was raised in a strongly traditional society and has held senior positions in the modern workforce since independence, says this about his society, but this could be said of the other PNG societies:

In Orokaiva, a man must undergo certain rituals to achieve real manhood. He must go through certain tests. In the past, in tribal warfare, a young man had to be in the frontline of battle...and win the battle. A young man must do some heroic things to become a man before he can take a wife. He must fulfill customary obligations.

Cornelius, a senior bureaucrat in the public service is in his late 40s, went through initiation rites that somehow have taught him to be productive and responsible for himself, his family and society. This is the kind of man who is a *man tru*:

Man tru is a man that takes responsibly for his life. That man is responsible. He can hunt, he can fish, he can build a house, he can garden, he can fend for himself. He will make sure that his family does not starve. He is able to pay his brideprice or contribute to paying his brideprice with his family. He is a person that contributes to society. I grew up in my village and I went through initiation ceremonies. ...I grew up in my village and I went through the initiation ceremonies.

Jeffery, an academic in his early 40s makes the point that a *man tru* to grow into maturity not only physically, but also in knowing his responsibilities as an adult who must provide for his family. The proof of his masculinity comes with his ability to be responsible for himself and his family. This also is another configuration of *man tru*:

Man tru is first of all mature in a sense that he reaches adulthood and undergoes certain ceremonial processes to signify that he is a man. For instance, he has to prove to his own family that he is able to make his own garden and build his own house or he is able to participate in discussion or other important occasion in the community.

For Chris who is a young politician in his late 30s, shares the perception that men in his society go through initiation rites in order to be considered *man tru*. Initiation rites teach a man to be productive by having gardens and certain knowledge and skills which raise a man's status:

...you go through initiation, men go through circumcision and 'teeth blackening'. When a male child is born you have to put him in the 'haus boi' (men's house) to go through initiation. If a man is not initiated then he not seen as a man. ...The man has to get married, make garden and raise children...some men do hunting, make feasts; you've got to make tribal and clan masks. Men have to know how to make masks. Once the people see you doing this, they see you as a

man... So basically in my society, if you go through all this, you are a hero, you are a man.

This is the modern generation of men who are part of the transition to modernity and who have had and still have a strong influence of the traditional system while they embrace the modern way of life. Some underwent the rites of passage and most certainly, men of the older generation did. So they still make reference to what was the traditional experience of masculinity and what is now.

The traditional *man tru* was endowed with life skills so as to enable him to function in the two most prominent but basic roles that constantly negotiated his masculinity that earned him the type of man that his society expected him to be - namely by being a provider for his family and clan; and a defender of his family and tribe. These two roles are expected of every man, both ordinary and big men. This was expressed both among the participants from the highlands and coastal regions and from both matrilineal and patrilineal societies and can be taken as a general understanding of a man's identity in the traditional context.

Men as Defenders

In traditional society, men's role as providers and defenders of the family and then the extended family and tribe were clear events that defined a man as *man tru*. In precontact times the highlands (where warfare and fear of enemies was common), men defended their families and tribes. Finch (1997: 123) notes that

precontact leaders were warriors who achieved prominence through success in warfare. Godelier (1986) refers to the Baruya warriors as 'great men'.

David is a media officer in a government department and in his early 30s, attests to how highlands men gain status as warriors:

For my area in the Highlands, in the traditional society, survival was the most important thing. The person who fought in the frontline of battle was 'man tru'. He is the person the community saw as the leader, saviour, protector of the community. You win land, you win prestige, you survive once you win tribal fights.

Being able to defend was not only a role for highlands men, even the coastal societies had enemies and needed to provide protection and therefore had warriors. Lepowsky's study of the Vanatinai of the Massim Islands in Milne Bay province, shows the island tribes had the *asiara* (champion fighter), the exemplary warriors who defended and repelled invaders from other islands. And for the Vanatinai, killing for revenge or defence was valued and it was celebrated (Lepowsky 1990:38). Other Western anthropologists also noted this warrior attribute of men in other PNG societies (see Gewertz 1983;; Tuzin 1997; Brison 1995; Wilde 2004a).

Providing protection for the family is what every man is expected to do. This was evident in the precontact era when tribal warfare was quite common. A man saw to it that there was peace and harmony among the family members, clan and tribe; customary obligations were observed to avoid disharmony, disaster and

illness. Participants in this study say that paramount to the well-being and survival of the family and society, the men protect women and children from tribal enemies, sorcery and witchcraft (see Lepowsky 1990, Finch 1997, Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a).

Although tribal fighting is common in the Highlands where the expectation of men as defenders was enforced, on the coast, this role was also seen as important, as Harry who is a lawyer in his early fifties, points out:

A man tru in my society possesses the characteristics of a man. For example, [as a man] you have to be strong, you have to be good and generous and kind to people when certain needs arise. You have to be there to help them in times of need, like in times of disaster. You have to help people in making feasts. You have to face up to situations like a man, as opposed to being a woman. For example, if you have to fight, you have to defend your land. You have to behave like a man.

As seen above, a man as defender is one type of man, and the characteristics that this type of man has are strength, fearlessness, and aggressiveness. These characteristics distinguish male characteristics from female. Apart from that, a *man tru* is generous with his time and resources to help other members of the community when they need his help.

For the men who provided defence and protection, due respect and status were accorded them. Societies have their own terms given to such men, for example the Vanatinai called them *asiara* (Lepowsky 1990:38), or the Ontena called them 'big-men' (*anom baita*) (Finch 1997: 123) or Godelier (1986) called the Baruya

warriors as 'great men'. Whatever the names are, to today's popular view of men with great skills and ability to accomplish what is expected of them in society, they stand out as *man tru* or real man.

Men as Providers

In the traditional society, a man is taught skills for survival. He is expected to be productive and industrious. When he is productive in life for his own survival and of his family, then he gains the respect of a *man tru*. In order for him to be *man tru* in the traditional society, he had to be a good hunter, fisherman or he had to be able to make gardens, build a house, take a stand and make decisions or be an orator or a leader. Participants in this study feel strongly about a man being responsible and capable of meeting his needs and those of his family, clan and community. Lawrence, a senior bureaucrat in the public service, points out how a man negotiates his masculinity:

Where I grew up, a man was somebody who was able to fend for his children, his wife and his tribe or his clan. This means that he is a good fisherman, he knows how to make gardens, make sago and he knows how to attend to customary rituals and things.

The men in this study talk about *man tru* who is able to take care of his self, his immediate and the extended family. This means more than just providing for them; it means that he shares his resources, time and energy to care and protect them. All these entail continued life-long responsibilities towards self, family and

relations. Bill who is a senior bureaucrat in his late forties, expresses this aspect of being *man tru*:

One perspective of being a 'man tru' is fulfilling your obligations that are particular to a man who is able to take care of his own life. If he is a married man, he is able to take care of his wife, the family and the responsibilities bestowed upon a man, particularly from his relatives and his immediate family members. That I relate more to the way we are brought up in our traditional societies. How is a man capable of looking after himself and if he is able to take care of the home chores he is able to look after himself, participate meaningfully in whatever traditional that he is called upon to do, and take care of his family. To me, a man tru is a man who is able to take care of himself, his family and show respect that the society calls for.

It is obvious that in order to provide for family and community, a man has to have both knowledge and skill to produce what he needs for their consumption. Felix is an academic in his fifties. He comes from a matrilineal family and shares that even in that social setting; a man must be a man and do what is expected of him. If he is married, then he must work hard to be able to cater for his wife's family:

A man must be a man. So a good fisherman where I come from would be regarded as a man. The one who brings home enough fish not only to feed his family, but the whole community as well. He is also a good gardener and good hunter; those who hunt for meat to feed their families. He is also a good distributor of wealth in the family level and the community level. These are things that make a man a real man or man tru. Men are thought to be outgoing and good at organizing and ensuring that the wife's people are well accommodated if he is a family man.

A lot is expected of the man who seeks to make his identity known as a provider. He not only provides for his immediate family, he also contributes to his

community as Danny who is an academic in his 40s shares what all the participants have also expressed:

In the traditional context, a real man should be a man who is capable enough in terms of will, in terms of ability, in terms of resources and in terms of relationships to shoulder burdens of his family, clan and his community. So what I am saying here is that, a real man in the traditional PNG context is someone whom his family, clan and community can look upon not just to lead, but someone whom his family and community can turn to him so he can be of help. He can be of use to his family, to the clan and to the community in which he lives.

As PNG is a communitarian society, the men here speak of a *man tru* not as an individual, but as an individual in relation to his family and community. One test for a *man tru* is how well he can function as a productive man in his society. His *man tru* status is recognized and acknowledged as he works hard to produce resources, then shares these with his family and members of his community. He must contribute to the community hence from this he can gain the community's appreciation and stand as *man tru* in their eyes.

Other Qualities of Man Tru

A *man tru* is expected to possess other qualities. These qualities are part of the cultural obligations and responsibilities a man is expected to fulfill towards his family, clan and society. A man feeds for himself and also for his family and community, which prescribe that he is hospitable and contribute to community obligations like mortuary feasts and other feasts. He must care for other people

and be 'man blong lo'.⁵² A man's contribution to his community is one way of gaining status. This brings out the communal aspect of life in PNG which requires a man to negotiate his masculinity in relation to different groups of people he associates with in the community. A man who does not contribute is considered *rabis man*.⁵³ When a man amasses wealth, he is expected to share it with his family and community. He is expected to be kind and caring to others in the community. Vincent, an academic in his forties, argues that sharing is what the *man blong lo* does best:

A man gains respect with his ability to generate wealth and distribute it. A man who hoards things without sharing is not regarded well in my society. A man gains respect in a number of ways. One is his ability to generate wealth and distribute... One is his ability to generate wealth and distribute... a big part of that is to share and care for others in the community.

In the matrilineal societies, men esteemed their women. Western anthropologists (whose work is used here as data because they are all we have) such as Lepowsky's (1990) work among the Vanatinai in Milne Bay province, a matrilineal society, shows how women had great freedom to participate amassing wealth with they distributed in gift exchanges. They did that independent from their husband's activities. She calls the women big women (Lepowsky 1990). Wiener

⁵² 'Man blong lo' is a Pidgin term that is used mostly in the Madang area that best describes this man of quality. This is a man who is kind, considerate and hospitable. He shares food from his gardens, fish from his catch or meat from his hunting. He distributes well at feasts that he does not miss members of his family and clan is his distribution of food and other things. He is giving, caring and kind.

⁵³ 'Rabis man' is a Pidgin word derived from the English 'rubbish' man. This is a man who is worthless, one who amounts to nothing because he contributes nothing. The rabis man is the opposite of a man tru and a big man. In literature by Salisbury (1964); A. Strathern (1966), the big man, finance manager is the opposite of the 'rubbish man' (Newton 1988: 203).

(1988) makes note of the Trobriand women's great power at gift exchange in mortuary feasts.

Data from this research show that participants from matrilineal societies esteem women and a *man tru* in society is one who values women. A man becomes a *man tru* when he considers the importance of women and their role in society. For example, Joel is an academic in his late thirties. He is from East New Britain - a matrilineal society and says:

A man tru is one who recognizes the status of women in society and allows the involvement of women in one way or another as it is in the Tolai society.

Alex is a community development worker in his forties and also from a matrilineal society. He attests that women in his society are important and valued. He commends women from Bougainville whose role in the peace process contributed to the achievement of peace in Bougainville. This he attributes, to women regaining their status that they had lost during colonization and after independence:

If you look at Bougainville ah women were valued before and that has a big impact, you know we just had the crisis and you the women were the, they formed, the crisis was very, I think the crisis was really important. One thing good, ah good about the crisis was; the women got together and they were the kind of forefront of the issues that came up in Bougainville. Before the crisis I think that the society was slowly, you know men were slowly looking down at women. Before the crisis and when the crisis came you know our men were involved in the fight and it was very hard for them to

come together with the other men from the neighbouring villages and the only the neutral person that could negotiate were the women.

While the participants from matrilineal societies noted the esteem men give to women, none of the participants from patrilineal societies explicitly made a point that men esteemed women except in their implication that they had great value for their mother and sisters, but not women as a category. This could mean that modern PNG men still cannot see women beyond their traditional roles and their place in society. Harry is a lawyer in his fifties. He comments that women in his patrilineal society are treated as equal partners to men because of their contribution to the survival of the family. He notes that labour is divided into men's and women's roles and they each do their part. In Harry's words:

We, in my area, we regard women as equal partners because there is division of labour; work that men do and work that women do. So we have to play our part for the survival of the family, and looking after the family and all that. But there are areas where women are not required to participate, because they are regarded as men's domain. Sometimes husbands do consult their wives, but when it comes to the final decision, it is the men who make the decision, not the women. That does not mean the women are not consulted. Women are allowed to express their views, but at the end of the day, it is the men who make the decision.

Harry's implies that women are regarded as equal to men, but only in the nurturing roles they play. He does not speak about the esteem men give to women, they are valued if they do their part for the survival of the lineage. He claims that women are equal to men, but he ends up contradicting himself by saying that women do not make decisions, men do.

Gerard, an academic in his late thirties, is also from a patrilineal society and speaks in the same vein as Harry, but Gerard seems to be influenced by Christian beliefs where men and women are equal and should work side-by-side. This view is idealistic, as he implies that women are not equal to men and therefore men do not have regard for women:

A woman's place is next to the man. This is a saying from the Bible. Jesus said, 'Do not walk in front of me, for I may not follow. Do not walk at the back of me, for I may not lead. Just walk at my side so together we go wherever we are going.'⁵⁴ For me personally, both men and women have the same worth not because you're a woman or a man. I think both are capable intellectually and can be productive and struggling to do something to achieve something.

Jeffery in his forties and an academic, states that women from the traditional perspective, are not esteemed regardless of their work and contribution to their family and society. There is not system of giving gifts to women as a sign of appreciation and show of value, except where societies practice brideprice payment for a girl when she is married. But according to Jeffery, this is a more economic valuation of a woman rather than for her self-esteem as a woman:

Traditionally, I think women are not valued at all regardless of the effort and time they give to their family. There is no such thing as presenting (giving awards) to women for the things that they do. I guess one of the reasons would be because some societies have brideprice payment. It is like a woman is bought by her husband or the man she marries and that is where she already receives all her presents, but these are distributed to all her relatives. So the woman who comes to be with her husband usually does not receive some kind of value, she is more like a slave. She just

⁵⁴ This is not a biblical text and not found in the Bible. It is not spoken by Jesus. It is a proverb that is used in line with Jesus' teachings on equality and men and women; rich and poor, big men and small men, all people having equal worth, therefore, one is not more equal than the other.

works, even if she gives birth to children, the husband doesn't do anything very special to recognise that she is a valuable partner.

Another quality of a man is that of a leader. Although this is not the first role that was mentioned when participants were asked about what defined a *man tru*, the role as a leader came after a man's role as a provider and defender. A man as a leader came in the context of him being the head of the family, a decision-maker and one who leads other members of the community. A *man tru* as a leader is not as prominent as this type of man is articulated as a big-man in a later description. Chris, a politician who we saw earlier, is from a matrilineal society and he highlights that a man is at a disposition to be a leader and at the smallest unit of the family, he is the head and as such, a leader - a position shared with men in patrilineal societies. Chris affirms:

In my society, man is the head of the family; it's not the women. So man is always the head of the family and he has to do all those things with the other men in other families. If you don't do those things then your family will suffer. You have to make your own gardens. Those are the things that make people see you as a man.

Besides being the head of the family, a *man tru* is seen as one who can lead and make decisions as well both in his family and in the wider community. Jim, an academic in his early forties, argues that a *man tru* has the ability to lead the community, be involved in making decisions for the community; he is a leader who protects the family and community, a male role discussed earlier. Jim comments:

Basically, 'man tru' goes to men who are able to provide leadership in the villages, in communities; and in the traditional days, there were able to fend for the society, provide protection in times of tribal war, in times of disaster, famine and so fore. These are men who can stand and be counted among other men in society.

The type of *man tru* seen above is what every man strives to be, by doing activities that he is skilled at doing. In the broad sense, his skills are learned and developed to help him provide for his family and help his extended family and community. If he hoards resources for himself then he is not a *man tru* in the broad scheme of things, but if he shares with others, then he gains renown. As he shares with others, he builds community and the survival of his clan and tribe. The participants' understanding of *man tru* is derived from the traditional context. The contemporary application of this *man tru* concept will be discussed later.

The Big Man Typology

There is a good deal of literature focusing on another type of masculinity in PNG, the big man (Strathern 1971; Lederman 1990; Finch 1997; Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a; Rynkiewich 2000; McKeown 2001; Sillitoe 2001). An early study done by Sahlins (1963) looked at comparisons between big men leadership in Melanesia and Polynesia. He highlighted that the power of the big man was ephemeral and unpredictable because it was based on his quality as a person and his ability to organize and reciprocate the distribution of wealth and resources to gain and maintain political support from clansmen and other supporters (cited in Lederman 1990). Later ethnographies in highland societies have since taken on the concept of PNG big man and increased the understanding of the social structures of big

men especially in the Highlands (see Meggitt 1967; Strathern 1971; Brown 1978; Godelier 1986). The big man is one typology of 'great men', what Godelier (1986) describes among others like the warriors, shamans, hunters and orators. Anthropologists describe the Highlands big men as a modern concept, more as entrepreneurs whereby individualists achieve social status through their control of wealth (Finch 1997: 123; see also Lederman 1990; Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a; Sillitoe 2001; McKeown 2001). They do not see big men as leaders without this aspect of controlling wealth in gift exchanges and prestations. While this is a prominent way to earn prestige and status, Lepowsky's (1990) study of the Vanatinai of the Massim Island Groups, Milne Bay Province, shows that there are other means of becoming big men. She also contests previous writings that where only big men were made. Lepowsky (1990) adds that the Vanatinai example and a few other Melanesian societies had both big women and big men who did things to earn prestige in society, and in addition pointing out other roads where Melanesians gained renown and prestige. This was through prowess in warfare, probably derived not only through physical ability and mentality, but from active intercession of ancestral spirits and other supernatural beings. Knowledge through warfare skills and warfare magic is one type of power; knowledge of how to kill through sorcery and witchcraft and how to heal through counter-sorcery and counter witchcraft, and having magical spells and sound knowledge of plant substances. Ritual expertise in gardening, exchange or initiation is yet another way to gain prestige (Lepowsky 1990:40).

The precontact notion of big men leaders negotiated their masculinity hence achieved prominence through success in warfare and warriors were called 'big-men' (Finch 1997). The data in this study, strongly suggest the resemblance of Godelier's 'great men' concept except that 'great men' entails heroic deeds while *man tru* entails doing things that upholds male identity as opposed to femininity (see footnotes 1). Hence in being skilled in doing something, a man is able to perform well in events thus achieving the recognition of a *man tru* or 'real man' as opposed to a woman or Godelier's (1986) 'great man' in heroic events. While every man is expected to be a *man tru*, only some succeed in becoming big men. A big man is one type of *man tru* as Cornelius, a participant in this study asserts: 'The big man graduates from that *man tru*'.

A big man may graduate from a *man tru*, however, a big man is still expected to maintain the *man tru* status at the level of a big man, namely by doing things expected of a big man, for instance, providing good leadership. There are two ways by which a big man earned the big man masculinity: the ascribed and the acquired. These two ways will be discussed next.

Ascribed Big Man Status

The ascribed big man status is attained by default, that is, the big man title is inherited and this is usually a title of a chief or a clan leader,⁵⁵ from a chief to his

⁵⁵ A clan leader is a man who is the leader of the clan. He can either have a chiefly status or be an elder in the clan. He usually has a lot of status because he clan members seek his leadership and guidance. His status is not measured by wealth, but by his ability to provide leadership. In one sense, he is a big man because he is an elder of a clan. He is not a big

son or sons. Sahlins (1963 cited in Rynkiewich 2000:19) differentiates big men and chiefs. Strathern (1970) notes that 'Big-men do not automatically succeed to their position, they establish it by their own abilities, although many are themselves sons of big-men, and were helped by their fathers to obtain more than one wife as young men' (Strathern 1970 cited in Rynkiewich 2000:42). Having fathers as big men gave young men who were aspiring to become big men, a 'hereditary advantage' (Standish 1978:33) over others in establishing their position. Jeffery points out that the title and the role of a chief is inherited from the father:

In the traditional context, big man status is inherited; passed from generation to generation. Usually a big man would be recognized as kukurai (chief) or clan leader

A clan leader Jeffery refers to here is called *maror* in the Megiar dialect of the Bel language of Madang province (see Gordon 2005).⁵⁶ This type of big man is a leader of the clan and his role is to lead his clan activities that the clan is engaged in. Rex who is from the Western Highlands Province speaks of that similar clan leader's role in his society and they refer to him as '*hetman*' or '*headman*'.⁵⁷ He makes a distinction between a big man and a headman. The

man because who manipulates wealth as does an acquired big man position I will discuss in the next section.

⁵⁶ Megiar dialect of the Bel language which the SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) ethnographers also call the Takia language in Gordon's (2005) language maps of PNG, produced by the SIL. I will use the name Bel language. The Madang languages are featured on map 7 the *Ethnologue* website – http://www.ethnologue.com/show_map.asp?name=PG

⁵⁷ Hetman or headman is a term used by some societies to refer to a leader, usually a clan leader. His position is inherited and he plays the same kind of role, as does a clan leader (described above).

big man accumulates and distributes wealth to build his reputation while the headman is a clan leader who leads and guides the community. Rex explains:

The word 'head man' is not the same as a 'big man'. So these are two different words which in my language is 'head man' who is more a leader. He is the one who makes decisions or guides and if there is a conflict, he sorts it out. And that's the headman, ...not the big man. Big man has to do with wealth which is not what the head man is about.

Chris is from a matrilineal society and tells of the inherited big man system. According to him, a big man in his society becomes a big man because of the wealth he inherits and that status legitimises his leadership role in his family and clan. Chris affirms this:

A big man status in my society is hereditary. It is inherited from your parents or from your clan, not so much from your tribe. So the first child of a chief or a big man, he or she inherits that man's wealth, power and everything. Once you become a big man, you control the shell money, the family and the clan. You have more pigs, gardens and before Christianity, you could have more than one wife, as what is practiced in the highlands.

Chris makes a point that in some cases a daughter could inherit the status of a 'big woman' but only to control shell money and land. She does not take full and active authority in decision-making like the big man does.⁵⁸

Ascribed big manship as in a chief does not come without training and responsibility. One is groomed to be a chief, hence a big man by village

⁵⁸ 'Big meri' in Pidgin, or 'big woman' is not a common term to call a woman of considerable power and status. It is not an equivalent feminine term like that given to a big man. The term big meri is commonly used to refer to a woman elder because of seniority. It is also used in the context of a woman's position in her job especially in a senior position. It denotes respect, but not with as much emphasis as that given to a big man.

standards among the people where the man belongs. It therefore is a parochial renown and the authority that comes with it tends to affect the locale where the chief's jurisdiction lies. The chief's authority therefore does not cover those parameters outside unless he increases his network system by which he makes himself known. Tim from Manam Island is a son of the chief who was himself groomed to be chief. He is expected to behave like a chief in the presence of his people even when he is employed and lives in town. Tim is not a chief among his work colleagues and other people, but he is a chief and a big man among his own people. He states:

I was based in Lae for some time. When my village people came to visit me they expected me to be in this traditional mode...So you automatically become that chief...and play certain roles...that is how you keep your authority over your people. If you forget that you are a chief and you are working in the western world like me, then you lose respect and you disorient your own people and they don't respect you when they go back home and there is a conflict.

A big man chief's influence and power is not acknowledged in the modern urban centre, or a traditional chief is not a chief in the modern context and certainly not a chief to those he has no ties with. The only traditional chief that is acknowledged beyond village and local boundaries and widely accepted in the modern sector of society where the traditional and the modern merge, is Sir Michael Somare, the current Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea (see Somare 1983).⁵⁹ Everybody refers to him as chief and this is due to his role as the founding Prime Minister of the nation and an archetype of traditional chiefs who

⁵⁹ Sir Michael Somare is the founding Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea and is the current (2004) Prime Minister. He is from the Murik Lakes of the East Sepik Province.

seems to have a unifying influence on the different tribal groups. No other Papua New Guinean big man has come to that same level of big manship.

Acquired Big Man Status

The second type of big man is one that is acquired or achieved mostly through one's efforts in accumulating wealth and renown in feasts and gift exchange (Strathern 1971; Lederman 1990; Finch 1997; Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a; Sillitoe 2001). The geographical difference of the ascribed/acquired big man has not been fairly explored, but from this data, it can be said that the coastal regions have more ascribed system of big men through chiefs and clan leadership where a lot of land and wealth is inherited which give a man a big man status. In addition to that, a big man with inheritance of wealth is already has a predisposition in his society to command a lot of respect, power and influence.

In the Highlands, the big man is mostly achieved through production and accumulation of wealth that is distributed in exchanges such as the *moka*,⁶⁰ and through which one makes an impression and gains prestige (Strathern 1971, 1978). The big man is mostly seen as a highland notion, however this is not to suggest that a system of identifying big men did not exist on the coastal societies. This data show that a big man articulates his status in the community by possessing a lot of wealth such as pigs, land and in many cases, has more than one wife. His children form part of his wealth. He has a lot of influence in

⁶⁰ Moka is the Melpa (Hagen) word that refers to the gift exchange and prestations.

community and contributes a lot in customary obligations and events. A big man also stands out as a leader in his community.

Allan is a senior statesman in his early sixties who affirms this view that a big man is outstanding in the community. He has oratory skills, he has leadership skills and he helps people in their time of need. These are some qualities of a traditional big man. Allan tells of what makes a big man in his society:

A big man must be outstanding in the community. In the Orokaiva society we do not have the chieftaincy system, but we in the community look for men and identify those who have the ability to talk, to speak as an orator. A man with oratory skills, a man who helps other people in times of drought, famine; one who makes sago and shares with other people.⁶¹ When the community identifies such a man, then he is appointed to become the big man of the tribe, the community. This was how a leader was identified.

In the traditional context, the big man concept is more known and practiced in the highland societies. The big man masculinity is achieved through hard work with the aptness of a man to be able to be accorded recognition. David, a young man in his early thirties from the highlands region attests to that:

⁶¹ Sago is a staple food for many coastal societies in PNG. It is a powdery starchy food extracted from the pulverized pith of a sago palm. When the sago palm is felled, the palm bark is peeled back and the pith is pulverized. Then the pith is placed in a trough with coconut-fiber screen which is set on stilts next to a shallow pool or stream. Water is scooped into the trough with the pith and the pith is washed and the water from that runs off into another trough where it is collected and left to settle. When the water is settled, the powdery substance settles to the bottom of the trough. This is the sago that is collected and stored and cooked in different ways and eaten (see Gewertz 1983: 21). Sago production takes a lot of time so people who can produce it and then share with others, have a high regard in the community.

From the highlands point of view, the big man is achieved. You have to say something and do it, and if you do something, you have to do the biggest part. For example, if you give a feast to honour people who have helped you, then you kill the most pigs, you make the biggest contribution to the feast. You come with your word and action. And people start to promote you and finally you become the village big man, they respect you.

Coastal societies had their own ways in which men negotiated their big manship. For instance, Lepowsky's (1990) study of the Vanatinai suggests that there was a system in which both men and women achieved status from various activities. Vanatinai men were esteemed for aggressiveness in attack and plunder but for their ability to defend hamlets, but greater prestige was accrued through success in obtaining valuables from exchange partners because of one's cleverness and magical knowledge and then giving away the valuables in public mortuary feasts (Lepowsky 1990: 39).

It is important to note that it would be unfair to generalise about how big men are constructed both for coastal and highlands regions of PNG, we draw common aspects of what makes a big man as anthropological literature has suggested about the character and charisma of the big men as they negotiate their social status and masculine identity in their various societies. What also comes through is that understanding of the situations that engender big men as understood by modern men and women engaged in this study from various parts of the country.

A big man in PNG in the cultural sense is seen as one who has a lot of wealth which include land, pigs, wives and children. He has wives who help with

production of garden food and raise pigs which would be used in feasts and gift exchange. In these events, the man distributes his resources to allies and relatives thereby establishing and consolidating his network of friends and supporters and maintaining peace and harmony as Robert is an academic in his late 40s and he sums up what all the participants in this study and what they say makes a traditional big man:

The traditional role of a big man is a fight leader, leading by example. The big man has a role as a mediator in warfare and as peacemaker. He is the initiator of ceremonial exchange and a major in ceremonial exchange. He is a distributor of resources and a bridge-maker. He established network between different groups.

It is important to highlight that a big man has a lot of pigs and has to have pigs for any feasts and exchange that he makes. He may not have money, but all feasts and events cannot go ahead without pigs. This is therefore why it is important for a big man to have pigs as part of his wealth. In the highlands where a large number of pigs are transacted in gift exchange ceremonies, it is necessary to take more wives who raise pigs which are used by the husband in such transactions (Sillitoe 2001:173; see also A. Strathern 1971, 1978, 1985; Lederman 1990).

Possession of wealth is one attribute of a big man, but it is the ability to stand out as a leader that is prominently noted among all the research participants. His popularity in accumulating wealth and distributing it among his relatives and supporters make people look up to him as a big man leader, he is caring and

looks after people and their welfare. This goes beyond what is portrayed in big men seeking primarily to amass wealth and create popularity among social relations and by doing things that will increase their renown. What participants in this study highlight as a defining quality of the big man is his caring and concerned about the wellbeing of others. He increases his popularity by doing things for others because he cares. That aspect is denied in previous studies (Sahlins 1963; Meggitt 1967; Stathern 1971; Lederman 1990; Lepowsky 1990; Finch 1997; Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a;; Mckeown 2001; Sillitoe 2001) showing that big men merely give gifts so as to gain status and prestige. That may be true, however, this study indicates that the interviewees believed that a characteristic of big men is to care for others, when they shared; they made sure everybody had something and they helped in times of need thus bringing about the aspect of communitarian living, hospitality, giving. As Zimmer-Tamakoshi (1997b) notes how the Gende practice of reciprocity shows that a person is good; and a good person is always thinking of others.⁶² As a leader, a big man must have time for people and assist people in times of need. That made him great.

Although the big men were constantly preoccupied with building their reputation, their work also involved their care for people around them. Jim, an academic in his early forties, attests that big men not only accumulate resources, but they also share with other people:

⁶² Gende are a people who live in the mountains of southern Madang (Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997:66), the area known as Bundi.

The big man, if we are talking about big man as in the connotations it carries, then we are looking at leadership skill. The can master resources and distribute, not just accumulate, but the ability to share with others...

This element of sharing resources with other people is a view that is shared by all the participants in this study. They say that traditionally, big men shared their wealth, but modern big men have neglected this virtue of giving, sharing and caring for other people.

Jerry is an academic. He brings out the deeper humane qualities that a big man is expected to possess:

A big man is a person with a big heart. My concept of a big man in the traditional sense is somebody who looks after the community and who settles problems in the community. He has time for everyone. He does not necessarily have a lot of things, but he utilizes people in the community and mobilizes resources from the group.

For Allan, he expresses the aspect of big men leaders have the ability to provide hospitality. Through hospitality a big man shows respect to the 'little' people:

A big man respect others, we must follow our culture in how we provide hospitality. Because our 'Orokaiva' name for our province means, 'welcome'. Orokaiva means 'welcome'. This is the way of treating other people. We must teach our children how to receive, welcome visitors, how to make you visitor feel at home when he stays with you and he should take part in the feasting, dancing.

A big man in the traditional context grows out of a man's quest to be a *man tru* and continues to negotiate his masculinity in the community by continuously engaging in events through which people recognize his skills and abilities. Some become big men through heredity especially in the case of a chief and a clan leader. Inheriting status and title requires the man to work hard all his life to maintain and exercise the inherited power. In popular view, a big man is acquired with hard work if it is not inherited and it is associated with one who has a lot of wealth and has the ability to accumulate and then distribute to people around him for establishing and maintaining social relations. By being able to organize his resources and sharing them, he gains more respect, prestige and allies for times when he should require their support. This sharing is reciprocated later by offering the same and in kind. Gaining respect and status propels the big man to leadership positions, because people look up to him to lead. He is involved in the affairs of the community and makes decisions on behalf of the community. He possesses qualities that go beyond just accumulating wealth, he is able to share what he has, he helps, he shows care and concern for his family, clan and associates. He is community oriented. These are qualities that made a traditional big man. He can lose this status if he does not share his resources. Every man strives to be a *man tru* and that identity is contested at different levels of masculinity and even big men strive to be *man tru*, the ideal man.

Modern *Man Tru*

The modern *man tru* derives from the traditional *man tru*. As defined earlier, every man wants to become and live the cultural configurations of this man. At the basic man's level or an elevated level of a big man or the traditional or modern context, a man still negotiates his masculinity. Having explored the traditional definitions of *man tru* and big man, it is necessary to explore the modern definitions.

The parameters of the modern setting begin with the post-contact period to date where the modern has had an influence on the traditional, cultural definitions of *man tru* and big man. One major agent of change from traditional to the modern has come with colonisation. Other agents of change are education, mass media, communication, economics and Christianity and these are also agents that contribute to the configuration of the modern *man tru* and big man. For example, Kempf's (2002) study of the Ngaing of Rai Coast, Madang province shows how the young men reconfigure their masculinity by incorporating patterns of modernity and Christianity with the ritual practices as means to enter into modernity (Kempf 2002). Peter Lawrence's (1964, 1965) documentation of the cargo cult movement of the Rai Coast area in Madang, highlights men's negotiations with redefining their masculinity in the modern spatiality. McKeown (2001) writes of how big men leadership in the Simbu village of Maidom redefine their masculinity through literacy (McKeown 2001); and Wilde's (2004b) account of the Gogodala men of the Western Province, incorporating the traditional canoe

racing of the 'male way of life' (Wilde 2004b: 286) into the modern men's sport of rugby.

A key event in traditional society was the initiation rites that highlighted a man's configuration of masculinity. Today, it is harder to define what makes a man a *man tru* without those initiation ceremonies that explicated a man's identity as a man. Papua New Guinean men are still in the process of defining and redefining their masculinity. Some seek to define their masculinity by drinking alcohol as Simon, an academic in his fifties, points out:

Among the young today, a man is someone who can drink. That for some people has become the definition of a man. They say, 'I can drink. I don't care how many bottles I drink. I'm a man!' This has become some people's definition of a man or qualities of a man in an urban setting. I also think sports has become a part of that...when people see sportsmen looking muscular and strong when they play rugby....so the brute prowess is seen by a lot of people as a manly quality.

Drinking is a modern form of initiation, a rite of passage (as discussed in chapter one) as noted by Marshall (1982). Simon also points out that the expressions of masculinity forged by alcohol is an urban phenomenon and this is affirmed by the research done on alcohol in the different societies (see Marshall 1982) and drinking beer initiates a man into the modern way of life (see LiPuma 1982; Lepowsky 1982; Herdt 1982a; Zimmerman 1982). There is also a large home-brewing industry located in rural PNG and alcohol is growing in its impact.

While some people turn to drinking as an initiation, or sport (see Wilde 2004b) as a means of expressing their masculinity. But most people today regard success in education and employment as a means to gain status in society and define their male identity. Data from this study highlights a modern urban *man tru* as someone who is educated and has a job. Because he has a job, he is able to provide for his family and he is able to contribute to his village in customary obligations.⁶³

Oscar in his late forties is a bureaucrat in the public service and he defines the modern contemporary *man tru* as an educated man who is able to get a job and participate successfully in the modern society:

The contemporary modern man is the one that has achieved most from the introduced Western culture. He has excelled in business, sports, education, English language, mathematics and so forth. So this is the man tru or real man today.

Danny an academic in his early forties observes that in the contemporary context, a *man tru* has to look at education to enable him to be useful in the community. He must be reliable and can participate in nation-building:

So this would mean that someone with good education, good social standing, family values and good community relations to take the lead in the profession capacity and community activities.

⁶³ A villager man would be classified as *man tru* if he made contributions to customary obligations using his resources. If he also contributed to different community activities and build his reputation through those activities, then he was gain a lot of prestige and status.

Today, knowledge comes through education which is gained through literacy. The book has become the symbol of literacy and knowledge, but particularly white man's knowledge. Gewertz (1983) notes the indigenous people's view of literacy and the white man's power, which is gained through knowledge, obtained from books (Gewertz 1983:218). This also tells of the indigenous understanding of formal education introduced by white men, that if they sent their sons to school, they could learn to read books which would enable them to enter into the white men's world of riches and wealth (see Kempf 2000; McKeown 2001; see also Waiko 1987).⁶⁴ Having modern wealth is a new way for PNG men to articulate their ability to provide for their family and relations, as men used to do in the traditional society.

Although most young men today do not undergo initiation rites, traditional expectations and obligations of a *man tru* are still there. Just as a *man tru* is expected to provide for and protect his family, the same expectations are still valid for the man in the modern context. Emmanuel is a journalist in his thirties and he affirms that these expectations have not changed:

I see that the man tru is a man who provides food and is the man who is able to get a job and look after his wife, his children and his extended family and his wife's extended family.

⁶⁴ John Waiko's play 'The Unexpected Hawk' brings out the subject of the indigenous fascination for white man's knowledge and power they witnessed in the time and process of colonisation. The time of colonization also brought a lot of changes, hence confusion and misunderstanding. Waiko's posits that learning white man's knowledge would bring more understanding and less confusion of the white man's ways and the indigenous ways. So the mother character in the play encourages her son, "I want you to go to school, so that you can dig out the roots. So not hesitate to uproot their tree and drink their wisdom" (Waiko 1987:66).

Joel is an academic in his mid thirties and he confirms that the traditional expectations of a man are still there:

A man tru is a person who provides for the family, a person who is caring and a person even when he is wealthy or in destitution at least he tries his best first and foremost to cater for the family...He also provides for those culturally or traditionally rely on him...A man tru has a sense of obligation to those in the community who might be less well off, who might be in need.

The man as head of a family is a role that is still maintained in the modern society. The man is expected to be in control of his family and with that comes the respect as the head of family. Although the participants did not mention themselves to be head of their family, it is because it is understood by all and not seen as an issue with men. One participant implies that the man is head of his family and must control his wife and family and that she show by the way the wife and children behave, as he speaks of what makes a *man tru*. Linus is a politician in his early fifties. For him a *man tru* today must possess good qualities that extend from a *man tru* in a traditional society.⁶⁵ In addition to these he is respected as *man tru* if his wife is of good character. This implies that a man's reputation is good if he controls his wife and she maintains a good character. On the other hand if the wife is not considered to be of good character, then the

⁶⁵ Ironically, after the data collection, Linus was convicted of shooting his wife. This is contradictory to what he stated,

husband will be ridiculed as being incapable of controlling her and will be shamed for his wife's behaviour⁶⁶. Linus hence attests:

People look at good qualities of a man; if you are kind; if you are strong; you care; you help people; you have a lot of food gardens, then people look at you and acknowledge you as a good person and they think you are a good leader. If they see these qualities in you, they say you are a good leader and they will make you a leader. But if you do not show these qualities, they will not select you for leadership. If a man is open to others, if he shares, then people will select you for your qualities. People will also look at the character of your wife, your family will be taken into consideration. On the other hand, if you are a greedy man, even if you are highly educated, the people will not accord you the respect of a leader.

In the contemporary context, men in PNG are almost forced to find new ways to negotiate their identity. Even with the changes, the roles of being providers and protectors of their families still remain. The men are the breadwinners in the modern society even when some women have joined the workforce and share in the breadwinner's role. Modern *man tru* as leaders is the idea that is not easily highlighted in this data, however, this idea it is not to say that men are not seen as leader. Their leadership role is more evident in big men, as the following shows.

⁶⁶ Most of the participants I interviewed did not really disclose what Linus implied in this account. Although all men will admit that they are ashamed if their wife did not have a good character. A good character of a wife includes obedience, servitude, caring for her husband, children and in-laws and being submissive to her husband. It is a PNG thing that a man can lose face because of his wife's behaviour. This, Banks defines as a way of injuring a man's masculinity, and domestic violence can result from this (see Banks 2000a, 2000b). It was difficult to elicit from the participants their negative attitudes, because for a PNG man to admit this to a woman is a sign of weakness of his own manhood. This foregrounds one limitation for a female researcher researching men.

Modern Big Men

Modern big men seek to define their masculinity in modern, urban society using methods which conflate with traditional expectations. Yet, in the face of westernisation and globalisation, men are redefining their identity. The main arenas in which they articulate their masculinity are the arenas of business, politics, education, employment and other deviant behaviours in activities such as *raskolism* (see Banks 2000a; Dinnen 2000).

Martin is an education officer in his forties. He speaks of modern big men as those who are engaged in the formal sector and who have status because of their education, jobs and positions in the workplace. He points out that the workplace reinforces their big men mentality:

A lot of PNG men are proud that they have status in society. When they are in the formal sector, they feel they are big men because of their status or position in society through ownership of various things that are considered important in society. When in the formal sector, that is, the workplace or education or whatever, this is a stepping-stone for them to think of themselves as big men. So what they are getting from the formal sector reinforces the mentality they are the big men.

To the ordinary members of the community, modern big men are seen to be those with a lot of money and modern assets such as a permanent house and a car. They may also be associated with owning businesses in the free market. In PNG, businessmen and politicians are looked upon as big man and many businessmen do successfully get elected to a political career. Finney's (1973)

study of Goroka businessmen notes that these men did not come from the fringes of society, they were men who led their clansmen and tribesmen to take advantage of the opportunities made available to them in the recent cash economy (Finney 1973 cited in Rynkiewich 2000:24). These businessmen were big men and they would be elected to parliament when the opportunity arose (Rynkiewich 2000:24).

Businessmen have money, which in today's terms, would translate as wealth that empowers this type of big man to make contributions at village ceremonies and cultural obligations. In traditional feasts, his contributions would not necessarily be in monetary form, but certainly in the form of food and pigs which this type of man is understood to be able to afford as a businessman. In PNG, every contribution made is reciprocated if not immediately at that ceremony, it will be done at a later date. The businessman's contribution is therefore appreciated and reciprocated, hence acknowledging his renown as a kind man who gives as in *man blong lo*. The demand on a businessman in the ethics of business often comes into conflict with big man ethics as Finch (1997) highlights in the story of Noya of Kainantu:

A big-man must invest much of his wealth in his supporters, and, importantly, cannot be seen to be hoarding wealth for his own consumption. A big man who is seen as stingy undermines his own prestige. On the other hand, the needs of the business are of paramount importance to an entrepreneur. The demands of business can come into conflict with the expectations of the big-man's supporters... (Finch 1997:127).

This statement seems to allude to the fact that a businessman or big man gives only to build a network of supporters and build his reputation. It may be so perhaps in the highlands where much of the ethnographical works highlight (Sahlins 1963; Pospisil 1963; Strathern 1971; Lederman 1990; Finch 1997; Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a; McKeown 2001; Sillitoe 2001) the act of giving in the PNG society, but this act goes deeper than that. It is firstly the humane thing to do; to contribute to a feast is a way of lending a hand which will be reciprocated in gift and kind. It is an act of kindness and generosity that is characteristic of the culture and people of PNG. People share in times of scarcity and plenty. Secondly, giving builds and strengthens social ties with family, friends and neighbours. In this way, people foster peace and harmony. This act of giving is not only reserved for big men and women, it is done by everyone, and it is expected of everyone, to share, to give, what Papua New Guineans call in Pidgin, *pasin bilong lo*⁶⁷

The contemporary businessman big man is successful in the modern sense. He has a lot of money and assets. This is transposed from the traditional definition of a big man who has a lot of wealth. The kind of wealth here is money. Richard is an academic in his early forties. He affirms that big men are associated with wealth and their wealth props them up to be men of status:

Big man mentality of to do with possession of wealth. I think it is to do with how much money you have to have, how much other things you

⁶⁷ 'Pasin bilong lo' – is a term in Pidgin which refers to the way or the law of giving and sharing which is more than giving for fame and prestige. It is done so people bond and create this 'wantok system'. A man who is kind, hospitable and giving is referred to as 'man blong lo'. This is seen as a human virtue.

possess. There is a lot of influence from the traditional mentality of having things like gardens. It translates easily into the modern context, people wanting to possess more and they want to get into the government. If you are a big man and if you are a member of parliament, you have the decision-making power, status and of course you are able to win the election, and regardless of what percentage you get in the vote from the electorate or region you're still a big man.

Apart from business, politics is the next arena where a man in the modern society negotiates his masculinity. Being in politics elevates a big man into a leadership position. In PNG, politicians are easily acknowledged as big men. By being elected into parliament, they gain status as leaders; hence, big men politicians are leaders. They are in positions of authority and power which they use to have access to electoral funds and through them, people understand that they would have access to services such as health, education and communication. Like the classical big men who were to accumulate wealth and then distribute, the big men politician slip into this role of providing funds and bringing development (see Rynkeiwich 2000; Kavananur, Okole and Levantis, 2004; Okole 2005).

Robert is an academic in his late forties who explains this modern big man concept and points out the enormous expectations of the big man politician who is to have access to public resources and provide for his people. These big men have to fulfil traditional expectations with modern goods:

The big man concept is a term which has got a lot of people into trouble, especially the politicians, because Papua New Guineans expect big men, including the politicians to bring home the bacon and they are supposed to distribute wealth. There are qualities of big man which have been downplayed in recent times because of education,

money, politics and gift-giving on the part of the big men. The traditional roles of a big man as a mediator in warfare and as peacemaker, or as initiator of a ceremonial exchange are downplayed. That has been downplayed by Papua New Guineans because of the emphasis placed on money from the big men. So they expect the modern big men to be like a super big man who has got access to enormous amount of almost limitless wealth and mostly state wealth. Nowadays he (big man) is a delegate to parliament. He is there to extract as much resource as possible for the state, milk the 'metaphorical cow' and bring it home...as they are supposed to be distributors of wealth...

Chris, a politician in his late thirties does not declare himself as a big man, but understands the expectations of a big man politician. He understands his role as a leader who must bring services to his people, tangible projects like road system and government services. He wants to bring change and development to his electorate. Chris highlights a clear demarcation between the traditional modern big men. To be a modern big man politician, one has to be literate:

...the people must see a big man in the modern context as someone who must know the government system; someone who must speak English like other people and he must compete with the rest of Papua New Guinea.

The next arena where a modern big man articulates his masculinity is in education. Today, a man scales the educational heights to gain some status. The kind and level of education is important that enables him to get a good job so he can earn money to provide for his family and the extended family. He gains respect when he does that and he can be considered *man tru* because he can provide for his family even outside his village, away from his customary land.

Jim is an academic in his forties, sees education as a force that defines a modern big man leader. University education elevates a man. Education also enables one to discuss issues:

There is a mixed bag of qualities in contemporary leadership. There are others who trade off with a university education and into providing contemporary leadership. So when you talk about leadership style, education has become a force in defining leadership abilities and qualities...They are able to raise themselves over a range of issues; the charisma is bringing people together, the ability to listen and offer solutions to conflicts.

With education, one can find employment, and with employment, the guarantee to modern wealth. There are some jobs that carry a lot of status compared to others. In PNG doctors, lawyers, engineers, university lecturers and those areas of scientific and technological field have more status than nursing and primary school teachers. Bob is a bureaucrat in his late forties and who comes from a chiefly family. He notes that his education and position have enhanced his traditional chiefly status. He also implies that if he had a less prestigious job, his chiefly status would not be recognised both in the urban and village settings:

Because of my position as the Head of Department, that has enhanced my chiefly rank in the village. And I suppose in a way it upholds my chiefly status. But if you are a chief in the village with little or not education unlike myself, your chiefly status means nothing.

In this case, Bob forgets that there are village chiefs with little or no education who have a lot of status. Here, he equated status with education and modern amenities. Bob hereby redefines his modern identity, thus accepting education as an emblem of his status. When a man loses his job or position, he can also lose

his status as big man and become just an ordinary person unless he continues in some business that gives him access to amassing wealth that he can then share with his relatives on social occasions and therefore have some degree of influence and recognition when he contributes to village obligations. This kind of obligation can be overlooked in the urban setting, but contributions are always appreciated in the village situation; and modern men still have obligations to participate in village events because of the cultural virtue of the act of giving that constitutes kindness that makes a *man tru* that was mentioned above.

Modern Big Men... but Traditional Practices

In this period of transition, modern big men have tremendous pressure from their relatives in the village because there are traditional obligations and expectations to meet even for a man working in town. The pressure is particularly strong for politicians. A non-politician is employed on individual merit while a big man politician has obligations to his followers. There is a lot more pressure on big men politicians because of the perception that they have a lot of money and the voters expect reward for their votes. Rynkiewicz (2000) argues that this big man status is ephemeral:

What do followers want? As in the past, they want access to trade goods, they want their relations with other groups organised so that they benefit, and they want exchange managed so that they are favourable to themselves. In a sense, a big-man politician is a middle man, playing a survival game in the political arena. He must submit to the government of the day to acquire resources, and he must submit to his constituency by distributing resources. If he fails to work either end, then someone else will rise up to replace him. In the end, however, the big-man politician must provide for his own supporters,

but does not have to provide for someone else (Rynkiewich 2000:31).

It is a common practice in PNG today for the supporters of a politician expecting him to deliver goods and services to them, and this includes things like politicians should subsidise school fees for tertiary students (*The National* 23/3/2005), or contributions for compensation payments (see Ketan 2000; Rynkiewich 2000). As Rynkiewich argues, if these expectations are not met, then the big man can fall out of favour and his prestige diminishes. Such cases demonstrate that the traditional expectations and practices of big men as distributors of resources are extended into modern society. Gerard, an academic in his late thirties argues that the valorisation of the big men is extended from the traditional society:

...there is valorisation of ... the concept (of big man) given legitimacy in the social, political place in traditional society and through the process of colonisation and modernisation some of those concepts are extended or taken into the modern context...In PNG when you look at a politician or an academic or businessman as a big man,...that idea of a big man often comes with having a lot of material wealth they share in the traditional societies, so people think that this big man will provide for them and he will take care of their welfare...

Bill is in his late forties and bureaucrat in the public service. He attests to this traditional expectation of a big man in the modern workplace and argues that it is a mentality that is extended from the villages:

I can say that we still have that mentality here (workplace)...That back in the villages, the societies that we come from, they look upon us as big men and therefore that obligation on our part as big men is more on the demand more than ever now. Because they expect us to deliver more from where we are...That we must deliver more and above what the others contribute because they perceive us to be big men. In other words, we will get more money, more pay...

It is not only that a man strives to identify his position and masculinity in the modern society, but also his society is a powerful force that makes him negotiate his status in the modern workplace. This is something that PNG men go through and the amount of and level of education and exposure that the modern men have gained, has not changed that knowledge of their people's expectations. In other words,

Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to explore the traditional and modern perceptions of masculinity in the two typologies of man: *man tru* and big man. Every man in PNG is expected to be *man tru* at all levels of society, whether as an ordinary man or as a big man, firstly in the traditional setting, but this is not limited to the traditional; it has extended into the modern institutions as well. This is because being a *man tru* means that one strives to be an ideal man who displays the characteristics of a man.⁶⁸ Whereas men in the traditional societies were expected to have gardens, build a house, hunt or fish to provide for their family and contribute to clan and community functions, modern men are expected to provide for family and contribute to the community but they have to do so in the modern context where acquiring education and employment are the norm for contesting their masculinity. The traditional practices of accumulating wealth for big men have changed little in the market economy. What has

⁶⁸ Some characteristics of a PNG man include strength, aggression, competitiveness, responsibility, control, authority, thoughtfulness and generosity (giving).

changed though is the use of money. Furthermore, a man's quest for masculinity is negotiated through meritocracy in modern ways of acquiring status; through education, jobs and the ability to make money, often on individual basis. The way to accumulate money is not communal as was done with pigs and garden food in the traditional society. The accumulation of money is more individualistic and so a big man has the power to operate as an individual and use his wealth to manipulate his followers especially in politics.

In the modern quest for attaining male identity, the modern systems of articulating this identity has been masculinised as it is in politics and the higher executive and management positions and positions where policies and decisions are made in the workplace where the presence of women is almost absent. This chapter has so far explored that male identity expressed as *man tru*, and in the big man configuration.

CHAPTER SIX

Hybridised And Hegemonic Masculinity

With globalisation, PNG's masculinities are currently undergoing a period of profound transition. This chapter explores the ways in which this is occurring, and looks at the drivers for this change.

The concept of hegemony is a term borrowed from Antonio Gramsci's (1971) analysis of class relations in Italy. Hegemony is the dominance of one group over the other groups without the use of force (Gramsci 1971, Forgas, 1998). Male hegemony is therefore a social order where men have almost invisible patriarchal dominance over women as a group. Connell (1987, 1995, 2000) gives a more nuanced flavour using the term 'hegemonic masculinity' where social dominance is achieved in a play of social forces that extends beyond contests of brute power into the organisation of private and cultural processes. It is the ascendancy group of men over other subordinate groups (including other men), which is embodied in almost social structures of importance including religious doctrine and practice, mass media content, even the design of housing, welfare/taxation policies and so forth (Connell 1987:184).

Big men, as shown in the previous chapter, are men in some form of leadership, especially businessmen and politicians in both government and the opposition. Within the hierarchy of big men, politicians and businessmen are at the top; the

bureaucrats in the public service are next followed by the executives and middle managers. Modern big men are those with positions of power and status by virtue of having much greater financial and social capital than others. This is even more the case with parliamentarians whose status is gained not only by election, but by their access to state resources. Hence, modern wealth, after position and status, is a criterion for defining big men in contemporary PNG society. This makes these big men exemplars of 'hybridised masculinity' - masculinities which blend traditional and modern systems of status and power. In the case of politicians, for example, their public popularity and social cachet which commonly originates in their original communities is melded with more modern elements of power and status - money, jobs and public position. When in such positions, politicians are expected to reciprocate towards their communities and those who supported their transition to public office; it is anticipated that they will provide goods and services to their electorates. They are expected to distribute wealth.

This chapter follows on from the exploration of the big man and *man tru* and their ways of negotiating masculinity both in the traditional and modern societies.

Firstly it defines the concept of hybridity followed by PNG's hybridised masculinity which looks at the concept of male hegemony in the practices of patriarchy and how masculinity is further negotiated in leadership. Secondly it explores male power *per se* and examines its use in the field of male violence.

The chapter ends with a discussion of *raskolism* both as an example of hegemonic masculinity and as a hybridised form of masculinity.

The Concept of Hybridity

The concept of hybridity is derived from the English word 'hybrid' which Young (1995) points out is derived from the Latin term '*hybrida*, meaning the offspring of a tame sow and a wild boar' (Young 1995: cited in Yao 2003:3). Lisa Lowe (1991) first introduced the idea of hybridity highlighting the differences between Asian and other Americans in her essay 'Heterogeneity, hybridity, multiplicity: marking Asian American differences' where she underscored a vast range of differences contained within Asian American cultural configurations (cited in Yao 2003). Homi Bhabha (1994) uses the concept of hybridity in the postcolonial context to analyse and deconstruct colonial domination. He sees hybridity as a

...sign of productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities: it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority). Hybridity is the revaluation of the assumption of colonial identity through the repetition of discriminatory identity effects. It displays the necessary deformation and displacement of all sites of discrimination and domination. It unsettles the mimetic or narcissistic demands of colonial power but reimplicates its identification in strategies of subversion that turns the gaze of the discriminated back upon the eye of the power (Bhabha 1994:112).

Bhabha suggests that hybridity subverts colonial authority in the way the colonised 'other' mimics the dominating power, thus leaving the power with questions of authenticity and ambivalence (see also Bakhtin 1981; Young 1995) Whilst Bhabha (1994) argues that hybridity is a formidable resistance to colonial

domination, he also discusses the complexity between cultural borrowings and the mix of two or more cultures in this project – the Western culture and the traditional PNG cultures. In the case of PNG, masculinity amongst other things has indeed been hybridised, and this chapter explores the ways in which this is played out.

PNG's Hybridised Masculinity

This section discusses the ways in which the participants make sense of the borrowing and blending of the traditional and Western ways of defining men's masculinity – something which they were all aware of and which they themselves negotiate, as Bill, a bureaucrat in his late forties, explains:

I think I can say that we still have that mentality here. That whilst as much as possible in the situations we try and get away from that, the expectation is often there, that back in the villages, the societies that we come from, they look upon us as big men and therefore that obligation on our part as big man is more in demand more than ever now. Because they expect us to deliver more from where we are. So to them, yes, the big man in their context still exists. That we must deliver more over and above what the others contribute because of what they perceive us to be - the big man status. In other words, we will get more money, more pay. Politicians when they go campaigning they say the same thing. So they are often looked upon as 'yes we voted for you, you have to deliver'. So when we go back home their expectation is that we have to give out more, and we need to do more things, contribute more over and above the others. Their expectation of 'big man' still exists.

Modern capital can be displayed in a number of ways in addition to the distribution of money. Here Joel, an academic in his late thirties, points out that other forms ostentation are used by big men and contests such displays. The use of material displays has been consistent – in the past they may well have

consisted with displays of finery whereas today such things as technological objects are used. He argues that authentic *men tru* need not rely on this:

I think those people, many of them in government right now, be it in the government or in the private sector, and those that display their wealth or their status as big men through material things like big cars and so forth, ...somebody who drives around in some VX land cruisers and things like that. That's not a real man for me. A real man can still drive around in a broken down car. A real man can still get on a PMV bus. In actual fact, a lot of people will recognise and respect him for that than driving in an air-conditioned car with dark glasses up and things like that.

Many participants in this research suggest that modern leaders enter politics only to become wealthy; they do not serve their people as wisely or selflessly as traditional leaders did. Matthew for example, insists that contemporary leaders in PNG think of themselves first and of their constituents last:

I think the current leadership has not been like it was before. Before Independence and all that, people were truly leaders; they came to help the people. But this is slowly breaking down. Nowadays, leaders are not really leaders. There's a big difference between leaders and politicians or managers. Everyone is different, but as far as leaders are concerned, there is hardly any, so-called leaders are not really leaders. If they are leaders, then they would have the country's and the people's interests at heart. Everyone is there for their own gain and that's why after 26 years of independence, what have we got to show or prove that we can manage ourselves? We don't have anything. Unfortunately, that is a sad case, we don't have leaders, we have people who are lucky to get in, but certainly not to serve people.

This perceived mentality of greed and individualism defies traditional PNG and Melanesian ways which were, and still are, communitarian where leaders who are selected by the people have a duty of care for their people, thus, fulfilling their Melanesian obligation to their people and communities. This new

individualism is an attribute of Western societies, witnessed and borrowed by the PNG leaders. What is clear here is a powerful tension between the old and the new, between traditional reciprocity and self-interest, between dependence and independence. These unresolved dynamics form the foundation of a new hybridised masculine identity for big men.

Practices of Patriarchy

As we have seen, patriarchal practices are hegemonic as men as leaders in both the private and public arenas exercise a dominantly masculine perspective in decisions and they benefit from that, what Connell (1995) calls the 'patriarchal dividend' and uses to describe the advantages and benefits men in general gained from the overall subordination of women and through the gender division of labour (Connell 1995, 2000).

In order to explore the level of this dividend at a very basic level, the participants were asked to imagine that they had twins, a boy and a girl, were poor and could only send one child to school. They were asked which twin they would send. While some (younger participants) said sex would not be a criterion for their choice of sending their children to school, older participants argued that they would send the boy to school and keep the girl at home. Allan, a senior statesman in his 60s, also introduces notions of nationhood and age when he says:

As a Papua New Guinean, I will send the boy to school. I will not send the girl to school because she will get married at home and

she will look after men when I get old. So I have to keep the girl and send the boy. I think if I said that I will send both, I will be telling you a lie. As a PNG man, I still have the influence of the old thinking. Because the girl will get married and look after me when I get old, I have to keep her and send the boy to school.

One patriarchal reason why PNG men prefer sons is for the fathers to pass their inheritance rights to their sons which is a key determinant of their status as a *man tru*. In other words, the future of the clan and tribe remains in the hands of sons who are expected to settle on their father's land and look after the property.

William, a politician in his late forties, highlights these patriarchal practices.⁶⁹

I will send the boy to school because then he will take over the reins from me. He is going to inherit my place and my assets and he will take over my place. That is the belief Papua New Guineans have. If he is educated, that is a bonus. But if I had one child and she is a girl, then all my assets will be transferred to her. I'll do my best to look after the child girl. So, she comes back and takes over my assets. But if I have one boy child, he will take over. In my society where it is patrilineal, and patriarchal, it is the son who inherits my place, land, clan, the tribe and assets like the singsings (songs and dances). These are some factors that make Papua New Guineans have preference for sons and for looking after sons more than daughters.

Political activities are led by men even in matrilineal societies as Dinnen (2001) states; 'Political units were typically led by a man, or several men. Men were politically dominant, even in matrilineal societies' (Dinnen 2001:13). Being politically active, men also dominate decision-making. Women, on the other hand, have control over a range of other, equally significant community activities which include social, spiritual and supernatural domains.

⁶⁹ After the data collection, William was convicted of the rape of a 17 year old girl.

Martin, for example, is an executive officer with the Department of Education, is from a matrilineal society and expresses what others also say, that although women in his society have a lot of respect and have ownership of land, when it comes to decision-making, men always take the lead and women follow. He says that decision-making in the public arena is done by men:

My society is matrilineal and now that I have grown, I now realise that the matrilineal system operates symbolically. For example, my mother is known to be the head of the clan and owns land, but when it comes to making decisions on what to do with the land, like gardening, the men take over. In the village forums the men talk and talk and the women just follow.

Where there are patrilineal and matrilineal societies, the male members of the family from patrilineal societies are usually given more importance and value than female members whereas matrilineal societies confer status on female members which is commonly symbolic, as Martin points out. In patrilineal societies, sons also become the property of the clan as well as their immediate family. They are enmeshed in a broader, structured social system which is unavailable to women and girls. Fidelis, a bureaucrat in his early fifties, expresses a typical view of fathers in his position:

The children, when they are born, they belong to me because I need the boys. I'm not worried about the girls. For instance I have one girl and four boys. These boys are my boys...they belong to my clan. So when I am gone they are the ones who will take my place... I am not interested about girls as you understand that if they get married to whoever their future husbands are, they will look after them (girls). I would worry about my boys more than the girl (daughter).

Within the modern workplace, the marginalised status of women persists.

Competition between women and men for jobs is relatively unusual given that

women rarely in the same market for jobs as their peers. But in the unusual situation where women have a leadership role, and are expected to effectively supervise men, things become difficult. Linus, a politician in his early fifties, attests to this notion that women in high positions and leadership are not supported by men and by other people in general:

I see that this attitude is still there, even in today's leaders and maybe in tomorrow's leaders as well. Male leaders tell the people not to vote for women, because women are nothing in the PNG society. In the Western world they are important, but in PNG, it's like this. Even if there is a smart woman who gets through the ranks, but to appoint her to high position, they find all kinds of things against her to disqualify her for the job. They only recognise the man for the job. In PNG, the system supports more the male as boss as it is male-dominated. I as a leader do not like this, I want the women to be present because they are caring and compassionate and so on.

Here Linus uses essentialist notions of femininity to suggest that women might be useful additions to the workplace but does not entertain the idea of working with them as peers or having a woman as a supervisor – perhaps because such a scenario did not occur to him!

When the participants were asked whether they had ever worked under a female boss, most had not. The few that had, argued that they had 'no problems' working for a female boss but did not state if they liked to work with (or even accept) a female boss.

Cornelius is a bureaucrat in his early fifties, has never worked with a female boss, but has had women with strong characters working with him. He speaks

positively about them, and attributes that to having a strong mother who influenced him:

I should get you to meet my deputy, Diana Lolos. She is from West Taraka, a powerhouse of a lady.... I have no problem; the ladies are just as enhanced as the men are. It's been my style all along, I think I have a very powerful mother. My mother was very powerful, more influential than my father.

All participants in this research except one expressed that they had had the experience of working with women as colleagues, but none in the capacity of a boss. Only one participant, Nathan, an academic in his forties, and who had had a female boss, admitted that he had a good working relationship with her and he attributes that to his general attitude towards women. Like Linus, he valued what he saw as the nurturing qualities brought to the workplace by women. In this case, these caring qualities she had for the employees subordinate to her extended to loans:

Just my last boss was a woman and...she is the best boss I've ever had of all the bosses I've worked with. I think also because of my attitude towards women, I had no problem at all whether it was a male boss or a female boss. I can get along with them easily, but I found her to be very caring, attentive; someone you could approach at any time. Like, when you are working, there is the professional part and also the personal things like, 'Can I get an advance or a bit of money for this or that?' I tended to find she was more attentive to that. She would do the professional part well, she'll say we do this, this and that and then she would come and say, 'Okay, I give you some money, but you better pay me back.' You know, she does that, but not only myself, but a lot of co-workers found her to be the best boss, she stood up for them.

Perhaps not surprisingly, most participants in the study have men as their supervisors and women as their subordinates. This arrangement maintains the stereotyped subordinate positions of women in the modern workplace, as is the

general expectation of women in the traditional society. According to the Huli people of the Southern Highlands province as Wardlow (2006) explains, women are “being under the legs of men”, thus demonstrate their proper position among men and more generally, their subordination of their desires and plans according to that of their families and clan (p.12). In the wider PNG society, this is the general expectation of women, even if there are a few exceptions among individual men. Owen, for example, a politician in his late forties, sees himself as one who respects women and who is also a supportive husband to a wife who is working.⁷⁰ He speaks as an exemplar for modern men:

In my experience, I've never worked with a woman as my boss, but I have worked alongside women. I have relied on women to get things done and I have learnt to respect women because if you give them the task, they will do it. I speak as a husband of a working woman. When I started work, my wife also started work at the same time and I have seen her progress through the ranks of the organisation where she worked and I have made it my business to support her in her career and I think what is important for women's career development is the support that husbands should offer their wives. And I have, since I started working with private companies, been moving around and my wife as the same time moving around with me and I feel that she has to be employed because she is educated and she needs to be employed. Fortunately for her, her company supports her every time that I get transferred, she also gets transferred. So I think the most important thing about it is that women will succeed if you give them the opportunity and I think a lot of that needs some understanding from husbands.

The patriarchal mentality of men in leadership is seen in the PNG national parliament which is dominated by men and by masculinity. For women to

⁷⁰ The men in this study claim that they respect women in the workplace and see them as reliable and productive, and often congratulate themselves for their personally developed gender attitudes. Unfortunately, it does not look at women's experiences in the workplace to verify if, indeed, women feel respected in whatever position and capacity they are employed. If women are respected, are they respected as leaders or bosses where men are their subordinates; or are they respected at subordinate positions?

become successful leaders they are obliged to assume masculine characteristics such as being forceful and competitive which is no easy feat. Allan, a senior statesman in his sixties, whom we heard from earlier, comments on how people regard women in leadership:

Leadership, although some of our PNG women have the same qualifications as men, leaders, political leaders or the top management, bureaucracy and politics, overlook women. Because men are aggressive, they get their way. To go and lobby to get there, women have to be aggressive to get to the top... Aggressive, I mean, you have to rub shoulders with the top politicians or with the top bureaucrats or top politicians – meet, drink and talk to them. These things, women don't do.

Vincent, an academic in his late forties, affirms that the PNG bureaucratic system is patriarchal and leadership is a male prerogative. For women to participate in leadership in this system is for them to go against the grain as it were. For Vincent, to ask women to be managers and leaders is to give them a male stamp:

Why aren't women in management and all that?... You look at your bureaucratic machinery, you look at your structures in organisations, they are based fundamentally on the patriarchal paradigm. And so for you to ask a woman to work within the patriarchal paradigm would be incongruous. And yet all the machinery that works, our organisations in PNG are very much from a patriarchal paradigm and for me to ask a woman to go and be head of a school is like taking her and giving her a male stamp.

As in other societies with a masculine hegemony, the men in PNG are not socialised to see beyond their own world to see whether women are fairly treated in both the formal and informal sectors, or perhaps even to care. They are not trained to questions about whether their female counterparts in the workforce are treated as the equals of men in terms of status, privileges and salary. Indeed, as

we have seen above, the question of equity is rarely asked and when it is, the participants in this study revert to a discussion of women's assumed inherent characteristics which makes them unable to participate with men at the highest levels of public service yet their nurturing and empathetic qualities (some argue) makes them useful as subordinates. Only one participant (Linus) claimed to have had, and enjoyed having, a female superior. But this could perhaps be explained by her willingness to provide him with services (such as loans until pay day) which a male might not.

Leadership

It is obvious that leadership in both traditional and modern societies in PNG is a male phenomenon. That is, leadership and high levels of decision-making positions are male dominated. It is enough to see the absence of women in the parliament who are all male bar one and of all the senior officials in government, only about twelve per cent are women (PNG National Statistics Office, 2003).

Leadership involves two groups of people, the leaders and the followers, with the former using the latter to perform tasks. As Chemers (1997) argues, leadership is a process of social influence in which one person is able to enlist the aid and support of others in the accomplishment of a common task (Chemers 1997:1).

In a more elaborate definition, Hoskings points to the symbiosis of the relationship between the leader and the led:

First, leadership is a fundamentally social phenomenon, and some form of social interaction, usually face to face, is required. Secondly, leadership has the effect of structuring activities and relationship, and related to sense-making processes. Thirdly, to be defined as a leader, a participant must be perceived as salient (Hosking, 1997:299).

In this definition, a leader is required to regard each participant's place and contribution in this symbiotic relationship. Both positions – the leader and the led - are equally important whilst both work towards achieving certain goals.

Narakobi (1983) introduces a slightly different and more complex notion of Melanesian leadership which is less formally hierarchical, more diverse and relies more on modelling:

There are business leaders, leaders in the sciences, leaders in sport, in thinking and in religion, etc. They all perform an important function: to go ahead or in front, to provide a model. Some leaders are made by situations and circumstances. Some are born into environments which give them leadership. A genuine leader in any field possesses certain qualities or charisma (Narakobi 1983:1)

As we have seen PNG patriarchy is strongly implicated in leadership and as Narakobi argues, can be attained in two ways in Melanesian contexts; namely it can be ascribed or acquired. Ascribed leadership is inherited and can be seen at two levels, the private and public levels. The private level of leadership is practiced within the family where the father is considered as the head of the family therefore inherently a leader in control of his wife and children. His wife, on the other hand, plays her role as Hoskings (1997) points out, by neither subverting or challenging this order of things.

William, a politician in his late forties, highlights a wife's role in maintaining patriarchal order through being an active follower and building her husband's power:

So in our society, we say that the man owns the land and if he works hard and can lead his clan and he makes things happen, then power runs through him and his wife supports him. The man has the power and influence and he goes to share his wealth with his wife and children. So the woman is at the side of her husband, but she is not equal with him, in the traditional context. She plays a supportive role in facilitating her husband's influence, to expand his influence to strengthen his tribe and clan or community. The woman is only the helper, the support to make the male dominance and power greater in the community.

At the public level the man exercises ascribed leadership in a public arena as a chief or clan leader. As seen in the previous chapter, ascribed leadership is usually noticeable in a chiefly family where leadership is passed on from father to son. The other ascribed leadership is in clan leadership where a father clan leader passes on authority to his eldest son. Participants in this study affirm this. For example, Casper, a community development officer in his late thirties, says that although a chief's leadership is ascribed, he must also be socialised into being a chief:

One way of becoming a leader in society is according to inheritance. ...If you are born into a chiefly family, then you get schooled to become a chief and to act like one.

To be socialised into this ascribed leadership role is ensured by the village, but the modern urban settings do not foster this role. Tim for example, is in his mid thirties and an engineer, and attests to this socialisation and to the proper attitude and behaviour of a chief in his society:

My adopted dad is a chief which they need someone to step in his line before he'd become a priest so there was no one. So I was, well, very young baby, that is when they adopted me. And according to my custom, they would say 'Getting rid of the breast'... They remove you from your mother. And that's how I was brought up. My childhood, I was with my natural family because my adopted dad was training to become a priest and I had no one to look after me so I was with my natural family and grew up. But we go back home for holidays, that happened for almost two years. When we were in Port Moresby we would go back home and I always go to my adopted family to live with them. And they thought me how to think, how to behave as the village chief, rather than a commoner; there's a big difference.

Oscar, a bureaucrat in his early fifties, himself inherited leadership from his father. Inherited status also needs socialisation into the appropriate behaviour and psyche befitting the position and role. The acquired qualities of leadership guide his management of the bureaucratic office he heads today:

My personal experience is that my great grandfather, my grandfather, my father were clan leaders and now I am a clan leader. So there is emphasis from my grandfather that I have to command respect from the village or community...So that guided me in my education and training and then in the workplace.

In the case of Rex, in his early fifties and a medical doctor, leadership is ascribed, but he sees it as a responsibility he would assume. It is also apparent that culture has a strong influence on how a man sees his position in the family and the village community:

In my culture I am the headman so I make the decisions. Apparently my father is a chief and as I am the first born so in the line of responsibility, I would retain that leadership.

The interface between the traditional big men and modern leaders is visible in the contemporary leadership. Traditional styles of management are employed in

the competition for and maintenance of leadership today. Data from this research show that the participants equate politicians with leaders who, in the light of their attitudes to their responsibilities, see that they are not performing the expectations of the public as traditional leaders did. They talk about how traditional leaders, the big men, were community oriented and cared about the well being of their subjects and distributed wealth well, whereas modern leaders are individualistic and do not distribute wealth in the form of goods and services as we saw earlier.

Dinnen (2001) observes that political leaders plan electoral strategies that connect with old style of leadership, whereby individual prominence was constituted by the accumulation and redistribution of items of wealth (Dinnen 2001:141), as classical big men were known to have done. Political leaders 'transformed this big man thinking through the colonial era and through independence such that politicians today must, culturally and structurally, act like big-men' (Rynkiewich 2000:32-33). One of the repercussions of this is that politics is perceived as an arena which gains them access to state wealth which they can (and are expected to) distribute to their supporters. Rynkiewich (2000) argues that big men leadership and politics are intertwined with benefits received by both parties:

If politics is the use of power and persuasion in cooperation and competition to gain control of the production and distribution of available resources, whether manpower, budgets or slush funds, then the means of building and maintaining a power base are critical to both leaders and followers. No leader leads without followers; no followers follow without a leader; and no political

faction succeeds without both leaders and followers reaping some benefits (Rynkiewich 2000:17).

The participants in this study proffer the same view of political leaders competing for the state resources which could be distributed to their supporters. Robert, an academic in his late forties, argues:

In PNG, our politics is intertwined with economy that you have to have political connections in order to have access to the state resources...because of this notion of big man practice of gift giving, people expect leaders to give. So a politician, after he wins an election, he is expected to repay the voters and supporters...

Joel who is also an academic affirms that the big man thinking in modern political leadership is still featured in the attitude of resource distribution:

...the role of a leader, be that of a politician in parliament or a public servant in the public service or even people with status, it all comes to bare in how a person is seen. A leader is a person who provides...the big man in the PNG politics has been transposed to politics today.

Bureaucratic leadership does not take as much prominence in the life of the common people as they do not directly experience their influence the way they see the influence of politicians. These leaders are still expected by their relatives to share their wealth because they are employed. Bill, a bureaucrat, tells of these expectations but the sentiments of relatives in regard to their leaders in public service he refers to are the same for all leaders whether they are politicians or public servants:

Back in the villages, the societies that we come from they look upon us as big men and therefore that obligation on our part as big man is more in demand more than ever now. Because they expect us to

deliver more from where we are. So to them, the big man in their context still exists. That we must deliver more, over and above what the others contribute because of what they perceive us to be - the big man status. In other words, we will get more money, more pay.

Although modern leaders are not confined to their villages anymore, there is the same impulse to provide, but these men have access to the resources of the whole community, the nation, not just their village.

Qualities of Leadership

In the face of transition, people are in the process of redefining the qualities of leadership. The participants in this study emphasise the humane attributes of leadership that they had experience of with traditional leadership. They talk of a leader who is caring; or who is close to the people he represents or one who is responsible; a leader who is not greedy. Traditional leaders were community oriented and did things that benefited the community. Richard, an academic in his mid forties, notes this shift that contemporary leaders work to benefit themselves instead of working to benefit their people. He argues that modern leaders see their positions as personal and individual, and not a public position to serve the people that elected them:

I do not think that modern leaders have their people at heart as these leaders of the past. They get up to there out on their own; it is not inherited, they work hard or it. (I'm using the phrase to work) because they seem to think they do that when they get up there and you will hear that people who get up their have worked hard to get to this stage to become a leader so they can do whatever they want whether they look after you properly or not or care for you as a group. Politicians or to any other person who are in their leadership position, they seem to think that it is personal thing and

they can do whatever they like; they will not do their work for the sake of the people, they work for the but for their own good. It is for personal status more than anything else. That is the difference, where as the leader in the past they are leaders for the people. They acted more like servants for their people instead of working for their own good.

The traditional leaders who did things for the good of the community added this to their quality of leadership. Kindness is expressed in sharing things with others. For example, Linus who is a politician in his fifties, says that the good qualities of a man makes him a good leader:

They look at the good qualities of a man: if you are kind, if you are strong, you care, you help people, you have lots of food gardens...people look at you and acknowledge you as a good person and they think you make a good leader. If they see these qualities in you, they will select you for leadership.

In elected leadership, besides having the above qualities, a leader must also be able to deliver goods and services as is expected of a leader politician. Chris, a politician in his late thirties knows what is expected of him as a leader:

People now see leaders who can bring them services; who can bring them tangible projects like road system and government services.

Cornelius, a bureaucrat looks at a leader in the modern context as someone who is knowledgeable, skilled, experienced and who is a good manager in an organisation:

Good managers are good leaders as well...As leader, he leads, he encourages, he monitors, he supports. He has a vision of the organisation and he is a responsible person.

People still think that the traditional quality of leadership that was community oriented, cared, protected and provided for the people in the community is missing in the modern leadership. Although people put demands on their leaders to bring them goods and services and modern leaders amass resources to distribute to their people, the tendency towards them becoming individualistic is growing. They are shifting from sharing the resources they accumulate from the state, to enjoying them themselves. Matthew, in his late forties, is a leader of a non-governmental organisation. He argues that today's leaders lack this quality of being concerned about people and their well-being:

Before independence, people were truly leaders; they came to help people. Nowadays, leaders are not really leaders. There is a difference between leaders and politicians or managers. These leaders do not have the interest of the country and the people at heart.

The participants of this study argue that it is clear that there is a shift in the practices of modern leaders. While they argue that traditional leaders showed that they cared for their people by doing things that benefited their communities, the modern leaders are becoming more and more individualistic and care more for themselves and their immediate families instead of the whole community that they represent. Modern leaders are becoming wealthier and less caring for others, although the demand to serve their people is there. They do amass resources from the state, but give little to their people to show that they care and to maintain people's support. What the participants observe is the lack of services to the people and the leaders becoming richer, thus accumulating wealth to maintain their image and power over other men and women who are

less powerful. These participants' observations are evident throughout the country with the way modern leaders operate. The following section will discuss the hierarchy of male power.

Hierarchies of Power

In the public arena, men still exercise a lot of power over other men and women. In PNG, there is a hierarchy of power that can be seen in the public space. Men with a lot of social, cultural and material capital are those with a lot of money. Among these are the businessmen and politicians. Education is a key tool here since it can enable one to have the employment that will land a position that will earn him respect and status - as well as earning him a relatively high salary. The *rabbis man* is at the very bottom echelon of society since he has no resources to support himself let alone contribute to the community. The *raskol* is powerful on the one hand because he is an outlaw and his power is destructive and terrorising, but on the other hand, he is a bad man (*man nogut*). He is the antithesis of the big man.

Below is a table showing the typology of men with reference to their material and social capital:

Table 6.1: Types of Men and the Male Hierarchy in Papua New Guinea

	Type	Description
1	Traditional big man	One with a lot of wealth including land, pigs and more than one wife. His title can be ascribed, as a chief, clan leader or a headman; or his title can be acquired through skills and hard work, e.g. warrior, hunter, fisherman, shaman, dancer. But a big man's defining criteria are his ability to amass wealth and then distribute it gaining renown and prestige. His renown gains him leadership in the community.
2	Modern big man	One who is deemed to be wealthy by accumulating modern wealth – money, house, car and business. He may acquire more than one wife. Usually businessmen, politicians, and men holding high positions in a job like CEOs, managers, bureaucrats are considered to be big men. The defining criteria for modern big men are wealth and positions of leadership in government, business or in the corporate world.
3	Traditional man tru	One who has the responsibility and the ability to provide for his nuclear and extended family and clan; one who could defend and protect his family, clan and tribe, who did things that ensured their survival. Because of this sense of responsibility, every man is expected to be <i>man tru</i> at the very least.
4	Modern man tru	A man who is responsible, able to provide, shares his time and resources and able to protect his family and other members of the community. Every man can be <i>man tru</i> when he fulfils his obligations and does what is expected of him. He gains recognition and status when he can even do above and beyond expectations.
6	Village man	Unemployed and possibly uneducated and cannot speak English, but he has land and garden and he can survive even if he does not have money. Has status in the village.
7	Grassroots man	Usually the unemployed, school drop-out, villager or an urban dweller at the bottom rung of society. Often viewed as simple and ordinary and is of relatively low socioeconomic status. Urban dwellers have no status in the village and vice versa.
8	Rabis man	One who has nothing, contributes nothing to the community, unproductive, largely dependent on others.
9	Raskol	A <i>raskol</i> , whilst considered low because he is an outlaw, nevertheless employs some of the same attributes of power, aggression, violence and strength to gather resources. He becomes peripheral to the social structures of kin, clan (although he may well disseminate his goods amongst them), and modern institutions and is considered feral by normal PNG standards.

When dealing with power, binaries surface where one group has a lot of power, influence and advantage over the other. There are: rich/poor, educated/uneducated, employed/unemployed, *man tru/rabis man*. The rich, the educated, the employed in the modern context would have a lot of power and authority to influence situations and policies in public institutions. Danny, an academic seen earlier, agrees with this:

In the modern PNG setting the male power is seen through the public and private institutions, there, the man would assume more power and authority over other men in subordinate positions and men back in the villages...male power as seen in the modern public institutions is applied on other levels of male leadership and down the hierarchy, from the state down to the society level....

On the career and employment sector, the educated have more authority and the higher the level of education, the higher the position one holds in his job and that earns him status and respect, but it also gives him authority to influence policy while the same is not true for an uneducated man. Danny continues:

...from my career point of view, the modern man who is presumably educated and has a good position of power and authority would exercise more power to influence policy, even try to influence villagers in Papua New Guinea, compared to a villager. So in that context, I would see that our traditional men back in the villages would not exercise as much power or influence when it comes to matters of public policy and public events and decisions.

Participants like Danny, do make the point that the power and authority that a man has in the contemporary urban setting such as that in the workplace, is restricted and limited within that context. This authority rarely influences decisions at the village level. The village man then, has power and can influence decisions in the village context but has no significant influence outside of that

space. However, power is more evident in leadership. Jim, an academic in his forties, expresses that same sentiment:

Some big men are very powerful, externally powerful in terms of their leadership qualities and the ability to govern the lives of others. Once they make a decision they expect it to be implemented. Someone can have power as an elected MP, but they have limited power when it comes to influencing outcomes in the village. They are powerful in the contemporary setting, but they have no influence in the traditional society.

Like anywhere else in the world, there is a hierarchy of power among the men in PNG. We have seen from the participants in this study that big men have a lot of influence, but traditional big men's influence is limited to their traditional boundaries. It is modern big men who are involved with development policies and planning that need to be gender sensitive and include women in those processes, likewise rural big men also need to be gender sensitive. The hierarchy of power brings us to the next section which discusses male power.

Male Power

The view of male power in this section is to be seen in relation to women and their position, place and status in society. The notion of power used in this discussion in the context of gender relations, is about having the privilege and right to control other people and events. Steinberg sees power as '...the possession of control, or authority, or influence over others and events' (Steinberg 1993:135). In this case, male power puts men in a position to have the ability to exercise authority, control and influence over others – including less powerful men, women and children. Culturally, in patrilineal societies, male

preference is the norm as lineage through boys and men maintains the system of survival and continuation of family, clan and tribe. Matrilineal societies on the other hand, trace lineage through female members. Yet even in matrilineal societies, men do have prominence through their relation with their mothers and sisters (see Weiner 1988, Lepowsky 1990) unlike in patrilineal societies where women are there more as appendages to men; they support men as so widely shown in literature of highland societies (see Strathern 1971, 1979, 1982; Sillitoe 1998, 2001; Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a; Brown 1990, Lederman 1990).

Bill, a bureaucrat in his late forties, argues that individuals have relative rather than absolute power when asked if there was such a thing as a powerless man:

Every man, every woman, every boy, every child must have some power. Power is what an individual must be able to have, otherwise you are meaningless in society. You as an individual have your own power... power to choose.

In theory everyone has power as Bill has stated, but in practice, women in most cases have been denied that. For example, leadership in PNG remains in the hands of men, and therefore, the decision-making privileges remain with them.

Danny, an academic in his forties affirms this:

With all these ideas of big man and man tru, where do we place power? Power seems to be in the hands of the one who is the leader and here in this male dominated society, we have men leading the country; men in business and men in management now. It is true that a lot of our public institutions are dominated by men; even our education system, our parliament, our public service...our public institutions.

While women had some degree of power exercised behind the scenes in the traditional societies and even in the rural areas today, the modern system, although has women participating in the workforce, still does not have women represented in the top levels of their organisations to be participating equally at that level. In the village setting, women could (and can) participate in public events like mortuary feasts, dances, peace and brideprice ceremonies, but the modern urban functions of a man in a public institution has a range of gaps a woman who wishes to participate in must fill. The gaps include: knowledge, education, skills and language, to enable women's participation.

Martin is an education officer in his early forties and comes from a matrilineal society. He argues that women in his society were recognized as important when they went through initiation rites. Martin further observes that these rites ceased after PNG's independence, and he attests to the backwardness of women's participation in development:

...women were also initiated especially the first born in the family, either men or women, and they announce who is initiated and they killed pigs and make him sit down on a special platform that is built. They decorated him, white lines and other leaves and things like that and they made this pronouncement. The women are also the same but the idea of making it important like this, I think died out just after the independence. When I was a small boy, I witnessed two occasions where women were given a kind of recognition as someone important in the village just the way they do to men but up until now, this practice has died out, especially to recognize women as someone important in the society. I've never heard of women being initiated any more like this, except for boys or men. I think this is because the society has evolved to be at a stage where the male dominance is becoming very strong and we are pushing women aside, or the women are not given a space or a place to be recognised anymore. All settings in the village is where men take the

front stage and they do all the things. The women are just followers and I still cannot really understand why this has stopped.

While Martin reminisces about the past where women were recognised as important and where they had space to participate in decision-making this space has diminished for women in the modern institutions. While in pre-colonial times, women did participate in the activities and often contributed ideas that their husbands articulated in gatherings. Wilson (1987) attests that women did not see themselves to be unequal to their men:

Wilson (1987) comments that in pre-colonial PNG 'women do not see themselves as being unequal to their men, and rightly so, for they realise the importance of their role, though in many cases it is a tough one. The traditional wife is proud of her ability to be strong, to be a good mother and provider. Isn't it she who attends to the pigs which in turn raises her man's status in the tribe? And how many of those powerful words that come from the mouth of the big man have passed through her lips first? She may seem the passive partner, but isn't she the backbone of society? Her man respects her for her strength and ability to be a good wife' (Wilson 1987 cited in Sepoe, 2000:69)

If such respect for women existed in pre-colonial times, colonisation has set the women relatively backwards. It is ironic that modernisation has opened discussions on gender equity but PNG women are not adequately represented in these discussions or in the development processes which might follow them – a situation which has slowly emerged from the masculine hegemony.

Bob, a bureaucrat in his early fifties, feels that he is the head of his family and has the power over his family:

In my experience in the family situation, I feel that I am in charge because I am the father and I feel my kids should listen to what I say. My wife should support me in what I am trying to do. But in some cases my wife may disagree with some of those things...then I think someone is questioning my authority here. So I say, 'No, we do it the way I say it'. That's where I exercise my masculinity and use my physique and say we do things my way, and because the male has strength and power, the woman bows down to the male domain anyway.

A man in the family can exert his power when he feels his power is threatened.

He may resort to violence because they are physically stronger than women.

Alex in his forties, works with an NGO group. He thinks men become violent

because they feel powerless that they begin to exert their power over women:

I am not really sure why we men react that way. I think it is basically because we are threatened and I think that's why. Because we always, if you have an argument, you know we use muscular, our strength, to try to overpower women. In actual fact, in their hearts, women are stronger than men. Why we always want to overpower women, I think we are threatened. It is basically because, not really we are trying to control but I think we are threatened. I do not really know the reason behind that but both could be related. Basically when men are threatened that's why they react, they are always reactionary.

Nathan, an academic in his forties, argues that the way men use power today is

derived from the traditional practices of masculinity where men had a lot of

power. This is a mentality that men today draw from:

The male power tends to be still based on the traditional way male power is and has been exercised. Men tend to assume a lot of things like, 'Because I'm the boss and I say this, things will be done'. In relation to women, a lot of male bosses or big men, still tend to see women in their traditional roles. They look down on them in many ways...So when they exercise power, they assume that women are not equal...It is obvious when women tend to challenge men and show that they are capable and equal, then men tend to turn to their aggressiveness to assert control or they use their physical strength to assume control over women.

Even in the private arena of the family, men control public events, especially when it comes to making choices in regards to those public events. For example, Emmanuel who is an academic in his thirties, tells of how husbands control their wives' choices in whom to vote for during elections which is not uncommon in PNG:

Power, I think fits into the dominating individual, which is the man we are describing. He tends to decide for the family to where they should go in terms of voting in elections. The man tends to tell his wife and children who are able to vote, who to vote for.

We have seen above, a demonstration of how and why men in PNG exert power in both in the private and public arenas. Being in power enables them to control women and one way for men to control women is through the use of violence which will be discussed later. In contemporary society, men show their power through the different symbols of masculinity. This next section will discuss some of these modern symbols as emblems of masculinity.

Emblems of Masculinity

There are certain things that give men status and therefore power to influence others and events. These are the things that stand out as emblems of masculinity.

As we have seen a man's employment can generate both social and material capital but a man's job is also an emblem of his masculinity. Chris, a politician, sees education as the key lever which people see a leader today must have.

Their choice of him as their elected representative in parliament, defied traditional criteria for choosing a leader. Education gave him power over the uneducated candidates and his leadership puts him in a position of influence to bring development to his people. Chris has a job as a politician because of his education:⁷¹

I am the fourth born and I happen to be a leader, the people's choice comes with looking at my quality of a leader, and my education. This election was based on quality and education.

Simon, an academic in his fifties, argues that in an urban setting, a man's job defines him as a provider for himself and his family. Hence the ability to survive in the modern context is the ultimate goal for a man. A modern tool for survival is for a man to have a job, and the job becomes a symbol of defining a man:

So for an urban Papua New Guinean, I think the definition of a man is perhaps more difficult to define simply because at this point, I think many Papua New Guineans are still trying to define themselves as people in an urban setting. As you have all kinds of influences that come your way apart from what you get from the village. So I think perhaps how I see a man in an urban setting is someone who has a job, who has a family that he tries to look after, bring up and so on. It is in my view his biggest responsibility in life. And I think that becomes his definition of himself; he's a man because he has a family and he spends his days trying to ensure that that family survives. And that's it. So a man in an urban area for me would be someone who has a family or maybe if he doesn't have a family, he is someone who is able to support himself in a foreign setting which is the urban setting in PNG.

As we have seen, money is another, associated, emblem of masculinity. It is of both instrumental use and symbolic substance. According to the table of male hierarchy, it is the most important element of power and control over others and over events. The participants have expressed that money enables a man to

⁷¹ Given women's lower educational attainment this is a key barrier to gaining equity.

have more power and influence in society. For example, Nathan who is an academic in his forties, affirms that power today, comes with money:

Today, a person who has money tends to be more powerful; he tends to be able to dictate things and have influence over society. Now, money has somehow become tied with this concept of 'big man'. So the people who have more money or wealth are seen as 'big men' in society because they are able to distribute wealth, they are able to buy things and have influence...

Theo is a librarian in his late forties and he proffers that money is influential and men with money have the power to influence:

When they get to the position where they could do anything with the money they have. The opportunity that comes about when they reach that stage or position, they can do anything with the money they have, then they rule with money, I mean they influence with money. Money does make decisions, whether it is honest work, whether it will help the people or it is for his own or meeting his own ends, for his own interest or name.

William a politician in his late forties argues that money gives status and a man with a lot of money is regarded as big man and as such, is expected to influence people. If he does not use his money to benefit his people, he will be disregarded. Big men with money are expected to spend money and some win elections because they have money:

People don't recognise, they'll say you are selfish man even though you have a lot of money and you can look after yourself and your family you don't have much influence outside. They'll just ignore you. They will not regard you as big man, you have had no influence on the lives of the people. The people will say, 'Oh we do not know his work, we don't know what he does, we don't know him'. So big man is limited to, how you do things and I think it also influences the way modern big man is looked upon. And particularly in the Highlands, they look at a person's wealth, car, and how he manipulates a following of people during elections;

they spend more money and they spend money in order to win the elections, so as to be recognized as the elected leader.

Not surprisingly, men with money can acquire more wives because they can afford to pay brideprice and maintain them. Women do marry men with money and money is also transacted for sex as Linus, a politician in his fifties argues:

In my judgment, it is going to be difficult because when the man gets aroused and wants to have sex and his wife for some reason or another refuses to do this, the man takes offence and goes out to find another woman who can satisfy him because he has the money to pay for the service. Money is the power of evil. The man turns out to be a big man and he probably has a car, I have seen a lot of men in the city I have seen men seeking women from nearby villages on fringes of the city for this purpose.

With money, people have the power to get what they want. Bob in his late forties is a bureaucrat. He makes an interesting claim on the power of money to pay for ways to get to the top through corrupt practices, a common occurrence in PNG today:

Those who come from a background where they their society achieved status, you see them, they scramble. They fight for power and they are the ones who want to do all the courses. They want to do things overnight and they will do anything to get you away from your top positions. In mysterious ways they get to the top and that struggle is quite physically evident to this day. That is where equal participation is necessary. That you'll get there but there should be fair play. They play an open competition, play a transparent competition but not in the way that you bring from the past where, you play this, play that to be able to surround yourself with wealth to get to the top because that's corruption. Once you use money to buy your way to the top, which is what's happening, that's corruption. But if you use your status, your integrity and your skills and competency to the top then, that's what I call governance.

Michael is a medical doctor in his late forties and he sees that a man's power to influence comes with one's status and with wealth, but education gives one the power to influence, but he sees money as a power to influence and gain status:

Influential power is the power to influence other people. This comes through the kind of status one has...but today, influential power comes with education. People may come to a big man to seek help in issues such as education or for providing leadership. For example, today, many young Papua New Guineans want economic power, the economic influence through lots of money... to drink a little bit more, and be with many more people.

The third thing necessary for a man to gain status is through marriage and family and every man in PNG is expected to gain these things. As a married man, he becomes the head of his family and can participate in community decisions and activities. If he becomes a father, and he is a well respected and responsible father, then he gains status in that capacity. An unmarried adult man can still be regarded as child in this context. If he cannot father children, either socially or biologically, he cannot continue his lineage which is a serious assault on his sense of self. In such a situation, it is not uncommon to adopt.

For example, William whom we saw earlier affirms that a man must have a family of his own. Marriage ensures that a man has his wife to support him and to bear his children to continue his lineage and his name:

In our society we say that when a woman marries me, she must be subservient to men. She must listen to me and obey what I say. She must be always submissive to me. She must support me and help facilitate my endeavours, she looks after me, she must bear my children and raise them and I (man) make the decisions and I am the head of the family.

Simon who we saw earlier argues that marrying and having children is not the full or only definition of a man which goes further than this - his ability to productively raise the children and to give them a good life:

I think it's probably half the definition. It's not the full definition. You can't just say a man is someone who fathers a child, no, that's a small percentage of my definition of a man. A man in my view in a PNG urban setting, is someone who not only fathers a child, but he also ensures that that child has a good life, a good upbringing. You know, people talk about quality of life, I think that is probably the bigger responsibility of a father.

A man without children can get sympathy from his people. This is because he will not have an heir to his property and he will not have anyone to look after him in old age. Simon affirms this:

...for me it's more sympathy from those around him that he cannot father a child. Therefore in a sense, bai wanem ikamap long yu nau taim yu lapun? Bai husat lukautim yu? (What happens to you when you grow old? Who is going to look after you?) That kind of thing. But the more serious issue is, graun blong yu bai go we nau? (Where does your land go now? Who does your land go to?) That's from where I come from in terms of tradition and so on.

Table 6.2: Emblems of Masculinity that give Power

	Emblem	Description
1	Money	A source of both social and material capital. A man without education or employment, but has money can still have a lot of status and power
2	Job	A man's job gives status relative to its rank.
3	Marriage	A married man has status, sign of manhood, wealth, success, lineage. More evidently, a mature unmarried man has great difficulties.

4	Fatherhood	A man who can father children shows he is a real man (<i>man tru</i>) and can continue his lineage. If he cannot, adoption is an acceptable alternative. In either case, lineage and familial relationship structures are maintained.
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Male power comes with certain status that has the ability to control and influence those that are less powerful amongst whom are women and weaker men. But is also comes from what I have identified as emblems of masculinity which are not necessary instrumental. Male power and control is manifested many ways, as I have shown, but one ubiquitous way is through male violence against women and other powerless men as the following section shows.

Violence as Exercise of Male Power

Violence is perhaps the most prominent way men can exert their power and control over women. The most common of violence against women include domestic and sexual violence. Domestic violence includes wife beating, wife and girlfriend abuse (Toft 1985, 1986; Bradley 1992, 1995). A recent survey on domestic violence in PNG shows sixty per cent of rural women had been beaten, fifty-six per cent of urban low-income women had been beaten, and sixty-two per cent of urban elite women had been beaten (Wyshak 2000: 633). A World Health Organisation database on violence against women (1984-1998) in the *State of the Worlds Children 2000* report states that 56.1 per cent of women have been physically assaulted, not including sexual abuse or rape. This is the world's second highest rate of violence against women. The Individual Rights

Advocacy Forum (ICRAF) 1997-1998 statistics and case study show that 74 per cent of cases reported to the women's desk involved women seeking assistance from domestic violence (see *Post-Courier* 13/3/2002).

Sometimes, violence is fatal as in the case of the angry husband of Pauline Karo who was chopped to death by her husband. The victim had lived a life under violence until her death (*Post-Courier* 15/8/2002). In another case, a woman was beheaded in the Southern Highlands for refusing to marry her deceased sister's husband (*Post-Courier* 5-6/3/2004).

Sexual violence includes rape and sexual harassment in the workplace, child abuse and incest. Incidences of rape are reported almost daily (if they are reported at all) in the daily newspapers. For example, The *Post-Courier* reported a girl of seventeen, raped by youths in Lonahan village in Buka (*Post-Courier* 28/7/2004); a former church deacon raped a widow who was a friend of his family (*Post-Courier* 5-7/3/2004) and a young girl was pack-raped on a public bus at around 2.30pm at Gordons market in Port Moresby, as the driver and crew watched (*Post-Courier* 23/6/2004) and a similar incident of a sexual attack of a young girl at a bus stop in Lae (*Post-Courier* 23/9/2003); three students got a jail sentence for the gang rape of a babysitter in Popondetta (*The National* 10/5/2004); and even members of the police force who should be trusted to protect possible victims, raped a 17 year old girl (16/8/2004). Many women and girls were sexually assaulted and abused by members of both the security force

and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (*Post-Courier* 18/9/ 2003, see Sirivi & Havini 2004).

Cyndi Banks' (2000b) study of violence in Melanesia suggests that Melanesians have a different way of defining violence to women than is seen in the West. While the West has defined 'violence' as 'an act carried out with the intention, or perceived intention, of physically hurting another person' (Straus *et al.* cited in Banks 2000b:82), or to the 'Anglo-Saxon mind, 'violence' connotes behaviour that is in some sense illegitimate and unacceptable...' (Riches cited in Banks 2000b:82), Melanesians view violence as an act which, depending on the context is sometimes an acceptable response to injury, and a certain level of violence is considered to be appropriate and legitimate in certain contexts (Banks 2000:86). This according to the understanding of men's view of violence against women is legitimate in the context where a woman is perceived to be in the wrong in some way. Banks' study of four groups in the different areas of Papua New Guinea shows that spousal assault is common and things that can trigger spousal assault include: failure to prepare food, failure to perform work in the garden or house, failure to look after children properly, sexual jealousy, failure to respect in-laws, insubordination, adultery and men's abuse of alcohol (Banks 2000b:87).

Traditionally, certain customs protected women from domestic violence even if husbands could beat their wives, or brothers in a family could beat up their sisters if they did something considered to be unacceptable (see Banks 2000b).

For instance, in a survey conducted by journalism students at Divine Word University, the male participants in that survey were asked if they would hit their wife or girlfriend. While some answered that they would not, some admitted that they would hit their wife or girlfriend if she does not comply with what the husband or boyfriend expects of her (see *Newageman*, 2002:4-5). Tim, a young man in his mid-thirties and an engineer, expresses the same view that a man can beat his wife only if she does something wrong:

Culturally, you are not supposed to belt up your wife unless she has done something terribly wrong, like adultery ... You are not supposed to beat up your wife because there is no food in the house.

Tim, like the male participants in the survey in the *Newageman* (2002) magazine, states that it is wrong to beat one's wife, but on the other hand, it is justified to do so if she is at fault. Hence in this way, men are allowed to exert their power over women to keep them subservient and controlled that they avoid what men and society consider to be unacceptable behaviour.

While on the one hand there is that understanding that a wife could be beaten up by the husband, on the other hand, the village communities did protect women from such violence. That system of protection diminishes outside of that context. Harry a lawyer in his fifties, argues that traditional societies did protect women from forms of violence because there were systems in place that controlled violence against women because people were protective of each other. However, mobility and intermarriages have become common in recent times and the control mechanisms have declined in some areas of society, and the modern

system of law is used albeit customary law is also considered in these matters.

Harry argues that men perpetrated against women because they considered themselves to be superior to women:

In the traditional society, violence against women did not exist, but we must also understand that there are also reasons why people are committing the violence. In traditional society, there were no such things as rape and it was unacceptable. It was unacceptable because the whole society would be up against you and in the traditional society you would be killed by sorcery or whatever. You would be punished in the traditional society. These days, if you go to court you will be punished but if you don't, you're not going to be punished. I don't know why men do that. To me, only animals behave like that. Men do that because they believe that maybe they are superior – they think that.

Male power used outside of this protective boundary, shows that men are the bosses and they have control over the women. This attitude is derived from the traditional view of man as the head of the family and woman takes this subordinate position and should be kept there which in a way allows men to beat their wives – but without the traditional constraining factors. Emmanuel, a journalist in his thirties posits that men who cause violence against women are governed by this traditional mentality that controls women and sees that they remain the way society expects them to:

...violence against women is done by selfish individuals who are in many ways, governed by this traditional thinking of man being the boss. This a confusing interpretation of the traditional view of seeing women to be law-abiding, humble and easy-going; they have to mind their way of dressing, their language, their looks and so forth.

Another participant, Robert who is an academic in his late forties says that violence against women has to do with cultural views of women. In a marriage, a woman becomes a commodity and can be violated against.

...a cultural explanation is that women in most parts of PNG unfortunately, are treated as commodities by men. Once men pay brideprice, they treat the women as part of their property, and they don't treat them as equal human beings. Most people would deny that. I think this is a key element as a subconscious level. They have this preconceived notion that women are somehow less equal to men and men think they own the women by virtue of the brideprice.

While men see themselves to be the one in charge of the family and women must take subordinate roles, some participants in this study feel that a man resorts to violence because he feels threatened. In modern, urban contexts, a man may feel threatened if his wife is earning more money than him, or when men see that women are becoming too independent and doing well in her job. Casper is a community development worker in his thirties. He argues that men become violent towards women because they feel threatened in just this way

Some men feel threatened by the presence of women. That is why there is violence against women...as a way of controlling women...they do not want women to be in charge. I see there is a psychological problem with men. It is the men who need to be brought to that stage of maturity to accept women.

Jeffery is an academic in his forties. He posits that domestic violence happens because the man in that relationship sees his wife is doing well and his superiority is threatened. He beats his wife so as to maintain his power and control:

With wife beating, when men feel that the women are becoming reputable or their status has increased, men feel that they are losing their superiority. From observation and from listening to men, the reason why violence occurs between a man and his wife is that the husband claims, 'My wife is not listening to me. My wife has not done what I have asked her to do...'. This is just an excuse to justify their violence against women...but this is a way of maintaining their superiority over women.

Domestic violence where spousal assault is exercised, according to Banks' (2000b) showed men's desire to control women and that 'violence seems to arise most often when men perceive they have lost that control over women' (Strathern 1985; Errington & Gewertz 1987 cited in Banks 2000:87). Strathern (1985) further argues that spousal violence is an attempt to maintain a relationship between the spouses so that the man 'must be in a relationship in which he is seen to be in control' (Strathern 1985 cited in Banks 2000b:88). Sometimes men assault their wives or even in boy/girlfriend relationships because men feel they are losing power and control over the women in their relationship (see Errington & Gewertz 1987). In her research, Banks (2000b) discovered that men believe 'it is a husband's responsibility to control his wife and family in order to avoid criticism through gossip as well as to generally advance the well being of the family unit' (Banks 2000b:88).

Domestic violence in PNG occurs because men generally feel threatened that they are losing power and control over women, which does not auger well for any improvement in their status (see(Toft 1985, 1986; Bradley 1992; Morley 1994; Towadong 1996). It should be noted that in PNG, rape is also understood to be

an invasion of another man's property and its enactment is therefore as much an attack on a man as it is a woman. But, of course, rape involves the brutalising of an individual woman's physicality. Rape is common when men have been made to lose face when a woman has refused sex with a man or a man's pride has been injured as Banks (2000b) points out:

... some men use sexual violence to punish women who they perceive to have injured their pride; for example, by acting in a manner they believe amounts to a rejection of them. A woman who places herself in a position perceived by some men to be promiscuous such as attending a disco dance is considered by some men to be available for their sexual use and if she resists their attempts at sex, they will use force against her (Banks 2000b: 91).

Violence against women unrelated to the offenders happens because the female victim is seen to have provoked 'anger'. This may be related to the way she dresses as in many instances, PNG men disapprove of women who are well dressed in modern fashion. For example, Linus, a politician in his fifties, strongly speaks against the way women dress today, which he sees as being 'over-dressed' and 'showing off'. He thinks dressy women call too much attention on themselves and therefore provoke men to rape them:

When women over-dress, especially in towns and cities of PNG, women dress fancy; they save their eyebrows, they do their hair up like white women; they wear pants...that provokes men. Men are angry about women wearing their clothes. Women who over-dress sometimes provoke men to rape them.

Richard, a lecturer in his forties, argues that physical and sexual violence against women is done to reduce a woman's status. This violence is apparently caused by men whose pride is injured by women who seem to have more than them. So

violence is used as a form of social control and when women are violated against, it is a way of controlling them:

This woman is well dressed; she has earrings, high-heeled shoes and good clothes. I am going to show her that she is just a woman. I am going to reduce her, in other words, make her to be like myself.

Rape is a form of sexual violence by the perpetrator on the victim. While Banks' (2000a, 2000b) studies posit that Melanesians have definitions of sexual violence is context based, the legal understanding derived from Western legislation practised in PNG defines sexual violence as non-consensual sexual assault involving implied or actual threats and physical violence (Borrey 2000: 106). Healey (1996) asserts, 'Rape is an act of violence which uses sex as weapon' (p.21). Rape of women is weapon of power and control to keep women in their place apart from the sexual gratification that men get from it. Danny, an academic in his forties agrees that rape is used as an expression of their masculinity and power:

Aside from gratification, rape is also one form of expression of power...It means that the man is expression masculinity; the man is expressing power over the other individual whom he knows he can subdue. ...it is an expression of power in a sense that he says, 'I can dominate you, I can control you, and you can fulfil my wishes...'. So it is an exercise of control and control to the extent that the other person is influenced willingly or unwillingly, but nonetheless conducting her in the way that the perpetrator wants.

In PNG, incidences of pack rape or gang rape are often reported in the media and these cases have become closely associated with *raskols* (Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997b cited in Dinnen 2001: 62), although not all pack rape

incidences are committed by *raskols* as Borrey's (2000) case studies suggest.⁷²

"Acts of rape are often opportunistic and perpetrated by men in gangs who wish to demonstrate their influence and control over women whom they believe regard them with contempt and as unworthy of their attentions" (Banks 2000b:101). For example the in the case of the two policemen who raped the 17 year old girl when they went to her house to look for her brother who was suspect of a crime, took the opportunity to abduct and assault her (*Post-Courier* 16/8/2004).

Male violence against women to a great extent exhibits power and control of women's behaviour. While physical violence shows men's strength over the women, through sexual violence men also exert their masculinity and this is a factor men at all points on the hierarchy. Connell (2000) sees the use of violence to define and maintain a man's masculinity as hypermasculine. In the violence exerted in rape, fights or war, the use of machinery and weapons, one exerts power and control over those one dominates

Raskols

This section will discuss *raskols* as men who through their activities, experience and attempt to express hegemonic masculinity and in the process adopt borrowed forms of masculine expressions, thus, taking on a hybridised masculinity.

⁷² *Raskols* is an anglicized Pidgin word for rascals. They are people involved with criminal activities such as theft, burglary, rape and murder. These activities are referred to as *raskolling*, which describes the violent and provocative acts and behaviors of youths on the roads and in towns of PNG. *Raskols* operate in gangs which might be described as loose-structured groups (Dinnen 2000; see also Goddard 1992).

Raskols operate in gangs which might be described as loose-structured groups (Dinnen 2000; see also Goddard 1992). Sykes (1999) defines such a group as youths that move in loosely constructed clusters and make themselves known as 'rascals' (in Pidgin, *raskols*) by their acts of violence, theft and gluttony (Sykes 1999: 157), and Roscoe (1999) sees today's *raskols* as referring to members of predatory gangs given to organised thieving, rape, and murder.

The *raskol* gang masculinity is another dominant masculinity in PNG today although they are a minority as a group. The *raskol* gang masculinity derives from men forming criminal gangs and engaging in criminal activities that range from '...bag snatching, shoplifting, breaking-and-entering, and car thefts through to armed robberies, rapes and homicides' (Dinnen 2000:53). Today, *raskol* gang activities include drug use, drug and arms trafficking and other specialized and highly sophisticated operations against payrolls, banks, business premises and cash-in-transit (Dinnen 2000:53). This kind of masculinity is emergent among the less educated, unemployed, unskilled usually (but not exclusively) urban youth and this culture is now slowly seeping into the rural sector of society. Tracing the history of *raskolism* in PNG, Dinnen (2000) finds that juvenile gangs made their initial appearance against the background of rapid urban growth following the removal of colonial restrictions over indigenous social movement. The first gangs were in search of personal security and social identity in an alien impersonal environment as Dinnen states:

The first gangs were primarily mechanisms for coping with the dislocative effects of socio-economic change and, in particular, the

challenges of personal adjustment facing young male migrants in the alien urban environment. Criminal activities at this time appear to have been largely confined to minor theft of cash, food and, of course, beer (Parry 1972 cited in Dinnen 2000:53).

As more social and educational changes happened among the gang culture, their activities began to shift from the psychological support system to using it a means of sustenance, subsistence and advancement. It is now known that *raskols* engaged in criminal and illegal activities, but a more important aspect of *raskol* gang masculinity is the acquisition of their masculine identity. For the socially and perhaps also economically marginal adolescent young men, *raskol* activities offer for them a lot of adventure, peer relations and rites of passage that help with constituting their masculinity (Dinnen 2000: 55). These activities have thus substituted the traditional rites of passage especially for the urbanised youth who are looking for their sense of identity lost in a new environment. *Raskolism* also provides a means by which criminal leaders gain prestige among the followers by strategically distributing proportions of the spoils of their criminal activities and in so doing, the leaders can gain the status of the big-man of crime (Goddard 1992, 1995 in Dinnen 2000: 55). Although the *raskols* may gain prestige in the social organisation of *raskolism*, within mainstream society they are seen as the lowest social order and their activities are outlawed and in some parts, *raskols* are rated as *rabis men*. For instance,

When villagers search the past for metaphors to describe criminals of the present, they reach not for the magician or the war hero but for the 'rubbish man'...theft was much a part of the pre-contact social landscape as it is today, and the stereotypical thieves were the 'rubbish man' and his wife, individuals chronically short of food, betel nut, shell wealth, who stole what they needed from people's gardens and groves, and, occasionally from their houses (Roscoe 1999:176).

The *raskol* masculinity is an extreme form of hybridized masculinity which has been configured by new style of expressing masculine power, and that is through criminal activities.

In studies of gang culture around the world similar elements can be found in gangs everywhere - including in PNG. They are located in poor areas of urban centres; they are unemployed; they engage in illegal activities such as robberies, drugs, gun trafficking and violence such as street fights, rape and even murder (see Vigil 2003, Luyt & Foster 2001, Davis 1998, Glaser 1998). Luyt & Foster's (2001) study of masculinity in gang activity in Cape Town, South Africa, argues that gang activity may be seen as an integral facet in the lives of many disempowered males, enabling them to collectively display manly attribute and thereby reinforcing their status as 'true' men (Joe & Chesney-Lind 1995 cited in Luyt & Foster 2001:2). Similar attitudes and the quest for masculine identity as *man tru* in the case of PNG could be drawn here. For instance, confrontations between *raskols* and police tend to increase the reputation of *raskols* among their peers and incarceration has become a source of prestige and standing in the *raskol* world (Dinnen 2000: 61). Hagedon (1998) thus argues,

...when 'legitimate' practices of serving to validate an individual's masculinity are not possible due to their contextual positioning, alternative behaviour is formulated that matches the values espoused by hegemonic masculinity, providing a means of achieving masculinity (Hagedon 1998 cited in Luyt & Foster 2001:7).

In hegemonic masculine understanding, the values of toughness, success and control are the key features. While middle-class males are deemed to possess

these values through legitimate activities, working-class disempowered males are seen to be engaged in illegitimate activities to achieve these values (Luyt & Foster 2001). Luyt & Foster's (2001) study further shows that men in disempowered positions use the avenue of gang activities to express their manliness.

In the context of hegemonic masculinity, *raskols* in the urban areas operate via the lack of social control by older men experienced in the urban villages in the traditional societies. In towns, young men lack the social structures that keep young men in line when they step over the boundaries of correct and acceptable social behaviour. Roscoe (1999) alludes to the introduction of *raskolism* into a rural area like the Yangoru area of the East Sepik Province, because youths have recognised the weaknesses in the system of control (Roscoe 1999: 180), weakness may be from elders and the police. Glaser's (1998) study of gang activity in Soweto, South Africa, claims that gang subculture in the city has emerged because:

...parents lost control of their children, more particularly their sons. In the city, there was an absence of older generation kinship supervision (Glaser 1998: 721).

While Glaser finds this to be the case of Soweto, the same is true also for PNG where the urban centres no longer have older men who control the behaviour of younger men (see Dinnen 2000, Sykes 2000, 1999, Roscoe 1999). While the process of globalisation has dislocated the centre of traditional social structures of control, the paradigm shift in power now lies in the 'other', what Gerard, an

academic in his late thirties defines and the marginalised, the women, *raskols*, the push-outs, the have-nots in society. Gerard argues that power lies in the hands of these marginalised groups because they dictate the creation of new laws that protect the fortunate ones, the rich, the employed ones of society:

...one of my students gave a paper on 'Crime and I suppose, Labour' in society. And basically she was saying that the power resided with politicians and legislators and leaders of the society. And she was making the point that criminals were powerless and therefore they go through all kinds of problems. But my comments after her presentation was that did she realise that power actually resides with the other – the so-called rascals, that we call rascals and we think that they are powerless. And I said that there is a reason why I said that. Because power does not reside with those who make laws, power does not reside with the police, power does not reside with the courts; power does not reside with the legislators. Power resides with the other – which includes the women, colonised, which includes the criminal, which includes the push-outs, which includes the have-nots. Specifically I was making reference to the criminals because when we say criminals, we think these guys are useless and therefore... But the fact is that when we sit down and think about it, we fear these people and therefore we create laws to fence us, so they cannot come close to us, we are scared of their power.

Gerard above, foregrounds the power *raskols* have and who practice hegemonic masculinity. These *raskols* exert power over the supposedly fortunate and powerful sector of society. Fidelis, a bureaucrat in his early fifties, comments on a criminal gang mentality which *raskols* in PNG practice. He argues that *raskols* use force on other people to build their status as *man tru*:

Those out in the streets ... just an ordinary person that when he talks depends on what sort of person when we talk about 'man tru'. We can get someone who's a lousy guy who's just a street person and what does he do for a living, as you can say he is a criminal or gang leader. He can boast and say 'I'm the man' and then he is a bully type. With this you are talking about the use of force and all that and use of other people to make him man tru, and that's the gang mentality. I'm talking about those on the street.

From what we have seen above, although they are powerless because of they are less educated and unemployed, they are powerful in their own right where they use physical strength and force to get what want through illegal means. With the use of modern ideas and sophistication they conduct their activities, it can be argued that they have attained a hybridised masculine identity, just as those who occupy positions higher in the continuum of masculinity do. Furthermore, although *raskols* are typically identified with the urban poor, with easy mobility between urban and rural sectors *raskols* can easily operate in and between these two divides, as is happening today (see Kulick 1993; Roscoe 1999; Dinnen and Thompson 2004:5).

Conclusion

Male hegemony is present in PNG in many ways as discussed above. It is present in the patriarchal practices where male ascendancy is strong in leadership both in the private and public spheres and in modern bureaucracy. In the private sphere, men are considered to be superior to women and therefore to be depended upon by women and children which leaves most women in violent married relationships not knowing where to go because they depend on their husbands. The dependency on the husband's salary creates a situation of being maltreated by the husband who plays the dominant partner (Webster 2004).

Violence in an intimate relationship, whether in marriage or otherwise, has the male partners exert power and control over their female partners to make them submit to their will. In the workplace, women do experience sexual harassment from men positions of power demanding sex for promotion and if sex is refused, the threat of a sack is there. Although few of these incidents are reported, or statistics collected, one such report was on allegations of sexual harassment of female teachers by four senior officers in the Education Division in Madang (*Post-Courier* 25/2/2004). In another case, a female victim used the media to report sexual harassment in the workplace, not in the main news, but in the editorial column in the newspaper with the pen name T.K. She writes:

*I am a female writing this letter to expose to the media my hopelessness and anger at being victimised by certain vicious health workers in Goroka and Kainantu hospitals. These two hospitals are nice. However, it's also infested with medical people who sexually abuse, compromise, discriminate, etc, etc daily to become immune from law in their dirty malpractice against us women... Those in authority have gone mute as they are doing this evil too and who else is going to address these issues (*Post-Courier* 29/4/2004, viewed 29/4/2004).*

The *raskol* gangs practice hegemony in a way that they want to regain the power and control that middle-class men have in the modern society. In PNG *raskols* can gain prestige among their peers when they exercise their heroism in bouts of robbery and pack rapes where they escape from police. If they are caught and incarcerated, they are still seen as 'heroes' (Brittan 1989). In the case where they surrender to police, they are even more heroic and their reputation increases both among the peers as well as the public (see Dinnen, 1995, 2001). Raskol masculinity is not lost; in any case, it is gained when disempowered men

get involved in gang activity such as theft, rape and murder and in the process master power.

Male hegemony operates in different levels: the political, the bureaucratic, the familial level and at the outlaw level. In each case, the men involved are negotiating an unambiguous tension between the old and the new, between the rural and urban, between power and powerlessness. Yet in each case, they negotiate an increase of their own power and the acquiescence of their female peers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Social Change and Transitions in PNG Masculinities

Introduction

Having looked at the definitions of masculinity and male power in a predominantly patriarchal society like PNG and the implications of these on the less powerful like women and girls, and other 'small' men, it can be said that masculinity generally curtails women's full participation in contemporary development processes. These processes include: education, politics, economic, technological, legislative, scientific and social processes at the high, middle and low levels of the community that contribute to development.

Chapter seven explores social change in gender relations in PNG in one major arena: the modern workplace. It looks at how the modern educated and employed men view women in general and women in the workplace. This chapter also looks at how some men have changed from their exclusive view of their predominant position in the workforce. The chapter concludes with an exploration of how PNG men redefine and reconstruct their masculinities in this time of transition.

Social Change

Social change is about shifts in the social aspect of people's lives in society. The social aspect of people's lives 'relates to social systems, their characteristics and people's participation in them' (Johnson 2000:284). According to Johnson, 'social change is any alteration in the cultural, structural, population, or ecological characteristics of a social system such as society' (2000:285). People who advocate change do so for the purpose of making a previous situation better, however, in some cases, social change happens because of circumstances that are political, economic, religious or are generated by other drivers. For example in PNG, as people began to be colonised and educated, they began to move away from subsistence work for survival to salaried work also for survival. As this trend gathered pace, urbanisation ended women's traditional agricultural work in gardens and they consequently became more dependent on their husbands' income for survival.

Shifts in the macro world of politics, economics and development eventually cascade into the micro world of the private sphere and, ultimately, to the subjectivities of individuals. As Miles argues social change 'impinges on who and what we are. It manifests itself on how we relate to each other as human beings and in how we construct our individual and social identities. Social change is the very stuff of social life. We are indeed the actors in the play of social change' (Miles 2001:2).

Views of Women

This section explores social change in relation to masculinity in PNG. It looks at how modern educated men have changed in their display of their masculinity and how they perceive women in relation to this.

PNG men's views of women are different depending on whether they are from matrilineal or patrilineal societies and these can be seen in two contexts: the traditional and the modern. Women in matrilineal societies are regarded highly because lineage and inheritance is passed from mother to daughters. For example, the women of Bougainville (a matrilineal society) speak of their experience as mothers of the land which denotes their power and their value as women and how this was exercised in their involvement in the peace process during the crisis on the Island of Bougainville (see Sirivi and Havini 2004). Alex, a Bougainvillean, is in his early forties, and a community development worker with an NGO. He argues that the women of Bougainville lost their residual power and influence through colonisation. When the Bougainville crisis developed,⁷³ women became active as catalysts for peace which regenerated their traditional roles:

If you look at Bougainville, women were valued before the 'big impact' [outside influence]. I think the crisis was important in that the women got together and were in the forefront of the peace process. Before the crisis the value given to women was going down, but now it is coming back because of the important role women played in the peace process. I think this is a good awareness for Bougainville and

⁷³ The Bougainville Crisis was a decade long civil war between the PNG national Government and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA). The crisis started in 1988 and worsened in 1989 because of the people's grievance over what happened to their land at Panguna on Bougainville Island where the Bougainville Copper Mine was. This crisis also called for secession from PNG (see Dorney 1990:117). The crisis ended in 1998 (see Downer 2001) after the peace process started in 1997 (see Sirivi and Havini 2004).

other parts of the country as well that women can play a really vital role in development.

Vincent is another participant from a matrilineal society. An academic in his mid-forties, he attests to the decision-making roles of women in his society. He argues that men simply articulate the decisions made by women and their labour complements that of men, and vice versa:

In my society, the gender dynamics of the society works on men and women complementing each other. There is division of labour and the labour is not independent, labour is complementary. For example, women in my society make major decisions. They do not articulate those decisions out in open or in public avenues. The men articulate those decisions, but the fundamental decisions emanate from the women.

Such practices do not extend to modern government and employment sectors where women's input is simply not sought. Partially this is because senior positions are attained with education, an endeavour dominated by men and women are mostly absent at this level.

Felix, another academic from a matrilineal society, is in his early fifties. He alludes to the fact that in the matrilineal system in his region, men are given status to exercise their power. However, their power is exercised by the way they work for the families of their wives. He points out that although his society is matrilineal, the men still have a lot of power and they make decisions even if this is not articulated:

In Milne Bay, the societies are matrilineal. It's very hard to let this masculine personality come out into the open. But this is not denied despite this social setting. Some of the societies where I

come from have chiefs. Although they are matrilineal in outlook, the men are given a certain status to exercise their power. But these powers have to do with the way women themselves are organised because the societies are heavily matrilineal. It may look as if women are the decision-makers but in truth, men always pose as a symbol of power. They don't orate, but it has been passed down from one generation to another that men are capable of making decisions quietly...But in the heavily matrilineal societies, like the Trobriand Islands, women have this influence that predominates men's idea of chieftainship. For as long as a wife's people eat, at the end of the day that means that the power that is taking place belongs to the chief of that woman. Because he has at one time or another delegated this type of duty so a man works hard not necessarily for his own family but for the family of his wife.

Men in matrilineal societies seem to have lost their value of women in the wider context outside their traditional locale. Yet colonisation and modernisation have generated change to these practices which are practically obscured in the modern workplace.

Casper is in his late thirties, and a community development officer from a patrilineal society. He notes that all men, including missionaries who espouse equality, see women as subordinate to men:

...generally, men see women as lower than them, and this is men across the board.... All my schooling has been in mission schools. Looking back, I see traces of this, that even missionaries see women, even religious women as inferior to men. It is everywhere – government, in the village, in institutions of learning, in NGOs, everywhere. Now you don't see women in executive positions, I mean there are, but much fewer than it's supposed to be. A lot of women should be in executive positions. But why they are not up there, is also a question to be asked. That's an indication of where men like women to be.

Jeffery, an academic in his early forties who is also from a patrilineal society, agrees. He also points out that this is a traditional view where women were treated as slaves of men. A woman's value is not shown explicitly except in brideprice payment where the gifts are received and distributed among the family of the bride whilst she receives nothing. This traditional practice has been partially supplanted by the celebration of birthdays, Mother's Day and Valentine's Day which are seen as times of special recognition for women. A lot of modern, educated men now celebrate such days:

Traditionally, I think women were not valued at all regardless of the effort and the time they give. There is no such thing as presenting [giving awards] to women for the things that she has done. I guess one of the reasons would be that because in our tradition, some societies where they have brideprice payment, it is like the woman has been bought by the man she marries, and that is where she has already received all her presents, which have been distributed to her relatives. So the woman comes to be with the man now and usually does not receive some kind of value; she is more like a slave...But this is changing in the modern society. A lot of things like birthdays, and wedding anniversaries and Valentine's Day and Mother's Day and all that. Men are beginning to realise the value of women in society.

Jerry, an academic in his early fifties and from a patrilineal society, thinks brideprice has a negative influence on the value of women and the way men think of them today. According to Jerry, brideprice payments signify that the bride is traded off as a commodity through which the family can increase their wealth. The bride is treated by the groom's family as a 'beast of labour'. The extension of this traditional event is abused in the modern society where the significance is lost and the new meanings attached to brideprice payment is abusive as Jerry states:

The brideprice is a really bad influence in a way as men think about their wives. They see their wives as commodities that can be bought and traded. For instance, if I paid for my wife, then she has to do what I tell her to do. And they are seen as beast of labour, just like I bought a car and want to use it as labour.... It is like a business commodity. Brideprice contributes to where a woman stands in society.

Jerry continues to argue that brideprice in previous generations was partially negotiated by the bride herself who was party to the decision-making and had the final say. He argues that contemporary men do not consult women or involve them in key decision-making processes:

I relate to my mother, the thought that women never made decisions, but I think most of the decisions in my family, my mother used to make for my father. Most of the decisions were made in the house. My father never went out, where he used to stand on the moka and made a speech and commitment without consulting my mother.⁷⁴ My mother always was the one who made the final decision whether my father could go ahead or not. So really, the men were the showpiece in traditional context. Now I see men increasingly making the decisions without consulting the womenfolk.

While it is clear that men are dominant in the modern institutions, the men that participated in this study do show sympathy for women in society. Some of them show that they work well with women in the modern workforce and even recognise their abilities in their work and their achievements. Men in the workplace claim that they do respect women and work well with them, even if this

⁷⁴ *Moka* is a word in the Melpa language of the Western Highlands Province. It is a word that talks about the exchange ceremonies in the Melpa society in the Western Highlands. It is in the ceremony of the *moka* that men displayed their productivity and wealth, and vie publicly for status and influence (see Sillitoe 2000).

was only said to look impressive. For instance, Edward is a bureaucrat, well educated and in his early fifties. He says that he respects women because of the understanding that if he respects others (including women), then they will in turn respect him:

I have no problems working with women or even asking them to give an opinion on something. I don't have a problem with that. ...many Manus women who are holding jobs, I always respect them. I think men create a lot of problems in PNG. We (men) are just a bunch of greedy people wanting this and that for ourselves and so forth... In general, we respect women. I do respect a lot of women, whatever they say, I'd like to listen. I have no problem with listening to women's advice as long as my judgement tells me that it's okay.

As his final sentence here shows despite Edward's testament that he listens to, and respects women, he is in a position to accept or discount them – which he does. He goes on to compare his attitude towards accepting advice from women with that of his uncles in the village. Whilst they apparently do not think twice about the advice from their sisters, Edward looks for reasons that could warrant his adherence to the advice from women:

In my society, I go back home and start from home. Let's say, all my aunts, they have all died, except one. My uncles, two of them are still alive, they just sit down and listen. All their sisters go to them and give them advice on what to say at meetings. And the uncles say exactly what their sisters have told them to say; they don't say anything else. I don't know if my uncles were scared of my aunts and my mother or they were just doing what they liked – listening to their sisters and saying what they heard. In my area, women carry a lot of status.

Edward's experience of the status of women and women's advisory role in his village has extended to his relationship with women of his province (not necessarily from his village) in the urban centres in PNG like Port Moresby.

Edward seeks advice and help from women when he needs it, just like his uncles do in the village. But according to him, women who hold positions in the corporate world, must prove to others that they can do the job and above that, be capable of undertaking their traditional roles as well. Women are therefore under perpetual scrutiny:

There are only one or two women in my province that hold respectable positions in their job. Every time something happens, let's say in Port Moresby, we all ring her and ask her if she is able to do this or that for me or whoever. If she is able to help, she will. If she can't then she may need to seek assistance from someone else. So to some extent it depends on how you go up the ladder in the Western sense. As you go up, people will be looking at you. If she is going to be considered a 'big woman' (big meri), a 'true woman' (meri tru), she needs to go out and show that she can do this or that. And people will respect her for what she can do.

Westernised men have started to view women participating in the workforce as having the potential to contribute to society and (if they have the qualifications) do not shun working with them. Having said that, these same men think of women as having attractive nurturing qualities – an example of traditional ideologies being projected onto the modern workplace.

Men's Attitude Towards Women in the Workplace

It is rare for men in senior positions today to have a female supervisor. Bob is a bureaucrat in his late forties who has had experience working with female bureaucrats and executives. He claims to have had a very good working relationship with these women. Interestingly, he says that these women sought him out for advice on managing their office:

I did not have a female boss or a woman executive in my department as such but I have actually worked with women in other departments...I would always go and provide advice ... on how to deal with disputes. And I did not see her as a woman. I actually saw her as a departmental head. And I dealt with her professionally and she would instruct me too...I suppose it was a mutual thing, that I had a certain skill that they needed to be able to resolve their management problems. So they would call me up and they would give me instructions and I took them and dealt with them but it was fun and enjoyable.

Bob goes on to say that in a situation dominated by men, as in a meeting, a woman is listened to only if she is in a position with the same ranking as her male counterparts. This raises the question of whether these men would listen to women in inferior positions than them in the workplace. Bob implies that he would not:

In a work situation, I suppose it is still quite too male dominated where if you are in a meeting situation, a woman speaks up and she doesn't have the same ranking ... if she speaks up she is not bound to get the same positive reception... And if she expresses an opinion in a meeting I am bound to listen [if] she has got some statutory powers.

Mathew who is in his mid-forties and a bureaucrat in an NGO thinks that the way men treat women and the extent to which men appreciate their contributions in the workplace depends on each organisation and its policies and the type of workplace culture they promote. In addition, Mathew asserts that individual men in the workplace situation have to *want* to appreciate women's participation:

I think nowadays, we are beginning to realise also that women have a role to play in society and I think it really boils down to individuals. For example here in this office, this organisation, women get appointed on their merits. It's not like because she is a woman so she should be given this position; everybody is appointed according

to merit... So it comes down then to individual people and also individual companies or departments or whatever organisation.

Some men in this study introduced notions of maternity encased in women's nurturing role in the home that is extended to the workplace and feel that this essence can, in fact, improve the culture of the workplace – especially for men.

Jeffery, for example, is an academic, in his early forties. His experience of working with a female boss was unthreatening, because he felt nurtured:

I've generally worked with women... I didn't find that it was really a problem to deal with them. The important thing is that they realised their position in leadership and I think it's more or less like they have a mother's heart. That's how I see it. They still say that as woman, they have a 'mother's heart'; they have this compassion; they have this love to care for both male and female members of the family. So in those experiences I had, I felt that they may have applied that unconsciously or subconsciously in the workplace.

Similarly, Nathan (a journalist and academic in his early forties) attests to the nurturing attitude of his female supervisor. He argues that their working relationship was good because of his own positive attitude towards women:

My last boss was a woman and she is still in Moresby and she is still working and she is the best boss I've ever had of all the bosses I've worked with. I think it is also because of my attitude towards women, I had no problem at all whether it was a male boss or a female boss. I can get along with them easily, but I found her to be very caring, attentive, someone you could approach at any time... And a lot of it is because she is also a mother and she had grownup children and she knew how to relate to them and with the young people in the office, she knew exactly what their problems were so when they came and spoke to her, they would say a lot of things, and she would say, 'Cut out the story, and just tell me what your problem is.'

Cornelius reiterates these discourses of maternal care believing that he has good working relationship with women in the workplace because he sees them as having qualities of leadership - like his mother. He sees them as influential, powerful, smart and capable of contributing to the organisation:

I have no problems; the ladies are just as enhanced as the men are. It's been my style all along to see women as powerful. I think I had a very powerful mother... more influential than my father... I listen to them [women]. I think that is only me, my mother was so influential that I grew up under a strong woman that maybe I see no problem with it. Even my wife told me in the early part when we were friends, she said I was very democratic. So I personally have no problems with women.

Richard is an academic in his mid-forties and comes from a matrilineal society. In his workplace, he is the only man yet he attests that he does not feel threatened or intimidated. He treats women who are subject to him with respect:

I have worked with female bosses many times before. The normal feeling of a man working under a female boss would be that it is not normal in the PNG thinking- the male must be the boss. You will see that there'd be a lack of co-operation. With me- it does not bother me if I work under a female or male boss. Or whether I work with all women- as in my office they are all women. I'm the only male. I am open. I do not know why I'd feel threatened. We get along well with each other. I respect that they have their own say- they can speak their minds. I speak my mind too if I have to. And because being the boss, if I have to speak to someone about certain things I'm not happy with, I approach them in a manner that is respectful, deserving of the positions they are in as well.

Yet some men have a less easy time accepting a woman as boss. Robert is an academic in his late forties from a patrilineal society. He notes that coming from a traditional rural setting, it was difficult to accept becoming subordinated to a woman because the voice of tradition and culture was strong. He alludes to the

fact that it was working in a space away from his traditional setting that educated and changed his attitude towards women as bosses and women in the workplace more generally:

I have worked with a woman as the boss. At first, it was a little bit strange coming from a very rural traditional background. I think you learn to live with that and you forget about it, it's not a big deal anymore. And you treat people according to qualifications and experience...I was gender blind, I think...I did not get some kind of training to be gender conscious. It takes years of working with people. It just doesn't enter the equation any more; it just goes out of mind.

Bill, a bureaucrat in his late forties, goes one step further. He is enthusiastic about women in the workplace. He feels that as long as women have the right qualifications to be employed, they should be allowed to work. Bill actively encourages women in his department to upgrade their qualifications. He says he sees women in his office as equals – but with the caveat that ultimately, domestic roles take precedence:

So to me as long as they have the their qualifications, as long as they have the commitment and as long as they are paid to work, there's no barrier for promotion, there's no problem for promotion, we look upon them as equal. But I guess having said that, it's a domestic issue that perhaps may dictate whether these women are able. If they've got an understanding husband, the wife works for an office, she has the potential to progress. Then if the husbands can only allow that freedom so that the women can be in to work. And I think there's every opportunity for them. I think, much to my shame, I think a lot of husbands, I think we feel jealous, still to some extent, there's still some jealousy... I don't think this should be the case. To me if a woman is showing potential, has the ability to progress far then they should be allowed.

These modern men argue for their progressive views of women. They generally believe in women participating in the workplace. Some (Nathan, Jeffery and

Cornelius) extend traditional maternal discourses of women as nurturers into the modern workplace. This both creates a non-threatening view of women on the one hand, and on the other hand, makes these men break down barriers of their masculine distance from women. Some (Danny, Bill) argue that they treat women on a professional level. Some (Richard) work in offices which are dominated by women, but do not feel threatened and have created an understanding working relationship. Some (Luke) realise the great potential and qualities that are sometimes what men don't have that women have and can contribute to the workforce. Many of those who are comfortable with working with women have had strong mothers who were dominant in their lives or come from matrilineal societies – or both. Others feel that way because of the organisation that they are working in that makes them gender conscious. All in all, these men have gone through a process of learning through their experiences and for some, the realisation has come quicker than for others.

Men Affecting Change

Whilst PNG is still systemically patriarchal, there are a few men who claim to be gender conscious and who encourage equal opportunities. These men are beginning to renegotiate their masculinity by recognizing women and their potential in the new arenas of education and in the workforce, in much the same way men in the traditional societies recognized their women's roles to be complementary to their own (see Strathern 1984, McDowell 1984, Barlow 1995).

There are three areas where the participants in this study indicate that they are active in assimilating women into existing power structures, and the next section discusses their perceptions of this. The first area is the promotion of girls and women in the education sector; the second is the workplace and third is within the community at large. These will be taken as case studies that participants chose to articulate their views and the key places where social change may happen.

Case Study A: Promoting Gender Equality in the Education Sector

Men working in the field of education argue that they encourage female students to progress and to reach their potential in their field by generating a gender-conscious perspective in curricula, and in revising and producing policy aimed at promoting both gender balance, and equal participation. Jim, for example, is an academic and an Executive Dean of a faculty who is in his early forties. In this capacity, he supervises enrolment to ensure that both male and females are selected to promote equal participation. He also argues that his involvement in the university's Student Representation Council ensures that female students had representatives there.

We try to be gender conscious indirectly, in our School in a small way. We try to encourage equal participation of men and women in academia for us in the Office of Higher Education in the selections of males and females.... We try to encourage a lot of students from the less well-to-do areas for example, as some provinces in PNG who are way behind in terms of gender equality in education. ...We have females, for example, who are a classic illustration of the issue of gender dominance in politics is our SRC. Two years ago, it was male dominated but now we have changed the constitution so we have an equal number of males and females. The females are

given an opportunity to participate at this level in terms of the decision-making of our student politics...In the new School, in terms of recruitment drive, we try to encourage females to apply for a positions in our advertisements. So these are some of the illustrations that one can give as demonstration of our efforts to watch what is enshrined in our constitution.

Jim's efforts are not limited to the school and the student body, but he also influences the staff and the administration to change policies. He was instrumental in developing the new university Equal Opportunity policy which was apparently a response to external pressure:

I am aware of the issues of gender and gender involvement in the university body and administration. I think that's an issue we are all aware of from the top brass down: the CEO, the Vice Chancellor and the university is mindful of that...In fact, we are working on a policy on Equal Opportunity. So that takes on board all the gender issues that are so important and that's out now. In terms of the administrative hierarchy of the university we have a number of females in senior management positions so this is an illustration that the university cannot be accused of being discriminatory in its operations.

Jim further points out that he encourages female students to undertake postgraduate studies:

Well in my capacity...one thing that I've been doing personally is encouraging female students to take on postgraduate studies so that one day, they can take up an academic career...and I've been successful in the last to two three years in getting females up to that level in completing postgraduate studies. In fact, I've got two of my former female students now teaching in the school as an illustration.

Also an academic and a writer in his late thirties, Gerard testifies that he counsels female students to go as far as they can go in their education. In his capacity as a writer, he would like to see more women to write about their

position in society and works to develop their skills in this area in order that they are in a position to make a greater intellectual contribution than is presently the case. Like the other participants, he affirms that (in his view) women are as capable as men:

I think both males and females are capable intellectually, productive; it's this whole thing about striving, struggling to do something to achieve something... I've always found myself trying to counsel students and trying to tell them that I always stuck by the fact that there is a sense of ... I've finished my university degree and that's all. And I keep on telling them especially the female students. 'You should not stop here, you should go all the way, and try to change.' I think there is a very important task ahead, women haven't taken much to articulate their place here and I think a lot of women should articulate themselves, both intellectually but also in various ways.

While Gerard feels he has endowed his female students with skills to write their stories, he goes a step further to provide an avenue to publish them and make the stories accessible to readers. He is the editor of a journal which dedicates one issue to the writing of women as a way of giving prominence to women's literature. Furthermore, Gerard sees his role as empowering and promoting women's place in literature.

For me, I'm limited to what I do in my professional life, basically teaching literature and I would like to see a lot of women writers. I try my best to encourage that aspect... Writing is one way in which women can articulate themselves... The women who have to write, can articulate their position in society very well. And I think also in terms of education, a lot of girls coming to university, what I want to see for them is not just get a degree, but also to question.

Another participant, Jerry, an academic in his early fifties, is actively involved in a UNICEF project dedicated to enhancing girls' educational opportunities. He believes, moreover, that the future of PNG lies in the education of girls:

It's my firm belief that, if we educate girls and give them the opportunity to be educated, I think it contributes to the development of women. If we don't develop women, they can't bring any development in Papua New Guinea. We have to have educated men and women to stand side by side to realise the full progress of this country. Otherwise we'll have an illiterate population; we'll still have corruption; we'll still have the problems we are having now. I don't see we can get over that without educating both men and women.

In his academic capacity, Jerry explores opportunities for women to further their education without leaving their families for full-time studies. He focuses on university level programs to be conducted in decentralised locations in the provincial centres which would work to the advantage of the women. He also focuses on the two professions that are dominated by women, namely teaching and nursing, for which he would like to develop educational programs to increase both professionalism and women's credentials:

In my school, we really are not that gender conscious. What I've been conscious of is of disadvantages for women and other people not being able to leave their home and coming to a study place. Two professions that have got a large number of women are in particular, nursing and teaching. So the programs we are focused on pushing now are full-time studies in Diploma in Commerce, but I'd rather like to see a Bachelor of Arts in Primary School teaching next year, and Bachelor of Nursing the following year. Those are the two courses with prime opportunities for women. And of course it will rub off on the children and patients. It will improve the quality of health and education in the country.

Here Edward, a bureaucrat in his fifties, describes the selection process of High School staff. He argues that his personal intervention was the key factor in disrupting a recruitment pattern weighted towards men:

I was chairing a meeting at the...High School; we were recruiting new staff for the school, when we came to the position of the Deputy Principal. The current principal is a man and they were trying to make the two deputy principals men as well. I let them go because I wanted to know their reasons as well. I sat down and listened. They carried on for some time then I came in. 'Listen, if this is what you people are doing here, then I think it's all wrong. We should first choose people by merit. Second, why have I not seen any invitation to women teachers here who can make Deputy Principal? You don't want another male there. No wonder you have a lot of female teachers complaining around here, when you don't have representatives of the women actually working up that administrative level.' So everybody kept quiet. They said, 'Chairman, you have any suggestions to make?' I said, 'I want to see a female Deputy Principal. I mean, this is teaching, there are a lot of teachers who are female as well. You don't want a male-dominated organisation like that. There are female students as well.' So only yesterday, the principal came to me gave me some forms to sign. 'Are they for males or females?' He said, 'We took your advice and we are looking at some females as well.'

Case Study B: Promoting Women in the Workplace

The teaching profession is dominated by women, but mostly at the lower levels. Leadership in the education sector is overwhelmingly male-dominated. This next section explores the participants' perceptions of the promotion of women into the higher echelons of administration in the education and other sectors. This is, perhaps, the hardest glass ceiling to break.

Bill, as seen earlier, is a bureaucrat in his late forties. He suggests that he has raised the status of women in his Department by simply re-naming their

positions: from typists to keyboard operators, and from Personal Assistants to Personal Executive Assistants, and by offering them professional development. At the end of the day, these women are still answerable to him, although their new names have elevated their status and dignity:

In the Department...since I assumed a senior management position, I have encouraged both men and women to participate in decision-making processes and... in the appointment of senior staff. For some of the things that I have done, I've selected the top secretaries and I have encouraged activity heads to take the keyboard operators, the typists who are doing the secretarial work for the senior staff. I have banned calling them typists. I call them Executive Personal Assistants. So my secretary, I don't call her my typist or my KBO, I call her my Executive Personal Assistant, and the ones that work under, the Deputies and the Assistant Secretaries, I call them Personal Assistants. The reason being that they hold a special office. They are what I term as the 'ambassadors' to the office of the people. It's how that person portrays herself and how she handles people that will reflect the kind of office she works in... So to me, I've selected the stock and I've sent them to Sydney, in Sydney there's school where they specialise in developing executives and this sort of people. I've sent about seven so far.

Pius is a bureaucrat in the defence force and in his early fifties. He is changing the tradition that the military is a masculine profession by working to introduce women into the force. He has started slowly, but he sees that the male attitudes towards women have to be changed to see women as compatible colleagues in the profession. Pius is encouraging women to break barriers in this masculine profession and taking this as an opportunity to teach the civil society to change their perceptions of women in the military:

In this Defence Force, we've been trying to bring women in for many years. But because the institution's infrastructure has been built in a biased way towards men, that's why we have been struggling with this issue. But since then we've got a female doctor, a female lawyer. But since I became Commander, I'm trying to bring

in more women; not necessarily doctors and nurses, they can be managers, accountants, clerks and enlist them as ordinary soldiers. We can re-adjust the infrastructure. We've yet to approach the separate accommodation issue. On the side of work, we are pushing to bring in women into the Force and I believe that institutions like the Military, is an ideal platform for women to shine, really, ideal platform. You see a young woman, professionally attired, well groomed in and amongst a male-dominated workplace, that speaks for itself. You don't have to write a book to justify women in the workplace.

It is clear that a few senior male exemplars in their workplace are making a conscious choice to break the male-dominated workforce by making women's positions in their organisation as professional as can be. Some break the masculine tradition by introducing women in the all male professions like the military. Some consciously expand people's horizons of gender to fill senior positions with females. It is not clear how many such gender conscious men function in organisations, but it is clear that there are some who are rewriting policies and practices for a gender balanced workforce, even if their responses to the interview did not show the real truth about their perceptions of women.

One participant, Lawrence, a senior bureaucrat in his late fifties, believes that women's roles as mothers should be considered as important while being in the workforce. He claims to have beaten the United States and the Australian governments in introducing paid maternity leave for working mothers and for leniency towards their babies' feeding times in the first year of life:

In the world, I was two years ahead of the president of the United States when he made a decree that women wanted to be able to have babies. That period or part of the period will be considered as paid leave...I put that in the General Orders and I beat the

Australians, I beat the Americans, I beat the rest of the world. I put in the General Orders that when working mothers go on maternity leave, they can take leave six weeks before and six weeks after delivery with full pay. They have paid maternity leave, they have breastfeeding hours, 2 hours each day, and there should be tolerance or leniency towards them for their baby's feeding time. That is law⁷⁵.

Case Study C: Promoting Gender Consciousness in the Community

Finally, there are men working at a grassroots level who encourage women to pragmatically blend traditionally feminine roles with the demands of the modern world. Casper is an example of this. As we saw earlier, he is in his late thirties, and a community development officer with an NGO. One thing Casper points out is the managing ability of women both in the organisation and in their target communities. His organisation works on projects where women manage the financial resources. Like the participants who argue that women's nurturing skills are transferable to the workplace, Casper incorporates what he sees as their organisation of the domestic sphere into community development projects, thus validating the women's position in the NGO and the communities they work with. The notion of the complementarity of male and female roles is reintroduced here creating a philosophical bridge, at least, between traditional and modern practices. Casper explains his organisation's work in terms of equal gender participation:

⁷⁵ Lawrence in this interview claims that he was instrumental in making it possible for employed women in the Public Service to get maternity paid leave six weeks before and six weeks after birth.

In our organisation we have women. We do a lot of work in the communities with both men and women in our organisation because the women can address women's issues with women and men can address men's issues...I'll give just one example, when we go to the communities there must be at least one woman in the team. To have a very strong team in our organisation the idea is to have two men and two women. We realize that women are managers; natural managers; [and] we let women take care of our money in our organisation. Woman is the boss of the household and of the garden, the economics. The man is the defender. But the woman is the bursar; she is the one who manages.

In this section, it has been suggested that a minority of men strategising to incorporate changing views of women in the workplace. Due to its size, this study cannot give an indication of the quantity of men playing an active role in rewriting rules to include women, but there are indications with these exemplars. Some initiate change because they believe that it is the right thing to do, while others do it because their position in the organisation mandates it.

In the next section, we move from exploring the participants' accounts of social change in their wider social networks to those of masculine gendered identities *per se*.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Perceptions of Transitions in Png Masculinities: from Big Man to *Rabis Man*

Introduction

PNG masculinities are in transition, like all human experiences. PNG masculinities can be ordered on a continuum which stretches between the most hegemonically powerful 'big man' to the moderate business man, the pragmatism of the grassroots man, the feral yet organised *raskol* to the man who almost falls outside any ordering of masculinity - the *rabis man*. This chapter begins with a discussion of the changing constructions of masculinity juxtaposed with traditional meanings and identities. Then it explores the typologies of men and masculinities in transition while discussing the hegemonic masculinity in these men. The chapter ends with the change in matrilineal societies that are becoming patriarchal in their practices.

Changing Constructions of Masculinity

Forms of expressions of masculinity have shifted; while the defining elements of what distinguished men in PNG in the past remained, the ways in which these characteristics are expressed have changed. The masculine qualities of display such as strength, fearlessness, working hard, caring, sharing, providing and showing loyalty may be shared with women yet the significance of these has changed as the following discussion will show. The changes can be attributed to

the colonization, modernisation, gobalisation and missionisation of PNG (see Morley 1994, Brison 1995, Minnegal & Dwyer 1997, Roscoe 2000, Lohman 2001, Macintyre 2003, Wardlow 2004, Tuzin 1997).

Overall, men are expected to be strong. In traditional society, they showed their strength in tribal warfare and in their ability to protect their families. Paradoxically, men's strength was, and still is, also shown in the act of beating their wives in particular circumstances such as when she fails to fulfil her obligations, or when she refuses her wifely duties (see Morley 1994, Toft 1986, Banks 2000a). This is a custom which even young people today see as acceptable (see Newageman, 2002).

As has been seen in the above discussion of the ways in which men project traditional, essentialist views of women as mothers, nurturers and organisers as qualities useful to the modern workplace, such syntheses can be used to bridge the gap between old and new practices – this time involving masculinity. Kempf's (2000) study of the Ngaing of Rai Coast of Madang province, for example, shows how young men incorporate Christianity into their initiation rituals so as to bring them to a state of closeness to power, to knowledge to white/ancestors (p: 64). By doing this, they believed that by their association with the white who are believed to be their dead ancestors, they would enter into the power and knowledge of their ancestors and they would become rich like their white ancestors. The merging of these two worlds makes men in the Ngaing society

feel close to their ancestors and at the same time and space, show their redemption from a state of blackness and inferiority to whiteness and superiority which they have understood to be associated with white men they have come in contact with (Kempft 2000). Hence, the adaptation of modernity can be seen as a means of regaining their masculinity and their position that was lost with the process of colonisation and missionisation. The table (6.1) below shows the change in the old forms of expressing their masculine characteristics which is what the participants, situated in this transition in this research, seem to think is happening. While the characteristics of masculinity have remained, the forms of expressing these characteristics have changed.

Table 8.1: Old and New Forms of Masculine Characterisation

Characteristic of masculinity	Old forms of expression	New forms of expression
Strong	Tribal and individual fighting, wife beating	Tribal and individual fighting, wife beating, drinking, use of guns, illegal activities (eg. using & trafficking drugs, burglary, rape, etc.
Fearless	Physically confronting enemies, enduring endurance tests during initiation rituals, tribal fighting; speaking out against evildoers (eg. sorcerers), taboo breaking (eg. having sex with menstruating women)	Tribal fighting (in the highlands), illegal activities (eg. drugs, guns, theft, white-collar crime), some engagement in raskol gang activities, drinking, individual fighting, fearless in front of the State and institutions of authority
Hardworking	Have gardens, build house, help others with their garden work, get involve with customary obligations, eg: making feasts	Get a job rather than work in the garden, pass exams in school, prepared to do feminised paid work like cook, tea boy, domestic servant etc.

Caring	Share meat with others after hunting or fishing, share food with family and kin at feasts,	Get into politics and share resources with community
Sharing	Contribute resources like food, betelnuts, pigs, shell money, clay pots, things of value to customary events, eg: mortuary feasts, singsings, brideprice	Make financial contribution to village, customary events, eg: mortuary feasts, brideprice payment
Giving in reciprocity or in creating friendship and presentations	Gift-giving, contribute pigs and food and ornaments of value to village events, eg: mortuary feasts, brideprice	Contribute pigs, food and money to village customary events, eg: mortuary feasts, brideprice payment
Loyal	Members of clan, tribe, family, provide support in times of need, give support and help a friend or clan/tribe/family member in a fight or payback fighting	Serve wantoks, protect wantoks, help their wantoks and friends in a fight, offer opportunities to wantoks and friends
Thoughtful Tingting	Share meat and food with family, especially the maternal uncles, and friends, contribute to help the other when there are customary events	Give generously to family, kin, tribe and those they relate to, support family, kin, tribe and those they relate to in times of need but this time, give what they can afford with money
Sexual power	Marry and have children, if no children then a man can have another wife, can be promiscuous, some societies accepted gang rape at special times, sexual taboos were observed to maintain some sense of respect because of 'shame'	Marry and have children, if no children then a man can have another wife, can be promiscuous, individual rape and gang rape not monitored by society, rape happens away from tribal contexts, breakdown of sexual taboos, pay for sex to exercise their sexuality, more freedom in extra-marital affairs because there is 'no shame'

Typologies of Men in PNG and Masculinities in Transition

Modern typologies of men and masculinities in PNG can be characterized by how much power the different types of men use and display. Money, education, jobs and modern wealth are key props to a man's sense of his own masculinity and determine, in turn, the community's perception of his masculinity level.

The Big Man

The traditional big man saw his gift-giving as ways to gain prestige and renown not only from his immediate family and tribe, but also from tribes beyond his own that he associated with (see Sahlins 1963, Sillitoe 2000, 2001, Brown 1990, Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a, McKeown 2001, Lederman 1990, Finch 1997). The characteristics of a big man may vary from region to region, but the predominant characteristics are that traditional big men seek - and achieve - eminence (Sillitoe 2000: 94). The ambition to aspire to big man status calls for various qualities:

These vary from one society to another: from an above-average ability to transact wealth in sociopolitical exchange, to a reputation of fearlessness backed by an aggressive temperament and from a capacity to speak and persuade others in argument to specialized ritual knowledge which may extend to renown as a sorcerer (Sillitoe 2000:94).

Aggression however, is not reserved only for big men and those who aspire to become one. It is seen in some PNG societies as a masculine characteristic and identity. For example, Brison's (1995) study of the Kwanga society in the East Sepik Province shows that the invasion of government and missionaries reduced the excessively aggressive tendencies of masculinity. Through the government

and missionaries, men began to control their aggression and as a result, appeared to be less strong (see Brison 1995).

Big men in modern urban PNG society tend to have highly prestigious, well-paying jobs. Not only can they compete in the modern world, they are financially independent from their relatives. While traditional big men exchanged wealth and made presentations in order to build their reputation and gain prestige, the modern big man does not depend only on gift exchange to gain status; he gains status through his education, job and position in society. Yet the expectation of largesse may well remain amongst his relatives in the village. Sillitoe (2000) notes the interface between the old and the new where the elected official may spend his income on sociopolitical exchange rather than personal consumption, for example, buying pigs or beer and distributing this widely (Sillitoe 2000:230). Bill is a bureaucrat who in a government department. He attests to the traditional views and expectations of a big man that are transposed to the modern big men where the use and sharing of money is important:

I think I can say that we still have that mentality here. That whilst as much as possible in some situations we try and get away from that, the expectation is often there. Back in the villages, the societies that we come from, they look upon us as big men and therefore that obligation on our part as big man is more in demand more than ever now.

So, big men who can meet the people's expectations in delivering goods and services, build their reputation amongst their people. This past tradition of reciprocity that existed between individuals and groups of people where wealth, support and loyalty were transacted, today, has been replaced by the cash

economy. Although reciprocity is still practiced today, in the traditional/modern dichotomy, money is seen to have a high use value at the time when it can enable people to purchase traditional items that can be used for transactions such as pigs and food. In other words, traditional items and money co-exist well.

Nathan, a journalist and academic, points out how money is related to a big man's influence:

In the modern times now, that concept of big man has slightly been changed. But today with money, the person who has money, tends to be powerful, tends to be able to dictate things and have influence over society. Now ...the people who have more money or wealth, are now seen as 'big man' in society because they are able to distribute wealth, they are able to buy things, to be able to be influential.

Another way the modern big man has shifted from the traditional practice is that modern big men have adopted some of the characteristics of individualism and share or distribute less to his relatives. He has moved from the traditional system that depends on the continual and repeated distribution of wealth to the one that hoards wealth (Sillitoe 2000:95). Casper, a community development worker in his late thirties, comments on how the attitudes and practices of modern big men have changed. In the past, the traditional big men were closer to the other people and they spent their energies and resources with them. Today's big men are individualistic and seek more their personal aggrandizement:

There are still some traces of big man in that traditional sense. But... we have big men who are accumulating. In the traditional sense big men became big men because they were able to give not just material things, but they were able to give their time. They were present for all the community issues, ... to listen, to give their energies, that's why they are big men. Now we have big men who sit down and read at home, it's that kind of big man. And I think that's where problems come in and then they get into deals to accumulate and then the little that they give is to blow up their big names in order

to make them even bigger. There's a confusion of this big man concept in today's society.

Another shift in the behaviour of big men is their association with luxury cars and other modern consumer goods. They express their success through these commodities and this expression enhances their masculine identity and status. Sillitoe (2001) argues that men see politics as a way to gain upward mobility and become big men, and politicians purchase this upward mobility through people's votes. They then get to a position that they can have an access to state resources from which most gain personal status. Joel is an academic in his late thirties, argues that contemporary big men most especially display their status using government resources like cars that have been purchased by public funds for big men because of their requirement for a grandiose 'branding' of themselves:

Because for me, people who use state funds, (and I'm a tax-payer), to buy luxury vehicles to show their status, as far as I am concerned, they are nothing more than just ignorant and arrogant on their part. They dwell on the sweat of others to raise their status. And as far as I am concerned, society should not have a second look at them. They are nothing.

In addition to this, some big men (especially politicians and businessmen) express their masculine status through the acquisition of a second and (sometimes) third wife because they are able to afford the brideprice payment. Brideprice today includes luxury items such as cars, houses, outboard motors, goods and money in addition to the traditional pigs. Robert is an academic from the highlands and in his late forties who argues that in traditional societies

polygamous marriages were possible because of the assistance from the first wife and her contribution of pigs to pay for her husband's latter brides.

You see nowadays men marry a second wife because they have the money to do that. Traditionally the husband would marry the second wife with the consent of the first wife and mostly he was encouraged by the first wife and the more the better because she was kind of a boss.

Whilst formerly, a man's relatives contributed resources to pay for his wives' brideprice, he can now afford to pay without the assistance of his relatives. This shows the paradigm shift from the sole use of traditional wealth and dependence from relatives to money and independence, where he has the power to accumulate wealth and disburse it as he sees fit. These shifts towards enculturation to a Western modality has developed individualism and this is, in turn, a marker of status for contemporary big man and how they assist others in transiting to modern methods of behaviour.

Another shift is apparent in the way that contemporary leaders such as the politicians are expected to be knowledgeable and compatible in the modern system so that they can be able to help their people in their transition to the modern world. Ethnographers' study of the earlier big men in the colonial period of PNG argue that these big men like Irakau (Lutkehaus 1990), Ronald (Brison 1995), Kondom Agaundo (Brown 1990), Noya (Finch 1997), Ruge Angiva (Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a) had to learn the ways of their colonial masters for whom they worked so as to benefit from them and become like them. Chris, a young politician in his late thirties, presents a similar view of politicians who must

learn things that will enable them to compete in the wider community so their people can benefit:

My people are now seeing politics as being about the 'big man'. If you are a big man in your custom, you cannot automatically become a leader of parliament... So they see a big man in the modern context as someone who must know the government system; someone who must speak just like other people who speak English; they must be able to compete with the rest of Papua New Guinea.

Jim as seen earlier, is an academic in his early forties, echoes the same sentiments by pointing out that the defining moment for modern big manhood is their education. This is the point that distinguishes the traditional big man and a modern one. In other words, modern big men have the ability and power to participate in their role if they are educated:

I would say that less than a handful of elected representatives today in government possess the qualities of big men as we see them in traditional society and as well as in contemporary society. I suppose a good number of men that don't have the traditional qualities but it's education, the ability to read in terms of contemporary issues that have profiled them to be a leader.

Education and employment are key determinants of contemporary men's social status and transition to becoming a 'big man'. For men to be educated and employed gives them a chance of achievement as Martin, a Public Servant in his early forties, highlights:

So when they are in the formal sector, that is the workplace or education or whatever in the formal sector, it is the stepping-stone that they stand on and say 'I'm a man', and when I think of the qualification, the education that they receive is added onto their high position they may hold in labour force. This really causes the mentality that they are big man...

It is clear that men are defining new ways in which they seek to gain status and recognition in their achievements. Moreover, big men nowadays, use education, employment and money to achieve their status in society whereas in the past, they manipulated wealth to gain prestige and renown. Modern big men still manipulate wealth and resources for their benefit. As the big man is unable to exert the qualities of transacting wealth, showing fearlessness and aggression, then his reputation and status decline (Sillitoe 2000:94). Contemporary society, however, offers men the possibility of becoming a lesser 'big man' – one who does not use the qualities of largesse that defined men in the traditional society.

The Bureaucratic Big Man

The bureaucrat is a construct of modernisation. He is also a product of his traditional context that makes men and defines him to be strong, achieving and aggressive (see Brison 1995). The traditional methods of masculinisation have however, been constrained by the state through legislation, education and even through Christianisation. Government, through its laws, regulates the just and peaceful behaviours of its people, and the court system to punish those who transgress. In a society where men's masculinity was ultimately defined by engagement in illegal activities such as fighting, the ability to display their strength was curtailed, and, as a result men can feel quite powerless. Brison's (1995) study, for example, shows how the Kwanga men felt emasculated at the time of colonisation when they were forced to stop fighting and being aggressive. She asserts that the modern justice system established after pre-contact time

made men lose their strength and power and, effectively, feminised them. The Kwanga people spoke longingly of a pre-contact time where men had been stronger and had protected their communities from outside enemies and eternal troublemakers. This is a sentiment that speaks of the breakdown of the system of protection and the men who were the subjects of the study resent their emasculation. To be peaceful, law-abiding and co-operative was, for the Kwanga, to be weak (see Brison 1995).

The period of colonisation in PNG introduced new roles which gave power back to men which they had lost at that period where fighting and aggression were outlawed.⁷⁶ This is the kind of power for physical prowess and strength, although these were not the only form of power that men had. When men lost their indigenous model of manhood, they found the colonial model of attaining power - in roles like being a village court magistrate (see Brison 1995). Other roles which gave men renewed power in the colonial era include the *luluai* and *tultul* (Brown 1990, Dorney 1990; Waiko 1993),⁷⁷ becoming a missionary or activities otherwise associated with Christianity (see Lohmann 2001; Kempf 2002, Tuzin

⁷⁶ Power in this case did not only depend on fighting and aggression; it was institutionalized in all areas of traditional society including family, culture, language, '*haus boi*', names, gender roles and so on

⁷⁷ *Luluai* is a term of title in the Tolai 's Kuanua Language, given to the local headman, appointed by the German administration to act on their behalf (see Brown 1990, Dorney 1990:295, Waiko 1993:45

Tultul is also a Tolai term of title to the man who acted as and an interpreter for the government officers (Kiaps). Both the *Luluai* and *Tultul* were village men appointed by the colonial German administration to be the Government's link with the people. *Tultuls* knew the Pidgin language and could work as interpreters. (Brown 1990, Dorney 1990, Waiko 1993).

1997), and becoming an entrepreneur (see Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997a, Finch 1997, Lutkehaus 1990, Brown 1990, Finney 1973).

Similarly, political leadership was a role cultivated by the colonial administration which established schools where the first indigenous men were educated and who subsequently became employed by the Australian public service in the post war years. Public servants have, in turn, tended towards a career in politics (Scheps 2000:54) as have businessmen who have built their popularity base from their customers. There appears to be an easy mobility between careers where men's status and renown can catapult them to the country's top positions where their business can also benefit.

The bureaucrat is trained to facilitate the machinations of corporate institutions and the state. This is a high-status occupation which engenders a sense of enhanced masculinity – but it is a masculinity (like that of the big man) which involves the delivery of goods and services. For instance, as seen in Table 7.1 above, a man shows he is caring and thoughtful by sharing his achievements with his family and his kin, especially in paying tribute to his maternal uncles and family members according to the traditional standard of etiquette.⁷⁸ For a man to do this is an important part of his identity even in a modern context. Cornelius, a modern bureaucrat himself whose persona embraces attributes of both the modern and the traditional, attests to this by arguing that a man in the modern

⁷⁸ Thoughtful – in Pidgin, it is “tingting”. This means that a man thinks of his relatives and friends in special and shows it by paying tribute to them in ways that made their relatives think they are held in high esteem to be thought of. This is a man who is thoughtful of his relatives and friends.

system still pays tribute to his kin, but he uses the resources of the state (rather than his own household) to facilitate this. In other words, what the state has offered him in terms of his job and remuneration enables him to pay his dues. His act of giving shows that he cares and shares his achievements today and in so doing becomes a big man. Cornelius sees himself as the modern, benevolent, big man because he behaves like a traditional big man in his village:

The big man is the benevolent man. He is a great hunter who comes home and who distributes his catch. ...He is the man who accumulates wealth and than distributes to the clan and family. He takes the lead in ceremonies and rituals. He has the biggest yams and pigs in customary arrangements. He is the big man and he takes charge of the clan's wealth and he makes sure they pay up all their dues in customary practices, that's the big man. I play a lot of that role, I'm educated now and I hold such a job, but I operate both in the contemporary world and also in my village. They call me '...mi kiap blong waitman na kiap bilong ples'.

Cornelius now stands as the bridge between the traditional man and the modern bureaucrat who is constantly negotiating his masculine place and identity in the contemporary system. It is clear in Cornelius' behaviour, although the forms of expression of their identity as responsible men have changed; the traditional characteristics of masculinity have remained intact.

Bill, a bureaucrat in his late forties, likes to see himself as separated from the village ways of doing things, but he cannot separate the masculine characteristics of the traditional ways of seeing a man in his position. Hence, even if Bill does not see himself as a big man bureaucrat, the other people, and especially his relatives in the village, see him as one. Others, especially the

relatives, not only consider a man in a position like Bill's in the modern workforce as a big man, but his village demands it of him no matter what his opinion. They therefore expect him to provide goods and services to them, and in times of making contributions, he is to give more as Bill asserts:

...in a lot of cases the big man, because of the way he is looked upon, he is perhaps looked upon by demand, that he is to put in more than the rest. And that is the big man, a person who was respected in society, a person who is able to deliver and who is able to listen to everyone in society. That to me is the real PNG man - the big man.

While some bureaucrats see themselves as big men, the others do not think that they are big men. For them, the big man is a traditional concept and therefore men in this modern bureaucratic position are not to be seen as such, as Bill states:

To me in the work situation I would not call myself a big man... The big man that I would like to see is the one that represents the village community, the traditional upbringing... That person there should lead by example, a person that is respected within the organisation that we've got; he has the respect of his peers, colleagues and everyone that is working for him. And we must set examples and clear guidelines within the organisation... I would hate to call myself a big man. I would rather be one that is representing the organisation which is made up of people that I'm there to provide the leadership for; that I'm there to provide the necessary support for the people that are in the organisation. I would rather see myself as one of them than be called a big man.

Attitudes from the relatives makes the 'big man system' perpetuate itself. Even if a modern big man wants to do away with the system, his relatives and the society still strongly support it, hence modern bureaucrats find themselves in the interface between the old and new, where they are expected to give from their income and share with their relatives.

Richard is an academic in his mid-forties. He comments on the attitude of some men in positions of power and how they can use their sexual power over women:

In today's society if we take a couple of examples in an office where I work in, you show power by being able to boss, give order to this person or someone that is under your leadership. They [men] intimidate those who are their subjects, 'You either do this or I sack you' or 'I do not write a favourable report on your performance' as it was reported recently in the education department in Madang, 'You meet me there and then I will give you the position'.

Big men bureaucrats are in a position where they are able to assert their masculinity through their position. They can share with their relatives what the privileges they earn from their work; a car, for example, with which they can transport their relatives and friends. They do not enjoy the privileges of true big men since their influence is less expansive in terms of resources and terrain.

Businessman: Free Market Entrepreneurial Masculinity

The businessman or free market entrepreneur is another construct of colonisation. The men in the colonial era saw European colonials and missionaries have material goods and could accumulate their wealth through business or through becoming Christians (see Brown 1990, Lutkehaus 1990, Finch 1997, Zimmer-Tamakoshi 1997b, Sillitoe 2000, Kempf 2002). Sillitoe points out that the first PNG business leaders became successful entrepreneurs through their association with Europeans, having gone to school or having worked with Europeans and learned about commercial society as it filtered into traditional societies (Sillitoe 2000:95). Three examples of this transition are

available. The first is Finch's account of Noya, the first indigenous businessman to own coffee plantations in the Kainantu area of the Eastern Highlands (Finch 1997) and Zimmer-Tamakoshi's (1997a) story of Ruge Angiva – the last big man to bring development through entrepreneurship to his people in the Bundi area of the highlands of Madang. Thirdly, Lutkhaus (1990) discusses Irakau, a coastal man who went to work in the plantations in Rabaul and learned his entrepreneurial skills and subsequently became a successful businessman in Manam Island. These men made the transition from being ordinary village men and become big men. These entrepreneurs were able to generate wealth and share it with relatives and associates. Finch, Zimmer-Tamakoshi and Lutkehaus' accounts highlight that any ordinary man can become a big man through hard work and good management of people around him and his resource base.

Some businessmen who become politicians have benefited from their business careers to have the financial resources to fund their campaigns and '...even bolster their standing with their supporters' (Sillitoe 2000:223, see also Dorney 1990, Rynkiewich 2000).

Vincent is an academic in his mid-forties who suggests that big men have the fundamental ability to generate wealth - and share it. Sharing his personal wealth is a way to gain status and respect:

The aspect of status, which for me, also intermingles with the issue of the concept of power, legitimate power and all of that. One has to fundamentally generate a sense of authority and a sense of respect, you have to win the respect of people and that has to be shown. You

don't necessarily inherit whatever it is you want to have. Somebody, a man who holds a significant place in society, really earned it. There are a good number of ways in which one can earn respect. One is your ability to generate wealth and distribute, essentially, your ability to generate wealth and share. These are very fundamental. A man who holds things and hordes things without sharing is one that is not well regarded in my society. So you really have to have that ability.

Businessmen, like politicians, are sympathetic to the traditional regime of gift giving and receiving, and sometimes find themselves involved in bribery and corruption. Sillitoe (2000) observes that '...bribery is not an accepted part of the social fabric, but gift giving is, and the way in which some corrupt activities divert resources into kin networks and local communities resonates with exchange behaviour' (Sillitoe 2000:224). The traditional big men's act of gift giving and loyalty to kith and kin as was done in the traditional societies, has been transposed into the modern institutions of politics and business. Instead of using pigs and shell money and other traditional ornaments of value, modern big men use money to continue to give and keep their loyalty to their people who in return reciprocate in their loyalty and support.

For some, politics is seen as step to earning money in order to invest it in business and businessmen can have enough money to fund their political career and gain from politics to bolster their business. Entrepreneurs who are not involved in politics have a lot of power because they have the money to give to relatives when they make contributions to village events such as brideprice payments and mortuary feasts. Some businessmen do have a second or their wife and their polygamous relations is not a secret to the community. This affirms

their exercise of masculinity and this practice is strengthened today by the use of money.

***Wokman* Masculinity**

The fourth masculine typology to be discussed is *Wokman* masculinity. The character of being hardworking and productive in order to provide for the family and to have resources that would enable a man to contribute to village and tribal events mentioned earlier are key attributes of the *wokman*. In his contributions, he is considered as a *man tru*. Colonisation brought a new concept of work where one was compensated with money which in turn generated a different attitude to work: the higher the education and training, the higher the monetary reward for work, the higher status enjoyed by the worker. This is the new understanding of work and one where modern work gets higher value whilst traditional work is less valued since no monetary value is attached. Current aspirations to be modern and not a ‘bush kanaka’ are strong.⁷⁹

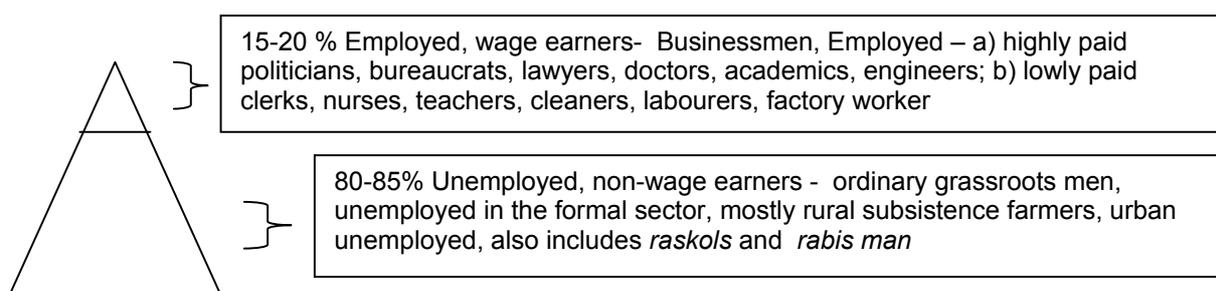
In the modern urban society, a man expresses his hardworking characteristics not in gardening, fishing, hunting or building a house for the family, but in employment in the workforce and in order to be employed, one has to do well in his studies and learn workplace skills. A reward for a position in the workforce is remuneration which facilitates a lifestyle of relative affluence. Yet affluence can only be exhibited in material accumulation and not necessarily in attitudinal or

⁷⁹ *Bush kanaka* – is a Pidgin derogatory word meaning which is equivalent to a savage, uncivilized person or what Gewertz and Errington (1999) call “bushy”.

behavioural change. Traditionally, a man should show strength, fearlessness, and be able to give, care, and share. But giving, and caring and sharing are becoming less important with the shift to individualism and consumerism. As a consequence, men search to find other ways in which to maintain their masculine identity; one of these is to belong to the emerging elite class (Gewertz and Errington 1999).

There are two major classifications of men in the society today. About 20 percent of the total population of PNG is employed and 80 percent are unemployed in the formal employment sector and leading mostly rural subsistence lives. Men who are employed belong to the 20 percent of population in the formal employment sector, and the unemployed fall in the other category.

Figure 7.1



Source: CIA – The World Fact book (2004)

In the traditional context, there existed some degree of egalitarian workforce where both men and women contributed equally to food production in a subsistence living, which Narakobi (1980) lauds in his book *The Melanesian*

Way. The new expressions of labour produce class and a distinct hierarchy. Material inequality, once almost unheard of in PNG, is reproduced in a class system where there are the unpaid and low paid and the well-paid in the middle class (see Figure 7.1 above, see also see Gewertz and Errington 1999). The top bracket of society includes the highly paid employed such as politicians, engineers, doctors, academics, lawyers, managers and the businessmen (many of whom have been participants in this project). The general employees not in highly paid jobs such as the teachers, nurses, clerks and cleaners fall in the bottom rung of the formally employed 20 percent population. Those who fall in bottom eighty percent of the overall population are the 80 percent of people who are not in the formal employment sector. They are mostly subsistence rural dwellers and the urban settlers. Among these men are the *raskols* and the *rabis man*. So the *wokman* belong in the 20 percent of the employed population and the those who are not *wokman*, fall in the unemployed category.

Strength is not displayed in tribal fights anymore(although it still is in the Highlands), but in the ability to afford alcohol to buy a car, a house or commodities like a mobile phones that earn one prestige. Yet strength can be demonstrated through individual or group fights in drunken brawls. Macintyre's (2001) observations of PNG men and how they expressed their new found affluence in the consumption of beer in mining communities of Misima and Lihir which are both matrilineal societies, is illustrative of this:

...very high accident and injury rates, in violence, impoverishment, family breakdown and constant disturbance of peace in villages....The rise in violent crime on Lihir and other project sites in PNG can in many respects be attributed to the ways that Papua New Guinean men behave when they drunk. The resort to violence in arguments between men was rare before the mining project began and became commonplace during the construction phase in 1995-6 when most young Lihirian men were employed (Macintyre 2001:117).

Macintyre (2003) further confirms the use of modern commodities for the satisfaction of traditional needs in her work on Lihir women's organisations. She describes how these women's projects experienced setbacks because men excluded them from participation in decision-making and men employed in the mine spent money on beer and prestigious goods such as watches, radios, bicycles and clothing and shared money with unemployed male relatives whilst women worked in the domestic gardens (p:126).

The modern expressions of masculinity in employed labour are not only experienced in Lihir, it is a common trend in the other parts of PNG. For instance, Gass (2004) in a letter to the editorials of the Post-Courier, expresses succinctly the new way modern employment of male leadership in displaying the new found affluence:

...we see today the patrilineal-contrive State of Papua New Guinea is dominated by men and has resulted in greed and desperate leadership... Since Independence, we have males at the helm. What have they done? We see males who rule by money, thuggery and animal instincts. Even violent rapists and lawless male criminals manifest the domineering rule of men and the absence of morally upright political role models (Gass 2004).

When men began to be employed in the formal employment sector, they began to break traditional gender work into being employed in 'feminised' jobs such as cooking and cleaning. Modernisation has created this paradigm shift in a *wokman's* employment – they are prepared to engage in 'feminised' work if it gives access to a regular wage and, ultimately, commodities. This therefore, affirms their negotiation of their masculine identity in this modern society.

Grassroots Masculinity

The next typology to be discussed is grassroots masculinity. The grassroots man does not have power in the public sphere as big men, bureaucrats, politicians and the *wokman* do but he has power in the domestic sphere over his wife and children. He is generally poor and struggles to survive in both rural and urban settings. A man in this category expresses his manhood in his marriage and through fathering children – a ubiquitous expression of masculinity shared with all men in all classes and sectors of society.

Grassroots men are aspirational and this is what makes him work hard to provide shelter, food and clothing and medical care for his family, education for his children. In order to do this, money has become a vital part of life and he strives to achieve job security and a steady income. Grassroots men can no longer display his strength and aggression in tribal fights as he might have done thirty years ago but is still required to be strong. Consequently, he demonstrates his strength through control of his wife and children. Emmanuel is a journalist in his

mid-thirties. Here he discusses the power grassroots men exercise over the distribution of resources in the family:

Power, I think fits into the dominating individual which is the man, we are describing. He tends to decide for the family, to where they should go, in terms of voting in elections. The man I think tends to tell the wife and the kids who are able to vote, let's vote for this person. I think at that place, still the man has the power. He can exercise power in distribution of sources like paying the school fee. If he thinks that the daughter is not behaving and so forth he can withdraw the school fees for that kid, even the boy when the boy is misbehaving, I think the power lies with the father in not paying the school fee because the son has been misbehaving and so forth. Extend his power into that as well ----in the household, I think he can extend his power, the man by commanding the children in fetching water. If he is the modern person, wash the car or go to the store and come back.

Similarly, Jeffery, an academic in his early forties, comments on how grassroots men try to maintain their power by using resources such as their interpersonal skills to establish useful relationships. Jeffery points out that these qualities are those of a simple man trying to express his abilities to a man of some status:

In our society, traditionally and also in the modern... it's a traditional application of power that has also shifted to the modern style, but the items or the attributes that are used are quite different. Power in a traditional context is like somebody who's able to do things that other men cannot afford to do, to really have that kind of pride and to become more powerful. In the modern context that I see is that they are not able to do the things they are able to do traditionally but they try to use other means of maintaining their superiority and their building onto their power. In a traditional society, it really means somebody who's got reputation in sorcery, somebody who's a clan leader, or somebody who's got plenty of wives or somebody who's got plenty of pigs or wealth – building up traditional wealth. In the modern case, it's very difficult because not very many men are able to do that. So what they do is they try to use their interpersonal or personal skills to show that they are still powerful by allowing people to come and visit them, sit with them, talk with them, share things with them so they tend to create that reputation in order to maintain their power and pride.

Urban grassroots men sometimes get involved in ethnic violence where the masculine characteristics of strength, fearlessness and aggression are expressed towards the enemies in a confrontation. The involvement of *wantoks* in an ethnic class is a demonstration of loyalty to a *wantok* in trouble.⁸⁰ This is a time when masculine strength is summoned to fight back. In the Highlands, the tribal fights in the provinces can extend to their *wantoks* living in the remote towns and cities in PNG, away from the villages. Sillitoe (2000) points out that today's urban population come from dissimilar regions and cultural backgrounds that are predictably the source of considerable tension and this can flare up into violence. 'Aggressive confrontations between different ethnic groups, so-called tribal fighting, are common in urban areas' (Sillitoe 2000:176). For instance, Ward (2000) writes that the young Eastern Highlands men of Kambiangui and Foindopo in Port Moresby settlements meet to discuss how they could assist their 'brothers' in the Eastern Highlands (Ward 2000). This shows a strong loyalty and connection between members of a tribe and village where the tribal fights in the remote Highland villages become an issue for relatives living in far off towns and the payback fights and killings of the warring tribes could be done to anyone member of the enemy tribe. So grassroots men do exercise their hyper-masculinity (see Connell 2000) when circumstances call for it, and this

⁸⁰ *Wantok* is the Pidgin word literally meaning 'one who speaks the same language as oneself and shares the same cultural heritage. It is properly understood to refer to those with whom one interacts frequently and eat together ... *wantok* come from the "same place," a reference to their having a common village, province or (occasionally region or origin. The farther one is from home, the wider the spatial referent (Levine and Levine 1979:71 cited in Sillitoe 2000:170).

also becomes on way of expressing their masculine character of aggression in the modern society.

Evidence that modern ways to construct masculine identities are being explored include the fact that gender –related taboos are breaking down. In the case of prostitution, for example, whereas traditionally it was discussed purely in terms of the female sex workers, public conversations about the sex trade now also include consideration of the men who seek to pay for sex. Wardlow's (2004) study of the Huli women in the Southern Highlands province argues that women become prostitutes as a form of protest against their male relatives. But about the men, she writes:

Modern masculinity...is associated with insouciance about gender-related taboos, obtaining knowledge through school and urban experience, cultivating a conquest orientation toward women, and displaying a certain degree of autonomy and transcendence of identity. Paying women for sex is a means for men to assert their modern masculinity: it shows that they worry little about women's bodily substances and that they can gain access to women without enmeshing themselves in the heavy web of kinship obligations entailed in marriage. (Wardlow 2004:1029).

In other words, even grassroots masculinity is adapting to change brought about by modernisation, where men's sexual practices are changing because of education, travel and the information explosion through the media. In the case of rape, there is an exercise of male sexual prowess to overpower a woman in an incidence of forced sex.

***Raskol* Masculinity**

The term *raskol* was first applied to juvenile offenders in the mid-1960s, with crimes mostly associated with alcohol abuse where young men drank beer as a rite of passage to becoming officially modernised. It was a distinctly male phenomenon although some females were also involved in *raskol* gangs (Dinnen 2001:55-56). The *raskols*, at this time, were involved in petty thefts, often without the aggression and violence seen today (see Dinnen 2000, 2001). These crimes arguably resulted from both poverty and the need to share resources with others. The former was a condition of living in urban areas away from their village resources, and the latter arose from retaining the social patterns originating from rural village life but unsustainable in cities (Dinnen 2001:59).

The sophistication and violence associated with *raskol* activities had increased by the mid-1980s (Dorney: 305.) and today there is an almost uninhibited use of guns and violence, arguably in imitation of robberies in movies and characters such as 'Rambo'. As Macintyre argues

The taste of violence as an exciting activity is constantly fostered in Papua New Guinea, with videos and TV shows that depict and glorify violence being the most popular form of entertainment. It is not just the raskols who long to be 'Rambos'...Violence is glamorous masculinity in Melanesia (Macintyre 2000:35)

The glamorisation of masculine violence in *raskol* activities is increased through the use of guns which have replaced the use of bows, arrows and spears of the past.

The *raskol*, according to Dinnen (2000), is a man displaying all the characteristics of traditional masculinity, but it is with modern weaponry which makes their behaviour deadly. This weaponry is obtained through robbery, and is used in murder and more general gang warfare. *Raskolism* is a product of modernisation in the sense that those who are insufficiently educated and trained for employment attempt to enhance their masculine status through the tried and true method of violence. Sillitoe argues that:

The school system gives individuals unrealistic ambitions, leading them to expect far more than either rural or urban life can offer them. Their disillusionment is thought to have contributed, and among other things, to the alarming rise in raskols (Pidgin for 'rascal' or violent criminals (Sillitoe 2000: 178, see also Dinnen 2000, Sykes 1999 & 2000).

Levantis (1997) goes a step further, arguing that violent crime is a kind of job they do, like any form of employment, because of the lack of opportunities in the formal and informal sectors of the urban economy (Levantis 1997 cited in Dinnen 2001:43). *Rakol* activities, then, bring financial and material benefits just like a formal sector employment, it brings the raskols status and gives them an identity unavailable in the alternative state of unemployment, poverty and socially disadvantage. Thompson and MacWilliam (1992) argue that:

...young people without jobs are being rapidly transformed into an extremely discontented lumpenproletariat, euphemistically identified as 'rascals'...Their alternative for survival is to establish armed lumpenproletariat gangs which roam the urban areas and the Highlands Highway robbing, looting, ransacking and killing'(Thompson and MacWilliam 1992 cited in Dinnen 2001:47).

Rakolism is also caused by urbanization and urban migration where people have no means of earning an income for survival so they resolve to *raskolling* and this

phenomenon ‘...of *raskolism*, as an essentially modern and urban phenomenon’ (Dinnen 2001:49, see also Sillitoe 2000). Thus, *raskolism* was born out of disparities between those who succeed in the modern world and those who have not succeeded and who aspire to have what the successful members of society have. Yet it is a highly gendered activity of young men and one founded on the interface between traditional styles of masculinity and the demands of the new economy.

The *raskols* display all the masculine characteristics of strength, fearlessness, loyalty, giving, caring and sexual power (see Table 7.1), but express these in their *raskolling* activities of burglary, stealing, armed holdups and sharing the spoils with their gang members and relatives; they also murder and rape women and girls. *Raskolism* crucially involves their ability to share goods, and give to others as a good *man tru* is expected to do. Thieving from the rich and sharing with the poor, modern *raskolism* has been likened to the activities of Robin Hood as Marie Reay (1982) remarks:

The leaders choose as their targets stores and houses belonging to persons they judge to be rich. They aim to close the gap between the rich and the poor by robbing the rich and giving to the poor. Gang members recycle the spoils of their robberies among those they think are in need. The grand leader himself provides a model of this Robin Hoodism (Reay 1982 cited in Sillitoe 2001:47).

In so doing, *raskols* are emulating the sharing practiced valued by the other masculine typologies and in doing so, enjoy the loyalty and respect from those they give to. The achievement of this respect is facilitated by violence and Messerschmidt (1993) argues that violence can become a way of asserting their

masculinity in group struggles, and that gang violence is an example of the assertion of marginalized masculinities against other men, and sexual violence against women (Messerschmidt 1993 cited in Connell 1995:83).

Many of the rapes committed by *raskols* are systematic and organized as 'paybacks' in intergang conflicts. The rape of women as payback resonates with traditional Melanesian culture where the rape of women belonging to a traditional rival is a means of establishing a dominant-subordinate gender relation (Dorney 1990:304-305). Other rapes are committed at random and women are often gang-raped – almost as if it is a cult movement to subdue women.

Raskol activities enable them to search for new meaning in their personhood and manhood, lost in urban areas unlike life in their villages which maintained a sense of identity, self-worth and a social structure. The new style of urban living leaves them in state of anonymity and impersonality. Associating with gangsters and participating in their activities redefines their masculinity through exerting power and control over their victims and enhancing their masculinity through rape. In *raskolling*, these young men have changed from being subdued and law-abiding in their traditional societies with traditional systems of controlling errant and deviant masculine behaviour, to indulging in the worst excesses of a feral masculinity with very few, or no inhibitions at all.

The Rabis Man

The *rabis man* completes the masculine typologies. At the opposite end of the masculinity continuum from the big man, he is devoid of almost all the markers of masculinity. Unlike the other typologies explored above, there is a dearth of literature relating to the *rabis man* – it is almost as if he doesn't rate a mention so lacking is he in all the masculine attributes. He also was not discussed by the big men participants in the project.

Each of his characteristics is negative: he is an emasculated man because he is not productive for his family, he is not productive for his tribe, either he does no work to build his resources or he tries and fails, he has no wealth and therefore cannot form alliances through gift exchange with other men to gain status in the community, and he shows no aggression. He therefore has no power to influence other people. This type of man '...occupied the bottom of the political and prestige piles' (Roscoe 2000:110). As an ascribed status, it is not necessarily a permanent one. The rabis man can improve his reputation if he manages to attain and display some or all of the characteristics itemised above. Most particularly, if he can work to attain some wealth, is able to participate in the activities of giving and sharing his wealth with other people and engage in the protective behaviours so admired, he may well be elevated to the level of the grassroots man. On the whole, however, this is a rare achievement since masculinity, as we have seen, is a masculine continuum predicated on

subordination and, by its very nature, it depends on the existence of the dispossessed.

On becoming Comprehensively Patriarchal

Papua New Guinea is adopting a more patriarchal system of governance. The importance and the role of women in matrilineal societies have depreciated since modern institutions were established. Following the gender patterns of the colonisers, men controlled and dominated the apparatus of the state and, historically, have strongly resisted attempts by women to become assimilated into leadership roles. This has, in turn, impacted on traditional matrilineal societies. This change is noted by some participants in this study who are from matrilineal societies and they comment on the decline of women's inclusion in modern institutions of governance.

Richard as seen earlier, is an academic in his mid forties for example, points out that women had prominent positions in traditional societies; they were included in decision-making processes, a practice which is dying out. Furthermore, activities in the past which were dominated by women, are now conducted by male members of the mother's line. Richard talks about this change in his society where his mother's brother has taken over the decision-making role and excluded Richard's mother:

Traditionally, you were able to notice signs that females had some status, some position of power you could describe in that way because women were also involved in decision making. And because today even though it is matrilineal, the decision making role has

shifted to the male in the clan where the brother of my mother as an example. He would be the one to make the decision even though my mother would be the firstborn child in my family which is a little bit different from the past.

The activities that included women have now been taken over by men and this seems to have become a national trend according to the participants of this study. Alex, also from a matrilineal society, is a community worker in his early forties. He attests to the change today where men dominate more and women are left out in their complementary roles to men, as was the practice in his traditional society (see McDowell 1984, Strathern 1984, Barlow 1995). Alex also states that the agency of money and the desire to earn more money has made men take over leadership of activities wherein women also had a place of importance such as in making decisions relating to the land:

In my own opinion, there has been a shift, slight shift so far. Before, when people's culture and tradition was intact, women were really powerful in basically safe guarding the use of the land. But nowadays I think there is a lot of influence from outside and ...money is really driving the people at this stage which makes the male part of the population to take control at times. But we still respect that women are the owners of land. I think women were more powerful before...I think it is slowly breaking away and people are looking to the West and they think that the money is there. Nowadays, I heard that in some parts of PNG because we have foreigners coming in and people want to use the land and the male part of the population takes control regardless of the views of the women.

The value of women and their place in society is perceived as having declined with the influence of urbanisation and modernisation which have contributed to women in contemporary society developing a supporting role to men employed in the modern workforce. Felix attests to this modern trend:

The value for women is lost. The value of women's roles is lost in the city environment or urban setting because of the materialistic attitudes that we have adapted from the west. This is very ironic, you might find this surprising, how come in the traditional setting, women are esteemed? And then when it comes to gaining some kind of status in the western world, it is pretty difficult... How come we say one moment that in the traditional setting, women are very high... The men, so to say, are given all the freedom in the urban setting, to work the way they want to work. So occasionally one comes home drunk and says, 'I'm the boss', the traditional rule is no longer there.

The participants of this study claim that these changes have come through outside influence, particularly from the ideologies of the West. Richard includes missionisation and governance of the country, as well as formal education as influences which have brought change to the way women are perceived and contributed to their new marginalisation in urban contexts:

Because of the influence of different things that have happened since my society's first contact with the outside world. The missionaries could be one thing, due to the coming of the religion, education is another, the government's influence and of course the women began to drift back to the background and the men were coming into the foreground. So you actually see the husbands speaking for their wives, it would be the maternal brother or uncles' position in a clan.

William is a politician in his early forties from a patrilineal society. He affirms that patrilineal societies view women as supports to their husbands in their endeavours to create and maintain power. This custom tends to show how a woman in his society is valuable through her relation to the men in her life and her worth is seen through her contribution to her husband and community:

In the traditional context in our province, it is male dominated and we are a patrilineal society in Madang, whereas in East New Britain some parts of the New Guinea Islands, Bougainville, they are matrilineal, land is passed down through women. In our society, we say that the man owns the land and if he works hard and can lead his clan and he makes things happen, then power runs through him and his wife supports him. The man has the

power and influence and he goes to share his wealth with his wife and children. So the woman is at the side of her husband, but she is not equal with him, in the traditional context. She plays a supportive role in facilitating her husband's influence, to expand his influence to strengthen his tribe and clan or community. The woman is only the helper, to give support to make the male dominance and power greater in the community.

In this tradition of keeping woman's position as an unequal partner in a patrilineal society, William alludes to the fact that tradition is still observed and women in modern times are expected to adhere to this and men still see themselves as superior to women. Paradoxically, it can be argued that this picture is a mirror image of some of the older gender ideologies of the West.

Jerry is an academic in his early fifties. He introduces socialisation as a key factor in gender relations. In this example, Jerry speaks of literature and other sources that justify women's and men's relative inequality incidentally quoting the Bible:

As I said, because of the disadvantaged positions in which the girl child is brought up, I see the way the rational things are and the way men perceive the role of women is to be subservient to the male, and even some of the Christian teachings preach this subservience. Actually, we enforce that. It's interesting we got one of two calls on the 'Talk Back' show when we were talking about girls education 'Posisen blong meri em stap long haus kuk (a woman's position is in the kitchen) and the Bible says that. You know, when people have that view, what do you do? It's just the way we brought them up and the way they think. For one group we limit their chances to reach their potential, and the other group we let them. The boy child would be told, 'the world is yours' And the girl child would be told, 'you're minding the kitchen and looking after that'.

It is clear from this that modern patriarchal society is setting national norms that override the ways that matrilineal societies once viewed women and included

them in active public roles such as land distribution and feasts. As we have seen, big men in the higher echelons who are in a position to re-educate others, and generate cultural change use scripture and custom to justify women's subservience. For example, if William (as a politician) is steeped in his belief that women only have a supportive subservient role in patriarchal society, then he will be in a difficult position to choose between his culture and change. Participants from matrilineal societies attest to change in their societies where men are taking over leadership roles from women, thus making the society newly patriarchal.

CONCLUSION

I began this thesis with an account of my father's refusal to conform to the gendered expectations of the community he lives in, and of his own family. His refusal gave me the opportunity to engage in research itself, and generated my interest in the ways in which traditional and contemporary masculinities interact.

This thesis has presented an account of these interactions, and – perhaps more importantly – offered the perspectives of some of the key decision makers and planners in contemporary Papua New Guinea. It has explored gender relations and shown how senior men in the modern workforce understand gender and how they perceive gender inequity, and to a lesser extent equity. Most specifically, the key research question was “How do contemporary big men conceptualise their own and others' masculinity?” The answers to this question are complex and dependent – as I have shown - on a number of interrelated factors. But for the most part, these men express a strong affiliation to the principle of gender equity. Although they vary in accordance to their level of seniority and the gender order of the society from which they originated, their explicit commitment is ultimately to equality between women and men. This was an unexpected result of this research, and the consistency and strength of the interviewees' overt commitment to gender equity would optimistically indicate a more productive and lucrative future may be possible for women in PNG.

From the first chapter it is argued that the patriarchal system is working to the advantage of the male population, and the disadvantage of the female population. The intricacies of this system have been surveyed using a number of key indicators.

The second chapter mapped out four loose models of patriarchy and the patriarchal system in which masculinity is played out. The chapter explored the Western anthropological studies of societies in PNG which offers a frame of reference for this project. The Western male anthropologists focused on men's rituals and practices in their traditional setting. They mostly show how men's masculinity was articulated by rituals, the roles they played, and their attitudes that confirmed their superiority and their fear of contamination from women. The anthropologists' lack of attention to women (or their blindness towards them) is inherent in their body of work and leaves a significant hole in the field. Although this criticism could also be levelled at this project, its robust focus on men and their perceptions of gender was purposeful since these men a part of an extremely powerful gendered peer group in whose hands the fate of women lies – both directly and indirectly. For anyone interested in gender equity, the perceptions of gender held by those with power in a patriarchy are of key concern.

The third chapter presented the Western conceptual framework of gendered power expressed through the dominant system of patriarchy and masculinity. It

also tried to show that there are many masculinities and these should be placed on a continuum of relativity. The exercise of masculinity becomes complex when the effect of colonisation in PNG creates a new range of masculinities which can be termed 'hybridised' as they meld the institutional structures and patriarchal perspectives of the colonial and the indigenous. Modern Papua New Guinean society, through its history of colonial masculinity and the process of globalisation, has conflated the dynamics of the two forces in a modern, yet traditional way.

Chapters five, six, seven, and eight contain the body of findings which explore in detail the practices and emblems of masculinity, the ways in which social change is occurring and the participants' participation in this change and their beliefs about its value. The thesis concludes with a description of a series (or continuum) of masculinities and accounts for their origins and development in the context of modernisation and globalisation.

My research topic is the open, exploratory question 'How do contemporary big men conceptualise their own and others' masculinity?' A concise answer is that, on the whole, they tend to be critical towards those who manifest and enjoy the trappings of modern prestige and wealth (whilst implicitly rebuffing the idea that they do themselves) and appear to be nostalgic for a past where the conventions of masculinity were more structured than today. They almost unanimously express a desire for gender equity, and argue that they make a contribution to its development, yet their practices and clear belief in the 'essential' qualities of

females makes this unlikely as it is precisely these qualities which bar women from full and equal participation in the modern workplace. It is also significant that two of the forty participants were convicted of violence against women – one of the rape of a minor and one of shooting his wife – soon after the data collection were completed.

There are a number of implications arising from this project:

- To what extent are the explicit and positive commitments to gender equity made by the interviewees a response to government policy?
- Is there any detectable trend towards institutionalised programs designed to produce gender equity? If there are, how effective are they?
- What are the specific inhibitors for women's participation in the public service? If there are, how might these be approached precisely?
- What, if any, tangible results emerge from The National Gender Equity Policy for education (launched in 2003)?

Finally, I hope that my work will make some contribution to the understandings of gender relations in contemporary Papua New Guinea and that the transitions in masculinity will continue so that women will eventually work beside their male peers as equals and also enjoy the benefits of such a position.

APPENDIX 1

Table showing Pseudonyms and Sociodemographic Characteristics of the Sample

No	Pseudonym	Age	Marital Status	Region, Province	Lineage	Education	Profession
1	Martin	40s	Married	Islands NIP	Matrilineal	University, MA in UK	Education officer
2	Allan	60s	Married	Southern, Oro	Patrilineal		Politician Bureaucrat
3	Jim	40s	Married	Northern ESP	Patrilineal	University, PhD, overseas	Academic
4	Vincent	40s	Religious, Brother (RC)	Islands, NIP	Matrilineal	University, PhD, overseas, USA	Academic
5	Bill	40s	Married	Highlands WHP	Patrilineal	University, Diploma, Overseas, NZ	Bureaucrat, Dept. Secretary
6	Mark	50s	Married	Islands, WNB	Matrilineal	University, Paramedical field, Overseas, Aust.	Academic, Paramedical officer
7	Tim	30s	Married	Northern Madang	Patrilineal	University, UNITECH, PNG	Mechanical engineer
8	Edward	50s	Married	Islands Manus	Patrilineal	University, UNITECH, Overseas, Aust. PhD.	Engineer, researcher
9	Simon	50s	Married	Islands Manus	Patrilineal	University, PhD Overseas, Aust. Uni.	Academic Writer

No	Pseudonym	Age	Marital Status	Region, Province	Lineage	Education	Profession
10	Linus	50s	Married	Northern WSP	Patrilineal	Military training, Overseas, NZ	Politician, Governor
11	Max	30s	Married	Northern ESP	Patrilineal	Journalism University, UPNG	Journalist, academic
12	Noel	60s	Married	Southern Central	Patrilineal		Bureaucrat, administrator
13	Joel	30s	Married	Islands ENB	Matrilineal	University, PhD, Overseas, USA	Academic
14	Harry	50s	Married	Northern WSP	Patrilineal	University, Law, Overseas, Australia.	Lawyer, Draftsman
15	William	40s	Married	Northern Madang	Patrilineal	Agricultural college,	Agriculturist, Politician
16	Michael	40s	Married	Northern WSP	Patrilineal	University Medicine	Medical doctor
17	Alex	40s	Married	Islands NSP	Matrilineal	Educated	NGO, community development worker
18	Bob	40s	Divorced	Southern Central	Patrilineal	Educated	Bureaucrat, Dept. Secretary
19	Oscar	50s	Married	Northern Morobe	Patrilineal	Educated	Bureaucrat, Dept. Secretary
20	Robert	40s	Married	Highlands WHP	Patrilineal	University PhD, Overseas, Aust.	Academic
21	Emmanuel	30s	Single	Highlands SHP	Patrilineal	University, Journalism	Journalist Academic

No	Pseudonym	Age	Marital Status	Region, Province	Lineage	Education	Profession
22	Theo	40s	Married	Northern/ Madang	Patrilineal	University, Library studies Overseas, Aust.	Librarian
23	Victor	50s	Married	Southern Central	Patrilineal	University, Overseas, Aust.	Bureaucrat politician
24	Rex	50s	Married	Highlands WHP	Patrilineal	University, Medicine	Medical doctor, Bureaucrat. Dept. Secretary
25	Luke	50s	Married	Southern Central	Patrilineal	University Education PhD. Overseas, Aust.	Education Planning & monitoring Bureaucrat
26	Nathan	40s	Married	Northern Madang	Patrilineal	University Journalism BA	Journalist Academic
27	Owen	40s	Married	Northern WSP	Patrilineal	University Forestry	Forester Politician
28	Richard	40s	Married	Islands NIP	Matrilineal	University Education, MA. Overseas, Aust.	Academic,
29	Chris	30s	Married	Islands ENB	Matrilineal	University, Engineering	Engineer, Politician
30	Pius	50s	Married	Southern Central	Patrilineal	Military training, Overseas	Naval Officer, Commander – Defense Force. Bureaucrat, Dept. Secretary
31	Danny	40s		Southern Milne Bay	Matrilineal	University, Political Science, PhD. Overseas	Political scientist, Academic

No	Pseudonym	Age	Marital Status	Region, province	Lineage	Education	Profession
32	Felix	50s	Widowed	Southern Milne Bay	Matrilineal	University, Literature Overseas, USA	Writer, poet, Academic
33	Fidelis	50s	Married	Northern Morobe	Patrilineal	Police college	Police Officer, Bureaucrat
34	Gerard	30s	Married	Northern ESP	Patrilineal	University PhD. Overseas, NZ, USA	Writer, poet Academic
35	Jerry	50s	Married	Highlands WHP	Patrilineal	University, Education PhD. Overseas	Academic
36	Jeffery	40s	Married	Northern Madang	Patrilineal	College	academic
37	Cornelius	40s	Married	Northern ESP	Patrilineal	University	Bureaucrat Dept. Secretary
38	Lawrence	50s	Married	Islands Manus	Matrilineal	Educated Administration	Administrator bureaucrat
39	Casper	30s	Married	Northern Madang	Patrilineal	College	Community development officer,
40	Matthew	40s	Married	Highlands EHP	Patrilineal	College Forestry	Forester NGO officer Environmentalist

APPENDIX 2 Ethics Approval

Victoria University of Technology

H2074 FOA 0017/02

St Albans Campus

(F)



Memorandum



REF: ETH0333

TO: Dr Katie Hughes
Ms Jeannie Rea
Dept of Communication, Language & Cultural Studies

FROM: A/Professor Ross Williams
Chair, Faculty of Arts
Human Research Ethics Committee

DATE: 3 September 2002

SUBJECT: ***HRETH.FOA.0017/02 involving human subjects***

The Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee noted that as per its memo dated 14 August 2002 a copy of the outline of the interview questions has been provided and sighted by the Chair for project:

Tamot: Masculinity, Development and Change in Papua New Guinea

It was resolved to approve application HRETH.FOA.0017/02 from 1 April 2003 to 1 April 2005.


per **A/Professor Ross Williams**

APPENDIX 3

Copy of letter of invitation to research participants.

Dear

My name is Anastasia Sai. I am from Madang province, currently, a PhD student at Victoria University, Melbourne in Australia. My field of study is in *Gender Studies*. My studies require me to complete a research project and therefore I have chosen a project that requires interviews.

The purpose of this letter is to ask you to please consider the possibility of allowing me to conduct an interview with you on the topic: **Tamot: Masculinity, Development and Change in Papua New Guinea.**

I have chosen this topic mainly to study men, women and development issues in contemporary Papua New Guinea and how these practices affect participation of women in decision-making and development processes in the society. This project will help people in policy and decision-making in politics, academia; in both government and private sector and those in development projects to have more understanding on gender issues of masculinity and patriarchy. Understanding these issues will help people in positions of power to make necessary changes in policies that will promote equal participation of women and men in development processes for a better PNG. It will also help both women and men to understand the dynamics of masculinity and patriarchy and to tap into the positive aspects of these issues while together we try to eliminate what forms that are hindrances to equal participation and sustainable development and change in PNG.

I have especially chosen you Mr/Sir/Dr., among 40 educated, employed men in positions of power in politics, public service, private sector, academia, and NGOs. If you agree to let me interview you, I will use the following procedure:

- ◆ I will have a face-to-face interview with you
- ◆ I will ask you a few questions on your views about the PNG male identity and attitude.
- ◆ You will answer
- ◆ I will use a mini tape recorder to record the interview
- ◆ The interview will be no more than one hour long.
- ◆ I will later analyse the interviews, but I will not include your name in the final writing of the project.

I assure you that your anonymity will be strictly observed. I hope you will accept my request and will find time to let me conduct an interview with you at a later date between 1st April and 30th June 2003.

For further questions, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor Dr Katie Hughes at this address: Dept. Communication, Language and Cultural Studies, Faculty of Arts, Victoria University, MCMC Melbourne, Victoria 8001, Australia. Phone: 61-3- 9365 2305 (work), Fax: 61-3-9365 2242, E-mail: Katie.Hughes@vu.edu.au

If you agree to be a part of this project, please fill in the consent form enclosed with this letter. If in the course of the project you wish to withdraw, you may do so. Thank you kindly and I look forward to meeting you for the project.

Yours sincerely

Anastasia Sai
Research Student
E-mail: anastasia.sai@research.vu.edu.au

APPENDIX 4

Consent Form for Participation

Victoria University

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS:

We would like to invite you to be a part of a study into the presence and practice of masculinity and patriarchy in Papua New Guinea and how these practices affect participation of women in decision-making and development processes in the society. The aim of this project is to identify, name and confront issues of patriarchy and masculinity as practised in our contemporary society. Confronting these issues will help people in positions of power to make changes in policies that will promote equal participation of women and men in development processes for a better PNG.

CERTIFICATION BY PARTICIPANT

I, of (institution)

....., Papua New Guinea, certify that I am at least 18 years old and that I am voluntarily giving my consent to participate in the project entitled: **Tamot: Masculinity, Development and Change in Papua New Guinea** being conducted at Victoria University by Ms Anastasia Sai.

I certify that the objectives of the project, together with any risks to me associated with the procedures listed hereunder to be carried out in the interview project, have been fully explained to me by: Ms Sai and that I freely consent to participation involving the use on me of these procedures.

Procedures:

- In-depth face-to-face interview
 - The interviews will be one hour long, not more
 - All interviews will be recorded on one hour-long audio tapes
 - A mini-tape recorder will be used in an unobtrusive manner with the knowledge of the interviewee
 - No names will be used in the analysis of the interviews with all due respect of concealing identities of interviewees

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I understand that I can withdraw from this survey at any time and that this withdrawal will not jeopardise me in any way.

I have been informed that the information I provide will be kept confidential.

Signed: Date:

Witness other than the interviewer: Date:
Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the researcher (Name: Ms Anastasia Sai, in Melbourne, Australia: ph: 61-3-9688 4309 (work) or 61-3-9318 4653 (home) or e-mails: anastasia.sai@research.vu.edu.au) or PNG: Divine Word University, Madang: (ph: 852 2937 or e-mail: Asai@dwu.ac.pg). If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Secretary, University Human Research Ethics Committee, Victoria University of Technology, PO Box 14428 MC, Melbourne, 8001 (telephone no: 61-3-9688 4710).

APPENDIX 5

Interview Guide

Background Demographics

1. Mr/Sir, can you tell me something about yourself, where you were born and where you grew up?
2. Do you have brothers and sister?
3. Can you tell a little bit about how you were raised by your parents?
4. Was your father considered to be a big man or chief? Can you explain how he became a big man/chief? Who is to inherit his title or position?
5. Is your society matrilineal or patrilineal?
6. Is that where you went to school?
7. Now can you say something about your education; the high school and college or university education you received?
8. Would you briefly describe what your job now involves?

The PNG Male Image

1. What makes a PNG man a 'real ' man (*man tru*)?
2. What makes a PNG man a 'big-man'?
3. Can you say that the leaders today practise the traditional style of big man and leadership? How do you think this is shown?

The PNG Male Attitudes towards Women in Society

1. Can you briefly tell something about the value of women in PNG?
2. Have you ever worked with, or known someone who has worked with a woman as a leader. How did you/they feel about this?
3. Why do you think we have so few women politicians?
4. What do you think is stopping women from taking up decision-making and executive positions?

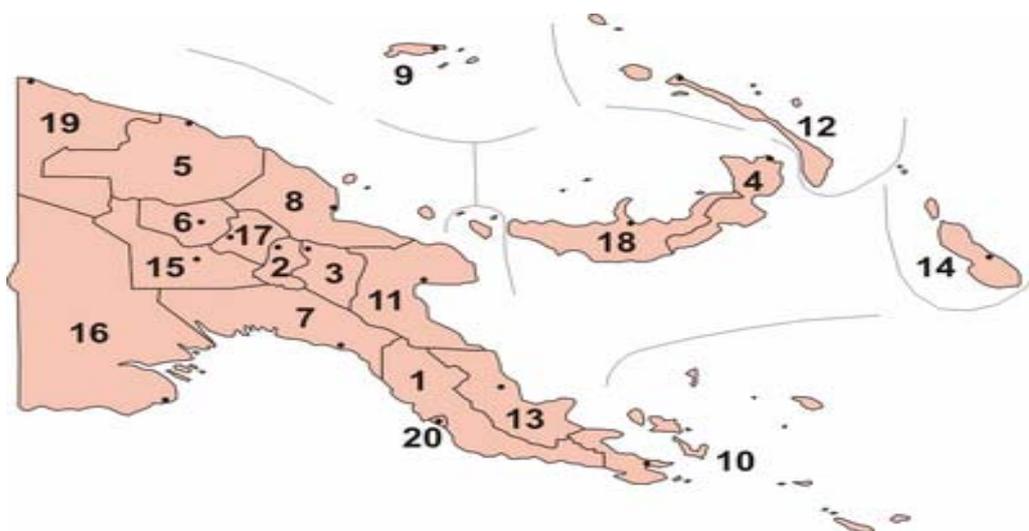
5. If you had twins; a girl and a boy. You were poor and could only afford to send one child to school. Which of the twins would you send? Why?
6. Media abroad have an image that women in PNG experience a lot of violence. Do you agree that there is a lot of violence done to women?

The PNG Male Attitudes to Change and Development

1. Our National Constitution says that there be 'equal participation of men and women in national development'. Can you say that this goal has been achieved?
2. What do you see as barriers that are stopping women's involvement in development activities?
3. What would you do to encourage equal participation in PNG?

APPENDIX 6

Map: Provinces of Papua New Guinea and Descent Groups.
(See key below).



Key to the Map of PNG

No.	Province	Abbreviation (if any)	Capital	Predominant Descent Group
1	Central		Port Moresby	Patrilineal
2	Simbu (Chimbu)		Kundiawa	Patrilineal
3	Eastern Highlands	EHP	Goroka	Patrilineal
4	East New Britain	ENB	Kokopo	Matrilineal
5	East Sepik	ESP	Wewak	Patrilineal
6	Enga		Wabag	Patrilineal
7	Gulf		Kerema	Patrilineal
8	Madang		Madang	Patrilineal
9	Manus		Lorengau	Patrilineal
10	Milne Bay		Alotau	Matrilineal
11	Morobe		Lae	Patrilineal
12	New Ireland	NIP	Kavieng	Matrilineal
13	Oro (Northern)		Popondetta	Patrilineal
14	North Solomons (Bougainville)	NSP	Arawa	Matrilineal
15	Southern Highlands	SHP	Mendi	Patrilineal
16	Western (Fly)		Daru	Patrilineal
17	Western Highlands	WHP	Mt. Hagen	Patrilineal
18	West New Britain	WNB	Kimbe	Matrilineal
19	Sandaun (West Sepik)		Vanimo	Patrilineal
20	National Capital District	NCD	Port Moresby	a) Patrilineal (Papuan People) b) Mixed from both descent groups.

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Abbreviations

EHP	Eastern Highlands Province
ENB	East New Britain Province
ESP	East Sepik Province
NIP	New Ireland Province
NSP	North Solomons Province
PNG	Papua New Guinea
NSO	Papua New Guinea National Statistics Office
SHP	Southern Highlands Province
UNITECH	University of Technology
UPNG	University of Papua New Guinea
WHP	Western Highlands Province
WNB	West New Britain Province
WSP	West Sepik Province