

Literature Review

‘The other side of the Track’

A Gender Snapshot of the Kokoda Initiative

A review of Women and gender in published oral history, church, colonial and war history of the Orokaiva and Mountain Koiari and economic and social development reviews and reports from the area of the Kokoda Initiative implementation.

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Introduction

This review brings a gender lens to all available and relevant literature covering culture, cross-culture issues, history, politics, local economics and governance. It sources summary historical material, relevant anthropological / gender studies of the Kokoda area, published and unpublished consultant and project reports.

It reviews social and economic development reports for the participating provinces and districts; updates on social and economic agencies and services.

The Kokoda Track is very special part of Papua New Guinea. It is best known for being the site of 1942 World War 2 battles fought between the advancing Imperial Japanese Army and the Australian volunteers and its soldiers, who were defending Australian territorial integrity and sovereignty.

The Kokoda Track history and the changing and evolving culture of its people offer us a window on the radical transformations in the lives of ordinary Papua New Guineans over the past 130 years.

The oral history work of Orokaiva academics and historians: John Waiko and McLaren Hiari, explain best the traditional Orokaiva society and the dramatic impact of colonialism and the Second World War.

Late nineteenth century, the Anglican Church in Papua was founded at the northern, Orokaiva end of the Kokoda Track. Early twentieth century, the Seventh Day Adventists arrived in PNG, relatively 'late' compared to the other Christian missions. With the Papuan region already mapped out by the colonial government into clearly demarcated spheres of influence of the different Christian missions, the Adventists had little option but to move and settle north to the hinterland of Moresby, at the foot of the Owen Stanley Ranges.

Under the watchful eye of the Sir Hubert Murray, Governor of Papua, the Adventists slowly and surely converted the Mountain Koiari populations along the greater part of the Track, changing many fundamental aspects of local life and culture.

South Sea Islander Missionaries were critical human resources available to the churches and they too had significant influence on social and cultural change. Detailed accounts are available in the Adventist archives online.

At the Northern end the Anglican Church made progress across the whole of Popondetta, with a substantial following and an impressive cathedral in place by the time the Japanese invaded in 1941. Indigenous Papuan conscripts and carriers, many from Orokaiva, aided Australian soldiers throughout. The Pacifist local Adventists refused to fight, but were already deeply Christian and provided soothing solace and ministry to Australian soldiers with their hymns, prayers and humane caring over the injured, ill and dying.

Indigenous women and children, more than half the population are neither visible nor heard in most existing literature on Kokoda war history. Most accounts of the war on Kokoda are Australian and male, thus bringing a specific lens that does not enable us to understand indigenous perceptions and experiences. Women are hardly mentioned.

The colonial records and the work of Government anthropologists, in particular FE Williams, recount the ways in which work of government and church combined in a radical process of Christian conversion, pacification and 'civilisation'. This was also briefly interrupted by the war.

The Track remained important in Australian war history, but was inadequately documented in PNG oral history. We have no insight into the cultural meanings of WW2 in indigenous society, nor do we know the different ways men, women and children were impacted. WW2 is a slice of Kokoda history;

nevertheless it is registered in the history of the Pacific as having changed the impacted people and places forever.

Post-war the Adventist and Anglican churches returned to the Kokoda Track region and quickly resumed their contributions to health, education and agriculture, while becoming more closely integrated with the post war colonial administration and governance effort. The church took great initiative in changing and improving food and cash cropping, and promoting agricultural cooperatives. While the government, enforced head taxes, conscripted male (adult and youthful male) labour and subsidized plantations (including those offered to Australian soldier settlers).

Private planters recruited indentured labour into many other parts of PNG. Male migration increased and marriage patterns changed. On the Oro side smallholder cash cropping took many forms and with the advent of oil palm, the most successful of all commodities encouraged, changed land tenure and labour patterns forever. (Newton, Sullivan et al)

Both the Kokoda end and the Sogeri end of the track were renown in the 1960s to 1980s as vibrant centres of education, local economic development and change. Both centres had thriving schools, markets and were frequently visited and patronised by the expatriate community of Port Moresby. The Sogeri National High School in particular, made its mark in promoting traditional and modern art and culture. These were proudly made available to the public through popular public events and publications.

Kokoda township made PNG history, by leading in demonstrating the value of girl's education and their leadership potential in modern nation-building, as well as the importance of rural women's organisations as vectors of informal education, organisation and action independent of the traditional division of labour. Sogeri and Kokoda centres were flourishing in the 1960s but declined in the 1990s.

The Kokoda Track Authority and later, the Kokoda Initiative, which embraced it, brought new resources and opportunities to the people on the Track. The critical importance of The Kokoda Track region in the water and power supplies for the capital, and the political imperative to preserve the regions' rich historical, cultural, natural heritage and very specific military and nationalist significance for Australia in WW2 creates an opportunity to build and revitalize local culture and economy.

A set of development activities spanning the health, education, economic, tourism, culture and environment sectors have been supported under the first and second Joint Understandings (JU1 & JU2) of the Australian and PNG governments for the implementation of the Kokoda Initiative.

This literature review is intended to offer a gender perspective to inform the evaluations and future planning of the Kokoda Initiative, particularly for the proposed Joint Understanding 3 (JU3). Together, these documents offer a gender lens on the past and potential future Kokoda Initiative. The literature review is a companion document to the a Gender Snapshot report on the Kokoda Initiative, which includes a detailed summary of the PNG and Australian gender Equality Policy, legal and project planning frameworks. It is intended to inform and shape a more gender equitable, inclusive and sustainable Joint Understanding 3 (JU3) for the Kokoda Initiative.

Women in the wings: Perceptions of gender and representations of women in Mountain Koiari and Orokaiva history, culture and change

Generally, in published accounts of the war in Kokoda - as in the accounts of the missionaries and administrators who had settled in or visited the area up to 60 years before them - local women are

virtually 'invisible', hidden from history. They are perceived and portrayed as background players in both traditional society and in the wartime effort.

Pacific Historian, Hank Nelson notes '*there are few topics in Pacific history better covered than Kokoda in 1942*'. (Nelson: 2008) Wartime cinematography by Damien Parer and others (1942) added much to the understanding of the cooperation and hardships borne by Australian soldiers and their 'native carriers' and 'conscripts' during the Kokoda campaign.

Soldiers' recorded memories are set against their 'special relationship of 'dependence on local (male) carriers and the carriers' generous response' to their needs. War literature and visual documentaries, acknowledge and appreciate the male 'Angels of War', but indicate little contact or communication with Papuan or New Guinea women who lived in the area. This contrasts somewhat with the orally recounted memories of women from the Sogeri area lived through the war. They recall with sombre respect, hiding in caves and exchanging fresh food with soldiers for their rations. (Mary Muru 2014, personal communication)

Nelson quotes Kingsmill, (Nelson, 2008: 246-7) to illustrate how women, on very few occasions were made visible, but were considered incidental. Nelson notes it is a 'superficial understanding and more than a hint of condescension' towards half of the 'host community'.

Never alone: Always with her husband, the 'Mary' would be sighted as a curiosity worth noting, walking along the side of the road as our trucks roared past ...The man went several paces ahead, carrying his spear, and perhaps a small child, or with a child, at his heels, with the family dog. The woman walked behind her man: small, meek and heavy-laden. She looked more like a child than a wife. Suspended from a strap across her forehead was a large woven bag... balanced on her shoulders.

I never got close enough to do more than wave and they would invariably wave back ... though they probably had only the vaguest idea of what we were all doing there ... I never once saw an unfriendly face among them, rather it was a matter of childlike friendliness or giggling shyness or a long frowning stare of incomprehension. (Kingsmill 1994 p.60)

1 Culture/ Anthropology

1.1 Gender/ Gender relations

1.1.2 The 'Insider' on gender, culture and change

Over the past 55 years several academic scholars (1960-present) have studied Orokaiva and Mountain Koiari societies. (Schwimmer 1970, 1991, Newton 1982, 1983, 1985, 1989, Bashkow, 2006) Earlier studies of the culture of the region of the Kokoda track were written by expatriate 'government anthropologists' employed to help administrators to understand, in order to govern 'colonial subjects' - to 'pacify and civilize (early 20th century up to the 1950s).

The accounts by missionaries who came with an agenda to 'Christianise' and 'civilise' also offer some insights. Too few locally authored perspectives on Orokaivan or Koiari culture and history are available. The published autobiography of Lucian Vevehupa, written in Orokaivan language,¹ is a rare gem, providing a 'comprehensive, coherent vision of his world' with an emphasis on the life and customs of his ancestors that 'made him who he was' Lucien's story contains much that he would have learnt through oral traditions as well as what he witnessed first hand in the remote communities that he served and the populations that he converted to Christianity.

¹ translated by Andre Iteanu his 'cross cousin', French anthropologist with the Orokaiva people over more than 30 years.

Lucien's account offers us an analysis of lives, values and behaviours changed over the past 60 years and poses critical questions about the way forward in a new world of cash-based economy and Christian values and norms that bring new meanings and challenges to traditional gender and social relations.

Vevehupa's autobiography, makes brief mention of the impact of WW2 (on babies, mothers) then details post war church-influenced life as a student, a local evangelist/teacher/ missionary, a priest, a politician (8 years) and finally his reflections as a re-settled village-based promoter of culture and a splinter movement of the Anglican church. (Vevehupa, 2013) He notes 'Christianisation' lifted people out of lives of fear of retributive raids and sorcery, yet put an end to much that was normative and good, and gave purpose and meaning in traditional society.

He recounts the centrality of ritual and rites of passage, the importance of regularly communing with the 'supportive' spirits of dead family members and ancestors, who appeared to living people in the guise of pigs or birds²; the importance and protocols of gift-giving feasts (including gifting friends and feeding ancestors.) He details the separate and different processes of male and female initiation, which required extended periods of seclusion and deprivation for initiation and education into gendered customary roles, rules and prohibitions.

He details the seclusion and mourning custom for widows, the possibility of re-marriage or the responsibility of in-laws assuming care.

He explains: cooperation made for a happy marriage, while too much neglect, verbal or physical violence by husband against wife led to disinterest, disharmony, desperation and even suicide, by hanging ('because they are hurt and deadly sadness') while stressing that concern for the welfare of children might bring women back from the brink - only to live with 'pain and sadness all the time'.

He writes of suicide by young girls prevented by parents to marry the partner of their choice. He explains the meaning and payment of brideprice, and how it affects relationships with in-laws and their link/control over grandchildren. He explains a husband's obligations to in-laws, which are linked to brideprice payment - whereby the husband would assist them clearing land and gardening, building a house and readily assist mother-in-law with cooking.

The power of a sorcerer (a poison potion, their weapon) is illustrated through a case where a betrayed husband commissions one such magic man, to instill enough fear in the wife for her to betray her lover to his fatal curse.

He details men's hunting expeditions and the multiple ways of killing pigs and the reliability of spirits in presenting the hunter prey.

He describes wealth in the form of domesticated pigs and family jewels (elaborate costumes made from hornbill beaks and feathers and dog's teeth) traditional make up, tapa, tattoo, dancing and the joys of gift-giving feasting,³ He explains the friendship among men from neighboring tribes.

² in later life, Vevehapu noted that his people's prayers to a (foreign) Christian God were never answered in the same sure and swift way that the invoked spirits of one's dead family came to the aid of hunters or the sick.

³ Iteanu notes that Vevehapu was very talented in traditional singing performance

Pre-war first contact brought white men negotiating with salt, tin meat, gradually introducing clean white bed sheets and belts, (symbols of a new regime of hygiene) and discouraging warring and cannibalism.

Vevehupa's own story begins at his birth in 1941, 3 weeks before the Japanese landed at Gona. During the initial chaos, he was temporarily abandoned, left hanging in a bilum in a tree. Several days later he was saved, and raised with his family and community who had to flee and were living in a swamp area for the duration of the war. By 1951 he was in school during which he experienced the eruption of Mt Lamington. (6000 people were killed by this disaster.)

He went on to become a mission teacher in several remote Oro villages, mastering totally different languages to his own and translating the bible in his own village vernacular. His affection for and appreciation of his wife is evident and he acknowledges her important role as they lived through a succession of life changing incidents, decisions, challenges and opportunities.

He details struggles of their isolation in the frontiers of Anglican mission his focus on feeding of the body, mind and soul respectively with the planting of coffee, classroom education and the word of god respectively. Throughout, the church compensated him with a few coins only, some secondhand clothes and rations of salt, soap, tobacco and kerosene. He served long stints (5yrs+) in remote locations and acknowledges the powerful, proactive and unrelenting support of his wife to endure, and for him to become an Anglican priest.

Following a massive leg injury in a bad car accident, Vevehapu recovered to return to his village, and he was elected a provincial politician for 2 x 4 year terms - and supported construction of churches for many denominations and maintenance of health and education services. In his later years, lamenting the post independence decline of the Anglican Church, he became instrumental in a growing splinter church.

He wrote of changed values in a cash based society, including the changing and perspectives of men - increasingly influenced by Western cultural values. He wrote that too many men, exposed to a modern western world, perceive a loss of beauty in a hardworking, mature wife and then lose interest in her and that this is leading to a decline in domestic/family cooperation and harmony in contemporary society.

1.1.2 The 'Outsider' perspective

Orokaiva

JHP Murray, Lt Governor of Papua, firmly believed in the practical application of anthropological knowledge to the problems of the colonial government including the governance of indigenous peoples and their societies. Murray believed that colonial government recruitment of anthropologists provided greater 'cultural and social understanding of indigenous peoples' and that this enabled not only peaceful occupation of a new territory, but also the 'uplift' of Papuan people. (Gray 2008: 231) Once satisfied with their initial task of pacification - putting an end to warring tribes and clans - the colonial government would concentrate on 'civilising and modernising' the indigenous population.

The government anthropologist was supposed to 'help in reconciling an intelligent, though backward race, to the inevitable march of civilisation'.

Murray noted the need to suppress repugnant customs and to enforce certain standards of behavior, hygiene and industry". He considered it 'irrelevant that these standards cut across

traditional bases of leadership and influence', claiming the government had no choice but to suppress what he deemed certain unhealthy customary habits.

One of the better-known government anthropologists, FE Williams wrote extensively on Orokaivan Society. Williams was employed as an applied anthropologist. His salary was provided from a native benefits fund raised by taxing Papuans. Murray did not take kindly to unsolicited advice, and Williams's innumerable recommendations were usually ignored.

Williams attempted to interpret Papuan cultures so that they might be appreciated and even admired by Europeans for their rich artistic and ceremonial achievements. He advocated the 'blending of cultures': the best of traditional arts and ceremonies with the most progressive elements of European culture, such that the Papuan remained recognizably himself.

Williams abhorred crude 'Europeanization'. Christianity, he allowed, had to be part of the blending process. He was largely sympathetic toward the work of the missions, while deploring the destructive effects of over-zealous missionaries. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/williams-francis-edgar-9109>

Williams (1928,1930) portrayed a 'spirited and warlike people' in which certain males led burning and hunting parties, but where women also participated in gardening, hunting, warring raids. (Ibid.176) He also wrote about domestic and community cooperation and harmony, based on the observed gender division of labour: the married couple gardening together - mother and daughters doing arduous work, while father might retire to the shade after felling a few trees, to carve a spear.

He writes on the manufacture of salt and tapa cloth and how men and women shared in the making of crafts and pottery. Williams notes that men build and maintain tracks, bridges, houses, rafts, canoes (Ibid. 73) and women chew betel, make lime together - and smoke tobacco⁴ together.

Western heritage and gender stereotypes coloured his perception. In a number of 'subjective' asides he reveals a Euro-centric outlook, inappropriately referring to a mourning feast as a social amusement that may add some zest and interest to native life. (Ibid. 30) Elsewhere he reports, somewhat ironically, on the 'uneventful routine of the Orokaiva day, 'with absence of varied interest and incident'.

He recorded how traditional feasts and pantomime and dances - which he called ballet - were a - a magnificent spectacle. (Ibid.30). Musical instruments included 3 kinds of drums, flute, Jew's harp and trumpet. Traditional drills were used to make shell Jewelry. Other prized jewelry rings of Hornbill beaks, strips of cuscus fur, pigs' teeth, bands and strings of dogs teeth, tufts of feathers.

He noted the 'housewife is responsible for preparing the evening meal...and seldom fails in punctuality', for the hungry Orokaivan husband is short-tempered - and any breakdown in the catering of his household will cause domestic disagreement' and could be considered a 'just and potent' cause of divorce or infidelity. (Ibid. 25)

Men, having less domestic and parental responsibilities, often gathered together to sing at night, enjoy betelnut, sometimes through the night to sunrise. Young boys sneak into beds of their lovers in liaisons sometimes acted out in elopement, and eventual brideprice negotiations.

Williams described Oro warriors, warfare (Ibid.161) and men's capacity for 'savagery' and in their concerted aggression in inter-tribal conflict, including their determined resistance to

⁴ introduced by traders around turn of the 19th century, before PNG was colonized

Europeans (raids on miners.) He describes payback raids, including targeting a woman. (Ibid.162). He mentions women accompanying men on such raids, serving as a weapon bearer, following behind men (Ibid.164). He mentions cannibalism and how men might take on the names of men they raped and killed in a raid. Women were also killed and eaten, but their name was not taken (due to status or protection) (Ibid. 176)

neat and clean 'for fear of magisterial wrath, even imprisonment'. He writes about native labour recruiters visiting remote villages and the 'opportunity' for men to have 'a turn as carriers' to get travel experience and exposure to the outside world. The women who were left behind appeared women desperate on their departure and delighted upon their return. (Williams, 1930 28)

He mentions conflict over marriage payments claiming the most difficult to quell were those caused by women who 'did little', but who 'successfully incited men to violence with their tongues'. (Ibid.162)

Williams recounts the centrality of spirits, medicine and magic in Orokaiva life, contrasting 'Bara' women - healers of 'casual illness acquired in the course of daily (life) experience. Illnesses (sic) which could be associated with food or a collision/bump, with serious and often fatal conditions were believed to be induced by sorcery and black magic (Williams, 1930: 291, 293)

He describes Orokaivan men as 'paterfamilias' strong, silent with dignity (gravitas). Further, he describes Orokaivan virtues (mainly in reference to men) as indicative of a society characterized by 'cooperation and self restraint' which contribute to 'material plenty' and 'concord'. (Williams, 1930: 320-322). He noted particular positive attributes:

- Sharing 'wealth' and 'true generosity' including distribution (especially of food) in small and larger scale events which genuinely made people feel good (Ibid 316)
- Industry in the (production of gardens) (Ibid 319) (in spite of a pervasive stereotype of 'laziness' among colonial officers.)
- Feasting: with the 'glamour and excitement' of events for which women must plan, produce and deliver additional food)
- Courteous, (not mocking), sensitive, demonstrating practical honesty, good tempered (little evidence, low tolerance of bullies)
- Restraint and abstinence, especially in regard to sexual activity; temperance; (moderation) only virtuous if enjoined by ceremonial necessity.
- Seldom inclined to violence (man to man); although noting that violence between husband and wife it is somewhat different.

A man may thrash a neglectful spouse in order to give a better idea of her duties, though the corrective aspect is not very prominent when a man is belabouring his woman in a rage. All informants have agreed upon the justifiability of wife-beating, but they have all agreed that there are proper limits, and a habitual wife-beater has a bad name. (Williams, 1930: 319)

He also writes of 'Married Chastity': with woman expected to be faithful, even during long absences of her husband.

There is no bartering or lending of wives, and the only exception is the ceremonial licence that follows an initiation ceremony ... Adultery is considered an offence, so that those who commit the offence habitually, particularly women, are generally despised, and compared to dogs. (322)

Sullivan, (2005) notes there is a wealth of ethnographic material on the Orokaivan exchange system: Bashkow 2000, 2006; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963; Hogbin 1966; Iteanu 1991; Newton

1982, 1985; Reay 1953; Rohatynskyj 1990; Schwimmer 1970, 1973; Waiko 1982, 1985b; Williams 1928, 1930.

The 'Orokaiva' people of Oro Province are of seven tribes (Banks 1993:123, Waiko 1972: 4). Before WWII, however, government anthropologist FE Williams noted nine tribes of the Orokaiva, each in a distinct territory (1930:4): the Binandere and Jeva Buje (together as one), the Tain-Daware, the Auga, the Yega, the Sauaha, the Sangora, the Dirou, the Wasida, and the Hunjara.

Within these tribes are patrilineal clans and sub-clans, each composed of one or two lineages. Clan members are commonly spread across villages, so that each village is comprised of members of several clans. The Orokaiva have no chieftainship, but the older man rises to leadership by general consensus. The land is owned communally while a garden is owned individually. (Newton 1982: 26). (Sullivan, 2005)

Early anthropologists have described traditional patrilocal marriage in Orokaiva marriage with clan exogamy and village endogamy as the ideal and 'preferred' forms of marriage achieved through clan exchange of brides and gifts, or bride price made to compensate family's approval and loss of daughter or elopement without parents consent, (settled later with compromise bride price) or by capture of women by victors of warring raids. (Williams, 1930)

Schwimmer (1973:90) noted a man's assumed right to his wife's labour and her unlimited access to his garden and the produce cultivated in it. Williams (1930) and Schwimmer (1973) explain that brideprice payment compensated anger and loss of the maternal family. Reciprocal payments by the bride's family assured some protection over her, but this return payment has been declining since the colonial period in the 1920s. (Williams 1930:108)

Williams reports men claim that bride price payment assures patrilineal clan rights over the children and control over the wife. The more a man paid on his own (without support of clansmen and relatives) and without a reciprocal payment, the more total his control. (Ibid.38)

Studies among the Koropata people of Orokaiva, in the late 1970s indicated that urbanisation, migration and mobility have decreased the autonomy of married women and increased vulnerability of particular categories of women. (Newton, 1989 p.28)

Newton concluded that colonial pacification and missionisation broke tribal boundaries. Over time elopement devolved into a new norm of agreed brideprice payment, with ideal attributes of wives including management of the harvest of the food crops planted with her husband, to ensure sustenance and maintenance of good health of husband and children the supply of good food for feasts and avoid shortages.

By 1970s prospects for partner choice had widened. Men working in town could marry women from any part of PNG. Urbanization and increasing out-marriage do not fit with custom: this led to forms of marriage changing faster than customary beliefs about 'the centrality of the traditional economically productive bond of marriage'. Young people in the village engaged in new, less restricted forms of socializing, were more mobile and had greater choice of partners. But the influence of parents and relatives was still manifest in reference to brideprice, cash income prospects, and links to clan alliances and parents wishes. (Newton: 1981:29)

In 1980, Newton surveyed secondary students (male and female) and young working men and women. They agreed that marriage marked social adulthood and is directly linked to concerns for family economic status that is achieved through women's hard work and reproduction. One marriage can go through several forms of residential arrangements and 'outside marriages' became less and less relevant to the village level economic and political development. (Ibid. 36)

Marriage beyond affinal links changes ideas about brideprice. (Newton, 1981:37). Brideprice payment, traditionally meant to secure stability of marriage transformed into setting a monetary value on a woman, making her the object of 'male financial dealings'. While families encouraged young village women to marry men who worked in town for cash wages, prospective rural brides were concerned about bad tempered or bossy men who worked for wages, particularly those who spent most of their wages on alcohol.

Newton's surveys revealed a local perception that urban women lack the protection of 'a community, while rural women are idealised for hard work, 'Urban wives suffer boredom, loneliness, frustration', are labeled lazy for 'gambling and chewing betelnut' and bear the brunt of male aggression for their inability to be economically productive to supplement low wages.

Most men working in town had no affordable, decent housing and up to 7 young men would stay in single men's quarters (Newton 1989. 35), while some eligible bachelors preferred the new privileged access to many girls without marital responsibilities. Concern about the behavior of drunk or violent husbands' increased in urban centres, (Ibid. 33).

Non Orokaivan wives in Oro villages suffered other forms of vulnerability to husbands wrath. (Newton 1989: 35)

By late 1970s it was common for women to be living in her husbands village (or her own village) without her husband. This new norm created many tensions and hardship for wives left behind to look after his family and her children.

No comparable information is available on Marriage between the Mountain Koiari people.

1.2 Art

Orokaiva

The art of Oro Province has been very much overlooked in the volume of writing on Oceanic Art - probably because the artists of Oro Province produce relatively few collectable wooden objects besides their rare and valuable lime spatulas and head rests.

On the other hand, Oro is one of the richest sources of personal adornment in PNG, producing fascinating body jewelry, ornate mourning dress and the exquisite Omie tapa cloths as well as utilitarian objects. (Beran, 2014)

29 Omie women artists are currently exhibiting their traditional tapa paintings as fine art. They have considerable value on the world market, and reflect a rich artistic cultural and heritage embedded in spiritual beliefs and the diverse flora and fauna of the intact natural environment.

Much simpler versions of Orokaiva tapa art are still produced and evident in the tapas worn in local traditional events and ceremonies. Throughout the 1970s to the 1990s, there was a trade in Oro tapas through the Anglican women's development programs. They also sold and traded traditional tapa in the form of bags, wallets, book covers, bookmarks and wall hangings. Gift shops sold T-towels printed with the traditional designs of tapa. These are not found in shops today, but similar small businesses still trade in tapa cloth products in Port Moresby's major craft markets.

1.3 Beliefs:

The early Anglican missionary, In Orokaiva, (Stone-Wigg, 1907) wrote about beliefs in magic and sorcery:

'There was much that was good in this confined life. Respect for the older people was a marked feature. This was of service in keeping order in the village, in restraining acts of violence, in protecting property, and in ensuring the due performance of common duties. Young men were especially afraid of the abuse of their elders whose power lay in the possession of secrets concerning native customs and in the knowledge of incantations the performance of which was essential to the public welfare. These secrets were unknown to men of middle age and were only handed down to son or successor when old age had laid its hand upon their owner and death was near at hand. Even to this day when information is sought on such points the men of the village will answer, "The old people know about that--we are but children." The power and influence so possessed were often used well. Garden and other duties were taught thoroughly to the young people, habits of industry were impressed upon them, obedience was demanded and in times of emergency and danger united action was secured'.

And on sorcerers ...

... 'the class specially feared by the men are the disembodied spirits of sleeping women, which they by sorcery have expelled from their bodies. A man is therefore never quite secure even with the partner of his joys and grief's. There is an instance well known to the mission in which a man called his wife "New Guinea," because he had heard the missionaries say that "New Guinea" made them ill when fever laid them low and the word to the native's mind could only mean "witch," for to witches and sorcerers all ills are traced.'

And of the imperative to travel to trade in traditional goods,

'Communities therefore which were forced to supply certain needs from outside would undertake trading expeditions to their own kinsmen at a distance or with friendly tribes bound to them by the tie of self-interest. These expeditions were fraught with considerable danger and many a time the cooking-pots, obsidian, food, or ornaments were purchased at the terrible cost of wives made widows and children fatherless'.

And later to sell their labour, sometimes risking life, and at other times returning and gifting others:

'He (the village labourer, returning from a stint working on plantations) comes back to his village with rich stores of trade tobacco, calico, tomahawks, knives, pouches, belts and mirrors. He has first to pay those who have done the work in his garden during his absence. But that is by no means the limit of his benefactions. Every one claims friendship with him and no such claim go unrequited. At the end of a few days he has little left but a tomahawk, a calico, and a few sticks of tobacco.

2 History

2.1 Oral History

John Waiko, one of PNG's best-known historians, is himself a product of both rich traditional education and early missionary formal education, has written extensively on the Orokaiva traditions. He writes of the importance of Oral traditions, in his home area as the 'tools that Orokaivan people habitually used' noting that 'oral sources of evidence provide information about the past and the present strategies for people to assert control over their life and environment'. It's substance - in many different forms, including dance and drama - is of great value because it embodies the way people record, process, cultivate awareness and demystify

all of their experience. There is 'direct meaning and purpose' in the oral transmission of intricate knowledge', related to the matter at hand.

Waiko notes the importance of oral tradition in consultation and planning for development. He warns of the risk of losing this knowledge - built and shared over generations - and its associated ritual, as lives change.

Oral tradition as an instrument of understanding and relating to one's environment is ineffective when confronted with the 'mystification of development'. This hampers people's ability to assert their identity or relate to others.

The maintenance of oral tradition can overcome the 'increasing mystification of real and major issues'. The maintenance of oral tradition can give people their identity, self-awareness and control in a new and changing environment. (Waiko, 1981:11-30)

But Waiko cautions:

'Transmission of oral tradition depends on its practical value and relevance to the receiving generation. Advocates of 'development' can create a false consciousness if people are not fully aware of what is implied about changing use (or abuse) of their environment'. (Ibid.)

This theme of the importance of oral tradition to the work of development workers and agencies is later picked up again in PNG's emerging discourse on gender and development.

'Papua New Guinea is fortunate, in that many of the older people, all over the country, have seen within their own lifetimes, the whole process of change from ... first contact ... until today. These people, and especially the women, represent a vital resource for the recording of oral history. It would be most interesting to ask them whether, in the old days, women were considered powerless in the manner that they often are today, both by outsiders and their own men, and if not, how they organized themselves'. (Rogers, 1985: 174)

'Women's subsistence production should be measured and understood. Research should provide policy guidance and promote attitudes and values that enable women to get a fair return for their labour, their food crops or share of the cash for commodities that they contribute their labour to and gender should be mainstreamed in all development project plans and implementation'. (Ibid 177)

Another Oro historian points out that oral accounts do not provide the listener with deep religious or philosophical context because the knowledge is assumed, or because of conventional social or religious sanctions. Therefore, he argues, 'outsiders are highly likely to misinterpret oral history unless they have good insight into the religious, ideological, symbolic and philosophical values, that influence the decisions of the people. The researcher and the society being studied can only benefit if they can identify and understand the set of beliefs and practices that have permeated all aspects of life. (Opeba 1981: 57-68).

2.2 Church history

The early church histories are largely written about men from 'outside', and are usually mostly about local men (rather than women). Christian missions initially presented a strongly masculine image and local churches followed suit, particularly the Catholic Church (Forman 1984:155). Almost exclusively men exercised leadership and authority in the missions, and even today most church leaders are male. Celibacy was compulsory for Catholic missionaries and optional for Anglicans but most early Anglican missionaries in PNG were unmarried (Langmore, 1989a: 85-6). Other Protestant missionaries were generally accompanied by their wives who

occupied no formal position within the church but fulfilled extensive responsibilities as 'help-mates' to their husbands and as nurses, teachers, and proselytizers. Furthermore, as 'vectors' of late-nineteenth-century, Victorian values and expectations, mission women were expected to provide the 'object lesson of a civilised Christian home'. (Langmore 1989a: 73).

It was not until the late nineteenth century that unmarried women started mission work in significant numbers in PNG, initially Catholic sisters and then Methodists and Anglicans. (Langmore 1989a: 166-72). The most significant contribution of female missionaries was in women's education.

South Sea Islanders were very important in the early Protestant missionary activity in Oro and in Mountain Koiari and their wives accompanied most. 'Islander' women taught novel arts and crafts from Fiji and Polynesia, especially the weaving of pandanus mats. They also helped improve local nutrition by introducing crops, including new species of breadfruit and mangoes and different methods of cooking, especially the generous use of coconut cream. They taught new songs and games and a new style of music. (Forman 1984:160). (Dickson Waiko, 2003)

Pacific Islander missionaries - both men and women - have, over time, influenced every aspect of local culture in Oro and Mountain Koiari - food crops and their preparation, feasting, social life, politics, architecture, art, craft and song. But little of this impact has been recorded. 'The educational impact of the South Sea Islanders was considerable and left an imprint on all the cultures among which they worked.' (Trompf, 1981:186)

2.2.1 Anglican History In The Orokaiva

One remarkable feature of the 'great task of evangelizing the "Islands of the Sea", including the Oro region of Papua was the contribution of the 'Islander' Evangelists who accompanied the first Europeans in both the early Anglican mission commencing in the late 1890s and the Adventist pioneering that commences some 25 years later in Mountain Koiari.

"Thousands of lives have been won to Christ by the self-sacrifice and devotion of Pacific Island Evangelists': In 1881 four teachers, with their wives and children were massacred in New Guinea, but twice the number of willing evangelists from Tahiti and Rarotonga took their places."

Project Canterbury - <http://anglicanhistory.org/aus/png> accessed 22/01/14

The devoted service and contribution of Islanders was noted by the colonial governor: 1888 British sovereignty over SW New Guinea resolved that the Church was obliged to provide for spiritual welfare of the natives and settlers.

"They leave their own pleasant islands at the call of the white missionary, and, far from home and kin, they lead a life of privation and monotonous isolation which must require much self-denial. It can in many cases be tolerable only where is devotion to duty or deep religious enthusiasm. Many of them die on service, their humble tribute to the work of humanity and civilization, unknown to and unheeded by the outside world." [Sir William MacGregor, Government Report, British New Guinea, 1891-2, p. 20.]

By the late 1880s 11 coastal stations were established in what is now known Northern /Oro. By the 1890s the *Church of England Mission* totaled 26 European missionaries, 35 South Sea Island and 16 Papuan teachers, 737 baptized, 440 communicants, 21 schools, 1336 scholars, and 4273 attending the mission services.

By 1908 the Anglican New Guinea Mission ... had dealt with the 300 miles of coastline between Cape Ducie and the British-German boundary.

Considerable documentary 'machinery' and a 'library' of records including supported the well-ordered stations.

These included:

1. Register of baptisms, confirmations, marriages, burials and church services which all-ordinary parish priests keep
2. Records, which are usually the care of civil servants and several others in which civil and religious interests interlace, including:
 - *The Birth Register* with parents' names, name of the village, (also space for ultimate baptism and names of sponsors)
 - *The Death Register*, for 'heathen' and Christian, with names of parents and kinsfolk, cause of death (diagnosis, If under medical care), date and place of burial, age, sex, notes, if Christian, in Communion or otherwise, and how long before death the Sacrament was received.
 - *The Christian Biographical Register*, with cross indices, showing birth, baptism, confirmation, death, father's and mother's names in cross references; dates of admission as hearer and catechumen (juvenile history, whether mission boarder or village child); date of entry to school and of leaving; occupation as adults; dates and duration of labour contracts; date of marriage; wife (cross reference); children's names (cross reference); other events.
 - *The Communicants' Attendance Book* has three columns to a page, with names at the head. A column lasts about ten years. For the keeping of this book all names of those intending to communicate are noted the day before, either by the Priest after Evensong, or else by the readers, who bring names from outlying villages.
 - *The Station Diary* records the doings of each day, work carried out, arrivals, departures, and any special events.
 - *The Hearers' and Catechumens' Register* gives names and the date of entry on these stages, also of baptism and confirmation.
 - *The Medical Case Book* kept in two sections, for outpatients and in-patients, shows: diagnosis, treatment, temperature charts, diet, operation and issue.
 - *The Launch Log Book* gives descriptions of journeys, mileage, kerosene consumption, records of painting and repairs.
 - *The Discipline Book* is of a very private character, but obviously of immense importance in a community which is very nearly a theocracy, where a village council assists the Priest to regulate conduct from the purely Christian point of view, and where the most serious outward result if any wrong-doing is the incurring of the Church's displeasure. In this book is recorded the nature of offences, penalties, excommunications, or temporary suspensions, amendments and restorations.

There were also registers of Mission boarders and with school attendance, account books for the store, for the farthing bank, and for the church expenses, the register for services held at the 12 out-stations, with a record of attendances. If a question of any kind arose with regard to any individual, the missionary can at once tell precisely how other persons may be affected. The physical, moral and spiritual antecedents of any member of the community are at once ascertainable; thus it is that the smooth, harmonious working of village life rests upon a scientific system as well as a spiritual faith.

The village council had one committee for every fifty Christians. The people choose half the representatives, and the Priest the other half. It sat once a month and deliberated on all village

affairs. They report births and deaths and any bad conduct and vetted the character and reputation of baptism candidates, reported on all village work: the construction of roads and bridges, and the building or rebuilding of houses. A building committee, which chose and measured sites, suggested designs and approved houses when built. No "humpies" or "rabbit-hutches" were allowed, and everybody helped in building their neighbour's house. The standard for space, comfort and convenience steadily rose. When a house is finished and passed, the builder reports, and the "bada" blesses the house. Innovations like building a kitchen separate from the family house; are encouraged as examples to be followed.

They also reported on risky inter-village trade: Neighbouring tribes existed with mutual self interest and support. Trading expeditions for goods not available in one's own village community or environment involved visits to kinsmen at a distance or with friendly tribes. But were sometimes fraught with considerable danger. Many cooking-pots, obsidian, food, or ornaments were purchased at the terrible cost of wives made widows and children fatherless. (Stone-Wigg, 1989)

Dogura Cathedral, reportedly the only large traditional European-style cathedral to have survived the war was built to 800 seats, consecrated in 1939. Japanese occupation of PNG commenced in July 1942 when they landed near Gona. European missionaries were exhorted to not abandon their posts. Dogura mission continued, however some were eventually forced to flee, and there were 8 Anglican martyrs.

2.2.3 After the war

The Anglican and Adventist missions played an important role in recovery from the war, as they quickly restored religious, education and health services

In 1952, the eruption of Mt. Lamington killed hundreds of trained church workers attending a synod. Later the Martyrs secondary school was built in its place. The order of Melanesian brothers, Anglican Franciscans, was established and a seminary built.

Initially effort was spent on bible translations, but later the focus was on teaching English. Tok Pisin the lingua franca that emerged in mainland PNG from the late 19th century was hardly known on the Oro region until the 1990s. Post war Anglican clergy were open and enlightened about the importance of local culture, and incorporated Oro tapa cloth, traditional dress, drumming and singing into liturgy, decoration and vestment.

The Mothers' Union supported women to organize and encouraged monogamy, faithfulness in marriage, home-making, giving women dignity as wives, rather than 'property' or 'playthings'. (Garrett, 1992:71)

2.2.4 Adventist History In The Mountain Koiari (1908-50)

Imperial (British) and colonial (Australian) policies and Christian missions, 'advancing together, shaped the changing inner life of a previously divided country' bringing powerful, alternative spiritual forces to counterbalance beliefs in 'sorcery, spirit cults' and a propensity to violent conflict resolution through 'tribal fighting'. What missionaries called conversion, contained in germ, prospects of future absorption and adaptation: 'A nascent and unifying Christian element' that 'contributed to the melding of the emerging PNG nation.' (Garret,1992:62-63)

The first Adventist missionaries, largely male, arrived in Port Moresby, at the beginning of the twentieth century, accompanied by energetic Fijian evangelists. Sr. Hubert Murray, first Chief

Judicial Officer, then Lieutenant Governor and finally Governor of Australian, administered New Guinea, which after the war became the mandated territory of Papua. He imposed on the various denominations arriving to evangelise the local population, the policy of comity (strictly demarcated “spheres of influence”) which he had inherited from his predecessor, Sir William MacGregor. The policy demanded mutual territorial respect, cooperation and friendliness be demonstrated among missions in the region, working in the regions approved for/allocated to them. (Garret, 1992:41)

Murray initially considered the latecomer Adventists, arriving up to 60 years after some other denominations, to be ‘unnecessary competition’ to the other established churches and denied them the possibility to buy or purchase land in the vicinity of Port Moresby. So the Adventists headed 40km inland to the Sogeri plateau, establishing an agricultural settlement at Bisiatabu and commencing evangelization. They established a base for future expansion, which was not initially authorized by the colonial government.

In addition to this marginalization by the early 19th century administration, the Adventists endured local suspicion and hostility for decades, in order to have impact in the somewhat inconspicuous Mountain Koiari region. Initially Adventist prohibition on pigs and their rejection of local dancing, feasts and initiation rites as activity of ‘devils’ did not endear them to the local Koiari. They were isolated for a decade and repeatedly subjected to threats by local sorcerers.

Only when their leading male Fijian evangelist, who had pioneered the mission with a European couple, returned and settled with his new wife, did things start to change. (It would be very interesting to know what role that she played in effecting conversions and change, but we may never know).

By 1914, the Fijian SDA missionaries were farming, educating and visiting villages along the trail. Snakebite caused the premature death of Peni Tavodi - the well ingratiated and respected pioneering Fijian missionary. The tragedy was attributed to sorcery commissioned by skeptics. His premature death reportedly left a legacy of collective guilt among the Koiari for almost a century. The first convert in 1914 reverted. Only with the second convert, a Koiari man, baptized in 1920, did local Adventist leadership begin to emerge. He led the local SDA missionaries thereafter with the support of zealous Welshman, and several long-term Fijian and Cook Islander and South Sea Islander colleagues. (Garret 1992:61-2)

The early SDA mission in Mountain Koiari, once established, reported more “aggressive (education) work” among Koiari people - especially, and almost exclusively male youth, encouraging them to attend the Bisiatabu boarding school. The explicit aim was to influence the students and through them, “offer the people an improved way of life”. (Jones, circa 1922-30, cited in Garrett, 1992)

The first 22 students were ‘obtained’, in 1922, by hosting (with the help of Fijian assistants), a negotiation and an invitation to the local people, in the form of a feast, (as was custom in the area). The first students were required to board at Biasatabu, living away from family, community and traditional roles and responsibilities, but were permitted opportunities to maintain contact with their family and communities, including visits to sick parents, or visits to their home village community accompanied by the lead missionary Jones.

Jones paints a picture of young Koiari men as undisciplined, self-willed, resorting to violence and believing in sorcery. But they also deeply impressed him with their clear demonstration of strong family ties and affection, when they cried with homesickness or at the news of sick mothers/parents. (Ibid)

These first male students were taught arithmetic, reading in Koiari language and bible studies. Jones reported that their “attractive appearance and (caring) behavior exemplified “what a Christian education could do”, noting also that ‘after 7 months ... (his students) were reading’ and after a year they ‘wanted to be school and mission teachers’. There was some reservation in SDA circles that this proselytising was too fast, and that these “untrained people’ were ‘unready teachers’ trying to teach something they themselves ‘do not understand’ (p13).

Slowly and surely, the mission continued in its evangelical expansion and influences in educational, health and agricultural endeavors along the Kokoda track. In the 1930s, with generous Australian and NZ support, ‘Gentle Giant’ Lock and his missionaries, still including many Pacific Islanders, tramped to establish a ‘station’ at Efogi.

They brought modern medicine, hygiene, education and social progress in line with government goals. Unlike other Christian the Adventists did not adapt their church ‘to locally available precedents’, but rather brought a ‘pre-packaged’ set of doctrines and rules of conduct. They were known as the ‘clean missionaries’ - advocating no pigs, good garden, and producing superior local food crops.

They spread hygiene, preventive health education and simple healing out from their churches. They built schools and hospitals and trained paramedics. The new health and diet regime progressively replaced the old society with a whole ‘new life alternative’. (Garrett 1997: 341)

Forcible persuasion for ‘conversion’ was rare. Local appropriation, acceptance and adoption over decades, was a response to the missionaries, most of whom were Islanders (Melanesians and Polynesians) themselves. Many pioneering European missionaries stayed a long time in remote areas learnt local languages and developed considerable local knowledge. (Garrett, 1992, xii)

Missionary migration of Islanders to Islanders is also a central and constant element in mission history in Papua New Guinea. In Papua particularly, the influence of male missionaries, and their wives, from Fiji, Polynesia and South Sea Islander communities (Melanesians who had worked in Australian sugar fields) is considered have made a difference in the effective transmission of church and cross cultural knowledge and in the push to localization of church leadership.

By 1939, the SDAs had broken out of the territorial constraints of the policy of comity. By 1940, they had been active 32 years, and had 1780 ‘converts’.

When the Second World War disrupted mission activity, the Adventists had already made solid contributions to education (‘in its widest sense’.)

SDA doctrine of separation of church and state affected their followers' response to the war. They refused military service except as non-combatants. Bisiatabu mission was turned into an internment centre for unsatisfactory carriers’. Many Koiari Adventists became troop carriers along the trail. Due to the widespread travel of missionaries, in the two decades preceding the war, they knew the terrain better than others. They generally abstained from smoking tobacco, drinking alcohol, tea or coffee. Confronted with military roughness and cursing, their gentleness deeply impressed the sick, wounded and dying Australian soldiers and those they carried to safety.

During the long absence of ‘white missionaries’ many local pastors demonstrated and strengthened their leadership in a more self reliant Adventist church. Post war, the SDA church quickly expanded beyond their delimited ‘spheres of influence’ based in the Sogeri plateau (and in the Mussau islands of New Ireland in New Guinea).

2.3. Early Colonial History

Waiko (1989; 77-107) provides an account of Orokaivan (Binandere) society pre and contact (1885-1906), and during the Binandere/ Australian colonial encounter, (1907 to end of WW1) based on oral history. Responses to Europeans depended on the military standing of the tribe, and were influenced by the nature of warfare, the formation of alliances and the general beliefs and practices of the people. Early colonial explorers (under MacGregor) were seen as intruders. Local responses of defiance were acted out but misunderstood as a welcome. Mining parties were perceived as the enemy and some were ambushed and then eaten. Several vicious punitive missions ensued, but went beyond what was locally understood as 'balanced payback'.

Local men joined the colonial police for their own reasons, mainly to exact payback or achieve prestige for their tribe. By penetrating the police they turned them against their old enemies.

Monkton, the resident magistrate, operated in ignorance to follow up on these matters and was himself skillfully manipulated by police, local leaders and porters. Indeed, the OIC was sometimes irrelevant as local people recognized that local police would often act in their own interests, for example intimidating locals as a way of procuring women by force.

With a very different, outsider perspective, Jack Hides wrote of the civilizing of Papua, stating it was really a great achievement, a great story in the history of the peoples of the Pacific, noting 'two fine men of the Empire are responsible for it - MacGregor and Murray'. (Hides 1938: 1)

He also wrote, less sympathetically of the Koiari, some 30 years after Adventist presence.

'They have always been steeped in murder and sorcery; a fact, I think, that has made them a morose, silent people. To-day (sic) they cannot wear the hornbill beaks, and their old customs have gone. With little to occupy their minds, they seem to 'be just sitting and waiting for some- one to provide a destiny for them. Great hunters, cunning and elusive, those that have joined the constabulary have been of invaluable assistance to officers in apprehending natives in parts where all the wiles and craft of a bushman are needed. Practised murderers, though they have been, there is something pathetic about them. They are beyond the understanding of the European.' (Hides, 1938:7)

Jack Hides, born and raised in Papua, could speak Koiari and Motu like a native (p4) more than any other writer, has brought out the true character of these men, and has succeeded in portraying the so-called "savages" and "heathen" of dark New Guinea in their true light.

'Papuan take naturally to drill and rifle exercises. This is no doubt due to the fact that they are all dancing men, accustomed to the rhythm and movement of their own village dances. When a native first dons the police uniform of dark blue serge with scarlet facings he looks like any other recruit-a shocking misfit. But after a week or so of regular meals, exercise, and instruction in drill and rifle work, our awkward bushman develops in an amazingly short time into a smart constable. A detachment of fully trained, armed constables with experienced N.C.Os is a very fine sight indeed; many visiting military men have remarked upon their smartness and keenness. They are after all just people like ourselves, and (as with us) there are inevitably some rogues and blackguards among many decent men and women-and not a few heroes.' (A.Rentoul, preface in Hides 1938: x-xi)

He writes of the 'Warriors of Orokaiva' ... Proud and overbearing men, with splendid physique, they lived in a country rich in gardens and food and asked nothing of any man. Their spirit has not been broken; they have not lost their personality. To day they provide the best recruits for the Papuan Armed Constabulary. (Hides, 1938: 9)

Writing on the Orokaiva, in peace, he recounts daily labour, with some indirect reference to the workload shouldered by women.

...(he) 'rises at dawn, and with his wife or wives loaded with net bags and the simple implements of agriculture, he comes down from his palm-thatched house armed with spear and fire stick and follows a track out from the village through the forest to his gardens. As the garden areas have been felled and burned, it is now the women's turn to do most of the work; so while his wives are weeding and tending the plots, he repairs to the shade of a tree to smoke and chew betel-nut, whittle a spear, or carve some form of decoration. Sometimes he wanders off into the surrounding forest singing plaintive airs as he replenishes pepper beans for his betel-nut bag. If a visitor comes to his garden, he will offer him sugar cane and tobacco while they lazily discuss the news of the district.'
(Hides, 1938:13)

And on 'his' (the Oro male) integration into the new colonial regime he writes, somewhat simplistically:

'But his lot is a carefree, easy one. If he has his one pound in hand ready for the year's Government tax, keeps away from ether men's wives, and obeys the few simple Government laws regulating native life, he has no worries'.

2.4 War History

Much is written elsewhere on the war in Papua, and specifically Kokoda. (Nelson, 2008)

A different perspective comes through in the history of churches in the Kokoda track region. Many Papuan adult males were recruited as laborers for Australian fighting unit and American engineers, including two units of 'Black soldiers' and recent converts to Christianity were 'exposed to male military drinking, gambling and lechery' from 1942-5. Many Papuans, accustomed to the hazards of heavy tropical rain, mud, rain and malaria, acted as bearers of the troops and earned admiration among them for their compassion, concern and endurance.

Many locals were reportedly more accustomed to daily prayer than the wounded and dying men that they carried to safety during and comforted during the fighting on the Kokoda trail. And they reportedly sang and prayed for them. The affectionate and appreciative name 'fuzzy-wuzzy angel' is said to derive from their characteristic big head of hair and particular gentleness. (Garret, 1997: 19)

While the Adventist missionaries were encouraged to leave the region as fighting commenced along the trail, the 'European' Anglican missionaries were encouraged to stay on during the war. Yet they suffered many serious setbacks and losses in terms of people and property.

Many of the Anglican congregations were caught in the crossfire of war, forced to work with the Japanese, accused of betraying the women and men missionaries who stayed behind, but also praised for providing heroic mobilization and service in support of the allies. Many Anglican mission staff were killed while gathering for a meeting at Sangara, Popondetta. Later it became the site of the Anglican Martyrs School, which was destroyed again by the 1951 eruption of Mt Lamington. (18 expatriate and trained local Anglican church leaders were among the 3,466 people, incinerated under the molten pumice).

2.4.1 Impact of war on women/women's role during war.

There is no literature available of the impact of WW2 on women from the Kokoda/Oro or the Mountain Koiari region.

3 Religion

The government anthropologist Williams (1928), attempted (not always successfully) to understand the customs and specific, exotic phenomena like the 'taro cult'. He noted that while:

'The native is undeniably under our charge: firstly we much show him such ways as will fittingly improve his own life: second we must restrain or prohibit such of his ways as are absolutely irreconcilable with our own way of life, or indisputably harmful to his own. There is no harm in keeping ceremonies, but warfare should be extinguished. Native life ... should be permitted to shape itself out, rather than be completely remodeled according to European taste'. (Williams, 1928:98)

Williams noted that 'Native religions' usually ... embody ... dressing up, feasting, high excitement - naturally musical and fond singing and colour ...developed into a charming ... impressive art ... And 'a religion without such attractions is hardly likely to be acceptable to the native'. (Williams, 1928: 85-97)

He argued for Christianity to take a more flexible and adaptable form, so that the native *joie de vivre* not be extinguished, suggesting that Christianity ... be adorned with less somber, gayer hues in its appearance and ceremony. The native, whose civilization is so shaken up by the impact of our own, needs care and sympathy in the rebuilding of his religion. (Ibid)

It may well that exponents of Christianity would be averse to adapting their religion too closely to native customs, in order to simply make it agreeable. However ...I consider it the best tactical approach. (Ibid)

The Anglican missionaries were less convinced of the superiority of the European and the degradation of the Papuan. The Anglicans in PNG did not want a 'parody of European or Australian civilization' and endorsed divorcing Christianity from its Western context and integrating it with Village life. Aware of the limits of their understanding and knowledge of Papuan cultures, they remained conservative in dealing with Native customs, except those universally condemned. (90) (Newton 1914: 251-2).

Anglicans (like Catholics) were encouraged to think of their service as that of a lifetime, and that of their successors as lasting centuries. Protestant missionaries envisaged shorter careers and an independent church.

4 Politics & Governance

PNG academics of the post independence decades note that 'churches and NGOs are by their nature more successful in involving civil society. The churches possess the largest networks in the country, reaching right down to the parish or the village. Significantly, Christianity has been embraced and internalized as Papua New Guinean, part of PNG culture, not a foreign and imported ideology'. The preamble to the PNG Constitution pledges 'to guard and pass on to those who come after us our noble traditions and the Christian principles that are ours now.'

The churches in PNG are seen as having made a significant contribution to development and modernisation, and the introduction of values and morals, which are now recognised in the country's Constitution. They have deep roots in PNG's diverse communities and can draw upon considerable social capital to influence change processes at various levels. Many of the country's leaders have been trained in church institutions and continue to play a prominent role

in shaping PNG society. PNG academics also claim that religious organisations have also contributed to the decline of PNG's traditional cultural practices and values, yet have played an instrumental role in supporting group organising and learning among women. (Dickson-Waiko 1999)

The diverse community of Christian churches entered PNG in several waves since the late 19th century, and an estimated 99% of the population now identify themselves as Christians. There is a widespread recognition that the churches play a very important role in PNG society. Collectively, they provide about half of the country's health services and – in partnership with government – co-manage some 40% of the primary and secondary education facilities. Churches also run two of the country's six universities and are responsible for training many of the country's teachers and health workers. A number of church groups are also involved in peace and reconciliation activities in areas experiencing tribal or other types of conflict, while others speak out on the governance situation and the lack of basic government services in parts of the country. Such problems have worsened in recent years, leading the government to declare restoration of 'good governance' as one of its key priorities. (Ibid)

A European Union commissioned study on the churches and governance in PNG noted:

PNG's Christian churches contribute to governance and public performance in various areas:

- *Public policy and decision making:* e.g. supporting electoral processes, participating in and liaising with political commissions and councils, promoting transparency and information sharing through the media, public workshops/conferences, or speaking out on governance issues;
- *Social justice and the rule of law:* through involvement in organisations such as the Community Coalition against Corruption or through consultations between church leaders and government officials on public affairs;
- *Supporting enhanced public performance in the health and education sectors:* working through the Churches Medical Council and the Churches Education Council; and
- *Facilitating and supporting reconciliation and peace building:* e.g. in response to tribal disputes and the Bougainville crisis in the 1990s.

The same report observed that some of the church activities in PNG are well structured and incorporated into change strategies of individual organisations or networks. However, there are also many contributions to improved governance that have emerged out of individual initiatives of church leaders, church-based NGO representatives and academics, which are not as well coordinated, and are often *ad hoc* or responsive. On this question, the report concludes that there are no broad, endogenous church-based strategies aimed specifically at enhancing or improving governance or public performance in PNG.

Discussing the churches' capabilities, the report draws upon a conceptual model by Woolcock (1999) dealing with 'networks' and 'social capital' at the community level. The model highlights four specific capabilities: bonding, bridging, linking and the use of space. These are seen as crosscutting, and aspects of each one are linked to the various areas of governance and public performance noted above. It is suggested that while these capabilities have emerged on a relatively *ad hoc* or pragmatic basis in recent decades - less so in the case of the Catholic Church, given its more extensive involvement in governance and public sector matters - the increasing threat posed by poor governance in PNG has provided a motivation for more focused engagement. In turn, this has prompted churches to increase inter-church exchanges and

cooperation, and to give more serious consideration to their own internal management and governance.

In terms of underlying factors explaining performance, the report suggests that the authority and legitimacy of churches, their national networks with other institutions, international links, individual skills and capacities are particularly pertinent. Furthermore, the interplay of the four capabilities described above, supported by incremental, locally based change processes and external support, have led to a discernible 'capacity' of the church community in PNG, which is influenced or triggered by six factors: leadership; religious interpretations and orientation (values); a shared conceptual base and faith-based mandate; appropriate communication channels; legitimacy through resilience, knowledge and service delivery; and the important role of the churches' intermediary structures and organisations.

The report concludes that given the historical and ongoing involvement of the churches in so many spheres it is difficult to imagine PNG society without them. Despite their broad presence and strengths though, there is a risk of overestimating their potential to play a greater role in supporting improved governance and public performance in the country. The authors conclude that their future engagement on such matters should be considered objectively in light of various considerations, including the diversity of the church community, the breadth of their current mandates, their absorptive capacity, and the churches' own internal management and governance capabilities.

See more at:

http://www.ecdpm.org/Web_ECDPM/Web/Content/Content.nsf/0/475fc4d0c05feaaac1256fa90033fd1d?OpenDocument#sthash.Dqu6SQym.dpuf

Ancestral traditions and practices related to heredity, power and sorcery, and Christian values on sex, marriage, childrearing and family are not always easy to combine. Nevertheless, as noted by (Luker, 2004: 8), churches are present and have a dynamic influence down to the clan, sub-clan, and extended family and household levels - to the extent that they are often seen as indigenised institutions. Effective community work, including the provision of social services, combined with a rooting in society, has meant that the churches enjoy levels of trust and a legitimacy that no other civil society actors have achieved. While this work was done to build and strengthen Christian communities, with no particular strategic governance considerations in mind, it created the preconditions for governance-related activities, such as encouraging people to participate in elections. No other civil society groups or NGOs have comparable bonds with local communities. (Luker 2004:49)

Another factor that distinguishes the churches is the form and function of their development and service delivery agencies. The Anglican Church, for its part, has the Anglican Health Service, the Anglican Education Division, the Youth Ministry and Anglicare - a trust of the Anglican Diocese of Port Moresby that engages in HIV/AIDS-related activities. The SDA operate through the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA PNG), which sees itself as a development agency operating independently of the church

5 Economy

5.1 Agriculture and Cash Cropping

Bryant Allen's agricultural survey (2001) provides a good summary account of agriculture and economic change in the Kokoda Orokaiva region.

This area has a long history of contact and conflict with the outside world, relative to other inland parts of Papua New Guinea. In 1897 the people living in this system tried to prevent gold miners travelling from the coast up the Kumusi River to the Yodda goldfields (just north of Kokoda station) from crossing their territory. (Nelson 1976). In the early 1900s, villagers were required by the colonial government to plant cocoa, coffee, cotton, rubber, tobacco, rice and oil palm as cash crops in communal plantations (Crocombe 1964). This compulsory labour on introduced cash crops failed to produce a smallholder cash economy. (Miles 1956, 319-323). A government rubber plantation was established at Kokoda in 1908 and by 1922 the villages in this system had planted over 8,000 coconuts and 6,900 rubber trees. (Rimoldi et al. 1966, 87-88). However, this forced planting did not result in sustained management and trees were not tapped for 20 years.

In 1942, the Japanese Army occupied the area. Serious fighting occurred between Japanese and the Australian and American forces, until January 1943.

After the war, an attempt was made to revive smallholder rubber activity. Rimoldi et al. (1966, 88) reported that in 1962-63 many trees had become unproductive because of poor tapping techniques. Some of the trees being tapped in 1962 were self-sown. Rubber was being processed in 1975, but by 1995 it appeared as though many rubber plantations had been cleared for subsistence gardens.

In the late 1950s, approximately 10,450 ha of land at Sangara, between Popondetta and Saiho, was purchased from village people for the Popondetta European Land Settlement Scheme. Under this scheme, land and loans were made available to Australian and Papua New Guinean ex-servicemen for the development of plantations. These areas were planted mainly in cocoa, with some small areas of coffee and rubber (Howlett 1965). The plantations were attacked by army worm and weevils, and the cocoa industry was beset by low prices. By the 1970s, many blocks had been abandoned.

During the 1980s, the leases were taken back by the government and 6,000 ha of nucleus estate oil palm were planted by Higaturu Oil Palm Pty Ltd (HOPPL) at Sangara. This company also established an oil palm processing factory at Sangara. A further 6,000 ha of oil palm has been planted by smallholder settlers on blocks from the original Land Settlement Scheme, or on their own village land. In 1994, HOPPL paid K2.2 million to smallholder oil palm producers, in this system and System 06050. (D. Munro, pers. comm.).

Village oil palm planting is continuing in the Kokoda area, towards the Kumusi River around Siai village. Garden observations and interviews in 1995 on the smallholder oil palm blocks at Isivini, immediately north of Sangara found short woody regrowth fallows, 5-15 years old, were being cleared, burnt, and planted in sweet potato, Chinese taro and taro. The most important crops were sweet potato and Chinese taro. Other crops were yam (*D. alata* and *D. esculenta*), banana and cassava.

The fruit and nut trees grown were the same as in the surrounding villages. The frequency of planting of triploid bananas was probably higher on the blocks than in village gardens. However, agriculture on the blocks is similar enough to the surrounding system, for the oil palm blocks not to be distinguished as a separate system. In 1979 and 1980, Eng (1980a; 1980b; 1980c; 1981; 1983) surveyed the socio-economic and nutritional status of settlers on the Isivini and Egora oil palm blocks.

Newton (1982, 1985a, 1985b) provides a useful historical analysis of social and economic change wrought by first British colonialism (1884-1906) Australian pre-war and post war colonialism, and a long history of change through periods of bloody Pacification, protest and retaliatory raids

by colonisers, forced peace, the gifting western items to appease, and the emergence of legislation requiring men to labour on plantations and a head tax to be paid. This resulted in permanent change in the traditional sexual division of labour, modes of production and the structure of society.

Newton reported that half of the settlers were from Northern (Oro) Province, with 18 per cent from Morobe, 8 per cent from Madang, 8 per cent from West Sepik and 6 per cent from East Sepik. This system had excellent road connections to Popondetta and to the port at Oro Bay. An all weather road runs from Popondetta to Kokoda station, and gravel surfaced side roads link most villages to the main road. The most important source of cash is the sale of oil palm fruit. Other sources were the sale of fresh food, firewood, tobacco and betel nut. These were sold in local markets, at the Higaturu oil palm factory, at Popondetta and at Kokoda. (Allen, 2001)

Newton conducted fieldwork in Koropata 1977-79 examining the advent of commercial oil palm agribusiness nucleus plantations and feeder smallholder blocks for locals, on their own land, and settlers from other parts of PNG on smallholder blocks on alienated land. A succession of cash cropping (copra, rubber, rice, coffee, cacao, coffee and since early 1970s, oil palm) led to waves of enthusiastic cooperation (accompanied by traditional group cooperation and production for 'expectant' feasting) encouraged periodically by the Anglican Church Cooperative movement). In the context of failure and disappointment with other cash crop ventures previously introduced by missions and the colonial government, Oil Palm was perceived and referred to as the 'last chance cash crop'.

Newton details how land tenure progressively shifted from clan to individual tenure, then back to clan ownership and control. Men worked as labourers, carriers, road-builders, and when forced to pay head tax, moved out of their traditional hunting, fighting, garden clearing work in agricultural subsistence, and into cash cropping, ultimately neglecting household production. When that disappointed (returns were low due to insecurity of land, low technical support, poor maintenance, limited support services) men moved from forced labour, carriers, cooks and farmers, to associated block-based control and local level leadership.

Clan leaders, (who at intervals used their authority to encourage or discourage progressive individualization of land and production) Australian administrators, agricultural officers, PNG government administrators traditional leaders, and ultimately a multi-national oil palm company set in train changes in political, cultural, social, economic structures, values, sexual division of labour and modes of production. Women's subsistence food cropping and marketing role declined. Their participation and production in cash cropping was marginal. It increased their workload, but gave them minimal control over resources and benefits.

Targeted by external agents of change, men assumed more privilege as head of family, decision-makers, became more mobile, move out of subsistence production. Men receiving cash crop incomes were not keen to give a share to women, yet they expected women who persisted in food crop production, distribution and marketing on their own, with no external support, to hand their money over to men.

A decade after Independence, PNG's links to the global market remained incomplete, and evident mostly in 'purchases and the provision of goods and labour'. Changes towards urbanization and a cash economy gave men more access to economic opportunity and less responsibility for providing family subsistence and security needs.

Newton (1985a: 240) provides evidence of traditional organization of production, a 'subsistence' balance of household autonomy and kin network co-operation, being confronted by 'the strongest challenge since the first arrival of the Europeans some 90 years earlier. She highlights

'the changing nature of the sexual division of labour and the decreasing opportunity for the solidarity within clans and ego-centred networks of kin'. She studied time-use analysis and highlighted the social aspects for technological change by exploring gender differences and changing modes of collaboration between households.

Two major patterns of economic activity emerge: one based on regular household activities and the other on group co-operation for irregular activities. These are underpinned by a particular sexual division of labour. Incomes from the issue of logging licences and small scale trade store and trucking ventures also failed to meet economic expectations.

Tracking the first incomes of villagers who chose to be integrated as outgrowers for the nucleus estate Oil Palm project, - a project which guarantees productivity by locking people into more or less permanent debt - she found traditional villages abandoned and once customary land tenure converted to individualized leases of smallholder blocks. Oil palm prices fluctuated from K4-K80 /tonne 1974-82, but fell to K18 by end of 1982. Men were spending their first, disappointing cash crop returns on store food and beer.

No significant change in property ownership occurred 1964-84. Pig ownership declined and was replaced by chickens. Communication and cooperation required for feast-giving declined. Men expressed nostalgia for the communal village lifestyle with storytelling and children together at play and boredom with individualized living. There was an emerging reliance on women and children to complete daily oil palm harvesting and an increasing number of households were unable to be self sufficient in food production. A new phenomenon of male youth groups had access to training and support to establish new economic ventures.

Newton (1985b: 214) 'found the influence of technology on the traditional labour process and the division of labour'. 'Women spend more time on provisioning subsistence and get less in return'. Men's labour was freed up by technology, and they also appropriate the surplus of women's labour.

Warfare ceased and feasting was transformed while cash incomes were used to purchase of shotguns and steel axes used by men, machetes used by women, kerosene lights and battery lamps. This contributed to decreasing reliance on cooperative labour at the beginning of the garden cycle, in hunting and fishing and house building, and the extent to which brideprice payments are raised collectively on the groom's side and distributed on the bride's side.

Women assumed increasing responsibility for subsistence production while women and men laboured together on cash crops, in which they were 'alienated from the product and losing control over the labour process' and its returns as they moved in phases from the externally planned and driven cultivation of rice, to coffee and to oil palm

Newton's accounts of the advent of oil palm, - regarded by Oro farmers as their 'last chance cash crop' provides a useful history and gender perspective on social and economic change wrought by first British colonialism (1884-1906), Australian pre-war and post war colonialism, and long history of change through periods of bloody Pacification, protest and retaliatory raids by colonisers, forced peace, gifting western items to appease, legislation for to encourage /demand permanent change led to changed structure of society, modes of production and sexual division of labour.

They faced increases workload, with minimal control over resources, assets and incomes. Men as head of family, decision-makers, were more mobile, and moved out of subsistence production. Women who persevered with food marketing, without any attention or technical, transport or training support, were always expected to give some cash to me. However, men

getting cash crop returns, were not so keen to give to women. (Newton, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1989) Women's subsistence food cropping and marketing role survived the lack of support.

Sullivan brings another perspective. The Australian authorities had hardly established themselves in Papua before they began to press the population into extensive arboriculture that would yield cash income. One of the early 'native regulations' (No 121, passed in 1903), compelled all Papuan villages to grow a stipulated number of rubber trees. (Williams 1930 22). By 1947, the 'cooperatives' movement was spreading, under the directive of missionaries mainly. The worry was that the missionaries had underestimated the economic expectations of the people and that a 'cargo cult' sensibility was developing.

The movement was literally destroyed, however, when Mt Lamington erupted in 1951, destroying crops (Newton 1982:66). After this, the New Guinea Research Unit conducted social monitoring studies in the fifties and sixties amidst the Orokaiva regarding cash cropping. Then in 1964 'communal' village plantations for coffee were established under the same regulations as had applied to rubber. (Sullivan, 2006: 42-3)

In 2006, a study was conducted on the environmental impacts of oil palm in Popondetta: Massive levels of sedimentation were observed throughout the rivers, streams and estuarine systems of Popondetta. Sedimentation of estuaries and rivers is recognized as a major the initial environmental examination of Kokoda and Popondetta provided a snapshot of conditions during the wet season in the two catchments. Kokoda's water quality was found to be excellent. In the Popondetta catchment, the water quality was found to contain discharge of sewage. Since the construction of the retention ponds it appears that the total amount of POME discharged to the Ambogo River has dramatically reduced.

The findings of consistently low dissolved oxygen readings at the discharge point do support the Department of Environment and Conservation's (2005) findings that larger retention ponds must be constructed. The high levels of sedimentation and fish loss downstream of oil palm processing mills. (Lee Tan, Australian Conservation Foundation/Friends of the Earth Australia or CELCOR at : dase@celcor.org.pg)

Landowners from the Managalas area responded with a full page a newspaper advertisement the daily newspaper in PNG, February 2003

"We, the landowners are developing and will continue to develop OUR LAND on our own term. We therefore sternly warn all those parties involved in wanting to use OUR LAND for oil palm to STAY OUT! Any attempt to bring oil palm on our land will be strongly resisted." (extract from a letter published in the Post Courier, 2006

Others (Curry and Koczberski, 2001, 2009) have studied environmental problems associated with oil palm plantations. Oil palm production has grown rapidly over the last 15 years, and it is the only major agricultural export tree crop that has experienced sustained growth since 1991 (Table 1). Since 2000, palm oil has emerged as the most important agricultural export crop in PNG, with an export value in 2007 of K800 m, double that of coffee and over three times that of cocoa (coffee and cocoa are PNG's 'traditional' export commodity crops.) (Orrell, 2008).

Local community members described a range of environmental and health concerns that had occurred since the introduction of oil palm. The most serious concerns included the permanent loss of fish species, contamination of drinking water and general decline in health.

Demand for land in the oil palm frontiers of PNG is driving changes in customary land tenure, as illustrated by the 'selling' of land to people from outside the customary landowning group. However, even in these frontier zones, where global capital in the form of oil palm production

interacts with the local, customary landowners are still able to maintain an indigenous, though partly modified, system of land tenure that remains grounded in place-based social practices and values imbued with an indigenous morality.

These new forms of tenure arrangements do not constitute a transformation of indigenous land tenure, nor are they simply reproducing traditional forms. Rather, they reflect a reworking of customary land tenure that, while still compatible with longstanding principles of indigenous land tenure, has clearly been modified to meet the new requirements of commodity production, particularly long-term access to land. (108)

In effect, land rights have become 'individualised' and less flexible, as land is excised from the pool of clan land that is governed by customary tenure. Others have argued that with the introduction of commodity crops, land itself becomes commodified as people begin to view land increasingly as a commodity that can be bought and sold. (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1983; Holzknicht 1997; Strathern and Stewart 1998). The pressures for change to land tenure are greater in agricultural frontier regions where population growth is rapid and development is more intense.

In the oil palm frontiers of PNG, where the impacts of globalisation are perhaps most visible as large-scale industrial production of palm oil, where there are high levels of in-migration of diverse ethnic groups, and where pressures are perhaps most intense for the transformation of economic and social relationships, a relational perspective reveals why indigenous social and economic relations are proving so remarkably resilient to the transformative powers of globalisation.

Land disputes and tenure insecurity are now undermining smallholder commitment to oil palm and the long-term viability of the industry. Land conflicts take many forms in the oil palm smallholder sector, from the large compensation claims demanded by customary landowners for land alienated for estate plantations and land settlement schemes to inter- and intra-household disputes over block ownership.

Land conflicts are critical production issues. Land disputes reduce smallholder productivity by removing disputed stands of oil palm from production and lowering smallholder incentives to invest in their long-term futures (e.g., replanting or fertiliser uptake). Also, insecure tenure undermines smallholder confidence in and commitment to oil palm, and deters economic development.

Land conflicts on both VOP and LSS blocks are particularly serious in Popondetta and are a major constraint on and challenge to improving smallholder production. The "sale" of customary land in some VOPs at Hoskins is leading to land disputes between settlers and some landowning clan members, especially younger clan members who perceive future land shortages for themselves. These disputes are undermining the future tenure security of settlers "owning" VOP blocks.

5.2 Sale of customary land

Possibilities for non-local oil palm settlers in Popondetta to return to their distant provincial homes has become more limited over time. Settlers on highly populated oil palm blocks are attempting to secure additional land to meet their needs. Land acquisition is pursued through two main avenues: the 'purchase' of customary land, and the illegal occupation and planting of oil palm on state or private land. Regarding the former, some senior customary landowners have begun 'selling' land in blocks of two or four hectares for oil palm development to 'outsiders', mainly the sons of the original LSS settlers. At Popondetta and Kokoda there is growing intolerance and resentment of settlers ("outsiders") who landowners believe are

reaping most of the rewards of economic development and are the cause of growing land shortages in the region.

Due to an absence of reliable data the extent of these sales is difficult to quantify, but in Gaungo Village where fieldwork was conducted in 2000, 60 per cent of smallholder oil palm blocks were registered to people from other provinces.

The sale of customary Oro land to 'outsiders' by senior members of the land - owning group is contested by younger clan members who believe they are being 'cheated' of their 'birthrights' and will themselves face land shortages in the future. As a way to maintain/regain control of their land, and hence secure their own futures, some younger clan members are reclaiming land sold to outsiders or demanding from purchasers additional cash in excess of the originally agreed 'purchase' price. These demands are contributing to deepening social cleavages between customary landowners and migrants 'buying' land as the uncertainty surrounding such land 'purchases' adds to settlers' sense of vulnerability and risk.

At Popondetta, a sense of loss and economic marginalisation was articulated by landowner pressure groups that began seeking monetary compensation from the national government, and preferential employment and commercial opportunities from the milling company. In 1982, the first compensation payment of K200,000 was awarded to Sangara Pressure Group, a landowning group representing several villages. Initial shared experiences and grievances amongst indigenous landowners provided a focus for the development of a common identity, which helped differentiate them as a group from migrants; in their common experience as landowners they had benefited less than migrants from the 'development' occurring on 'their' land.

Most, but not all, VOP blocks are located on Land Tenure Conversion (LTC) blocks. Virtually all the nucleus estate blocks are land that was part of earlier (failed) development schemes. But the new land, land that was taken over during the HOPL expansion phase, comes from customary land, mainly gardens in and around the village. Some clan leaders allocated oil palm blocks (both customary and LTC) to non-land owning clansmen, like in-married males, sisters' sons, and even exchange partner-friends (in the classic sense of Orokaiva friendship, as described below). One generation on, the tenure of these blocks has become hotly contested by descendants of both landowners and caretakers, and in some cases 'rental fees' are being imposed. (Sullivan 2005: 135)

In 2006 protests to DEC signing an agreement with Higaturu Oil Palm to start an Oil palm project near the headwaters of the Mabere River, against the wishes of the landowners. The then Minister for Agriculture intervened and stopped it, due to the high risk of environmental degradation and water pollution

6 Education

Ambivalent and conflicting attitudes towards educating 'the colonised' resulted in low levels of education up until WW2. The Commonwealth of Australia prioritised 'obtaining and maintaining control over the whole territory, before education of the indigenous people. Financial constraints linguistic and cultural diversity, challenging topography and remoteness of many communities would have hampered efforts of the administration. Mission agencies were solely responsible for all educational work up until 1941 From 1920 missionaries provided general, technical, industrial and agricultural education and for mission schools teaching English, up to grade 5. Missionary efforts to extend 'native education ' up to secondary levels collapsed for

lack of finance. By the time WW2 broke out the colonial administration of Papua had operated for 58 years, but very little was achieved in the field of education.

Missionaries engaged in education were encouraged as long as they followed the rules. Up until 1912, Governors MacGregor and Murray believed education was not absolutely essential to a Papuan, and therefore not a budget priority. In 1919 Murray launched an education scheme, to be financed by local taxes, and advocated as a buffer to keep Asians out of Papua, and thus Australia.

Murray's steadfast refusal to finance education and prevent the creation of a 'Papuan intelligentsia' was based on a strong belief in the inferiority and negative stereotypes of Papuans and the dangers inherent in looking upon 'him' as a social or political equal. (Kadiba, 89:286 & Dickson, D.J. 1971) This deeply flawed policy was disrupted by the outbreak of WW1.

Around the same time, the government anthropologist FE Williams promoted the concept of 'blending of cultures' to integrate the best of old and newly introduced ways. He stressed the inevitability of cultural change and the emergence of new conditions, requiring new development policies in which Papuans must play an active part.

In the decades preceding WW2, the Adventists based in Mountain Koiari were already enjoying a good deal of success in the achievement of the goals of vernacular education. Around 1922, 15 years after they first made inroads into Mountain Koiari the first Adventist missionaries had established an adapted, boarding school system of vernacular education with a strong emphasis on training local male evangelists.

The second level of SDA missions schooling - the district school - typically situated at mission district headquarters and taught by well-educated but untrained European teachers. Expansion, aimed at spreading mission influence as widely as possible into the area surrounding the district school, using a native 'pastor/teacher system' to set up the first level of mission Schools - the village vernacular school - which aimed to provide the earliest years of the pupils' education, consisting mainly of simple vernacular literacy and arithmetic calculations together with religion. On completing the village schoolwork the students went on to the district school that usually had boarding facilities.

World War II brought far-reaching changes in local, national and international outlook. Initially, the SDAs held out strongly against the pressure for mission schools to start conforming to an emerging unified curriculum. During the war years, under the ANGAU administration and immediate post war, SDA educators experienced many difficulties of staffing, recruiting students, re-establishing and supplying schools and mission stations, and deciding on curriculum.

However, post war they proactively entered a new phase of harmonization of standards and content, striving towards the Administration - imposed objectives of an academically oriented, English-speaking education. In time, the SDA missions established a viable, complete system of education meeting the majority both own goals and those of the post-war, colonial Administration in the period, overcoming succession of challenges related to nature of the 'Territory', its people, the financial limitations of the homeland constituencies, and scholastic and linguistic limitations of indigenous village teachers. (Chapman 1983)

The Anglicans established secondary schools on the Oro (then Northern) Province in the 1960s: Matyrs for boys Popondetta (for boys) and Holy Name for girls (Dogura). They were considered among the best in the country in the 1970s -80s, but thereafter declined due to no substantial commercial enterprises being operated by the church for fundraising. Anglican Health and

education services have not been well funded in recent decades and the quality of education in their church run schools has fallen behind the standard achieved by other mainland churches. Since 2000, the Anglicare development arm became a leader in HIV & AIDS responses, and sexual health education, with a strong foundation in women's rights and gender equality. Anglicare programs were actively servicing the Kokoda region over the past decade, as long as they were financially resourced as key implementing partners by DFAT-funded community development and HIV response projects. Currently many programs are suspended due to funding uncertainty (Heni Meke, personal communication, 2014).

6.1 Domestic Education for Women:

Missionaries were major change agents in the Pacific region in the 19th and early 20th centuries, arguably more effective than any other foreign agent, due to their numerical strength, dispersal, tenacity, linguistic capacity/ability to communicate, commitment to effecting change in the lives of the people - change in the hearts and souls of converts and in their social organisation and cultural activities. (Langmore 1989:84-86)

Mission stations were like "a model village ... drawing people, teaching by demonstration ... (and serving as an) example of 'Godly domesticity'. Nevertheless, the destiny which missionary wives saw for the women they influenced was a modest one, 'to become capable and godly wives for the men who became part of the Christian community: clean and helpful wives for our boys.' (Ibid.87)

6.2 Women's organisations

PNG historian Dickson-Waiko examines the particular shape taken by an emerging nexus between grassroots female activism and Christian churches in helping to liberate and empower female citizens in a state which in practice has neglected women's interests and gender relations, and its own constitutional directives and national political rhetoric about the importance of women as partners in nation-building.

Though women acquired political and legal rights at independence, including the right to vote, they continued to suffer from neglect and to be confined to a now entrenched private and domestic sphere. (Dickson-Waiko, 2003:7-11) She reviews of churchwomen's groups and women's involvements in the developing ecumenical movement. The origins of modern women's fellowship groups are evident in the early work of female missionaries with indigenous women. Over the past two decades the 'traditional' preoccupation with spiritual, domestic, and welfare matters has given way to an increasing awareness of wider social, political, and human rights issues. (Ibid)

Local campaigners for women's rights in Papua New Guinea (PNG) and elsewhere in the Pacific region have so far also been reluctant to claim the word 'feminist' and usually call themselves 'woman activist'. Except in Fiji, most Pacific women's activities do not constitute a conscious movement. Feminist awareness is still at an incipient stage though it has been growing as Pacific governments and women's non-government organizations (NGOs) struggle to respond to the sustained efforts made by the UN to further the advancement of women.

Church women's organisations were very much traditional women's clubs, sharing recipes and teaching sewing, crocheting, hygiene, embroidery, and home craft, combined with Bible studies aimed at strengthening women's Christian faith. They originated with the intention to improve

women's homemaking skills in Western-style cooking and baking, sewing, hygiene, and the care of children. They involved the sharing of recipes and teaching of sewing, crocheting, hygiene, embroidery, and home craft, combined with Bible studies aimed at strengthening women's Christian faith.

This agenda was part of the (largely unsuccessful) Christian effort to replace the customary productive roles of women and restrict them to their reproductive and domestic capacities. But once organized, some Christian women began to have other ideas: they expanded their horizons to the public realm, took on broad community issues, and gradually chipped away at the housewife ideal, a notion which missions had sought to instill in colonized Papuan and New Guinean women since 1873. In some denominations, such as the Anglican Church, the women's organization itself sought appropriate approval from the hierarchy of the church for its members to participate actively and publicly in both the sacred and secular activities of the community.

Women could still only raise matters that the churches deemed as proper but Christian women, with the tacit approval of the male leaders of the various denominations, began to modify and redefine the public space they had helped to construct.

Most observers look past church women's organizations, however, Christian women's fellowship has provided a major outlet for release of the tensions and frustrations of such women who often feel isolated and trapped in the mutually-reinforcing cultural or socio-economic bondage of custom and modernity. (Ibid. 12)

Women (leading and participating in church women's organisations) are strategically involved in influencing change and engaging with modernity in ways that suit their own lived experience in a rapidly changing world. (Ibid. 14)

Dickson-Waiko assesses positive impact of the enduring church women's organisations against her reviews the work of rising and falling influence of the National Council of Women (NCW), and other single issue organisations like Women in Politics (WIP) and the Women and Law committee. She also points out that the succession of changes and restructuring of 'gender desks or women's divisions and units' in the national government machinery have limited impact on the daily lives of the rural majority of PNG women.

By comparison, Church Women's Organisations and women's associations that endure at community level, play a key role in bonding church structures and communities. They have enabled women to organise and act beyond the family context. The organisation of women's sewing, weaving and quilting groups, combined with bible study and prayers, by the early missionaries all over the country provided space for Women have incorporated slowly, but steadily, into public life over the last 120 years or so.

These church-based initiatives marked the start of a long-term process which - combined with increased primary, secondary and tertiary education for women over the years - have contributed much to the active participation of women in various aspects of PNG society. Due to their central position in domestic life, as wives and mothers with responsibilities for households, extended families and raising children, women were and still are major stakeholders in PNG society and raise their voices on important issues.

Providing the major channels for such engagement has, over time, enhanced the churches' internal capacity to organise and to strengthen its ties with communities. This 'bonding function' of women was increasingly recognised by largely male-dominated hierarchies in the 1960s and 1970s, as noted by Douglas (2003), and has translated into the endorsement and

formation of church based women's federations and associations throughout Melanesia, including PNG.

Although women are generally under-represented in management and decision-making processes in church organisations, these associations have enabled women to make important contributions to public life and peace building.

Taking the church community in PNG as a 'unit of analysis' these capabilities are present and practised by different churches and church-based women's organisations to different degrees.

http://www.ecdpm.org/Web_ECDPM/Web/Content/Content.nsf/0/475fc4d0c05feaaac1256fa90033fd1d?OpenDocument#sthash.LVVuD2uZ.dpuf

6.3 SDA Dorcas Society and Women's ministries:

Deaconesses have long been elected and involved in leadership in the Adventist church. The Dorcas welfare society, is a benevolent association, and is part of a range of Adventist Community services. "Dorcas' has its history in the US in the late 1800s. The original objective of the Dorcas Society is to help people physically and spiritually, in the name and spirit of Jesus. Its concern is for every case of need, irrespective of creed, class, nationality, or ethnic origin. (Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, 1996, pages 473, 474).

Dorcas is an important part of the church, but has not achieved the status of being a department of the church. In countries where women have not been as actively involved in many areas of church leadership, Dorcas has become extremely important. Women have taken care of the program and have made it not only an outreach for the church but an area where women can take leadership, women can have training, and women can have retreats and many other activities. (Adventist Church Manual 2005 58) Dorcas is an important feature of the outreach (missionary) activities of the church. The leader of this society, the assistant leader (if needed), and the secretary-treasurer, are elected at the regular church election. This society gathers and prepares clothing, food, and other supplies for the poor, needy, and unfortunate.

The Dorcas Society encourages members to improve domestic and village health and hygiene, perform community services, and engage in fund-raising activities for the church and the community. It is an auxiliary organization within the church and works in close cooperation with the deacons and deaconesses of the church. Under the department of personal and Community Service. In addition to giving material, emotional and pastoral support to the needy, the Dorcas Society also adult education, visiting, homemaking, home nursing, counseling, and other services.

The Women's Ministries Department originated later, and is aimed at mobilizing women for leadership in evangelizing alongside men and to fulfill their real potential in the running of the church. The Women's Ministries Department exists to uphold, encourage, and challenge Seventh-day Adventist women ... and promotes:

1. women's spiritual growth and renewal
2. women's inestimable worth ... equipping them for service in the church, and offer women's perspectives on church issues.
3. women's needs across their life span, with due regard for multicultural and multiethnic perspectives.
4. cooperation with specialized departments of the church to facilitate the ministry to women and of women (mainstreaming)
5. Building goodwill among women in the world church that encourages bonds of friendship, mutual support, and the creative exchange of ideas and information (networking)

6. Mentoring and encouragement of women, creating paths for their involvement in the church
7. women using their gifts to complement the talents of others as they work side by side (in the church. (Ibid. 126)

Adventist Women's Ministries was started for a very different reason than Dorcas but one that complements the work of Dorcas. The focus of Dorcas is more by the women of the church on people outside the church; and the focus of Women's Ministries is on the women in the church so that they can then minister to others in and out of the church. It is the intention of the Adventist Women's Ministry that Dorcas will become even stronger and will find new and better ways of ministering and that women who may not be interested in Dorcas may find strength and empowerment to develop and become more involved in 'mainstream' activities of the church.

The purpose of Women's Ministries is to train and empower women to become involved in all areas of the church and to help women be able to not only know how to use their various (God-given) talents but to have opportunity to use them. Women's Ministries can help a Dorcas woman be a better Dorcas leader, and be a better Dorcas worker, but also develop other types of ministries. It may help in AIDS education, it may help her to be a better mother, it may help her learn how to become involved on church/conference/union or even division committees, or take leadership in various other church departments.

Women's Ministries help produce spiritual growth materials as well as funding for scholarships for women. It organizes and sponsors literacy programs around the world. It becomes involved in public evangelism and is active in abuse prevention and healing, including sponsoring the action of the world church to have an Abuse Prevention Emphasis Day each August.

The Anglican Mothers' Union is a worldwide movement, which in 1999 celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment in PNG. The Mothers' Union operates in provinces where the Anglican Church is based and concentrates on questions of spiritual development, family life, and female literacy. Mothers' Union developed within the Anglican Communion and uses its structure as its own. Individual branches are usually based on parishes or small groups of parishes. There are often levels of co-ordination corresponding to deaneries and archdeaconries that link the branch organisations with that of the diocese. As a global movement of women (and men), Mothers' Union supports local churches with the prayers and activities of its branch members, local communities through social outreach projects and is an international campaigning charity. Particularly concerned with the plight of women in the world, its projects include literacy and development, parenting, micro finance and campaigning against violence against women and the trafficking of women.

6.4 Women, Gender and Development in PNG

Traditional education for females involved transmitting to girls and boys the values, beliefs, skills and gender division of labour of their society. More formal education processes emerged slowly, initially through Christian evangelization and much later through the colonial government's policy to tax people to provide for their children's education.

Through the churches women became prayer leaders and volunteer health workers, and were given basic 'home management' skills. In many denominations and parts of the country this transitioned into the formation of churchwomen's organisations. However an emphasis on vernacular and moral education, maintained the status quo of women as submissive to their male partners and family members.

The lack of English language and numeracy meant women's services were not in demand in the newly emerging economy. Men on the other hand often sought employment as unskilled workers - porters, general labourers and plantation labourers, and even as domestic help, right up until the creating a new norm of men as breadwinners and mediators of the new world. (Martin (1985:110) It was not until after the war, in the 50s that the government supported the missions to educate in basic academic skills and English.

One outstanding pocket of pioneering education for girls took place in Kokoda Township, immediately post war, when Mary Kekedo arrived to accompany her husband, an administrative clerk with the colonial government. Mary was a convent educated young women from Yule Island. She was active, alongside her husband, developing the human capital of Kokoda town over the next 3-4 decades. Driven by her own conviction: *'Progress begins with education'*.

Mary set about building a school for girls and boys. She mentored her daughters to prominent leadership roles in the PNG government, leading up to and after independence. She demonstrated by successfully mentoring two daughters, among many brothers/sons, to become outstanding leaders in public service, civil society and the private sector.

Mary also planted the seed of women's organisations. She not content with merely passing on the conventional gender stereotypical skills of sewing and baking (she herself was among other things, an accomplished tailor) she urged the local Orokaiva women to rise up to the challenges and opportunities of imminent independence, and stand for Local Government Council.

Dame Mary Kekedo, and her first daughter Dame Rose Kekedo were awarded the highest queens honours for leadership. Jean, the first of the family born in Kokoda, was also honoured, and has served PNG across many sectors, over many decades. Mary Kekedo's life and contribution was an outstanding example of what can be achieved by believing in and enabling on one local educated women's leader - *'one person with knowledge'* - who *'can teach a hundred others'*. (Williams 1970)

But generally throughout PNG, girl's enrolment remained low. Colonial schools reflected Western patriarchal values and gave little attention to expanding economic opportunity in the areas where women were active, including agriculture and food industries. The traditional role and work of remained time consuming, labour intensive and invisible.

As men and boys gained education, they moved out, leaving the burden of men's agricultural work to women. Throughout the 1960s women remained isolated in their subsistence and domestic roles, while men accessed new opportunities and acquired new wealth and status.

Colonial education limited women's participation and failed to give voice to their interests and aspirations. (Martin:1985:11) At Independence, PNG adopted 8 national goals and then a Constitution that advocated equal and active participation for women.

This coincided with international calls for gender equality, commencing with the United Nation's advocacy International year (1975), and then decade (1975-85) for Women's empowerment worldwide, as well as the adoption of a global goal of Education for All. But innovations and the call for quality and relevant education in the 1980s was failing to 'recognise' women as the untapped reservoir of human resources, or to critically examine and redress the social, political, cultural and economic institutions that nurture their oppression.

Colonial policy leant towards keeping women in the villages, serving husbands and holding the village unit intact (Johnson, 1985: 124) but by the 1970s realized that women should be educated to, to better support their working husbands.

The second of the five National Goals and Directive Principles concerns equality and participation, calling for 'all citizens to have an equal opportunity to participate in and benefit from the development of our country'.

In the first decade after independence, gender equality in access to education at primary and secondary levels was advocated and monitored. Significant progress was made at both community and secondary level but Oro was one of the provinces lagging behind.

Vatnabar (2003) attempts to summarise phases in Gender and development in PNG. She refers to the period 1880s- 1950s as one of 'domestication by missionaries'. Only in the late 1960s, the special needs of women were for the first time discussed in the training of health and agriculture extension officers and local government welfare officers, as well as the potential of women to be trained and for the local administration, decentralized government services and with church based health and education services.

By the 1970s the government had appointed a Women's adviser, Women's Unit in the Department of Decentralisation: followed by the appointment of Women's activity Officers in all provinces. The National Council of Women was initially set up in 1975, but only formally established by an act of parliament in 1979. (The Act was only recently updated and changed after 35 years of a very mixed record in performance and delivering to the majority of PNG women.)

By 1984: the government machinery for women was changing, and was upgraded to a division in the Department of Women, Youth and Religion. It worked with the Department of National planning and UNIFEM on an early Gender mainstreaming effort supported the writing of a new national Policy for Women and the first national First Women's Development Program.

However, by the 1980s, the services intended to reach rural women were shrinking. Rural women's access was limited due to heavy workloads and serious time constraints, lack of women friendly extension support, in particular, little or no access to technical information, credit, adult or non-formal education or vocational training.

It was also noted around this time that, in spite of their significant contribution to family, women lacked access to or control over family labour family incomes, particularly in the burgeoning cash cropping schemes of coffee and oil palm in the Popondetta/Kokoda area (Vatnabar, 2003: 280)

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